





Stone Dale Midway

Nov. 1922

Mr. W. H. Johnson

KIRKCUDBRIGHT SHIRE.



British Miles

4° Longitude West from Greenwich

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Annex

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TO THE READER.

SOME years ago, the Publisher solicited the Rev William Mackenzie to write a History of Galloway to be printed at the Publisher's press in Kirkcudbright. Mr Mackenzie kindly undertook this labour, on condition of being supplied with the necessary books, and having at his disposal those documents which the Publisher had collected for the execution of the work. With the assistance of these and other materials procured during its progress the History has been prepared; and it is now presented to the public in the hope that an attempt to preserve some facts connected with Galloway will meet with indulgence, if not with approbation.

It was necessary for the Publisher to enter into an extensive correspondence with several noblemen, and with many gentlemen and clergymen connected with the district—to all of whom he returns his most grateful thanks for the kindness and promptitude with which

they answered his applications, and supplied him not only with books and manuscripts, but with some important historical facts, as well as numerous interesting anecdotes, relating both to individuals and to families.— To Mr Train, in particular, the well known friend and correspondent of Sir Walter Scott, he is under deep obligations for the valuable information he gave, and for the warm interest he took in the work, from its commencement to its conclusion. He desires also to make every acknowledgement to his liberal and indulgent subscribers, without whose generous support, the work would have been neither undertaken nor accomplished.

The History may not be executed to the entire satisfaction of the learned or of the fastidious reader; but, if it shall be the means of awakening curiosity and of calling forth an abler production, the labour it has cost will not be looked upon as fruitless. Although the principal object has been a simple, perspicuous, and faithful narrative, facts may have been sometimes misconceived, and consequently misrepresented. Amid the contradictory statements and conflicting opinions with which the materials for history abound, it is always difficult, and sometimes

impossible to ascertain truth ; but those books have been most carefully consulted, which, from the character of their authors, are allowed to be the most worthy of credit.

To those who are familiar with the general history of this country, many of the following statements may appear unnecessary ; but had the facts relating exclusively to Galloway been told in the narrowest compass, events would have appeared disconnected, uninteresting, and, perhaps, even unintelligible.— To those who may censure the narrative as not sufficiently ample, want of space must plead the apology ; besides it was thought superfluous to enter with more fulness into subjects on which Andrew Symson, and Dr. Thomas Murray have exhausted research.

In many of the notes, the original language and spelling have been preserved, that the reader may be gratified by judging for himself of the true import of their statements.— These notes are marked as quotations, and the names of the writers are placed in capitals immediately below them.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In consequence of the materials for the following work, having accumulated considerably beyond what was originally anticipated, the Publisher is under the necessity of advancing the price ; but he trusts that his Subscribers will not be dissatisfied, as they will see, by referring to the Prospectus, that the increase of the price is not in proportion to the number of additional pages. In the Prospectus he promised from ninety-five to a hundred pages for one shilling : the price being twelve shillings, he now gives upwards of a hundred and eighteen pages for the same money.

ERRATA.

Volume I — Page

- 38, line 5, *for sacrifice, read sacrifices.*
77, — 10, *for at, read in*
96, Note 1 *for cemetry, read cemetery.*
118 line 9, *for respito, read a respito.*
157 27, *for Magnus, read Magnus, King of Norway.*
260 — 29, *for Edward, read the English.*
317 2, *for Archibald Douglas, however, read Ar-
chibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, however.*
323 — 12, *for Vaneuil, read Varneuil.*
369 — 15, *for Bailery, read Bailiery.*
383 Note 4, *for ordinauce, read ordnance.*
473 line 3, *for army, read enemy.*
473 Note *for 300, read 350.*
493 Note 1, *for men, read man.*
517 Note 1, *for landed, read landed in Galloway.*
528 Note 2, *for dismiss, read dismissed.*
534 Note *for 1730, read 1738.*

N. B. When reference is made to vol. II., it means Symson's Description in vol II,

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HISTORY
OF
GALLOWAY.
CHAP. I.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD, TO THE INVASION OF THE ROMANS.

THE early history of that part of North Britain now known by the name of Galloway,¹ remains involved in much obscurity. Time, which is daily producing events, is also daily removing them beyond the sphere of our contemplation; for many of the remarkable incidents of former ages, have been long ago borne away by its silent, though uninterrupted current, and completely absorbed in the great ocean of oblivion. Occurrences also diminish in importance as they recede from us; and even when they stand prominently forward on the re-

I Hollinshed, in his History of Scotland, says, that before the district was known by the name of Galloway, it was called Brigantia. In Monypenny's Chronicles of Scotland are the following words: "The lands, now called Galloway, were then called Brigance." Boethius also mentions, that it was sometimes named Brigantia. That the name "Brigantia" was ever anciently applied to Galloway, appears more than questionable; for we know from good authority, that the territories of the Brigantes, a considerable tribe of ancient Britons, lay in England.

remote horizon of years, they are so obscured by the mists of antiquity, as to be but indistinctly visible. They likewise appear isolated, or detached; and, consequently, are less interesting to the common observer. A retrospective survey of past ages is like a distant view of a foreign country; where, indeed, individual mountains, or ranges of mountains, present themselves to the eye of the beholder; but the intervening hills and valleys, the plains and rivers, the woods and lakes, with all their luxuriant beauty, and fascinating accompaniments, are lost in the shades of impenetrable gloom. But, in Galloway, from peculiar causes, the darkness of ignorance long prevailed; and little explicit, or instructive, can be said of its history, at least, until the sun of incipient civilization began to dispel the clouds of barbarism, which had long retarded the full illumination of the perfect day.

Men, in the primitive stages of society, are more bent on satisfying their numerous wants, than on transmitting their achievements to future generations: the present day alone engrosses their thoughts, and they seldom give themselves much concern about the contingencies of futurity, or the welfare and wishes of their remote posterity. Hence, no authentic records are extant of the state of the district before the period of the Roman invasion.

Modern Galloway comprehends Wigtownshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. This province is in the south of Scotland, and extends from east to west nearly ninety miles; whilst its greatest breadth is about forty miles. It is bounded on the north by Ayrshire, on the south by the Solway

Frith, on the east by Dumfries-shire, and on the west by the Irish channel. Ancient Galloway, was much more extensive. According to Ritson and some other writers, it included, before the eleventh or twelfth century, not only the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright and Wigtownshire, but also Nithsdale, Annandale, Tiviotdale, Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrewshire. To ascertain its former boundaries, however, would now be of little importance, as this Work is intended to be applicable to Galloway, only as the term is at present understood.

The original state and appearance of this province must be learned either from history and tradition, or from ancient remains that still exist.

Few of the early historians of Scotland take much notice of the internal condition of Galloway. Buchanan mentions it, as possessing an undulating surface, and as containing in the valleys, between the hills, almost innumerable lakes and fens, which, being now drained, form beautiful fields of rich and well-cultivated land.¹ Originally, the greater part of its whole extent was covered with natural wood, principally oak; and even huge tracts, now presenting nothing but barren and desolate moors and mosses, were then clothed with noble forests of oak, ash, beech, and other hard timber.² The only

¹ John Maclellan, once Minister of Kirkeudbright, who, in 1665, wrote a Description of Galloway for Blaeu's Atlas, says, "Regio tota est cœlo soloque saluberrimo; raro in montes assurgit, frequentibus tanto collibus intumescit."

"*Tota Gallovidia formam elephantis refert; caput est Rinum, proboscis Mula; pedes promontoria in mare exprorecta; humeri, montes supra memorati; spina dorsi, saxa, et ericeta: corpus reliquum reliqua regio.*"

² Tytler's History of Scotland.

places destitute of trees, were the exposed verges of its shores, the soilless summits of its rocks, and the low marshy spots, here and there to be observed, which the stagnation of water had rendered unfavourable to the support of vegetation.

The numerous mosses of the district, indeed, owe their formation to these ancient woods; and the trunks of trees are still dug out of them, in a state of wonderful preservation. Many of the original forests existed until recent times. Symson mentions the extensive forest of Minnigaff¹—a great part of which remained in 1684, when he wrote his *Description of Galloway*;—and both he and Maclellan take notice of the large forest, on the banks of the Cree, which, at the time they lived, appeared nearly entire.² There was, at one time, an extensive wood in the parish of Kells, called the “Forest of Buchan;”³ and two farms bearing the names of “Over and Nether Forests”⁴ mark its locality. The forest of Kenmure that once lay on both sides of the Ken, is mentioned by Maclellan, in his account of Galloway. Tradition still speaks of an ancient forest in the parish of Colvend, which continued to flourish until a few centuries ago. The tract of country between Kirkcudbright and

1 The Forrest Lands in Minnigaff, at present, belong to the Earl of Galloway, and consist of Kierroch, Kirriemuir, Palgowan and Kirkenan, Kirkcastle, Strowan, Kirkirrow, Skonehan, Glenhead and Boangill, and Buchan.*

2 For the timber of this forest, the Earl of Galloway obtained 6000 guineas.

3 On the 11th February 1628, a Procuratory of Resignation of the Free Forest of Buchan was granted by John Earl of Cassillis, to John Gordon of Lochinvar.

4 Over and Nether Forrests, in Kells, belong at present, to Sir William Miller of Glenlee, Bart.

* Valuation Roll,

Kenmure Castle, is said to have been once over-spread with thick woods; and some places in that direction still retain names indicative of the fact; such as Meiklewood, Underwood, and Woodhead. Natural timber still appears in various parts of Galloway, particularly on the sides of hills, and banks of rivers. A part yet remains of the Bishop's Forest, in the parish of Kirkpatrick Irongray.¹ Thus both the names of places, and the remnants of forests, clearly evince, that the country long continued, at least, partially covered with trees; and, indeed, wood was the common fuel, used by the inhabitants, until the beginning of the thirteenth century. The salt-pans, besides, situated on the coasts of this maritime district, consumed much of the adjacent timber.² The English, in their various invasions of the south of Scotland, endeavoured to clear the country of its impervious woods, which obstructed their own progress, and afforded protection to their enemies. In some of their expeditions into Scotland, the strokes of eighty thousand hatchets were heard at one time; whilst fires blazed in many quarters, hourly destroying whole acres of timber.³ Though the waste of centuries, and the progress of agricultural improvement, have almost denuded the district of its ancient covering;

1 Statistical Account. The Statistical Account of Scotland was drawn up by the late Sir John Sinclair, Bart., from communications made to him by the Ministers of the different Parishes. The work displays much ability and research, and is highly creditable to the Clergy of North Britain. To it we are indebted for the preservation of many valuable facts which would otherwise have been lost.

2 Chalmers's Caledonia.

3 Tytler.

yet, that it once wore a woody mantle is perfectly apparent.

In the almost continued forests of Galloway, before the virgin soil had received the stamp of human footsteps, ranged at large the wild boar, the wolf, the bear, the *urus*, the deer, and numerous animals that were subsequently domesticated.—The *urus* was a creature resembling a bull, but much larger and swifter; its horns, skull, and bones, have been often found in mosses and marl pits.¹ Animals of a similar kind have, in different places, received the name of the buffalo, auroch, or bison. In the year 1828, the skull of one of them, with some bones, was dug out of a marl pit, on the farm of Nunton, near Kirkeudbright. Another very large skull of a *urus* was found in a bed of marl on the estate of Castlewig, in the Parish of Glasserton. Though this animal was not carnivorous; yet, being ferocious and easily irritated, it was dangerous; and its rage always brought death to the weaker tenants of the forest. A species of large deer, the huge horns of which still continue to be found embedded in the earth, then existed. Several horns of this description were discovered, not many years ago, in the Carlinwark-Loch,² near the burgh of Castle-Douglas, in the parish of Kelton. In the dry summer of 1819, a deer's horn, thirty four inches in length and twelve inches in circum-

¹ Statistical Account.

² Carlinwark Loch derives its name from the British *Caerlin*, the fort lake, to which was added the *Scoto Saxon wark*. This lake formerly covered about 150 acres of ground, though it is now smaller. From its name, and ancient remains, it must have been a scene of great interest. Tradition still asserts that a town stood in it, and that, on particular occasions, it was submerged. This lake was once sold for £2000.

ference, was found on the banks of the Cree, near Machermore : it lay buried in clay, at least, twelve feet below the surface of the ground.—The skull of a deer, with the horns perfect, was also found at Muncraig, in the parish of Borgue, about the year 1830. An antiquarian, well acquainted with such objects, pronounced it, after due examination, the largest he had seen, either in Scotland or England. Numbers of wild horses, with their surrounding progeny, roamed through the woods at an early period, though some writers suppose, that the horse had not been long introduced, prior to the invasion of the Romans. The wild fowls which still frequent the shores and mountains of Galloway, being then undisturbed, were more numerous and more daring than they are at present. The rivers and seas abounded with various kinds of fishes, few of which, however, were caught and used as food by the inhabitants. Many reptiles, now exterminated, infested the morasses and woods ; and prodigious swarms of insects were yearly generated, which agricultural improvement, and the consequent amelioration of the climate, have tended to extirpate.

Not much information, of an explicit or satisfactory nature, can be collected concerning the *aborigines* of Galloway. Asia is allowed to have been—the “*officina gentium*”—the great nursery of the human race and, from its redundant population, issued the colonists that were destined to people the various regions of the earth. As men multiplied, they required an increased supply of food ; and, not having yet gained a sufficient knowledge of the art of cultivating the ground, or domesticating the inferior animals, they gradually dispersed,

either impelled by the pressure of their immediate wants, or allured by the hope of unknown advantage. The husbandman—if we may use such a term—went in quest of new plains, and the hunter, with his family, sought such distant mountains and forests, as offered any probable chance of yielding a larger supply of the necessaries of life.

Though the channels, through which the tide of emigration flowed into Europe, cannot now be sufficiently ascertained; yet we know, that this human current continually advanced, until its progress was arrested by the insurmountable barrier of the ocean. Thus was the west peopled from the east, each parent tribe having sent forth its offspring to occupy new territories, and form new states. The first kindred tribes of colonists who filled that ample space between the Baltic—or perhaps the Northern Ocean,—and the Mediterranean, acquired the name of *Celtae*, or *Celts*.—Though, at an early period, both Asia and Africa presented large and flourishing empires; yet the aborigines of Europe exhibited only clans, or septs, disjoined from inclination, and feeble from disjunction. When the Romans conquered Gaul, that fine country was divided among sixty kindred tribes, little connected by polity, or natural affection. One or more of these tribes formed a distinct kingdom, or petty state, under the authority of a ruler, who was commonly the head of the principal family of the clans that composed the state. How nearly soever the Celtic people may have agreed in religion, manners, and customs, we look, in vain, through the wide expanse of Europe, for even the semblance of a Celtic empire.

When the Celts had filled the continent with

their growing numbers, the superabundant population sought new settlements in the adjacent islands, and emigrated into the southern parts of Britain. Here, again, they gradually increased, and extended their superfluous offspring towards the north, until they took possession of the province, afterwards known by the appellation of Galloway. This event is supposed to have taken place, not later than 750 years before the Christian era, or about the commencement of the building of ancient Rome. The same process of colonisation, and spirit of enterprize, carried this migratory people to the remotest extremity of the island.¹

When the Celtic inhabitants had so far augmented their population, as to occupy all the more eligible situations in Britain, they explored the surrounding islands to make new settlements in them, —first those in the immediate vicinity, and afterwards others which lay at a greater distance.— About this time Ireland was undoubtedly colonised from Britain. Diodorus Siculus, the contemporary of Julius Cæsar, says, that Ireland was inhabited by Britons. Indeed, it is scarcely possible, that, at an early age, it could have received its first settlers from any other quarter than the neighbouring coast of Scotland. Spain was at least five hundred miles distant; and the nearest promontory of Gaul lay about three hundred English miles from the shores of Ireland.² But, Ireland, it is thought, received the first germs of its population from Galloway.³ There are, it is true, conflicting opinions on this subject; but certainly such a conjecture, to say

1 Caledonia.

2 Caledonia.

3 Camden.

the least, seems founded on probability. The aborigines of Europe were expert at travelling by land, but they had slender means of conveyance by sea. They could manufacture canoes: their canoes, however, were generally small, and fit only for the navigation of inland lakes or rivers. Many of their tiny skiffs have been found in different parts of Scotland. In Lochar-Moss, near Dumfries, several have been discovered; and some of them, upon being examined, were ascertained to be between eight and nine feet long, about two feet broad, and one foot deep; having been hollowed by the action of fire, like the canoes of the American Indians. When the Carlinwark-Loch was partially drained in 1765, similar canoes were found in it, each formed from the trunk of a single tree: they seemed to have been propelled by paddles, some of which were observed lying near them.¹ Grapples, or anchors, which had belonged to canoes have also been found.²

Though such vessels would scarcely have been of sufficient magnitude and strength, to carry any of the first people of Galloway into Ireland, even at the narrowest part of the intervening channel; yet we know that they, like some of the other inhabitants of Scotland, had canoes of a larger size, particularly on the sea-coast. In the year 1726, one of extraordinary dimensions was found, buried about fifteen feet deep in the south bank of the Forth, at the influx of the Carron. It was thirty-six feet long, four feet broad, upwards of four feet deep, and four inches thick. This gigantic canoe.

¹ Statistical Account.

² Penant's Tour.

had been formed out of one piece of solid oak of such surpassing hardness, that it appeared to have taken a very fine polish. A few canoes of such dimensions might have transported the first Celtic colony into Ireland.

But, at an early period,—though it is not known how early—the inhabitants of North Britain had so far improved in ship-building, as to enlarge their canoes into *curachs*. These vessels were made of wicker frames, covered with skins, and supplied with keels, oars, and sails: they were large enough to hold a number of passengers. Curachs existed before the time of Julius Cæsar, who mentions them, and says, they had masts made of the lightest wood. Lucan calls the British curachs little ships; and states, that in them the inhabitants were accustomed to navigate the ocean. But, though these, in all probability, were not the vessels resorted to by the inhabitants of Galloway, in their first voyages to Ireland; yet, it is extremely likely, they made much use of them afterwards, in keeping up a close correspondence between the two countries.

But another fact may be adduced in support of the probability, that Ireland was originally peopled from Galloway. The various Celtic tribes, in their early voyages, seldom, if ever, ventured far from land. Now, supposing, at the period of their landing in Britain, they were so far advanced in naval architecture, as to form vessels perfectly fitted for the performance of voyages of considerable length, it is scarcely to be credited, that so long as the wide extent of England lay before them, and its numerous advantageous situations were unappropriated, they would have launched out into an unknown sea, with the view of repairing to an un-

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known land, which lay from the nearest points of England, almost beyond their view. Galloway would have been the first place, from which Ireland could have been so distinctly seen by the Celts in their progress northward, as to be really inviting; and it was the spot from which a passage could have been most easily effected.¹

That the inhabitants of both Britain and Ireland are descended from the same source, may be proved almost to demonstration.

Julius Cæsar and Tacitus both agree in representing the language, the manners, and religion of the people of Britain and Gaul, as remaining the same, when these able and inquisitive writers first directed their penetrating eyes to both countries. "The present age," says the learned Gibbon, "is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved in the perpetual resemblance of language, religion, and manners."

That the people, not only of North and South Britain, but also of Ireland, spoke nearly the same language, is demonstrable from the names of places, in both countries, which can be proved to have no signification except in the Celtic language.

In confirmation of this assertion, we may mention, that *arran* in the Celtic signifies a high place;

¹ The distance from Galloway to the nearest part of Ireland, is about twenty miles; but Ireland is not much less than double that distance from the nearest point of England.

and we find an Isle of Arran in the Frith of Clyde, another in Wales, a third on the coast of Donegal, in Ireland, and a fourth in Galway Bay, in the same country. Several rivers both in North and South Britain are known by the name of *Avon*, or *Aven*, which signifies, in the ancient Celtic language a river, and the same word is also prefixed to the names of many streams. There are numerous rivers in Ireland, distinguished by this prefix, such as Aven-bui in Cork, Aven-more in Sligo, Aven-banna¹ in the same county, and Aven-more in Mayo. The word *dee*, which denotes the dark coloured stream, is applied to two rivers in North-Britain,—the Dee at Kirkcudbright and the Dec at Aberdeen;—one in Wales; and one in the county of Louth in Ireland. *Esk*, meaning a water, is the name of several rivers both in Britain and Ireland. The Ken, in Galloway, forms the Loch of Ken; and another river of this name runs past Kendal and falls into the sea in Westmoreland. A river of the name of Ken joins the Ex, in Devonshire. The Nith, formerly *Nid*, falls into the Solway Frith; and the *Nid*, or Nith, joins the Ouse in Yorkshire: the word denotes a stream that has many windings. *Loch* is applied to fresh water lakes, or inlets of the sea, in Scotland; and *Lough*, or *Loch*, to similar collections of water in Ireland. *Ur*, in the Gaelic, signifies pure, or fresh; and we have a river in Galloway named Urr, or Orr; one in Rosshire, and another in Wexford, called Urrin: there are also an Urie in Aberdeenshire, and an Ore in England.²

¹ Ban in Gaelic signifies White.

² Caledonia, &c.

From this comparative view of the names of rivers in Britain and Ireland, may be deduced the moral certainty, that both countries were peopled by Celtic tribes, who spoke the same language, or dialects of the same language.

But the fact will farther appear, from the names which the first settlers imposed on other great objects of nature. The Gaelic *beinn*, a mountain, is applied to several heights, such as Ben-Lomond, Benledi, in Scotland, Ben-Dubh, Benbulbagh, in Ireland: it is also incorporated with the names of some hills in Galloway, namely, Bencairn, Benu-tudor, Bennis, and Bengray. A considerable number of names are compounded of the Gaelic *dun*, originally meaning a hill; and, from fortresses being built on hills, secondarily signifying a *strength*; this word appears in different forms. *Car* or *caer* denoting a wall, or mound of defence, a fort, or fortified town, is the prefix, in some of its forms, of many names both in Britain and Ireland. We find in Galloway, Carlinwark, Cardoness, and Kirouchtree.¹

Heugh is a name given to a great many heights along the sea-coast of Britain. In Wigtownshire, there are Gar-heugh, in the parish of Mochrum, and Clachan-heugh, on Loch-Ryan. *Rinn* signifies a promontory, or point of land. Thus Pen-ryn receives its name from standing on a promontory in Falmouth-haven, Cornwall; the heights above the same town are called Rins. Two large promontories have received the designation of the Rhyns of Galloway; and there is also a point, in

1 Originally Caer.—UCHTRED.

Clackmannanshire, named the Rhyn. *Rin* is applied, likewise, to several points in Ireland. *Ross* also denotes a point. This word has been assigned to a point in Berwickshire, to Ross-duy and Ross-findlay, two small promontories in Loch-Lomond; and two points, in Galloway, at the mouth of the Dee, are distinguished by the appellations of the Large and Little Rosses. *Dol* or *dal* signifying a flat field, or meadow, is found incorporated with the names of many places in various quarters, as Doll in Forfarshire, Doll and Dollar in Fifeshire, Dalry in Ayrshire, Dalry and Dalbeattie in Galloway.

Various tribes in North and South Britain, and in Ireland, were known by the same Latinized appellation; namely, the Carnabii of Cornwall, the Carnabii of Cheshire and Shropshire, and the Carnabii of Caithness; the Cantae of Kent, and the Cantae of Rosshire; the Damnii of Devon, the Damnii of Ireland, and the Damnii of Clydesdale, Renfrew, and Ayr; the Novantes of Galloway, and the Tri-novantes of Essex and Middlesex.¹ Now, the identity of names in both divisions of Britain, and in Ireland, with their identity or exact similarity of signification, leaves no room to doubt of the important fact, that it was the same people who originally bestowed the same names on similar objects.

Great Britain and Ireland, even until the end of the first century, retained a faithful resemblance to Gaul. The people of these countries held the same religious tenets, and performed the same sacred rights.—Their manners, their customs,

¹ Caledonia.

their civil polity, their modes of sepulture, were Gaelic; but above all their language, which is still spoken in some purity¹ in a considerable portion of Scotland, was a species of Celtic, or Gaelic. The Gaelic language, according to tradition, continued prevalent in many parts of the interior of Galloway so late as the Revolution; and dialects of the Celtic are still used in a part of Ireland, in Wales, and in the Isle of Man. Buchanan mentions Gaelic as the language of Galloway when he wrote his elegant History of Scotland. The people of this district, therefore, must have been of Celtic origin.

The inhabitants of Britain, from the name of the island, were called Britons by the ancients. Dio, Tacitus, and Herodian, distinguish the whole inhabitants of the island by the appellation of Britons.

North Britain, at an early period, was occupied by twenty-one clans, or tribes, each being independent of the whole. They renounced their independence, only when danger threatened, and necessity imperiously demanded concentrated authority in a single individual, for the protection of the whole.

Two of these primitive tribes held the province, afterwards designated Galloway, between them. The *Novantes* possessed the portion lying between the Dee and the Irish Sea, extending on the north as far as the chain of hills which now separates Galloway from Ayrshire.² The *Selgovae* inha-

¹ Henry's History of Britain.

² Camden supposes the *Novantes* to have possessed the western division of Galloway, with Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.

bited the eastern part of Galloway, as far as the Dee, which was their western boundary: they also possessed Nithsdale, Annandale, and Eskdale, in Dumfries-shire.¹

Nature seems to have been peculiarly profuse in its bounties to the Celtic nations. Their persons were large, robust, and well-formed; and they excelled in running, wrestling, climbing, and swimming. Both history and tradition assert these facts; and from the writings of Tacitus they receive extensive corroboration. Strabo mentions the Britons as taller in stature than the Gauls, and as differing a little from them in the colour of their hair. "For proof of their tallness," he says, "I myself saw very youths taller, by half a foot, than the tallest men." Besides, in some of the sepulchral remains of the earliest inhabitants of North Britain, have been discovered human bones of a large size. In a *cairn* about a mile from Arloch, in Perthshire, there was found a stone coffin, containing a human skeleton about seven feet long.² Some years ago, upon opening a *barrow* in the parish of Kirkmabreck, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, a stone coffin presented itself, in which was a human skeleton, much above the ordinary size.³ A sepulchral *tumulus* was once opened at Elie, in Fifeshire, which exhibited some very large human bones. In the parish of Logie, in Forfarshire, two tumuli were opened, in one of which, was a skeleton of extraordinary dimensions; the bones

1 The Novantes are supposed to have derived their name from the streamy nature of their country; the Selgovæ from their fondness for hunting.

2 Statistical Account.

3 Caledonia.

were of a dark yellow colour, and very brittle : The other tumulus presented four skeletons possessing exceedingly large bones : a black ring was found near them, apparently made for a very thick wrist.

The Britons, and consequently the primitive inhabitants of Galloway, wore little, or no clothing. According to the testimony of Julius Cæsar, they painted themselves with *woad*, which imparted a bluish colour to the skin, and a hideous appearance to their persons. Herodian says, they dyed their skins in such a manner as to represent the figures of beasts, and wore no clothes. Ovid calls them "*virides Britannos*:" Martial, "*Pictos Britannos*:" and Lucan, when speaking of them, uses the words "*flavis Britannis*."¹

The aborigines of North Britain were capable of bearing cold, hunger, and fatigue, in a remarkable degree. For the purpose of concealment, they frequently immersed themselves in lakes, rivers, and marshes; and remained in such situations for days, with their heads, or perhaps their faces only, out of the water. They could subsist in the woods, for a lengthened period, drawing support from the bark or roots of trees. It is believed they possessed the secret of preparing a certain kind of nourishment, of which if they occasionally ate but the size of a "bean," they were enabled to abstain from all other kinds of food, for a period of considerable duration, without feeling the excessive gnawings of hunger.² So much were they invigorated by constant exercise, that

¹ We have given these words in the original, as being more expressive, than in the English language.

² Henry's History of Britain. Dio.

their strength never failed in the longest excursions; and the most rapid rivers, in vain, presented barriers to arrest their progress.

The mental endowments of the British tribes, however, were of an inferior order.

Their principles of knowledge being few and limited, many of their opinions were not only erroneous, but also absurd. Of the natural world and its economy, they knew little. They observed, it is true, the vicissitudes of the seasons; the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; the ebbing and flowing of the tide; the changes of the weather: but they were altogether unacquainted with any of the powerful agencies, by which these changes are effected. They perceived, besides, the qualities of air, earth, and water, which obtrude themselves on the senses of the dullest observers; but they were entirely ignorant of the great primary laws, by which matter is governed.

Their notions of moral rectitude were, in a few instances, less erroneous than their crude ideas of external objects. Some of them revered their parents, with true filial affection; loved and protected their children, with tender solicitude; and adhered to their friends, in every emergency, with fearless constancy. Though, like other rude nations, they neither cherished nor sufficiently respected female worth; yet the men, in general, did not conduct themselves as the tyrants of their wives. The claims of hospitality, they sometimes studiously regarded; and, though revengeful and ferocious, they, often, with generous magnanimity, spared the life of a fallen enemy. Amongst them, in many instances, the aged and defenceless were enthusiastically honoured and perseveringly pro-

tected; whilst, as long as they lived, they warmly cherished the memory of departed friends. Almost all of them possessed unbounded courage; for their minds were early imbued with a thorough contempt of danger and death. Fame, or martial distinction, was the darling object of every youth: he who fell amidst crowds of slaughtered, or vanquished enemies, died with feelings of proud exultation; whilst he who suffered a defeat, or was compelled to retire from an unsuccessful combat,—even though he had performed deeds of astonishing bravery,—shrank from the disdainful eyes of his former friends and companions.¹

But, though numbers of the Britons, originally inhabiting the south of Scotland, possessed qualities, or virtues, thus valuable and laudable; yet it must be confessed, that here is exhibited only the brighter side of the picture; for many of the inferior class—“the meaner herd”—displayed, in no ordinary degree, the opposite vices. Strength and unlawful power were too often considered by such men the real measures of justice; and frequently indulging an implacable spirit of revenge, they pertinaciously pursued the objects of their resentment, with infuriated malignity. Mean and treacherous in their pursuits, they seldom hesitated, in accomplishing a favourite object, to violate the laws of hospitality, betray a former benefactor, or barbarously murder a confiding friend. In the phrenzy of sudden excitement, or the delirium of violent irritation, the son sometimes imbrued his desperate hands in the blood of a father, and the brother raised his deadly weapon against the companion.

1 Smith's Gaelic Antiquities.

of his youth. At all times they were proud, vain, and unreasonable; and when roused their passions raged with the ungovernable fury of the tempest: moderation was almost unknown amongst, at least, the lower grades of the early British tribes.

The original inhabitants of Galloway, like other Celtic people, possessed an inherent love of liberty, and a jealousy of independenee, which embroiled them in frequent wars with each other, and with the neighbouring tribes.

To both the Selgovae and Novantes belonged many fortlets, particularly along the Dee, the boundary line of their territories. The remains of these forts are still conspicuous in various places. One of the most important was possessed by the Selgovae, and stood on an emiunee which bears the name of Drummore, near the eastern influx of the Dee. This fortress may be considered their frontier garrison; and it was called by Ptolemy *Caerbantorigum*¹ which name signifies, in the ancient British language, the fort on the conspicuous height. It was of an oval form; and a rampart, composed of stone and earth, with a fosse, surrounded it: the rampart and fosse are still apparent. At the bottom of the hill was a well, now covered with stones, which is thought to have supplied the garrison with water. This important strength overlooked both the Solway Frith,² and a vast extent of country. Not many years ago, a plate of gold was found near it by some men, en-

1 From *Caer* a fort, *ban* conspicuous, and *tor* a height; the termination is Latin. The farm of Torrs probably derived its name from this fort.

2 The Solway Frith was originally called the *Tau*, signifying what spreads; the *Tay* derived its name from the same word.

gaged in making ditches, for which they obtained the sum of twenty pounds: this piece of gold, however, had probably been deposited there long after the erection of the fort. Near Caerbantorigum,—now called Drummore Castle,—and in the parish of Kirkeudbright, once stood many hill-forts, though of a smaller size. They are all known to be British strengths from their circular forms and their peculiar locality. Many other places, on the east side of the Dee, exhibit the remains of forts that once belonged to the first inhabitants of this country. In Crossmichael is a remarkable one, on the hill of Halferne. Several circular forts yet remain in the parish of Brittle; and one, called Castle Gower, had been defended by vitrified ramparts. The vitrification must have been effected by the action of fire. Forts of a similar kind exist in other parts of the country.¹ Indeed, the whole western territories of the Selgovae seem to have been studded with hill-forts.

In the country of the Novantes, on the west side of the Dee, are the evident remains of many British forts, the largest of which are here called *duns*.—This word, in the language of the early people, signified a fort. The eminences on which fortifications of smaller dimensions had been placed, are, in modern language, denominated *moats*. In the parishes of Tongland, Twynholm, and Borgue, may be seen several stations that were once occupied by ancient fortresses. British strengths were generally placed on such eminences as appeared difficult of access; and in some instances

1 Statistical Account.

they were surrounded by two, or even three ramparts, and as many fosses.¹

Within the areas of several of the British fortresses are yet to be observed the ruins of rude structures, that must have served the defenders for habitations, or places of shelter from the inclemency of the weather. In many of them, besides, are yet to be seen vestiges of wells, made no doubt for the use of the garrison; and some of them had out-works on the side of the hill, probably for the protection of cattle.

Now, such forts could have only been the work of the British tribes who resided in Galloway, perhaps, nearly a thousand years before the epoch of any foreign invasion; for the Romans, who were the first intruders, placed their camps in very different situations: they made them, likewise, of a different form, and of other materials. The Saxons and Danes were the next invaders, but they had no occasion for such hill-forts; and the Irish migrants, who afterwards colonised Galloway, considered towns and forts as encumbrances. They, therefore, would not have wasted their time and labour in the construction of works which they despised, and for which they had no use. The English, again, who settled in Galloway at an after period, built castles of stone, but never on the summits of mountains, though often on rocks and precipices.²

In addition to forts on the tops of hills, the original people of Galloway had subterraneous places of refuge. These were either artificial excavations,

1 Statistical Account.

2 Caledonia, &c.

or natural caves; and they served, in a rude age, when the arm of repression was but feeble, to conceal, or protect both the persons and property of the inhabitants from the aggression or rapacity of their enemies. In some of the excavations, were structures containing two or three apartments, clumsily built of large flat stones without any cement, and covered with stones of the same kind.

In the subterraneous abodes of the aborigines, have been discovered ashes, fragments of coarse earthen vessels, and rude tools, apparently much worn. The parish of Buittle presents one of these remarkable recesses. It consists of a long passage, or vault, dug under the ground, which is here composed of a firm sandy gravel, mixed with iron ore. These substances are so completely bound together, as to require no support for the roof.—The termination of this vault has never been reached. The late Mr Maxwell of Terraughtie, when a boy, made the attempt, but without success; for prudence subdued his curiosity, and he abandoned his design. On the bottom, which resembled an ill-swept earthen floor, he found spear-heads and human bones. In other parts of Galloway, principally on the sea shore, are caves which seem to have been improved by art into places of secure retreat. Some of these perforations extend a considerable way under the ground.

One of “the caves of Barholm” stretches inward about thirty yards. Not far from its mouth, the aperture contracts so much as to prevent a person from walking upright into it; and this entrance could have been easily closed by broad stones. It was used, it is believed, on several occasions, during the frightful period of the Persecution, by the pro-

scribed Presbyterians as a hiding place.¹ At the bottom of some extraordinary cliffs on the shores of the Solway, in the parish of Borgue, are several caves, one of which has been evidently improved by artificial means.² The bold rocky shore near the village of Cairn, towards Ayrshire, contains several caves, extending nearly one hundred yards under the ground, which were the winter habitations or hiding places of the early inhabitants of that quarter. Some of these ancient places of retreat yet display fire-places and vents for smoke. A number of the singular caves of the British people, were sufficiently capacious to hold fifty men. In the areas of ferts have also been observed subterraneous apartments for the protection of stores.

The armouries of the Selgovae and Novantes were similar to those of other British tribes, and generally contained shields, spears, swords, battle-axes, and daggers, with bows and a sufficient store of arrows. At a very early period, their implements of war may have been fewer, and of a ruder description than they were, when first inspected by the Roman invaders. Previous to any foreign invasion, chariots had existed, and their chiefs frequently fought in them, wearing for the protection of their heads helmets of various kinds.³ On the spear was "an apple of brass,"⁴ or rather a copper ball, which being shaken at the first onset, produced terror and dismay among their enemies.

Many ancient weapons are yet preserved, that

1 Unique Traditions.

2 Statistical Account.

3 Strabo.

Tacitus says; "The most honourable persons drive the Chariots, and under them their followers fight."

4 Dio.

were found in the caves, sepulchres, or forts, of the primitive inhabitants. Perhaps the earliest weapons were chiefly made of flint, or stone; warlike instruments of this kind having been frequently discovered. About the year 1809, was dug up, in the moor of Glenquicken, and parish of Kirkmabreck, a stone coffin, within which lay a human skeleton. When the bones were removed, the spectators observed, that one of the arms had been nearly separated from the shoulder by the powerful stroke of an axe which had been made of stone; for a portion of the stone still remained in the bone: ¹ a ball of flint, about three inches in diameter, perfectly round, and highly polished, with the head of an arrow likewise made of flint, lay beside the skeleton; but not a particle of any metallic substance appeared. A number of years since, there were found near Kirkeudbright, on the farm of Milton, three or four flint hatchets, ² lying several feet below the surface of the ground: the skeleton of a man was disinterred near them. Many arrow heads, formed of pointed flint, have, during a long succession of years, been found, at intervals, in the graves of the ancient warriors of Galloway. ³

But numerous weapons, composed of copper or brass, that probably belonged to the descendants of the first settlers, have been discovered in recent times.

In the parish of Minnigaff, on the banks of the Cree, several tumuli were opened about eighty-six years ago, which disclosed a number of curious

¹ Caledonia, &c.

² Flint hatchets were called *Celts* probably because the word *cellt* literally signified in the ancient British language, a "flint stone."

³ Statistical Account.

warlike weapons. One resembled a halbert ; another a hatchet or tomahawk, with a projection on the back part like a hammer ; a third had much the appearance of a spade. In each of the weapons was visible an aperture for a handle. When discovered, they were covered with a thick incrustation of rust, the removal of which made it apparent, that the instruments had been formed of brass.¹

In fact, hatchets and battle-axes formed of brass or copper have been often found, in every quarter of Scotland ; and the peculiar places where they had been deposited, and where they had so long reposed with their original owners, plainly evinced that they were of ancient British manufacture.² That none of these weapons were made of iron, demonstrates their antiquity. At the time of the Roman invasion, iron had not been long introduced into Britain ; it was then so rare and valuable a commodity, as to be used only for ornaments. ³

The mode of fighting, pursued by the Celtic tribes, was desultory and irregular. Their choleric and fiery temper rendered them at all times prone to engage in rash wars ; and, from their total subjection to violent transports of blind fury, they often proceeded to the most bloody extremities. When they advanced into battle, they displayed an uncommon ferocity in their looks ; and their cries, on such occasions, were loud, horrid, and frightful. In their wars with the Romans, it appeared that some of them had been previously accustomed to fight on horseback. " In this manner,"

1 Caledonia.

2 Statistical Account.

3 Henry's History of Britain.

says Seneca, "these barbarians engage in war. As soon as their fiery and passionate spirit apprehends they have received the smallest injury, they fly to arms, and rush upon their enemies without order, fear, or caution." Even the softer sex, it is alleged, mingled in battle, and, on some occasions, fought with determined bravery.¹ We know, at least, that their armies, not unfrequently, submitted to be commanded by women.

The Selgovae and Novantes, however, like other British tribes, were not only bold and intrepid, but carried their contempt of danger and death to an extravagant length. A great part of their youth was spent in invigorating or warlike exercises; and they soon perceived, that every thing valuable in life depended on unflinching valour and indomitable resolution. "I am informed," says Ælian, "that the Celtae of all mankind are the most forward in exposing themselves to danger. They reckon it so ignominious and shameful a thing to fly, that they will not retire from an inundation of the sea, or from a falling or burning house. Nay, some of them are so fool-hardy, as to take arms and rush into the sea in a storm; brandishing their swords and spears, as if they designed to wound and terrify the very waves."

But, if the early people of the south of Scotland were intrepid, impetuous, and ferocious in battle; when flushed with victory or heated by resentment, like other savage nations, they carried vengeance and cruelty to a shocking extent; sparing neither age nor sex, innocence nor worth, in their sanguinary and desolating course.²

¹ Hollinshed's Chronicles of Scotland

² Heron's History of Scotland. Henry's History of Britain.

The first colonists of Galloway, like those of other districts of North Britain, were completely ignorant of agriculture; and they possessed no better houses than thickets, dens, and caves. Their summer habitations consisted only of stakes driven into the ground, interwoven with twigs, and covered with the leafy branches of trees. The first step towards improvement seems to have been, the daubing over of the wattled walls with mud or clay, thus, by the exclusion of the wind and rain, to render their dwellings more comfortable. In process of time, as a better protection against the unfavourable vicissitudes of the weather, they covered their houses with fern, turf, or straw, instead of the boughs of trees. They next constructed the walls of huts of beams of wood; and, to add to the warmth of such edifices, they completely filled the chinks with clay. Their houses were circular with tapering roofs. At the top was an aperture, below which the fire burned, and through which the smoke escaped. To it the habitation was chiefly indebted for light. Stone houses were afterwards built of the same form, and had also a large opening at the top: Diodorus Siculus, the contemporary of Cæsar, says: "The Britons dwell in wretched cottages, which are constructed of wood and covered with straw."¹

In the earliest times, and before the Britons had improved their habitations so much as to render them even a tolerable protection from the weather, they often retired, during the severity of winter, into the caves which they used, as places of

¹ Improvement was made in the construction of houses at an earlier period in South, than in North Britain.

concealment, in the seasons of war or danger.— Tacitus states that the same practice was followed by the Germans. The following are his words: “They are used to dig deep caves in the ground, and cover them with earth, where they lay up their provision, and dwell in winter. Into these they retire also from their enemies, who plunder the open country, but cannot discover their subterraneous recesses.” As the dwellings of the ancient people of Galloway were generally circular, and consisted only of a single apartment, with the fire in the middle, the whole family and their visitants, both sat and slept around it, on dried grass or rushes.

At an early period, the inhabitants of the south of Scotland had nothing amongst them exactly corresponding to modern towns. Their dwellings were never arranged in regular streets, lanes, or courts. They generally placed them on the banks of some rivulet, for the convenience of obtaining, in the vicinity, a sufficient supply of water, or at the side of some forest, for the sake of being near the haunts of the animals of the chase. The rulers and chief men always made choice of places for their residence, where inviting circumstances most predominated; and their friends, following their example, placed their houses in the same situations, and as near as possible to the habitations of their chiefs.

In early times the powerful tribe of the Novantes possessed some such towns; *Leucophibia*, which stood on the site of the present Whithorn, being their capital. They had another town of some size on Lochryan, named *Rerigonium* by the Roman writers. *Epiacum*, or as Hollinshed calls it, Epiake, is also thought, by some historians, to have been within their boundaries, and near the royal

burgh of Wigtown,¹ though certainly no trace of this ancient "Citie" remains; its site, it has been said, is now occupied by the sea.

To the Selgovae, likewise, belonged several towns. It is imagined, that a town, called *Benu-tium*,² was situated at, or near to the burgh of Kirkeudbright, and another in the vicinity of Caerbantorigum. Most of the towns of this extensive tribe, however, lay beyond the limits of Galloway.

Though the Roman writers represent the natives of North Britain as living in a state of nudity; yet, we know, they sometimes wore, as a protection from the cold in winter, a species of clothing, or covering, which, perhaps, might have made them appear little better than naked to a Roman eye.—Their principal dress, during inclement seasons, was the skin of an animal,—previously caught in the chase,—thrown loosely around them,³ the bark of trees, or such other substances as they could use without much art or preparation. They besmeared their bodies with colouring substances, perhaps not so much as an ornament to their persons, as a substitute for clothing.

The food of the aborigines of Galloway and their descendants, until the arrival of the Romans, continued to be the spontaneous productions of the earth, milk, and the flesh of such animals as they had succeeded in taming, or had taken in hunting. Restrained by superstition, or incapaci-

¹ Camden supposes Epiacum to have been at Elchester, on the river Derwent; Horsley, at Hexham, in Northumberland; and Baxter thinks it was at Papcastle, in Cumberland.

² Baxter, &c.

³ The Britons, "says Caesar," in the interior parts of the country are clothed in skins.

tated by unskilfulness, they profited nothing from the great variety of fishes, with which their seas, rivers, and lakes abounded. In corroboration of these facts, the testimony of Dio may be adduced, who makes the following statement concerning the inhabitants of the south of Scotland: "They have no cultivated, or manured lands, but feed on the milk and flesh of their flocks, on what they get by hunting, and on some wild fruits.—They never eat fish, though they have great plenty of it. When they are in the woods they live on roots and leaves." Probably the first settlers made use of water as their drink, but their posterity soon discovered the art of making fermented liquors that produced intoxication. When invaded by the Romans, intemperance was one of their most predominant vices. Mead, or honey diluted with water, they held in high estimation.

In all the colonies of Celts in Europe, Druidism of one kind or other, seems to have been their peculiar religion. This religion, however it may have been modified by innovation, or changed by circumstances, appears, undoubtedly, to have travelled from the east into Europe. Mr Dickinson, imagining some likeness between the rites of the ancient Druids and those of the Patriarchs, supposes the religion antediluvian, and that it spread over the earth with the posterity of Noah. The learned Dr. Rowland, also, concludes that the Hebrews were the authors of this institution, from some words having the same meaning in the Hebrew and Celtic languages. Rowland says the Druids were in Ireland from the "remotest antiquity," and that they were planted there by some of the first British colonists.

In its original purity, Druidism inculcated the worship of a Supreme Being; the immortality of the soul, or, at least, its perpetual transmigration; the exertion of courage; and abstinence from evil.¹

The ministers of this religion, called Druids, were selected from the principal families in the country, and were of different orders; whilst an Arch-druid presided over the whole. From their birth, connections, and office, the whole community continually held them in the highest respect and veneration. In consequence of their superior intelligence, they were viewed, not only as the best interpreters of religious truths, but, likewise, as the fittest judges, in civil disputes. Whoever refused cordially to acquiesce in their will, or implicitly to obey their dictates, were declared impious and accursed.²

But in addition to the Druids, there were also Druidesses who assisted in the duties, and participated in the honours of the priesthood. When Suetonius invaded the island of Anglesey, a number of these consecrated females ran up and down among the British troops, entreating blessings upon their heads, and invoking curses upon the invaders. This class of females lived in a state of almost total seclusion from the world; and were great pretenders to divination, miracles, and prophecy.³

The garments of the Druids were long; and,

1 Diogenes Laertius.

2 Caesar.

3 Tacitus records that the Druids were frequently consulted respecting future events. Aurelian applied to them to know if the Roman Empire would remain in his family; and their prediction, that Dioclesian would become Emperor of Rome, even while he was a common soldier, is well attested.

when engaged in performing the sacred duties of their office, they appeared habited in a white surplice. The oak was considered by them, as the semblance of the Deity, or, at least, as his peculiar residence; and, accordingly, both they and the people, when engaged in performing the solemn ceremonies of religion, wore chaplets of it.

The Druids chose for their abodes and temples the inmost recesses of the thickest woods.¹ Their altars, they encircled with branches of the oak, or covered with its leaves. The fruit of this favoured tree, but more especially the misletoe with which it is sometimes entwined, was held in peculiar veneration, as possessing a mysterious virtue; and they, therefore, sought it, on the sixth day of the moon, with persevering, unwearied, and intense solicitude. When found, they hailed it with enthusiastic raptures and frantic joy, as a distinguished gift from heaven. Every thing was then prepared for a solemn sacrifice, and two white bulls were fastened by the horns to the honoured tree. Then the chief Druid, surrounded by a great crowd, ascended the oak; and, with a consecrated golden knife, cut, or cropped the misletoe, which he received in his robe, amidst the ecstatic acclamations of the congregated people. After he had secured the sacred treasure, and descended the tree, the bulls were sacrificed, and the blessing of their Deity invoked on his own gift, that it might prove efficacious in removing those diseases,—for it was accounted a remedy in all diseases,—in which it might be administered.²

1 Pliny.

2 Cæsar.

The Druids, however, did not content themselves with sacrificing inferior animals, they also immolated human victims.¹ These, indeed, were generally criminals who had forfeited their lives to the offended laws of the community; but, when such culprits could not be obtained, they did not hesitate to devote to destruction the innocent in their stead. Sacrifices of this revolting nature were generally resorted to, on particular emergencies; such as, at the commencement of a dangerous war; at the time of a great public calamity; or during the indisposition of some eminent chieftain, whose recovery the people eagerly desired. The manner in which the miserable victim was offered up to appease their Deity, was truly appalling and distressing; being enclosed in a hollow frame made of wood, he was cast alive into the sacred fire and burned to death.

The sacred groves,² within the gloomy recesses of which the Druids of old celebrated the darker rites of their bloody superstition, have been destroyed; but the circles of stones remain that encompassed the space, where, perhaps, some of the more dismal ceremonies were performed; while

¹ Strabo, &c.

² From the sacred groves of the Druids originated the word *cell*. *Cel* or *cil* signified, in the celtic language, a retreat, or recess. After the introduction of Christianity the same term was applied to the abodes or chapels of the first saints or missionaries, and afterwards to the cemeteries attached to them.—*Cil* or *kil* is often used as a prefix in the names of churches or parishes, as Killbride, Kilpatrick.

The primitive converts to Christianity sometimes formed the sacred inclosures of the Druids into churches; and, hence, *llan* which originally signified a small enclosure, came to denote a church, or small town having a church. *Llan* in some places is a common prefix in the names of churches and parishes, as *Llanbride* &c.; perhaps, the word *clachan* is derived from it.

the trembling people stood around, at an awful distance, lest they should pollute, by an unworthy foot, the hallowed ground. The stones in these circles stand in a vertical position, at equal distances, and vary in number, magnitude, and appearance. The areas they enclose also vary in extent, according to the magnitude of the Druidical assemblies they were intended to contain. Sometimes, however, there are two or three concentric circles, with an intermediate space between each : a stone altar being often fixed in the middle of the interior circle, at which the victim was sacrificed. Many of these altars still remain ; and such is the superstitious respect paid to them by the country people of North Britain, that, though they stand in the centre of corn fields, few persons have the hardihood to remove or molest the venerated objects. Within, or near some circles, is also a large stone, so nicely poised upon another, that the smallest push with the finger, is sufficient to move it from side to side ; although the united strength of many men would be required to overturn it, or convey it to a distance. Such stones are supposed, not without probability, to have been used by the Druids, with other similar contrivances, for so far imposing on the credulity of a simple people, as to impress them with the conviction, that their priests possessed supernatural power.

In many parts of Galloway, there are still Druidical remains—the certain relics of the first settlers or their early descendants. On the farm of Airdrie, in the parish of Kirkbean, a Druid temple, consisting of a circle of upright stones, continued entire until a late period.¹ In the same parish, a si-

¹ It remained entire when the Statistical Account was written, and is, perhaps, still in the same perfect state.

milar temple¹ was destroyed in 1790. Both Southwick and Kirkgunzeon exhibit the remains of ancient temples. There are the relics of two Druid temples in Rerwick; and the parishes of Lochrutton, Parton, Kelton, Kirkmabreck, and Minnigaff display similar monuments of antiquity. Some of these ancient temples had occupied an area of 170 feet in diameter. The western parts of Galloway also contain many Druidical relics.

On the side of a hill, in the parish of Kells, is one of the "rocking stones" of the Druids. It consists of an immense block of granite, eight feet nine inches long, five feet one inch in circumference: it is supposed to be nearly ten tons in weight. Like a number of stones of the same kind, it is called the *Lagan-stone*, perhaps from the British *lag*, which signifies loose.²

In Minnigaff, near the monument of the celebrated Dr. Murray, is still to be seen a rocking-stone of a somewhat triangular form. It too consists of a block of granite, about nine tons in weight, and bears evident marks of having been placed in its present position by the hands of man.

Among other remains in North Britain, are *cairns*, which the superstition of pristine ages dedicated to Druid rites. Such cairns may be easily distinguished from sepulchral monuments: they

¹ Near this Druid temple, in 1780, when a block of granite was split by gunpowder, an axe made of polished granite, nine inches long and six inches broad, appeared in it. This curious object had a sharp edge, with rounded corners. The axe was perfectly loose and unconnected with the block, though the vacancy that contained it seemed nearly fitted to its size.*

* CALEDONIA.
² There are two views of the Lagan-stone in Grose's *Antiquities*.

are always, in one way or other, connected with Druid works; generally surrounded by circles of stones; and always have, on their summits, large flat stones, on which the fires were lighted, and the sacrifice made.¹

Both among the Gauls and Britons, the Druids were the great depositories of knowledge, and the instructors to whose care the education of youth was solely intrusted. From their wide celebrity, the academies in South Britain were crowded with students; and many youths from the noblest families of Gaul, came over to England to finish their education. The numerous privileges, which the students, as well as the teachers, enjoyed, tended much to increase their number. Their academies, like their temples, were placed in the recesses of thick woods, as being the most suitable situations for preserving that mysterious secrecy, with which solemn Druidical instruction ought to be imparted to the devotees. The largest of the Druid seminaries is supposed to have existed in the island of Anglesey—the ancient Mona—near the important mansion of the Arch-druid, who made this honoured island his favourite residence.

A Druidical course of education comprehended the whole round of the sciences, then known to the learned; and sometimes occupied the long period of twenty years.² The professors delivered their instructions in verse, which the students eagerly committed to memory. The Druids had two sets of opinions, one of which they taught in public, and the other only to the initiated. When

1 Caledonia.

2 Caesar.

a student received admission into one of the seminaries, he was solemnly sworn to secrecy, and prohibited from conversing with any but his teachers and fellow students. Pupils were gradually impressed with that deep veneration for their teachers which neither time could eradicate, nor distance diminish: it generally increased, indeed, as they advanced in years, or as they removed from the objects of their fondest attachment.

Some authors of knowledge and ability have doubted, or even denied, the prevalence of Druidism in Galloway, at any period, however remote. The Roman writers to whom we are chiefly indebted for our information on the subject, are certainly silent respecting its existence in the district.— Their words, however, undoubtedly imply, that Druidism was the religion of the whole island.— If the religious principles and practices of the people who inhabited the south of Scotland, had materially differed from those of their neighbours, (and all men have possessed some religious principles or objects of worship) it is more than probable, that historians of their keen penetration, and accurate minuteness, would have taken notice of so striking a dissimilarity; more especially as the whole inhabitants of Britain agreed in almost every other particular. Slight shades of difference, indeed, might have been perceptible amongst some of the tribes, but certainly no contrariety existed. When we know, as an uncontroverted fact, that young men repaired, in considerable numbers, from the continent into South Britain for the acquirement of Druidical learning, is it not highly probable that young men also flocked from North Britain for the same purpose? Hollinshed, who

wrote the *Scottish Chronicles* in the sixteenth century, mentions as a fact that could not be disputed, the early existence of Druidism in North Britain, and he states an instance of the sons of a prince being left in the Isle of Man to acquire a superior knowledge of its doctrines. Monypenny, in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, mentions, that about 137 years before the Christian era, there were seminaries in the Isle of Man for the instruction of gentlemen's children from Scotland.¹ Buchanan asserts that the Druids formed the priesthood of Britain; and tradition universally acknowledges the monuments, which we have previously noticed, to be Druidical.² Besides, the existence of

1 Monypenny wrote before the year 1612.

2 In proof of our assertion we may mention, that contiguous to Galloway is the parish of Holywood. The Rev. Bryce Johnston D.D., says in the *Statistical Account* of it: "Holywood is evidently derived from the holy wood, or grove of oak trees, which surrounded a large Druidical temple, still standing, within half a mile of the parish church. It is formed of twelve very large whin or moor stones, as they are called, which inclose a circular piece of ground of about eighty yards in diameter. The oaks have now all perished; but there is a tradition of their existing in the last age. Many of their roots have been dug out of the ground by the present minister; and he has still one of them in his possession."

Statistical Account, vol. i. p. 18.

In 1824, the celebrated Captain Basil Hall visited Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford; and, during his residence with that great man, he kept a copious journal from which we extract the following passage. "It is impossible to touch for an instant on any theme, but straightway he has an anecdote to fit it. 'What is the name of that bright spot,' I said, 'on which the sun is shining just there in the line of Cowdenknowes?'—'That,' said he, 'is called *Haxel Cleugh*. I was long puzzled,' he added, 'to find the etymology of this name, and enquired in vain on every hand to discover something suitable. I could learn nothing more than that near the Cleugh there was a spot which tradition said had been a Druidical place of worship. Still this did not help me, and I went on for a long time tormenting myself to no purpose. At length when I was reading, very early one fine

Druidism in South Britain, is allowed by all.— Now, is it not likely, nay, is it not certain, that a religion, so imposing in its nature, so influential in its priesthood, and so powerful in its resources, would not have long flourished in one division of an island of no very great extent, without spreading among a kindred and similar people in the other? But the same remains, which are in England, acknowledged, to be undoubtedly Druidical, are also numerous in Scotland. “Nevertheless,” says the indefatigable author of *Caledonia*, “scepticism has doubted and absurdly denied that there ever were Druids in any part of Scotland.”

The strong ties of affection, which have generally subsisted among relations and friends, in every country and in every age, have induced them to pay certain funeral honours to those who were dear to them whilst alive, and to commit their remains to the place of sepulchral destination with peculiar rites and ceremonies, expressive of regard to their memories, and of grief for their death. The modes of sepulture, and the ceremonies observed on such occasions, have varied in different countries, and even in the same country at the same period of time. This seems to have been the case in Britain during the first ages of its population. That the nations in the south of the island generally burned their dead, is apparent from the urns, containing ashes and half calcined bones, that have been often found. It was customary to throw into the funeral

summer's morning, I accidentally lighted upon a passage in some German book, which stated that *Haxa* was the old German term for a Druidess.* Here, then, the mystery was solved.”

LOCKHART'S *Life of SIR WALTER SCOTT*, Vol. v. p. 377.

* “*Here* is modern German for *witch*.”

piles the object, and even the animals, in which the dead person had particularly delighted. The ashes were afterwards gathered, and deposited in an urn made of baked clay or stone. The unconsumed parts of any of the deceased individual's effects were also collected, and carefully preserved in the same manner as the ashes. The urn was then consigned to the earth, perhaps after having been enclosed in a stone chest. When the remains of a man of rank were thus interred, a *barrow*¹ composed principally of earth, was raised on the spot which held the sacred deposit. A great number of such tumuli were circular heaps, having the appearance of flattened cones. Some of them, however, assumed the form of an oblong ridge, or resembled the bottom of a ship turned upwards.—Barrows sometimes rose to the height of thirty feet, and were ninety feet in circumference, at the base.

In North Britain the more common practice was to bury the dead without burning. A grave six or eight feet deep being dug, and lined with clay, the body, with some of the warlike weapons of the dead person was laid in it. The body was next covered with a stratum of clay, and the grave filled with fine mould. Stones were then placed to mark the grave; and, in many cases, a large heap of stones rose to a considerable height above it, as a suitable and permanent monument.

In Galloway both practices obtained; for, upon opening sepulchral tumuli, not only urns, containing ashes or half-burned bones, but, as we previously mentioned, entire skeletons have been discovered in stone chests, or coffins. Such tumuli,

¹ Bar in the British signifies the top, or summit; an excrescence: in the plural barau.

or cairns, were to be met with, not many years ago, in almost every parish of Galloway. Several of them are distinguished by peculiar appellations, as the White-cairn, Green-cairn, Grey-cairn, Cairn-holy; and some cairns have given names to the places in which they are situated. In the parish of Parton, about three miles from the church, is a remarkable tumulus, composed of loose stones: it is of a circular form, and about one hundred and twenty yards in circumference. The farm on which it stands is called the Cairn. Sometimes a collection of such stony memorials appear in one locality. In the parish of Inch, near Cairnarran, there are nine grey Cairns; and six of them stand very near each other. They contain a vast quantity of stones, which, as there are no similar stones in the vicinity, must have been brought from a great distance. This fact shows the vast importance attached to such monuments. Some of them which have been opened, disclosed urns filled with ashes and human bones. Such cairns indicate that a battle must have been fought here during the infancy of society, or when the Novantes occupied the country.

Though Galloway, at an early period, had no doubt its celebrated chieftains, its destructive wars, and its memorable events; yet, as no written records were then preserved of important transactions, we can survey the annals of those times as little better than empty fiction, or baseless fable, plausible and curious, but uninstrucive and deceptive. To the enlightened Romans alone must we look for any thing like a true and interesting narrative of the warlike deeds, and momentous exploits, performed by the primitive tribes that inhabited Galloway, during the early period of its history.

CHAP. II.

FROM THE INVASION OF THE ROMANS, TO THEIR FINAL
DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the Roman general, whose character and achievements are well known to every reader of ancient history, after having made great progress in the conquest of Gaul,¹ began to turn his insatiable eye towards the adjacent shores of Britain.² He is alleged to have been induced to attempt its subjugation by the surpassing beauty of some British pearls, which he had seen and very much admired. But his ambitious desire of conquest, his unbounded love of fame, and his thirst of vengeance on some British nations, that had afforded assistance to his enemies in Gaul, were, in all probability, the primary incitements which prompted him to undertake the enterprise.

For the purpose of eliciting information respecting this inviting and unconquered country,

¹ The Ancients understood Gaul as comprehending France, Flanders, Holland, Switzerland, and part of Germany.

² In order to render this work at all interesting, or even intelligible, we have considered it necessary, never entirely to lose sight of the general history of Scotland.

he convened a number of traders from different parts of Gaul, who had visited it, and minutely questioned them on various important points; but, having gained no satisfactory intelligence, he despatched C. Volusenus to examine the opposite shores of Britain, and make suitable inquiries on the spot; enjoining him to return afterwards with all convenient speed. In the meantime, he assembled an army on the sea-coast, which might instantly be embarked on the arrival of the messenger: this army consisted of two legions, or about 12,000 men.

The Britons did not long remain ignorant of the impending danger; and they made the most strenuous efforts to avert or render nugatory the threatened invasion. They despatched messengers to the respective rulers of the British tribes, soliciting assistance against so powerful an enemy; they likewise sent ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of submission.

From North Britain, it is said, 10,000 men marched under the command of "Cadallane, governor of Galloway,¹ and Donald,² governor of Argyle,"³ to put themselves at the disposal of Cassibelanus, prince of the Cassi, who, with the unanimous concurrence of the states, had been appointed commander-in-chief. From the leaders of the Scottish army, it may be inferred that no in-

1 The Governor of Galloway must have been the chief either of the Selgovæ or Novantes; for no portion of North Britain was then known by the name of Galloway.

2 This chief is also called Dowall.

3 Hollinshed's *Chronicles of Scotland*. Monypenny's *Chronicles of Scotland*. *Black Book of Paisley*, &c.

considerable portion of it had been raised in Gallo-way and Argyle.¹

Cæsar received the British ambassadors with much courtesy and apparent friendship, and sent them back accompanied by Comius, to whom he had given instructions to visit as many states as possible, and persuade them to enter into alliance with the invincible Romans: he also desired his envoy to apprise the British Chieftains, that Cæsar intended to visit them in person.

The season was far advanced when Volusenus returned into Gaul, and communicated the long looked for discoveries to Cæsar, who immediately embarked his infantry at Calais, on board of eighty transports, and gave orders to some cavalry to follow, with as little delay as possible. He then set sail about one o'clock in the morning, and reached the coast of Britain, near Dover, at ten in the forenoon, on the 26th of August, in the 55th year before the Christian era. From untoward circumstances, four days elapsed before the cavalry could sail.

Warriors having daily assembled from all quarters, the British army now amounted to a huge host of brave, though undisciplined troops, who, upon receiving intelligence of Cæsar's approach, eagerly hastened to the coast to oppose his disembarkation. The Roman soldiers, at first, had many difficulties to encounter. A desperate and bloody struggle ensued; but, at length, the Britons were obliged to retire, and the invading army effected a landing without farther molestation. Discouraged

¹ To prevent ambiguity, and for the sake of brevity, we shall use, as frequently as possible, modern, instead of ancient names.

by this unsuccessful attempt to repulse the enemy, the astonished Britons sued for peace, which Cæsar granted them, on the fourth day after his arrival in their country. At this time a storm destroyed or damaged a considerable portion of the Roman fleet, which still contained nearly the whole of their stores; and the soldiers became alarmed at seeing themselves deprived of sufficient provisions for their sustenance on the island, and of ships for their conveyance from it. The re-enspirited natives took advantage of their invaders' consternation and renewed the war, fondly hoping totally to annihilate the hostile army; and thus, by one terrific act of vengeance, effectually to prevent all future attempts upon their country. Their sanguine hopes and daring exertions, however, were frustrated by the superior skill and unremitting vigilance of the Roman general; for, after two unsuccessful engagements, the Britons were obliged to solicit peace. Cæsar, anxious to leave the island before the approach of winter, acceded to their request: he demanded, however, double hostages for the fulfilment of the terms. The greater part of his fleet being now refitted, he embarked his troops, and set sail for the Continent, after little more than three weeks' residence in Britain. The North British army now returned home, and were welcomed by their countrymen, with unbounded joy, as if their prowess alone had repelled the invaders, and secured the permanent freedom of the island.¹

No sooner had the indefatigable Cæsar arrived in Gaul, than he began to make extensive arrangements for a new expedition into Britain, at an early

¹ Monypenny's Chronicles. Black Book of Paisley.

period of the following summer. During the whole winter his judicious and gigantic preparations vigorously proceeded. Vessels of a new form, and of a proper size, were built expressly for the intended expedition; and, in spring he found himself possessed of no fewer than six hundred transports of the improved construction, besides twenty-nine galleys, almost ready for sea. Having ordered all his ships to rendezvous at Calais, he marched with his army to that place. Three weeks were here spent in settling the affairs of Gaul; in embarking his troops; and in waiting for a favourable wind to accomplish his voyage. At last, in the end of May or beginning of June, he put to sea, with a gallant army of five legions,—30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry;—and next day, at noon, landed in Britain exactly in the same place where he had disembarked the previous autumn.

As soon as the Britons had become aware of the enormous preparations which were in progress for the invasion of their country, they determined to form a powerful confederacy, that they might baffle, if possible, the meditated attack. Emissaries repaired from the south of England to the different tribes, again to solicit their co-operation in so momentous an emergency. In consequence of this urgent call, troops flocked from all quarters for the defence of their common country against foreign aggression. North Britain offered its original quota of ten thousand chosen warriors, under the command of the former leaders; but, it is said, from “vain arrogance”¹ this liberal assistance was declined. Though no army, however, march-

¹ Monypenny's Chronicles. Black Book of Paisley, &c.

ed in a body from Galloway; yet, as the threatened invasion produced a strong sensation in the district, from the impression that the Romans intended to conquer the whole island, it is not unlikely that many, who had joined in the previous advantageous and patriotic campaign, hastened to the south that they might lend their aid in the common cause, or at least ward off from their own territories the horrors of war, and the danger of slavery.

When the Britons beheld the tremendous Roman armada rapidly approaching, they were amazed and confounded: their courage instantly evaporated,—their resolution was paralyzed,—their confidence forsook them;—and, despairing of preventing the disembarkation, they hastily retired from the coast.—Cæsar, having landed his army, immediately pursued; and, after a march of twelve miles, overtook them, posted behind a river, on some very advantageous ground. In spite of every opposition, the Romans effected a passage; and the Britons retreated towards a neighbouring wood, where they took up their station in a place strongly fortified both by nature and art.¹ A Roman legion, however, speedily forcing the entrenchments, compelled them to retire; but, as the night was approaching, and the country unknown to the invaders, no pursuit took place. Early next morning, Cæsar was summoned to the coast by dismal intelligence concerning the ruinous condition of his fleet, which again had sustained almost irreparable damage in a

¹ It is thought Canterbury now stands in the same situation.

storm. Having refitted the ships that were not totally destroyed, he secured all his vessels by drawing them unto the shore, and once more hastened to seek the enemy. Several bloody conflicts followed, which generally ended favourably to the Roman arms. In consequence of these defeats, defections soon began to appear in the British army; and Cassibelanus, perceiving that his forces were not a match for the Roman troops in a pitched battle, determined to withdraw into his own territories, and act upon the defensive. Cæsar continued to advance; but the English commander, with 4,000 war chariots, harassed his army to such a degree, that the cavalry durst not move from the protection of their infantry. The Capital of Cassibelanus being at length taken, several states made peace with the conqueror. The British general, who was not yet dismayed by the loss of his Capital, the desertion of his friends, and the success of his enemies, formed the daring and hazardous determination of destroying the hostile fleet. If this judicious measure could have been executed, it would have involved the Roman army in inextricable difficulties, and perhaps, certain ruin. The attempt was made, but it completely failed; and the brave Cassibelanus felt himself necessitated humbly to sue for peace from his successful antagonist. The Roman leader, heartily tired of this unprofitable expedition, and seriously afraid of commotions in Gaul, granted the Britons favourable terms, and withdrew his army entirely from the island. After a prosperous voyage, he landed on the opposite shore, during the month of September, in the 54th year before the birth of Christ.

Such is a brief outline of the account given by

Cæsar himself of this invasion, which certainly shows that, notwithstanding his vast preparations and the exorbitant expense of the undertaking, he had no great reason to congratulate himself on his success, or to be proud of his victories; since he was ultimately obliged to abandon the country, which he had so ardently desired to possess, without erecting in it one fort, or leaving a single cohort to preserve his conquest. Indeed, the Roman writers allow, that he gained nothing either to himself or the state by his expeditions into Britain.¹ Quintus Cicero, who was with Cæsar in his second visit to the British island, speaks most impartially on the subject; for he says: "The British affairs afford no foundation either for much fear or much joy." But Cæsar's great name at Rome procured him, after his first descent on the British shores, a thanksgiving² of twenty days.³

After the troops of Julius Cæsar had evacuated the island, the southern tribes suffered no annoyance, and the Selgovæ and Novantes, but few alarms from foreign enemies for the long period of

1 Dio. Strabo.

2 "When the Romans gained a victory, the soldiers with shouts of joy saluted their general by the title of IMPERATOR. His lictors wreathed their *fusces* with laurel. He immediately sent letters wrapped round with laurel to the senate, to inform them of his success, and if the victory was considerable, to demand a triumph. If the senate approved, they decreed a thanksgiving to the gods, and confirmed to the general the title of *Imperator*, which he retained till his triumph or return to the city."

ADAM'S ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

3 Cæsar's expeditions, though unprofitable to his country and himself, have been advantageous to posterity; for, from his writings we obtain much information regarding the British tribes, and, consequently, as previously mentioned, some knowledge of the early condition of Galloway.

ninety seven years. At length, in the year 43 of the Christian era, the Emperor Claudius determined to reduce Britain to the same state of vassalage to which other nations had been brought; and Aulus Plautius was ordered to proceed from Gaul into the devoted country, with an army adequate to the accomplishment of the undertaking. The soldiers, however, were extremely unwilling to embark, and viewed the enterprise, as making war beyond the limits of the world;¹ so little was Britain still known to the people of Rome. This army amounted to 50,000 men: Vespasian, afterwards Emperor, being second in command. Claudius himself soon followed his troops from the Continent; and, having gained a number of victories, returned to Rome, in less than six months.

For several years, England continued the arena of hard-fought battles between the native and Roman forces; but a narrative of these conflicts

¹ To show the ideas which the Roman people entertained of Britain, we shall quote a few lines from two of their favourite Poets.

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

VIRG. Ecl. I.

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros.

HOR. Lib. III Car. 4.

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos

Orbis Britannos.

Ibid. Lib. I. Car. 35.

Te belluosus qui remotis

Obstrepat Oceanus Britannis.

Te non paventis funera Galliae,

Duraeque tellus audit Iberiæ:

Ibid. Lib. IV. Car. 14.

Hic bellum lachrymosum, hic miseram famem

Pestemque, a populo et principe Cæsare, in

Persas atque Britannos,

Vestrâ motus aget prece.

Ibid. Lib. I Car. 21.

would be foreign to our purpose. During this destructive war, multitudes of the inhabitants belonging to the southern districts of England, fled to North Britain, and probably to Galloway, for the purpose of freeing themselves from the galling yoke of foreign despotism ; for all Scotland still retained its original independence. Indeed, we have no reason to conclude,—though some Scottish historians of doubtful authority assert the contrary,¹—that any Roman commanders had carried their arms into Scotland before the invasion of the renowned Agricola.

¹ Some Scotch writers, who are, indeed, often viewed as fabricators of early historical events, state that the Romans had been not only in Scotland, but even in Galloway, and had gained many victories in it prior to this period. But their narratives, when compared with the writings of foreign authors, who possessed the best opportunities of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the movements and military transactions of the Romans, do not appear deserving of much credit. We have not, therefore, thought it advisable to swell this work by giving the details, in all likelihood, of imaginary exploits. The curious reader, however, may find them stated at considerable length, in Hollinshed's *Chronicles of Scotland*, Vol. I. page 77, &c. But this candid writer cautions his readers against believing every thing mentioned in his history ; for he says (Vol. I. p. 89)

¶ “Here have we thought good to advertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the travels, which *Petilius* spent in subduing the Brigants, and *Frontinus* in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chieflie against Scots and Picts : the opinion of the best learned is whollie contrarie thereunto, affirming the same Brigants and Silures not to be so far north by the distance of many miles, as *Hector Babius* and other his countriemen do place them, which thing in the historie of England we have also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britain, as in their writings we find the same recorded. But nevertheless we have followed the course of the Scottish historie, in manor as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding any man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it shall seem to them expedient.”

CNEIUS JULIUS AGRICOLA was appointed governor of Britain in the 78th year of the Christian era. This commander, according to Tacitus,—one of the most eloquent of ancient historians,—exceeded in celebrity all the previous rulers of Britain. He was no less eminent as a politician, than distinguished as a general; and, though of exalted rank, he exhibited in his own person a perfect model of justice, temperance, moderation, and humility. But Agricola felt as a Roman, and eagerly sought the aggrandizement of his country.

This illustrious officer entered upon the government of Britain with numerous and important advantages. He was in the meridian of life, possessed of the highest honours of the state, admired as a general, beloved by his army, adored by his friends, respected by his enemies, and acquainted with the country he had been appointed to govern; for he had acquired the rudiments of war in Britain, under the brave Suetonius, and had served, several years afterwards, in the same country, with much honour to himself, and advantage to the army, as commander of the 20th legion: he had also served in Britain as lieutenant to Vettius Bolanus. From his exalted courage, great experience, and the excellent opportunities he had enjoyed, high expectations were entertained of him; and he did more than realize all such expectations.

The season was far advanced when Agricola arrived in Britain to assume the chief command.—The soldiers, expecting no farther operations, had retired into winter quarters. But their enterprising general, convinced that success often depends upon the promptitude and boldness of first measures, immediately took the field to repress some nascent

disaffection in several of the states. Having marched into the district of the Ordovici: for the sake of example, he inflicted a severe castigation on that refractory people. Immediately afterwards, he completed the conquest of the Isle of Anglesey, the inhabitants of which were so astonished at the suddenness of his attack, that they offered no resistance. These two daring, vigorous, and successful achievements commanded the admiration, and extorted the applauses even of the conquered. The winter was spent by Agricola in promoting extensive and salutary reforms, in redressing grievances, in distributing impartial justice; and, from his judicious conduct, the Britons became reconciled to the Roman government.

In the succeeding summer, he directed his march towards the north, and subdued some nations that had not yet submitted to the Roman authority: he also built many fortresses. During the greater part of the summer, it is thought, he found employment for his army in Lancashire.

The winter was again devoted to the improvement of his army, the civilization of the natives, and the acquirement of local information.

In the year 80 of the Christian era, he set out, at the age of forty, from Mancunium,—modern Manchester—to penetrate still farther in a northward direction. In this campaign he pushed his conquests to the Solway Frith—the *Tau*¹ of Tacitus.²

¹ It has been supposed that the *Tau*, mentioned by Tacitus, was the river now known by the name of the Tay; but the idea is erroneous; for Agricola never could have penetrated so far, in one campaign, through a rugged, uncultivated, and hostile country, as from Manchester to the river Tay.

² Tacitus was the son-in-law of Agricola, and wrote a narra-

During the summer of 81, this adventurous leader overran the mountainous region, which extends from the Solway to the Friths of Forth and Clyde. What opposition he met with from the Selgovae and other tribes of the south of Scotland, cannot now be ascertained. As these estuaries extend far into the interior, he fortified the narrow isthmus between them by a strong line of military posts, to exclude the northern clans from the Lowlands of North Britain. The more effectually to over-awe the neighbouring septs, he strongly garrisoned these forts, and furnished them with provisions for one year. It would appear, that at this time he had designed the chain of fortresses, as the northern boundary of the Roman empire in Britain.

But Agricola's ambition did not long rest satisfied with past conquests. No sooner, in general, did he attain the object in view, than he began to meditate new enterprises. It is not improbable, that, even before the completion of this work, he had resolved on the subjugation of the whole island. 1

In what place Agricola passed the winter cannot be discovered with any accuracy; but it is thought, he returned with his army into England, and probably fixed his residence in Cumberland, where he had ordered his fleet to assemble; having now fully perceived the utility of an attending

tive of his achievements, about seventeen years after they had been performed. This able writer is remarkable for brevity; and, consequently, has left much obscurity and some seeming contradictions.

1 Some writers have imagined that Agricola was not present with the Roman army in Scotland during the whole of the campaign; or, at least, that he returned into England after the building of the forts had been fully commenced.

fleet, but more particularly the advantage to be derived from it in the prosecution of his design of conquering Scotland.

Before venturing beyond the Friths, into a country strongly fortified by nature, and inhabited by a hardy, brave, and reckless people, Agricola considered it prudent, as a precautionary measure, to leave no unsubdued enemy in his rear; and, for the purpose of complete security during his ulterior operations, he resolved to invade and conquer Galloway, with the state of which province, he was altogether unacquainted.

As he intended to carry on his operation both by land and sea, he sailed, we have every reason to believe, from Kilbride-Loch, in Cumberland, and landed in Dumfries-shire at the mouth of the river Lochar, which here forms a safe bay, or natural harbour.¹ But after he had effected the disembarkation of his troops, he found his progress arrested by an impervious wood, and an impassable morass of considerable extent.¹ This enterprising general, however, was not to be baffled in any undertaking that either consummate skill or unremitting labour could effect. A passage was, at length, opened through the whole extent of the wood, and a causeway of trees made across the marsh. This causeway, with many of the trees then cut down, has been discovered in Lochar-moss, five or six feet below the surface. Many Roman utensils have been dug up in the same moss.²

When Agricola had overcome these difficulties, he proceeded along the shore, with the estuary of

1 Caledonia.

2 Pennant's Tour. Statistical Account.

Lochar and Caerlaverock on his left, and encamped against a fortified station of the Selgovae, on the Wardlaw-hill, called by Ptolemy *Uxellum*. The summit of this hill still exhibits the remains of a British fort, of a circular form, surrounded by two ditches: whilst on the south side of it, the site of a Roman camp is still visible.¹ In the meantime, detachments were sent out from the main body, to open the woods, and make such roads as might facilitate the progress of the army. The post on the Wardlaw was taken, and long occupied by the Romans.² After every obstruction, whether natural or artificial, had been removed, Agricola reached the Nith and crossed that river, probably near Dumfries, where Roman relics have been sometimes found.³ In effecting this passage he may have derived assistance from a few of the smaller vessels belonging to his fleet. Now turning to the left, he directed his march in a south-west direction, and entered Kirkgunzeon; and his route may be traced by the vestiges of Roman camps that are yet perceptible in the district. By a march of five miles in the same direction, he next reached the west margin of the river Urr, where the remains of a British fort of considerable magnitude, and a Roman encampment, at a small distance from each other, are apparent. Of this locality the Romans long retained possession. Again, a march of ten miles still farther in the same direction, brought the invading army into the midst of several British fortlets, on the east side of

1 Statistical Account.

2 Caledonia.

3 Statistical Account.

the Dee, among which are still traces of the opposing Roman camps.

The first camp which the Romans seem to have formed in this district, was placed near Whinnyligget, little more than a mile distant from a British fort which they had taken on the farm of Little Sypland, in the parish of Kirkecudbright.— This fort was surrounded by a double rampart and a deep fosse. After again reducing a place of strength on the farm of Meikle Sypland, the Roman army proceeded to Bombie, in the same parish, where they formed another encampment of the ordinary size and shape. From Bombie they marched about three miles, still in a south west direction, until they arrived near the site of the old church of Dunrod, where they again encamped.— The intervening space contained several British fortlets which they likely wrested from their defenders.¹ A short march next brought them to the

¹ “ About a mile and a half, east north east, from Drummore Castle, there are the remains of a British fort, on the height, near Milton, which, like other British forts, is of a circular form; and eastward, from this, a mile, there is a larger British fort of an oval form on the hill of Balig. At no great distance, there is another British fort, on an eminence, between Mid Park and Fore Park. There are two other small British hill-forts, in the same vicinity, near the old church of Galtway. On the hill above Castle Cravie, there are the remains of a strong British fort, of an oval form, which is surrounded by a double rampart, and fosse. On the hill, west of Meikle Sypland, there is a large British strength; and between this and the British hill-fort, near the old church of Galtway, there appears a Roman camp on Bombie Mains. There are two other British posts, at no great distance. On the lands of Little Sypland, there is a large British fort; and between the forts, on the two Syplands, there is a Roman camp, near Whinnylegate. The British, and Roman, fortifications, are easily distinguished, by their locations, and forms, which are so different. In this district, there are other British fortlets, that indicate a frontier, which the Romans had

important fortress of Caerbanterigum, situated on an eminence at Drummore, which they likewise captured: at a short distance from it, is still to be observed the mark of the hostile Roman camp.¹ From the number of military posts² apparent in this locality, may be inferred that it was so vigorously defended, as to have been, for some time, the arena of great events, every particular of which, however, years have obliterated.

The whole march of Agricola from his entrance

subdued. See the Map of the Stewartry, and the Stat. Account, xi. 24—59., with the map prefixed. The most remarkable is that called Dungoyle Camp, on a hill near Gelston Kirk, and another near it: They are both of a circular form, and are surrounded with three ramparts of stones mixed with earth; and the one is 117, and the other 68 paces, in diameter.”

CHALMERS'S CALEDONIA.

1 Caledonia.

2 The excellent discipline of the Roman armies appeared in their encampments. Even after the longest and most fatiguing marches, they never passed a night without forming a fortified camp, a party being always sent forward to select a suitable situation for that purpose. When the army stopped but a single night, or even two or three nights, in the same place, the camp was called simply *castra*: but if they continued a considerable time, it was called *castra stativa*, a standing camp. Their winter encampments were furnished with every convenience like a city; and from them many towns took their origin, particularly those whose names end in *caster cester* and *chester*. A Roman camp was surrounded by a ditch, usually twelve feet broad, and nine feet deep, with a rampart, composed of earth, into which sharp stakes were driven. The camp had four gates, one on each side of the square. Some Roman camps contained eighty Scotch acres. The tents were covered with leather or skins, and each tent was generally occupied by ten soldiers with their petty officer.

In forming a camp, different divisions of the army had different portions of the work assigned them. In decamping; at the first signal, the soldiers took down their tents; at the second, they loaded the beasts of burden with their baggage; and at the third, they began to march. Notwithstanding each man carried about sixty pounds weight, they sometimes marched upwards of twenty miles a-day.

into Galloway, until his arrival at Caerbantorigum, may be traced, not only from the remains of Roman posts, but also from the various places in which articles of foreign manufacture have occasionally been exhumed. Near the line of march of the invading army, several legionary spear-heads, made of a very hard kind of brass, were discovered, not many years since, on the estate of Munshes, about a mile and a half from the Moat of Urr.¹ A few years ago, a Roman javelin was found at Auchengibbert, in the parish of Urr; and, in 1834, two Roman tripods were dug out, by some men who were engaged in casting peats on the farm of Richorn. But, indeed, Roman coins, urns, and tripods, have been frequently turned up in the same district. On the lands of Chapelerne, in Carloch-an-cairn, a piece of a Roman sword, made of fine brass, with a pin of the same metal, was found in the year 1776.² A Roman *pugio*, or dagger, twenty two inches long, composed of brass and plated with gold, was once raised from the bottom of the Carlinwark lake.³ A Roman cup was lately discovered in the trench which surrounded the ancient Castle of Kirkcudbright, at Castledykes, near that town. Now these objects, with the remains of numerous Roman works which may still be observed in the southern parts of the peninsula of Galloway, and the total absence of all such remains in the northern face of the province, clearly evince that Agricola entered the country from the south, and not from the north, as some have supposed.

1 Statistical Account.

2 Account of the Antiq. Society of Scotland.

3 Account of the Antiq. Society of Scotland.

Agricola having secured Caerbantorigum,¹ near which are still apparent the marks of a hostile Roman camp, next crossed the Dee, and marched westward through the country of the Novantes.— In his progress, he seems to have met with little opposition. The country was so indifferently fortified as to occasion but little delay to the invading army; and, hence, few Roman remains have been observed in it. The vestiges of two camps, however, appear near the Gatehouse of Fleet. One of them existed on a hill called the Doon² of Enrick. Although Roman camps were generally square; yet they sometimes conformed to the nature of the ground upon which they were made. That on the Doon is nearly square, being only rounded a little at the corners. The prætorian gate, which must have been its principal access, is apparent: its ramparts and ditches, also, are still distinctly visible.

Near the mansion house of Castramont, the Romans had another camp, as the name of the situation implies; though all traces of it, have been nearly effaced. On the other side of the river, exactly opposite, stands Rusco Castle, seemingly in a hostile attitude; but it evidently owes its erection to a later period; still some ancient fortress may have stood on the same ground. In Castramont wood, is a high hill of a conical form. On its summit, which commands a view of the extensive vale of Fleet, once stood a British strength. Perhaps the Roman army encamped in this locality

1 Caerbantorigum was possessed by a Roman garrison during the reigns of the Antonines; or, as some think, nearly 300 years.

2 *Dun*, in the Gaelic, signifies a hill, or fortified height.

for the purpose of reducing it. The only Roman post, however, of any magnitude and distinctness, now to be observed on the west side of the Dee, is near Whithorn,—the *Leucophibia* of Ptolemy. In the neighbourhood, other military stations are said to have been once apparent which time has destroyed.

Though there have been observed but few Roman camps in the country of the Novantes; yet, what is thought to have been one, was recently discovered in a situation, where such a relic of ancient times would have been least expected.—Upon the south side of the Black Water of Dee, about a mile from its junction with the Ken, is visible a small military station. It was probably occupied by some detachment of the Roman army.

Near the site of the ancient city of *Rerigionium*, *Agricola* had undoubtedly another military post.

His march through the western division of Galloway, may also be traced by observing the places in which various foreign relics have accidentally appeared. A brazen helmet, supposed to be Roman, was found near the Cree;¹ and a Roman *securis*² of brass, five inches long and three inches broad at the edge, was once turned up in the Moss of Cree, which lay directly in the route of the hostile army, after they had passed the river, and were moving towards Whithorn.—The head of a Roman spear was discovered at *Merton-hall*, in the parish of *Penningham*. On the

¹ Gordon's *Itin.* Sept.

² Account of the Society of Antiquarians. A *securis* is an axe or hatchet.

Jam mari terrâqui manus potentes.

Medus, Albanasque timet secures.

HOR. Conventus Tertius.—Ad Appollinem et Dianam.

estate of Garthland, in the parish of Stonykirk, two gold lachrymatories, evidently of Roman workmanship, were found in the year 1783; and a Roman spear was also found near the site of the ancient *Perigenium* in 1835. From many recent discoveries, it is certain that the Romans traversed much of Wigtownshire, and resided in it longer than has been generally supposed.

But notwithstanding these numerous indications of the presence of a Roman army in Galloway, some writers have denied that this province was the theatre of Agricola's operations during his fifth campaign. The words of Tacitus, his biographer, however, if dispassionately considered, seem well calculated to terminate the dispute.—When taking notice of the expedition, this able historian says: “In the fifth year of Agricola's expeditions, he first took shipping, and subdued, in many prosperous battles, nations unknown before, and planted his forces in that part of the country of Britain, from which Ireland is seen.”¹

This passage enables us, at least to conjecture, with some degree of probability, into what quarter Agricola carried his arms during his fifth campaign, and who were the people whom he vanquished in these numerous and fortunate engagements.

There are only two districts in Scotland from which Ireland can be seen, namely, Galloway, and Cantire, or Kintyre, in Argyleshire. It has been asserted by some writers that the latter country was

¹ The words in the original are “Quinto Expeditionum anno, Nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus Gentes crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniae: quæ Hiberniam adspicit.

TAC. JUL. Agric. vita.

the scene of Agricola's fortunate battles; but this is extremely unlikely, for he would have had no need of ships to reach Cantire, through Argyleshire, as every part of the Clyde was then fordable nearly as far down as Dumbarton. But if he sailed to Cantire, without passing through any other part of Argyleshire, he could not then have subdued "*nations* in many prosperous battles;" for the peninsula is of no great extent, being only six miles broad, and about forty miles long. Ireland, besides, can only be seen from one point of Cantire; whereas it is distinctly visible from the whole western parts of Galloway. But Cantire was then so poor and rough a country, that an army could not well have subsisted in it; and it is totally devoid of all traces of Roman footsteps: on the other hand, Roman works exist in nearly every quarter of Lower Galloway; and relics, once belonging to a foreign army, are almost daily discovered in it.

That the battles fought by Agricola in Galloway, were desperate and bloody, we have every reason to conclude, both from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the nature of the country; for, when the other aboriginal warriors of the Lowlands were compelled, by the pressure of the Roman arms, to retire beyond the Friths or yield to the conquerors, the natives of this wild region were never totally subdued or driven from their fastnesses, which served them as natural fortifications in the season of danger.

From what now appears, it is probable Agricola passed the winter in Galloway.

In the year 83—the sixth summer of this general's command in Britain—he proceeded a-

gainst the nations on the north side of the Friths, and vanquished the Horestii.

During the summer of 84, he directed his arms against the confederated Caledonians¹ commanded by Galgacus,² or Galdus. Their army it is said amounted to 30,000 men, which was defeated at the foot of the Grampian hills, with the loss of about 10,000 warriors: the rest sought shelter in the neighbouring woods. Of the Romans—if we may believe the account given by Tacitus—only 340 fell. Scottish historians, however, make the loss of both armies much more considerable; for, they state, that 20,000 of the Caledonians were slain, and 12,000 of the Romans. Agricola sent a modest account of this victory, with a correct narrative of some of his other transactions in the island, to the

1 One of the original tribes of North Britain was distinguished by the designation of the Caledonii. This tribe inhabited a great portion of the extensive forest, which, at an early period, occupied the interior and western parts of the country, lying beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde. To this forest the natives had given the name of Celyddon, which denoted a woody region, or literally, “the coverts,” the wood being here peculiarly thick;—and, hence, the inhabitants were called Celyddoni, or Calyddoni. From the name of this large forest, the entire peninsula beyond the Friths afterwards received the Latinized appellation of Caledonia, and the people were called Caledonians. In process of time, the whole of North Britain acquired the name of Caledonia.

That the Caledonians were native Britons, and not a foreign people, as they have been sometimes supposed, is evident from the writings of classic authors. Martial calls them Britons in the following verse:—

“Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos”

Lucan says,

“Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.”

2 Tacitus.—Galgacus is thought to have learned the art of war in South Britain, and from this circumstance, to have been called Galdus, or Gallus, the British word *Gal* signifying a stranger. He is known in Scottish history by the name of Corbredus Galdus.

low-minded Emperor Domitian, who received the information with seeming joyful satisfaction, but with real envious resentment; for, in a short time, he recalled his victorious general from the government of Britain. Soon after this shamefully ungrateful usage, Agricola died; and his death is thought to have been occasioned by poison, administered to him by the Emperor's own hand.

After the departure of Agricola, seditious discord began to prevail in the Roman ranks, and this disunion soon rendered their name less terrible to the Britons. Galdus, we are told, took advantage of their dissensions, and demolished some of Agricola's forts, which the enemy had been under the necessity of abandoning. Having roused the slumbering energies of his countrymen, he defeated the Romans in several battles, who, it is said, retired into Galloway. Here, we are informed,¹ an other battle was fought on the banks of the Cree, in which, as some have affirmed, Galdus was slain, and interred at Cairn-holy.² Others assert he was killed in a conflict with the Romans, at Torhouse, near Wigtown, and buried in that place. There are certainly some indications of

¹ The Historical events of this period are involved in much uncertainty.

² In 1662, Patrick Hannay Esq. of Kirkdale, published a small volume of miscellaneous poetry, which procured him some celebrity. Among his eulogists are the following individuals, "Edward Leuenthorpe, Robert Hannay, Johannes Dunbar, John Marshall, John Harmer, J. M. C. William Lithgow, Robert Alane." As a specimen of the laudatory epistles which were then dedicated to him, we shall insert one, written by Mr John Marshall. It proves that Galdus, at this early period, was not considered an imaginary personage; and that the learned of the land then understood he had been buried at Cairn-holy.— We give the poem as originally printed.

a battle's having been fought in this locality, which to a certain extent tend to confirm the tradition. In the vicinity of Wigtown, are also the remains of an ancient monument, which is supposed to have been erected to the memory of Galdus.—Buchanan, however, and other historians state, that, having restored the independence of North Britain, he died in peace. His death, we are told, took place about the year 110, in Galloway, where he gained his last victory; and from him the province was afterwards called Galdia,¹ which ulti-

TO HIS MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND MASTER
PATRICK HANNAY.

Hanny thy worth bewrayes well whence thour't sprunge
And that that honour'd Name thou dost not wrong:
As if from Sorby's stock no branch could sprout,
But should with Rip'ning time bear golden fruit:
Thy Ancestors were euer worthy found,
Else Galdus' graue had grac'd no Hannay's ground.
Thy father's father Donald well was knowne
To the English by his sword, but thou art showne
By pen, (times changing) Hannay's are
Active in acts of worth be't peace or warre,
Goe on in vertue, Aftertimes will tell,
None but a Hannay could haue done so well.

King Galdus (that Worthie) who so bravely fought with the Romans, lies buried in the lands of Patrick Hannay of Kirkdale in Galloway.

JO: MARSHALL.

For a specimen of Mr Hannay's poetry, see appendix to this vol. (A.) A copy of his poetical works, which we have in our possession, was lately sold in London for £42 10s. 6d.

1 " Thus Galdus applieing all his studie and diligence to advance the common-wealth and quiet state of his countrie, lived manie years so highlie in the favour of all his subjects, that the like hath beene but seldome heard of: finailie, to their great grieffe and displeasure he ended his life (more deere to them than their owne) at Epiake, in the 35 year of his reigne, which was about the 15 yeare of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yeare after the worlds creation, and from the birth of our Saviour 131 (110) yeares, and was buried with great lamentation in most pompous maner, and laid in a goodlie toome which was raised

mately was changed into Galloway, the modern name. In consequence of repeated defeats¹ the Roman army, before its departure from Galloway, was reduced from 60,000 effective and well-disciplined warriors, to 20,000 feeble and dispirited soldiers.² In endeavouring to shake off a foreign yoke, the inhabitants of Galloway used the most strenuous exertions; and their determined bravery powerfully contributed to produce this cheering state of affairs.³

The transactions which we have previously narrated,—though looked upon by many as fabulous, or at least as little better than historical romance,—⁴ we have considered it necessary to notice in a work of a local nature. The Roman writers, in this instance, it is true, cannot be adduced as authorities, but they do not contradict the statements we have made. Although time, and the unfortunate

with mightie huge stones, having a great number of obelisks set up round about it, according to the maner. Further more, to the end his memorie should ever indure, the countrie where he fought last with the Romans was called Galdia, after his name, which by the addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots do hold.”

HOLLINSHED'S *Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i. page 104.

See vol. ii. of this work, page 56.

1 Buchanan.

2 Hollinshed. Carruthers, &c.

3 Guthrie.

4 Caledonia.

It is said by very old people, that in their youth the following homely popular rhyme existed relating to this subject.

Below these stanes
Lie Galdus' banes
A man beloved by great and sma'
But now he's dead
And low's his head
Amang the braes o' Gallowa'.”

destruction of the early records of the kingdom, have thrown an obscuring veil over primeval events; yet enough can be gleaned, even from the Roman writers themselves, to prove, if not the certainty, at least, the probability of the transactions we have recorded. Authors, in general, are not fond of decrying the martial deeds of their countrymen, or of dwelling on their misfortunes in war. But, even from the dark hints given by the Roman historians, may be collected the following particulars; the demolition of Agricola's forts,—the progressive advance of Galgacus into the provinciated districts which had not been entirely subdued,—and the vigorous endeavours of this illustrious chief to induce his countrymen to assert their independence.

After the death of the renowned Galgacus, fortune still continued to smile upon the British arms; and the Romans were, at last, reduced to a state of almost total impotence and despondency, by the recall of some of their best troops, with many of the most skilful commanders, to assist the Emperor Adrian, or Hadrian, in his Jewish wars. The imperial army had been likewise forced into a state of turbulence and insubordination, by the insolence and rapacity of its superior officers, now relieved, in a great measure, from the watchful eye of supreme authority, and wholesome superintendence. The Roman affairs in Britain seemed at this time fast hastening to a crisis, but this consummation was prevented by the unwearied exertions, and personal presence of the Emperor himself. Having collected and disciplined an army with astonishing despatch, he visited Britain, and, landing at York, instantly commenced preparations for re-conquer-

ing Scotland: these preparations, however, he dropped, upon hearing the opinions of a few of Agricola's old soldiers respecting the difficulties and dangers, which would attend the undertaking; and he contented himself with building a wall of defence against the Mæatæ,¹ as the people who inhabited the south of Scotland began now to be called. This wall, or rampart, was composed of earth, and extended from the mouth of the Tyne, on the east, to the Solway, on the west. Some writers have imagined, that Adrian, by the formation of this wall, resigned to the natives all the island to the north of it; but we know from inscriptions, that the Romans still continued to possess several fortified stations in Scotland, and amongst others, Caerbantorigum in the country of the Selgovæ. But as the Mæatæ were not now sufficiently overawed by the presence of Roman troops among them, this rampart was made to prevent their sudden irruptions into the subdued and provinciated districts.

Adrian dying on the 10th of July, 128, the new Emperor, Antoninus Pius, appointed Lollius Urbicus to the government of Britain. This general defeated the Mæatæ in numerous battles, and recovered the country as far as the Friths of Forth and Clyde: thus Galloway once more partially reverted under foreign domination. To secure his conquests, L. Urbicus strengthened the forts built by Agricola; and, in imitation of Adrian, he joined them together by a wall which reached from

¹ The term is equivalent to Midlanders. The five nations—namely, the Selgovæ, Novantes, Ottadeni, Gadeni, and Damnii,—who inhabited the district within the line of forts, erected by Agricola, and the wall of Adrian, were called the Mæatæ.

Carriden,¹ on the Frith of Forth, to Dunglas, on the Clyde; the whole length being about thirty six English miles. Its foundation was of stone, and a large ditch lay on the outside. In the inside was a paved military way, extending from one end of the wall to the other: this rampart was called the wall of Antoninus.

The power of the Romans was now at its greatest height in Britain; and, for the purpose of ensuring submission by facility of communication, they formed suitable roads in the country of the Mæatæ.² From one of the Roman roads which intersected Nithsdale, proceeded a branch, that entered the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and passed

1 Carriden was at one time written *Caer-Eden*, which signifies, "the Castle on the wing," the outwork; for here stood the first of the Roman forts.

2 "All cities were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways, which issuing from the Forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication, from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles. The public roads were accurately divided by mile-stones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places, near the capital, with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the efforts of fifteen centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror."

through the lands of Altry, in Dalry, and the estate of Holm, in Carsphairn. It then proceeded across the ridge of Polwhat to the north-west extremity of the same parish, where it left Galloway and entered Ayrshire, which country it traversed, past Dalmellington, to the Frith of Clyde.¹

The authority of L. Urbicus ceased with the death of the Emperor A. Pius, who expired on the 7th of March, 161. The Mæatæ² now showed a strong tendency to revolt. The Caledonians broke through the wall of Antoninus, and having joined the Mæatæ, attacked the Roman territories; but they were defeated in several battles by Ulpus Marcellus.

The successors of Marcellus proved unworthy of their station. Part of the Roman forces were withdrawn from Britain to the Continent, to assist their commander, Clodius Albinus, in an open rebellion against Severus, the Roman Emperor; and the island became the scene of great disorders. The Mæatæ and Caledonians, observing the unprotected condition of the Roman territories, penetrated far to the south.

Severus, having gained a complete victory over his ambitious rival, despatched Virius Lupus, his lieutenant, into Britain. This general found the army dispirited, disorganized, and unmanageable; and he wrote to the Emperor, that nothing but his personal presence could retrieve the desperate

¹ Caledonia. The author of Caledonia was indebted to the ingenious Mr Train for this information respecting the Roman road.

² In giving the history of the Mæatæ, we are giving the history of the people of Galloway at this period.

state of affairs. Severus, unwilling to lose any part of his dominions, though old and infirm, hastened to the scene of danger. Upon his arrival, he marched northward with a larger army than the Romans had ever possessed in the island. The terrified Selgovæ and other Mæatæ sued for peace; but he dismissed their ambassadors without giving them any satisfactory answer, and proceeded on his march.

After the imperial army had passed the wall of Adrian, it encountered many difficulties and numerous obstructions. For want of necessary repairs, the roads had got into a wretched state, and the progress of Severus was much retarded. He found, besides, the natives of the south of Scotland a much more potent and dangerous enemy than he had anticipated. They were, indeed, too weak and unskilful to meet their adversaries in pitched battles; but, according to their custom, they attacked detached companies, and annoyed the Romans by perpetual skirmishes. They even placed cattle and provisions in suitable situations, near the route of the hostile army; and, lying in ambush, rushed unexpectedly from their hiding places, and totally destroyed the straggling parties, who were engaged in removing the supposed booty. Exhausted by this harassing and destructive system of warfare, in a country almost completely covered with wood, and abounding with rugged mountains, deep marshes, extensive lakes, and rapid rivers, the Roman soldiers abandoned themselves so entirely to despair, that many of them entreated their companions to end their existence, and thus relieve them from the intolerable hardships, and the appalling dangers in which they were involved. In this

murderous march, we know from the best authority, that the imperial army sustained the amazing loss of 50,000 men. At length the Roman eagle penetrated into the heart of Caledonia, and the desponding natives humbly entreated the Emperor to stop the carnage, and grant them peace.¹

Experience had now convinced Severus of the reckless daring, and determined valour of the North British tribes. Upon his return into England, he perceived that Adrian's rampart of earth would prove but a slender barrier against an enemy so wily, desperate, and persevering; and he resolved to build a wall of solid stone, twelve feet high, and eight feet thick, to be strengthened by turrets, castles, and forts, at proper distances. This stupendous wall, which was parallel to, and only a few yards distant from, that of Adrian, extended about sixty eight miles in length. It was accompanied by a deep and broad ditch on the one side, and an excellent military way on the other, by which the troops could be concentrated or speedily removed to the place of assault. The soldiers were engaged in this great work for the space of two years. The Emperor Severus died at York on the 4th of February, in the year 211.

After the death of this Emperor, little is known of the Selgovæ and Novantes for a period of very considerable duration. The Romans, we have every reason to believe, confined themselves to the south of Severus's wall, and the Mæatæ, considering it impregnable, rejoiced in their freedom, and made no attempts to break through it.

In the year 292, the empire of Rome was divid-

¹ Horodian.—Dio.

ed between Dioclesian and Maximianus; and upon their resignation of the imperial authority, on the 1st of May, 305, their two Cæsars,¹ Constantius and Galerius, were declared Emperors. In the division of the empire, Britain was assigned to Constantius who visited it in 306. This prince reduced the Caledonians and “other picti” to a state of subjection to his authority. This is the first time that the Picts are mentioned in history.

It has long been the subject of Antiquarian discussion, whether the Picts were a foreign, or a British people. But all the Roman authors who had occasion to mention them, speak of them as natives of the island. Eumenius, the orator, in a panegyric to Constantius, calls the Caledonians Picts;² and the same writer, in another oration, pronounced in the presence of the Emperor Constantine, in the year 308, says expressly that the Caledonians were Picts. Besides, language often unfolds a nation’s source; and it is evident the Picts and south Britons originally used the same language. Innes, who wrote a Critical Essay on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, takes the same view of the matter, and thus proceeds to sum up his argument. “From all this it seems clearly to follow, that the people, who began first, in the end of the third century and beginning of the fourth, to be called Picts by the Roman writers, were not new inhabitants of the island, but the

¹ At first, Cæsar was a family title, which denoted power. It afterwards came to signify the person who was assumed into a share of the government during the life of the Emperor, and was destined to succeed him in the empire

² The words of Eumenius are: “Caledones alique Picti,” and again; Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum.

ancient inhabitants of those Northern Provinces, so well known in former ages, by the name of Caledonians." The learned Camden also makes the Picts "genuine Britons, distinguished only by an accidental name," and Ritson supports their Celtic lineage.

Much discussion has, likewise, taken place respecting the origin of the term. To us, however, it does not seem involved in much obscurity. All Britons, at an early age, painted some parts of their bodies,¹ and were, therefore, in the true sense of the word, "*Picti*," or Picts.² The tribes in the south of Britain, from their constant intercourse with the civilized Romans, early laid aside this primitive practice; but the remote Caledonians long continued it. This peculiarity served as a mark of distinction between them and their provincial countrymen; and, hence, they received the appropriate designation of Picts. The unconquered inhabitants in some parts of the interior of Galloway, despising foreign innovations, and bigoted to the observances of their forefathers, also continued this grotesque and repulsive practice: they were, therefore, long denominated Picts.³

1 The Picts punctured the skin in such a manner as to represent birds, beasts, and other objects; they then rubbed a colouring substance upon it, and the figures became indelible. The chiefs had the greater number of figures.

2 Camden and some other writers suppose the island, which was previously called Albion, to have received the name of Britain from this practice of its inhabitants; the Celtic word *brith* signifying painted, and the Greek word *tania* signifying country; thus Britannia, or Britain, really denotes the country of the painted.

3 Camden. *Picti qui vulgo Galweyenses dicuntur.*

It has been supposed that the people of Galloway, did not receive the appellation of Picts until the 9th century; but we

Constantius, dying at York, was succeeded in his dominions by Constantine, afterwards surnamed the Great, whose mother is said to have been a British Princess. The new Emperor staid some time in Britain after his accession to the imperial dignity, to establish peace and order on a solid basis. This peace continued uninterrupted in the island until his demise, which happened in the year 337.

Constantine was succeeded by his three sons Constantine, Constans, and Constantius. Constantine, the eldest, received Britain as a part of his inheritance; but Constans afterwards seized it, and became master of the whole western world.— This Prince visited Britain to chastise some of the northern tribes for their hostile attempts on the Roman provinces, and slaughtered great multitudes of the enemy. Galloway, we have some reason to believe, participated in the effects of his severity. After his return to the Continent, by completely neglecting public duties, and incessantly pursuing guilty pleasures, he disgusted his army, and soon lost both his dominions and his life. Constantius, Emperor of the east, youngest son of Constantine the Great, now gained undisputed possession of the whole Roman empire.

While Constantius was engaged with the Persians; and Julian, his Cæsar, had full occupation in defending the frontiers of Gaul against the Germans, the tranquillity of Britain was disturbed

have seen nothing to induce us to coincide in this opinion.— Chalmers thinks the Piets derived their name from the British word *Peithi*, which means the people of the open country—those who are out or exposed,—and that this word was applied to the Caledonians because they lay beyond the Northern wall. From the habits of this people their name became a term of reproach, and was almost synonymous with the word *plunderers*.

by the incursions of the Scots and Picts. The year 360 is remarkable for being the period, when notice is first taken of the Scots of North Britain in the historical writings of classic authors.¹ Ammianus, who mentions them, represents them as uniting with the Picts in making inroads into the territories of the Romanized Britons. The same author alludes to them, about seven years afterwards, as a wandering people, who spread horror and devastation by their predatory excursions. The origin of this people has been long the subject of controversy among the learned. Some antiquaries have maintained, that they were a tribe of indigenous Britons. Others have asserted that they came into Scotland from Ireland, but that Scythia was their original country, and, hence, they were called "Scythls," which word, by frequent changes, at last became Scots. A third class of writers strenuously contend that they came into Ireland from Spain, and took their name from *Scota*, Pharaoh's daughter, who, with her husband *Gathelus* and his followers, had removed into that distant land. A part of this colony, it is said, afterwards emigrated to Ireland, and took the name of *Scoti*, or Scots, from their former Queen. It is also believed by some that Ireland received the name of *Hibernia* from *Hiberus*, the son of *Gathelus*. Such are the conflicting

¹ "Among the writers, indeed, whose works have been transmitted to us, the first who mentions the Scots is Porphyry, in the third century as he is quoted by Hieronymus (*Epist. ad. Ctesiphontem Pelagium.*) 'Neither says he did Britain, a country fruitful of princes, or the nations of the Scots and the barbarous people round them, as far as the ocean, know any thing of Moses and the prophets.' Hence it appears in the opinion of Porphyry, that Scotland was not a recent nation when he wrote A. D. 267."—

GOODALL'S Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Scotland. Edin. Edit. 1773, pp. 64. 65.

opinions entertained by various writers, respecting the lineage of the Scottish people, and the origin of the Scottish monarchy.¹

That the Scots came from Ireland is certain.—

1 Fordun.—Black Book of Paisley.—In monasteries two books were kept, namely, the *Chartulary* and the *Black Book*. The *Chartulary* contained a record of the charters, donations, and rights of the Institution. The *Black Book* comprised the annals of the country. Such records were first kept at Iona, and afterwards at Scone, Paisley, Pluscardine, &c.

From these materials, Veremund, arch deacon of St. Andrews; compiled a history of Scotland in 1076, and Turgot, bishop of St. Andrews, soon after published a similar history. Notwithstanding Edward I. of England removed or destroyed many of the Scottish records, still some were preserved. From these documents, and the histories already in existence, John de Fordun, a priest, composed his *Scotichronicon* about the year 1376. In order to accomplish his laborious undertaking, he searched all the public and private records of the religious houses in Scotland, and likewise travelled into England and Ireland, endeavouring if possible, to recover some historical fragments which had escaped Edward's destroying hand. Fordun has often been called the father of Scottish history. Though his history contains much that is fabulous, it is still a valuable work. John Major, or Maire, a celebrated professor of philosophy in the beginning of the sixteenth century, wrote also a valuable history of Scotland, with which he blended the affairs of England; he was a florid writer, and esteemed credulous. Hector Bœthius, or Boece, immediately followed. This historian had obtained a great many original manuscripts from Iona, or Icolmkill; he was a dry succinct writer. His history, though valuable, contains numerous fictions. Buchanan wrote soon after, and had before him, when he prepared his elegant history, the *Black Books* of Paisley and Pluscardine, with all the other authorities we have previously mentioned. Hollinshed, whom we have sometimes cited as an authority, published the first edition of his *Chronicles* in 1570. He is said to have been a man of considerable parts and learning, of an impartial disposition, and possessed of that discernment which peculiarly qualified him for being a writer of history. The erudite Mr Chalmers published, in 1807, the first volume of *Caledonia*—a work which displays much profound knowledge, patient investigation, and nice discrimination. To him North Britain is much indebted for the able manner in which he performed his laborious task. Such are some of the authors whose writings we have consulted in the early part of this work.

The contemporaries of Ammianus mention them as a transmarine people that had emigrated from Ireland. Indeed, if we may credit Orosius, who flourished about the beginning of the fifth century, they had become, long before that period, so pre-eminent in Ireland, as to have given their name to the whole country, which continued to be called indiscriminately Hibernia or Scotia until the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century.¹

The next question that occurs is,—Were the Scots, in Ireland, a foreign or a native tribe? That they were not from Spain, as some manufacturers of history maintain, is obvious from the great distance between the two countries. Where could they have procured suitable vessels for so long a voyage? Where could they have got pilots to direct their course? The same difficulties would have attended their passage from Scythia. But we know that in early ages migrations were almost always made by land; for the best of all reasons, they could not be accomplished by sea. The Scots are supposed to have removed to Ireland nearly a thousand years before the INCARNATION; and, at that time, undoubtedly, their vessels must have been poorly fitted for launching out into the wide expanse of the Atlantic, or navigating the German Ocean. The origin of a people, as previously observed, is often most accurately dis-

¹ Orosius says expressly; “Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita:—et a Scotorum gentibus colitur.”

Such expressions as the following are also used by early writers. “De Scotorum insulâ venientes.”—“De Scotiâ venit in Britanniam.” “Scotia eadem et Ibernia.”—“Iberniâ Scotorum gens incolit.” Scotia, quae et Ibernia dicitur.

“Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

CLAUDIANUS.

covered from their language. The Scoto-Irish used the common speech of the island, and required no interpreters when conversing with the aborigines: they spoke Gaelic, and not Teutonic; they must therefore have been a Gaelic, and not a Gothic people.¹ Whatever theorists may affirm, there does not appear to us even the shadow of proof that the Scots come from a foreign land. Camden, after much fertility of conjecture and soundness of argument, concludes, that the Scots were the descendants of the Britons, who inhabited Ireland, when it was first known to the Romans. As the Scots were not a foreign people, neither, in all probability, was their name of foreign derivation. They acquired it, as is thought, from the word *sceite*, which signified in their own language *dispersed*, or *scattered*; ² because they were fond of roving in quest of adventures.³

To discover the true period at which this wandering people first settled in North Britain has also formed the subject of learned investigation.—Many different opinions have been entertained on the subject. Amidst the great discrepancy of evidence and contrariety of statement, it is difficult to unveil the truth. From what can now be learned, may be extracted the following facts. The Scots of Ireland early assisted the Caledonians in their wars against the Romans; and even a few of them may have been domiciled in North Britain before the epoch of any foreign invasion. After every friendly visit, some of these Irish combatants,

1 Caledonia.

2 Gibbon's Roman Empire.

3 Ammianus, when speaking of them, uses the words, "*Scoti vangantes*." The word *Scot* was also a term of reproach.

wishing to amalgamate with the inhabitants, remained behind, though without a chief; until about the commencement of the third century, when they made a formal and permanent settlement. This colony gradually increased by fresh arrivals. The pure native Caledonians became alarmed; and, in the fourth century, formed the resolution of totally expelling them from their acquired territories.—The Irish King, Neall, assisted his countrymen, and the Caledonians, or Picts, were obliged to grant them quiet possession of a part of the country¹ in the province of Argyle. To the district allotted to the Scots, the name of Scotland was applied; and, when this people had increased in number and importance, they entailed their name on the northern section of the whole island, including that portion of it, to which our attention is more particularly directed.

Before this permanent settlement of the Scots, the condition of South Britain had been much ameliorated by the knowledge, example, and industry of its foreign residents. The people had laid aside many of their barbarous customs, and were acquiring an embryo taste for the comforts, and even the luxuries of life. The fame of their wealth and advantages had reached the ears of their ruder countrymen, who now wished to participate in the fruits of this tempting prosperity. Having discovered, in the year 367, that the wall of Severus was not impregnable, the Mæatæ, with the Scots, Picts, and Attacots² forced their way into the Roman dominions, and penetrat-

¹ O' Halloran.

² The *Attacots* are sometimes mentioned as joining in such

ed, in spite of all opposition, as far as London, then called Augusta. To free his territories from such bands of ruthless plunderers, the Emperor Valentinian appointed Theodosius, one of his ablest generals, to proceed to Britain, with a considerable army, and assume the chief command. Upon his arrival, Theodosius found the country in a deplorable state of wretchedness, and the enemy in possession of a multitude of prisoners of both sexes, with a vast mass of booty. Having attacked the rapacious intruders, he instantly put them to flight, and seized the plunder, which, in their terror they had abandoned. He then entered London in triumph, and was hailed by the populace as their providential deliverer. Theodosius soon drove the enemy beyond the wall of Severus, which, for a considerable time, had been viewed as the limit of the empire on that side. But he did not rest satisfied with this acquisition; he pursued the terrified invaders until they sought safety beyond the rampart of Antoninus Pius, which he repaired, that it might once more become the northern boundary of the Roman possessions in Britain. He then formed the district between the walls into a Roman province; and, in honour of the Emperor Valens, he named it Valentia.¹ Thus were the inhabitants of Galloway raised to the rank of Roman citizens, and incorporated with the "lords

rapacious inroads, They were a savage and warlike tribe of Britons who inhabited the country from Loch-Fine to Loch-Lomond.

Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio.

AMMIAN.

¹ Gibbon's Roman Empire.

of the world.”¹ By the judicious measures of this meritorious officer, the Roman territories in the island were soon brought from a state of anarchy and misery to the enjoyment of tranquillity and comfort. When recalled by the Emperor to be raised to higher honours, Theodosius was followed to the place of his embarkation by multitudes, who had participated in the benefits of his excellent administration, pouring blessings on his head, and offering up prayers for his safety and prosperity.

After the departure of Theodosius, the Roman provinces in Britain enjoyed undisturbed repose for several years. The Scots and Picts were so overawed by the imperial authority, that they made no attempts upon the northern frontier. But though they remained at peace with the Romans, dissensions prevailed among themselves. Maximus, the Roman commander, perceiving this encreasing enmity, resolved to profit by it, and extend his influence over the whole island. To effect so important an end, he proposed to the Pictish ruler, that a league should be formed between them for the purpose of subduing and extirpating the Scottish people, who had always been the disturbers of public harmony, and the inveterate enemies of both Romans and Picts. Hiergustus, the Pictish King, joyfully acceded to this proposal.

Maximus, having thus succeeded in his artful device, despatched an envoy to Eugenius, the Scottish prince, demanding satisfaction for injuries done to the Pictish people, and desiring the individuals who had committed the outrages to be delivered

¹ Before this period the Emperor Caracalla, son of Severus, had raised the inhabitants of the provinces to the rank of Roman citizens.

up for immediate punishment. The messenger was commanded to state, that if the request were refused, the Scottish people would be looked upon as the avowed enemies of the Roman empire.

The Scottish ruler, astonished at this strange communication, replied; that he was not conscious of any injury which his nation had done to the imperial government, or the British people under its protection; that he was not aware of any benefit which the Picts had rendered to the Romans which should induce Maximus to declare war against a people who had never wronged him: but that, if the Romans, with their new allies, should capriciously make war upon him and his unoffending people, he would exert his whole energy to protect his country and maintain its liberty.

This magnanimous answer exactly coincided with the anticipations and wishes of the Roman general, and he instantly set his legions in motion. After passing through Westmoreland, Annandale, and Nithsdale, he entered Galloway in a hostile manner; for many of the inhabitants of this wild district had long writhed under the supposed disgrace of foreign domination, and had readily embraced every feasible opportunity of regaining their primary barbarous independence. Eugenius, having collected as large an army as possible, met the combined forces of the Romans and Picts on the banks of the Cree, near Kirroughtree. An awfully destructive battle ensued. The slaughter was so excessive on both sides—if we may believe the averments of some historians—that the river became discoloured with the blood of the wounded, and almost choked up with the bodies of the slain.¹

¹ Hollinshed.—Carruthers, &c. The Rev. James Carruthers,

At length, the Scots and their allies were overpowered, and fled from the field. The exulting and victorious Romans vigorously pursued, but were soon encountered by a reinforcement from Argyle on their way to join the Scottish army.—The fugitives rallying, combined with the fresh troops. Another desperate encounter took place; and the vanquished were on the point of becoming the victors, when night drew its curtain around the combatants, and put an end to the frightful carnage.

Neither army, next day, was in a fit state to renew the conflict. Eugenius retreated into Carrick; and Maximus, having heard of commotions in Kent, hastened thither, leaving, however, a part of his army in Galloway to garrison some forts,¹ and overawe the inhabitants who had espoused the Scottish cause in the late war.

Dumfries, a native of Galloway, and brother to Bishop Caruthers, published a History of Scotland in 1826. Though the work has not been much heard of, it evinces considerable learning, research, and elegance of diction.

I We are informed by Tacitus, that in Agricola's fifth campaign, he placed several garrisons in that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland; and it is likely some of them were at the following ports or stations mentioned by Ptolemy.

Rerigonius Sinus, now called Loch Ryan, is still a safe station for vessels. Upon the south east side of this bay is an isthmus, or neck of land, which separates it from the *Abrannus Sinus*, or *Bay of Luce*. At the distance of sixteen miles from this bay, is Ptolemy's *Jenæ Æstuarium*, on the west side of which, the town of Wigtown now stands. East from this estuary, at the distance of about seventeen miles, is the *Deve Æstuarium*, where the town of Kirkcudbright is situated. About twenty six miles to the east of the river Dee, is the *Nidas Fluvius*, or river Nith, near the mouth of which, and probably at a short distance from the town of Dumfries there seems to have been a Roman post.

We cannot assert that all these were made ports by the celebrated Agricola, but they were all ports during the period the Romans remained in Galloway.

SIR ROBERT SIBBALD'S Historical Inquiries concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in Scotland.

Embittered hostilities still continued to rage between the Scots and the Picts, and they seemed intent on nothing less than mutual destruction—on accomplishing each other's total extermination. The former entered the territories of the latter, and ravaged the country with fire and sword. Although the Roman general was secretly delighted with this desolating warfare; yet, next year, under the pretence of avenging the injuries done to his allies, he marched a numerous and powerful army against the Scottish chief. Eugenius mustered what forces he could raise; and, according to an ancient custom, availed himself, we are told, of the enthusiastic service of females in his ranks.¹ This army, amounting to 50,000 warriors, who were resolutely bent on obtaining either a glorious death or an honourable victory, assembled in Kyle, to which place the enemy was approaching. Maximus had already reached Galloway, where, it is said, he committed many acts of wanton cruelty. As soon as he learned that the Scottish army had encamped in Kyle, he marched against it, but remained during the night in a suitable situation to refresh his men, and make preparations for the approaching conflict. At this time, intelligence reached Eugenius, that Maximus was only a few miles distant, with a larger army than had ever appeared in Galloway.² The sudden and alarming news caused some uneasiness in his camp; but he endeavoured to rouse the drooping courage of his soldiers by an animating speech, which produced

1 Buchanan.—Hollinshed —Carruthers.

2 It may seem strange how North Britain, at this early period could muster such numerous armies: it must be remembered, however, that every male was a soldier.

a considerable effect. Next day, the two armies met on the banks of the Doon. The levies from Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, being placed on the left of the Scottish warriors, were opposed by some provincial Britons, with a number of Germans and Gauls, then serving in the Roman host. The onset was terrific. The wings of the Scottish army were almost totally annihilated, and the legions fiercely attacked the unprotected centre, which soon giving way, was cut in pieces. When the friends of Eugenius perceived that the day was irretrievably lost, they advised him to save his valuable life by flight; but he disdained to survive his country, and fell pierced with many wounds among heaps of slain.—The other leaders, following his example, shared his fate. Few of the Scots were left to recount the melancholy transactions of this terrible day; for even when the servants of the army, who had been left in charge of the baggage, saw the fate of their respected masters, they desperately assailed the victorious soldiers; and, burning with the unquenchable thirst of vengeance, sold their lives as dear as possible. When the aged, also, whom solicitude for the fate of their offspring, and anxiety regarding the result of the battle, had induced to follow the army at a distance, saw the day was lost, they snatched up the bloody weapons of their fallen countrymen, and, with the ghastly looks and frantic vociferation of wild despair, furiously rushed into an unequal conflict with the excited conquerors, and fell amidst the ruins of their fallen country.¹

The concussion and confused din of battle were

¹ Beethius.—Hollinshed.—Monypenny.—Buchanan.—&c.

succeeded by sounds no less discordant, proceeding from those who had lately been engaged in the struggle of mortal combat; for the triumphant shouts of victory were now mingled with the piercing cries of the wounded, the dismal groans of the dying, and the heart-rending lamentations of the bereaved. As a mark of admiration due to his bravery, the dead body of the vanquished hero, after being long sought for by the victors among the heaps of slain, was found, and interred with princely honours; whilst the Scottish captives were admitted as subjects of the Roman empire, and allowed to depart and live in peace.¹

But the vengeance of the Piets had not yet been satiated; for they soon induced the Roman general to expel the whole rival nation from North Britain; and multitudes of the Scots were forced into exile; some seeking refuge in Ireland and the Western Isles; and many retiring into foreign lands.² Maximus who now considered himself en-

¹ Hollinshed says "The same yeare before Eugenius gave battell unto Maximus, manie strange sights were seen in the furthest part of Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens harts. In the night season in the aire were seene fierie swords and other weapons mooving in a long ranke, after coming together on a heape, and being changed into a huge flame as it had been a fire brand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the river Dume ran with blood, the banks of the same river flashed as oft times as they had been all on a fire, There were seene also a number of small birds fall out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of ravens that devoured up the same."

² Bœthius.—Hollinshed.—Black Book of Paisley.—Buchanan.

Mr Aikman in his notes to Buchanan says, "The expulsion of the Scots, with which this book concludes, is now generally allowed, by the most sceptical, to have actually taken place, and, within a few years of the time mentioned by Buchanan, Pink. Enq. vol. ii. p. 88. If we find the grand outlines of the times said to be fabulous, confirmed always when inquired into,

titled to a place on the imperial throne, determined to seize by force what he could not obtain by favour, and assumed the purple in the British Isle.

But the sovereignty of the Roman territories in Britain did not long satisfy this ambitious soldier: he soon aspired to more extended dominions—the possession of the whole western empire of Rome.

Valentinus II, one of the reigning Emperors, had not yet passed the period of childhood, and his elder brother, Gratian, was an imbecile and detested prince. Maximus enlisted vast numbers of the bravest youths of Britain; and, in particular, many from Valentia, whose companions had fought so bravely in the Scottish army.¹ Galloway, in all likelihood, supplied its quota of valorous auxiliaries. These forces, he transported to the Continent, with his own veteran troops. Success at first attended his arms; but, in the year 388, he was defeated in two battles, taken prisoner, and put to death.

The British forces, being left without a leader in a foreign country, and with enemies on every side, endeavoured to return home, but they wanted ships for that purpose. In this dilemma, they directed their course to the north-west point of Gaul, then called Armorica—in expectation of finding the means of conveyance to Cornwall. Their hopes, however, proved delusive; but having met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants, they settled

although we cannot substantiate the details from the want of records which may have existed, we ought not, in sound judgment, to ask more, unless we can discover some hitherto concealed work of unimpeachable veracity, to which we may have recourse. A man of ingenuity may doubt any thing, and bring plausible reasons for so doing. The reign of the Pictish king Durst, or Durstus, is also ascertained to have commenced A. D. 414, differing only ten years from the date of Buchanan."

¹ Hollinshed's Chronicles of Scotland.

there, and never afterwards returned to the place of their nativity. From them the district took the name of *Britanny*.¹

Britain soon felt the fatal consequences of this emigration; for not only the Picts, but even the Saxons, Franks, and Scots from the neighbouring isles, took advantage of so many brave warriors' absence, and, making incursions into the Roman provinces, committed extensive depredations.

In 412, the Emperor Honorius sent Victorinus, with some troops, into Britain for its defence. This general soon overpowered his enemies, and became renowned for his martial deeds.² By him the Picts were reduced (as they conceived) to a degrading state of thralldom;³ for he had commanded them to confine themselves beyond the northern wall; whilst their young men were daily dragged away to supply the Roman forces with fresh recruits. Upon the death of their chief, they were prohibited from choosing a new one, or obeying any magistrates except those appointed by Roman authority. Now were the Picts roused to a true sense of their previous folly, and their present weakness. Severely did they regret the banishment and dispersion of their ancient allies; and they could perceive no way of regaining their freedom, except by inducing the Scots to return and take possession of the territories formerly belonging to them.

1 Henry's History of Britain.

2 By his achievements in Britain he merited the following encomium:—

“*Conscius oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule,
Et quæcunque ferox arva Britannus arat.*”

CLAUD.

3 Buchanan.

In the ruinous battle of the Doon, Ethodius, the brother of Eugenius, had been severely wounded; but he afterwards recovered, and sought an asylum in Denmark. His son Erthus, or Ere, married a Danish princess by whom he had a son named Fergus, a youth of much promise and some experience in the continental wars against the Romans. For the accomplishment of their independence, they sent ambassadors to Fergus to urge his return, and promise him the friendship of the Picts in re-establishing the Scottish monarchy. They also despatched messengers to the various places in which the exiles had taken up their abode, entreating them to return and reclaim their former province, and promising them the most strenuous support in their encounters with the common foe.

Fergus acquiesced in the proposal, and ardently repaired to the country of his ancestors. His friends in all quarters, gladly following the example he had exhibited, hastened to lend their aid in the patriotic undertaking.

In the meantime, the Picts, having gained fresh courage by the cheering prospect of speedy emancipation, set the authority of their foreign masters at defiance, and chose, as their king, Durstus, the son of their last sovereign. As soon as Fergus arrived in Argyle, he was invested with the insignia of supreme authority; and a league offensive and defensive was formed by the Scottish and Pictish states. This event is said to have taken place in the year 414.

The Picts now gladly resigned to the rightful owners that portion of the Scottish territories, which had been assigned to them after the expulsion of their neighbours, and which they had oc-

cupied about twenty years; but the provincial Britons defended their acquired possessions with determined pertinacity. Fergus, however, soon ejected them, and they complained to Victorinus, who immediately marched with a large army against the intruders. Upon receiving intelligence of his approach, the Scots assembled a numerous and powerful body of troops. A battle ensued on the banks of the Carron, which proved peculiarly destructive to both parties, Heaven frowned on the awful work of death, and in pity sent a tremendous fall of rain and hail, with a premature darkness, to stop the unnatural carnage. Victory, however, had previously seemed inclined to declare for the Romans. Victorinus, having given orders to repair the rampart between the Forth and Clyde, retired, with the greater part of his army, towards Kent. But while the soldiers were engaged in this work, they were assailed on the southern side by Græme, or Graham, Fergus's father in law, who had brought a considerable number of men up the Frith of Forth in boats; while both Scots and Picts attacked the defenders from the other side of the wall. The Romans and provincial Britons being soon driven off, the wall was levelled in many places, to allow free ingress to the northern tribes, when they felt inclined to plunder or lay waste the province of Valentia.¹

¹ From numerous investigations, it has been ascertained that this rampart now consisted of a wall composed of earth on a stone foundation, which rose to the height of 20 feet and which was 24 feet thick. A ditch lay on the outside that was generally 20 feet deep and 40 feet wide. This ditch, it is thought, could have been filled with water when necessity required. The rampart was strengthened by 21 forts at the distance of nearly two miles from each other, with intervening turrets. A military road,

Fergus, having now gained a firm footing in Scotland, saw his army daily increasing by the perpetual influx of strangers, who continued to follow the Scots from the countries which had afforded them an asylum during their exile.—Elated by this augmentation of strength, he assumed more confidence, and penetrated through Valentia, as far as the borders of Galloway, plundering the country on every side, and committing many acts of savage cruelty. But a combined army of Romans and Britons attacking him, drove him back to Argyle. During the following summer, Fergus was advised to fight the Roman army in Galloway, but experience had taught him wisdom, and he declined the contest.

The encreasing dangers of the empire now caused a considerable diminution of the Roman forces in Britain. Fergus took advantage of this state of matters; and, after over running Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, entered Galloway, laying it waste on every side. Placidus, the Roman commander, who was a man of no ability, collected as numerous an army as possible and encountered the enemy in battle, but his forces were discomfited, and he retired to York. Convinced of his weakness, he concluded a treaty with the Scots and Picts, by which it was stipulated, that they were to enjoy all the territories they possessed, and that the Romans were to retain their acquired dominions in Britain; both parties binding themselves not to commit any act of hostility toward each other. Placidus, however, soon died, and

as a useful appendix, ran along the inside from one end to the other. We are told, from Græme's having now gained possession of this wall, it has long been known by the name of *Græme's Dyke*.

the Scots, with their allies the Picts, renewed the war.

Dionethus, a provincial Briton, now urged his countrymen to shake off a foreign yoke; and having raised some forces, entered into alliance with the enemies of Rome. These troops are thought by some writers to have been collected in Valentia, and a number of them in Galloway. The Romans, and Britons who remained faithful in their allegiance to the Emperor, took the alarm, and sent ambassadors humbly craving assistance. A legion was sent under the command of an experienced officer. A battle took place in Westmoreland, in which both the Scottish and Pictish kings¹ were slain, and Dionethus severely wounded.—Maximianus, the commander of the Roman army, now followed up his victory by ravaging Annandale and Galloway, for the part the Selgovæ had acted in the late insurrection. He then drove his enemies beyond the northern wall and repaired it. After performing this service, the legion returned to the Continent. No sooner was it gone than the rapacious Scots and Picts poured like a torrent into Valentia, carrying off or destroying every thing before them. In their destructive course they passed through Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway. They then entered Northumberland, which they laid waste, together with Westmoreland and Cumberland: they also pillaged a part of Yorkshire, and, as it is said, left the country bare of both corn and cattle.² The

¹ Fergus, we are informed, was buried in the Isle of Iona which long continued the cemetery of the Scottish Kings.

² Hollinshed.

wretched inhabitants of the Roman provinces in Britain, now unable to defend themselves, and seeing no prospect before their eyes but absolute ruin, again had recourse to Rome for succour in this season of calamity. Their ambassadors appeared before the Emperor with their garments rent, their heads covered with ashes, and every sign of deep affliction. They portrayed in vivid colours the sufferings of their unhappy country; and, with many tears and lamentations, implored assistance, that the Roman name and provinces in Britain might not be utterly destroyed. Their abject supplications were not unavailing: again a legion was sent under the command of Gallio, a native of Ravenna. The Scots and Picts, being unapprised of the arrival of the foreign troops, were attacked whilst engaged in collecting plunder, and routed with great slaughter. Such as escaped took shelter in the woods and mountains behind the Friths.—The rampart of Antoninus now completely failed to afford protection against hostile inroads, and the province of Valentia was abandoned as untenable. To secure the southern division of the island, the wall of Severus, though much dilapidated, was repaired with stone and lime. The united labours of the Roman soldiers and provincial Britons effected this great work. It had always been the policy of the imperial commanders never to indulge the conquered with the use of arms. But Gallio now instructed the provinciated Britons in the art of war, and even left them models of various kinds of weapons. After anxiously exhorting them to defend their country with persevering vigilance and undaunted courage, he informed them, that they were to expect no farther aid from Rome, already

beset with numerous and powerful enemies on every side. The last legion then bade adieu, for ever, to the British shores.¹

Although the imperial standing army had now evacuated Britain, yet many Romans resided in it. "Wheresoever the Roman conquers he inhabits," is an observation of Seneca. The veteran soldiers, whether they received the reward of their services in land or in money, usually settled in the countries where they had spent their youth, and with which they were often connected by strong ties of attachment. Hence, many Roman colonies had been formed in the island; and numerous Roman towns existed in it, adorned, like the parent city, with statues, temples, theatres, baths, porticoes, and other public edifices.

Besides, many of the native Britons who had served in the imperial army,² had now returned to their families, and were residing in the place of their nativity. Britain, therefore, had not been left defenceless. From this state of matters, the Scots and Picts did not venture, for some time, to attack the southern provinces.

No sooner, however, had the Roman legion withdrawn from the island, than the northern hordes issued from their woods and mountains; and, having found the wall of Antoninus almost deserted, they rushed, with impetuous confidence, into Valentia, and plundered the whole country. After each successful incursion they returned home to enjoy, among their hills and fastnesses, the valued fruits of their bold adventures.

1 Hume's History of England.—Henry's History of Britain.

2 Gibbon's Roman Empire.

It was at this period, we have every reason to believe, that the inhabitants of the south of Scotland, with the aid of some foreign residents, raised a wall of protection against these bold and voracious visitants. This rampart, which, in some of the districts through which it passes, is called the "Roman Dyke," and in others, the "Picts' Dyke," seems to have been generally built entirely of stone, though in localities where stones could not be conveniently obtained, it was composed of stone and turf. The original height of this fence cannot now be ascertained, but its breadth, at the base, is exactly eight feet. Like other ramparts of the same kind, it had a fosse on one side, and probably a path to facilitate communication on the other. The remains of this ancient work have been traced from Loch-Ryan to the north-east border of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the whole length of its devious course through Galloway being upwards of 50 miles. After leaving the Stewartry it enters Dumfries-shire, and passing through a part of that county, joins the "Britton Wall" in the parish of Annan: it afterwards runs into the Solway nearly opposite to Bowness, in Cumberland.¹ This rampart must have been made by a people inhabiting its south side, that it might serve as an impediment, or a temporary barrier, to arrest the progress of some northern foe; for the fosse is on the north side; and it sometimes takes a circuitous direction to include fertile or cultivated fields.

The Scots and Picts, having repeatedly overrun

¹ For a particular account of this ancient and interesting work, kindly furnished to us by Mr Train, see appendix (B.)
In Galloway it is often called the Deil's Dyke.

Valentia in numerous bodies, carrying off or destroying every thing that came in their way, at length reduced the country to such a state of destitution,—to such a condition of absolute exhaustion,—that nothing worth removing was longer to be obtained in it. They, therefore, began to meditate an invasion of the rich, fertile, and unwasted provinces which lay in England, beyond the strong wall of Severus. After maturing all their preparations, they set out on this dangerous expedition. When the enormous concourse of robbers approached the bulwark of British safety, they found it crowded with defenders, who had foolishly remained at their important posts, without intermission, during several days and nights. Now completely inebbled by cold, hunger, and fatigue, these defenders were formidable in appearance, but not in reality. The enemy soon discovered their torpid and exhausted state; and ferociously seizing them with hooks which had been prepared for the purpose, dragged them from the wall.¹ After a faint resistance, the terrified Roman and British soldiers sought safety in flight. The wall, being now deserted, was perforated or demolished in many places, through which inlets the assailants rushed with the furious impetuosity of a torrent, and pursuing their trembling victims, cruelly butchered all that fell into their hands. Having loaded themselves with the most valuable effects of the vanquished Britons, they returned home to enjoy their booty. Soon, however, they renewed their visits, and another inroad followed more destructive than

¹ Bede.—This writer is usually denominated the venerable Bede. He was born in 672, and died in 735. His writings were said to contain all the knowledge in the world.

the former. Thus one band of greedy plunderers succeeded another, each spreading wider and wider devastation, until the unwarlike inhabitants of South Britain were involved in an interminable series of sufferings. Amidst the general perturbation and alarm, the nerves of authority became gradually relaxed, and insubordination assumed a bolder and loftier bearing. By this popular commotion—this licentious ebullition of society—the very dregs of the community ascended to the surface, and crimes of the blackest nature, in all the confidence of impunity, stalked through the land. Men in despair forsook their abodes, and wandered in the woods, feeding on the flesh of such animals as they could seize, or on the spontaneous productions of the earth. From the total neglect of agriculture a famine ensued, with an exterminating pestilence in its train.

These terrible calamities, however, were not altogether unproductive of advantage; for the northern banditti, from a dread of infection, suspended their wholesale robberies; but no sooner had the natural scourges of the civilized portions of Britain disappeared, than the barbarians of the north renewed their acts of spoliation; and insecurity and distress were once more superinduced.

But through this involving gloom, one faint ray of hope penetrated to cheer the bewildered minds of the provincial Britons, or at least to solace them in the midst of their accumulated misfortunes.—Ætius, prefect of Gaul, had gained much celebrity by his superior wisdom, benevolence, and noble achievements; and to him they now fondly looked for assistance. They, therefore, despatched ambassadors to the court of this distin-

guished individual, with a lugubrious epistle, comprising the following sentence. "To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea throws us back on the swords of the barbarians; so that we have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered."¹ This abject application proved unsuccessful. Ætius was engaged in collecting forces to oppose the terrible Attila, King of the Huns, who seemed bent on the total extinction of the western empire; he therefore could not afford them succour. But having acknowledged his own weakness and their independence, he advised them to use the most vigorous efforts to defend themselves. Thus did Rome relinquish its British provinces, A. D. 446, after having at least partially retained possession of the island for nearly 500 years.

By this abdication the connecting link between Britain and Rome was completely severed; and the Roman population, who had been kept in a state of perpetual insecurity and incessant perturbation, abandoned the island in despair, with as many of their effects as they could possibly remove. During the greater part of what may be designated the Roman period of British history, the inhabitants of Galloway felt either the oppressive weight of foreign supremacy, or the withering influence of savage ascendancy. The district continued a kind of debateable land, or rather a great battle field, now in possession of the one party, and again of the other; but almost equally harassed and plundered whoever were the conquer-

¹ Gildas.—This writer died in the year 570.

ors. When its inhabitants received protection from rapacious inroads, they became exposed to the onerous exactions of luxurious soldiers, and when relieved from exactions, they were subject to deprecation. At one time, they stepped forward as the champions of licentious freedom; at another, they crouched as the slaves of polished despotism; to day, they appeared the willing agents of furious devastation, to-morrow, the submissive tools of insatiable ambition.

Though such was the unsettled condition of Galloway whilst the Roman authority prevailed in Britain; yet, that the province gained many solid advantages from the intercourse of its inhabitants with well informed foreigners, must be obvious to all who carefully examine the circumstances in which it was placed.

The Romans, at this time, were a people distinguished for their literature, their science, and their refinement. Some of their army, it is true, like the mercenary troops of modern Europe, had been drawn from the lowest and most dissolute classes of the community; but the officers and many of the common soldiers were men of reputable families and liberal education, whose example was well calculated to extirpate the prejudices, and advance the civilization of those with whom they came even but slightly in contact.

But, though the people of Galloway were not totally subdued, and consequently but partially incorporated with the Romans; yet their prevailing asperities must have been considerably smoothed, were it by nothing else than long continued contact. Besides, man, particularly in his savage state, is an imitative being. He seems to have no

desire to think for himself; and when not led by impulse, he travels on in the beaten tract. The conduct of those around him is his guide in the season of difficulty: example, whether good or bad, is, on all occasions, the polar star by which he steers his unsteady course.

No people, however, were ever more swayed by example than the ancient Britons. We know that many of their young men began, at a very early period, to wear the dress, imitate the manners, and use the language which prevailed at Rome. Now, even in spite of ancient prejudices, Roman art must have so often displayed its superiority in the eyes of the untutored Mæatæ, that they would have secretly wished gradually to assimilate, at least in some degree, to a people who were possessed of such wonderful scientific acquirements.

But the natives of Galloway, like those of other parts of the country, really enjoyed many favourable private opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and receiving information from their distinguished conquerors. The British soldiers who had been taken in war became the slaves of the victors. Vast numbers of these captives were exported and sold like cattle in the Roman market. At home they were employed by their proprietors in building, in agriculture, in tending cattle, and in various domestic occupations: they also assisted the Romans in warlike operations, and by this constant intercourse, they undoubtedly acquired new tastes, new notions, and new desires. Now, the example, representations, and instructions of these comparatively enlightened natives must have effected a considerable change among their countrymen, when they were allowed but occasionally to mingle with their

former friends in the ordinary transactions of life. That a great change did take place throughout the south of North Britain, in the notions and habits of the people, during the Roman occupation of the country, we have every reason to conclude. The Mæatae, as we have seen, often joined in making inroads into the southern provinces; and we know, when they were there, they carried off with much avidity the grain, the fruits, the clothes, the weapons, and household utensils of their more refined neighbours. When successful in such expeditions, they used and enjoyed their treasure with unbounded satisfaction; and when unsuccessful, they endeavoured to supply by art, what they could not obtain by rapine. Thus did the progress of arts and manners advance by what may be denominated unconscious or unwilling imitation.

But benevolence was one of the most prominent traits of the Roman character; and though proud, imperious, and avaricious, this people never ceased to labour in imparting such instructions as tended to enlarge the understanding, cultivate the taste, and mollify the dispositions of those whom they had subdued. From the imperial reservoirs of knowledge continually issued numerous unobserved streamlets that fertilized and beautified the face of society.

But the Roman governors themselves, notwithstanding their multiplicity of arduous duties, never neglected to use the authority with which they were invested, to promote the improvement, and ameliorate the condition of their British subjects. Anterior to the invasion of the Romans, the art of writing and the use of numbers had been almost unknown in this island; at least, they had

not become subservient to general utility. The Roman rulers, however, provided masters at the expense of their government to teach the natives to read and write. Although it is probable, the youth of Galloway did not, for some time, derive much advantage from these generous and valuable opportunities; yet, even a few isolated seeds of arts so important, once sown among them, must have been ultimately productive of the happiest effects; for to use the elegant language of Gibbon: "Without the artificial help of writing, the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas intrusted to her charge; and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or with materials, gradually forget their powers; the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid or irregular. Fully to apprehend this important truth, let us attempt, in an improved society, to calculate the immense distance between the man of learning and the illiterate peasant. The former by reading and reflection multiplies his own experience, and lives in distant ages and remote countries; whilst the latter, rooted to a single spot, and confined to a few years of existence, surpasses, but very little, his fellow-labourer the ox in the exercise of his mental faculties. The same, and even a greater difference will be found between nations than between individuals; and we may safely pronounce, that without some species of writing, no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of their history, ever made any considerable progress in the abstract sciences, or ever possessed, in any tolerable degree of perfection, the useful and agreeable arts of life."

The illustrious Julius Agricola, in particular,

who was not only one of the best, but also one of the most learned men of his age, took great pains in reconciling the Britons to the sovereignty of Rome, by introducing among them the various arts and sciences, in which his countrymen excelled. He (and some of his successors followed his meritorious example,) instituted seminaries of education in all the considerable towns, and appointed well qualified teachers to instruct the junior part of the British community in every useful branch of knowledge. These inviting opportunities were not neglected by the native youth, who had been altogether deprived of every species of education by the expulsion of the Druids. They applied, therefore, to novel and attractive studies with persevering diligence and unabating vigour. Their zeal aided their genius; and, we are told, they soon excelled even the young men of Gaul in erudition.¹

The Romans, at the same time, made every effort to promulgate the knowledge and introduce the use of the Latin language. At first they had many difficulties to encounter, from the dislike of the natives both to the persons and speech of the invaders. But, at length, this prejudice disappeared, and the British youth applied to the study of both Latin and Greek with extraordinary success; and having thus thrown open for themselves the gate of knowledge, they were enabled to range at large through its ample fields, and cull from their exuberant produce all that could refine the taste, or enlarge the understanding. What number of the Galwegians became acquainted with a foreign tongue cannot now be known.

¹ Tacitus.

It is strange, however, that though the Romans were mingled with the North Britons for some centuries, yet none of their language, except the names of Roman arts and persons, seems to have been incorporated with the native tongue. The Celtic was extremely copious in its roots, and the Britons formed and multiplied terms as occasion dictated, or necessity required. The British dialect, being early formed from the inexhaustible stores of the Celtic, was a rich, forcible, and expressive tongue. Instead of adopting Roman terms even for Roman objects, they continued to apply native words to such works as the camps, roads, bridges, and stations of their conquerors. After the retreat of the Romans, the speech of the provincial and extra provincial North Britons remained the same. Not a Latin expression is to be found in the poetry of the ancient people for some ages after the departure of the Romans; and it always was a fundamental maxim of the Celtic bards to preserve their native language unadulterated. Many words used in Galloway have the appearance of a Latin origin, but both they, and the words from which they seem to be derived, may have had the same parentage,¹ and it is certain that such words did not come into common use until long after the departure of the Roman population from this country. But numerous terms of Celtic derivation are still daily used in the South of Scotland which clearly shows that the speech of Galloway has not under-

¹ Ware, the spring, from *Ver*, the spring.—Almous, or aumous, from *Almus*, nourishing.—Vague, to roam, and vaig, a wanderer, from *Vagari*, to wander.—Spairge, to bedaub, from *Spargere*, to spread.—Peinge, to whine, from *Pigere*, to vex.—Kep, from *Capere* to take.

gone so great a change, as not to admit Latin words, if once introduced, still to remain in it.¹

It is certain that agriculture, the most useful of all arts, was not totally unknown in the southern parts of Britain at the epoch of the arrival of the Romans. The ideas, however, entertained of it, remained crude and inefficient until the inhabitants of the island were stimulated and instructed by the precepts of their beneficent invaders. But, even though this important art may have been early practised by a few of the southern Britons; yet, it certainly never reached Galloway until the Romans penetrated into the district. As soon as this enterprising people had subdued any of the British states, they endeavoured, by every means in their power, to render the acquisition valuable. For this purpose, one of the first and most important measures was the introduction or promotion of agriculture. In the prosecution of their design, they imposed an annual tribute of a certain quantity of corn upon the conquered states, that the inhabitants might be compelled to cultivate their fields; and the veteran soldiers, to whom portions of land were assigned, received injunctions from the

Words of Celtic derivation.

1 Dad, a father, from the British *Tad*, having the same signification.—Cummer, a godmother, from the British *Commaer* Cawk, chalk, from the British *Calch*.—Dub, a pool, from the British *Dwb*.—Claver, idle talk, from the British *Clebar*.—Gus, a sow, from Corn. *Guis*.—Kemp, to strive, from the British *Camp*.—Saim, lard, from British *saim*.

CALEDONIA.

We may also add

Cairn, a heap, from the *Gael*. carn, to keep together.—Hubbub, noise, from the *Gael*. *Bub*, to roar.—Truss, a bundle, from the *Gael*. *Trus*, to collect.

constituted authorities to exhibit to the inhabitants the principles, the practice, and advantages of tillage. In this manner did the Romans, by their power, policy, and knowledge, gradually render Britain one of the most fertile of their provinces; for in the course of a few years, it not only produced corn adequate to the consumption of its inhabitants, but it afforded a considerable surplus for exportation. So large was the quantity at length yielded by the province for the use of foreigners, that a considerable fleet of ships obtained constant employment in conveying it to the Continent, where capacious granaries had been erected for its reception: it was afterwards carried up the Rhine in boats.¹ Now, when we see agriculture flourishing so extensively in England through the instrumentality of the Romans, may we not naturally conclude, that it did not remain altogether neglected, during the residence of this people among the Galwegians. We have sufficient evidence, it is true, that the knowledge of the art of agriculture had advanced no farther than the wall of Adrian at the beginning of the third century. When the Emperor Severus invaded Caledonia, in the year 207, the Mæataë, we are told, possessed no cultivated land. But after the successful issue of his expedition into North Britain, this people were obliged to yield up a portion of their country to the conquerors, who, in a few years, built military stations, cleared the lands of wood, made roads and bridges, and introduced agriculture on an extended scale. Though we have no direct proof, we have certainly strong circumstantial evi-

1 Ammianus.

dence, that many parts of Galloway, about this time, were brought into a state of tillage. So early as the beginning of the fifth century, we are informed that the Scots, who were much farther from the scene of improvement than the inhabitants of Galloway, lived partly on meal.

Previous to the Roman invasion, the Britons, in all parts of the island, were wretchedly lodged. But no sooner had the Romans planted colonies among them, than the state of architecture underwent a sudden and surprising reformation.—These industrious foreigners not only built towns to enrich and beautify the country, but they also instructed the inhabitants in the art of architecture, and exhorted them to erect more commodious and comfortable dwellings. The excellent Agricola was particularly zealous in advancing the science of architecture among the Britons; and it is more than probable, a superior mode of erecting houses was now introduced into those localities in Galloway which lay nearest the Roman stations. We have no reason, however, to believe that any very considerable, extensive, or permanent improvement was effected, at this period, by the continental residents. Some houses, however, which might afterwards serve as models to native workmen, may have been built.

In a cold and uncertain climate, nothing contributes more to secure health and promote longevity than suitable clothing. Prior to the arrival of the Roman army, the Britons, in general, and the Galwegians in particular, had no better protection for their persons against the severity of winter than mantles made of skins. These coverings they wrapped round their bodies, after they

had rendered them soft and pliable, by steeping them in water and beating them with sticks, or rubbing upon them oily substances. But, although some of the southern Britons may not have been completely ignorant of the process of manufacturing cloth during the period antecedent to the Roman visit; yet we are informed this valuable art was much improved and much more widely diffused after that event. The Emperors took great pains in procuring and encouraging superior artificers to settle in the provinces and instruct the inhabitants; and they conferred upon the workmen, who produced woollen and linen cloth of the best fabric, peculiar immunities. Besides, they frequently formed the best manufacturers into incorporations, under proper officers, and bestowed upon them numerous privileges or honourary distinctions. Imperial manufactories for providing the army with clothing were established in every province, and one of them existed at Winchester, in England. As every species of improvement gradually extended from the south to the north-east of Britain, it is reasonable to suppose, that the art of weaving cloth reached Galloway long before the departure of the Romans.

The Galwegians must also have derived from the instructions of the Romans, some knowledge of the minor or secondary arts; such as, the various methods of working wood, metal, and clay, into utensils for ordinary purposes.

At the time of the Roman invasion neither gold nor silver was known in Galloway; any traffic which then existed being carried on by the simple and natural mode of barter, or exchange of com-

modities. Perhaps the first substitutes for money, used in the island, were made of iron or brass; for we know that iron was at an early period formed, not only into ornaments, but also into rings or plates, to be used as the representatives of coin. "The Britons," says Cæsar; "use either brass money, or rings and plates of iron, of a determinate weight, by way of money."¹ It is impossible to determine whether such pieces of metal circulated in Galloway before the arrival of the Roman forces, but it is more than probable, the first coins which appeared in the district were Roman pieces, brought hither by the imperial army; for North Britain had no mint for coining money prior to the reign of Alexander I. And though many pieces of foreign money have been found in the district, yet no native coin of an earlier date has ever been discovered. During the period of Roman domination, foreign coin, being the only legal currency, became very plentiful in Eng-

¹ The words in the original are, "Utuntur aut æreo, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo."

In the early ages of society, metal was valuable. From the unskilfulness of the people, it was scarce and difficult to be obtained; and being held in high and general estimation on account of its various uses, it at length became a kind of representative of property, or measure of value. Hence, the seller disposed of his goods for a certain quantity of gold, silver, or iron, which was separated from the mass and delivered to him; and for this metal he again could procure other articles which he required. But this was an inconvenient and sometimes a fraudulent method of transacting business; for the piece of metal was not easily detached from the lump, and it was not always of the same purity. For the purpose of obviating these disadvantages, the most precious metals were formed into small pieces of a determinate value, and stamped by authority, to evince at once, and without trouble, their fineness and value. This device banished fraud and saved labour, and the mode of transacting mercantile affairs being thus facilitated, commerce was improved.

land. Besides, a considerable stream of money had constantly flowed into the province to pay the regular army; and the quantity imported by several of the Emperors, who had kept their courts in it, with much splendour, for two or three years at a time, had tended to diffuse wealth and promote refinement.

Such were some of the external advantages gained by the Galwegians from their civilized conquerors.

But they also gained from them many internal, or intellectual benefits. By the presence of a polished and enlightened people among them, their tempers were insensibly mollified, their dispositions ameliorated, their ferocity tamed, their manners improved, and their mental enjoyments enhanced.

A powerful impetus, besides, was imparted to the moral improvement of the Galwegians during the Roman period, by the introduction or general diffusion of Christianity. This work, pregnant with benevolence, and fertile in the most purifying and humanizing fruits, was achieved by the celebrated ST. NINIAN. This distinguished individual was born of noble parentage, near the modern town of Whithorn, in the year 360. Of his early history and education we know nothing.¹ Having been ordained at Rome as a British bishop, and instructed in the rules of monastic discipline by his uncle, St. Martin of Tours, he revisited his native land, in the end of the fourth century, to unfold to his

¹ His life was written by Ailred, but this author lived about 600 years after the death of St. Ninian. Ringan is the Irish name of the Saint, and in Galloway he is often mentioned by that appellation.

countrymen the benign doctrines of the Gospel. Ninian afterwards erected a church at the place of his nativity, which Bede mentions as the first in Scotland which was built of stone.¹ This fabric probably from its bright appearance, received the name of "Candida Casa," or the "White House." He is also thought to have founded a monastery at the same place, which is said to have supplied the district with Christian teachers, probably distinguished at this time by the name of Culdees.² This zealous ecclesiastic did not limit

1 There are some remains of an old church of very small dimensions at the Isle of Whithorn, a village about three miles south of the burgh of Whithorn. Tradition says that this church was the first place of Christian worship in North Britain.

New Statistical Account.

2 Cultores Dei, worshippers of God. Egypt afforded the first example of the monastic life. An illiterate youth, named Anthony, having distributed his patrimony, renounced his friends, and deserted his home, took up his abode in a ruined tower among the tombs. After a long and painful noviciate in this place, he advanced into the district on the east of the Nile, and fixed his last residence on Mount Colzim, near the Red Sea. Other ascetic Christians followed his example, and colonies of monks multiplied with much rapidity. Five thousand anchorites peopled the mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria, fifty monasteries being planted in this barren region by the disciples of Anthony. This recluse enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius who introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life. The disciples of Anthony followed the primate to Rome, but their strange and savage appearance excited at first horror or contempt, which was quickly supplanted by applause and imitation. The ruins of ancient temples were removed to make way for monasteries. The fanatical contagion continued to spread in every quarter. In the East, Basil, whose mind had tasted the eloquence and learning of Athens, whose ambition was unsatiated with the Archbishopric of Cæsarea, retired into a wild solitude in Pontus, and profusely planted colonies on the coast of the Black Sea. In the West, St. Martin of Tours, "a soldier, a bishop, a hermit, and a saint," established the monasteries of Gaul. Two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave. Monachism spread as rapidly as Christianity itself.

In the language of the monks comfort and guilt were syno-

his benevolent and powerful labours to his native district, he extended them, we are informed, as far as the Grampian Hills. He is represented as hav-

onymous terms. The original cells of the anchorites were low, narrow, and uncomfortable huts, formed of the slightest materials. The monks slept on a hard mat, or coarse blanket laid on the ground; a bundle of palm leaves serving them for a seat by day, and a pillow by night. Their garments were of the meanest, simplest, and cheapest kind. The monks either shaved or cut their hair, and to escape the sight of profane objects they wrapt their heads in a cowl. Their legs and feet were bare, except when the weather became exceedingly cold; and supported by a long staff, they moved about with slow and feeble steps. As every thing disagreeable to man was accounted by them acceptable to God, the appearance of a genuine anchorite was disgusting and repulsive. The disciples of Anthony evinced the utmost abstemiousness in their habits. Twelve ounces of bread, or biscuit, with pure water, constituted their daily pittance. Flesh they never tasted, and it was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty to abstain from fare even so simple as boiled vegetables. Some latitude in sea and river fish afterwards prevailed, though flesh was only allowed to the sick.

The monks at first subsisted by their manual labour; but the necessity of labour was completely superseded by the large contribution which monasteries received from individuals who became their inmates, or required the prayers of the holy brotherhood.

The primitive monks spent their lives in penance and solitude, and they never were allowed singly to step beyond the precincts of the monastery. Upon their return they were enjoined to forget, or to suppress whatever they had heard or observed in the world.

Among the votaries of monachism, Simeon Stylites has become renowned by his invention of aerial penance. On the summit of a pillar, or column, 60 feet from the ground, this fanatic resisted the heat of thirty summers and the cold of as many winters. He was seen almost constantly praying in his airy and dangerous situation. Sometimes he stood, without fear or giddiness, in an erect attitude, with his arms stretched out in the form of a cross; at other times his skeleton form assumed a bending posture from the forehead to the feet. A curious spectator once observed the saint, and numbered 1244 repetitions, when he desisted from keeping any longer an apparently endless account. Multitudes daily flocked round his pillar to obtain his blessing. An ulcer in his thigh, which ultimately shortened his life, did not disturb his insane career; for he expired,

ing consecrated a number of individuals to the holy ministry, in the province of Valentia, and divided the country into parishes.¹ This term, however, in early times, signified a much larger ecclesiastical district than it does at present; and we are certain that parishes, in the subsequent meaning of the term, were not instituted before the ninth or tenth century, when the Christian religion was generally embraced, and preachers had become sufficiently numerous to admit of such a subdivision of ecclesiastical superintendence.

That parishes, according to the common acceptation of the term, existed in the reign of Malcolm III, who died in 1093, is evident from authentic records. Soon after this period, tythes are mentioned, as if they had been familiarly known, and fully established.² Bede terms Ninian bishop of the Picts, which certainly goes far to prove that the Galwegians were then distinguished by this appellation. After a long and laborious life, St. Ninian died at Whithorn, on the 16th of September, 432, in the 73d year of his age: he was buried within the walls of the church. For many ages, the anniversary of his death continued to be observed, as a festival, in grateful remembrance of

as he had lived, on the summit of his pillar. His remains were transported to Antioch by a solemn procession, composed of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, 6 bishops, 21 counts, and 6000 soldiers.

For a farther account of this wonderful hermit, see Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. ii. pp. 427—428.

We have considered it in some measure necessary to give this account of the origin of monastic institutions, as Galloway afterwards became so prolific of monasteries.

¹ Usher. According to Gildas, the sees of bishops were anciently denominated *parochia*. Cowel also says that *parochia* anciently signified the diocese of a bishop.

² Murray's Literary History of Galloway.

a prelate, who had done much to promote the spiritual welfare of his countrymen, and the best interests of humanity. His fame will be perpetuated by the great number of churches and chapels, which have been dedicated to his name, in every part of North Britain.¹

We are informed that the primitive teachers of Christianity, either as an evidence of sanctity, or as respite from the intrusion of rude and wayward followers, sought refuge, like the Druidical priests, in sequestered forests or lonely caves. A cave in

1 " His fame will be long preserved by the number of churches, which, in North Britain, have been dedicated to his name: Kil-Ninian parish, in Mull island; Kil-Saint-Ninian, in Colmonell parish, Ayrshire; St. Ninian's parish, near Stirling; St. Ninian's, in Alyth parish; St. Ninian's chapel, which has been converted into a cemetery, in the Enzie, Banff-shire; St. Ninian's in Inverness-shire; all owe their ancient names to the worthy Ninian. There were other local objects, in North Britain, which equally derived their names, from the respected Ninian. There was None-kil, or St. Ninian's chapel, in Kiltearn parish. There was a chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Ross; and there was a chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Murray. There was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, on the Castle-hill of Aberdeen; and there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, at the west port of Linlithgow. In the parish of St. Vigians, there were a chapel, and a burying-ground, dedicated to St. Ninian; and near them, is St. Ninian's Well, which was formerly in great repute, for curing many maladies. Stat. Account, v. xii. p. 183. In the Isle of Bute, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, which stood on a promontory, called Runa-Ringan, the point of St. Ninian. In one of the Shetland isles, on the west coast of Dunrossness, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian; and this islet was called Ringan Isle, or St. Ninian's Isle. Sibbald's Shetland, p. 15. In different maps, it is called Renan's Isle, or Ringan's Isle. As *Ringan* is the Irish name of *Ninian*, we may easily suppose, that this name has been applied, and this chapel erected, by some of the zealous Columbans, who may have visited *Thule*, for the worthy purpose of instructing the pagan Shetlanders, in the religion of Christ. Thus, St. Ninian appears to have been venerated, in every district of North Britain; in the northern, as well as in the western isles. Statistical Account, vol. xvii. p. 594." CALEDONIA.

the parish of Glasserton, near the house of Physgill, is still pointed out, with some respect, as the retreat of St. Ninian.¹ It is called St. Ringan's cave by the people in the vicinity. This famed retreat is but of small dimensions, and does not penetrate far into the rock. The stones in the roof have an arched appearance, and water filters through the crevices between them. Its mouth is towards the east, and only a few feet above the level of the sea. In summer, it might have afforded an agreeable shelter, but in winter, the Saint must have found it but a cold habitation.

St. Ninian's biographers assert, that he laid claim to the power of working miracles. But as this supernatural gift does not seem to have been conferred on any since the days of the apostles, it is not improbable, that he, like many of the early saints, laboured under a species of mental delusion; or, perhaps, posterity may have gratuitously ascribed this miraculous power to him after his death, when the truth or falsehood of the allegation could not be discovered, or the power put to the test of experiment.

Many may consider that St. Ninian, in founding a monastery at Whithorn,² conferred no benefit on Galloway. But it must be remembered, that whatever may have been the condition of monasteries for some time before their suppression in Great Britain, they were once the great reci-

¹ There is a small cave in the parish of Kirkmaiden, called St. Medan's cave, which was formerly of no inconsiderable note. In the adjoining rock is a pool of water which the people in the neighbourhood call the "Chapel Well." To bathe in this holy well on the first Sunday of May, was once accounted an infallible remedy for all diseases. NEW STATISTICAL ACCOUNT.

² Whithorn was once called "St. Ninians."

pients of knowledge, the repositories of learning, and the only seminaries of education. During the dark ages of Europe, the monks were the instructors of the ignorant, the comforters of the distressed, the counsellors of the perplexed, the promulgators of discoveries, and the promoters of improvement. Our first authors were monks, and many of the most valuable works of early writers emanated from cloisters.¹ Although the light afforded by monasteries was but dim and feeble, yet, like beacons in the midst of impenetrable darkness, they often directed the wayfaring wanderer on the road to Heaven.

1 Murray's Literary History of Galloway.

CHAP. III.

FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE ROMANS, TO THE NOMINAL
SUBJECTION OF GALLOWAY TO THE SCOTTISH MONARCHY.

AFTER the unconditional abandonment of the British provinces by the Roman government, the miserable inhabitants daily sunk deeper and deeper into an abyss of anarchy and impotence. They assembled armies, but their armies were no better than disorderly and undisciplined rabbles. They set up kings, but their kings were speedily assassinated by those who had raised them to dangerous and unstable thrones.

Hitherto the irruptions of the northern plunderers had been only evanescent. As soon as they had obtained a sufficiency of booty, they withdrew into their own country, and left the plundered to enjoy what remained of their property. A report, however, prevailed, that the Scots and Picts, with their united forces, intended to invade South Britain, and, after having extirpated the inhabitants, permanently to possess it. This report spread universal consternation. An assembly of chiefs was convened for solemn deliberation at this momentous crisis, and to fix upon the measures which ought to be adopted for meeting or averting

the threatened danger. Vortigern, one of the most considerable and influential of their princes, in an evil hour, proposed to request the aid of the Saxons, whose bravery had been often witnessed in daring descents upon the British shores.— This people delighted in war, and possessed a sufficiency of shipping for any enterprise. Vortigern's proposal was adopted, and ambassadors immediately repaired to Germany, to crave the assistance of some Saxon troops. These ambassadors were successful in their application; and, induced by a profusion of fair promises, an army of 1600 men came over from the Continent in three ships, under the command of two brothers, Hengist and Horsa.¹ This small army, landing in the Isle of Thanet, was joyfully welcomed by the pusillanimous Britons. At this time, the Scots and Picts had pushed their direful ravages as far as Stamford; but they had now to encounter warriors who equalled them in valour, and perhaps exceeded them in ferocity. An encounter took place, and they were quickly defeated by the united army of Saxons and Britons. The victory spread unbounded joy. In their paroxysm of gratitude, the unsuspecting inhabitants loaded, with gifts, their deliverers, who felt little disposed to relinquish a country where they had been so extravagantly entertained, courted, and flattered. Hengist now proposed to the Britons, as a farther security against the future attacks of their ancient enemies, to send to Germany for a reinforcement; and five thousand of the bravest of the Saxon warriors came over to the island in seventeen ships. This augmen-

¹ Goldsmith's History of England.

tation of strength greatly enhanced the confidence and boldness of the continental army. The beauty, fertility, and wealth of the country, excited their avarice, and the utter defencelessness of its possessors roused their ambition. On the most frivolous pretences, they quarrelled with their former friends, and laid waste the British territories. That they might meet with no impediment in the path of conquest, they concluded a treaty of peace with the Picts. The miserable Britons were now fully awaked from their late delusive dream of fatal security, to a melancholy sense of their error in rashly calling to their assistance a fierce, selfish, and faithless people. A cruel and bloody war succeeded. Determined valour at last prevailed, and the Saxons obtained a complete victory at Crayford, which put Hengist in possession of Kent: he then assumed the title of King. Thus was the first Saxon kingdom formed, about eight years after the arrival of this people in Britain. The new sovereign invited his son Octa and his nephew Ebessa to settle in the island. These chieftains collected as many followers as possible, and having plundered the Orkney Isles in their passage, landed on the coast of Northumberland¹ where they formed settlements, which they gradually extended as far as the Frith of Forth. One body of Saxons succeeded another until, by reiterated inundations of foreigners, the original inhabitants were either destroyed or dispossessed, and driven to seek shelter among the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, where they retained their own manners, customs, and language: those who remained were reduced to a state of slavery. At

¹ So called from being situated to the north of the Humber.

length, seven kingdoms, which received the name of the SAXON HEPTARCHY, were formed in Britain.

These Continental invaders were of Gothic extraction. The Goths constituted the second tide of population which flowed from the East. Long, however, after Europe had been filled with inhabitants, the Goths continued to occupy their original possessions. The speech of this people and the languages of the other European nations have all been derived from the same source.¹ Settlers from three Gothic tribes, namely, the Saxons, the Angles, and Jutes arrived in Britain. The same tribes had been seen on the coast of the Baltic soon after the commencement of the Christian era.² The Saxons had been long known as the most prominent

¹ The similarity of language, or dialects of languages, is very striking. As an example of such analogy we shall take only four words.

CANT, jargon, *Gael.* can. *Lat.* cano. *Arm.* cana and kan. *W.* kan. *Corn.* kana.—sing, rehearse, say, name, call.

BOROUGH, a town, *Scotch*, burgh. *Gael.* burg, a town; a tower; a fortress; a village; *Gr.* Purgos, a tower. *Pers.* burj, a town, *Arab.* borg and borch. *Syr.* bor, a village. *Chald.* borgan, a town. *Isl.* borg and biorg, a village. *Swed.* berga and borga. *Arm.* burch and burg. *Germ.* berg, burg, and purg. *Dan.* borg. *Du.* burg. *Sax.* burug, burgh, and beorg. *Run.* borg. *Bely.* borg, borcht, and burcht. *Eng.* burgh *Bisc.* burgua.

CAN, a cup. *Gael.* cann, cainn, s. m. a reservoir, a vessel.—*Syr.* canir, vase. *Gr.* Kantharos. *Hung.* kanna. *Germ.* kan, *Span.* cana. Juvenal has *canna* a can.

BOOTH, a cottage, hut, tent. *Gael.* Both or Buth. *Teut.* bod, house. *Old Swed.* according to Rudbeck, buda, a village. *Goth.* bouden, temple. *Swed.* boo, a dwelling. *Thibet*, bo, to hide. *Carib.* boa, a house. *Old Sax.* boed. *Eng.* abode. *Span.* bodega, cellar. *Fr.* boutique, shop. *Germ.* bude, a house. *Pol.* bauda and budo, a house. *Georgian*, budo, a nest. *Turk.* and *Arab.* beit and beith. *Chald.* betha and bith. *Syr.* baitho and bitho. *Phen.* bith and beth. *Pers.* bat and abad. *Ethiop.* beti, a house,

ARMSTRONG'S GAELIC DICTIONARY.

² Henry.—Caledonia.

and most adventurous of the three tribes; and, hence, the whole emigrants were accounted Saxons by the Roman and British people. The chief seat of the Saxons, properly so named, was in Holsatia, or Old Saxony, now Holstein.¹ The Angles were a tribe who had settled in that part of ancient Germany which now forms the Duchy of Sleswic; They had poured into Britain in such numbers as to leave their own country almost a solitude. The Jutes, again, were the inhabitants of that portion of Germany which received from them, the name of Jutland. Some adventurers from other tribes joined their expeditions and settled in the island. The Angles, being the most numerous settlers, gave their name to England; and the whole German population of Britain were known by the compound appellation of Anglo-Saxons.

Nature had endowed the Anglo-Saxons with many of her choicest gifts. They were tall, and elegantly shaped. The beauty of their countenance and the fine symmetry of their forms have been known to save some English youths from a violent death. St. Gregory, who afterwards ascended the papal throne, was so much struck with the appearance of a number of English captives whom he saw in the slave market at Rome, that he exclaimed, upon being told they were English, "*Non Angli sed Angeli forent, si essent Christiani*;" "they would not be Angles but Angels, had they been Christians;" and from that moment he was seized with an ardent desire to convert this people from Paganism to Christianity.

The Anglo-Saxons, however, were fierce, illi-

¹ Henry's History of Britain.

terate, and ambitious. Their religion was gross and irrational, and powerfully tended to debase, or rather brutalize their nature, by inspiring them with a delight in blood and a contempt of death. They possessed great strength of body and power of endurance, to which the rigorous climate of their native country had been peculiarly conducive; for Canada, at present, exhibits an exact picture of ancient Germany.¹

Such were the people who settled on the eastern shores of the province of Valentia after the departure of the Romans. To them the Galwegians are principally indebted for their language, and for some of their institutions. A large portion of the inhabitants of the Lowlands are of Anglo-Saxon extraction.

Having defeated the Gadeni and Ottadini, the German invaders began to threaten, by their encroachments, the forcible seizure of the whole southern district of North Britain. As disunion had at all times been the ruin of the natives, the Selgovæ, Novantes, and Damnii, with some fugitives from the conquered tribes of the Mæatæ, formed themselves into one great community, under their own chiefs, for their general defence. This confederacy was often called the kingdom of Strath-cluyd, but sometimes it received the name of "*Regnum Cumbrense, or Cambrense.*" It included Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfries-shire, Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrew-shire, Lanarkshire, the middle and western parts of Stirling-shire, and the greater part of Dumbarton-shire.² Alcluyd, which signi-

¹ Gibbon.

² Henry and other historians represent it as comprising also Cumberland and a part of Lancashire.

fies in the British language the “Rocky Height on the Cluyd,”—the ancient name of the Clyde,—was its capital. On the summit of this high rock, the Britons had a very strong fort, named *Caer-Cluyd*, for the protection of their rulers. This fort received from the Scots the appellation of *Dunbriton*, which word, by an easy transition, in later times was converted into *Dumbarton*.¹ The people of this kingdom seem to have been distinguished by the name of *Cumbrians* or *Walenses*. All who spoke the British language were often designated *Welsh*.²

As a protection against the increasing encroachments of the Anglo-Saxons, a great work, called the *Catrail*, or “dividing fence,”³ was constructed on the eastern confines of the *Cumbrian* kingdom. This fence extended at least from *Galashiels*, on the north, to *Peel-fell*, on the south—a distance of about 45 miles,—and passed through the shires of *Roxburgh* and *Selkirk*. It consisted of a fosse, with a rampart of earth and stone on each side of it. The fosse seems to have been originally about 26 feet wide. In those places where the larger rampart has been least demolished, it is still about 10 feet high, and 12 feet broad. The hand of time and the labours of agriculture are daily diminishing its dimensions. Along its extensive range, stood several British forts, placed either on the contiguous hills or neighbouring heights, to overawe the Saxons, and check their encroaching propensity.

1 *Caledonia*. The tide at one time flowed round this rock.

2 *Innes*.

3 It is also called the *Pictsworke*ditch.

The first sovereign of the Cumbrian kingdom; noticed in history, is Caw, or Cawn, the father of Gildas. This prince, however, was soon expelled from his kingdom by the hostility of the Picts; but he found an asylum amongst a kindred people in Wales, where his name is still held in high veneration. His son Huail, better known by the appellation of Hoel, or Coyle, succeeded him.¹ This prince was cotemporary with the celebrated Arthur, King of Scotland. Huail had the misfortune to provoke the enmity of this powerful monarch, who penetrated into Galloway,² and drove the Cumbrian king from his throne: the discomfited chief fled to the island of Anglesey where he died. Tradition asserts that Arthur erected a palace in Galloway, though the site of it is not known. He retained the allegiance of the Walenses rather by his wisdom than power; and at his death, the Cumbrian crown reverted to the family of its former kings. Marken, who is remembered chiefly for his hostility to Kentigern, founder of the bishopric of Glasgow, succeeded to the Cumbrian throne.—The premature death of this sovereign was viewed as an appropriate punishment, for having raised his impious foot against this holy man.

After the death of Marken, a severe struggle ensued among the Cumbrian chiefs for the sovereignty of the kingdom: it ended in favour of Rydderech, the Generous. One of the first acts of

¹ Kyle is thought to have derived its name from this chief.

² Arthur is described in history as having, at this time, reached Penryn-Ryoneth, or double promontory of Ryon, that has been mistaken for Dumbarton, but which is obviously the Rhyns of Galloway, of which the expression conveys a remarkably accurate idea.

his reign was to recall Kentigern to his former see. Cotemporary with this prince was Walluain, chief of the Novantes.

In the year 547, Ida, one of the most powerful and active of the Saxon leaders, arrived in a fleet of fifty ships, with a vast body of adventurers, and landed at Flamborough unopposed. Up to this period, the eastern part of Valentia, though over-run, had not been completely subdued. Settlements, indeed, under petty chiefs, had sprung up in various parts of it, but the Saxons rather mingled with the Britons than expelled them. The bloody struggles in the south, had hitherto rivetted their attention, commanded their energies, and monopolized their exertion. Ida, however, by his talents and success gave a new impulse to their valour and ambition. The Britons of Strathclyd beheld the advance of Ida with alarm, and endeavoured to arrest it.—The battle of Cattraeth was fought, which declared in favour of the Saxons. Both Rydderech, the Cumbrian king, and Walluain, chief of the Novantes, appear to have been, on this occasion, among the brave defenders of their country. The victorious Ida now founded the Northumbrian, or rather Bernician monarchy, and soon enlarged its boundaries until it included, not only the present counties of Northumberland and Durham, but also the Merse and three Lothians; in short, all the eastern coast, from the Tyne to the Forth. Ælla, another Saxon leader, founded, about the same time, a small state between the Humber and the Tyne, including Lancashire and Yorkshire, which being subsequently incorporated with the Bernician kingdom rendered it extremely powerful.¹ Ida's career

¹ Hume's History of England.

of conquest was stopped, in 559, by the vengeful sword of a brave and determined enemy : he fell in battle.

The kingdom of Strathclyd now excited the avarice of numerous and powerful enemies ; and it had sometimes to sustain the attacks of the Scots and Picts, and at other times those of the Saxons.—That part of Galloway which lay along the sea coast, or at the greatest distance from the seat of government, was now over-run by the Northumbrian Saxons who made settlements in it.—The farms which are still styled Inglestons are thought to have derived their name from the Angles who then possessed them, and motes seem generally to have been in their vicinity. Those slaves whom they employed in tilling the ground were termed boors, and the places which they inhabited or occupied, are still named Borlands.¹ The lands called “Carletons” also obtained their name from the *Ceorles*, or middle class of society among the Saxons ; the thanes being the highest and the slaves the lowest. In 577, Rydderech defeated Aidan, the Scottish king, on the heights of Arderyth. The site of this conflict is thought to have been at Airdrie, in Lanark-shire. Soon after the battle, the Cumbrian king felt an unbounded anxiety to learn what fate would ultimately befall him, and sent a messenger to St. Columba,² to inquire “whether Rydderech

¹ Heron's History of Scotland, Mr Heron was a native of Newgalloway, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. See Dr T. Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway, 2nd Ed. p. 219.

² St. Columba has been sometimes termed the apostle of Scotland ; and, indeed, he will long be remembered as the benefactor of North Britain. This holy man was born in Ireland, and descended from a family of rank. Instigated by pious zeal,

should be slain by his enemies or not." The saint made answer; "He shall never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but shall die in his own house upon his pillow." Adamnan, St. Columba's biographer, attests the fulfilment of the prophecy; for he emphatically adds; "Roderic died an easy death in his own house." This munificent monarch expired in the year 601.

he founded several monasteries in his own country. In 565, at the age of forty-two, he abandoned his native land with the laudable design of preaching the Gospel to the Picts. For the site of a monastery, Conal the Scottish King, and his relation, bestowed upon him the island of Iona. Here he settled with his twelve companions. They laboured, during the space of two full years, in preparing huts for their habitations, and in erecting one small and unsubstantial church. Though the Columbans were called monks, they were a body of regular clergy. For thirty-four years, Columba continued to send out Christian instructors to various parts of North Britain; he died on the 9th of June, 597. Not only North Britain, however, but also England, derived numerous advantages from the ecclesiastical institution in Iona. The monastery furnished an asylum and instruction to the Northumbrian princes, and many teachers were despatched from Iona to England, to unfold the cheering truths of the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. "This famous isle," says Mr Knox in his topography, is situated off the south-west point of Mull, from which it is separated by a strait now two miles broad; but anciently much narrower, for we are informed, that people could converse across the channel. The islet is, at present, about two miles long, by one broad; and is rather fertile. It contains interesting ruins and *tumuli*. The primitive name was *I*, which in Gaelic signifies an isle. By Bede, *I* was aspirated *Hy*. From its being exposed to the swell of the Atlantic, it is often dangerous to approach its shores, and on that account, it was also called by the Gael, *I-thon*, 'the isle of waves;' this being pronounced *I-on*, was Latinized by the monks Iona, and aspirated Hyona, as we find it written by Adamnan, in his life of Columba; Adomnan was abbot, in 679. In later times, it was denominated *I-colm-cille* (pronounced *Icolnkil*;) "the isle of Columba's retreat, or cell."

An intimate connection subsisted for some time between the monks of Iona and the inhabitants of Galloway who derived much instruction from that learned society. The monastery obtained the patronage of many churches in this district.

Not long after the battle of Arderyth, Aidan, the Scottish king, joined the Cumbrians against the Saxons. In 584, their united forces defeated the Northumbrian army on the east border of Westmoreland. The Saxons were again vanquished by the allied army in the battle of Leithredh. But in the year 598, the Saxons became the victors, and defeated, in their turn, the Cumbrians and Scots in the battle of Kirkinn. Again in 603, the allied army sustained a total overthrow on the fatal field of Dawstane. After this disaster, the Cumbrian power became extremely circumscribed, and the Anglo-Saxons obtained a great ascendancy in Galloway, though perhaps not the absolute sovereignty of the province.

Rydderech had left no sons to inherit his kingdom, and for half a century the subordinate chiefs contended for the superiority. At length Owen, or Hoen, ascended the dangerous and unstable throne of Strathcluyd. Again the Cumbrians were involved in war with the Scots, and this patriotic sovereign defended his insecure dominions against the insidious Donal-breac, who fell by the hand of the brave Owen, in 642, at the battle of Strath-Carmaic.¹ Owen's noble achievements did not secure his power to his posterity, for he was succeeded by a series of kings of different families, whose names have almost totally disappeared from the page of history.

The Cumbrians, in addition to the attacks of their former enemies, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, had now to contend against the northern Irish tribes.—In 681, they repelled an invasion of the Cruithne

¹ Strath signifies a valley.

of Ulster,¹ and slew the son of their king. At this time, we are told, (though the statement does not seem to rest on any sure foundation,) that the bishopric of Candida Casa was re-established. Octa is mentioned as the successor of Ninian;² but it is probable, the Novantes had not the benefit of any episcopal superintendence, from the death of their first prelate, until the appointment of Saxon bishops to the same see. Bede says, that in 681, Trumwine was made bishop "*ad provinciam Pictorum*;" and Trumwine styles himself "*Episcopus Pictorum*." But though Macpherson states, that Trumwine was "bishop of Quhethern," or of the "Pichts" some writers have maintained that, if he had a particular diocese, Abercorn, and not Whithorn, was the seat of his bishopric. In 723,³ however, the see of Candida Case was undoubtedly revived by Osric, king of the Northumbrians, and Pecthelme consecrated bishop of it. Before this period, the Saxons had been converted, and were become zealous in the cause of Christianity.

Prior to the middle of the 8th century, the Cumbrians were assailed by the Caledonian Picts; and,

1 Cruithne, or Cruithneach, is an Irish word which denoted Picts.

2 Bede.—Keith. See Catalogue of Scottish Bishops. p. 271.

3 "In that year, was Pictbelme consecrated bishop of Whithern. [Bede, l. v, c. 23,] And dying, in 736, A. D., he was succeeded by Frithwald. [Ib. l. v] And he dying, in 763, A. D. was succeeded, by Pechtvin: And he dying, in 777, according to Seville, but according to the chron. of Melros, 776, A. D., was succeeded by Æthelbert, consecrated at York, who attended the council of Calcuth: And he dying, in 790, was succeeded by Eadwulf the fifth, and last, of the bishops of Whithern. The chronicle of Melros calls him Badulf." CALEDONIA.

Keith calls him Radwulf.

in the year 750, the Northumbrian monarch, Eadbert, having traversed Nithsdale, seized Kyle and Cunningham. By a joint attack of the Saxons and Picts, in 756, the metropolis of the Strathclyudian kingdom, though not the castle, was taken; but the people remained unsubdued. As soon as the storm of war had passed, the Cumbrian rulers always resumed their authority. Thus did this unfortunate nation continue pressed on every quarter until the year 779, when, we are informed, their capital was burned by the Scots.

At the end of the 8th, or beginning of the 9th century, the Northumbrian dynasty became extinct, and the see of Candida Casa, or Whithorn, fell with it, but the clergy of the diocese submitted to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Sodor and Man.¹ The Anglo-Saxon population had never been abundant in Galloway, and now their influence or authority was almost annihilated, and they were no longer viewed as a distinct people.²

1 Hollinshed's Chronicles of Scotland.

2 "In an islet in the river Dee which falls into the Solway frith,—or the Vergivian sea,—at Kirkcudbright, is an ancient castle in the Norman fashion, and now ruinous, of which the name is THRIEVE-castle. Adjacent, upon the western bank of the river, is a farm named THRIEVE GRANGE. This castle, remarkable in the history of Lower Galloway, is, however, much more ancient than any record in which it is mentioned. No tradition of the neighbourhood explains the origin of its name. No plausible account of this has been, as yet suggested. Now, I cannot help conjecturing, that this castle, if not itself more ancient than the thirteenth or the twelfth century, stands most probably on the site of a more ancient castle, coeval with the reigns of the Northumbrian Edwin or Oswald, and the seat of the RIEVE, or inferior Anglo-Saxon governor of the country.—The original meaning of GRANGE, is *farm*: and THRIEVE-GRANGE may have been a possession of the RIEVE who resided in the castle. The Anglo-Saxon language has ever since [partially] prevailed in this country. Several of the ancient Anglo-

The Saxons, though long blended with the inhabitants of Galloway, do not appear to have effected a great change in the district. Before their emigration from Germany, they had perhaps attained to a better order in civil polity, and the knowledge or exercise of a greater variety of arts, than the people of Galloway, but they could not impart much advantageous instruction. After their arrival in the island, they practised agriculture, rearing, at the same time, large flocks and herds. They knew the art of weaving cloth; for they wore linen garments bearing a slight resemblance to our shirts, over which they frequently threw a robe, in the form of a Scottish plaid.

Their houses were similar to those of the ancient Britons, though rather more comfortable: light was admitted through linen cloth instead of the glass used in modern times; and they had a greater variety of domestic utensils, many of which were made of metal. They understood, though but imperfectly, the art of tanning the hides of animals into leather which they formed into shoes. Commodious waggons had been long in use among them for the removal of their effects, in their various peregrinations; and they formed, of planks, large boats very lofty at each end.

Saxon arts and modes of life still subsist here in all their primitive simplicity. Through all those parts of the country which lie contiguous to the sea-coast, the names of places are generally Anglo-Saxon. Bede, too, an unexceptionable authority, relates, that even in his time, the city of Whithern was in the possession of his countrymen. Kirkeudbright in Lower Galloway appears to have been founded by the Anglo-Saxons, in honour of their illustrious St. Cuthbert of Lindisfern."

HERON'S History of Scotland.

1 Henry's History of Britain.

Their warlike weapons consisted of a small wooden shield, a long spear, pointed with brass or iron, a broad sword, and a bow.¹ War, hunting, and the noisy merriment of the feast, were the only employments of the men : the meaner occupations of life devolved upon the women and slaves.² In England and the southern parts of North Britain, they found numerous specimens of Roman workmanship, which promoted their advancement in the arts and sciences ; and whenever they found it necessary, they availed themselves of the knowledge and services of the subjugated Britons. From the date of their arrival in the island, their food, their clothing, their implements, their architecture, and their rural economy, were partly Saxon and partly Roman. Whatever the Romans had taught the British tribes, the German adventurers eagerly imitated.

Two classes of Saxon works still remain in Galloway as monuments of this people, namely, their camps and *notes*. The Anglo-Saxon camps are easily distinguished from British forts or Roman posts. The areas of the Saxon camps were raised by accumulated earth above the level of the

1 " Anuerin, a Welsh Bard who flourished early in the sixth century, and fought in person against the invaders, gives this account of the military habits and weapons of the Saxons. There were present at the battle of *Cattraeth*, ' three hundred warriors arrayed in gilded armour, three loricated bands with three commanders wearing golden torques. They were armed with " daggers," white sheathed piercers, and " wore four-pointed (square) helmets, Some of them carried spears and shields, the latter being made of split wood. Their leader had a projecting shield, was harnessed in " scaly mail," armed with a slaughtering pike, and wore a mantle, the skin of a beast."

PLANCHE'S History of British Costume, p. 17, London Edit, 1834.

2 Tacitus.

adjacent ground. A rampart of earth, with a very wide ditch, surrounded the camp, and an external rampart, enclosing the whole, separated it from the surrounding country. There are still the very distinct remains of an Anglo-Saxon camp at the eastern extremity of the sea-coast, in the parish of Mochrum.¹ The mottes were unfortified mounds, formed for public meetings or courts of justice.— They are in some places now called *duns*, (the name in all probability originally bestowed upon them by the British inhabitants, from their resemblance to forts,) and in other places, *laws* or Moot-hills:² a number of these mottes may have been used in early ages for warlike purposes. The Saxons had long possession of Whithorn, but left few traces of their residence.

When the Anglo-Saxons first settled in Britain, they were ignorant of the use of letters. Their speech, therefore, must have been simple and unconnected. Some years after their arrival, they adopted the use of the Roman-British alphabet, and their language ceased to be entirely oral. But when the Roman clergy came amongst them, a considerable impulse was given to literature; for these zealous pastors brought many books from Italy, and instructed the Saxon youth in the mode of using them. By these means a taste for learning was diffused³ and numbers of the Saxons soon excelled

1 New Statistical Account.

2 There are two places of this kind in the parish of Kirkcudbright, one in the town, still called the *Mote-brae*, and another named the Moot-hill, about a mile from the ancient Caerban-torigum.

3 Heron's History of Scotland. In support of these facts we make the following extract from Dr. Johnson's History of the English language. "What was the form of the *Saxon*."

in the art of writing; many of the manuscripts of that period being executed in a superior style.— One of the most beautiful copies of the Gospels, was then made by a monk of Northumberland, at the request of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. Bede, often termed the wise Saxon, was accounted the most learned man of the western world. Books were so valuable during the seventh century, that as much land could have been obtained for one of those works which were held in the highest estimation as could be tilled by eight ploughs.

During the prevalence of Saxon superiority in Galloway, the original speech of the natives does not seem to have undergone any very material or extensive transformation. The Anglo-Saxon language, no doubt, came into use in some parts of the province, but it had already undergone some alteration by borrowing, both from the British and Scottish dialects of the Celtic, many words which have maintained their ground amidst all the fluctuations of time, and still add force, copi-

language, when, about the year 450, they first entered *Britain*, cannot now be known. They seem to have been a people without learning, and very probably without an alphabet; their speech, therefore, having been always cursory and extemporaneous, must have been artless and unconnected, without any modes of transition or involution of clauses; which abruptness and inconnection may be observed even in their later writings. This barbarity may be supposed to have continued during their wars with the *Britains*, which for a time left them no leisure for softer studies; nor is there any reason for supposing it abated, till the year 570, when *Augustine* came from *Rome* to convert them to Christianity. The Christian religion always implies or produces a certain degree of civility and learning; they then became by degrees acquainted with the *Roman* language, and so gained, from time to time, some knowledge and elegance, till in three centuries they had formed a language capable of expressing all the sentiments of a civilized people."

ousness, and ornament to the present language of the Lowlands of North Britain. As the Celtic and Gothic, however, flowed from the same fountain, it would now be difficult to analyze, with any degree of accuracy, the modern speech of the south of Scotland. That it rests principally upon a Saxon basis is certain; for undoubtedly the main fabric of the English language is of Teutonic, or Gothic origin.¹ The Anglo-Saxons, besides, imposed names on several of the larger or more conspicuous natural objects in the district.² The burgh of Kirkcudbright deduced its name, and perhaps its origin from this people. About a

1 Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language.

2 "In the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright," says Mr Chalmers, "we may trace a few Saxon names, which correspond with the fewness of the Saxon settlers, till recent times. The Saxon *Merse* is applied, in some instances, to fenny tracts, which had been previously denominated *Carse*, by the Britons. The Saxon *Burg* a fort, or town, appears in a few names; as *Borg* parish, *Burgh* in Colvend, and *Dryburgh*, in Crossmichael. There is only one instance of the Saxon *Berg*, a hill which appears, in its English form of *Berry*, in *Raeberry*-hill. There are only two examples of the Saxon *Wic*, in the names of *Rerwick*, and *Southwick*. The Saxon *Bye* only appears in the name of *Bombie*: And there are only two instances of the Saxon *Ham*, in *Edingham*, and *Twynham*. The Saxon *Cleugh*, a ravine, appears only in two names. There are a few instances of the Saxon *Hleawe*, or *Law*, a hill; as *New-law*, and *Nether-law*, in *Rerwick*, *Ward-law* in *Balmaclellan*, *Green-law*, in *Crossmichael*, *Law*, in *Minnigaff*. The only river, which appears, in Galloway to have a Saxon name, is the *Flect*, from the Anglo-Saxon *Fleet*. The Saxons, who domineered in West Galloway, or Wigtonshire, during the 7th and 8th centuries, imposed very few names on places; because having a very inconsiderable population, they formed few settlements; and they became merged among the more numerous Britons. A few of the old Saxon names they did impose, during those ages, perhaps: such as *Whit-hern*, *Cunnig-ham*, *Craig-bottle*, *Apple-by*, *Les-walt*, *Mers-town*, *Brugh-ton*, *Wig-ton*, and *Craig-law*: Such, then, are the only names, which can be pointed out, as old Saxon appellations, that may have been probably imposed, during the Saxon rule."

quarter of a mile to the east of the town, in a situation which has served, from time immemorial, as the burying ground of the inhabitants, stood an ancient church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, the famous Northumbrian saint. The cemetery is still called St. Cuthbert's church yard. From this sacred building, the town received the appellation of Kirkcudbright. The name of the burgh, as well as that of the saint, has been variously written and pronounced at different times.¹

After the annihilation of the Saxon influence in Galloway, its inhabitants did not long enjoy their acquired freedom. Some of the Irish tribes had often endeavoured, but without success, to obtain possession of the opposite coast of North Britain. The Novantes, gradually weakened by the Northumbrian domination, had become, at length, but indifferently fitted for defending their territo-

1 "The name of Cuthbert during the 12th and 13th centuries was written Cudbright, and the town has been called Kirkcuthbert, Kirkcubright, Kirkcubrie, and by the Irish settlers Kilcudbright. John Maclellan speaks of it in the following terms, "le temple de Cudbert, Vulgairement, Kirkcubrie." "Cuthbert died on the 20th of March 687. Smith's Bede, p. 256.—We may judge of the influence, which was annexed to the person of St. Cuthbert, from the ancient churches, which were erected, in the southern districts of North Britain, under the shelter of his name. The West Kirk of Edinburgh, which is certainly one of the oldest, was dedicated to St. Cuthbert.—Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, derives its name from St. Cuthbert, to whom the oldest church of that town was dedicated. In Glencairn, Dumfries-shire, there was a church dedicated to the same patron saint; and named Kirkcudbright. The old parish church of Balantrae, in Carrick, was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and was named Kirkcudbright. In the parish of Sorn, Ayrshire, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert; and the field, where it stood, is still called St. Cuthbert's Holm. From those notices, we may even trace the obscure colonization of the Saxon invaders."

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For a more particular account of this saint see appendix, (C.)

ries. The *Cruithne*, or Picts of Ulster, were now successful in an attempt on the western coast, near the Rhyns of Galloway. Here they formed a settlement, and vast numbers of their countrymen soon followed.¹ These Irish colonists not only spread over the ample extent of ancient Galloway, but even penetrated into Dumfries-shire.² The remains of an old wall, or dyke, are still perceptible in Lower Galloway. It can be traced through the farms of Cairn, Creoch, Laghead, and Drumruck, into the parish of Minnigaff. The other end is visible in some parts of Twynholm and Tongland and is supposed to have proceeded towards the Water of Urr. This wall, which perhaps was never completed, seems to have been intended as a boundary line between the Britons and Cruithne, or some of the other foreign intruders, who had forcibly seized a part of their domains.

1 Pinkerton's Enquiry.

2 From this invasion, it is said by some writers, Galloway took its name, the term being compounded of Gael, or Gal, the designation of a stranger, and waeg, which in the Anglo-Saxon signified "fluctus, unda, iter, via. Gaelway or Galliway might, therefore, according to Mr Chalmers, have first denoted the bay of the stranger i. e. the bay at which the Gael, or Irish landed, and afterwards as the colonists extended their possessions, the same term may have been applied to the whole district over which they spread. Argyle is said to have been originally Iar-gael, which signified the Irish Gael.

Another opinion prevails. The people of the Cumbrian kingdom were called Walenses, and, hence, that portion of them with whom the Irish mingled, might probably have been distinguished by the name of Galwalenses, or Galwenses: some old writings seem to countenance this notion. There remain three charters of David I. addressed "*Francis, Anglis, Scottis, et Galwensibus,*" Two deeds—one of Malcolm IV. and the other of his brother, William,—are addressed still more particularly, "*Francis et Anglis, Scottis, Walensibus, et Galwensibus.*"

"In the English historians of the middle age, there occurs

In 836, 'Alpin, King of the Scots, prompted by the ambitious desire of acquiring more capacious dominions, set sail from Cantire with a hostile armament, and landed in the bay of Ayr. According to the cruel custom then prevailing among a savage people, he laid waste the whole country between the Ayr and the Doon before the Cumbrian chiefs could muster their forces.¹ He next proceeded to invade modern Galloway, but was met on the ridge which separates it, on the north, from Kyle. The Scottish king was slain in a sharp conflict near the site of Laicht-Castle,² which obtained its name from the grave stone of Alpin. Laicht Castle stood in the parish of Dalmellington; and cairns, or tumuli, long indicated that a battle had been fought in the vicinity.³

Kenneth Macalpin, succeeded to the vacant Scottish throne. This prince did not suffer his

frequent mention of the kingdom and kings of the Strathcludwalls, or Strathcludes. Mathew of Westminster calls the inhabitants Galwalenses, others call them Strathclutenses, or Stratcludwalli." GOODALL, p. 92."

It has been also supposed that the province derived its name from Galvus, a Strathcludian chieftain, who lived about this time.

1 Wyntown says of Alpin,

He wan of ware all Galloway;

There was he slayne, and dede away.

From these lines we perceive that Ayrshire was then an integral part of Galloway.

2 Laicht, signifies in the Scoto-Irish the stone or grave.

3 Galloway Register. "The Register of St. Andrews is the most ancient voucher for the death of Alpin, in Galloway, after much devastation: "Alpin fil. Heoghed. annuine 3 an: Hic occisus est in *Gallewathia*, "postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit."—Innes's App. p. 798. The Chronicon of Dunblane, which belonged to Professor Ker of Aberdeen, and which is recited by Innes, in his MS. Collections, says: "Alpin fil. Heoched-an-nuine 3 an-regnavit rex; et occisus est in *Gabwoithia* postquam eam penitus devastavit."

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father's death to remain long unavenged, for he made several hostile inroads into the kingdom of Strathclyd. In the eighth year of his reign, by his valour, power, and activity, he wrested the sceptre of his ancestors from the feeble hand of Drusken, or Drust, the last of the Pictish kings, and added Pictavia to his own dominions. By this successful enterprise, a vast accession of power accrued to Kenneth, and he became a formidable sovereign. This union took place in the year 843. Many writers have affirmed, that all the Pictish nobles, who felt disinclined to submit to the Conqueror, removed to Galloway.

The period had now arrived when the Britons of Strathclyd were to be exposed to a series of aggressions from a new quarter. The feeble governments of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, had produced numerous bands of marauders who infested the northern seas. These nations were animated with an astonishing spirit of adventure. Kings, princes, and nobles joined in their piratical expeditions, and hence they were called *Vikingr*, or sea kings. They had not experienced the benign influence of Christianity, and were consequently peculiarly ferocious, supercilious, and vindictive. Till the eighth century, these royal plunderers confined their destructive devastations chiefly to the Baltic; but afterwards they extended their dreaded piracies to every European sea and shore.

In 787, they first appeared on the coast of England, and some years afterwards visited the shores of Caledonia. The Hebrides felt the full effects of their barbarities; for, with savage delight, they burned the religious houses which the pious Colum-

bans had erected.¹ They next settled on the Irish coast, from which they found an easy passage to the Clyde. In 870, Alcluyd was invested by them, and reduced after a siege of four months. Having plundered the surrounding country, they returned to Dublin, the principal seat of their power, with many captives and much spoil. Again, in 875, the Vikings, under Halfden, issued from Northumberland, and plundered Galloway, with some other parts of the kingdom of Strathcluyd. Tradition states, that a battle was fought in a place which has assumed the modern name of Danevale, in the

1 The monastery of Iona had acquired the patronage of several churches in Galloway, and after the final dissolution of that institution, the churches and chapels in the district were granted to the monks of Holyrood. "The following notices, as they have been collected, from the Ulster Annals, and from the Irish Martyrologists, will show, with sad conviction, the frequent ravages of the Danish pirates, and the final destruction of the venerable abbey of Iona. In 797, the monastery of Hy was burned, by those ravagers. In 801, it was again burnt, by the same Danish rovers, with its inhabitants. In 805, the people of the monastery of Hy, amounting to sixty-eight, were destroyed by the Danes. In 814, died St. Kellach, the son of Conghall, the abbot of Hy. In 816, Diarmid, the abbot of Hy, went into Scotland, with Columba's reliques. In 824, Blathmac, the son of Flann, was martyred in Hy, by the Danish Pagans. In 864, Cellach, the son of Aillil, the abbot of Hy, died, in the land of the Picts. In 879, died Ferach, the son of Cormac, the Abbot of Hy. In 890, died Flan, the son of Maoledrin, the abbot of Hy. In 935, died St. Aongus, the son of Murchartach, the coadjutor of the abbot of Hy. In 945, died Caoinchomrach, the abbot of Hy. In 964, St. Fingin, the bishop of Hy died. In 985, the monastery of Hy was rifled, on Christmas-eve, by the pirates, who killed the abbot, with fifteen of his learned disciples. 1004, died Maolbride O'Rinneve, the abbot of Hy. In 1015, died B. Flamidi Abhra, the abbot of Hy. In 1069, the monastery of Hy was destroyed by fire. In 1070, B. M'Boithen, the abbot of Iona, was killed. In 1099, died B. Duncha, the son of Moenach, the abbot of Hy. While life was thus uncertain, what knowledge could be cultivated by the learned of Iona!"

CALEDONIA.

parish of Crossmichael, where the Galwegians were defeated with great loss. By the reiterated and often unexpected attacks of the pirates, the people of North Britain were kept in a state of perpetual alarm; and it formed a part of their daily prayer, to be preserved by Providence from the appalling visits of the Danes. So deep an impression had the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical conduct of the "Northmen" made upon the people of Britain, that, for several ages, a proud and overbearing person was styled a "Lord Dane."

The inhabitants of Strathcluyd, after being some time harassed and plundered by these pagan rovers, meditated a removal to Wales, which was still possessed by a congenial people—the original Britons. The emigration was conducted by Constantine, their chief, who seems to have been slain in a conflict at Lochmaben;¹ his followers, however, found their way to the place of their ultimate destination. In North-Wales, they obtained a district for their residence, which their posterity still enjoy.

At this period, Edgar filled the throne of England; and by the wisdom of his administration, the vigour of his measures, and the extent of his dominions soon rendered himself so formidable a monarch, that he arrogated the title of King of Britain. The neighbouring sovereigns owned his superiority, and apparently submitted to his will. Incited by the love of vain ostentation, he commanded eight tributary princes to wait upon him at Chester; and, having wished to proceed in state, by water, to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, he

¹ Caledonia.

obliged them to row his barge on the river Dee.— This event happened in the year 973: Jacobus, king of Galloway,¹ and Kenneth, King of Scotland, are mentioned as two of these degraded reguli.

The kingdom of Strathclyud, being pressed and circumscribed on every side, was at length reduced to a state of impotency; and, in the year 975, Kenneth III. obtained the object of his fondest wishes by uniting a large portion of it to his hereditary dominions. Dunwallon was the last king of it. Before the end of the same century, the inhabitants of Galloway were induced to promise a kind of indefinite submission to the sway of Kenneth. Thus were all the various states of North Britain, incorporated, at least nominally, into one monarchy, which, from the Scots, took the name of Scotland.²

1 Ritson.—“*Jacobo rege Galwalliæ.*” This proves that Galloway was now an independent kingdom. It has been said by some historians, that the petty kings assembled for the purpose of forming a league with Edgar, and that they rowed his barge as a token of respect.

2 “Out of Scotland into Largs” was at one time a common expression.

CHAP. IV.

FROM THE SUBMISSION OF GALLOWAY UNTO THE SCOTTISH
MONARCHY, TO THE DEATH OF ALAN.

THE death of Kenneth III., conqueror of Strathclyud, and nominal sovereign of Galloway, took place in the year 994. This pious, though guilty prince, visited Whithorn to pay his devotions at the shrine of St. Ninian; and thus set an example which was repeatedly followed by his royal successors.¹

The Irish immigrants had now partially filled a large portion of the south of Scotland. The new inhabitants naturally amalgamated with the Britons, whose language they understood, and whose modes of life, in some respects, were not very dissimilar to their own. They also mingled with the Saxons, though this connection was less intimate, and their union incomplete.

The *Cruithne* had never experienced the mollifying influence of civilized intercourse, and they still continued in a state of primitive rudeness. After their arrival in Galloway, the best houses

¹ Carruthers.

they erected were formed of wattles; and even their monks clothed themselves in the skins of animals. Venison, flesh, and milk constituted their principal food.

As this people still remained fierce, ignorant, and turbulent, incessant broils occupied their time, and engaged their attention. So low a situation did they hold in the scale of the various inhabitants of Britain, that they were designated the "wild Scots of Galloway." By the influence of this new infusion of barbarism, the internal condition of Galloway was much deteriorated, and the career of improvement not only retarded, but ultimately arrested. Society, indeed, soon took a retrograde movement, and seemed fast hastening towards its original state of savage ferocity.¹

The new settlers, by their numbers and audacity, having gained the complete ascendancy, appointed their own rulers, who took the title of Kings, Princes,² or Lords of Galloway. They also introduced their own laws and customs. In the succession both of the kings and subordinate chiefs, the law of *Tanistry* prevailed. The best qualified individual, in the family of the chief, whether a son or a brother, was fixed upon as his successor. When this choice happened to be made during the life of the prince, the person chosen was styled the Tanist. He assisted the reigning prince in commanding the army, and in managing the affairs of state.

Much of the dignity of Celtic kings and princes was supported by voluntary contributions of cattle,

¹ Strabo says that in his time Ireland was inhabited by men entirely wild.

² "Princeps Galwaiae."

clothing, and utensils. The monarch, again, felt himself compelled to purchase the services of the chieftains by similar presents. The higher and lower ranks of society existed on principles of mutual dependence. In early times, when the voice of the law was but indistinctly audible, the King could hardly secure internal order, or repel invasion, by commanding assistance, and enforcing obedience among his own people.

The Celtic tribes, besides, in every country were but slightly conjoined. The authority of the nation was at best feeble and inefficient over the several tribes; for each of them supposed itself to be possessed of rights and privileges which neither the nation nor the king could abrogate or diminish: the connection, therefore, between Galloway and ancient Scotland must, at this time, when Celtic notions again prevailed, have been slight and intermittent.

The Irish colonists, after they took possession of Galloway, continued long without any positive statutes or written laws. Almost the whole body of their jurisprudence consisted of ancient customs, or local practices. The will of the *Brehon*, or Judge, in most cases, decided the question at issue; and, as this judicial office was permanent and hereditary, his decisions did not at all times seem guided by the principles of justice or equity. When this functionary administered the law, he sat in the open air, on the summit of an artificial eminence, with the litigants around him. His seat was composed of turf or stone; and he had none of the usual attendants of a court of judicature. This mode of dispensing justice may be traced down to recent times among the descendants of the Scoto-Irish,

when every baron had his Mote-hill, where law was administered to his vassals.¹

According to the Brehon law all crimes were punishable by reparation or amercement. Even the murderer escaped upon the payment of a fine; the mulct being exacted in cattle.²

1 "In Bogue, a moorland farm in the Glenkens of Galloway, is a mound called the Court Knoll; here the Lords of Lochinvar and the Barons Keumure held their Justice Courts down to 1715." BARBOUR'S LIGHTS AND SHADOWS, p. 151.

The Mote of Urr is the largest place of this kind in Britain. "When Galloway was an independent state, this was the court where the Reguli, or petty Kings of that district, held their national councils, and promulgated such new laws and regulations as were found necessary, from time to time, to be enacted. It was also the seat of judgment, where their doomsters or judges, tried capital offenders. At this time Galloway was divided into two districts, namely, above and below the water of Cree. The Mote of Urr was then the great court of judicature for the latter. This mount, or hill, greatly resembles that of the Tinewald, in the Isle of Man, which is appropriated to the same uses."

"This kind of court was not peculiar to Galloway, or the Isle of Man. Mounts called motes, and court hills, are to be seen near a great number of castles and baronial mansions, not only in Scotland, but in England also; their use, however, as courts of justice, seems forgotten in England, where it has been generally supposed that they were constructed for military purposes, particularly to answer the uses of cavaliers, in overlooking or commanding the moveable towers, or other works of an enemy."

"Near the Royal Palaces there was usually a Mote-hill, where all the freeholders met together to transact public business.—These national councils were by the Saxons called Folk motes, that is the meeting of the people, Twice a year, too, there were general meetings in every shire, which were called Shire-motes. Inferior courts of justice were also held in the open air, hence, they were called Justice Aires."

GROSE'S ANTIQUITIES OF SCOTLAND.

2 By a statute of William the Lion it is said, Give ane slaies anie man, he shall give twenty-nine kye; and ane young kow, and make peace with the friends of the defunct conforme to the law of the countrie." SKENE'S Stat. of King William.

'The paine of the King's peace broken be the Indwellers of Galloway.—At Dumfries—it is statute conforme to law that gif any man is convict in Galloway be battle or otherwise of

It was an ancient law among the people of Ireland, and it afterwards prevailed in Galloway, that every chief should be answerable for the conduct of the whole tribe. This law was afterwards introduced into the Statute Book of Scotland.

The Brehon law was peculiarly tenacious of the protection of bees. These useful insects being numerous in Ireland, their honey supplied the inhabitants with abundance of mead, their favourite beverage; for they had not yet learned to make intoxicating liquors from grain. In Galloway, bees were afterwards no less protected by the Irish colonists, and the district, to the present time, is celebrated for its honey.¹

About this period, it is thought, the Irish Picts introduced the practice of brewing ale from heather. The process is now unknown; but the places where this operation was carried on abound in Galloway. They are denominated Picts kilns; and many of them exist in the parishes of Minnigaff and Kirkmabreck. They are about 15 feet long, and 8 feet broad; and their figure bears a considerable resemblance to that of a pear. The walls are low; and every thing about them evinces, that they had been frequently exposed to the action of fire.

They appear always to have been placed on the margin of some rivulet, with the entrance towards the water.² Ale continued to be manufactured from

breaking the King's peace, he shall pay the King twentie-twa-
kye and three horse." REGIAM MAGESTATEM Cap. LXXII.

In North Britain the King's revenue was paid in cows as low down as the reign of Robert Bruce.

¹ Statistical Account.

The superiority of Borgue honey is acknowledged through almost the whole of Britain.

² Caledonia.

heather by their posterity until, comparatively speaking, a recent age.

By the Brehon law, no Irish woman, how exalted soever her rank, seems to have been entitled to the possession of land. At their marriage, females were assigned a certain number of their father's cattle, as a portion. A strong proof of the continued existence of this law among the descendants of the Irish settlers, was afterwards exhibited in Galloway.

This large addition of new Irish inhabitants produced at the same time a considerable change in the language of the district. The *Cruithne* altered, and frequently barbarized names according to their taste, and introduced their own phraseology, or peculiarities of dialect. It is curious to observe how much the names of places in ancient Galloway correspond with the history of the different people who have dwelt, at various periods, within its capacious boundaries. The first inhabitants of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Dumfries-shire, Ayrshire, and Wigtownshire, were British tribes, and the names of rivers, mountains, promontories, and other large natural objects, are frequently British. The inconsiderable number of Anglo-Saxon names clearly evinces, that this people never settled numerously in the district,¹ and there is just sufficiency of Danish words still extant to confirm historical statements regarding

¹ The Celtic, or British and Gaelic topographic names can easily be distinguished from the Gothic, or Saxon and English. Independently of other circumstances in those names, which are simply composed of a substantive and adjective, the British and Gaelic rule of formation is, to place the adjective last, whilst

the irruptions of the northern pirates;¹ whilst the Irish names so far predominate as to prove a large colonization from the south west.² The Irish topography of Galloway, more than that of any other place, resembles the topography of Ireland;

the Saxon and English rule is, to place the adjective first, and the substantive last.

Celtic names.

Strath-clyde.

Strath-annan.

Dun-edin.

Scoto-Saxon.

Clydes-dale.

Annan-dale.

Edin-burgh.

CALEDONIA.

1 Among the Danish words still remaining in use, we may mention *fell*, a hill, and *scun*, discernment, from *skoen*, judgment.

2 “ In the southern tract, along the Solway, in Dumfriesshire, there is but a small mixture of Scoto-Irish names of places; in the upper part of Eskdale, and Annandale, they appear more numerous, and the Anglo Saxon fewer: and, in the whole of Nithsdale, northward of Dumfries, the greater number of the names of places is Scoto-Irish. It is a curious, but obscure fact, that in the twelfth century, Annandale was still called *Strath-annan*, and *Nithsdale*, *Stranith*. See David’s charter to Robert Bruce, in the British museum. In *Kirkcudbright*; the great body of the names of places, is Scoto-Irish, even up to the bank of the Solway: on the west of the Nith, the Scoto-Irish names abound much more than on the east of the Nith, where the Saxon names greatly prevail. In *Wigton*; the Scoto-Irish names predominate greatly over the English, notwithstanding the modern innovations of surveyors. In *Carrick*; on *Pont’s Maps*, in *Blaeu’s Atlas Scotiae*, which are chiefly used, the names of places are almost wholly from the Scoto-Irish — In *Kyle*; according to *Blaeu’s Map*, the names of places appear to be of two classes; 1st, The Scoto-Irish; and, 2nd, The Scoto-Saxon, and English; and those two classes are nearly in equal proportions, with pleonastic denominations; which are composed of both those tongues. In *Cunningham*; on *Blaeu’s Map*, the names of places appear as they do in *Kyle*, to be of two classes; 1st, The Scoto-Irish; and, 2nd, The Scoto-Saxon, and English; but, in *Cunningham*, the latter are more numerous, and the former somewhat less frequent, than in *Kyle*. The *Map of Ayr*, by *Armstrong*, has made a great change in the names of places; several of the old names, both in the Scoto-Irish, and in the Scoto-Saxon, do not appear, and several English appellations are introduced: this observation applies to

even ancient Scotland, which was undoubtedly peopled by Irish immigrants, not excepted.¹

About the beginning of the 11th century, Eugenius, or Owen Galvus, is mentioned by historians as king, or ruler of the Cludenses.² There is a considerable probability that this chief was descended from Dunwallon,³ and the epithet Galvus may be considered as establishing a kind of connection with Galloway. Galvus joined the forces of Uchtred of Northumberland in his war with the Scottish King, Malcolm II. son of Kenneth III. The object of Galvus in all likelihood was the recovery of the independence of his dominions. A battle was fought at Carham, or Carrum, near Werk, in Northumberland. This battle was long contested, and with desperate valour. Uchtred laid claim to the victory, but Malcolm reaped the fruits of success; for Lothian was soon after ceded by the Northumbrian Earl's successor to Malcolm as the price of his friendship. This important acquisition obtained for the Scottish sovereign the title of "Victoriosissimus."

the modern maps, of all those shires. The foregoing facts demonstrate, that the assertion of those, who say, that 'the whole names in Cunningham and Kyle are Gothic,' is visionary."

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1 Though the Irish and the British were both derived from the Celtic, yet some difference existed between the two dialects. Among the Irish words introduced into the names of places in Galloway are, *ard*, a height, *ach*, a field, *bal*, a dwelling, *bog*, a swamp, *bar*, a top, *blair*, a green field, *knoc*, a hill, *lag*, a hollow, *stron*, the nose, &c.

2 "M'Kean is evidently a corruption of M'Owen; and this name is perpetuated to this day in Galloway, in the thousand shapes of Owen, M'Ewen, M'Kean, M'Keoune, M'Keand, M'Kenna, Cowan, M'Gowan, M'Conochie, and M'Donochie, all of which are substantially the same." GALLOWAY REGISTER.

3 The British form of the Irish Dovenal, Donal, or Dowal.

William, Duke of Normandy, invaded England in 1066. On the 14th of October, the battle of Hastings was fought, in which the King of England fell, and William ascended the English throne.— Though the Normans came from France, they were not of French extraction. Their forefathers had been a colony of northern adventurers, and as they had come from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, they were styled Northmen or Normans. A great body of these people having landed in France, were followed by many more from the same quarter, who compelled the king of the country to grant them possession of a province called *Neustria*, the name of which was afterwards changed into Normandy, from the Normans. Their chief was styled Duke, from a Latin word which signifies a leader. He exercised all the functions of royalty within his own territory; but in consideration, that it had once formed a part of the dominions of France, he acknowledged the king of that country his superior, and himself as a vassal.¹

1 It is necessary for the proper understanding of the sequel of this history, now to advert to the connection which subsisted between kings and vassals. The king gave great grants of land, or territories, to his barons, who possessed almost royal authority within such provinces. For this land, the baron, with all his retainers, was obliged to assist the sovereign in war, to attend his court when summoned, and to do him homage in time of peace. The great vassals of the crown, again, divided the lands which they had received from the bounty of the sovereign into estates, which they bestowed upon knights and gentlemen, who could aid them in their private wars, or feuds, and attend them in peace; for they too assumed the privileges of royalty. The knights and gentlemen, likewise, divided their estates among an inferior class of proprietors who superintended the process of husbandry. The land was cultivated by peasants then considered a kind of slaves, being bought and sold, like cattle, with the ground which they tilled.

When a king went to war, he summoned his vassals to as-

Malcolm,¹ the son of Duncan having wrested the sceptre from the blood-stained hands of Macbeth, his father's murderer, and married Margaret, the sister of Edgar Ætheling, who was the heir, of the Saxon line, to the throne of England. Edgar, with some of the Northumbrian nobles who were disgusted at the Norman government, retired into Scotland, and the Northumbrians, perhaps instigated by the exiles, afterwards rose in arms against the Conqueror. Malcolm also penetrated into William's dominions, and spread universal desolation. He ordered all the youths of both sexes to be driven captive into Scotland. "So great was the number of captives," says an English historian, "that, for many years, they were to be found in every Scottish village; nay, in every hovel."²

semble, with the number of armed men corresponding to their *Fiefs*, or territories, which had been granted to them. Each of the great vassals, whether a prince, duke, or earl, summoned all to whom he had granted lands, to attend his standard, with their followers. These proprietors, in their turn, called upon the franklins and peasants to take the field properly armed. Thus the whole military force of the kingdom was convened. This mode of holding land for military service, was termed the FEUDAL SYSTEM. It prevailed very generally in Europe, for a long series of years.

But some of these great vassals became so powerful, that they made war, both with foreign states and with one another, without the consent of the sovereign. Thus, William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England without the sanction or assistance of the King of France.

¹ Malcolm could neither read nor write.

Fordun says; "Although he could not read, he used often to turn over the leaves, and kiss the prayer books, and books of devotion, which he heard his wife say were dear to her."

"Malcolm had no seal: his grants are couched in verses; and, instead of the impress of a seal, he said, I 'bite the white wax with my tooth in presence of these witnesses,' naming some of the royal family."

KNOX.

² Hailes' Annals. S. Dunelm.

The barbarity of the Scots, however, in this expedition appears inconsiderable, when compared with the cruel policy and revengeful retaliation of the English king. To punish the late revolt, he changed into a wilderness that fertile country which lies between the Humber and the Tees. Several thousands of the wretched inhabitants perished of hunger. Some sold themselves for slaves, and others sought refuge in the south of Scotland.

At this time, many persons of quality, both of Saxon and Norman lineage, retired into North Britain. All who considered themselves obnoxious to the Conqueror's government, or imagined that their services had not been adequately requited, found a hospitable asylum in the court or kingdom of Malcolm. Many of the most respectable families of Galloway, as will afterwards appear, were founded by these Saxon and Norman refugees.¹ —

About this time surnames came into use. Normans and other foreigners having acquired lands in Scotland, introduced the practice of distinguishing themselves by their lands. The natives soon followed their example. In Malcolm's reign, it is said, the first Scottish parliament met; and about this time, the title of earl was either bestowed or assumed.

In 1098, Magnus came into the Irish seas with a powerful fleet and landed at the Mull of Galloway. As the chiefs of Galloway were unprepared to meet such a power, he disembarked his forces unopposed. On this precipitous shore he erected fortlets, at Castle-feather, Burgh-head, and some other places, and compelled the inhabitants to assist

¹ Caledonia.—Hailes' Annals.

in procuring stone and timber, for the erection of these works.¹ From the magnitude, strength, and form of the buildings, it is evident, he intended to keep possession of the country. His domination, however, was not of long duration, for in 1103, he met, in the North, with that fate which his crimes deserved.

Upon the death of Malcolm's son, Edgar, King of Scotland, the sceptre descended to his brother Alexander I. Edgar, on his death-bed, bequeathed to his younger brother David the whole district, except Lothian, lying on the south of the Friths. Alexander at first demurred, but perceiving that David had obtained the support or interest of the English barons, he at length acquiesced in this dismemberment of his dominions. David took the title of earl.

By this bequest, the sovereignty of Galloway fell into the hands of David, youngest son of Malcolm III., and we find him sometimes exercising that right. The first authentic record of the official use of the name, "Galloway," is in a charter of Earl David to the monks of Selkirk, in the year 1113, and before he came to the throne. To them he granted the tenth of his *Can* from Galloway.¹ Both he and his immediate successor on the throne enforced the payment of tithes within the eastern division of Galloway to the bishop of Glasgow, and thus asserted their supremacy.

¹ "It is said, in the Chronicon of Man, that Magnus humbled the Gallowaymen, so effectually, that he obliged them to cut down timber; to carry it to the shore; and to fix it on his entrenchments." Edit. Johnstone, p. 11. But, we hear of no conflict; and still less of any treaty." CALEDONIA.

¹ Can, Cain, or Canum, was the tax or duty paid to the superior by ancient law.

Alexander died, without lawful issue, at Stirling on the 27th of April, 1124, and Earl David ascended the Scottish throne. By his residence at the court of Henry I. of England, a Prince possessed of numerous accomplishments, he acquired a complete knowledge of the English laws and the art of governing.¹

At the commencement of David's reign, coin of home manufacture began first to appear in Galloway.²

Henry I. died in 1135, and this inauspicious event was the signal for war.

The chiefs of Galloway, now began to act a prominent part on the theatre of public life. The vice-sovereignty of the province had passed into the possession of Ulgric and Dovenald,³ probably brothers, and perhaps descendants of Owen Galvus.

1 David went into England as early as the year 1105.

2 "The Gaelic *Feorling*, a farthing, is from the Saxon *Feorthling*, the *th* being quiescent, in the Gaelic pronounciation. The Gaelic *Peighin*, a penny, is from the Saxon *Penig*; whence also the Gaelic compounds *Leath-peighin*, a half-penny; *Ceathar-peighin*, four-pence; and *Sia-peighin*, sixpence. The Gaelic *Sgillin*, a shilling, is from the Saxon *Scylling*: so the Gaelic expression *Fiochad sgillin saesunach* means literally twenty shillings English. The Gaelic *Crun*, is obviously from the English *crown*, which again is from the French *Couronne*. The Gaelic *Punt*, as well as the English *Pound*, is from the Saxon *Pund*, which is still thus pronounced, by the common people, in Scotland."

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3 Dovenald, Doual, or Dowall, is still represented by the M' Dowall's of Logan, in the parish of Kirkmaiden, Wigtownshire. The M'Dowall's have always been powerful in the western division of Galloway; and their origin is lost in antiquity, "*ultra memoriam hominum*," to quote the words of one of their early charters.

NEW STATISTICAL ACCOUNT.

"During the seventeenth century, there appears to have been, in Wigtonshire, the Macdouals of Garthland; the Macdouals of Logan; the Macdouals of Freuch; the Macdouals of Machri-more; the Macdouals of Carrachtrie; the Macdouals of Elrig;

In 1137, they united their forces with the Scottish army under David I., and invaded Northumberland. Part of this army, under William, the son of the King's illegitimate brother, Duncan, commenced their operations by besieging the Castle of Werk, near Carrum, the scene of a former conflict. The King and Prince Henry, soon joined him with the rest of their forces. Their endeavours to storm the castle proved abortive, and they proceeded to lay waste Northumberland with atrocious barbarity. This invasion is mentioned by a monastic historian in the most frightful terms. "That detestable army," says he, "more atrocious than pagans, reverencing neither God nor man, plundered the whole province of Northumberland, destroyed villages, burned towns, churches, houses. They spared neither age nor sex, murdering infants in their cradles, and other innocents at the breasts, with the mothers themselves, and decrepit old men and women, thrusting them through with their lances or the point of the sword, glutting themselves in the misery which they inflicted. And two of the Galwegians having ransacked an oratory, dedicated to St. Michael, annexed to the noble monastery of Hexham, were pursued by the vengeance of God. For immediately, being delivered to the devil they were punished with madness, running up and down through the woods by night and day, one afterwards having his thighs cut off by some one, and the other throwing himself into the Tyne, they both miserably perished."¹

the Macdouals of Croockuncrush; the Macdouals of Knockglas; the Macdouals of Kilaster; the Macdouals of Dalregil; the Macdouals of Ardwell; the Macdouals of Lefnall; the Macdouals of Crichen. [See the Inquisitiones; Acta Parl."] CALEDONIA.
I GALLOWAY REGISTER.

In the following year, Stephen King of England collected an army to oppose the invaders; but he was soon obliged to hasten to the south of England to suppress the revolts of several of his barons. The Scottish King now sent a body of the Galwegians, with other troops, under William, towards the west of Yorkshire, who, penetrating into Lancashire, encountered, and defeated, the English army at Clitherow on the 9th of June. The fruits of this victory were many prisoners and a considerable quantity of booty.

The army under the command of the King continued their excesses. The Galwegian forces who were still numerous in David's army, openly rebelled and threatened the lives of the King and his officers. This sedition was suppressed by the feigned alarm of the enemy's approach; when the Scottish army immediately commenced a tumultuous retreat to the borders, where they besieged the castle of Norham.

After the battle of Clitherow, the Galwegian detachment joined the Scottish army in the county of Durham. The united forces now amounted to 26,000 men.

Stephen could send to the aid of his northern friends no more than a single body of cavalry, under the command of Bernard de Baliol, a baron of Yorkshire. At this alarming crisis, all hopes were centred in the wisdom of Thurstin, Archbishop of York, and their own valour. Thurstin had recourse to the influence of religion, in preparing the barons and people for the approaching struggle in defence of their country. Fasting, prayer, the receiving of the sacraments, and all the acts of devotion which seemed calculated to avert the

anger of the Deity, procure his favour, or prepare the warriors for death, were ardently enjoined by this venerable patriarch. He issued an order to all the ecclesiastics under his jurisdiction to appear in a solemn procession, attired in their sacerdotal habiliments, with their banners, crosses, and relics. He likewise commanded all men capable of bearing arms, to repair to the general rendezvous, and defend the Church of Christ against the assailing barbarians. He promised victory to his countrymen, if they would become penitent, and salvation to all who should fall in so righteous a cause. He also called an assembly at York, and after hearing the confessions of the barons, he put into their hands his crosier, and his metropolitan banner, which had been consecrated to St. Peter.

That no appearance of blame might accrue to the English forces, they despatched Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol to the Scottish army with offers of peace. David, for various reasons, declined the proposal; perhaps, indeed, he saw that the attempt to check the impetuosity of his army would be vain. Bruce, at parting, renounced his fealty for a barony in Galloway.¹

The chief command of the English army was, by universal consent, conferred on Walter L'Epec, a brave, able, and experienced officer.

On Catton Moor, near Northallerton, the English erected their standard. We are told that it was the mast of a ship, or a long pole resembling a mast, fixed into a lofty four wheeled carriage. On the top of this pole appeared a cross, with a small

¹ Bruce was Lord of Annandale.

silver casket containing a consecrated host. Below floated the banners of St. Peter, of York, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred of Rippon, the saints to whom the magnificent churches at those places had been dedicated.

The Scottish King now endeavoured to surprise the English army; and under the cover of a thick mist advanced a considerable way without being discovered. But at last the alarm arose, and the English ran to arms. At this critical juncture, Robert de Bruce, whose long residence at the Scottish court had secured the friendship of David, actuated either by some faint hopes of still effecting an amicable arrangement, or at least, of gaining time, again repaired to the hostile camp. Bruce spoke eloquently in the cause of his country. He urged the King to secure the friendship of the English and Norman barons, who had often assisted in asserting the rights of the Scottish sovereigns against their unruly subjects. Bruce also dwelt on the atrocities committed by the invading army. "I charge your conscience," he said to the King, "with the innocent blood which cries aloud for vengeance. You have beheld the enormities of your army, and these you have lamented. You have disclaimed any connection with these outrages. Now is the time to prove the sincerity of your protestations, by withdrawing your people from a war as disgraceful in all its operations as the event is doubtful. We are not mighty in numbers but we are determined. Urge not brave men to despair. It wrings my heart to see my dearest master, my patron, my benefactor, my friend, my companion in arms, in whose service I am grown old, thus exposed to the danger of battle, or to the

dishonour of flight." After Bruce had finished this speech, he burst into tears. David also wept, but, his army seeming impatient to engage, he remained firm in his determination to risk a battle. "Bruce, thou art a false traitor!" exclaimed William, son of Duncan. The baron was dismissed, and at parting, again renounced his allegiance to the King of Scotland.

The Scottish army now prepared for battle. A spirit of emulation inflamed their natural courage. The King, by the advice of his experienced and judicious officers, resolved to commence the attack by the men at arms and his archers; but the Galwegians, elated by their late victory, demanded as their due, the pre-eminence of leading the van.—David saw the impropriety of their claim, from their want of armour, and the nature of their weapons, which rendered them unfit to contend with the heavy armed warriors, who were placed in the first rank of the English host. "O King," said they, "why are you afraid of their armour? *Our bodies are our shields*: our hearts fight for us: they know not what fear is: We have never learnt to fly: our backs never felt a wound." Dreading dissension or sedition, the King reluctantly complied with the request of the turbulent Galwegians.

David's army was arranged in three divisions. The Galloway men who composed the first line were commanded by their chiefs Ulgric and Dovenald. The second line led by Prince Henry, assisted by Fitz John, comprehended the men at arms and the archers, with some of the inhabitants of Cumberland and Teviotdale.

The third division was composed of the troops of Lothian, the Islanders, and volunteers. The

King, protected by a body of English and Norman knights, commanded the reserve.

The English formed themselves into one compact body round their sacred standard, in the supernatural efficacy of which, they placed great confidence. The men at arms dismounted, and turning their horses to the rear, mingled with the archers in front of the army. This was done principally to avoid engaging, at too great a distance, with the men of Galloway, who were armed with long lances. Ralph Nowell, titular Bishop of Orkney,¹ and assistant of the Archbishop of York who could not attend the army, blessed the troops, in the name of his principal, and promised them victory: he also gave absolution to all who might fall in the engagement. *Amen! Amen!* resounded from every part of the ranks. The venerable Walter L'Epec addressed the soldiers from the carriage which contained the holy standard; and, seizing the hand of the Earl of Albermarle, swore that, he would either conquer or perish.—“So swear we all!” enthusiastically exclaimed the surrounding barons.

The Galwegians commenced the attack by rushing, in a wedge-like shape, on the enemy with savage vociferations, loud yells,² and infuriated valour. The onset was appalling, and irresistible. They broke through the ranks of the spearmen;

¹ “It is probable that this individual had been nominated Bishop of the Orkneys by the Archbishop of York; but that the diocese would not receive a bishop nominated by that authority.”
HAILES' Annals.

² Hailes' Annals.

“Hoveden has happily preserved the war-cry, on that signal occasion; it was, Albanich! Albanich! Albanich!”

but after the battle had raged for nearly two hours, they were reduced to a state of utter confusion by the English archers, who sent among them showers of well directed arrows which made terrible havoc in their ranks. Their chiefs Ulgric and Dovenald both fell. The brave and beloved Prince Henry, David's eldest son, now came to their support, with a chosen body of cavalry.—He charged, and piercing through the English force, dispersed the party who had the charge of the horses in the rear.¹ The Galwegians now rallied, and following his course, pressed upon the enemy. At this critical moment, when victory seemed ready to declare for the Scottish army, an English soldier cut off the head of one of the slain, and raising it aloft on his spear, exclaimed in a loud voice: “Behold the head of the king of the Scots!” This sight, with the current report of the Scottish King's death, reanimated the spirits of the English, and spread consternation through the ranks of their opponents. The Galwegians threw down their weapons and fled. The third line followed their example. David, hastily dismounting, brought up the reserve to support the second line. It was too late, the forsaken troops had become totally dispirited, and the battle was irretrievably lost.—David was now compelled to retreat by the surrounding nobles, who felt interested in his personal safety. The Scots, though broken and disheartened, numerously rallied round the royal banner as soon as they saw it again displayed, (for the Galwegians had sustained the principal loss), and

¹ *Aldred*, p. 345. expresses this more forcibly; “Prince Henry,” says he, “dispersed the English army, as if it had been a cobweb.”

checked the pursuit of the enemy. David and the residue of his army reached Carlisle; but the inhabitants of the country through which they passed embraced this opportunity of retaliating the cruelties they had recently experienced, and massacred the stragglers. Prince Henry, who had narrowly escaped the pursuit of his enemies, joined his father at Carlisle. His safety had been almost totally despaired of. Upon his arrival, he found mutiny, dissension, and tumult prevailing in the Scottish camp. The soldiers were engaged in mutual recrimination, and on the point of engaging in mutual assassination, when the King, aided by his influential son, judiciously interposed his authority; and, thus restoring order among his troops, insured their safety.

Lest inactivity might produce insubordination, David led his mutinous army to the siege of Werk Castle, the property of Walter L'Epec. In an assembly, Alberic, the Pope's legate, threw himself at the feet of David, and entreated him to listen to terms of reconciliation. The King agreed to a suspension of hostilities, except against the Castle of Werk.

The legate also induced the Galwegians to bring back, and set free, the female captives whom they had seized in the late inroads. Werk Castle being soon reduced, peace was concluded between Stephen and David in the year 1139.¹

FERGUS succeeded Ulgric and Dovenald in the Lordship of Galloway. Of the parentage and early life of this ruler we must be contented to remain in ignorance. It is probable he fought in the

¹ Hailes' Annals.—Heron's History of Scotland.—Carruthers' History of Scotland.—Henry's History of Britain.—Martial achievements of Scotland, &c.

battle of the Standard, for at that period, he was forty-two years of age.

David I. died on the 24th of May, 1153. The liberality of this sovereign to the ecclesiastical order was very considerable. He founded some bishoprics, enlarged the revenues of others previously founded, and both built and endowed many new monasteries. At Whithorn he erected a cathedral for the diocese of Candida Casa. During David's reign, the peace of the country was often broken, and improvement retarded, by Wimund whom our Scotch historians call Macheth. After many destructive irruptions, he was apprehended, delivered to David, and sent to the castle of Roxburgh. In 1156, his son Donald, being seized by the men of Whithorn,¹ was transferred to the same place of confinement. The Knights Templars, according to the Book of Cupar, were brought to Scotland by this Monarch²

After the death of David I. the Scottish throne was occupied by Malcolm IV., son of Prince Henry. In his reign, and whilst he was yet a minor, Fergus abjured his connexion with the Scottish crown.—When Scotland was at peace, the rulers of Galloway seem to have done homage to its monarchs, and

1 Hailes.—Caledonia.

2 This order of religious knights was instituted in the year 1118. From Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, they obtained a dwelling near the temple, from which they were called Templars. They took a vow to defend the city and temple of Jerusalem, to protect strangers and entertain pilgrims in the Holy Land.—This order became very rich; having no fewer than 9000 houses in Christendom. In Scotland they possessed lands or houses in almost every parish. They wore a white habit, with a cross of red stuff sewed upon their cloaks. For real or supposed crimes they were suppressed in 1312. The Templand Croft, in Borgue, and the Temple Land, in Crossmichael, belonged to them.

to have served occasionally in their armies. Yet with the Scots their intercourse was more frequently of a hostile, than of an amicable nature. On the most frivolous pretences, they renounced their galling dependence, and laid waste the country with savage hatred. As soon as Somerled, encouraged by the youth and distracted counsels of the King, rose in arms against his sovereign, the Galwegians joined the Islanders, and ravaged that side of Malcolm's kingdom which bordered upon Galloway. The King, irritated at their conduct, took arms to chastise them; but their rugged mountains, their dangerous morasses, and their pathless forests, were nearly inaccessible to all except the native inhabitants; and the disorderly mode of fighting of this impetuous and fearless people, baffled his efforts to make any deep or lasting impression upon them. Twice he invaded Galloway, and twice he retired discomfited and chagrined.¹ He marched against them a third time, with redoubled strength and re-invigorated determination. They could withstand his accumulated forces no longer: he surmounted every difficulty, and completely prevailed. In 1160, Fergus resigned the Lordship of Galloway and retired into the Abbey of Holyrood, where, during the following year, he died of grief; having previously bestowed upon the institution the town, or village, and church of *Dunrodden*, in the parish of Kirkcudbright.²

¹ Hailes' Annals.

² Ritson. "Fergus Princeps Galwaiae habitum canonici in ecclesia S. Crucis de Ednesburgh suscepit, et eis villam quae dicitur Dunroden dedit;" *Chr. S. Crucis*, ap. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 161.

HAILES' ANNALS

The ground on which this ancient town or village stood, still

Fergus was a Prince of some notoriety. He married Elizabeth, illegitimate daughter of Henry I. of England; and was much at David's court.—This fact appears from his name being found as a witness to many of that monarch's deeds. From him both Bruce and Baliol descended; and he was the source of several families of distinction. He appears to have been the anxious promoter of religion and learning. By his liberality were founded the monasteries of Tongland, Whithorn, and Saulseat: in the priory at Whithorn, he deposited some of the relics of St. Ninian. He also founded the Abbey of Dundrennan: monks of the Cistercian order being brought from Rievall, in England, during the year 1142, and settled in it.¹ Sylvanus was the first Abbot. By the same pious Prince the priory of St. Mary's Isle was erected, in which he placed canons regular of the order of St. Augus-

bears the name of Dunrod. Traces of houses are yet perceptible. There is every reason to believe that the inhabitants of Galloway were more numerous during the 12th and 13th centuries, than they were afterwards. Many villages are mentioned in ancient charters that are now unknown.

1 The architect who designed, and superintended the building of this abbey seems, from an inscription on Melrose Abbey to have been John Murdow:

John: Murdow: sum: tym: callit:
 was: I; and: born: in: parysse:
 certanly: and: had: in: keypyng:
 al: mason: werk? of sant an
 droys: ye: hye: kyrk? of = glas
 gw: melros: and: paslay: of:
 nydds dayll: and: of: galway
 : pray: to god: and mari: bath:
 and - - - - -
 - - - - -

The two last lines are obliterated, but are thus supplied from tradition:

And sweet St. John keep this
 Haly kirk frae skaith. GROSE'S ANTIQUITIES.

tine. The island which furnished its site, previously bore the name of the Isle of Trahil; but from the priory's being dedicated to the Virgin Mary, it afterwards acquired the appellation of St. Mary's Isle. Fergus granted the lands and church of Galtway to the monastery of Holyrood. These lands, with the church were afterwards appropriated to the Prior and canons of St. Mary's Isle, a dependent cell of Holyrood Abbey.¹ The bishopric of Candida Casa, or Galloway, according to Dr. Murray, was revived by him in 1154: Christian was appointed bishop. It included all Wigtown-shire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and a part of Dumfries-shire.² Mr Chalmers, however, says that it was re-established by David, as early as 1130, and Gilaldan was the first bishop. The diocese was divided into four deaneries. The see continued subject to the archbishop of York until the 14th century.

This Prince's great exertions had a powerful effect in ameliorating the condition of his subjects. Indeed, the age in which he lived, and the people among whom he was placed, seem to have been unworthy of him. Fergus had his chief residence near Kirkcudbright, on an island in the middle of an apparently artificial lake, long known by the name of Loch Fergus. In this lake, now drained, were two small islands, one of which is called Palace Isle, and the other Stable Isle;³ and both exhibit clear marks of ancient fortification. In rude and turbulent times, almost every lake afforded a secure site for an ancient fortlet.

1 Caledonia.

2 Murray's Literary History.

3 Statistical Account,

Fergus left two sons and one daughter. His daughter, Affrica, married Olave king of Man, and was the common progenitor of all the succeeding kings of Man of the Norwegian line.¹ Olave, son-in-law of Fergus, was slain by his three nephews who had formed a plot to take away his life. After having accomplished their wicked design, they directed their attention towards the conquest of Galloway. Having collected a fleet, they landed on the Galwegian coast; but the natives, forming themselves into a circle, repulsed their attack, and defeated them with great slaughter.—Those who escaped fled to their ships, and upon reaching the island, from a mean spirit of revenge, either slew or banished all the Galloway men whom they could find.²

Fergus was succeeded by his sons Uchtred and Gilbert, between whom, according to the ancient Celtic laws, his dominions were equally divided.—

On the 9th of December, 1165, Malcolm II. died, and his brother William, afterwards distinguished by the appellation of William the Lion, was crowned King of Scotland. He demanded from Henry II. of England, the restitution of those provinces which had been ceded, with too much facility, by his predecessor; but Henry only amused him with promises. William, however, soon found that voluntary concessions were not to be expected; and he resolved, on the first suitable occasion, to do himself justice by force of arms. Soon after, William joined a confederacy against Henry, and led an army, partly composed

1 Johnstone's *Cello Normannica*. Copenhagen, Edit. 1786.

2 *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden.

of Galwegians, into England. The barons of Yorkshire advanced to meet him, rather than remain at home in a state of inactivity, until their own lands should be pillaged and their houses destroyed. Though they were but 400 horsemen, they hurried on, disdaining alike the darkness of the night and their own fatigues, until they arrived within sight of the enemy. William, unapprised of their approach, and at a distance from his army, was taken prisoner. No sooner was the King made captive than the Galwegians threw off their allegiance, and retired to their native mountains. They next rose in arms against the authority of their Sovereign, as if he were never to be liberated from his confinement. It appears, that after the defeat of Fergus, Malcolm IV. had erected some castles and left several garrisons in Galloway to enforce obedience. These they attacked and demolished: they also murdered all the King's Saxon and Norman subjects whom they could find, and ejected his officers who had settled amongst them. But they were not only disloyal to their King, they were also treacherous to each other. No sooner had they achieved their independence than they began to contend about property, and dispute concerning pre-eminence.¹

While Uchtred resided in his castle at Loch Fergus, he was attacked on the 22nd of September, 1174, by his elder brother, deprived of his tongue and eyes, and murdered in the most cruel and revolting manner.

¹ There is a cave on the sea coast, in the parish of Portpatrick which is thought to have afforded an asylum to Uchtred from his brother's hostility at this time.

Uchtred appears to have been a pious Prince. He granted the churches of Kirkeudbright, Twynholm, Kelton, and Kirkeormack, ¹to the monks of Holyrood. On the south bank of the Cluden, before it flows into the Nith, he founded a convent for black nuns who followed the rule of St. Benedict. The founder is said to have been buried in the church. This nunnery afterwards possessed many lands in the baronies of Crossmichael and Drumsleet.² The monks of Holmeultram, in Cumberland, also obtained from this individual the extensive grange of *Kirkwinny*, or *Kirkgunzeon*.—Uchtred's wife was Guynolda, a descendant of Earl Gospatrick.

Aware of the dangerous situation in which his crimes had placed him, Gilbert applied to Henry II. for countenance and protection, and promised to pay him a yearly tribute of considerable value, namely, 2000 marks of silver, 500 cows, and 500 swine. Henry declined the proposal.

William King of Scotland, having gained his liberty, invaded Galloway; but Gilbert submitted, and was punished by the exaction of a fine; thus escaping the severer penalty of his crime.

During the following year, he attended his Sovereign to York, and obtained the friendship of Henry upon payment of 1000 marks: he likewise delivered his son Duncan as a pledge for his future good and peaceable behaviour. The fratricide, having thus obtained the pardon and protection of both William and Henry, had no enemy to fear. But though the disturbances in Galloway

¹ The monks enjoyed the rectorial tithes and revenues; whilst the cures were served by vicars.

² Camden's *Britannica* 1789.

were now quieted for a little, the atrocious conduct of Gilbert was long remembered.

The dispositions of this ruler were too turbulent and ambitious to permit him to remain in peaceable obscurity. In 1184, he once more rose in arms against his Sovereign, and was arrested by Henry Kennedy, progenitor of the noble family of that name in Ayrshire.¹

Terms of accommodation were again proposed; but ambition is insatiable, and the bloody Gilbert scornfully rejected every pacific proposal which did not recognize the independence of Galloway. His guilty career, however, terminated in 1185, and left an opening for Roland,² the son of the murdered Uchtred, to regain his paternal possessions and hereditary authority. This Prince promptly took steps for the accomplishment of so important and laudable a purpose. Collecting his father's friends, he vanquished the party of the detested Gilbert, and slew Gilpatrick, their commander.³ In consequence of this success, he seized upon Galloway as his rightful property, and, killing all his more powerful and wealthy antagonists, occupied their lands. He built a great many fortresses and castles in order to strengthen his government. He also overpowered Gilcolm, a notorious freebooter, who had settled in Galloway,⁴ and had carried the terror of his depredations as far as Lothian. As the proceedings of Roland were advantageous both to the Sovereign and his subjects in general, William viewed them with a partial eye. It was widely dif-

1 Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 243.

2 In Dugdale's Monast, he is called Roland Macdouall.

3 Hailes' Annals.

4 Fordun. Hailes.

ferent with Henry of England. Roland had neither courted his favour nor sought his protection by homage, flattery, or bribes; and hence he beheld the enterprizes of this Galwegian chief with unbounded indignation. He even marched a large army to Carlisle, with the intention of invading Roland's dominions. This Prince, however, by fortifying the passes of his almost impenetrable country, showed he was determined on a desperate resistance. Henry listened to terms, and, in 1186, a treaty was completed which provided that Roland, by swearing fealty to Henry, was to retain Galloway, and make compensation, or give satisfaction, to his nephew Duncan, who had been for some time a hostage in England. To insure so desirable a consummation as the permanent tranquillity of Galloway, William the Lion bestowed upon Duncan, Carrick, that had recently formed a part of the disputed territory. This led to the origin of the Earldom of Carrick, which, through Robert Bruce, gave to Scotland a series of kings.¹ By this arrangement, Roland, the son of Uchtred, retained the whole of modern Galloway.²

On the death of Henry II., Richard I., for a stipulated sum, restored to Scotland its ancient independence, which his predecessor had obliged William to resign; and this act powerfully tended to establish the lasting quiet of North Britain.—

¹ Fordun. Crawford's Peerage. Anderson's Royal Genealogies, Folio, 803.

² "William King of Scotland, his brother David, and all his barons, promised upon oath, that, if Roland departed from the terms of this convention, they would compel him to give satisfaction; the Bishop of Glasgow publicly promised, in presence of the relics of the saints, that he would, in that case, excommunicate Roland, and lay his territories under an interdict."

Still farther to secure this salutary end, Roland, with his dependents, accompanied King William in an expedition to the north, to annihilate the audacious pretensions of Donal Bane, or M'William,¹ who aimed at the throne. Roland encountered the unprincipled pretender near Inverness, and finished his arrogant claims by his death.— From this epoch, the Galwegian chief acted a conspicuous part on the great arena of public life. He married Elena, daughter of Richard Moreville,² Constable of Scotland, and afterwards succeeded to the estates and office of that opulent family.— Roland appears to have been a good soldier, a munificent statesman, and an amiable man. He died at Northampton on the 19th of December, 1200, and was interred there in St. Andrew's church. He founded a monastery at Glenluce for Cistercian monks, and gave to the monks of Kelso some salt-works in Galloway. The province now enjoyed peace.

Duncan, the son of the assassin Gilbert, was succeeded by his son, Niel, second Earl of Carrick. Niel left one daughter, Marjory, Countess of Carrick, in her own right: she married Robert Bruce, whose son was afterwards King of Scot-

1 Hailes.—Donal Bane was grandson of Duncan, and son of William previously mentioned.

2 Among the English settlers in North Britain, none rose to higher eminence than Hugh Moreville. He acquired vast possessions in Scotland, and became Constable of the kingdom. His son, Richard, afterwards enjoyed his high office and great estates. Richard died in 1189, when again his son, William, and daughter Elena, inherited his wealth. On the death of William, without lawful children, his office and estates devolved on his sister, the wife of Roland, Lord of Galloway. On this occasion Roland paid 700 merks of silver as a "relief" to William the Lion, King of Scotland.

land.¹ This marriage, pregnant with important consequences, was the result of a sudden and romantic attachment. Whilst Robert Bruce, son of the Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was riding through the domains of the Countess of Carrick, she happened to meet him, and struck with his noble figure, courteously invited him to remain and join in the diversion of the chase. Bruce, aware of the danger that might accrue in those days of feudalism, from paying attention to a ward of the crown, declined the alluring invitation. The enamoured lady, however, was not to be thwarted in the accomplishment of her wishes. She instantly desired her attendants to surround him; and, seizing his horse's bridle, she led off, with gentle compulsion,² the handsome knight to her castle of Turnberry. After fifteen days residence, the adventure concluded by a union, which was effected without the knowledge of their relations, or the consent of the King. Alexander immediately seized her castle and estates. The intercession of friends, and a heavy fine appeased the wrath of the Sovereign and atoned for this daring act of feudal

1 Among the many brave warriors who accompanied William the Duke of Normandy into England, was Robert de Brus, or Bruce. The Conqueror assigned him lands in Yorkshire of great value. Robert Bruce, one of his descendants, acquired from David of Scotland, the Lordship of Annandale, with other lands. His son Robert, married Isabella, natural daughter of King William of Scotland; he was succeeded by his son William.

William was succeeded by Robert Bruce, who married Isabella, a lady of royal birth, daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, youngest son of the brave and beloved Prince Henry. The son of Isabella, in right of his mother, afterward claimed the crown. He was succeeded by a son Robert, who married the Countess of Carrick. She brought him twelve children.

2 *Vi quadam, si dicere fas est.* FORDUN.

delinquency. Bruce now became, in right of his wife, Lord of Carrick; and the son of this romantic marriage, was ROBERT BRUCE, the Restorer of Scottish liberty.¹

Roland's eldest son, Alan, succeeded him as Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland.² He was considered a personage of the greatest importance both in Scotland and England.³

From the year 1186, the English kings, certainly looked upon Galloway as an integral part of their dominions. That it was, in some measure, subject to their sovereignty seems not unlikely, from the apparent submission of its princes to English authority.⁴ Alan, in 1211, assisted King John with both men and arms in his descent on Ireland, for which important service, he received from that monarch, a grant of the island of Ruglin, and lands in the county of Antrim.⁵ Alan was one of the illustrious barons by whose exertions the *Great Charter of England* was obtained, and to whom it was addressed. When King John recalled the liberties and privileges which he had reluctantly granted to his subjects, and prepared to inflict punishment upon those nobles who had constrained him to sign the MAGNA CHARTA, Alan sought the protection of Alexander, King of Scotland. After doing homage to this Sovereign, he was received into favour, and appointed High Constable, as well as Chancellor, of the kingdom.⁶

1 Tytler. Hailes, &c.

2 Roland had another son who married the eldest daughter of the Earl of Athole.

3 "Scotorum longe potentissimus." BUCHANAN.

4 Guthrie.

5 Ware's Antiquities of Ireland.

6 Calendars of ancient charters. Extracted from the Tower

This powerful Lord of Galloway, having the command of both men and ships, made several descents on Ireland, the Hebudes,¹ or Hebrides, and Isle of Man, and carried away much booty.² Olave, the swarthy King of Man, bravely defended his dominions against the invader; but at length, finding himself unable to withstand the repeated and powerful attacks of the Lord of Galloway, he proceeded to Norway to solicit the protection and assistance of Haco, King of that country. Olave was graciously received by the Norwegian monarch.

The Black King stated to Haco, that he had been forced to flee from his dominions in consequence of the ruinous inroads of Alan, Lord of Galloway, who had despoiled churches, butchered the inhabitants, and reduced the whole country to a state of desolation. Alan, he added, had vaunted, that the sea was not more difficult to navigate from

Records. In that document he is called Alan of Dumfries, probably from sometimes residing in that place.

1 "So little are our writers acquainted with the history of the Hebudes, that, as Pinkerton justly observes, they have perverted the name, 'since the publication of the notorious history of Hector Boethius, 1526.' Ptolemy has *Eboudai*, in Latin *Ebudæ*; Pliny and Solinus, *Ebudes*. The edition of the latter, by Aldus, 1518, Svo. *Hæbudes*; as have all the editions of Pliny and Solinus since. In a very inaccurate edition of Solinus, published at Paris, An. 1503, it is *Ebrides*, by a mistake of the printer. Boece, having studied at Paris, had no doubt taken his *Hebrides* from this most inaccurate edition of Solinus, and merely from a typographical error, *Hebrides* has passed among all our writers, for three centuries, with the exception of Buchanan, who puts *Æbudæ*; but upon no ancient authority. All foreign writers, however, put Hebudes; and, though it is not of much consequence by what name the western isles of Scotland are distinguished, for those who prefer the classical name, to persist in Hebrides, is certainly like the old priest, who retained his *Mumpsinus* for *Sumpsinus*.—*Pink. Inq.* vol. ii. Sup. p. 302."

KNOX.

2 Torfaeus' Chronicles of the Kings of Man.

Scotland to Norway, than from Norway to Scotland; and he hoped soon to prove that the harbours of Norway were not more inaccessible than the harbours of Galloway.¹

This harangue produced the anticipated effect. Haco, as speedily as possible, furnished Olave with an army and a fleet. This fleet, after being augmented at the Orkneys, amounted to eighty sail. With the assistance of Uspack, who had recently been raised to the sovereignty of the Isles, he plundered Cantire and took the castle of Bute. In this attack the united army of Norwegians and Islanders lost 300 men and several ships.² After having laid the island of Bute under a heavy contribution, Olave intended to steer direct to the Isle of Man; but he received information that Alan had assembled a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels,³ with troops on board, behind the Mull of Galloway, to intercept his passage. Instead of proceeding on his voyage, he sailed northward to Cantire.⁴

Alan did not live to carry into execution his threatened invasion of Norway. When Alexander II., who had succeeded William on the Scottish throne, invaded England in 1216, Alan, with his vassals, marched into the western borders of England. They sacrilegiously burned the Abbey of Holmcultram, laid waste the country, and carried

1 Anecdotes of Olave, Black King of Man. Translated from the Icelandic language by the Rev. James Johnstone, Chaplain to his Britannic Majesty, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Denmark. Edinburgh, 1780, p. 9.

2 Abercromby's martial achievements of the Scots.

3 Anecdotes of Olave the Black, p. 19. Eunson's ancient state of Orkney. Edition 1788, p. 16.

4 Tytler.—From the largeness of their number, many of the vessels must have been small: perhaps not larger than Curachs.

off some of the inhabitants. But they were severely punished for their cruelty and profanity; for nearly 2000 of their number perished by the overflowing of the river Eden.¹ They were also chastised and dismissed with disgrace by Alexander II., whose army was more weakened by their disorganization, than strengthened by their courage. Thus, it is apparent, that the men of Galloway had not yet changed their fierce nature and savage manners. At this period, a remarkable *aurora borealis* appeared in Galloway. In the Chronicles of Melrose, the Abbot of Glenluce gives a singular account of the phenomenon.

Alan, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland, died in 1234, and was buried in the Abbey of Dundrennan, founded by Fergus his great grandfather. The tomb of this Prince was lately to be seen: he lay in a niche in the cross aisle of the church, on the east side of the north door. His lady, it is said, lay on the other side. The tomb is now demolished, but the mutilated trunk of his effigy still remains. He was represented in a recumbent posture, with his legs crossed like a crusader, and clad in armour.²

This Lord was a man of the most amiable dispositions. Anxious only for the welfare of his people and the improvement of his dominions, he spent his time in reforming the laws, and advancing the best interests of religion. His bounties to monasteries were very considerable; for he either granted or confirmed many of their charters, and relieved

¹ Hailes' Annals.—It is thought that they perished in the Solway.

² Grose's Antiquities.—There are some doubts respecting the origin of this effigy; for about 100 years ago, we are told, the words "Patricius M'Clellan," were apparent above it,

Galloway from the demands of the monks of Kelso.¹ He was long distinguished by the epithet of "the Great." Alan was the last in the male line of the ancient Princes of Galloway.² Before this period the Galwegians had lost the designation of Picts.³

1 "A charter of John, the bishop of Candida Casa, which was granted between 1200 and 1206, was witnessed by Michael, the prior of Whithern, and the chapter, Alan, the son of Roland, the constable of Scotland, John the archdeacon, Matthew, the dean of Desnes, William the Dean of Furnes, by G—— the dean of Rinnes, Walter, the parson of Kirkandrews, Durand, the parson of Minnigaff, and Martin, the clerk of Kirkcudbrit. [Macfarlan's Col.]"

CALEDONIA.

The Monks of Selkirk had been removed to Kelso.

For a part of the preceding curious information regarding Alan, we are indebted to our friend, Mr TRAIN, a gentleman whose historical knowledge, and antiquarian research have been of essential service to some of the first writers of the age.

2 Henry de Aubley, a monk of Dundrennan Abbey, wrote encomiastic lines upon him, see Appendix (D)

3 So late as the battle of the Standard, they still retained the name of Picts. Richard, prior of Hexham, who was an eye witness says, "Picti, qui vulgo Galweyenses dicuntur," formed a part of David's army. 'In fronte belli erant Picti.' (R. Hagustald.)

CHAP. V.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALAN, 1234, TO THE CORONATION OF
ROBERT BRUCE, 1306.

ALAN, Lord of Galloway, was three times married. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and uncle of William the Lion,¹ he had an only child, who subsequently married Roger De Quincy. By his second wife he had a son, who died without any offspring, and two daughters. One of these daughters, Christian, left no issue, and the other Dervorgille, married, in 1228, John Baliol of Bernard Castle, Yorkshire. By his third wife he had no children.

On Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester,² and husband of Elena, Alan's eldest daughter, devolved the high office of Constable of Scotland; and the territorial possessions were shared among the sisters, as co-heiresses of their father. The Galwegians beheld with much uneasiness this partition

1 David Earl of Huntingdon had three daughters, the eldest, Margaret, was married to Alan, Lord of Galloway; the second, Isabella, to Robert Bruce, and the third, Ada, to Henry de Hastings.

2 The first of the De Quincy family who settled in Scotland was Robert, a Northamptonshire gentleman: he appears to have attached himself to William the Lion or his predecessor; for we find him mentioned as a witness to some of the charters of Malcolm IV.

of their country, and introduction of strangers who neither understood their language, nor knew their laws; and they solicited Alexander II. to assume the Lordship.¹ They wished rather to become the immediate vassals of the crown of Scotland, than the dependents of foreign lords.

The King, preferring justice to ambition, rejected their request. Their next petition was, that Thomas, illegitimate son of Alan, and son-in-law of Olave, King of Man, might be appointed their chief. This application was also refused: when the Galwegians, headed by Thomas, in conjunction with Gilroth, an Irish chief, broke out into open rebellion in vindication of the ancient Brehon law, which provided that no female should inherit landed property, or enjoy authority. The insurgents immediately proceeded to spread devastation through the adjoining territories. They even proceeded so far as to slay the Prior and Sacrist of the monastery of Tongland, within the consecrated walls of the church. The monks, being chiefly foreigners, did not understand the laws, or participate in the feelings of the people.² The King, irritated at their rebellious audacity, marched into Wigtownshire an army, which was soon inextricably entangled amidst mountains, lakes, and mosses. The Earl of Ross came by sea to its assistance; and, having attacked the Galwegians in the rear, defeated them with great slaughter. Next day, appearing with halts about their necks, they submitted to the King's authority, and obtained mercy.

Thomas and Gilroth escaped to Ireland, where

1 Hailes' Annals. Heron.

2 Fordun.

they raised fresh troops. Having returned to Galloway with their Irish auxiliaries, they endeavoured to re-kindle the flame of civil war. To evince their high hopes and determined courage, they burned the vessels which had conveyed them to Scotland. But their efforts against the royal authority were unavailing: they were taken prisoners; but, through the mediation of the Bishop of Galloway, the Earl of Dunbar, and the Abbot of Melrose, their lives were spared. After a period of confinement in Edinburgh castle, they were set at liberty. Their Irish followers wandered to the Clyde, in expectation of finding an early, or easy passage to their own country. But the inhabitants of Glasgow attacked them, and put them to the sword. Two of their leaders alone escaped, who were conveyed to Edinburgh, and afterwards executed, in a cruel manner.

During this rebellion, the royal troops are represented as having committed great and wanton cruelties. They ravaged the country, and robbed the churches of much sacred property. The monastery of Glenluce was completely plundered by them, and its inmates maltreated. After the suppression of this insurrection, the representatives of Alan were put in possession of their inheritance, in accordance with the municipal law of Scotland.¹

De Quincy's baronial residence was situated in Fife; and he had permanently settled in Scotland only in the time of William the Lion. Being thus a stranger, and perhaps a person of selfish dispositions, repulsive deportment, or tyrannical habits, he soon became extremely detested in Gallo-

¹ Chronicles of Melrose. Fordun. Hailes' Annals, &c.

way. The hatred of his vassals ended in an insurrection; and, in 1247, they besieged him in his castle. After displaying the most undaunted courage, unshaken firmness, and cool discrimination, he effected his escape, by cutting a passage through the ranks of the besiegers. He complained of the outrageous conduct of his insurgent vassals to the King, who afforded him the protection and support which he solicited, and reinstated him in his property and legal rights.

The historians of this age still speak of the inhabitants of Galloway as peculiarly rude, ignorant, cruel, and inhospitable. When Alexander III., who had succeeded his father set out, in 1258, towards the southern limits of his kingdom to chastise his excommunicated nobles, the Galwegians, who comprised a part of his army, robbed the people of the country where ever they went; and, as we are told, regardlessly "ate flesh in lent."¹

De Quincy's death took place on the 25th of April 1264. This nobleman left by Elena, daughter of Alan, three daughters, namely, Margaret who became the wife of William de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby, Elizabeth who married Alexander Comyn,² Earl of Buchan, and Ela who married Alan de la Zouche. Thus we see how the Comyns became first connected with Galloway.

Alan's second daughter, Christian, married William de Fortibus, son of the Earl of Albe-

¹ Chronicles of Melrose.

² The Comyns came from Northumberland into Scotland during the reign of David I.

marle; but she dying without issue, Dervorgille, who was descended from both the same father and mother as Christian, inherited her whole property. By Alan's third wife,¹ daughter of Hugh de Lacy, he had no offspring.

The Norwegians at this period possessed both the Orkney and the Shetland islands. The Isle of Man and the Hebrides were governed by chiefs who owned the supremacy of the Norwegian, rather than the Scottish nation; though they sometimes wavered in their duty between the two powers. On this account disputes often arose regarding the respective interests of the kings of Scotland and of Norway in those islands. Haco, King of Norway, now came with a large armament against the western coast of Scotland.—His fleet consisted of a hundred and sixty sail, containing 20,000 troops. Landing in Ayrshire, he was encountered and defeated by the Scottish army at Largs.² To this army Galloway had sent a large quota of soldiers, who powerfully assisted in securing success.³ After the battle, which was fought on the 2nd of October, 1263, a storm arose

¹ Fordun mentions, that when Alan was returning from Ireland, where he had married his third wife, many of his men were drowned; whilst he and a few others narrowly escaped.

² Hailes. Hollinshed. Heron, &c.

³ "Walter, hereditary High Steward of Scotland, and founder of the Abbey of Paisley, had a son, Alexander. This son fought at Largs, and made successful exertions for recovering the Isle of Man to the crown of Scotland. For which meritorious services, King Alexander III., gave Alexander de Stewart a grant of the lands of Garlies and Glasserton, in Galloway."

LIGHTS and SHADOWS of Scottish Character and Scenery, Second Series.

Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 311. Edit. 1826.

The ancient family of Stewart was seated in Galloway before the conflict at Largs; for by a bull of Pope Alexander III., addressed to the proprietors of Galloway in 1179, Alan, son of Walter, is reckoned one of the chief of them. (Chart. Glasg.)

and destroyed the Norwegian fleet. Haco effected his escape to Orkney where he died.

During the following year, Magnus, son of Olave, King of Man, met Alexander at Dumfries, and did homage for his kingdom.

A civil war now broke out in England, and John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, marched with a large body of their vassals to the aid of Henry. At the battle of Lewis, fought on the 14th of May, Henry was defeated and made prisoner. The Scottish auxiliaries sustained great loss; John Comyn and Robert Bruce being both taken prisoners: they, however, soon regained their liberty.

Pope Clement IV., in 1268, required the Scottish clergy to contribute a tenth of their revenues to the King of England to assist in defraying the expense of a crusade. The King and clergy of Scotland refused to accede to this requisition; but promised to equip a competent number of their own warriors for the intended expedition. The Earls of Carrick and Athole,¹ with other barons and knights, assumed the cross, sailed for Palestine, and perished in the undertaking.²

Dervorgille became a widow in 1269. She founded Baliol College at Oxford; but, in this act she only fulfilled the intentions of her munificent husband. The same benevolent lady erected the monastery of Sweetheart, or New Abbey, in Gallo-

¹ Holinshed mentions as the crusading nobles the following individuals, the Earls of Carrick and Athole, John Stewart, Alexander Comyn, Robert Keith, George Durward, John Quincy, and William Gordon. The Earl of Carrick was Niel, the son of Duncan, and grandson of Gilbert.

² Hailes. Tytler. Heron.

way, for Cistercian monks; established a convent at Dumfries for Franciscan friars; and built, at the same place, a bridge of nine arches over the river Nith, which still remains as a monument of her liberality.¹ She also founded a convent for Dominican friars at Wigtown, and established Franciscan friars at Dundee.² She is likewise said to have founded the Abbey of Holywood.³ The church of Cross-

1 This bridge consists at present of only seven arches, the other two, on the Dumfries side, having been removed to widen the street that runs along the river. The original dimensions of the bridge were—length, four hundred feet, breadth, within the parapets, thirteen feet six inches mean width; the parapets included sixteen feet two inches, height from the top of the parapet to the water twenty-six feet. Upon the bridge was a small gate called the Port, which was considered as the boundary between Nithsdale and Galloway; *there being six arches of the bridge within the latter and three within the former.* About the year 1769, this gate was taken down in order to lessen the weight on the bridge which was thought to be in a tottering condition. [Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i. p. 158.] The fears, however, of the public respecting the condition of this bridge proved fallacious. It still is firm and in tolerable repair, and forms the line of communication between the lower parts of Dumfries and Maxwelltown, being more convenient than the new bridge, which was proposed in 1789, and finished in 1794, about one hundred yards farther up the water.

The tolls levied on the old bridge consisted of certain sums upon all cattle, corn, and merchandise, which passed along it, and formed part of the revenues of the Convent of Friars founded by Dervorgille in Dumfries.

2 Murray. Caledonia, &c.

3 "The abbey alluded to, was said to be founded by the Lady Dervorgille, daughter to Alan, the Lord of Galloway. And the "Sweetheart" Abbey, in the neighbouring county of Kirkcudbright, is indebted to the same illustrious female for its *expressive* foundation. The last remains of the "Holywood" Abbey were taken down in 1778, to help to rebuild the modern parish church. The vestiges of the abbey, it is said, can yet be traced. And a farm in the vicinity, still bears the name of the *Abbey*. It is recorded, that across the middle of the building ran a fine Gothic arch; and that this arch supported a strong *oaken* roof. And perhaps some of the venerable oaks,

michael was transferred to the Abbey of Sweetheart by the same pious Princess.

This illustrious woman resided much at Fotheringay Castle; and, hence, she was often called the lady of Fotheringay.¹ This castle belonged both to David I. and her grandfather, the Earl of Huntingdon. She died at Bernard Castle, the seat of her husband, in 1289, at the age of 76, and was buried in the Abbey of Sweetheart, in the same tomb with her husband's embalmed heart.² None of this lady's family survived her except John Baliol, the competitor for the crown, and a daughter Marjory, who was married to John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, by whom she had the *red John Comyn*, afterwards slain at Dumfries.³ John Baliol, Dervorgille's son, enjoyed large estates in Galloway,

which *once* had surrounded the Druidical stones, were fashioned for roofing to the Abbey of Dervorgille."

"Even the *bells* of the modern church are said to have belonged to the Abbey of Dervorgille: and one of them, by an inscription and date, appears to have been *consecrated* by the abbot, John Wrich, in 1154!"

LIGHTS and SHADOWS of Scottish Character and Scenery. Second Series.

1 Bridge's Northampton-shire, vol. ii. p. 154.

2 The learned author of the Literary History of Galloway, when speaking of this lady, says "I have read of no female who has gained a fairer fame than Lady Dervorgille of Galloway;" and in support of his assertion, he quotes the following lines from an ancient poet.

"Dis Ladye
Dyd all thir dedis devoutly.
A bettyr Ladye than scho wes nane
In all the yle of Mare Bertane.
Scho was rycht plesand of bewte
Here wes gret taknys of bownte."

WINTOWN, B. VIII. c. viii.

Mat. Paris, says old John Baliol was "Potens et dives."

'S Fordun,

England, and France, with powerful family connections. He was one of the *Magnates Scotiae*, who engaged to defend the rights of Margaret, commonly called the Maid of Norway.

On the death of Alexander III., the crown descended to Margaret, his infant grandchild, daughter of the Queen of Norway. A treaty was concluded by the Scots and English, by which it was stipulated, as a fundamental article, that in due season, a marriage should take place between the Prince of Wales and the Scottish Queen. But the hopes of both nations were frustrated; for the child fell sick on her passage to Britain, and, after being conveyed to the Orkney Islands, languished and died.

The progeny of Alexander III. were now extinct, and several individuals, connected by blood with the royal family, began to assert their pretensions to the throne. Edward I. of England, however, considered this a favourable opportunity for monopolizing the supremacy of North Britain; and, at his summons, the nobility and clergy of Scotland repaired to Norham, within the English territories, to hold a conference with the King of England. Edward informed the Scots, that out of good will to their nation, and as LORD PARAMOUNT, he had called them together, in order that justice might be done to all the competitors.

That his ambitious and perfidious design might be more effectually accomplished, he required them, as soon as they had met, to recognise his title of Lord Paramount. The astonished assembly stood motionless, silent, and paralysed. At length, one more daring than the rest, ventured to declare their ignorance that such a right of su-

periority appertained to the King of England, and added, as the Scottish throne was now vacant, they could give no answer to such a claim. "By Holy Edward!" cried the King, "By Holy Edward, whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt!" The Scots requested a delay of three weeks to judge of his claim, which delay was ultimately granted. In the mean time, he ordered his army to assemble at Norham.

On the 2nd of June, Edward, for the purpose of removing any imputation of compulsion, gave an audience to the Scots, on the south side of the Tweed, in a green plain opposite to Norham Castle. By his secret intrigues, no fewer than ten competitors had been induced to lay claim to the crown; and Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, with several others, appeared on the present occasion. The Chancellor of England spoke for the King. He declared the firm resolution of his master, in virtue of his right of supremacy, to examine and determine the dispute concerning the succession to the Scottish throne. Then turning to Robert Bruce, he inquired, whether he acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and was willing to receive judgment from him in that capacity? Bruce openly and expressly declared, that he acknowledged him as such, and would acquiesce in his decision. All the other competitors gave the same answer. Sir Thomas Randolph then stood up and stated, that John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, had mistaken the time of meeting, but would, if allowed, appear next day in person, and answer for himself. Accordingly, on the following day, he made his ap-

pearance; and, upon the same question being put to him, he, after an affected pause, gave the same submissive reply. The Chancellor now asserted, not only Edward's right of superiority, but also his right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, and reserved the power of prosecuting that right, whenever he should judge it expedient.¹

The King himself next addressed the assembly; and, professing extreme affection for the people of Scotland, declared his intention of pronouncing an early and impartial judgment in the great controversy, of redressing every grievance, and of establishing permanent tranquillity. John Comyn, called the Black Comyn, who had married a sister of Baliol, now came forward; and, as a claimant acknowledged the superiority of Edward; requesting, at the same time, to be heard. By a formal deed, the kingdom of Scotland, with all the fortresses belonging to it, was conveyed to Edward.

In pursuance of this deed, on the 11th of June, 1291, the four regents of Scotland delivered the kingdom into the hands of Edward; and the governors of castles, finding themselves abandoned by their rulers and nobility, gave up the various fortresses without a struggle. At this time, the King of England committed the castles of Kirkeudbright, Wigtown, and Dumfries, to the keeping of Walter de Curry; but in the following year, the possession of those castles was transferred to Richard Siward. Edward now promised to deliver his final decision on the 2nd of August. Bruce, Lord of Annandale, with his son, the Earl of Carrick, John Baliol, John Comyn, and the other

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, &c.

barons, after swearing fealty to Edward as Lord superior, dispersed.¹

On the 3rd of August, the proceedings commenced. Twelve competitors had now lodged their claims. Baliol demanded the crown as the grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the son of Prince Henry, who acted so heroically at the battle of the Standard. Robert Bruce asserted his title as son of Isabella, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon; and John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, claimed as the descendant of Donald, a former King of Scotland. To state the claims of the other candidates for royalty would be foreign to our purpose; and, indeed, many of the competitors withdrew from the contest before the conclusion of the inquiry.—The claims of Bruce and Baliol being acknowledged to be the strongest, they were ordained to adduce arguments in support of their titles. After various proceedings, Edward, on the 17th of November, 1292, pronounced his definitive judgment, by which he declared John Baliol King of Scotland. On the 18th of November, he issued a mandate to the keepers of the Scottish castles to deliver them up to the new Sovereign. Baliol, as King of Scotland, swore fealty to Edward on the 20th of November, and received full possession of the kingdom.

The Lord of Galloway had now sacrificed at the shrine of ambition the independence of his country. But ere long, he felt the degradation of his condition; for he learned from sad experience, that he possessed the semblance of a crown, without its

¹ Tytler.

reality, the shadow of authority, without its substance. The Scottish Sovereign held large estates both in England and Normandy; and, in every thing connected with them, he found Edward an indulgent superior. To Baliol, the vassal, he was uniformly just, lenient, and condescending; whilst to Baliol, the King, he was proud, imperious, and unbending. After some years of intolerable insult and humiliation, the Scottish King, in April 1296, by the advice of his Parliament, solemnly recalled his oath of fealty, and renounced his allegiance. Edward received the intelligence with astonishment, anger, and contempt. "Senseless traitor," said he, "of what folly is he guilty! But since he will not come to us" (for he had summoned him to his presence) "we will go to him."¹

Edward now penetrated into Scotland at the head of a victorious army; and, in the course of three months, the unfortunate John Baliol submitted, and implored the protection of the Conqueror.² Divested of all the insignia of royalty, and with a white rod in his hand, he performed a most humiliating penance. He confessed his offence, and enumerated the transgressions, which, by evil counsel, he had committed against his liege Lord. He also acknowledged the justice of the English invasion; and, therefore, declared of his own free will, that he now resigned the kingdom

¹ Fordun. About this time Edward is represented as restoring to Thomas, illegitimate son of Alan, all the lands in Galloway which his father had left him; and as confirming to the people of the district the liberties which their ancestors had enjoyed in the time of David I., and during the life of Alan.—Perhaps these acts of grace proceeded from a desire to conciliate the Galwegians. (Rot. Scotiae.)

² W. Hemingford.

of Scotland, with its people and their homage, to his liege Lord, Edward, King of England.

After this debasing ceremony, Baliol delivered his son, as a hostage for his future fidelity to Edward; and, along with the youth, proceeded to London, where they were both committed to the tower, and remained three years in confinement. Of this monarch, Lord Hailes thus speaks.

“Thus ended the short and disastrous reign of John Baliol: An ill-fated Prince! censured for doing homage to Edward, and never applauded for asserting the national independency. Yet, in his original offence, he had the example of Bruce; and at his revolt he saw *the rival family* combating under the banners of England. His attempt to shake off a foreign yoke speaks him of a high spirit, impatient of injuries. He erred in enterprising beyond his strength. In the cause of liberty, it was a meritorious error. He confided in the valour and unanimity of his subjects, and in the assistance of France. The efforts of his subjects were languid and discordant; and France beheld his ruin with the indifference of an unconcerned spectator.”— As soon as Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, who was in the service of England, had perceived that the conquest of Scotland was secured by Edward, he reminded the English King of his promise, to place him on the throne. “Have I nothing to do” replied the haughty monarch, “but to conquer kingdoms for you?”

Edward is represented as using, at this period, the most strenuous efforts to annihilate every trace of Scottish independence.

On the 28th of August, the English King assembled a parliament at Berwick, that he might

receive the fealty of the clergy and laity of his kingdom of Scotland. Amongst the number who appeared from Galloway, were Thomas, Bishop of Galloway, or Candida Casa, Walter, Abbot of Dundrennan, Alexander, Abbot of Tongland, a nominee of Baliol, John, Abbot of Newabbey, Morice, Prior of Whithorn, Alianore, Prioress of Lincluden, the Vicar of Lochrutton, and ROBERT BRUCE, the younger, son of the Earl of Carrick.¹ A considerable number of the landholders followed the example of the nobility, and likewise presented themselves to take the oath of allegiance.²

Edward now proceeded to appoint his officers for Scotland. John Warrene, Earl of Surrey, was made Guardian; Hugh de Cressingham was nominated Treasurer, and William Ormesby, Justiciary.³ On the 8th of September, the King appointed Henry de Percy, nephew of Warrene, keeper of Galloway, with its castles of "Botel, Wygton, and Crugeltown,"⁴ during his royal pleasure.⁵ Percy was also empowered to set at li-

1 Hailes—Tytler.—Caledonia.

2 In this number were the following individuals from Galloway. "Dominus de Toskerton, dictus marescallus, miles; and he was at other times called John le Mareschal de Toskerton, who held the land of Toskerton, in that shire; [Ib. 651—654.] and who was forfeited, by Robert I. Fergus Macdoual; Dougal Macdouall; Roland M'Gaghan; Thomas M'Kislagh; William M'Kulagh; [M'Culloch], William de Palmelot; Andrew de Logal; John de Meynreth; William de Champaigne; Ralf de Champaigne; Hector Askeloe; Fergus Askelo; Arthur de Galbrath; Gilbert Hannethe [Hannay], Gilbert Hannethe; Thomas de Kinhilt; William de Bushely. [Prynne iii. p. 654—663.]"

CALEDONIA.

3 During the monarchy of Alexander III, the Comyns introduced a Justiciary into Galloway. John Comyn held that office.

4 Custodem nostrum totius terrae Galwidiae.

5 Rot. Scot. I. 33.

berty the hostages for that country, and to present properly qualified persons to all the vacant churches or benefices, the annual revenues of which did not exceed thirty marks each. The same individual appears to have obtained from Edward, a portion of land in Galloway; for we afterwards find that Robert I., granted to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Morray, one half of the barony of Urr, which had been forfeited by Percy.¹ Again, on the 24th of November, Edward constituted Roger de Skoter, Justiciary of Galloway, with a yearly salary of forty pounds.² In the autumn of the following year, the King of England appointed John de Hodleston, keeper of the Castles of Ayr, Wigtown, Cruggleton, and Buittle,³ and governor of the provinces of Ayr and Galloway. The sheriffs and bailies

¹ Reg. of the Great Seal.

² The Comyns are represented as having established a Justiciary in Galloway during the reign of Alexander III. John Comyn, it is said, was the first who held the office; but we find that Sir Eumer de Macuswell, the great chamberlain of Scotland, was appointed Justiciary of Galloway after the death of his father in 1241. during the reign of Alexander II. Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 255.

³ Rot. Scot. I. 37.

The castle of Wigtown stood at the town of Wigtown in West Galloway, and seems to have belonged to the kings of Scotland.

Cruggleton was situated in Wigtownshire, and was for some time the property and residence of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan. Some parts of the building still remain, and evince that it had been a fortress of much show, considerable size, and great strength. It appears, that, in 1292, Edward I. granted to the Earl of Buchan, licence to dig in the Calf of Man, for lead to cover eight towers of his Castle of Cruggleton. (Caledonia.) The fosse of this Castle is still apparent. (Statistical Account.) The Castle of Botel, or Buittle, stood upon a mount on the western bank of the river Urr, in East Galloway. It appears from its ruins to have been a place of large dimensions and great magnificence, It was the favourite habitation of Baliol.

were commanded to answer for the public revenues accruing to them from their offices, in Edward's exchequer at Berwick.

The disputed succession to the throne of Scotland entailed many calamities on Galloway.—Whilst Baliol possessed the Lordship, agriculture peculiarly flourished, and the people enjoyed many domestic advantages; but after his downfall they had no natural protector. The English monarch looked upon Galloway as his private or personal property, and the inhabitants were solely at the mercy of rapacious subordinates. Besides, in all the vicissitudes of fortune, they adhered to the cause of the Baliols and Comyns, and were involved in their misfortunes.

Having placed the affairs of Scotland on what he considered a solid foundation, Edward returned to England with all the exultation of a conqueror. His triumph, however, was of short duration; for the Scottish nation soon became disgusted with the administration of his officers; and even his English subjects, on whom the expense of the expedition had severely pressed, received him with scowling looks of reproach or aversion. The discontent in England encouraged the people of Scotland to indulge in open acts of insubordination. Numerous bands of armed men infested the country, attacked the English parties, and laid waste the lands, or plundered the habitations of their oppressors. As their numbers increased their successes multiplied; and, at last, they proceeded so far in their valorous career, as to assault the castles which were garrisoned by the English. At this juncture so pregnant with adventures, appeared as the champion of his country's freedom and the a-

venger of her wrongs, WILLIAM WALLACE, or Walays, second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a gentleman whose family, though ancient, was neither rich nor noble. This hero's matchless courage and daring exploits have long formed the theme of Scottish minstrelsy. To this singular man nature had been peculiarly beneficent. His stature approached to a gigantic height, his strength surpassed even that of the strongest of his countrymen, and his spirit was enterprising and ambitious. By the vigour of his intellect, he maintained authority among his equals, by the brilliancy of his eloquence he swayed the judgment of superiors, and by his affability he conciliated the affection of inferiors.

In consequence of a quarrel with some English officers in the town of Lanark, which ended in bloodshed, he was proclaimed a traitor, and forced to seek shelter in the fastnesses of his country.—Here Wallace collected a little band of brave men who had refused submission to the conqueror, and determined to maintain the freedom of their country. These men chose Wallace for their chief, and carried on a predatory warfare against the English party. Their plans were so judiciously formed, that success generally crowned their enterprises. But if surprised by superior numbers, the superior judgment, strength, and ardour of their leader, generally inspired his followers with such unbounded courage, that their attacks were irresistible.

Though at first few ventured to join the little band of patriots under the leadership of Wallace; yet, as almost every fresh adventure in which he engaged terminated successfully; and brought his as-

sociates an accession of booty and renown, his ranks were soon recruited by crowds who were anxious to relieve their country from foreign oppression, indulge revenge, or engage in romantic and perilous undertakings. Amongst those who early flocked to the standard of revolt, or rather of freedom, was William Kerlie, or Ker, a gentleman whose family had once possessed a large estate in Wigtownshire. His ancestors, it is said, were originally the proprietors of Cruggleton Castle, and had long defied all the power of the minions of England. What open force, however, could not achieve, was accomplished by treachery; for a baron, commonly called Lord Soulis, connected with the Comyns by blood, and a secret partisan of the English interest, visited the castle under the mask of friendship, and clandestinely introduced his followers, who overpowered the garrison, and seized it for their perfidious master: the owner himself escaped.—It afterwards became the property of John Comyn, and ultimately fell into the hands of the English.¹

1 “ In the year 1282, Lord Soulis came on a friendly visit to Cruggleton, and finding the place but weakly garrisoned, he introduced a number of his followers, sufficient to overpower it, and expelling the chief of the Kierlies, he held the castle for the King of England, whose vassal he at that time was.” (Father Stewart.)

DENNISTON.

The Abbey of Crossreguill, to which Father Stewart belonged being much decayed, he was sent by the brotherhood to solicit assistance for repairing it from the opulent gentlemen of the district; and he gives a short account of the various families to whom he applied.

Captain Denniston says in his Historical Introduction to the Legends of Galloway. “ In this hasty review of the life of Kerlie, both history and tradition have been ransacked to furnish out the scanty materials; and it is deeply to be regretted, that so little is known, where so much has been deserved. That he was a patriot in the strictest acceptation of the term, is a fact not to be questioned;—and that he was the faithful friend and com-

Kerlie made many ineffectual attempts to regain his castle, until his followers were either all slain or dispersed, when he felt himself forced to take shelter in the wilds of his native country.

One of the first acts of Wallace after finding himself possessed of sufficient force, was to march into Galloway with the laudable intention of restoring his friend to his hereditary possessions. He appears to have encamped near the village of Minnigaff; and a field in the farm of Borland, still bears the name of Wallace's camp. When the governor of Wigtown castle heard of the approach of this celebrated warrior, he took shipping and fled to England. Wallace, upon gaining possession of the fortress at Wigtown, appointed Adam Gordon, keeper.¹ He then proceeded towards Cruggleton Castle on the same coast; but he found it would be difficult to take this stronghold, unless by stratagem.² It stood upon a rock, the base of which, on one side, was washed by the sea. The other side, or that next the land, was

panion of Wallace, must be equally admitted; as, under every vicissitude of fortune, we find him ranged by his side, enduring his toils, or sharing his triumphs, and true to the end. Kerlie's was the last mortal arm that was raised to defend him from the dastardly assassins to whom he was basely sold."

1 He was ancestor of the noble family of Kenmure.

2 The Castle of Cruggleton, which gave its name to the parish in which it stood, was built on the verge of a precipitous part of the sea coast. Nothing now remains of it, save part of an arch, and the foundations of some of the walls; but there is enough to show that, in ancient times, it must have been a place of great size and strength. The spot on which it stood is a kind of promontory, formed by a small bay on each side, and is elevated about 200 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea. The fosse encloses upwards of an acre of ground, and is still quite distinct. It is 183 yards long, and about 12 yards wide.'

NEW STAT. ACCOUNT.

well fortified and had a draw-bridge for the egress and ingress of the garrison. Having concealed his men from the view of the besieged, Wallace, with two chosen companions, Kerlie and Steven, entered the water and swam unperceived to the bottom of the rock, they then with much exertion clambered up its steep side. The defenders had no suspicion of danger from that quarter; and had placed no sentinels there upon duty. The intrepid heroes entered the castle and made their way to the gate unobserved. Wallace immediately seized the sentinel, stationed there, in his iron grasp, and threw him over the rock. Having opened the gate and lowered the bridge, he blew his horn, when a chosen party of his men who had been placed in concealment, rushed into the fort and slew every individual who offered any resistance. They found in it some valuable stores.¹

The successes of Wallace had a powerful effect in recruiting his army; for Knighton, an old English historian, informs us, "that the whole 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."

After the Scots had gained a decisive victory at Stirling, the galling power of Edward was com-

¹ Henry the Minstrel, commonly called blind Harry.—This author wrote in the reign of James IV., from materials said to have been collected by John Blair, chaplain to Wallace. His history is in metre. It is viewed as rather questionable authority in some of its details.

pletely broken ; and, in a short time, not a castle or fortress remained in the hands of the English.

A dreadful famine, the frequent concomitant or consequence of the ravages of war, pressed severely upon Scotland. With the view of finding sustenance for his troops, and thus saving the resources of his own country, Wallace took advantage of the panic which had been inspired by the victory at Stirling, and marched into England. Before he set out, he called upon every county, barony, town, and village, to contribute a certain number of fighting men. The levies, however, were but tardily made ; and Wallace found himself under the necessity of adopting severe measures to enforce obedience. Gibbets were erected in various places, and some of the most refractory of the recusants hanged. In consequence of the examples now made, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, with which he penetrated into England, as far as Newcastle. An intense frost and a scarcity of provisions obliged him to return after a residence of about three months. Having collected a large quantity of booty in this expedition, he allotted to the Galwegian troops who were with the army their portion of it, and retreated into Scotland.¹

William Wallace, after returning from England, was elected Regent, or Governor of Scotland, in the name of King John [Baliol,] still an exile, or rather prisoner in England. But his well merited elevation and extensive martial fame soon roused the

¹ " Dividentes inter se spolia quæsitâ, tradiderunt Galivalensibus partes suas, et abierunt in loca sua." HEMINGFORD, p. 136.

envy of inferior natures; and men of little minds began to use every effort to traduce his character, misrepresent his motives, and sow dissension among the powerful adherents of his noble cause. These low minded endeavours were not made in vain.— By fatal jealousy and infatuated disunion, his army sustained a defeat at Falkirk; and he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of nearly fifteen thousand men.¹ After various operations, the victorious King of England marched to Glasgow, from which town he proceeded towards the strong castle of Ayr, then in the possession of the younger Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick. Upon the approach of the English army, Bruce set fire to the castle and fled. Edward next purposed to march into Galloway,² with the intention of wasting the lands of the refractory barons who had belonged to the party of Wallace. His army, however, being in want of provisions, he was constrained to return through the middle of Annandale, where he effected the capture of Bruce's castle of Lochmaben: he then proceeded to Carlisle.

The brave Wallace, after his defeat at Falkirk, voluntarily retired from his honourable and merited pre-eminence, giving place to that envy which he could not withstand. It is asserted in an ancient manuscript of Fordun, as well as in the biography of Wallace by Henry the minstrel, that he now left Scotland and sailed to France. The place from which he took shipping is said to have been the port of Kirkcudbright in the river Dee. Mac-

¹ Tytler.

² Tytler.—It is possible Carrick was here meant which was still considered a part of Galloway. The words of W. Hemingford are “Cumque fuisset voluntatis Regiae, ut tunc *Gallowalliam* ingrederetur, deficiente tamen pane, defecit et propositum ejus.”

lellan, ancestor of the noble family of Kirkcudbright, with about fifty of the other faithful companions of his toils and dangers, embarked with him, and forsook their distracted country. On their passage they were attacked by a celebrated pirate, Thomas of Chartres, commonly termed the "*Red-Reaver*.¹ The outlaw's fleet, which consisted of sixteen vessels, had for a considerable time infested the seas. The commander himself boarded Wallace's ship; but he had a superior foe to encounter, and was overcome.

The Scottish champion received a hearty welcome from the French King, and soon augmented his great reputation by repeated victories over the numerous rovers who then spread terror and devastation over every sea. Thomas of Chartres, we are told, fought under him. So brilliant were his naval exploits, that they are said to have become the favourite subjects of many French songs and ballads.

The defeat of the Scottish army produced little solid advantage to the King of England; for both Galloway and the country beyond the Forth continued free. After the resignation of Wallace, the Scottish patriots, with the general concurrence of the nation, appointed William Lamberton, Bishop of

¹ Henry the Minstrel.—This author states, that soon after Wallace's return from England, in 1297, he concluded a peace with that country which was to endure for five years, and sailed to France where he fought against the English. It was at this time, according to the same author, that he took shipping from Kirkcudbright. We find, however, no authentic record of such a peace. We cannot suppose, besides, he would have left his country at this period; for if peace really existed in Britain, the Regent of Scotland, with a numerous train of followers, would not have gone into a foreign country to fight against England, and if war prevailed, he could not have been spared from his own army. Wallace's removal to France must have been after the defeat at Falkirk.

St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, John Comyn, the younger, of Badenoch, and John de Soulis, guardians of Scotland in the name of Baliol.

At the intercession of Pope Boniface, the dethroned King of Scotland was conveyed to the continent. Before embarkation, his trunks were searched and found to contain a crown of gold, the great Seal of Scotland, and many vessels of the precious metals, with a considerable sum of money. The crown was retained by Edward, and hung up in the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr; but the money was returned. Edward also seized the dethroned King's whole English estates, which lay in nine different counties, and some years afterwards bestowed them upon his own nephew, John of Bretagne. John Baliol was conducted to his estates and castle of Bailleul, in France, where he passed his days in obscurity.

The restless activity and insatiable ambition of Edward were now strikingly exhibited. To effect the conquest of modern Galloway and other parts of the south of Scotland, all the English nobility and barons, who held of the crown by military tenure, were commanded by royal authority to meet, with their retainers, at Carlisle, on the 24th of June, 1300. The King's mandate was punctually obeyed; and about the 1st of July the English army left Carlisle with the intention of commencing its operations, by the reduction of Caerlaverock castle. This army was commanded by the King in person, attended by his son, the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II., and comprised 87 of the most potent peers and knights of his whole dominions. The men at arms alone,—all chosen warriors,—amounted to no fewer than 3000; and this splendid array of chivalry, moving along the

road to Caerlaverock, presented an imposing spectacle to the astonished peasantry. An ancient poet informs us that they "set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surtouts, but on powerful and noble chargers; and, that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed. There were many rich caparisons, embroidered on silks and satins; many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance, and many a banner displayed. And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses: mountains and valleys were every where covered with sumpter horses, and waggons with provisions, and sacks of tents and pavilions; and the days were long and fine." As soon as this mighty host appeared before Caerlaverock castle, it was arranged into three divisions, to each of which separate quarters were assigned by the marshal. The soldiers then proceeded to erect huts for their lodgings, of which the poet gives a picturesque description. "There might be seen houses built without carpenters or masons, of many different fashions; and many a cord stretched with white and coloured cloth, with many pins driven into the ground; many a large tree cut down to make huts; and leaves, herbs, and flowers, gathered in the woods, which were strewn within; and there our people took up their quarters." The engines and provisions were conveyed to them by sea. The strong castle of Caerlaverock, containing a garrison of 60 men, after a desperate resistance, was taken. The garrison, in consideration of their bravery, were not only pardoned and released without ransom by the conqueror, but each of the brave defenders received a new garment upon his departure.¹

¹ Grose's Antiquities, vol. i. p. 161.

“It is worth observing” says Pennant, while speaking of the siege of Caerlaverock, “that it was taken by force of engines, and the English, as late as the time in question, used much the same method of attack as the Greeks and Romans did; for they drove the enemy from the walls by showers of stones flung from engines, similar to the *Catapultæ* of the ancients, and they used also battering rams.”¹

On the 17th of July Edward entered Galloway and made his accustomed oblation of seven shillings in his chapel at Lochrutton.² He slept during the night in Hills castle, about three miles south west from Dumfries. Having reached Kirkcudbright on the 19th of July, he took up his abode, we have every reason to believe, in the ancient castle of Kirkcudbright,³ and he made his usual oblations in the priory church of that town.⁴ Here he remained with his Queen and court for the period of ten days. In all likelihood, it was during Edward’s residence in Kirkcudbright, that the Bishop of Galloway endeavoured to mediate a peace. When the Earl of Buchan and John Comyn of Badenoch understood that the laudable exertions

1 Pennant’s *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 97.

2 The words of the original are “17 die Julii in Oblac’ Regis ad Altare in Capella sua apud Loghroieton, 7s.” This Chapel was a tent or portable building.

3 The ancient castle of Kirkcudbright, stood on the eastern side of the Dee near the town. It overlooked the entrance to the river, and the tide seems to have flowed into its fosse. It was built by the ancient Lords of Galloway; and on the death of Alan, went to his daughter Dervorgille. Traces of this castle are still apparent, though it was long since demolished. In ancient charters the place is called Castlemains, or Castle-dykes. (*Stat. Account. Grose’s Antiquities.*) It now belongs to the Earl of Selkirk.

4 The Priory, or convent at Kirkcudbright was founded in the reign of Alexander II., for Franciscans, or Grey Friars.—The present castle of Kirkcudbright occupies its site.

of the benevolent Bishop had proved abortive, they repaired personally to the King, with whom they had a violent and stormy interview. They demanded the restoration of John Baliol, their lawful King, and that he should be permitted peaceably to reign in Scotland. They also requested Edward to put the original Scottish proprietors in possession of the estates which had been wrested from them, and bestowed upon English lords. The haughty monarch, considering these requests as the insolent demands of avowed rebels, gave a direct and unceremonious refusal. The two barons now declared their fixed determination to defend their country to the last extremity, and the parties separated highly enraged. Whilst the English Sovereign remained in the town of Kirkcudbright, the Mayor of Drogheda sent him a present of eighty hogsheads of wine; and the King granted to "John de Cnocfergus," thirteen shillings and four pence for bringing the wine from Ireland in his vessel.¹

On the last day of July, Edward left Kirkcudbright, crossed the Dee, and moved to Twynholm. Here he received a supply of money from Lochmaben;² and we find that, on the 1st of August, he made his usual offering at Twynholm. He was detained about eight days in this place waiting for provisions which were to be brought to him by sea. From the port of Kirkcudbright, he had

¹ As all the particulars connected with this expedition are curious and interesting, we shall mention almost every circumstance, how minute soever, that history affords.

² On the last day of July we find that Edward paid to William de Rude, a sum not stated, for the hire of four hackneys, employed two days in carrying money from Lochmaben to Twynholm a place situated about three miles north west from Kirkcudbright.

sent off considerable quantities of wheat,¹ both to England and Ireland, to be manufactured into flour for the use of his household and army; the mills at this time existing in Galloway being neither sufficiently numerous nor properly suited for the purpose.² From the fact now stated, it is beyond a doubt that Galloway annually exported a considerable quantity of wheat. Edward, on the 9th of August, advanced with his army to the town of "Flete,"³ [Fleet] in the parish of Girthon, and not far from the modern mansion of Cally. The Galwegians now mustered their forces for the purpose of checking his progress. Their efforts, however, were unavailing against an army so powerful and well appointed; and, after a few skirmishes, they found themselves compelled to seek shelter in the recesses of their woods and

1 "Wardrobe, Accounts of the year 1300, passim, which show the number of vessels, which he then had employed, in that transport service. Simon Kingsman, the master of the Margaret of Kihaven, was paid 2*l.* 9*s.* for himself and twelve sailors, from the 2d to the 15th of August, in carrying, in his ship, thirty quarters of wheat from Kirkcudbright to Dublin to be ground; and thence to Ayr, for the King's army there: He was also paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for *lodmanage*, or pilotage, of the said ship. Ib. 273.—Wymond Gegge, master "de la Sauveye" of Teygnemouth, was paid 1*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for himself and nine sailors, from the 5th to the 14th of August, in carrying 143 quarters of wheat from Kirkcudbright to Whitehaven to be ground; and thence carried to Ayr, for the king's army. Id. John Horn, the master of the Mariot of Drogheda was employed in the same transport of wheat, from Kirkcudbright, to Workington to be ground, &c. Id. Andrew Karliol, the master of the Mariot of Drogheda was employed, in the same service, in carrying wheat from Kirkcudbright to Whitehaven to be ground. Ib. 274. Several other vessels were then similarly employed. Ib. passim."

CALEDONIA.

2 The first mills used in the district were *querns*.

3 It is sometimes termed "Gerton on Flete." There are numerous traces of ancient buildings about a mile to the south of Cally House.

mountains which they fortified by placing in the passes rocks and large trees. Edward is thought to have taken up his abode here in a castle which stood in the lands of Enrick. The place is still termed the "Palace Yard." In Girthon he made his usual oblation at the altar, to propitiate the saints for success in his undertaking. On the 10th of August, he sent John de Lawford to Carlisle for money to defray the expenses of his household, and pay his army. Whilst the English King remained in Girthon, he exacted, we are told, from Dame Margaret de Multon, thirteen shillings and fourpence, for the restoration of her liberty. He also fined Henry, tenant of the mill of "Gerton," [Girthon] thirteen shillings and fourpence, for improprieties which he had discovered in this man's conduct, or for some unfair practices which existed in his mill.¹ The King farther showed his love of justice, by amercing the town of Fleet in the sum of forty shillings for having used deficient measures and illegal weights.—Edward sent a large detachment from Fleet to Wigtown, which seems to have met with little opposition, though the Galwegians often attacked and harassed the detachments or parties of the English army, which were sent to over-run the district: they also watched and slew the stragglers. Accordingly, we observe that allowances were granted for horses which were killed by the Scots at the Dee, on the Fleet, and on the Cree. The commander of the detachment sent to West Galloway, gained the friendship and adherence of the M'Doualls, ancient and powerful barons in Wig-

¹ The water course to this ancient mill is still perceptible. It was situated near the town of Fleet.

townshire. On the 19th and 20th of August, we find Edward at Crossmichael, returning through Galloway; and on the 23rd, he made his accustomed oblation in his chapel at Southwick. He reached the Abbey of Sweetheart on the 24th, and Caerlaverock on the 29th of the same month.

About this time the King of England met with a new opponent. Scottish commissioners had been sent to the Pope, at Rome, to complain of the injuries which Edward was inflicting on Scotland, and to solicit the Pontiff's interference. His Holiness, probably influenced by Scottish gold, directed an admonitory bull to Edward, and ordered Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, to proceed immediately in quest of the English King, and with all due formality deliver the important document into his hands. This prelate obeyed the mandate of his superior, and in the discharge of his duty, exposed himself to much personal danger from bands of Scottish robbers that prowled about the country, thirsting for English blood. Having passed, with all his horses and chariots, the dangerous sands of the Solway, he proceeded to Kirkcudbright, attended by his learned dignitaries, clerks, and servants; but he found that the King had previously departed from that place. Pursuing the royal route, he at last overtook Edward encamped near Caerlaverock,¹ and communicated to him, in presence of the Prince of Wales, the nobles, and whole army, the bull of Pope Boniface VIII., commanding him to set at liberty all ecclesiastics whom he had confined, to stop farther hostile proceedings against the Scots, and

¹ Tytler.

to relinquish his claim on Scotland, which kingdom, His Holiness affirmed, was a fief belonging to the Papal See.¹

In delivering this imperious mandate, the Archbishop added his own observations on the duty of paying implicit and reverential obedience to so high and sacred an authority. Edward heard the injunctions with astonishment and ungovernable rage, and uttering a great oath, exclaimed—"I will defend, as long as I have breath in my nostrils, what all the world knows to be my right." It was dangerous for the King to quarrel with the Pope at this period; and, after some delay, a truce with the Scots ensued, which was to endure till Whitsunday 1301, when the season would again permit a renewal of hostilities.

From Caerlaverock, Edward proceeded to Dornock, east of Annan. During the month of September, he remained in the neighbourhood of Holmcultram.

On the 16th of October, the King left Carlisle for Dumfries; and on the 17th, he was in that town with his Queen, where he made an oblation in his chapel for good news from Galloway. From Dumfries, John de St. John was sent into the conquered province to receive the submission of the inhabitants, and admit them to the "King's peace." This service occupied him until the 4th of November. Edward returned to England on the 3rd of November, having recalled his troops in detachments from Galloway. During this campaign, William de Gretham, a monk of Durham, at the request of Edward, carried the honoured

¹ Hailes' Annals.

banner of St. Cuthbert. For this service, which lasted fifty three days, he received a remuneration of five pounds. Whilst in Galloway, the English army was attended by transports which conveyed provisions of various kinds and other necessaries from England. Bakers were brought from Carlisle, to make bread of a proper quality for the royal troops and household, whilst in Scotland. Experienced fishermen, with suitable nets, accompanied the army to procure a constant supply of fish for the royal table.

After this campaign, Edward granted allowances to private persons for damage done by his troops on their return from Galloway. He presented two hogsheads of wine to William de Carlisle, and to Ade, widow of Robert de la Fierte, for injury which their corn at Dornock had sustained from the English troops. The King also allowed William de Carlisle, twenty four pounds for 80 acres of oats destroyed by the royal army, being at the rate of six shillings an acre.¹

After the expiration of this, and a second truce, which was concluded by the mediation of France, hostilities again commenced; and Edward having made peace with France, was allowed to direct the whole military force of his kingdom against the independence of Scotland. By arguments, intrigues,

¹ Caledonia.—Mr Chalmers when speaking of this campaign makes the following remarks. "In the *wardrobe account* of Edward I., during the year 1300, which has been published by the Antiquary Society of London, there are a thousand particulars of his campaign, in that year, as well as many curious notices, with regard to North Britain, her castles, and economy. As history becomes less interesting, as it becomes more general, I will submit to the more curious reader the particulars of Edward's campaign, in 1300, from that authentic document."

or gold, he obtained the countenance of the Pope in the prosecution of his ambitious and favourite design of subduing the whole island. His Holiness, therefore, addressed the Scottish bishops in terms of reproach, and enjoined them, under pain of his high displeasure, to cultivate peace. The completion of the treaty between England and France proved the harbinger of Scotland's subjugation. Edward's attention and resources were now undivided. He, accordingly, in 1303, assembled such a force as he judged sufficient to overpower the Scots and command triumphant success. His calculations proved correct; for, in the beginning of June, he reached their capital without interruption. Wherever he approached, the inhabitants submitted to a power which they could not resist. The whole course of the English army was marked by blood and devastation,—by desolated towns and villages, burning woods, plundered granges, and wasted lands. The Governor, Comyn, the late Guardian, William Wallace, who had returned from France to assist in the defence of his country, and Sir Simon Fraser, were compelled to withdraw into the wilds and fastnesses of the interior from which they sometimes issued and annoyed the English convoys.

Edward having reduced the castle of Brechin, prepared to lay siege to Stirling castle. Oliphant, the gallant Governor, though without any sanguine hopes of final success, nobly refused to capitulate. Comyn, aware of its importance, as the only remaining place of refuge in the kingdom, assembled his forces to afford it protection. To make the last effort in behalf of national liberty, he posted

his army on the south margin of the Forth. The King intended to pass the river by the bridge, but he found it had been destroyed. His genius, however, readily discovered a ford which enabled him to pass in safety; but the Scots now fled as if they had been taken by surprise, and Comyn, with his adherents, submitted to Edward. Some the conqueror allowed to retain their estates, whilst others he banished from his dominions. Prior to this event, Bruce had surrendered himself to John de St. John the English warden of the western march.¹ William Wallace and Sir Simon Fraser, with the garrison of Stirling, were declared outlaws. The siege of this stubborn fortress now commenced, and was conducted with much ardour and vigorous perseverance. Even the King himself, though advanced in years, emulated the activity of the youngest of his officers, and exposed his person, wherever danger was most conspicuous. For three months the castle baffled all his exertions. At length, when several breaches had been made, the faithful Oliphant offered to capitulate. Edward, however, rejected the proposal with contempt; and the survivors of the garrison were forced to surrender at discretion. To evince his high sense of their heroism, the conqueror spared their lives, and exempted them from the ignominy of being bound in chains.²

Scotland was now subdued; but one man remained determined to be free. This was the renowned William Wallace, who under all circumstances had refused to barter the liberties of his country for personal safety. Whilst this individual lived,

¹ Redpath's Border History.

² Tytler.—Hailes, &c.

Edward could not persuade himself that his conquests were complete, or his ascendancy in Scotland secure. Unbounded enmity, ambitious policy, and an inordinate thirst of vengeance, rendered the King of England intensely solicitous to hunt the patriot down and gain possession of his person. Ralph Halliburton, a prisoner taken at Stirling, obtained his liberty and was hurried down to Scotland to aid in discovering Wallace's retreat. What Halliburton effected is unknown; but it is certain that the hero was betrayed, or taken by Sir John Menteith, Sheriff of Dumbarton-shire, in whose integrity, it is said, he had placed implicit, though unmerited reliance. Wallace's fate was soon decided. After he had been conducted in chains to London by the orders of the vindictive Edward, he was arraigned of treason and put upon his trial at Westminster. Wallace indignantly repelled the charge; since, as he affirmed, he had never taken the oath of allegiance to the King of England. Sentence of death was pronounced against him, and the sentence was executed on the 23rd of August 1305. Having dragged him in chains, at horses' tails through the streets, to a high gallows placed at the elms, in Smithfield, the myrmidons of the law, suspended him by the neck: but, whilst he was still living, they cut him down, and according to his cruel sentence, took out his bowels and burned them before his face. His head was placed on a pole on London bridge, and his mangled limbs were sent to different parts of Britain, to be exposed as spectacles to the public gaze.¹

Though few of this hero's exploits were per-

¹ A Tytler.—Hailes, &c.

formed in Galloway; yet the district was materially affected by the failure or success of his undertakings. He was much in the vicinity of Ayr, and sometimes in Dumfries-shire. From his frequent intercourse with the inhabitants of the south of Scotland, they took a warm interest in his fate.

After the execution of the brave Wallace, King Edward proceeded to make a final settlement of Scottish affairs. He appointed a lieutenant, a chancellor, a chamberlain, and a comptroller. For the administration of justice, he divided the kingdom into four districts, and nominated two justiciaries for each. Roger de Kirkpatrick, and Walter Burgheton, were appointed justiciaries of Galloway—one of the divisions of the kingdom;¹ and “Thomas Mackulach,” Sheriff of Wigtown-shire.² Thus after a protracted and obstinate contest was North Britain divested of its ancient independence, and reduced to the abject condition of an English province.

Edward having ostensibly subdued Scotland, and made a final adjustment of its national affairs, considered his authority as permanently fixed on the surest foundation. Within four short months, however, that system was overthrown, which fifteen years of fraud, craft, and violence, accompanied by a profuse waste of treasure and the effusion of rivers of blood, had, with difficulty, established. The cause of this surprising and unlooked for event was this.

Dervorgille of Galloway had a son, John Baliol, and a daughter Marjory. John Comyn was the son of Marjory, and setting aside John Baliol, was

¹ Redpath's Border History, p.p. 225, &c.

² Caledonia.

heir to Dervorgille's royal pretensions. Baliol having renounced his interest in the crown of Scotland, Comyn might be considered, by right of consanguinity, as entitled to the kingdom. Bruce's pretensions are well known. He was lineally descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. His grandfather had been one of the original competitors, but had acquiesced in the decision of Edward; and his father had served under the English monarch, though he possessed more spirit and ambition than his grandfather. Thus might a dormant competition for the crown of Scotland be considered as still existing;—thus might the ancient faction of Baliol and Bruce be said to have revived in the persons of the Earl of Carrick and John Comyn. The kingdom, however, had first to be snatched from the tenacious gripe of Edward, either by secret or open means. The pride and restlessness of the people rendered them ripe for such an enterprise; for they still sighed for independence. Both history¹ and tradition narrate, that with a view to free their country from the thralldom of Edward, Bruce made the following proposal to his rival for royalty: "Support my title to the crown and I will give you my estate; or give me your estate and I will support

1 Fordun.—Tytler.—Barbour's Life of Bruce. This writer was nearly contemporary with Robert Bruce, and was either an eye witness of the events which he narrates, or received his information from those who were eye witnesses. His work is held in high estimation.

Archdeacon Nicolson goes on to mention in the Scottish Historical Library, that "The memorable Life of Robert the *First* (or *the Bruce*, as he's call'd) was written by a *Person of good Knowledge and Learning*, John Barbour Archdeacon of *Aberdene*; who liv'd in the Reign of *David the Second*. This Book is in *Scottish meeter*, and bears the Title of *The Acts and Life of the most victorious Conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland: wherein*

yours.”¹ To the terms first proposed Comyn agreed; and an instrument containing the conditions was sealed by both parties. They likewise took a mutual oath of secrecy; but Comyn by letters revealed to Edward his rival’s intention. At this time Bruce resided apparently in high favour at the English court. Edward questioned him, and was seemingly satisfied with his answers. He wished to conceal his suspicions until he could ensnare the brothers of Bruce,—for Bruce was considered by many, as the righteous heir of the crown of Scotland,—and thus annihilate a family whose claims and whose influence he dreaded. The King, it is said, having drunk too much wine, unguardedly unfolded his design regarding Bruce and his brothers. The Earl of Gloucester, symbolically warned the Scottish baron of his danger, and insinuated the necessity of saving himself by flight. Bruce understood the message and set off for Scotland. On the road he met a person whose appearance roused his curiosity, and excited his suspicion. He seized him, and found letters upon his person from Comyn, addressed to the English King, strongly urging the expediency of putting Bruce to death. Having beheaded the messenger he hurried on to Lochmaben, at which place he arrived

also are contain’d the Martial Deeds of the Valiant Princes, Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglas, Earl Thomas Randal, Walter Stewart, and sundry others. It has had a great many Editions. and is now commonly sold by the Booksellers of that Kingdom, This Historian or Poet (call him which you will, they were antiently the same profession) liv’d, as we have already observed, near the time he accounts for; and is therefore the more credible Reporter.” NICOLSON’S Scottish Historical Library, London, 1702.

¹ Winton says this conversation took place when the two barons “were ryding fra Strevlyyn.”

on the fifth day after his departure from London. Here he met his brother Edward, and informed him of the dangerous circumstances in which he was placed.¹

Bruce hastened to Dumfries, whither Comyn had repaired, to attend, as a freeholder of the district, on the English justiciaries, who were then holding their courts in that town, and obtained an interview. They met in a church belonging to a convent of the Minorite friars. A warm altercation ensued, and they became more and more irritated. With much vehemence and fury Bruce upbraided his rival with the despicable treachery of his conduct. "You lie," exclaimed Comyn, when Bruce drew his dagger and stabbed him. Hurrying from the sanctuary he called, "To horse."—His attendants, James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick, perceiving him pale and much agitated, inquired how he was. "Ill," replied Bruce, "I doubt I have slain Comyn." "Doubt," cried Kirkpatrick, "I'se mak sicker," and rushing into the church, with his dagger pierced the wounded baron to the heart.² With the Red Comyn fell his uncle, Sir Robert Comyn, in attempting to save his nephew's life. This daring deed removed a formidable opponent from the path of Bruce; but it ren-

¹ Barbour.—Tytler.

² The Kirkpatrick's arms still exhibit the part their ancestors took in this transaction. The crest is a hand with a bloody dagger, and the motto "I'se mak sicker."

"The body of Comyn was watched all night by the friars, and the solemn rites and deep requiem usual in those ages celebrated over it: as midnight approached, however, their vigilance forsook the whole brotherhood, one aged father excepted, who heard a voice, weak yet clear, resembling that of a wailing infant, exclaim, 'How long, Lord, shall thy vengeance be delayed?' to whom a low and awful tone replied, 'Endure with patience un-

dered him obnoxious to the displeasure of the Pope, the hostility of Comyn's friends, and the fatal resentment of Edward. Forgiveness for so bold and outrageous an act of insubordination was almost beyond the range of possibility; and despair forced him on to open hostility,—to a rash rebellion against the English monarch. Having assembled his followers, he seized the castle of Dumfries. The justiciaries, who were holding their court in a hall of the building when this strange assassination took place, were alarmed for their personal safety, and ordered the doors of the apartment in which they sat to be barricaded. Bruce, with a bold and determined firmness, gave notice, that, if they persisted in holding out, he would order the edifice to be set on fire, and consume them in its ruins. Alarmed at the impending danger, they reluctantly surrendered; and he permitted them to depart uninjured out of Scotland.

Such is the account given by Scottish historians of this fatal and momentous deed. The English writers narrate the transaction as attended by somewhat different circumstances; but as the Scottish statement has never been invalidated, the probability is, it does not deviate far from the limits of truth. This catastrophe happened on the 10th of February 1306.

Bruce having renounced his allegiance to the powerful and vindictive Edward, had now no al-

til the anniversary of this day shall return for the fifty second time.' On that very day a Lindsay slew a Kirkpatrick in Caerlaverock castle, and the slayer and the slain were the sons of the two barons whose respective names they bore, and who had aided in the death of the Red Comyn." (Illustrations of Scott.)

ternative left but a coffin or a crown—a grave or a kingdom. As he had publicly thrown down the gauntlet before a successful monarch, contemned his authority, and bid defiance to his power, the offender's only safety lay in the boldness of his measures, and the energy of his exertions. Few at first collected around him except his brothers, vassals, and immediate adherents; but he soon proceeded to prepare for vigorous war with bolder views and higher pretensions than any of his countrymen had ventured to do since Baliol's resignation.

Having summoned such barons and influential men as were known to be anxious for the independence of Scotland to meet him, he proceeded to Glasgow. On the road between the castle of Lochmaben and Glasgow, a young knight, well armed and mounted, met his retinue. On the approach of their chief, he threw himself from his horse, and, with bended knee, did homage to him as his Sovereign. This individual proved to be Sir James Douglas, afterwards called the Good Lord James, son of Lord Douglas, whose estate had been granted by Edward to Lord Clifford.—This youth, whose son became Lord of Galloway, was affectionately welcomed by Bruce; and thus began a friendship which only death could terminate. From Glasgow Bruce rode to Scone, where he was invested with the insigns of royalty, and solemnly crowned King of Scotland. Every thing relating to the ceremony of his coronation was hurriedly arranged. Edward had carried off the ancient regalia of the kingdom, and the famous stone chair; but a slender circlet of gold was used as

a substitute for the crown.¹ The Earls of Fife enjoyed the distinguished privilege of placing the crown upon the head of each successive sovereign at his coronation; but Duncan, at this time Earl, who remained faithful to the English monarch, declined to officiate.² His sister Isabella, wife of the Earl of Buchan, performed the dangerous duty, on the present emergency, in the place of her brother; and Bruce was acknowledged as King by the few patriotic barons who had attended him, and were attached to his party.³

1 Hailes.—Tytler, &c.

2 Scott's History of Scotland, &c.

3 Before the arrival of the Countess of Buchan, Bruce, it is said, had been crowned, but the ceremony was repeated.

CHAP. VI.

FROM THE CORONATION OF ROBERT BRUCE IN 1306, TO HIS
DEATH IN 1329.

BEFORE pursuing the course of this narrative it may not be uninteresting or uninstruc- tive to take a cursory survey of the internal, or domestic state of Galloway, during the two centuries, immediately preceding this epoch of Scottish history.

Galloway was still chequered by extensive marshes, which filled the atmosphere with moisture, and emitted noxious exhalations. The face of the country yet continued much covered with wood; and the numerous forests, with the animals of the chase which abounded in them, were sources of wealth to the proprietors of the soil.— When Edward over-ran Scotland, we find him constantly rewarding the services of his adherents by presents of oaks and stags from the royal forests.¹ Already, however, many districts had been cleared and brought into a state of cultivation.

It appears, that the art of agriculture was much better understood, or at least much better practised, within the bounds of Galloway, about the end of the 13th century, than during the lapse of the en-

¹ Tytler.—*Rotuli Scotiac.*—

suing 300 years. Rude and restless as the natives then were, and little addicted to peaceable industry, they nevertheless enjoyed advantages under their native Lords, a continuation of which would have ultimately produced the happiest results, and accomplished a great amelioration of their moral condition.

That they had made some astonishing advances on the path of agricultural knowledge, we have many and satisfactory proofs. In the year 1300, when Edward I. made his memorable campaign in Galloway, his numerous army, as we have seen, was supplied to a considerable extent with stores from the resources of the district. Besides, wheat was exported from the port of Kirkcudbright to Cumberland, and also to Ireland, to be manufactured into flour, from which places it was re-conveyed to Scotland, for the purpose of victualling the castles of Ayr, Caerlaverock, Dumfries, and Lochmaben.¹ Now the fact that wheat,—the most nutritive of all grain, and requiring both a good soil and a skilful mode of cultivation,—was raised in considerable quantities at this period, taken in connection with the admission of subsequent writers regarding the state of the country, fully proves that

¹ Some have thought that the wheat exported from Kirkcudbright was not the produce of the district. They suppose it had been previously imported, but from the want of mills, the same vessels that brought it had to convey it back to England to be ground into flour. Edward, however, must have been aware of the state of the country; and if no wheat was to be obtained in it, he would have imported flour. At the present time large quantities of this grain might be produced in Galloway; and though from the number of vessels employed by Edward, the quantity he exported may seem large, yet it must be remembered, that the vessels used at so early a period were but of a diminutive size, and could not carry heavy burdens.

agriculture had declined afterwards in no ordinary degree. This result may be attributed to the train of wars, both foreign and domestic, by which Galloway was distracted. The improved mode of agriculture, however, seems to have been confined solely to the southern parts of the kingdom. On the shores of Galloway, and through those parts of Scotland which were included in the Northumbrian kingdom, the Anglo-Saxon mode of cultivation was followed; but in other parts of North Britain, except perhaps on the estates of the Clergy, the most awkward and unskilful practice prevailed. The higher portions of land were chosen for tillage; the plains and banks of rivers being too marshy, and too much exposed to sudden inundations, to be selected for this purpose by a people possessed of neither art nor industry to overcome natural difficulties, or remedy even trifling inconveniences.—We, accordingly, perceive traces of the plough in high and almost inaccessible situations, where no modern agriculturist would attempt cultivation.—Indeed, there are few hills in the lower part of the district, where cultivation was at all practicable, that do not bear distinct marks of the plough; and the depth of the furrows plainly indicates that this ancient tillage was not merely casual nor experimental, but regular and continuous.¹ The plough

¹ About the year 1015, during the reign of Malcolm the Second, a *Colpindach* (or young Heifer) was Valued at Thirty Pence: the very same Price which was set on an Ox.—About 1134, Twenty-five shillings was the price of six Cows, and four-pence the worth of a Pair of Shoes.—In the reign of Alexander III, 1159 a good Horse for the War was valued at twenty shillings; a whole Carcase of Mutton, the highest rate sixteen Pence, and the lowest eight Pence.” NICOLSON'S Scottish Historical Library, London, 1702.

“In the year 1300, wheat was sold for seven and eight

which was yoked in spring was generally drawn by no fewer than ten oxen. They were commonly unsuitably matched and managed with difficulty. The plough itself was of such a construction as to be altogether unfit for removing impediments or penetrating deep into the ground. The spade was occasionally employed in such localities as were inaccessible to the plough. Black oats, rye, and long bearded barley, constituted the ordinary crops. A bundle of thorns, fastened to the tail of an animal, was dragged over the ground as a harrow; and the growing crop received little or no care, but a partial protection from cattle. After being reaped, the corn was laid up in barns; and, when required, it was parched in small quantities and ground between two stones; one of which was fitted with a handle which turned it; but a considerable quantity of the oats was made into malt and brewed into ale.¹ Be-

shillings per quarter; wheat-flour, at six shillings; oats, at three and sixpence; malt at three shillings and sixpence; beans, five and sixpence: Beer, per butt, from eight to sixteen shillings; carcasses of oxen, five shillings to six and eight-pence; and hogs, from three shillings to three and nine pence each. The coin of Scotland was then three times the weight of our present standard, there being only twenty-one shillings in a pound weight of silver, of which we now make sixty-three shillings." (Caledonia.)

HISTORY OF ABERDEEN.

1 The law respecting brewing at this early period is curious.

"All women who brewes aill to be sauld shall brew conform to use all the yeare, whereing gif she failzie she shall be suspended fra her office of brewing for ane yeare and ane day. If she make evile aill and is convict thereof, she shall pay an unlaw of aught shillings, or shall suffer the justice of the burgh, that is, she shall be put upon the *cockstule*, and the aill shall be distributed to the pure folk. And ilk browster shall put forth a sign of her aill be the window or be the dure, that it may be scene as common to all men, quilk gif she does not she shall pay an unlaw of four pennies." REGIAM MAJESTATEM. p. 243.

fore the end of this period, kilns and mills had been erected in many places; but more particularly upon the lands belonging to the King, the clergy, and some of the nobles. The husbandmen used little manure; the soil in such places as had not been previously wrought being so rich in vegetable matter, as to require no foreign substance, and little culture to fertilize it. After two or three crops, they allowed a field to rest that it might recruit its wasted strength. At this time beans, pease, with different kinds of pot herbs, the leaves or roots of which yielded nourishment, were cultivated about the convents in the southern parts of Galloway.¹ The fields, the mountains, and the forests were abundantly stocked with black cattle, sheep, goats, and swine; but pork formed the usual animal food of the lower class of society.

The raiment of the inhabitants of the district was still extremely rude and simple: the skins of animals formed various parts of their dress. Wool, indeed, was spun into yarn by the female part of a family, and woven into coarse cloth, which was coloured by "dirty dyes." Portions of black and white wool in their natural state, were also mixed and manufactured into cloth, which afterwards was fashioned into uncouth garments. Flax grew in some places of Galloway, but linen was little used. The feet generally remained bare, but rude shoes made of untanned, or ill tanned hides, were sometimes worn.

1 "A sour *cale* continued long to be the only cabbage boiled in the pots of Scotland, and perhaps their common soup took its denomination from that rancid ingredient. Other greens were hardly known to the Scots, or extremely rare among them. Their principal root was the white parsnip." WALLACE'S: Ancient State of Scotland.—Edinburgh Edit. 1785, p. 39.

The houses of the inhabitants continued, during this period, to be formed of rude materials, and to exhibit very simple workmanship. On the southwest side of the district, and along the shores, the walls of cottages were constructed of rude piles of wood, with branches interwoven between them, and covered on both sides with a tenacious mixture of clay and straw. The roof often consisted of heath and turf, or straw and turf. Both the cottagers and the cattle inhabited the same dwelling, and entered at the same door. In towns the houses were of three different kinds; huts with walls of stone or wood, bedaubed with clay; dwellings with the lower part of the walls composed of stone and mortar, and the upper part of squared wood; and a few edifices built of stone and mortar, in a castellated form, which rose to a considerable height.—These various habitations were crowded together in narrow and unpaved streets, which were covered deep with mud, and formed receptacles for every kind of filthiness. Their walls had holes that served the double purpose of windows and chimneys; for these apertures in general had no glass; and thus they freely transmitted smoke and admitted light. Towns were frequently placed under the protection of castles or monasteries. Those built in the vicinity of castles were walled, while such as arose under the protection of the church remained defenceless; being secure from the respect that was paid to whatever belonged to the ministers of religion, or received their support.

A family cannot be comfortable without various articles of furniture. But our ancestors had almost none in their chambers; and their kitchens were but poorly supplied with utensils. Their domestic

implements were alike rude in substance and construction; and the smallness of their number did not admit of that classification which both cleanliness and delicacy require.¹

Before the reign of Malcolm III., Scotland possessed no structures of sufficient magnitude and strength really to deserve the name of castles.— There were, indeed, in some places, round towers and fortified camps; but these fortifications were not united into one strong work, nor were the towers fitted up as convenient and commodious habitations. After the Norman conquest, William and his barons fortified themselves in spacious and massy edifices. Malcolm and his nobles, in their wars with England, saw the advantages of such buildings, and imitated the Norman castles. Isolated round towers were no longer erected, but a number of castles composed of square towers, or, built at least in somewhat of a square form, were raised in various situations. Their walls, sometimes fourteen or fifteen feet thick, were composed of huge masses of rough or unhewn stone; and the cement, or mortar, was prepared by burning shells collected on the sea shore: such buildings often rose to the height of three or four stories. The under story was set apart as a dungeon and receptacle of stores, and had a well underneath it; the next story served as barracks and a guard-room, which the common military force occupied; the higher apartments were used as state rooms and lodgings for the principal persons within the castle. Around the walls, battlements crowned the summit of the building. The floors of the different apartments gener-

¹ Wallace's Ancient State of Scotland.

ally consisted of wood, and the roofs were vaulted, or strongly arched over, and covered with stones or lead. The whole ground which the castle occupied, was surrounded by a strong wall, with a deep trench beyond it, and the open space within the enclosure was known by the name of the "base court." The moat, or trench, was sometimes full of water and sometimes dry, and received protection from a rampart, or vallum, on the outside. The entrance to the castle was secured by several strong and ponderous frames of iron, some of which did not turn aside upon hinges, but were raised and lowered down, when necessary. A draw-bridge across the moat afforded access to the castle from the adjacent country. Between the outer gate and the draw-bridge stood the barbican, or watch-tower.—Towards the end of this period, the form or appearances of castles began to vary. New erections being added within the walls, the interior accommodations were enlarged and improved. The workmanship became more elegant; but the great outline and general design of the whole remained nearly unchanged. Such castles, or fortalices, were erected on natural elevations, on the sides of hills, on mounds made in the midst of morasses, and on artificial or natural islands in the centre of lakes.—During this period, it is probable, several castles were built, or at least rebuilt, in Galloway, namely, the ancient castle of Kenmure,—which stood upon a low eminence surrounded by the waters of Loch-Ken, south-west from the present one; the castles of Loch-Fergus, Raeberry, Terregles, Wraiths, Buittle, Dundough, Lochinvar, and Cardoness, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright; and the castles of

Dunskey, Kirkcolm, Garthland, Craighlaw, and Lochnaw, in the shire of Wigtown.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the buildings devoted to clerical purposes rapidly improved. As the clergy increased in wealth, their intercourse with Rome and other foreign parts became more frequent, and hence the architectural style of every successive abbey, cathedral, or church, excelled those which had preceded it. The clergy of Scotland, though less opulent than those of England, were not less solicitous to ornament their churches and beautify their dwellings. Before this period, the churches were square or oblong, and had the rafters covered with wood, tiles, or straw. In imitation of military architecture, round towers were erected beside some of them; both as ornamental, and as convenient for giving and receiving signals,—as secure repositories,—as penitentiary prisons,—and as belfries. A new form of churches was now introduced. The nave and the aisle, the church and the choir formed distinct portions of the sacred building; the former representing the Saviour's cross, and the latter relating respectively to the *missal* and *musical* parts of the service.

The abbey or convent of this period was a church or chapel, with an assemblage of small apartments, some large halls, and other places for domestic purposes. All these comprised one building, or one collection of buildings. The situations chosen for such edifices were the middle of fertile fields; the gentle declivity of some sheltering hill; the tranquil retirement of a sequestered vale; or the shady bank of a beautiful rivulet. Their gardens were enclosed with good walls, and had ample stores.

of fruit-trees and vegetables, which the inmates cultivated with the spade. The smaller convents differed from the larger monastic institution only in degree, not in kind; in the extent of their decorations, not in the general form or fashion of the building. To repair old edifices or erect new ones,—to procure superior workmen from foreign countries,—to accumulate materials for future buildings, were now esteemed the most meritorious and laudable actions in which an abbot or a bishop could engage.

The domestic employments of the inhabitants of Galloway at this period were rude and simple. As artisans, the men were lazy, awkward, and unskilful. On the women still devolved almost all the duties both of the house and of the field; in short every task of mean and painful drudgery. War continued to be the universal trade; and all who had not devoted themselves to the duties of religion, considered it as the principal business of their lives: all other duties were secondary or incidental.—Every chieftain's vassals held themselves in readiness, at the most unexpected summons, to rise in arms. Sentinels constantly kept watch on the battlements of castles, and burghers often stood in readiness at the doors of their houses during the night.

The common warriors of Galloway wore as yet but little defensive armour and used few offensive weapons. Each man supplied himself with a wooden shield, covered with the skin of an animal, a long pointed spear, and sometimes a battle-axe and small sword, or knife.

When on a military expedition each horseman (and many of the Galwegians rode on horseback,) guided the animal's head by a rope or thong: in his other hand he held his lance or spear. An

unshorn hide served him for a saddle, and he used no stirrups or spurs. The barons and knights wore secure defensive armour. A helmet secured the head, the neck and shoulders; a moveable vizor covered, or uncovered the eyes, at pleasure; and a beaver, likewise moveable, protected the mouth. A crest rose above the crown of the head. Sometimes, however, the face was left bare, having only a protending bar to defend it. The body was covered by a coat of mail, either wrought of rings, or formed of plates, like the scales of fishes. The thighs were protected by a fabric formed of ringed plates, rising over one another; and both legs and arms were defended by greaves; even the feet were covered with plates of iron. They also carried formidable offensive weapons: many warriors bore a spear fifteen or twenty feet long, a mace by which, in close combat, an enemy might be felled to the ground, a sword of considerable length, and a short dagger for occasional use. A sling, and a bow of yew or ash, accompanied by a quiver full of arrows, each pointed with brass or steel, were also used as instruments of war.

Armies during the early part of this period were composed of different kinds of troops, arranged in the following order. The archers and slingers were stationed on the wings, and fought at some distance from the enemy. The spearmen formed the centre of the army and pressed instantly into action. But the cavalry constituted the strength of the host; and, from being completely armed, were by far the most formidable part of it. Their might and velocity enabled them to surmount every obstacle, and soon

break through the opposing infantry, how closely formed soever, or completely accoutred. Thus, however hostile armies might be arranged at the beginning of a battle, they were generally broken and dispersed as soon as the fight became general; and the soldiers continued afterwards to contend in mingled and desultory combat. The mode of fighting practised by the Galwegians was peculiarly fierce, but disorderly. The spoils obtained by a victory, or military expedition, were cattle, slaves, armour, and the valuable ornaments of the slain.

Slavery still existed in Galloway, as well as in other parts of Scotland. Slaves, or bondmen, were either prisoners taken in war, or the posterity of the vanquished. They were often bought and sold with the land upon which they resided, but sometimes without it. Their master possessed the same right of property over their persons that he had over the cattle which belonged to his estate. They could not remove without his permission; and his right of property continued attached to them wherever they went: he could reclaim them with as much facility as he could seize upon the animals which had strayed from his domain. The whole effects of slaves belonged to their masters. This degraded class of men were never allowed to arm; and they could not hold any office. The laws of the country protected their lives; but in every other respect they remained at the absolute disposal, and entirely in the mercy of their lords. Any freeman might liberate his slaves with the King's concurrence. A bondman also received his liberty after having possessed unquestioned freedom upon any estate in the country for seven years; and within any burgh for a year and a day.—

This prescriptive freedom was equal to formal manumission. Slavery continued in full force in England until so late as the year 1536; though in Scotland, it appears to have been abolished at an earlier date.

The inhabitants of burghs, as burghs grew up, either legally obtained, or imperceptibly monopolized all foreign and domestic trade. Kirkcudbright, the metropolis of the district, seems to have been a place of considerable importance, and, in all probability, was more populous once than it is at present.¹ Wine, cloth, and armour were the articles principally imported; and the staple exports to foreign countries consisted of fish, wool, and hides. Scotland was long famed for pearls,² and indeed, they may still be found in considerable numbers in the river Dee, in Galloway, though their colour is not a very brilliant white.³ The

1 Statistical Account.

Hector Boethius states that Galloway was said to be "dividit, by the water of Cre, into two partis: The part, that lyes nearest to Nidisail is callit Nethir-Galloway; the tothir part that lyes about Cre, is callit Wvir-Galloway. In Nethir-Galloway is *Kirkcoubrie* ane rich town, full of merchandice,"

See also vol. ii. of this work, page 138.

2 "The Scottish pearls in the possession of Alexander the First were celebrated in distant countries for their extreme size and beauty; and, as early as the twelfth century, there is evidence of a foreign demand for this species of luxury. As the commercial intercourse with the East increased, the rich Oriental pearl, from its superior brilliancy, and more perfect form, excluded the Scottish pearls from the jewel market; and by a statute of the Parisian goldsmiths, in the year 1355, we find it enacted, that no worker in gold or silver shall set any Scottish pearls with Oriental ones, except in large ornaments or jewels for churches." TYTLER'S History of Scotland.

See vol. ii. of this work, p.p. 106—107.

3 The shell in which these pearls are found in the Dee is the *Unio Roissyi* of Michaud, which is a variety of the *V. Margaritifera*. Shells containing such pearls are often found twelve miles from the sea.

sales of goods were made at fairs or markets.¹

During the latter part of this period it was common, as previously mentioned, for a person of property to take his name from the land he possessed, or to give his name to it. Malcolm III. invented this practice for the purpose of dividing tribes or clans, by breaking the tie of their patronymic names. Hence, he conferred titles of honour from the names of places which he erected into lordships or baronies.

The clergy of the south of Scotland, like the clergy of other parts of the kingdom, were now the great depositories of learning; and, though in general, their knowledge was not peculiarly extensive, nor their erudition remarkably profound; yet they were, almost without exception, able to read and write. Nearly the whole of them understood Latin likewise, and often as well as their own language. They both possessed and patronized the fine arts; and many of the most expert and scientific artisans, were monks or secular clergymen. Monasteries contained the only libraries of any extent; for here books multiplied by transcription: the Saxon written characters were those now in use.

The superior nobles, during the 13th century, enjoyed the privilege of holding courts and deciding all causes in which their vassals were the litigants. In the reign of Malcolm IV., the land began to be divided into "royalty and regality."

¹ Fairs originated from religious festivals. Persons attended on such occasions for the sale of refreshments. Afterwards articles of various kinds and of general use, were exposed to sale. Hence *feria*, originally "festival," came in course of time to signify "fair." Fairs generally derived their names from Popish saints.

The estates which were termed *royalties* remained under the jurisdiction of the King and his judges; whilst those domains which were called *regalities* acknowledged the authority of the ecclesiastical and lay lords to whom they belonged. The clergy seem to have been the first who procured grants of land from the crown with the rights of regality annexed to them. By these rights they not only had the power of holding their own courts; but they also enjoyed an immunity from the jurisdiction of the superior national judges. The greater barons soon obtained from the fears or liberality of the Sovereign, the same judicial rights and exemptions; which they again conveyed to their higher vassals. A superior baron, during this early period, was, in reality, a miniature king.—Surrounded by his officers and retainers, he held his feudal courts and dispensed, what he termed justice to his submissive subjects. The baron was also the supreme criminal judge within his territories, and not only possessed the power of immuring his people within his own dungeon, but also of inflicting upon them corporal, and even capital punishment. Each baron had his gallows¹ for hanging men, and his pit for drowning women;² for death by immersion was the punishment inflicted upon women who were convicted of capital

1 All were accounted barons who possessed *jus furcarum*.—
CAMDEN.

2 “Some of the *murder-holes*, or pits, are said to be 80 feet deep, from which human bones have been brought forth; and their origin has been referred to the feudal grants, which were conferred on so many barons, of having, and using “*pit and gallows*.” “Pit,” says Skene, “is a hole, wherein the Scots used to drown *women thieves*.”
CALEDONIA.

crimes. The station upon which a gallows stood received the appropriate appellation of the *Gallows-hill*, or *Gallow-hill*. Such places are numerous in Galloway. A baron possessed the power of reclaiming from the authority of the highest justiciary any of his vassals, and of placing them upon trial before himself for his own judgment.

The duty of supporting their liege lord was considered by the Galwegian vassals as paramount to all other claims upon their services; and they viewed the desertion of their Sovereign, or of the cause of their country, as an insignificant delinquency, when compared with one act of disobedience to their superior.¹

REIGN OF ROBERT I.

Edward was at Winchester when the unexpected tidings reached him, that the Scots had revolted. Bruce's conduct filled him with boundless rage; and he solemnly vowed, in the presence of his court, that he would take the most ample vengeance, and inflict the most severe punishment on the Scottish traitors.² A messenger was immediately despatched to the Pope, to acquaint his Holiness of

¹ We have gleaned the preceding information from the following works.—Statistical Account of Scotland—Chalmers' Caledonia—Hailes' Annals—Tytler's History of Scotland—Heron's History of Scotland—Grose's Antiquities, &c.

² Hailes—Tytler. &c. "There were with Bruce, the Earls of Lennox and of Athol; Lamberton, the Bishop of St Andrews; Robert Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow; David, the Bishop of Moray; the Abbot of Scone; his four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander; his nephew, Thomas Randolph; his brother-in-law, Christopher Seaton; Gilbert de la Haye of Errol, with his brother, Hugh de la Haye; David Barclay of Cairns; Alexander Fraser, brother of Simon Fraser, of Oliver castle; Walter de Somerville, of Linton and Carnwath; David of Inchmartin; Robert Boyd; and Robert Fleming."

the sacrilegious murder, which the new pretender to the throne of Scotland had committed.— With breathless haste Edward also despatched Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to oppose the insurgents before their numbers should encrease, or their army become formidable. Now commenced Bruce's disasters. In May he was excommunicated by the Pope, which terrific sentence excluded him from all the ordinances of religion, and exposed him to the murderous attacks of every fanatical or political assassin, who desired his death. In June, the new Sovereign's army was completely defeated, near Methven; and, his horse being killed, he himself remained, for a short time, a prisoner in the hands of an English knight. Some of his brave companions, however, soon rescued him; but his little army was almost destroyed by the enemy's forces. With a very few followers, amongst whom was young Douglas, afterwards called the Good, Robert escaped to the wilds of Athole. The prisoners taken in this battle were put to death with relentless cruelty.¹

Bruce, with a few followers, wandered from place to place amidst the Highland mountains, suffering great hardships, and supporting life solely by fishing and hunting. On the approach of winter, the patriots were obliged to separate, and Robert himself, in company with his brother Edward and a few other adherents, went to pass the rigorous season of the year in an island, called Rachrin, near the coast of Ireland. At this time, his friends in Scotland were placed in truly unfortunate circumstances. The castle of Kildrummie being taken, his brother Nigel, its governor, a brave young man, was cruelly put to

¹ Tytler.—Scott, &c.

death. The Queen, her daughter, and the Countess of Buchan, with some other ladies, having also fallen into the hands of the English, were strictly confined and treated with much severity.¹ The news of these disasters threw Bruce almost into a state of despair. During this unfortunate period, Sir Christopher Seaton was taken in the castle of Loch-Urr, and executed in the vicinity of the town of Dumfries. A chapel was afterwards erected in the place, to exhibit to future generations, the sacred spot where a brave patriot had been immolated on the altar of freedom.²

1 "The intentions of Edward I. touching the durance of the Countess of Buchan, will be more certainly learnt from his own orders, than from the report of M. Westminster. His orders ran thus: 'By letters under the privy seal, be it commanded, that the chamberlain of Scotland, or his deputy at Berwick upon Tweed, do, in one of the turrets of the said castle and in the place which he shall find most convenient, cause construct a cage strongly latticed with wood, (*de fuist*, i. e. beams of timber or palisades), cross-barred, and secured with iron, in which he shall put the Countess of Buchan.

"And that he take care that she be so well and safely guarded therein, that in no sort she may issue therefrom.

"And that he appoint one or more women of Berwick, of English extraction, and liable to no suspicion, *who shall minister to the said Countess in eating and drinking, and in all things else convenient, in her said lodging-place.*

"And that he do cause her to be so well and strictly guarded in the cage, that she may not speak with any one, man or woman, of the Scottish nation, or with any one else, saving with the women who shall be appointed to attend her, or with the guard who shall have the custody of her person

"And that the cage be so constructed *that the Countess may have therein the convenience of a decent chamber*, (*esement de chambre courtoise*); nevertheless, that all things be so well and surely ordered, that no peril arise touching the right custody of the said Countess.

"And that he to whom the charge of her is committed shall be responsible, body for body, and that he be allowed his charges;"

Foedera T. ii. p. 1014.

HAILES' ANNALS.

² Caledonia.—Hailes.—"Trivet, p. 395. says, that he was

It is said that about this time an incident occurred, which, though resting chiefly on tradition, the manners of the times render extremely probable.— One morning, Bruce was lying on his wretched bed, in his miserable dwelling at Rachrin, and deliberating with himself, whether he had not better abandon his kingdom, and endeavour to obtain forgiveness from heaven for the assassination of Comyn, by retiring into Palestine and spending his days in fighting against the Saracens. Whilst thus musing upon his future conduct, he observed a spider hanging by its thread from the roof of the house, and endeavouring to swing itself from one beam to another, for the purpose of fixing a line, upon which to extend its web. It made six unsuccessful attempts. Bruce remembered that he was exactly in the same situation as the poor disappointed spider. “Now,” thought he, “I will be guided in my determination by the result of this creature’s exertions.” The insect, mustering all its strength, made the seventh trial, and completely succeeded in fastening the thread on the beam, it had so often vainly endeavoured to reach. Perceiving the success of the spider, he determined to try his own fortune in making another attempt to gain his kingdom.¹

On the approach of spring, Bruce passed to the Isle of Arran, where he was met by James Douglas and some of his friends. From this place he sent a faithful messenger into Carrick and Galloway (for

taken at the Castle of Lochore; he adds, “*quem cum non Scotus sed Anglicus esset, jussit Rex deduci usque Dumfries, ubi quendam militem de parte Regis occiderat, ibique judicium subire coactus, tractus, suspensusque est, ac ultimó decollatus*”.

¹ Scott.—Many people of the name of Bruce would not kill a spider.

his ancestors had been proprietors of the Lordship of Galloway) to endeavour to rouse the people in these places, to take up arms in support of one who was not only their sovereign, but, in one sense, their natural Lord. Bruce afterwards landed in Carrick, and obliged Lord Percy to quit the district. He then dispersed his soldiers against the enemy on various expeditions, which had generally favourable terminations. Expecting immediate aid, he kept himself, in a great measure, concealed in his earldom of Carrick, or in the neighbouring province of Galloway, until matters were in readiness for a general battle. But, from adopting such a course, he exposed himself to much personal danger; for many of the inhabitants of the district entertained unfriendly feelings towards him. M'Dowall, the most considerable chieftain of that part of the country, was hostile to Bruce, perhaps hoping to rise on his ruins; for he also was descended, either by a legitimate or spurious lineage, from the ancient independent Lords of Galloway.

Bruce's brothers, Thomas and Alexander¹ now arrived from Ireland with a band of adventurers amounting to 700 men. When landing in the bay of Loch-Ryan, they were attacked by the vassals of M'Dowall.² The strangers, being imper-

¹ Alexander Bruce was educated at Cambridge, where he made very extraordinary proficiency in literature, and he was Dean of Glasgow." LANGTOFT, vol. ii. p. 316.

² Langtoft says that "Makedowal was a serjeant of Galweie," so that he seems to have been an officer of justice.

"The Galloway men complained to Edward I., in 1304, of the *surdit* of the serjeant, as an oppressive custom, which was repugnant to their usages, under Alexander III. Rolls parl. i. 472.; Caledonia, i. 444. Robert I., seems to have freed, in favour of the prior and monks of Candida Casa, the men of Glenswinton, in Galloway, from the "*superdictum serjantium*." M.S. Monast. Scotiæ, 22.

fectly armed and undisciplined, proceeded with irregularity towards the shore, and, when suddenly assailed, were completely routed with great slaughter, having presented no effectual opposition to the onset of the Galwegians. The two brothers and several of the combatants, amongst whom was Sir Reginald Crawford, were severely wounded and made prisoners.

The bleeding captives were conveyed in triumph by M^cDowall to King Edward, at Carlisle, to whom he presented them. Edward ordered them to be led to instant execution. This encounter took place on 9th February, 1306-7.¹

The people of Galloway, understanding Bruce was on the confines of their country, determined to watch every favourable opportunity of secretly surprising him and putting him to death. For this purpose, they collected 200 men and procured some blood-hounds, that had been trained to trace human footsteps by the scent, as fox-hounds trace the footsteps of their prey.² Such hounds, sometimes called

¹ Hailes &c.

² Some trials have been lately made, in England, of the performances of these extraordinary animals, from which it appeared that the nicety of their scent, and accuracy of their course are most wonderful. In one instance, a noted pedestrian was sent into the fields, if possible, to deceive two blood hounds. He took a wide circuit, sometimes moving on one side of a ditch, and sometimes on the other; now crossing bridges and brooks; and again travelling on different kinds of land. He had nearly completed his course before the dogs were brought from their kennels and conducted to the spot from which he first started. Having here taken up the scent, they set off baying, and pursued his footsteps through his devious course. They were sometimes at fault, but assisting each other, they soon picked up the scent, proclaiming their success, by again baying and setting out with redoubled ardour. In this way they traced him back to the road from which he started, with much accuracy; where they were coupled by their keepers, and again returned to their kennels.

sleuth hounds, were then used in detecting and pursuing criminals. The King, having learned that this party were bent upon discovering him and accomplishing his death, posted his men, amounting to 60, near the steep and rocky bank of a deep and rapid intervening river, which had only one narrow ford, at that place, by which no more than two men abreast could cross the stream. After effecting a landing, they would also have to climb a precipitous bank, by a narrow and difficult path, before they could reach the level ground. Having desired his followers to lie down and refresh themselves by sleep, he proceeded with one trusty attendant, Sir Gilbert de la Haye,¹ to examine and watch the ford by which the enemy would have to cross the river, ere they could attack his men. As he stood surveying the pass and considering the means of defending it, he heard the baying of an approaching hound, followed by the men of Galloway, now, from the prospect of success, become eager in the pursuit. This hound was tracing him to the river. The first idea that occurred to his mind was, to hasten back and awaken his men; but when he reflected that the sounds he heard might proceed from some shepherd's dog, he felt unwilling to disturb their repose. "My men are sorely tired," he said to his friend, "I will not rouse them for the barking of a cur, till I know more of the matter." He continued, therefore, eagerly to listen, and soon ascertained the truth; for, as the hound drew nearer, he distinctly heard the trampling of horses, the ringing of armour, and the voices of men. Now the King became convinced that his enemies were

1. Tytler.

advancing to the side of the river. "If we go back," he said, "to call my men, these Galwegians will pass without opposition, and we shall lose *all* the advantages of this difficult access. I will endeavour to defend the passage with my own hand. His armour was so strong and good that it afforded a sufficient protection against their arrows; and he himself was strong, brave, and active. He, therefore, sent his attendant to arouse his party, and determined to remain alone, and keep the enemy in check until succour should arrive.

The moon, shining with considerable brightness, enabled Bruce to perceive the persons and arms of his opponents; whilst they beheld only one solitary warrior guarding the ford; and the foremost of them plunged into the river, regardless of such opposition. But as those who were on horseback could only cross singly, Bruce, who stood above on the bank, killed the first man with his lance, and afterwards pierced the horse, which fell, struggling in the agonies of death, on the narrow path, and prevented the others from getting out of the river. Thus had Bruce an opportunity of despatching his assailants, though they could not strike him with any certainty or effect. In this state of confusion, fifteen were either killed or drowned.¹ After desisting from

¹ Barbour—Scott—Tyler—Historical Tales of the Scottish Wars, or Martial Achievements of Scotland.—Harvey's Poetical Life of Bruce.—This writer says, "I consider'd this Action in all the Lights I possibly could, before I ventured to narrate it. It has indeed an Air of Improbability in it at first sight, and savours somewhat of Romance. But if we look into the Character of the Person who manag'd it, a Man of the utmost Courage and Conduct, joy'n'd to an extraordinary Strength of Body, advantag'd on this Occasion by the Circumstances of Time (it being Night) and likewise by the Narrowness and Steepness of the Place; all these put together, did in my Judgment salve the Probability, and induc'd me to the Narration. But I leave the Reader to his own Opinion."

the contest, and deliberating for a little, the mountaineers began to reflect that their honour would be for ever tarnished, if they fled before one man; and encouraging each other, they plunged a second time into the stream to renew the assault. At this moment Robert's followers came up, when the Galwegians retreated with precipitation, and abandoned the enterprise.¹

The Earl of Pembroke, and John, son of the Lord of Lorn, with a party of Highlanders, proceeded into Galloway, about this time, likewise to attack Bruce.² Each chief was at the head of a considerable body of men. John of Lorn brought with him a large blood-hound, of which Bruce had formerly been the proprietor. He had, indeed, often fed it with his own hands, and it had become much attached to him. Dogs, whether they be blood-hounds or not, can frequently trace the footsteps of their master; and John of Lorn concluded, that by means of this hound, he would undoubtedly find out Bruce, and amply avenge the death of his kinsman John Comyn.¹

When Bruce understood that these two parties were marching against him, he at first thought of fighting; but when he was informed that John of Lorn was moving round, with a formidable force, to attack him in the rear, he resolved to avoid a battle, lest his men should be borne down by numbers. The King, accordingly, divided his men into three bodies, and ordered them to retreat in three different directions, that he might perplex his enemies, who, in all probability, would not know which to pursue, in order to

¹ Scott.

² The Lord of Lorn had married an aunt of the Red Comyn. (Tytler.)

capture the object of their hostility. But when the blood-hound came to the place where the army of Bruce had separated, it pursued one of the divisions, and neglected the others. From this circumstance it was inferred, that Bruce was with this party, and Lorn pursued it with all his forces. The King, observing he was followed by a numerous body, caused his own division to disperse, that, if possible, he might escape from the pursuit. He thought, that by adopting this plan, his enemies would lose trace of him, and perhaps stop in their career. Bruce retained only one attendant, who was his foster-brother, the son of his nurse.

When the blood-hound came to the spot where Robert's party had dispersed, it ran about for some time snuffing, or smelling the ground, and, at last, out of the whole number, followed the track of two individuals. John of Lorn knew one of these men must undoubtedly be the King; and, accordingly, he sent five of his highlanders, most distinguished for their swiftness of foot, either to kill or take him prisoner. The men ran so fast that they gained much upon Robert and his companion, who at last turned upon the pursuers, and being better armed, and perhaps less exhausted, slew all their antagonists.

Although fatigued by such exertions, the fugitives durst not rest, for they were still pursued by their enemies, led on by the hound. After running for a considerable time, they made for a wood, through the middle of which flowed a gentle rivulet. Bruce proposed to his companion, that they should proceed down its channel with their feet in the water, and thus bewilder the dog. They, accordingly, walked a great way in the stream, and went out on

the opposite side. Then concealing themselves in the thickest part of the wood, they lay down to enjoy that rest, they so much required.—When the hound reached the rivulet, it was so completely puzzled, that the pursuers did not know in which direction to proceed: and John of Lorn gave up the chase and returned to join his forces to those of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.²

But the dangers and difficulties of King Robert were not yet ended. Though he had obtained rest in the wood, he had received no food for a considerable time, and he severely felt the cravings of hunger. He and his attendant, therefore, did not remain long in concealment, but walked on in eager expectation of discovering some habitation where they could obtain the necessary supply of nourishment. At last they met with three men, one of whom was carrying a sheep; but, from the strangers being well armed; their appearance was considered extremely suspicious. They respectfully saluted the King; who, after replying to their salutation, inquired to what place they intended to proceed. The men immediately answered, they were endeavouring to find out Robert Bruce,

1 Scott.—Barbour. The latter author also mentions, that, according to some accounts, the hound was shot, and by this means the King escaped.

2 Mr Tytler, after narrating the event, says: “This was an age of chivalrous adventure; the circumstances in which the King was placed, when related even in the simplest manner, partake strongly of a deep and romantic interest; and, renouncing every thing in the narrative of his almost contemporary biographer, which looks like poetical embellishment, the historian must be careful to omit no event which is consistent with the testimony of authentic writers, with the acknowledged personal prowess of the King, and the character of the times in which he lived.” vol. i. p. 260.

for they intended to join his party. Robert replied, if they would accompany him, he could conduct them to the King. The man, who had first spoken, seemed astonished and confused, and the colour of his countenance changed. Bruce, after narrowly observing him, began to suspect that the stranger knew his person and station.— He, therefore, concluded that the ruffian had a design against his life, in order to gain the reward that had been offered for his person, either dead or alive. The King now proposed that the strangers should walk first, and lead the way. They obeyed his directions, and travelled on till they reached an old ruinous cottage. At this place they stopped, and proposed to cook some part of the sheep.— Robert joyfully acquiesced in this proposal; for he stood very much in need of nourishment; but he insisted that two fires should be kindled, one at each end of the house. The men agreed to this arrangement, and gave one leg of mutton to the King and his foster brother to be broiled on the one fire, and took a second to themselves to be prepared on the other. There was neither bread nor salt to be obtained; but Bruce and his foster brother made a hearty repast.

Notwithstanding the dangerous situation in which the King considered himself placed, he felt irresistibly drowsy, and desired his attendant to watch whilst he slept; for he had become extremely suspicious of his new companions. He did not slumber long, however, until his attendant, overcome by his late fatigue, fell into a profound sleep. The villains, perceiving them both asleep, made signs to each other, and, rising hurriedly, drew their swords with the in-

tention of killing both. The King, who slept lightly, was awakened by the slight noise the traitors made in rising, and drawing his sword went to meet them. To rouse his attendant, Robert pushed him with his foot, but ere he could prepare himself for the contest, he was killed by the sword of one of the traitors, who had advanced to slay the King. Robert was now left alone to contend with his three adversaries; but by superior skill, strength, and armour, he prevailed in the contest, and despatched the three villains, one after another. Afflicted for the loss of his faithful friend, he left the cottage, and proceeded to the spot, where, before their separation, he had desired his men to assemble. The appointed place of meeting was a farm house, which he boldly entered; the mistress of it, a generous and high-minded woman, was sitting alone; and, upon seeing a stranger enter, she inquired his name and business.—The King replied, he was a traveller proceeding through the country. “All travellers are welcome,” answered she, “for the sake of one.” “And who is that one?” said the King. “It is our lawful Sovereign, Robert the Bruce;” answered the woman, “who is Lord of this country; and, though his foes have now the ascendancy, yet I hope soon to see him Lord and King over all Scotland.” “Dame, do you love him really so sincerely?” he inquired. “Yes,” she replied, “as God is my witness.” “Then, it is Robert the Bruce who now addresses you.” “Ah! Sir,” she said in much surprise “where are your men, when you are thus alone?” “I have none near me at this time, therefore, I must travel alone.” “This must not be the case, I have three sons, gallant and faithful, they shall become your

trusty servants." They were absent at this time; but, upon their arrival, she made them promise fidelity to the King; and they afterwards, by their valour, became his favourites and rose high in his service. The woman now caused him to sit down and eat some food.¹ But he had not been long in the

¹ Tradition states that this woman was a widow, and had her three sons by three different husbands. The names of the young men were M'Kie, Murdoch, and M'Lurg. They were absent when the King arrived, and as he was eating his humble meal came into the house. When he had finished, he asked them, what weapons they had, and how they could use them.— They told him, they were accustomed to use none but the bow and arrow. The King, wishing to see a specimen of their skill and dexterity, desired one of them to aim at two ravens which had perched on the summit of a rock near the house. The oldest let fly an arrow, and shot both through the head.— The King smiled, and said, he would not like to be shot at by such an archer. Murdoch, the second, aimed an arrow at another raven, on the wing, and pierced it through the body; but M'Lurg, the youngest, was not so successful; for he missed the object at which he aimed. When the English were expelled from Scotland, and the King was dividing what lands were at his disposal among his officers and men, according to their merit, he sent for the widow, and inquired what reward she expected for her sons. She answered, that she would not be extravagant in her expectations; but if his Majesty would bestow upon them the "thirty pound lands of the Hassock and Comlodan," she would be very well satisfied. Robert cheerfully granted this request. The descendants of these individuals long possessed portions of the lands included in the royal grant. Murdoch had that part of the property which contained the farm of Risk, about two miles and a half from Newton-Stewart; M'Kie had the Larg, near Kirouchtree; and M'Lurg had, for his share, Machermore, about one mile below Newton-Stewart. (Symson.)

Mr Train, who is particularly well acquainted with the locality, has furnished us with the following valuable facts.

There are no lands called *Hassock* in the grant made by the King. The oral tradition of the country is, that Annabel, the widow, solicited and received "the bit *hassock* of land that lies between the burn of Palmure and the burn of Penkill." This *hassock* of land is an isosceles triangle, the base of which runs for three miles along the Cree, and the sides formed by the streams of Palmure and Penkill, run five miles into the country. This speck of land has been the birth place or

house, when he heard the trampling of horses' feet approaching the place. The young men concluded it was the English or some hostile party, and started up to defend the King. But Robert soon recognised the voices of his brother Edward, and James, Lord of Douglas, who were come according to previous appointment, with a hundred and fifty men in their company. Robert rejoiced to meet his friends, and they were glad to find him in safety: it was, indeed, a joyful meeting after a day so full of dangers.

The heroes had not been long convened until Bruce began to lay plans for future adventures.

residence of more distinguished individuals than, perhaps, any other rural spot of equal extent in Scotland. Macmillan, the founder of the sect that bear his name, was born at Barncachla. Murdoch, the last of the descendants of old Annabel, who was settled in Kirouchtree, was famed over Europe for his knowledge of Botany. Dr William M'Gill, minister of Ayr, whose Essay on the death of Christ caused so much controversy near the close of last century, received the greatest part of his education at the school of Minnigaff. Alexander Murray, late Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Edinburgh, was born at Corwar; Patrick Heron, whose Banking scheme ruined many gentlemen in Galloway and Ayrshire, occupied Kirouchtree; and Lieutenant General Sir William Stewart, who fought so bravely under the Duke of Wellington, possessed the estate of Comlodan, all within the King's grant to Annabel.

Bruce is said to have gained a victory over the English soon after leaving the widow's house, at a place called Moss Raploch, a pretty extensive flow, in the parish of Kells. There is a flat space nearly in the centre of the moss, a little higher than the surrounding ground, upon which, in a stone, still denominated the King's stone, the royal standard stood during the action. The three young men, sons of the widow previously mentioned, having collected a considerable number of deer and goats, drove them to the top of the hill called Craigencallie. The English, in the confusion of the fight, and with the sun shining full in their faces, mistook them for an additional body of troops coming to the assistance of Bruce, and fled. The night before the battle the King slept in the house of Craigencallie; of which there are still some remains known by the name of "Bruce's Waas," i. e. walls.

He, accordingly, proceeded to inquire if they knew where his pursuers had taken up their quarters for the night. Lord James of Douglas¹ answered that he had passed a village where 200 of them were stationed, and reposed in the full confidence of perfect security, without having placed any sentinels. Douglas proposed that they should instantly set out and surprise them, and thus they might have an opportunity of retaliating upon their pursuers, the injuries which they themselves had suffered during the day. Orders were immediately given to mount, and the Scots coming unexpectedly on the English, rushed into the village, and, with much facility, cut them to pieces.

Encouraged by these and other successes, friends flocked from all quarters, to join Bruce; and he was thus enabled to gain several victories over the hostile commanders.² One of these encounters took place at Glentroul,³ in Galloway. Fifteen hundred of the enemy attacked Robert's party which consisted of only three hundred men. The wooded and marshy nature of the ground, prevented the cavalry from acting with much effect, and the English were defeated.⁴ The Earl of Pembroke, now dispirited with his bad success, retreated to Carlisle, and the English durst no longer move abroad, unless in considerable bodies,

1 Of this James, says Bellinden "descendit the illuster surname of Douglas. quhilkis war euer the sicker targe and weirwalk of Scotland aganis Inglismen and wan mony. laudis be thair singular mankeid and vassalage."

2 Several places are still pointed in Galloway as the scenes of Bruce's victories. We have been furnished with a graphic account of one of these traditionary conflicts, by Capt. Denniston, which we give in the appendix, (E.)

3 Tytler, &c.

4 For Harvey's account of this battle, see Appendix (E.)

but resolved to confine themselves to towns and castles, until the King of England should arrive with a reinforcement of troops.

Edward himself, however, was incapacitated, by sickness, from proceeding any farther than Carlisle, in an expedition against Scotland, which ardently and predominantly interested all his passions. But his lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, now becoming seriously alarmed at the success of Robert's exploits, marched again, at the command of Edward, with a considerable force, against him, and, in the spirit of the times, gave notice, that if Bruce would meet him on the open plain, he would try the fortune of war in a general engagement. To this the Scottish hero agreed, and Loudon-hill was fixed as the place of combat. The armies met on the 10th of May, 1307, and, after some skirmishing, a great battle took place. The valour of the Scots prevailed, and Pembroke's forces were routed with considerable loss.¹ Three days after this battle, a second engagement ensued, when a body of English troops under Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, sustained a defeat from the forces of Bruce.

Edward lived only to hear the disastrous news of the overthrow of his troops. He had spent the whole winter, the victim of disease, at Carlisle.

Upon the return of spring, fondly imagining he had recovered from a distemper which was soon to prove fatal, and number him with the Sovereigns that had been, he, in gratitude to heaven for his delusive recovery, offered up, in the Cathedral church of Carlisle, the horse litter upon which he had been lately borne. Having mounted his

¹ Barbour.—The English historians all acknowledge that Pembroke sustained a defeat.

war-horse, he eagerly set out for Scotland to accomplish the grand object of his life—the subjugation of that kingdom. But so completely had the late malady sapped the foundation of his strength, that he could travel only six miles in four days.¹ On the 6th day of July, 1307, he reached Burgh-upon-Sands; and, on the 7th, he expired, within sight of that country, which, after all his efforts to subject to the English crown, was still unsubdued. Even amidst the sufferings of his last hours, he devoted his thoughts to the final accomplishment of an object, which, through life, had been the aim of his darling ambition. With his dying breath he commanded that his corpse, or rather his skeleton, after undergoing a process which he himself described, should accompany the army into Scotland, and that it should remain unburied until that nation was finally conquered, and firmly annexed to the English monarchy.

Thus perished Edward I., the unceasing enemy of Scottish freedom. Though this monarch has not been viewed with unprejudiced eyes by most writers; yet, like many of that age, both good and bad qualities, in no ordinary degree, were blended in his character. Amidst the troubles of his father's reign, his character was moulded to valour, fortitude, and wisdom. In the Holy-land no knight acquired higher glory and more extensive fame than this prince. His figure was stately, graceful, and robust.

As a monarch, he succeeded to the English throne with the approbation of his people; but the difficulties of the times, and the dangers that environed him, required both the wisdom of the sage,

¹ Tytler — Hailes, &c.

and the valour of the hero. In the management of his turbulent nobles, he became eminently successful. He was, no doubt, occasionally vindictive and severe; but it is to be remembered, that, when cool political wisdom finds mercy incompatible with ambitious designs, it is prone to be more determinedly—more relentlessly cruel, than fury or ferocity. Though many of his acts are altogether inexcusable; yet, perhaps, some of them may derive a shade of mitigation,—a softening tinge—from the circumstances in which he was placed.—Even his designs on Scotland might have arisen from motives of benevolence joined to those of ambition: he might have wished to consolidate the power of the two kingdoms, and unite them within the bonds of peace and amity.¹

The dying commands of kings are generally disregarded by their successors. Edward's remains were deposited in the royal sepulchre, at Westminster, by his son and heir Edward II. The Earl of Pembroke continued in the lieutenancy of Scotland; but the young King himself advanced to Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire; the only county in which Bruce's authority was firmly established. The King of Scotland, being well aware of the impatience of Edward to return into his own kingdom, that he might enjoy the pleasures of luxury and the pageantry of a coronation, declined to meet the English in battle; for he clearly perceived that his own handful of men could not successfully contend against the powerful and numerous army of his enemy. Bruce, therefore, immediately ordered his army to retire into the fastnesses of

¹ On his tomb is this inscription. "Edvardus primus, Scotorum malleus hic est."

the country; and the new King, feeling little disposed to follow him, returned into England, glad, no doubt, to obtain a plausible pretext for ending the expedition.¹ Edward's abrupt retreat after this fruitless expedition, produced a powerful change on the sentiments of men respecting the independence of Scotland. Hope, not only began now to dawn, but the full prospects of success already appeared in meridian brightness. Many who had been previously deterred by the power of Edward I. from taking any open part in the contest,—although their secret wishes favoured the cause of their country,—now joined the adherents of Robert. The capricious, likewise, began insensibly to veer round to the cause of freedom.—The ardour of Edward's partisans languished; whilst the ambitious viewed with anxiety or alarm the rising fortunes of Bruce. On the other hand, Robert's open friends were encouraged in their exertions, and confirmed in their purposes. Even the least sanguine began to anticipate the ultimate establishment of Bruce upon a permanent throne; and all patriots looked forward with enthusiasm to the total emancipation of Scotland.

Already Robert's authority was firmly fixed in all Ayrshire,—except the castle of Ayr, which belonged still to the English;—and no inconsiderable parts of the two shires of Renfrew and Lanark remained under his dominion. To avenge on M'Dowall, the slaughter of his Irish allies, and the death of his brothers, he undertook an expe-

¹ "Edward the Second was, on the 6th August, at Dumfries; on 28th August, at Cumnock; on 30th, same month, at Tinswald and Dalgarnock. On his return south, on 4th September, at Carlisle; on 6th, at Bowes in Yorkshire." TYLER.

dition into Galloway, wishing likewise, if possible, to win the allegiance, or achieve the subjection, of that hostile and obstinate people. The Galwegians, however, still refused to join his standard; though they could not assemble an adequate force effectually to oppose his career, or even check his advance into their territories. The friends of the slaughtered Comyn, and M'Dowall, his determined enemy, possessed a considerable portion of the province. From its proximity to England, many of the inhabitants were of English descent, and, hence, retained that partiality to the interests of their mother country, which made them persevere, amidst every fluctuation of fortune, in their allegiance to the English King. Some of them, besides, might still harbour a secret partiality to the rival rights of Baliol, who, at one time, possessed large estates in the lower districts of Galloway. Bruce, enraged at the obstinacy of the Galwegians, over-ran their territories, furiously massacring the hostile inhabitants, and spreading terror and devastation wherever he approached.—He plundered or burned down houses, carried off cattle, and ravaged fields of all they contained.—Many strong holds he took by assault, or consumed, though some that were more courageously defended, or stood in less accessible situations, withstood his hurried and irregular efforts.

But before the final conquest¹ of Galloway

¹ Edward II. thus describes the invasion of Galloway by Bruce: "Robertus de Brus, et complices sui, inimici et rebelles nostri, ad easdem partes Galewydiae jam venerunt, ibidem roborias, homicidia, deprædationes, incendia, et alia damna quamplurima perpetrantes, necnon et homines partium illarum et partium adjacentium contra nos insurgere procurantes et compellentes;" *Fœdera*, T. iii. p. 14. HAILES ANNALS vol. ii. p. 28.

could be achieved, Bruce, alarmed at the approach of an English army under the Earl of Richmond, which his forces were not sufficiently numerous to encounter, precipitantly evacuated the district and retired into Carrick.¹

Bruce, finding it hopeless at this time to establish his power in Galloway, undertook an expedition into those parts of the kingdom where the inhabitants viewed his claims with a more favourable eye. After leaving sufficient forces to maintain his authority in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark, he passed into the north of Scotland,² where the people were in general disposed to espouse his cause. In the northern and western Highlands into which the English had scarcely ever penetrated, Bruce met with distinguished success. By this expedition he increased the number of his adherents, and conciliated the favour of the natives of those parts: he, accordingly, pursued his prosperous career eastward to Marr, and the country about Aberdeen. The Earl of Buchan, near Inverury, was prepared to give him battle.³

1 Barbour.—Kerr. “According to the chronicle of Lanercost as quoted by Tyrrel, Robert was encountered, put to flight, and constrained to make a precipitate retreat from that province. This authority has been considered as conclusive evidence of the defeat of Bruce at this time, it being otherwise difficult to account for his march immediately afterwards into the north of Scotland. Although one defeat more or less, in the arduous progress of Bruce towards restoring the independence of his country, is of no manner of importance to his reputation; yet, as the other ancient English historians are silent with regard to this supposed defeat, we may easily suppose him to have retired before a much superior army, from a country which appears to have been entirely devoted to his enemies, without having risked a battle.”

KERR'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

2 Hailes.—Tytler, &c.

3 Balfour's Annals. “This excellent person (Sir James Balfour) was Lyon in Charles the First's time; and one of the

This nobleman, being now the chief of the Comyns, had assembled a considerable force of Scottish and English troops to avenge the death of his kinsman Bruce, at this time, was severely indisposed, but the strength of his mind triumphed over the weakness of his body; and, at the first onset, the troops of Buchan were totally defeated. This brilliant success brought many eminent partisans to enlist under the banners of the conqueror. It is said, that by his strong mental excitement he was restored to health. "The insults of these men," he exclaimed, "have wrought my cure."¹

After this victory, Bruce, with his augmented army, pushed forward in the career of conquest. The series of successes which now attended the cause of liberty in almost every part of the kingdom, excited his brother Edward to make a new attempt upon refractory Galloway.² The country, naturally inaccessible, was also fortified in many places by towers and strong-holds, which had either escaped destruction during the late inroads, or had been since repaired. The Galwegian forces consisted partly of Scots, the adherents of M'Dowall,³ and

happiest collectors and preservers of the Scottish antiquities that ever lived,"—p. 17.) BISHOP NICOLSON'S SCOTTISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

1 Hailes.—History of Aberdeen.—Barbour. The following are the words of Barbour.

"Yes, said the King, withoutten weer
Thair boast has maid me haill and feer,
For should no medicine so soon
Have cured me as they have done."

The language of Barbour though antiquated, is thought, at some subsequent period, to have been modernised. The black letter copy which we have in our possession, was printed in 1620.

2 Tytler.—Hailes.

3 "It seems probable that Donegal, Dongall, Donald, and Dougal, are all the same name. The bitter hatred which they [the M'Dowalls] seem to have entertained against Bruce, ori-

partly of English, under the command of John de St. John, and Ingram de Umphraville. As Edward Bruce advanced into Galloway, he was met by the Galwegian forces near the passage of the river Dee, about six miles above its junction with the Ken, at a place named Craignell, where a desperate battle was fought, in which the party of Bruce was completely victorious.¹ The hero eagerly pursued the enemy, who fled in all directions.

It is said when Edward Bruce reached the summit of that ridge of hills which divides the Dee from the Ken, and beheld the imposing scene that presented itself to his view, he was transported with delight, and exclaimed; "That beautiful country must be mine." The spot afterwards became famous, and a cairn, still called Cairn Edward, was raised upon it, as a memorial of this interesting visit.

Tradition affirms that the enemy made a stand near a ford, in the river Dee, called "the Grainyford." Here another conflict ensued, but the English party were again defeated. The victors pursued them to the castle of Buittle, which Edward Bruce had not the means of reducing.²

generated in all probability from the circumstance, that David, the youngest son of Malcolm III., when he possessed Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the whole of Scotland south of the Clyde, except the earldom of Dunbar, bestowed the heiress of Ananderdale, in Galloway, upon Robert de Brus, a Norman baron, and the ancestor of the royal family. The kingdom of Galloway contained Ananderdale and Carric, and hence these proud Galwegian princes considered the Bruces from the first as strangers and intruders, who had wrested from them part of their hereditary dominions. See Macpherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, sub voce Galloway."

TYTLER.

¹ Kerr's History of Scotland, during the Reign of Robert I.

² Kerr.—In a field called Druim Cheate, in English "the place of meeting," where this encounter took place, on the estate of Deebank, the fragments of many warlike instruments have been

The western section of Galloway was still in possession of his opponents, who now became alarmed at the certain visit of the conquering forces of Bruce, and made every exertion to oppose their progress. Accordingly, the commanders in that quarter, attached to the interests of the King of England, drew all their troops together to risk the event of a battle, which would, in a great measure, determine the fate of Galloway, and place it completely under the Scotch or English sovereignty. The hostile forces met on a plain near Caer-Uch-tred [Kirouchtree,]—famous for being the scene of a former conflict,—on the banks of the river Cree. The Galwegians, unable to withstand the furious valour of their antagonists; were routed with great slaughter, and put to flight. No duty was left to the conquerors but to pursue, slay, or capture the terrified fugitives. M'Dowall, the most formidable of Bruce's enemies in Galloway, was slain in the pursuit; and none were left who could dispute with Edward Bruce the possession of the open country. His stratagems were too artfully planned and deeply laid to be foreseen or frustrated,—his valour too furious and desperate to be opposed or counteracted,—his activity too incessant to be rendered abortive; and thus his progress in the career of success was altogether irresistible. He pursued his enemies into their fastnesses and fortresses; and, in the course of a short time, few castles or strongholds remained in their possession. Nearly the whole country being at length subdued, he made the inhabitants swear allegiance to his brother, as the sovereign of Scotland.

found. Not long ago a piece of gold, which in all probability had formed a part of the handle of a sword, was discovered and sold for £6. A large stone on the left hand side of the road leading to the Bridge of Dee, marked where the battle commenced.

Soon after these successes, Edward Bruce received intelligence that John de St John had again invaded Galloway, with a considerable body of fresh troops. When this undaunted chief understood that the English intended, by forced marches, to attack him unprepared, his fiery courage, which bordered on temerity, urged him on to undertake an enterprise that men of cooler judgment would have pronounced desperate. Having placed his infantry and inferior cavalry in a valley strongly fortified by nature, he selected fifty knights and gentlemen, well mounted and armed, for the daring undertaking. With this party, he made a retrograde movement, and, under cover of a thick mist, gained the rear of his antagonists, without being perceived. Following their line of march, he intended to allow them first to encounter his infantry, and then to attack them in the rear. The mist, however, suddenly clearing away, left Bruce in a very precarious situation; for retreat was impossible. With desperate intrepidity, he instantly attacked the English, and, by one terrific charge, violently shook their ranks. Before they could recover from their consternation, or discern the insignificant numbers of their assailants, they were attacked a second, and even a third time, with so much fury and determination, that they were reduced to a state of irretrievable confusion. Believing, in all probability, that this party was only the advance of the Scottish army, they threw down their arms in a panic and dispersed. After this defeat, Donald of the Isles collected a large body of infantry, and, in concert with Roland,¹ a chief of

¹ "Quendam militem nomine Rolandum." He is thought to have been a descendant of Roland, Lord of Galloway.

Galloway, and other influential men of the district, made every exertion to oppose Edward Bruce's farther progress in the path of victory.¹ A sharp conflict ensued on the banks of the Dee, when the allies were defeated with considerable slaughter, Roland, together with many of the native chiefs, being slain, and the Lord of the Isles taken prisoner in the pursuit.² This encounter happened on the 29th of June, 1308: the total expulsion of the English from Galloway was one of its ultimate results. In one year, it is said, the ardent and persevering Edward Bruce took thirteen castles or inferior strengths in Galloway, and reduced the whole district.³

Robert Bruce now granted to his gallant brother, as a reward of his transcendent services, the Lordship of Galloway, with the castle of Kirkcudbright and all Baliol's forfeited estates. Edward Bruce, as Lord of Galloway, not only confirmed to the monasteries in his territories, their ancient possessions and immunities; but he also bestowed upon them new estates and privileges. He granted to the priory of Whithorn, the half of the salmon fishing of the river Dee.⁴ This ruler also remitted to the monks of Holmcultram, the annual rent of ten pounds sterling, which they paid for

1 Tytler —Barbour. This faithful biographer of Bruce informs us that he derived his information from Sir Allan Cathcart, who was one of Edward Bruce's companions in the spirited encounter.

2 Tytler.—Buchanan —Maitland's History of Scotland.

3 Fordun.—Hailes.—Historians are not exactly agreed as to the order of the preceding events; we have followed those whose narratives appear most probable.

4 "Et commune tractum piscariæ in aqua de Dee, juxta Kirkcudbright ubicunque voluerint et viderint expedire."

the lands of Kirkgunzeon, granted to them by Roland, son of Uchtred, Lord of Galloway.¹ Edward Bruce² also obtained from his generous brother the earldom of Carrick, which contributed materially to strengthen his power.

Fortune smiled likewise upon King Robert himself in his persevering and strenuous endeavours entirely to free his country from a foreign yoke. He took and demolished many castles; for he perceived they were peculiarly serviceable in enabling his enemies to keep possession of several districts with a very small force. Among the most important of the castles held for Edward, was that of Linlithgow. This fortress was taken by a stratagem, planned and executed by William Binnock, or Binny, a peasant. He concealed eight of his companions in a cart of hay which he was conveying into the castle; and, when the gates were opened to admit the hay, his servants cut the ropes by which the horses were attached to the cart, and let the animals loose. Thus the cart becoming stationary, prevented the gates from being shut; whilst a party of armed men, who lay in ambush near the castle, hearing the shouts of those who had been concealed in the hay, rushed in and mastered the garrison, now weakened by the number of men sent out in detachments, through the country.

After having made an inroad into England, Bruce led back his army, loaded with spoil, into Scotland, and laid siege to the town of Perth. With a chosen party, bearing scaling ladders, he

¹ Caledonia.

² This ruler is mentioned as "Edward de Bruys dominus Galwidiae.

approached the works. The King himself, carrying one, was the first to enter the fosse which surrounded the walls; and, partly by wading and partly by swimming, he made his way across this broad ditch, now full of water. The enterprise was crowned with success; the King being the second individual that entered the town. Much booty, valuable to the captors, was found within it.—When resistance ceased, the slaughter was stayed; but the King ordered the walls and fortifications to be levelled with the ground.

Bruce likewise renewed the siege of the remaining English garrisons in the south of Scotland, and took by assault the castles of Dumfries, Dalswinton, and Buittle;¹ Douglas took also the castle of Roxburgh. Edinburgh castle was also seized by Randolph, with only thirty men. Bruce ordered it to be demolished.

The heroic King of Scotland, afterwards led an army into Cumberland and ravaged the country. He then passed into the Isle of Man, and brought it under subjection to the Scottish crown. Duncan M'Dowall from Galloway was there slain with a number of his followers. He is thought to have been the same fierce individual who defeated and made prisoner the two brothers of the King at Loch-Ryan.²

In 1313, Stirling castle was still in the hands of the English; but Edward Bruce, after taking Dundee, laid siege to it. A truce was proposed by Philip de Mowbray, the governor, who offer-

¹ Balfour.

² "In the Annals of Ireland he is called the Lord Donegan Odowill. In the Chron. of Man he is named Dingaway-Dowill."

ed to surrender the fortress on the 24th of June,—the feast of St John the Baptist,—in the following year, if not previously relieved. Edward Bruce, ignorant of the wretched state of the garrison, consented without the knowledge of his brother to this condition. The Scottish King was much dissatisfied with his brother's conduct; but he would not forfeit his honour, by violating an engagement into which his representative had entered.

Edward II., having with difficulty settled his affairs in France, Ireland, and England, resolved on a new and formidable expedition into Scotland to relieve the castle of Stirling. Immense preparations were made by the English King for this important undertaking. He drew troops from every part of England, from Wales, Ireland, and even France, to join his standard. His army, it is said, amounted to upwards of 100,000 warriors.¹

The King of Scotland collected an army of about 30,000 men;² and, according to the custom of that period, upwards of 15,000 unarmed or undisciplined servants and marauders attended the troops. Bruce waited the approach of the English army in a field, then called New Park, near Stirling. To neutralize the superiority of the English cavalry, he ordered pits to be dug in front, particularly in those places by which such assailants would, in all probability, make their approach. In

¹ Barbour.—Tytler.

² Harvey, when speaking of the assembling of Bruce's army, says

“Confed'rate dales, and Warlike Borders joyne,
Proud at their Head to see great *Douglas* shine.
Pierce *Edward*, last, leads from his native Shores,
Rang'd to the Field, the *Gallovidian* Pow'rs.”

these pits he placed sharp pointed stakes and brush wood, which he covered with turf, that the surface might have the appearance of remaining unbroken. He also caused sharpened pieces of iron, called calthrops, to be scattered upon the ground, for the purpose of laming and destroying their horses. The royal tent was placed on the highest part of the field; and in a perforated stone, still to be seen, stood the King's standard. Bruce determined that his troops should fight on foot. He gave the command of the centre to Douglas, and to young Walter, the Stewart of Scotland. His brother Edward, Lord of Galloway, was appointed to command the right wing, and Randolph, his nephew, the left: he himself took the immediate charge of the reserve, or rear division of the army—on which so much depended—made up of the men of Argyle, the Islanders, the Galwegians,¹ and his own vassals of Carrick. All the useless attendants upon the army, he ordered to remove to a valley behind a height, now called Gillies' hill.² He likewise desired all who were not determined on obtaining either death or victory to leave the field before the battle began.

After the army had been thus arranged, Bruce commanded Randolph to use the utmost vigilance to prevent the enemy from throwing succours into Stirling castle. He then ordered James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith, to survey, as narrowly as possible, the English army, now advancing from Falkirk. Having reconnoitred the enemy, they returned with the intelligence, that the approach of

¹ History of Stirlingshire.

² This name signifies "the servants' hill." It probably received the appellation immediately after this event.

the English host was one of the most magnificent and terrific spectacles that could be surveyed; that the face of the whole country seemed covered with armed men on horse or foot, with standards, banners, and pennons; and that the best and bravest army in Europe, might be alarmed to behold such a host, in all the majesty of war, advancing against it.¹

On the 23rd of June, while Bruce was eagerly looking out for the enemy, he perceived a body of English cavalry, 800 strong, under Sir Robert Clifford, endeavouring to reach the castle of Stirling, from the eastward, by a circuitous route. He instantly approached Randolph, and addressed him in these words; "Thoughtless man, you have suffered the enemy to pass; there is a rose fallen from your chaplet."² Randolph, mortified by the King's reprimand, hastened to redeem his character or perish in the attempt. With 500 spearmen, he hurried, by a near path, to intercept, if possible, the cavalry, before they could reach the castle. As he advanced they wheeled to attack him. Randolph drew up his troops in a circular form, with their spears resting on the ground, and on every side pointing towards the enemy. Both parties displayed much valour; and victory, for some time, inclined to neither side. Robert, attended by a number of his principal officers, beheld the conflict with much anxiety. Douglas likewise saw the dangerous situation in which his brave friend Randolph was placed, and asked permission from the King to repair to his assistance. "You shall not move from your ground," cried the King,

¹ Hailes.—Tytler, &c.

² Barbour.—Tytler.—Hailes, &c.

“let Randolph redeem his own fault and extricate himself as he best can, I will not alter my order of battle and lose the advantage of my position.”¹ The danger seemed to encrease, and the English horse soon completely surrounded the handful of Scottish infantry. “So please you” said Douglas to his Sovereign, “I cannot look idly on and see Randolph perish, I *must* aid him,” Bruce made no reply, and Douglas flew to the assistance of his companion in arms; but long before he had reached the scene of combat, he perceived the English in confusion, and many of the horses galloping off with empty saddles. The cool and persevering valour of the Scots had prevailed over the impetuous bravery of the English cavalry. “Halt,” cried Douglas to his men, “those brave warriors have defeated the enemy; since we were not in time to assist them in the battle, let us not diminish their glory by approaching the scene of victory.” Randolph and his party, covered with dust, returned to the camp, amidst the loudest acclamations of joy, congratulation, and admiration. Though the English suffered much in this skirmish, the Scots lost only one man. They, therefore, looked upon it as a happy presage of future victory.

The van of the English army now appeared; and a number of knights and other warriors approached the Scottish line to observe the condition, preparations, and arrangements of their antagonists. They saw King Robert mounted on a pony, or palfrey,² said to be of the Galloway breed,³ with a

¹ Barbour.—Kerr,—Tytler, &c

² Barbour.—Tytler, &c.

³ Galloway was long famed for its excellent breed of horses.

battle-axe in his hand and a small crown of gold above his helmet, riding, at no great distance, in front of his own army, with the intention of making some farther arrangements. Sir Henry de Bohun, hoping to achieve a deed which might immortalize his name and finish the war, issued from the midst of his companions, and rushed upon the King.— Robert observed his approach, and stood motionless until he was close upon him; then suddenly turning his pony aside, evaded the point of Bohun's lance. It was impossible for the English knight to stop, at once, his war horse's career. As he passed, Robert rose in his stirrups, and wielding his battle-axe with irresistible force and velocity, struck him so dreadful a blow, that his helmet was broken in fragments, as if it had been "a nut shell," and his skull cleft to the chin: he instantly fell from his horse and was dead before he reached the ground. It is related by a historian of that age, that the Scottish leaders blamed Bruce for exposing his person to such imminent danger, when the safety of the whole army depended upon his life; but the King, conscious of his

It has been said they were of Spanish origin, namely, the offspring of horses left on the shores of Galloway, when the Spanish armada was wrecked. But Camden who wrote, and published, his *Britannica* before the armada had been heard of, describes the valuable qualities of the Galloway horses.— In Shakespeare's days they were well known; he mentions, in one of his plays, "Galloway nags." They were, exported in great numbers to other countries, and on account of their durability, strength, and fleetness, brought a large price.

Equos alit Gallovidia parvos, sed acres et robustos, qui maximo ubique pretio veniunt.

"Nusquam in Scotia praestantiores equi, sed minoris stature quos Galloway Nages vocant. Ita ut Angli omnes equos bonos Gallowas vocent."

M'CLELLAN'S DESCRIPTION OF GALLOWAY.

temerity, and wishing to change the discourse, looked steadfastly at his weapon, and only said, "I have broken my good battle-axe."¹ On what trifling events are often suspended the fate of nations!—Had the horse on which Bruce rode at this eventful hour been less manageable; or his arm less powerful; or his aim less certain; or his valour less resolute, Scotland might have been degraded,—and perhaps for ever,—from her rank amongst the independent nations of Europe. It was the stroke of that battle-axe, it may be said, which severed the bonds that Edward had prepared for enslaving the Scottish people. Had Bruce fallen in the combat, the conquest of Scotland would have been inevitably achieved, and its thralldom rendered fixed and permanent.

During the short night² the armies rested on their arms. At the dawn of day next morning—

1 Barbour. Harvey relates this event in the following lines.

“ Full at the Monarch aims his Length of Spear,
Th’ eluded Weapon spends its Strength in Air.
The Courser bore him on, but as he past,
(Just where the Plume stood nodding on his crest)
A forceful Blow the Monarch aims with Skill.
Thro’ Helm and Brain down rush’d the shining Steel.

2 Thomas de la More says that many of the English spent the night in drunkenness and riot. His words are “ Plus solito intonautes Wassail et Drinkail ”

The following lines from an eminent poet transport the reader to the spot.

“ It was a night of lovely June,
High rode in cloudless blue the moon,
Demayet smiled beneath her ray,
Old Stirling’s towers arose in light,
And, twined in links of silver bright,
Her winding river lay.
Ah, gentle planet! other sight
Shall greet thee, next returning night.”

LORD OF THE ISLES, CANTO VII. STANZA XIX.

Monday the 24th of June, 1314,—the English army moved on to the attack in three great bodies, led by the King in person, and by the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, two of England's bravest generals. The centre was formed of infantry, and the wings of cavalry completely armed: bodies of archers were also placed in the wings and along the front.

Among the Scots, mass was solemnly celebrated by the Abbot of Inchaffray, who afterwards walked along their ranks barefooted, with a crucifix in his hand, and exhorted the soldiers to conquer or die for their country. As he passed, they kneeled down and prayed for success. When the English Monarch, who had never imagined that the Scottish army would face his gigantic host, beheld this movement, he cried out; "They kneel; they beg for mercy." "Yes," answered Sir Ingram de Umphraville, "but they ask it from God, not from us; they will either obtain a victory or perish in the attempt."

The English began the action by making a vigorous attack upon the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce. The rest of their army soon came up, and the battle became general from one side of the field to the other.—The storm of war raged with dreadful fury; the combatants rushing together with loud shouts. Then succeeded the crash of breaking spears, the clangour of shields, the cries of the wounded, the groans of the dying, mingled in appalling confusion. The conflict was desperate, long, and bloody. The Scottish King, who remained with the reserve on the back ground, perceiving that his troops were dreadfully harassed by the destructive execution of

a large body of archers, whose arrows fell like “flakes of snow at Christmas,” ordered Sir Robert Keith, with 500 light horsemen from the reserve, to make a rapid circuit by the right, and attack them unawares in flank.¹ The archers, being unarmed were cut in pieces; while some of them falling back, spread confusion through the English ranks. Bruce now judged it a favourable moment to bring forward his reserve of fresh troops.² All the enemy’s forces were already engaged as far as the nature of the ground would permit. The space, however, being far too limited to allow the sufficient extension of their line, they were so crowded in many places, as to be unable to use their weapons with effect. The precipitous banks of the Bannock,³ and the pits that had been prepared by Bruce, either prevented the fine cavalry of England from entering into action, or entangled and disabled them as they advanced.—The English, now severely pressed by the fresh troops, began to get into a state of disorder, when an accident occurred which decided the fate of this eventful day. The attendants upon the Scottish camp, who had been removed from the field to a distance, perhaps perceiving that the victory was all but certain, and urged by the desire of plunder, issued from their retirement. When the English observed, on the heights, this body of men, who had probably assumed somewhat the appearance of soldiers, they mistook them for fresh troops coming to surround their army, and, panic struck, fled with

1 Tytler.—Hailes, &c.

2 Barbour.

3 Bannockburn is said by Hollinshed, to have derived its name from the *bannocks* that were made at a mill which stood upon its banks.

precipitation on every side.¹ Some rushed into the river and perished, whilst others took refuge under the rocks of the castle. The King of England was forced from the field; and, though closely pursued, escaped to Dunbar, about 60 miles from the scene of carnage: from this place he proceeded to England in a small boat.²

The victorious troops pursued the fugitives and made great havoc among them; for the English were so overcome with fear, that none of them could preserve the smallest order. About a mile from the field of battle, on a piece of ground known by the name of Bloody Field, it is said, a party of the vanquished endeavoured to make a stand; but after sustaining a dreadful slaughter, they felt themselves under the necessity of continuing their flight.³ The loss of the English in this battle has been estimated by our historians at fifty thousand warriors, and amongst them many persons of distinction: the Scottish army, we are told, lost only about four thousand men. Next day the castle of Stirling surrendered, and the garrison, according to the terms of the treaty, passed into England. The conquerors were much enriched by the spoils of the vanquished and the ransoms of prisoners.

Edward's privy seal, together with the two se-

¹ Kerr's History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert the First,—Barbour. It has been alleged that this party of followers made their appearance at a concerted signal, and that the stratagem was planned in consequence of the success of a similar device at the battle of Moss Raploch in Galloway.

From the regular order and military appearance of this body Kerr thinks that it must have been a preconcerted stratagem planned by the King and executed by officers of his appointment.

² Hailes.—Tytler, &c.

³ Kerr, &c.

cretaries into whose custody it had been committed, fell into the hands of the victors. The King of England had brought along with him in his train one Baston, a friar, to celebrate his triumph. The bard was taken prisoner, and paid the ransom of a poet, by writing a poem on the Scottish victory at Bannockburn.¹

The beneficial effects of this great achievement were perceptible in all Scotland, but particularly in Galloway. The victory at Bannockburn firmly fixed Robert Bruce upon the throne of Scotland, and his brother Edward in the Lordship of Galloway, which had been little more than nominally bestowed upon him some time before. Bruce's enemies in this hostile district durst no longer exhibit any symptoms of opposition. Indeed, the whole of Scotland was raised by it from the mean condition of a distracted and conquered province, to that of a great, a free, and an independent kingdom, governed by its own laws, and subject to its own princes. The flame of disaffection became so completely extinguished in Galloway, that even the English there revolted to the Scots. "The English," says Walsingham, "were so bereaved of their wonted intrepidity that a hundred of that nation would have fled from two or three armed Scotsmen." Never were the paralyzing consequences of a national discomfiture more severely felt.²

After the battle of Bannockburn, Edward Bruce, Lord of Galloway, and Sir James Douglas, entered England, and having wasted Northumberland, laid the bishopric of Durham under heavy

1 Kerr.—Tytler,—Balfour, &c.

2 Kerr.—Tytler.—Walsingham,—Barbour.

contribution. After visiting Richmond, they proceeded to Appleby and burned it, with some other towns: they then returned home loaded with plunder.¹

About this time, John Baliol died in France, leaving a son Edward, the heir of his pretensions to the crown of Scotland.²

In a parliament held in Ayr on the 26th of April, 1315, it was ordained, with the consent of the King, and Marjory, his daughter, that in case Robert should die without leaving heirs-male of his body, Edward Bruce should succeed to the kingdom.

During this year, a grievous famine prevailed in Galloway and other parts of Scotland, the effect of continued war and neglected tillage. Men felt little disposed to sow, since they seldom were allowed to reap the produce of their own fields. A sum equal to £30 of our money was now paid for a quarter of wheat, and it rose in some places, even to a much higher price. A loaf of bread, that would have served a man for one day only, cost a sum equal to five shillings of our coin.³ Under the pressure of this famine, horses and dogs were greedily devoured. From a deficiency of nourishment and the use of unwholesome food, a prodigious mortality prevailed, and the survivors could hardly bury their dead.⁴

The King now gave his daughter Marjory to Walter, the Steward of Scotland, and from this

¹ Kerr.—Tytler, &c.

² Hailes.—Tytler.—Kerr.

³ Tytler.

⁴ Kerr.

marriage have descended, not only the Sovereigns of Scotland, but also those of Great Britain.¹

The Irish of Ulster now considering themselves enslaved by the English nation, requested the assistance of Robert, and offered to receive his brother as their king. Edward Bruce, accordingly, sailed from Ayr to Ireland, in a fleet of three hundred small vessels, and landed, with six thousand men, on the 25th of May, 1315, near Carrickfergus.²

After gaining some victories, he was crowned King of Ireland on the 2nd of May, 1316.³

Early in the following year, the King of Scots formed the determination of conducting a reinforcement to his brother's army, now considerably reduced; and, accordingly, he sailed from Loch-Ryan

1 Kerr.—Stewart's History of the Stewarts.—“In a recently published pamphlet, entitled ‘A Dissertation upon Heirs Male,’ by Alexander Sinclair, Esq. [Edinburgh, Blackwoods], which contains much curious learning in the department of genealogy, it is shown that the family of Baliol, whose right to the Scottish crown was preferable, on the hereditary principle, to that of Bruce, is now represented by the Duchess d’Angouleme, who has, therefore, by *divine right*, a better claim on the sovereignty of at least the northern section of the island than the existing sovereign. To many who may be disposed to hold lightly the right of Louis Philip to reign as King of the French, it will be not less surprising to learn that he has, on the same principle, a better title to the British crown than the lady who wears it, being descended from the eldest son of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (daughter of James I.), while the reigning queen is descended from her youngest daughter—the only protestant, however, of the family. That these matters should be so little known to the world, shows in a striking manner the unimportance into which the hereditary right of government has fallen.”

CHAMBERS’ EDINBURGH JOURNAL.

From this note it is apparent, that the sovereigns of both Great Britain and France, are descended from the ancient Lords of Galloway.

2 Annals of Ireland.

3 Kerr.—Hailes

in Galloway, and landed in Carrickfergus. The Scottish troops penetrated as far as Limerick, defeating the forces of the Anglo-Irish whenever they appeared, but afterwards they retired into Ulster. The King then returned into his own dominions, having left with his brother the flower of his army.¹

On the 5th of October, 1318, Edward Bruce, in opposition to the opinion of his principal officers, engaged in battle with the enemy at Fagher, near Dundalk.² The English gained a complete victory; and the Irish King, being slain by John Maupas, was discovered after the battle, lying dead on the lifeless body of his adversary.³ Thus perished Edward Bruce, distinguished in many battles for his enthusiastic, restless, and fiery valour.⁴ His corpse was treated with dishonour by the victors. They quartered the body of the hero, and exposed it, as a public spectacle, in different parts of Ireland; whilst his head was presented to the King of England by Lord John Bermingham, the commander of the English forces in Ireland; and the revolting present obtained for this general the title of Earl of Louth and baron of Atherdee.⁵

In consequence of the death of Edward Bruce without legitimate offspring, a parliament assembled at Scone, in December 1318, when it was enacted, that if Robert died without male issue, Robert Stewart, the son of his deceased daughter Marjory, should succeed to the Scottish throne, and

1 Irish Annals.—Kerr.

2 Hailes.—Caledonia.

3 Irish Annals.—Tytler.

4 We give his character from Fordun "Iste Edwardus erat homo ferox, et magni cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regni solus haberet; et hac de causa mota fuit guerra in Hibernia, ubi ut præmittitur finivit vitam."

5 Ware's Annals of Ireland, chapter ii.

that Randolph should be tutor and curator of the minor, and guardian of the kingdom. Upon the death of Edward Bruce, the Lordship of Galloway reverted to the crown.

War having continued with England, almost unremittingly, for twenty years, with various success, a peace at last was concluded on terms highly advantageous to Scotland; for the independence of the country was recognised by the English King, Edward III., who bestowed his sister Joanna upon Robert's son David, by a second marriage. This treaty was concluded in 1328.¹

Robert did not long survive the joyful event. He was not far advanced in years; but he had long laboured under an insidious disease, called at that time a leprosy,² which had probably been occasioned by the hardships of his youth. Finding himself upon his death-bed, he told his friends who surrounded him, that he deeply regretted his misdeeds, and particularly the assassination of Comyn in a sacred building. He added, that he had intended, if his life had been prolonged, to proceed to Palestine and make atonement for this rash act, by fighting against the Saracens. But since he could not survive for many hours, he requested his friend and brave companion in arms, Sir James Douglas, to convey his heart to Jerusalem, and deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre. Douglas wept when he heard his Sovereign's last request. On the 7th of June, 1329, Robert Bruce, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, expired at Cardross, in the fifty sixth year of his age, and twenty fourth of his reign. His remains were deposited near

¹ Hailes.

² "Lepra percussus;" Hemingford.

his consort's, in the choir at Dunfermline under a marble stone.¹ He was twice married; first to Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Marr, and next to Elisabeth, daughter of the Earl of Ulster, who was the mother of David II. After the

¹ Some years ago when workmen were engaged in preparing a place for building a new church at Dunfermline, they came suddenly upon fragments of the marble monument of Robert Bruce. It had been broken and concealed by the falling down of the roof of an old building which stood on the same place.—The men, proceeding to dig farther down, at length came to the skeleton of a tall man. It had been wrapped in a case of lead, which terminated at the head in the form of a jagged crown. Around the case were remnants of fine linen, interwoven with threads of gold. The body thus enveloped, had been placed in a coffin of oak; of this, however, only some fragments, nails, &c., remained. The bones, they knew, were those of King Robert Bruce, because his body had been wrapped in cloth of gold when buried in that place. They likewise perceived that the breast bone had been sawn through, apparently to take out the heart. Orders were received to guard the bones until a new tomb was prepared, into which they were to be laid with great respect. The people were allowed to pass, one after another, to behold all that remained of this great monarch and brave warrior. Many individuals shed tears when they surveyed the wasted skull of him who had acted so boldly and thought so wisely for his country's freedom; and, in particular, when they viewed the mouldering bone, the only representative of that powerful arm, which had despatched at a single blow the English knight, on the evening before the battle of Bannockburn. The skeleton was afterwards laid into a leaden coffin, and covered with pitch to prevent putrefaction; and this new coffin was placed in the situation which the former one had occupied. A plate was put on the lid containing the year of both the first and second interments. On the day of the second interment, when the workmen were covering up the tomb, they found among the rubbish a plate of copper, very thin, bearing this inscription, "Robertus Scotorum Rex:" If genuine, it must have been on the former coffin.

In the presence of the barons of Exchequer who attended the removal of the Kings remains from the old to the new tomb, a cast of his head was allowed to be taken by Mr George Combe, of Edinburgh, and from it a few others were made, one of which Mr Train received as a present from the late Sir Walter Scott: he has it yet in his possession.

death of Robert, Douglas set out for the Holy Land to fulfil his promise; but he was killed in Spain, fighting against the Moors.¹ Bruce's heart which had been cased in silver, was brought back to Scotland and buried below the altar, in Melrose Abbey.² This Sovereign unquestionably belonged to that class of men, concerning whom, the most minute particulars are highly interesting. "But" as Mr Tytler eloquently observes, "living at so remote a period, the lighter shades and touches which confer individuality, are lost in the distance. We only see, through the mists which time has cast around it, a figure of colossal proportion, walking amid his shadowy peers; and it is deeply to be regretted that the ancient chroniclers, whose pencils might have brought him before us as fresh and true as when he lived, have disdained to notice many minute circumstances, with which we now seek in vain to become acquainted; yet some faint idea of his person may be gathered from the few scattered touches preserved by these authors, and the greater outlines of his character are too strongly marked to escape us."

¹ Perhaps our readers will not dislike to see a portrait of Douglas, drawn by *Barbour*, p. 13.

"In visage was he some deal gray,
 And had black hair, as I heard say;
 But then of limbs he was well made;
 With bones great and shoulders braid,
 His body well made and lenzie,
 As they that saw him said to me.
 When he was blyth he was lovely,
 And meek and sweet in company;
 But who in battle might him see,
 Another countenance had he;
 And in his speech he lispt some deal,
 But that set him right wonder well."

² Hailes.

The King's person was tall and well formed.— His hair was short and closely curled round his neck, which possessed a thickness peculiar to men of extraordinary strength. He was full chested and broad shouldered. His limbs being muscular and light, combined great power with much agility. Though his forehead was what phrenologists would consider low, his under jaw marked by a wound, and his cheek bones were prominent; yet his countenance had an open, cheerful, and pleasing expression. When irritated, however, his look was stern and awful; and his commanding eye both imposed silence and enforced submission. In public, the manners of the King, were dignified, engaging, and courteous; and though treated by his enemies with rancorous animosity, he never abused a victory: indeed, he often conquered, no less by his clemency and generosity,¹ than his transcendent talents. To such a degree did he excel in acts of chivalry, that even the English accounted him the third best knight in Europe.²

Never, besides, do we find brilliant military talents and consummate valour so admirably tempered and directed by judgment, penetration, and good sense, as they were in Robert Bruce. Such valuable qualities enabled him, through many a tedious year, to plan with almost unerring certainty, to act with concentrated energy, to embrace favourable opportunities, and to sustain reverses with un-

¹ After the peace in 1328, orders were issued by the English Government, for restoring certain possessions in Ireland, that had belonged to the Abbey of Dundrennan. In the writ it is stated as an act of justice; Robert having made a similar restitution to English ecclesiastics. In 1329, Bruce ordered land in Scotland to be restored to Henry Percy.

² Tytler.

flinching fortitude: he knew both when to make peace and war.¹

Among his friends and followers, in private, he was affable, gentle, affectionate, and endearing.—His kindness was unlimited, and his gratitude unbounded. He has indeed been sometimes accused of being too lavish of his grants and immunities,² and too profuse in his rewards.³ But it must be

1 Kerr.

2 Robert granted to the Abbey of Dundrennan the land of "Polles," with the annuity which used to be paid to Dervorgille, Alan's daughter. To Candida Casa he gave the lands of Cruggleton, "quihlks pertein to Lord Soulis. To the priory of Candida Casa he also made grants of "Wards, Relieves, and Marriadges in lie Rins & Fernis, and the archdeanery and kirk of Kellis, and patronage thereof." He also bestowed upon the Prior and convent of Candida Casa, the whole lands of "Glen-sumtault," and some other possessions that had belonged to Dervorgille, wife of Baliol. To the Abbey of Tongland he granted the kirk of St Michael "in the town of Balncrose" [Barncrosh] To the Abbey of Glenluce he gave lands to be "halden in ane frie barony, cum furca et fossa;" and he confirmed the liberties of the same Abbey. These in all probability were only a few of King Robert's grants to the Religious Houses in Galloway.—(Robertson's Index of Charters, drawn up about the year 1629.)

3 Thomas Randolph he created Earl of Moray, Lord of Man, and Lord of Annandale. We also find a charter to Thomas Randolph, of the Isle of Man, and the Isle, called the Calf of Man. We find another charter to the same nobleman of the half of the Barony of Urr, forfeited by Henry Percy. Randolph also received gifts of land from the Royal bounty, in a great many other parts of Scotland.

To James, Lord of Douglas, he gave the lands of Buittle, and numerous other domains.

Robert bestowed upon the "Countess of Athole, and Alexander Bruce, her son," the lands of Colvend, Senwick, and Kelton, then forfeited, which had belonged to the heirs parceners of the Lords of Galloway. He granted several other lands to Alexander Bruce, namely the lands of Mochrum, Carnesmole, &c.

Sir Malcolm Fleming received from Robert the lands of Polton, in Wigtownshire, and other possessions.

Robert also granted to Robert Boyd the lands of Glenken, &c., to Richard Culuhach, [M'Culloch] the lands of Drumpullen, &c. We also find in Robertson's Index, "In The charter of the

remembered, he owed every thing to his loyal and ardent friends—his dominions, his crown, and even his life.

Many statutes highly advantageous to Scotland originated in the reign of Robert Bruce. The inhabitants of Galloway were now fully admitted to participate in the benefit of the laws of Scotland, whatever was oppressive in their customs or government being totally abolished.¹ In this reign,

foundation of a chappel near Dumfreis, and 5l. Striveling dotted thereto by the King furth of the lands of Carlaverok, where Christopher Seaton, his good brother, was slain in his Majestie's service."

We also find a grant of the lands of Kirkandrews, to John Soulis, and to John Craigie, another grant of the lands of Girthon. Afterwards the Barony of Kirkandrews was forfeited, and granted to Archibald Douglas.

On William Hurchurche he bestowed the lands of Brigend and Toskerton. To Fergus he gave "the half of the lauds of Stranrever, in vic. de. Wigton. To Richard M'Guffock he gave parts of the lands of "Kilnsture, [Kilsture] and Cloentis" in the parish of Sorbie.

For another curious grant of land made by Robert in Galloway, see Appen-dix (G.)

"CARTA LIBERTATIS DE NOVO CONCESSA GALWYDIENSIBUS."

1 "Robertus &c. Sciatis nos pro nobis et successoribus nostris concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse in perpetuum Capitaneis et omnibus hominibus Galwidie quod quilibet homo Galwidensis super quocunque supradicto serjan-dorum Galwidie habeant bonam et fidelem assisam patrie et quod non teneantur ad purgationem seu acquietantiam faciend. secundum antiquas leges Galwidie Exceptis tamen et reservatis nobis et heredibus nostris quatuor Loqnelis spectantibus ad coronam nostram Et reservatis etiam nobis et heredibus nostris articulis tangentibus prodicionem et interfectionem aligenarum aliorum regnorum et prosecutionibus eorundem Et licet aliquis Galwidensis per predictam assisam fuerit convictus solvet nobis decem vaccas pro quolibet supradicto super quo fuerit convictus et non ulterius Et si ad sectam nostram vel partis super prodicione vel interfectione alienigenarum fuerit convictus erit in

likewise, it has been supposed, that the section of Galloway lying between the Nith and the Cree, which had previously constituted a part of the sheriffdom of Dumfries, was formed into a distinct, shire, or county, and its superiority retained by the King, into whose hands, by the forfeiture

voluntate nostra de vita et membris Et si aliquis serjandus vel minister Galwidie super aliquo articulo tangente officium suum fuerit accusatus purgabit se per integram acquietantiam Galwidie debitam et consuetam Et in aliis articulis ad sectam pacis (forsan pro *partis i. e. at the suit of the party*) respondebit prout alii vicini sui facere tenentur secundum leges Galwidie supradictas.”

ROBERTSON'S INDEX,—POSTSCRIPT.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE SAME CHARTER IN THE VERNACULAR TONGUE.

Liberties of new granted to the inhabitants of Galloway.

Robert, be the grace of God, King of Scottis. Wit ze us for us and our heires to have given and be this our present chartour to have confirmed perpetuallie to our captanes and subjects in Galloway anent anie thing that sall be said against them, be the sergents of Galloway that they shall have ane gude and true assise of country men.

2. And that they sall not be oblissed to make purgation nor acquaintance conforme to the auld law of Galloway.

3. Reservand to us and our heires the four pleyes pertaining to our crowne and all articles touching treason and slauchter of strangers of our realmes and all presente thereof.

4. And albiet any Galloway man be convict be the said assise, he sall pay to us ten kye for ilk inditement quhareof he sall be convict and na mair.

5. But if he is convict of treason or of slauchter of strangers foresaid is, at our instance or of anie partie, he sall be in our will of his life and limme.

6. And gif anie sergent or if our ministers within Galloway is accused be us or be anie of our name, upon anie poynt or article touching his office, he sall acquit and purge himself be the forme and maner of acquitance used and wont within Galloway.

7. And concerning other articles he sall answer at the instance of the parties in sic maner as others his neighbours should do conforme to the laws of Galloway foresaid is. In witness quhareof &c.

At Glasgow the 13 day of Junij. and of our reigne the nineteen yeare (A. D, 1324.)

REGIAM MAJESTAT—Cap, xxxv.

of the Baliols and Comyns, much private property in the south of Scotland had fallen. This district took its name from the principal town within its bounds, in which the King's Steward administered justice. At the same period, it is said, Annandale was formed into a Stewartry, the family possessions of the Bruces having merged into the crown.¹ Many believe, however, that the Stewartries were not instituted until some time after the Stewarts had ascended the Scottish throne.²

In 1327, fire arms were first used by the English in their wars in Scotland.³ Artillery had been invented, but was not yet known in Galloway. Can-

1 Caledonia.

Part of a Letter from JAMES NIVEN Esq., of Glenarm, Writer in Kirkcudbright, to MR TRAIN, Newton Stewart, (dated 3d May, 1820.)

"It was long thought that the term 'Stewartry,' was not applied to this district of Galloway till after the forfeiture of the Douglas family, who were lords of all betwixt the Nith and the Cree; but the Kenmure titles show that it was a Stewartry long before the date of that forfeiture, and I am now convinced that it was erected into a Stewartry in the days of Walter, Steward of Scotland, the author of the royal House of Stewart."

2 In Robertson's Index, we find the lands granted in East Galloway by Edward II. mentioned, as situated in the Sheriffdom of Dumfries. The Chartulary of the noble house of Kenmure, affords the most satisfactory information on this subject;—a charter being there recorded which appears to have been granted, 8th April, 1358, "by Robert, Stewart of Scotland, and Earl of Stratherne, to Wilham de Gordon, Lord of Stichell, of the *New Forest of Glenkens, within the Sheriffdom of Dumfries* — (Penes Gordon de Kenmure;) and on "22nd January 1403, a charter was granted by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Galloway, to Sir Alexander of Gordon, Lord of Stichell, of the Forest of Glenkens, within the *Shire of Dumfries and Lordship of Galloway.*" (In Archives of the family of Kenmure (H). The truth is, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright continued long to have a nominal territorial, though not a judicial connection with Dumfries-shire.

3 Barbour calls them "Crackys of war."

non was first employed in North Britain at the siege of Stirling castle in the year 1340.

The Gaelic language continued to be spoken during this reign, in the interior of Galloway, but in other parts of the district the Anglo Saxon prevailed in great purity; and, hence, the most eminent minstrels generally emanated from this part of the country or the north of England.

It appears that Robert I. visited Galloway during the last year of his life. Whilst in this part of his kingdom, he granted a charter to the city of Aberdeen, which is dated Galloway, the 16th of March, 1329.¹

Some time prior to the demise of this Sovereign, he bestowed upon Alexander Bruce, illegitimate son of Edward Bruce, and Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Athole, the Lordship of Galloway, which had belonged to that prince. This young man, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of his uncle's generosity.

¹ History of Aberdeen.

CHAP. VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID II., TO THE ASSASSINATION OF
WILLIAM DOUGLAS, IN THE CASTLE OF STIRLING.

ROBERT was succeeded on the Scottish throne by his son David, a minor; and Randolph assumed the Regency of the kingdom. This ruler administered justice with stern impartiality. He held courts in different parts of the country; and sheriffs of counties were made responsible for property stolen in the open fields; because it was their duty to protect it.

On one occasion whilst he was dispensing justice in the town of Wigtown, a man stepped forward from the audience, and complained that a party of assassins were at that moment lying concealed in a neighbouring forest, to murder him on his way home. Randolph immediately sent a number of his attendants to seize the villains, and bring them before him. When they made their appearance in the court, he thus addressed them. "Is it you who lie in wait to kill the King's liege subjects? To the gallows with them instantly."¹

¹ Scott.—Buchanan, Book ix. -

This "powerful gang of thieves who infested the country and robbed travellers," were, according to tradition, overpowered

But the Regent's active exertions to establish internal order, and promote honesty, industry, and harmony, were soon interrupted; for Bruce's death proved the harbinger of new wars. The disinherited Scottish barons, and many of the old proprietors, though allowed to retain their estates, still cherished ancient prejudices against the family of Bruce. At this time, the M'Cullochs of Galloway espoused the cause of Baliol and the interest of the English King.¹ The M'Dowalls, a powerful family in Wigtonshire, remained at first firm in their allegiance to David, but they after-

by superior force made prisoners, and all executed on the muir of Dranandow, in the parish of Minnigaff, where two standing stones, each nearly eight feet high and only a few yards apart, called the *Thieves to this day*, mark the spot.

1 "Edward, on the 19th March, 1337-8, granted to Patrick Maculach a pension of 20*l.* yearly, for his good service, in Scotland. Rot. Scotiæ, i. 525. On the 15th of August, 1341, Edward issued an order to pay 10*l.* to Patrick Maculach, John le Mareschal, and Thomas Bisset, knights. Ib. 612. On the 20th of August, 1341, he gave a mandate to pay Gilbert Maculach nine pounds and fourteen pennies, for wages due him, in the king's service. Ib. On the 2nd of June, 1342, he gave a mandate, for paying to Patrick Maculach a quarter of a year's wages, for himself, and two men at arms, serving with him; and, also, 20*l.* in part payment. Ib. 627. On the same day, he gave a mandate for paying Gilbert Maculach 4*l.* 11*s.* being a quarter of a year's wages, in the king's service (the pay of a man at arms) and also 5*l.*, as a gift, from the wool-money. Ib. On the 17th of March, 1346-7, he gave a mandate, for paying to Patrick Maculach 20 marks; and to Patrick, and John, his sons, to Michael Maculach, to John Mareschal. &c. 5 marks each, in part satisfaction of the debts, due to them by the king. Ib. 690. When a negociation was carrying on with the English king, in 1350-1, for the release of David II, and for a permanent peace with Scotland, Patrick Maculach, William de Aldeburgh, and John de Wiginton, as commissioners, for Edward Baliol, made a representation and protestation, to Edward III., and his council, against injuring the rights of Baliol, in this treaty. The king accepted the protestation; and gave an assurance, to that effect, on the 4th of March, 1350-1, Ib. 739." CALEDONIA.

wards joined the stronger party.¹ Edward Baliol, assisted by some English Lords, having mustered an army of about 4000 men; came into Scotland to assert his claims to the crown of his ancestors, in right of his deceased father. A battle was fought at Dupplin, on the 12th of August 1332, and the English gained a great and decided victory. In this battle, fell the Earl of Marr, who had succeeded Moray, as Regent, and the Earl of Carrick, brother to the Lord of Galloway. Baliol made an abject use of his success. He acknowledged the King of England as his superior Lord, and engaged to become his follower in the continental wars. Edward on his part engaged to maintain Baliol on the Scottish throne. The new Sovereign, having repaired to Scone, assumed the diadem of royalty. After his coronation, he set out for the south of his kingdom, and soon arrived at Annan, to receive the homage of the nobility, who were so struck with the sudden change of fortune, that even David's cousin, the Lord of Galloway, submitted, though unwillingly and insincerely, to the conqueror. Whilst Baliol was living riotously in the delusive confidence of perfect security, he was suddenly attacked, on Christmas night, by John Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Archibald Douglas, Sir James's youngest brother, at the head of a thousand horse, by whom he was obliged to fly, half naked, to Carlisle, in England. Among

1. "In August, 1339, Edward III., received the renewed fealty of Duncan Macdougall, and pardoned him, for his late adherence to the Scots, and for all his political crimes. Rot. Scotiæ, i. 571."

the number who fell by this surprise was Henry Baliol, the vassal-King's brother ; and among the prisoners was Alexander Bruce, Lord of Galloway and Earl of Carrick.¹ This chief was pardoned, and again gave in his adherence to his royal relative. Immediately after the expulsion of Baliol, Edward III. threw off the mask, and made great preparations to reinstate the Scottish exile in his degraded sovereignty.

David's friends now chose Lord Archibald Douglas Regent, who immediately began to provide the means of warding off the gathering storm. Another battle soon took place on Halidon-hill, in which the Scots were defeated. In this unfortunate conflict, many of the best and bravest nobility of Scotland fell, and amongst them Alexander Bruce, Lord of Galloway. The Lordship again reverted to the Crown. The Regent, Douglas, being severely wounded, was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds. Archibald Douglas, natural son of the renowned Sir James,² also fell into the hands of the enemy. Edward, now traversed almost the whole of Scotland, and found no enemy to oppose him. Five strong castles, however, still held out for David Bruce. John Thomson, a brave soldier, retained also a stronghold in Lochdoon³ for his righteous Sovereign. He is perhaps the same individual who led back from Ireland, the slender remains of Edward Bruce's army, after the disastrous battle of Dundalk.

On the 12th of June, 1334, Edward Baliol sur-

1 Maitland.

2 He is called by Knighton "filius Jacobi Douglas ejus. (i. e. ejusdem.) or "James Douglas of Douglas."

3 See Appendix (H.)

rendered to the King of England, the county of Dumfries, including the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, with some other provinces in the south of Scotland, and thus dismembered, to a considerable extent, his nominal kingdom.¹ Edward III. appointed public officers for his new dominions.— This disgraceful surrender was so precipitately and incautiously made, that the deed conveyed a right to Baliol's private property in Galloway.— Edward III., however, issued a declaration excluding from the instrument of resignation, the lands of Buittle, Kenmure, and Kirkandrews, as not belonging to the crown of Scotland, but to the heritage of Baliol's family.² In November the English King and Baliol entered Scotland by the way of Galloway, and ravaged the country as far as Glasgow.³ In August 1339, Duncan M'Dowall the chief of that clan, forsook the interest of David II., and joined the party which adhered to Edward Baliol, his opponent. By the influence of Sir Malcolm Fleming, measures were adopted for subduing M'Dowall; who, in the spring of 1342, felt himself compelled by the threatening danger, to apply to Edward for assistance. It was easy to communicate with the shores of Galloway from England. Edward ordered provisions and other stores to be sent to M'Dowall's castle, and he directed soldiers to assemble on the shores of Cumberland and Lancaster, to be transported to the fortalice of Duncan M'Dowall, in Galloway. This fort stood on an island then called Eastholm, on the coast of Wigtown—

¹ Maitland—Caledonia, &c.

² Caledonia.

³ Border History.

shire. In December 1342, it still continued to hold out; and in the same month, Edward commanded "six merchants to convey ten tons of wine, a hundred quarters of corn, and two barrels of salt in a ship from Bristol to the island of Eastholm in Galloway, in aid of Duncan M'Dowall and his men."¹ M'Dowall, however, was soon subdued and yielded to his lawful sovereign.

For some time hostilities continued almost unceasingly, and with unmitigated asperity, between the rival parties of David Bruce and Edward Baliol, or rather between Scotland and England. Edward III., however, was much occupied in foreign warfare, and the cause of David Bruce gained the ascendancy. The young King of Scotland, encouraged by Edward's absence on the continent, invaded England. The friends of the ex-King of Scotland now summoned their adherents, both English and Scotch, to repel the invasion; and a body of 10,000 soldiers, who were in readiness to embark for France, received fresh orders, and soon joined Baliol's forces, which at last amounted to 30,000 men. The armies met near Durham, and the Scots were defeated. The English bowmen, as on former occasions, made great havoc.²

1 Rot. Scotiæ,—Caledonia.

2 The English excelled in archery.

"Never did armourer temper steel on stithy,
That made sure fence against an English arrow;
A cobweb gossamer were guard as good
Against a wasp-sting."

"The fatal hail-shower,
The storm of England's wrath—sure, swift resistless,
Which no mail-coat can brook.—Brave English hearts,
How close they shoot together! as one eye
Had aimed five thousand shafts—as if one hand
Had loosed five thousand bow strings!"

SCOTT'S HALIDON HILL.

The King of Scotland was severely wounded by two arrows, and after defending himself for some time with much bravery, was taken prisoner and committed to the tower of London. Among the prisoners, were Sir Malcolm Fleming, Earl of Wigtown,¹ who afterwards made his escape;

¹ During the 12th century, vast numbers of the Flemings, who were an enterprising people, migrated to England. On the accession of Henry II, in 1154, he banished them with all other foreigners from his dominions. The Flemings, thus driven from England, repaired to North Britain;—and, having assisted the Scottish monarch in his wars, obtained settlements in that country. This people, being farther advanced in civilization than the Gaelic inhabitants, were more addicted to industry; and they, therefore, resided chiefly in towns and villages, as traders or fishers. But in addition to the subordinate class of Flemings, many superior persons who had distinguished themselves in war, came with their followers into Scotland and obtained grants of land. Several Flemings settled in Ayrshire under the Earl of Carrick; and Baldwin, a distinguished Flemish leader, obtained lands from David I., and settled with his followers at Biggar, in Clydesdale. Baldwin acted as sheriff of Lanarkshire, under both Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. He also obtained the barony of Inverkep, in Renfrewshire. From this individual descended Sir Malcolm Fleming. In gratitude for the important services which he and his father, Sir Robert, had rendered to the Bruces, David II., in 1343, nominated him Earl of Wigtown with extraordinary jurisdiction. It was under the care of Sir Malcolm Fleming that David II. and his Queen received their education, and were sent into France as a place of safety during the ascendancy of Baliol. In 1341, Sir Malcolm also conducted the King and Queen home: he commanded in the battle of Halidon-hill.

There are three sorts of barons mentioned in the distinction of ranks,—barons by tenure—barons by writ—and barons by creation,—the former merely possessing territorial dignity; David II. granted a charter “in favour of Sir Malcolm Fleming, knight, and of the heirs male of his body, for his homage and worthy services, of the lands of *Farynes, Deall, Rynos*, and of the Burgh of *Wigtoun*, and their whole pertinents, and all the King’s lands of the whole sheriffdom of *Wigtoun*, with the advocacy of the churches and right of patronage of the monasteries and abbacies existing within the sheriffdom, reserving to his Majesty the right of patronage of the Episcopal see of *Whytehorn* or Gallo-

Gilbert de Carrick, ancestor of the Earl of Cassilis; John de Maxwell; of Caerlaverock, ancestor of the Earl of Nithsdale; and John Stewart of Dalswinton, ancestor of the Earl of Galloway.¹ This unfortunate battle took place on the 17th of October, 1346.

The captivity of David the II. brought upon Scotland still farther calamities. Edward Baliol, having now recovered the estates of his ancestors in Galloway, took up his residence in Buittle castle, the family seat.² In January 1346-7, having collected a numerous party of Galloway men,³ with the support of Henry Percy and Ralph Neville, who brought some men-at-arms and archers, he invaded Lothian and penetrated as far as Glasgow. When returning through Ayrshire and Nithsdale from this irruption, he wasted the country in the most destructive and ferocious manner.⁴ After his ar-

way. And also because the said place of Wigtoun was lookt upon as the principal manor of the whole sheriffdom; the King ordained that the said Malcolm and his heirs should for ever take the name of Earl, and be called the Earls of Wigtown.—Further, the said lands are erected into a free regality with power to judge upon the four articles of the crown. The said Earl and his heirs giving the service of five knights or soldiers to the King's army. Dated at Airth, 9th November, 1343."

ESSAYS ON SCOTTISH ANTIQUITIES.

For the most correct copy of the Latin deed, by which this grant was made, see Robertson's Index.

¹ Hailes.

² Caledonia.

³ "In 1347, Edward Baliol, and many others, were engaged to serve the King of England. The daily pay of Baliol was sixteen shillings; of a banneret, four shillings; of a knight, two shillings; of an esquire, one shilling; and of an archer on horseback, four pence. The Earl of Angus (Umfraville), and the other chief commanders, had the daily pay of eight shillings.—Twenty-eight days were reckoned to the month, and ninety days to the quarter."

HAILES' ANNALS.

⁴ Fordun.

rival in Galloway, he continued to domineer in this part of the kingdom until the year 1353.¹

It appears that David, during his captivity, had betrayed his country; for there are yet extant, in the chapter-house at Westminster, two instruments in which he acknowledges the King of England as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and agrees to take the oath of homage. William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, was likewise a prisoner in England, and agreed to purchase his liberty at the expense of his honour. Both the King and he endeavoured to seduce the Scottish barons from their duty to their country; but these high spirited men declared, that no consideration would induce them to renounce their independence. Lord William Douglas, in particular, used every effort to avert such a calamity: he broke into Galloway with a considerable force and compelled the wavering or hostile chiefs of this warlike and unsettled province, to forsake the English interest, and take the oath of allegiance to the Scottish King. Both Duncan M'Dowall,—the hereditary enemy of the Bruces,—and some of the M'Cullochs, submitted to David's authority. For thus yielding to a power which

¹ It is probable Baliol had English cavalry stationed at this time on an island in the Carlingwark Loch. There is an isle at the south end of the lake which seems to have been surrounded by a stone rampart. A road which had been formed of oaken piles and stones led from it to the land, and an opening appeared as if it had been made for a draw-bridge. It contained the remains of a forge; and some horse shoes of a peculiar make have been found in the mud. Mr Chalmers thinks that these facts evince, that there had been here a barrack for English cavalry. When the loch was partially drained, a dam was discovered which appeared to have been designed for deepening the lake. Another dam for the same purpose was also discovered near Castle Douglas.

M'Dowall could not resist, the English Government ordered his own and his wife's estates to be confiscated. Roger Kirkpatrick seized, at the same time, the castles of Caerlaverock and Dalswinton, and thus preserved Nithsdale in a state of tranquillity; whilst the Steward of Scotland, now appointed Regent, assisted by his son Robert, afterwards King, repaired to Annandale, the focus of rebellion, and overawed the disaffected by the presence of his army. Thus were the traitorous intrigues of the Knight of Liddesdale entirely frustrated, and his unprincipled schemes defeated. When all the attempts of Edward III. to gain permanently the Scottish crown substantially for himself, though ostensibly for Baliol, had proved abortive, this phantom of royalty surrendered, at the request of Edward, his nominal kingdom and his private estates to the English Sovereign, in consideration of 5000 marks in hand, and £2000 a year until his death.¹ This surrender was of no solid advantage to the English King; for though he could over-run their country he could not subdue the patriotism of the Scottish people. In the year 1357, he, therefore, liberated David upon the promise of a large ransom, and made peace with him. Baliol sunk into obscurity, and soon after died childless.²

To reward the Douglasses for their important and valuable services to the crown, David now bestowed upon Sir William Douglas, the son of Archibald Douglas, youngest brother of good Sir James, a peerage, the first in the family. On the 18th of

¹ This surrender was made in two separate deeds. For the singular deed by which Baliol divested himself of royalty, See Appendix (1)

² Tytler.

September, 1369, he granted to Sir Archibald Douglas¹ the Grim, natural son of the good Sir

1 "A narrative of the famous battle between the French and the English, in the vineyards of Maupertuis near Poitiers, does not fall within the plan of the present work, but it is worthy of notice on account of an amusing anecdote related by Fordun, and which Lord Hailes admits has 'the appearance of truth.'—In this battle, fought on the 19th of September 1356, there were a considerable number of Scottish soldiers, who, during a momentary tranquillity at home, crowded to the standard of the French monarch King John. Lord Douglas offered his services, and was received with distinguished honours. The French were defeated, and great carnage was made of the Scots. Lord Douglas was wounded, and forced off the field by his surviving companions, but one of his followers, Archibald Douglas, the illegitimate son of the celebrated Sir James Douglas, slain in Granada by the Saracens, fell into the hands of the English.

This gentleman happened to be arrayed in armour more sumptuous than the other Scottish prisoners of rank, and it was supposed by the English that he was a powerful nobleman.—Late in the evening after the battle, when the victors were about to strip him of his armour, Sir William Ramsay of Coluthie, also a prisoner, happened to be present. Fixing his eyes on Archibald Douglas, and affecting to be in a furious passion, he exclaimed—"You cursed, damnable murderer, how comes it, in the name of mischief, that you are thus proudly decked out in your master's armour? Come hither, and pull off my boots!" Douglas, who understood the project, approached in a trembling attitude, knelt, and pulled off one of Ramsay's boots, and the knight immediately taking it up, beat the pretended lacquey with it in a violent manner. The English bystanders, astonished at Ramsay's conduct, interposed and rescued Douglas, and asked the former how he dared to maltreat a nobleman of rank?—"What," exclaimed Ramsay, "he a nobleman! Why, he is a scullion and a base knave, and I suppose has killed his master. Go, you villain, to the field of battle, search for the body of my cousin, your master, and when you have found it come back, that I may at least give him a decent burial." He then offered a ransom of forty shillings for the feigned manservant, which was accepted, and after again cuffing him severely, he cried—"Get you gone; fly."

Douglas carried on the deceit, and was allowed to depart on the pretended search for his master's body. He was soon beyond the reach of his captors." TALES OF THE SCOTTISH WARS.

Mothers frightened their children with the name of the Black Douglasses.

James, ¹ that part of Galloway, which lies between the Nith and the Cree, now the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. This individual, it is said, had married the Lord of Bothwell's daughter, by whom he obtained that Lordship.² In 1371, the same ambitious personage acquired from Thomas Fleming, grandson of Sir Malcolm, for £500 sterling, the earldom of Wigtown, though he did not assume the title.³ Thus did Archibald Douglas obtain the superiority of the whole extent of Galloway.

¹ Fordun—Winton—Froissart—Hailes—Tytler—Caledonia.

The origin of the Douglas family, according to tradition, was this, Donald Bane after having gained possession of the Hebrides, aspired also to the crown of Scotland. He landed on the main land with a considerable army. Donald had almost defeated the King's army which gave him battle, when a certain individual accompanied by his sons and followers, made so terrible an onset upon the victorious rebels that he soon turned the tide of battle and gained a complete victory. Donald's army fled, and he himself was slain. The King after the battle inquired at one of his generals, who the individual was that had been the leader of the courageous and conquering party, and was answered in the Irish tongue, "Sholto Du glasse," i. e. Behold yonder "black-gray man," pointing to him with his finger. The King considering his service, and delighted with his appropriate designation, rewarded him with many lands, and bestowed upon him the name of Douglas.

Kerr says, "Theobaldus Flamaticus, or Theobald the Fleming, for certain services which are not explained, performed by him to Arnold, who was abbot of Kelso, from 1147 to 1160, received from that prelate, a grant of some lands on Douglas Water, in Lanarkshire, to himself and heirs; and some other lands on the same stream were granted by a subsequent abbot of Kelso to the descendants of Theobald. From this obscure person the family originated."

² Hume.—Murray says he married Dervorgille Comyn.

³ Thomas Fleming assigns as a reason for disposing of the Earldom, the feuds that existed in Wigtownshire, between him and the native chiefs.

A charter is granted by Thomas Fleming, Earl of Wigtown, "to Archibald Douglas, Knight of Galloway, whereby he disposes the said Earldom of Wigtown with the pertinents, to the said Archibald, for the sum of £500 sterling. This charter was

David II., died in Edinburgh castle, on the 22nd of February 1370-1, in the 47th year of his age and 42nd of his reign. He, like his father, profusely rewarded his friends by grants of land.¹

confirmed by Robert, King of Scotland, 8th February, 1371.—After this alienation of the earldom of Wigtown, Thomas Fleming was no longer considered an Earl. ESSAYS ON SCOTTISH ANTIQUITIES, *Edinburgh*. 1746, p. 77.

1 At this time land was continually passing into the possession of new proprietors by forfeiture, exchange, and resignation.

CHARTERS GRANTED BY DAVID II.

“To Dowgall M'Dowgall, of the lands of Twinhame, with the lands of Worg, [Borgue] in Galloway.—Con. to the Abbacy of Glenluce, their haill lands.—To the Abbacy of Tunland, of the advocation of the kirk of Sanaigh, within the diocese of Galloway.—To the Abbacy of Dundrenan, of the lands of Culy, Davach, and Rungistoun,—To Margaret M'Dowgall, of the lands of Culken, Keltoun, Bowbey, [Bombie,] &c., with many mae.—To Dougall M'Dougall, of the lands of Sannaacks, Twinhame, Kiltoun—To Fergus M'Dougall, of the Constabulary of Kirkubry, [the jurisdiction within the castle of Kirkeudbright and its precincts,] with ane three merk land—To Gilbert Kennedy, of the lands of Crogiltoun and Polltoun, in Wigtoun, twa Bruchtounes, and Kythreull, Wigtoun.—Con. to the Abbacy of Glenluce, of ane 5 merk land of the earldom of Wigtoun, and ane 5 merk land of Carmole.—To Malcolm Earl of Wigtoun, of the 5 merk land of Carmole and Knoeluebirvan.—To Nicoll Striveling, of the lands of Stockertoun.—To Allan Stewart, father to John Stewart of Deruly, of the lands of Crossewell, Drochdreg, 8 part of Glengary, called commonly Knokill, in Rinns of Galloway, &c.—To Gilbert Carrick, of the lands of Kenmore.—To Robert Corbet, the lands of Barchar, [Barwhar] quhilk John Barkar forisfecit,—To Lachlan Edzear, of the lands of Bomby, whilk were Lindsay's.—To Fergus M'Dowgall, of the lands of Borgis, [Borgue] whilk John Mowbray forisfecit.—To the monastery of Dndrenan, the lands of Dnngernok, on the water of Dee in Galloway.—To the Bishop of Galloway, of the lands of Dermore, in the Rins, within the town of Inuermeasan.—To Thomas Crawford, of the ten merk lands of Twinghame —To Andro Buthergask, of the half lands of Ure.—To Roger Chalmer, of the lands of Dalruscoun, on Dee. To James Boyd, of the lands of Gauylstoun, [Gelston] in Galloway, quhilk John Gauylstoun forisfecit.—To Walter Durrand, of the lands of Maybie in Galloway.—Given by John Ranulph Earl of Murray, to Walter Stewart, Knight, father to John

“When we acknowledge David II.,” says Lord Hailes, “to have been courteous and affable, and possessed of personal intrepidity, we complete the catalogue of his praiseworthy qualities. But the defects in his character were many, and all of them were prejudicial to the public; he was weak and capricious, violent in his resentments, and habitually under the dominion of women.”

In the early part of this reign, Galloway and other quarters of Scotland were visited by a grievous famine, originating in the devastations of war and the unsettled state of the country. Many died of want; some endeavoured to support life by eating grass and other herbs;¹ and numbers abandoned their native land, to seek sustenance in foreign countries.

During this reign, and about the year 1349, the great pestilence which had spread desolation on the continent, reached Galloway. Historians speak of it with horror; for it took a wider range and made more appalling havoc than any similar ca-

Stewart of Dalswintoun, of the lands of Garleyis, [Garlies] Glenmannache, Corssoche, and Kirkormock.—To Gilbert Kerr, of the lands of Kenmore.—To Laurence Gillibrand, the lands of Southaiks [Southwick]—To John Stewart, son of John Stewart, of the 40s. land of Warekewry, in the barony of Colven.—To Andrew Buthergask, of the lands of Sannak, Culven, and Keltoun.—To Gilbert Carrik, of the lands of Kenmore.—To Laurence Gilliebrand, of the lands of Suthayk—Anent the Clan of Clenconnan, and who should be captain thereof.—Anent the Clan of Kenelman.—To John Herice, of the barony of Traueriglis, [Terregles] by resignation of Thomas Earl of Marr.—To Archibald Douglas, of the earldom of Galloway.—To John Hereice, of the lands of Kirkunying, [Kirkgunzeon] with the place where the monastrie of Holme stude.” The lands of Kirkgunzeon and the barony of Terregles passed afterwards by marriage to the Maxwells of Nithsdale.

¹ Hailes.—Fordun.

lamity that is recorded in the annals of the world. It generally proved fatal in forty-eight hours, the bodies of the affected having swelled to an enormous size. In 1360, the pestilence again broke out with awful and redoubled violence. In this general devastation, about one third of the inhabitants of Scotland perished, and many of them people of distinction. To avoid the terrific visitation, the King, with many of his courtiers, withdrew into the northern, or more sequestered parts of the Island.¹

In this reign, John Carpenter, a friar,² belonging to the monastery of Kirkeudbright, fortified the castle of Dumbarton, for which service he was allowed by the King an annuity of twenty pounds sterling. It is said he was an excellent engineer, and “dexterous at contriving all instruments of war.”

ROBERT II.

DAVID dying childless, was succeeded by his nephew Robert Stewart, son of Walter, the Lord High Steward of Scotland, and Marjory Bruce.—daughter of Robert Bruce. Walter was the sixth in his family who had enjoyed this high office, and consequently had taken the surname of Stewart.

Robert Stewart did not ascend the throne without opposition, for William, Earl of Douglas, was

¹ Hailes, &c.

² Caledonia.—Murray.—Carpenter * was a Franciscan or Grey Friar. The Franciscan Friars received their name from St Francis, an Italian, who formed the order in 1198. They were called Grey Friars from the colour of their dress. Friars were accounted different from monks in this respect; Friars were allowed to preach any where and to beg, but monks were not. The names, however, were frequently confounded. Monk was derived from the Greek word *monos*, alone; and friar, from *frater* a brother.

also a claimant.¹ The family of Douglas had now risen to such a degree of power and greatness, that it possessed almost sovereign authority in the south of Scotland. William Douglas viewed with jealousy and dislike the elevation to the throne of an individual who had lately been his fellow subject. But the marriage of Douglas's son, with the daughter of the new king, induced this nobleman to depart from his claim, and allow Stewart to be crowned without farther opposition.

England and Scotland were now at peace; but two events soon occurred which endangered its continuance. The first was, Scotland entered into a treaty of amity with France, in which it was stipulated, that in consequence of the wrongs sustained by both countries from England, they should become mutually bound to assist each other against the aggressions of that power. Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, went as one of the ambassadors to France to conclude the treaty.—The other event clearly evinced the latent hostility of England. Edward refused to bestow upon Robert his titles, as King of Scotland.

Notwithstanding the threatening aspect of public affairs, a nominal peace continued for some years; and this period was employed by Robert in ameliorating the internal state of his kingdom.

The fendal system, however, now existed in Scotland in full vigour. The power of the barons had materially increased since the days of Robert I.; and they now claimed the right of avenging their own wrongs by engaging in private warfare.

¹ Balfour.—Scott.—Maitland.

Thus a spark of personal hostility, or of secret enmity, between two border chiefs, would often kindle the conflagration of a general war. The petty quarrels of the nobility, proved extensively injurious to the best interests of both England and Scotland; but the influence of royalty was too insignificant to repress the desire of plunder and the passion for military adventure which actuated the nobility.

At length matters got into such a state that the two nations could hardly be said to be either at peace or war; for border incursions had much increased. In 1378, the Earl of Northumberland, with the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Thomas Musgrave, invaded the south of Scotland. Sir Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, advanced against the enemy, but finding his forces unable to cope with the English army, he retired. Musgrave, as probably had been anticipated, pushed on to Melrose with one of the divisions, where he suddenly found himself in the presence of Douglas's army. Before the encounter, Douglas knighted two of the King's sons who were under his command. After a short and desperate engagement, in which the slaughter was prodigious, the English were defeated. Froissart states, that it was the custom of Sir Archibald Douglas, when the combat became hot, to dismount and fight with a large two handed sword. On the present occasion, so furious was his attack that it became altogether irresistible.—The English sustained a complete defeat, Musgrave and his son, with many knights, being made prisoners. Douglas, however, did not venture to encounter the main body under Percy and Nottingham, but withdrew his forces to Edinburgh. These violent border hostilities continued for a consider-

able time, but at length John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,¹ at the head of a powerful army approached the confines of Scotland with the avowed intention of establishing peace and order between the two nations. The Lord of Galloway,² along with several others, being appointed commissioners to renew the truce, a cessation of hostilities followed, and Lancaster disbanded his army. The truce was to last for three years. A popular insurrection soon broke out in England, and the Duke of Lancaster, accused by his enemies of being accessory to it, asked permission from the Scottish King to reside in Scotland until the storm should blow over.— This request being courteously granted, the Abbey of Holyrood was prepared for his reception; and the Lord of Galloway, with the Earl of Douglas, and a brilliant retinue attended him thither. Whilst this prince remained in Scotland, the nobles vied with each other in acts of kindness to their distinguished guest. Such courtesies ought to have been the prelude to a stable peace; but, before the expiry of the truce, the haughty aristocracy of Scotland involved their country in a negotiation with France, which ultimately produced a costly and bloody war.³ The fundamental articles of this treaty contained a project for the invasion of England. The Scottish nobles were to receive a large sum of money, with a thousand suits of armour; and a thousand men at arms were to be sent into Scotland.

As soon as the truce had expired, war again com-

1 Uncle of Richard II., King of England.

2 Maitland.

3 Tytler.

menced with fresh rancour. The Lord of Galloway seized Lochmaben castle, which had remained in the possession of the English. The Duke of Lancaster invaded Scotland, but was afterwards obliged to retreat. His army plundered the estates of the border barons, and spread devastation through the whole country where they passed. To retaliate the injuries which their estates had sustained, the Earls of Douglas and Marr, with the Lord of Galloway, raised an army of 15,000 men, mounted on light and active horses; and breaking into the northern counties of England, they laid waste the country in a cruel manner, and retired with much booty and multitudes of prisoners.¹ A part of Tiviotdale, which the English had possessed since the battle of Durham, was now recovered by the Earl of Douglas.²

France at this time resolved to fulfil the stipulations of the late treaty, and meet the English on their own ground. For this purpose two thousand chosen warriors were sent into Scotland under the command of John de Vienne, admiral of France. He took along with him a large quantity of gold,³ and fourteen hundred suits of armour, as presents to the Scottish knights.

¹ Froissart.—Walsingham —Tytler.

² Winton.

³ “The proportion” says Mr Tytler, “in which the French money was distributed amongst the Scottish nobles, gives us a pretty correct idea of the comparative consequence and power of the various members of the Scottish aristocracy. See Rymer, vol. vii. p. 484.

“This money was distributed as follows, viz. to Robert, to recruit and remount the French troops lately arrived from France with the aforesaid admiral, six thousand livres; to the cardinal of Scotland, six hundred; to the earl of Carrick, Robert’s eldest son, five thousand five hundred; to Robert’s second son, the Earl of Fife, three thousand; to his cousin the earl of

The French auxiliaries were joyfully received by the Scottish barons, but the people viewed the overbearing conduct of these haughty foreigners with extreme aversion, and sometimes cut off their straggling parties. As soon as the King, who had been absent from the capital, arrived in Edinburgh, a council of the knights and barons of both nations assembled, to consult respecting an immediate invasion of England. The King was averse to such a measure,¹ but at last his repugnance being overcome, an army of 30,000 horse assembled in a field near the metropolis.

In the meantime, the young King of England collected a larger and better equipped army than had marched against Scotland for a considerable time. The English host moved slowly through the border counties; and, destroying every thing in their progress, left the country a melancholy desert. Richard pushed on to the capital, and on his bar-

Douglas, seven thousand five hundred; to the earl of March, four thousand; to the earl of Murray, one thousand; to ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, LORD OF GALLOWAY, five thousand five hundred; to James Lindsay, two thousand; to David Lindsay, five hundred; to Malcolm Drummond, four hundred; to Thomas Hay, four hundred; and to William Kierby, seven hundred; to Henry Douglas, three hundred; to John Johnston, three hundred; to William Stuart, one hundred; to Henry Preston, *knt.* sixty; to Thomas Erskine, five hundred; to William Lindsay, five hundred; to William Cunningham, five hundred; to Robert Grant, ten; to Mrs Mace Glandaublin, ten; to John Gray, ten. The rest was distributed amongst the friends of the admiral, *viz.* to John Blaissey, Gerard de Bourbon, Eustace Bondenay, John de Fountaines, and Michael de la Fostre, five hundred each, as overseers of the distribution."

MAITLAND'S History of Scotland.

1 "He was," says Froissart, whose information regarding this expedition is minute and curious, "a comely tall man, but with eyes so bloodshot, that they looked as if they were lined with scarlet; and it soon became evident that he himself preferred a quiet life to war; yet he had nine sons who loved arms."

barous march consigned to the flames the beautiful abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh. Edinburgh also was plundered and burned, and they spared nothing but the abbey of Holyrood, which had afforded the Duke of Lancaster an asylum during his short exile. He was present with his nephew, Richard II., and earnestly solicited him to save it from the general ruin.

Provisions at length became scarce in the English camp; and a retreat by the same route in which the army had advanced, was resolved upon and commenced. That selfish spirit of revenge and indiscriminate destruction of property, conspicuous in this invasion, now began to recoil upon the authors of so much human misery. Before the English could effect their retreat, the combined armies of Scotland and France, having joined the forces of Sir Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, entered England, and ravaged the country with unparalleled ferocity, as a just retaliation for the dreadful cruelties, committed by the English invading force. In their desolating course, they plundered and razed to the ground, villages, manors, and hamlets;¹ and drove along crowds of prisoners, herds of cattle, waggons, and horses laden with the riches of burghers and yeomen. The mansions, pleasure-grounds, and parks of the border barons, were completely swept of their wealth, and totally destroyed. After this merciless havoc, the united armies made an assault upon Carlisle;² but, being repulsed, they returned

1 "And leave behind
Where once some pleasant hamlet stood
A mass of ashes slaked with blood."

SCOTT'S LADY OF THE LAKE.

2 Winton.

to Scotland. The French auxiliaries now hastened home; but the war continued with increasing vigour. Robert, Earl of Fife, the King's second son,—afterwards the celebrated Regent Albany,—along with the Earl of Douglas and the Lord of Galloway, at the head of 30,000 light troops, entered the portion of Westmoreland which includes Cockermonth and the adjacent country, and, for three days, plundered that rich and beautiful district. As this quarter had not been visited by any hostile party since the time of Robert Bruce, and the soldiers met with no interruption, they returned loaded with spoil.

Soon after this inroad, another enterprise took place of a more difficult and dangerous nature. Sir William Douglas, the illegitimate son of the Lord of Galloway, made a descent upon Ireland.¹

This young Knight's form and strength were almost gigantic; and his modesty, gentleness, and courtesy added a charm to his appearance: he was as amiable as brave, and no less beloved by his friends, than terrible to his enemies. His many estimable qualities procured him the love and hand of Egidia, the King's daughter, a lady of such exquisite beauty, that wherever she appeared, she commanded the admiration, and riveted the affection of every beholder. The monarch of France became enamoured of her from description; and he sent a painter into Scotland to bring him a picture of the princess; but upon his arrival, he found she had given her heart and hand to another. The

¹ At the present period, the line of demarcation between legitimate and illegitimate progeny, had been nearly effaced. Children, of whatever denomination, took their status in society from their father's rank.

King bestowed upon his son-in-law the Lordship of Nithsdale.¹

The piracies of the Irish on the coast of Galloway had roused the indignation of Sir Archibald Douglas, who despatched his brave son William, and Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer,² with 500 lancers, to chastise the robbers. Having landed at Carlingford, he assaulted the town with only a part of his force; for he had been unable, from a deficiency of small boats, to land the whole. Before Douglas could seize the outworks, the citizens induced him, by the promise of a large sum of money, to accede to an armistice; whilst under the cover of night, they sent a messenger to Dundalk, who, by representing the inconsiderable number of the Scots, and the facility of overpowering them, obtained assistance. Young Douglas, being a man of an honourable and unsuspecting temper, placed implicit reliance on the sincerity of the citizens' professions, and retired to the shore, that he might superintend the lading of his vessels with provisions. When thus engaged, he was surprised by the approach of a body of 500 men-at-arms. With difficulty could he form his little party into regular military order, before he was attacked by the enemy's cavalry, aided by a sally of the inhabitants from the town. The treachery of the Irish obtained its just reward; for although the Galwegians were out-numbered, yet, by their skill, discipline, and prowess, they succeeded in breaking and dispersing their enemies. After storming and burning the town of Carlingford, and demolishing the castle, with its works, they seized in the bays and

¹ Fordun.—Boethius.—Tytler.—Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglasses.

² Hollinshed.—Hume.

harbours about sixty ships, fifteen of which they loaded with booty, and sailed to the Isle of Man: the rest they destroyed. Having laid waste that island, they proceeded to Scotland, and landed at Loch-Ryan, in Galloway.¹ Douglas immediately joined his father, who, with the Earl of Fife, was again engaged in an expedition against the western parts of England.²

Whilst the Earl of Fife and the Lord of Galloway were thus employed, a chivalrous battle³ was fought at Otterburn, on the 19th of August, 1388, in which the Scots proved victorious. It was peculiarly disastrous, however, to the leaders on both sides. Henry Percy—from his fiery valour, denominated Hotspur,—with his brother Ralph, was made prisoner; and, indeed, few of note in the English army escaped death or captivity. The Scots also suffered severely. The Earl of Douglas, having fearlessly rushed into the thickest of the enemy, fell, at length, under three mortal wounds: he was interred at Melrose Abbey.⁴ The great historian Froissart states, that, one battle only excepted, this was the best fought action of that warlike age. By the fall of James, Earl of Douglas, in the battle of

1 Buchanan.

2 Hollinshed.—Hume.

3 Hume.—Fordun.—Winton.—Maitland.

4 Froissart says, “This batayle was lyke the batayle of Becherell, the which was valiauntlye fought and endured. The issue of the conflict is well known: Percy was made prisoner, and the Scots won the day, dearly purchased by the death of their gallant general, the Earl of Douglas, who was slain in the action. He was buried at Melrose beneath the high altar. His obsequy was done reverently, and on his body layde a tombe of stone, and his baner hangyng over hym.”

“ Full many a scutcheon and banner, riven,
Shook to the cold night-wind of heaven,

Otterburn,¹ the title became extinct. Archibald Douglas, however, Lord of Galloway, laid claim to the high honours and hereditary estates of the House of Douglas, and the weakness of Robert II. constrained him to grant this request.² But Douglas did not use his authority and exaltation with much moderation. Having now become the most powerful baron in Scotland, he likewise became the most tyrannical. He built a strong fortalice called the Castle of Thrieve, on an island in the river Dee. In the same place once stood a fortlet possessed by the ancient Lords of Galloway. Thrieve continued the monument of the Douglasses' pride, and the engine of their oppression during their galling ascendancy. It is asserted, though perhaps erroneously, that Archibald the Grim destroyed the charters of the Galloway proprietors,³ and forced them to acknowledge, that they held their lands from him; but the fact is, many Galloway proprietors had not yet obtained charters for their possessions. It has been said, he also exacted money from them annually, and made each parish in the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright, contribute a fat cow, every year, for his larder.— All who refused the contribution were seized and

Around the screened altar's pale;
 And there the dying lamps did burn,
 Before thy low and lonely urn,
 O gallant Chief of Otterburne,
 And thine dark Knight of Liddesdale!
 O fading honours of the dead!
 O high ambition, lowly laid!"

LAY OF THE LAST MINSTREL.

1 This battle is known also by the name of Chevy Chase.

2 Caledonia.

3 Nisbet's Heraldry.

imprisoned until they complied with the demand.¹

In the following year, the Earl of Fife and the Lord of Galloway conducted an army into England; but the Earl Marshal, to whom they sent a challenge, refusing to abandon a strong position in which his army was entrenched, they returned to Scotland.

Robert II. died at Dundonald castle, in Ayrshire, on the 19th of April, 1390, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His reign of nineteen years was more fortunate than that of his predecessor, David II.²

ROBERT III.

JOHN STEWART, Earl of Carrick, now ascended the throne, and it was agreed that his name should be changed to that of Robert III.

The pride and ambition of Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, afterwards induced him to procure the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of Rothsay, heir apparent to the crown. The prince had been engaged to the daughter of the Earl of March; but Douglas offered with his daughter Marjory a larger dowery, and she was preferred. The marriage took place; but the prince gave offence by his levity of

1 Nisbet's Heraldry.

THE FOLLOWING CHARTERS WERE GRANTED BY ROBERT II.

2 A charter "to James de Lindsey, of the New Forest in Galloway, which Walter Lesley resigned."—Another "confirming a charter by Archibald de Douglas *Dominus* of Galloway, with consent of Walter Bishop of Glasgow, founding a hospital and chapel: and for the support of the same, endowing them with the lands of Crosmychell and Tregvere."—A charter "to John de Maxwell, of the New Forest in Galloway, by resignation of James de Lindsey, the King's sister's son."

conduct, and Douglas became Rothsay's enemy. This unfortunate youth was at last consigned to the care of his uncle, the Earl of Fife, now created Duke of Albany, and his father-in-law, who treated him with much cruelty.

Archibald the Grim, Lord of Galloway, and Earl of Douglas, died in the castle of Thrieve, on the 3rd of February, 1400-1, at a very advanced age.

The character of the Lord of Galloway is thus drawn by a writer¹ of that period, who was fifteen years of age when Douglas died.

“In 1400, died the Lord Archibald, first of that name, Earl of Douglas, surnamed the Grim, who surpassed all the Scotsmen of his age in civil wisdom, prowess, and hardy enterprise, in the extent of his acquaintance, and in wealth. Most upright was he in judgment, yet severe, faithful to his promise: he had always a numerous retinue of valiant men. He showed high reverence to the ecclesiastical order.”²

In 1372, Archibald Douglas founded an hospital at the monastery of Holywood, and granted the lands of Troqueer and Crossmichael for its support: Robert II. confirmed the foundation, as we have seen in a preceding note.³ This Lord sometime be-

¹ Bowmaker.—Hailes' Annals.

² “Obiit Dominus Archibaldus primus hoc nomine, Comes de Douglas, dictus *Grym*, sive terribilis, qui in terrena prudentia, fortitudine, et audacia, conquaestu, et divitiis, caeteros suo tempore quasi antecessit. Æquissimus etiam erat in iudiciis, sed et rigorosus: Firmus etiam in promissis, et ubique maximâ comitivâ militum et virorum fortium suffultus: Ministros ecclesie in maxima veneratione habebat,”

(Bowmaker.)

HAILES ANNALS.

³ Caledonia. Hospitals were erected either for the reception

fore his death, expelled from their convent the Benedictine, or Black Nuns of Lincluden, and converted the establishment into a collegiate church, or provostry.¹ The alleged irregularities of the sisterhood² afforded him an excuse for the commission of this arbitrary act; but perhaps the real inducement was, that the college might better provide for his numerous dependants. The establishment consisted of a provost and twelve canons.³ Before its dissolution the nunnery had possessed many lands in Galloway. Archibald Douglas also erected here a monument to his father. He likewise founded a collegiate church at Bothwell.

This nobleman seems to have exercised supreme authority in his extensive dominions. As Lord of Galloway, he considered the Steward of Kirkcudbright his own officer. He established ordinances of war for the western borders, of which he was Warden, and his successors continued to enforce such ordinances. By them the Steward was enjoined to kindle fires on various hills in East Galloway, to give notice of the approach of an enemy.⁴

THE Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway was succeeded by his son Archibald, who married the daughter of Robert III. Her name was Margaret.

of strangers, or for the maintenance of the poor and infirm.— They were governed by a superior who was called *Magister*.

(Hope's Minor Practics.)

1 The head of a collegiate church, or college, was termed *prepositus*, or provost.

2 Pennant's Tour.—Murray.

3 "Collegiate churches were instituted for performing Divine services, and the saying of masses for the souls of the founders and patrons, or their friends." HOPE'S MINOR PRACTICES.

4 "Certain lands in Eastern Galloway were taxed to support

This nobleman seems to have been accessory to the cruel death of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Rothsay,¹ who was thrown into a dungeon at the castle of Falkland, belonging to his uncle, and starved to death.

The Earl of March, incensed at the slight which his family had received, retired into Northumberland, and made numerous attacks upon the border counties of Scotland. Dishonoured and in exile, his fury knew no bounds; and his hostile incursions were so unceasing, that, assisted by the Percies, and particularly the impetuous Hotspur, he became truly formidable to the Scottish barons.

Douglas, possessing more power in Scotland than any other individual, the Duke of Albany excepted, became desirous to signalize his valour by un-

Watch and Ward in Annandale; also "The house of Annand [was appointed] to be kept with ane honest man and wife, he to be the Warden Depute and to hold with him XVI well horsed men and this to be called the household. For their sustentation every one of them to have 100 M. and 4 Nithisdale bolls of horse corne, this money to be taken up at *Dumbrennan*, and the horse corne out of the Mains of Lochmaben." The house of Howdam to be kept by ane wise stout man, and to have with him four well horsed men and thir to have two stark footmen to keep their horses. Thir men to have horse meat and their owne meat in the place honestly and every ane of them to have 10 lib of feall to keep their claiths."

"In the time of warfare the beaken to be kept on the house head, and in the weir the beaken in the firepan to be kept and never fail burning so long as the Englishmen remain in Scotland, and with ane bell to be on the head of the firepan which shall ring when ever the fray is, and whosoever bydes fra the fray or turns again so long as the beaken burns or the bell rings shall be holden as partakers of the enemies and used as traitors."

"The Laird of Newbie to be the Warden Depute and therefore to have 50 M. given him yearlie of *Drumdanane* as their tacks specifies this present."

LEGES MARCHIARUM, London Edit. 1767. p. p. 134. 140.

¹ Tytler.

dertaking some grand enterprize against the English, The young nobility vied with each other in their eagerness to join his standard in this great expedition, which had received the cordial approbation of the King, and the ardent support of his brother, the Duke of Albany. The Lord of Galloway, accordingly, placed himself at the head of ten thousand men, comprising the greater part of the chivalry, or flower of the country, and advanced in a propitious and exulting career as far as Newcastle, loading his followers with spoil.¹ But he was waylaid on his return by a numerous army of the English. When the Scots had reached the village of Homildon, they beheld with surprise an English force ready to intercept them on their march, and took their ground on an eminence in the vicinity. The English were filled with unbounded rage at the sight of their plunderers; and the Earl of March could scarcely prevent the fiery Hotspur from leading his men to attack with their spears, the Scots upon the heights. The English, however, were prevailed upon only to use their long bows, and thus from a distance gall their enemies, who had closely formed on the hill. The effect these archers produced was terrible and destructive. Many of the bravest Scots being mortally wounded, fell down on the spot where

1 "The Earls of Murray and Angus, Fergus Macdowall, with his fierce and half-armed Galwegians, the heads of the noble houses of Erskine, Grahame, Montgomery, Seaton Sinclair, Lesley, the Stewarts of Angus, Lorn, and Durisdeer, and many other knights and esquires, embracing the greater part of the chivalry of Scotland, assembled under the command of the Earl of Douglas; and, confident in their strength, and eager for revenge, pushed on, without meeting an enemy, to the gates of Newcastle." TYTLER.

they stood, without having had an opportunity of once using their weapons. The horses, maddened by the showers of arrows, plunged and reared; whilst the dense masses of spearmen and "half naked Galwegians,"¹ to use the words of a contemporary writer, "presented the appearance of a hedgehog, bristled over with a thousand shafts, whose feathers were red with blood." But the Scots felt unwilling to lose the advantage of their situation and descend into the plain. At length Sir John Swinton² and Adam Gordon of Gordon,³ with a hundred followers, rushed down the declivity and made terrible havoc among the enemy; but these brave men were at last all slain. After their fall, the Scottish army, being totally discomfited, fled: the slaughter was dreadful. Douglas and a great many barons were taken prisoners. Notwithstanding the armour which the Earl wore on this fatal day, was of the most admirable workmanship and temper, and had occupied the unremitting labours of an artist during the long period of three years, the unfortunate commander was wounded in five places and taken prisoner: he lost an eye in this encounter. The immense border estates of Douglas, in all probability, were now seized by the Earl of Northumberland. This battle took place on the 14th of September, 1402.⁴

1 Tytler]

2

"He is noted
The wisest warrior 'twixt the Tweed and Solway."
SCOTT'S Poetical Works.

3 "Yet 'tis a name which ne'er hath been dishonoured,
And never will, I trust—most surely never."

Ibid.

4 "The number of the slain, was very great; and multitudes of the Fugitives—it is said nearly fifteen hundred—were drowned in a vain attempt to ford the Tweed. Amongst

After this conflict, Douglas was conveyed a prisoner to Northumberland; but the Percies, having taken up arms against their Sovereign, endeavoured to gain the assistance of their captive by granting him his liberty.

Douglas went to Scotland to collect a band of his vassals to aid in the impending contest.¹ A memorable engagement took place near Shrewsbury. Henry IV. of England, was personally present; and Douglas determined that the King should fall by his hand that day. Henry, perhaps aware of his resolution, dressed several champions in royal apparel. Douglas killed no fewer than three of these counterfeit Sovereigns; but when the real one appeared, he exclaimed with astonishment "Where the devil do all these kings come from?"² Douglas counteracted Henry with so much fury, that he overthrew the royal banner, killed Sir Thomas Blunt, who carried it, and would have slain

those who fell, besides Swinton and Gordon, were Sir John Livingston of Calendar, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Sir Roger Gordon, Sir Walter Scott, and Sir Walter Sinclair, with many other knights and esquires, whose followers mostly perished with their masters. Besides the leaders, Douglas and Lord Murdoch, eighty knights were taken prisoners, and a crowd of esquires and pages, whose names and numbers are not ascertained. Among the first were three French knights, Sir Piers de Essais, Sir James de Helsey, and Sir John Darni; Sir Robert Erskine of Alva, Lord Montgomery, Sir James Douglas Master of Dalkeith, Sir William Abernethy of Salton, Sir John Stewart of Lorn, Sir John Seaton, Sir George Lesly of Rothes, Sir Adam Forrester of Corstorfin, Sir Walter Bickerton of Luffness, Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer, Sir William Sinclair of Hermanston, Sir Alexander Home of Dunglas, Sir Patrick Dunbar of Bele, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Sir Lawrence Ramsay, Sir Helias Kinmont, Sir John Ker, and Fergus Macdowall of Garthland, in Galloway, with many others whose names have not been ascertained." (Balfour.)

TYTLER.

¹ Hume's History of the Douglasses.

² Scott.

the King also, had not the Prince of Wales, with a number of brave warriors, come to his assistance.¹ Hotspur was killed by an unknown hand, and his followers gave way and fled.² Douglas also reluctantly condescended to fly; but his horse stumbled and fell, when he himself was wounded and made prisoner.³ This celebrated warrior was kindly treated by King Henry, who sent him rich presents and honoured him for his valour.⁴

Robert III., aware of the ambitious views of his brother, the Duke of Albany, became alarmed for the safety of his surviving son James, then about fourteen years of age. He resolved, therefore, to send the young Prince to France, ostensibly for the purpose of receiving such an education as would fit him for swaying the sceptre with superior ability. Though the two nations were at peace, an English vessel intercepted and captured that in which the Prince sailed; who was immediately conveyed to London, and detained in close confinement in the tower. This new calamity had such an effect upon Robert, now born down with years, misfortunes, and infirmities, that he died in the course of the following year; and his brother the Duke of Albany, as Regent, continued to hold the reins of government.⁵

1 Hume, &c.

2 Tytler.

3 Hume.—Scott.

4 Hollinshed.—Hume.

THE FOLLOWING CHARTERS WERE GRANTED BY ROBERT III.

5 A charter was confirmed by Robert, which was “given by Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway and Bothwell, to the college of Bothwell, of the lands of Osbarnystoun, in the barony of Bothwell in Lanark.”—Another was granted “to David Duke of Rothsay, and Mary Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Douglas,

Not long before the King's death, negotiations had commenced for the restoration of Douglas to his native country. The English King would not allow this powerful baron to revisit Scotland, until thirteen hostages, selected from the best families of the land, had been delivered, as a guarantee for his return at a specified time: he also extorted from the Earl, a ransom of a thousand marks. Among the hostages, were Douglas's eldest son, and James his brother, James the son of James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale, Sir John Herries of Terregles, and Sir Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock. The Earl of March, who had remained true to Henry, having obtained a pardon for his treason,¹ through the intercession of Douglas, to whom he had rendered many good offices during their residence in England, afterwards returned into Scotland. The immense estates of March, which Douglas had either seized or legally obtained after his departure, were restored; Douglas being permitted, however, to retain the Lordship of Annandale and the castle of Lochmaben.

As soon as the truce with England had expired, the borderers commenced hostilities by reducing the castle of Jedburgh, which had been retained by the English since the battle of Durham. A strong remonstrance was soon after made to Albany, Regent of Scotland, by the English King, against the conduct of the Earl of Douglas, in delaying to return to his captivity in England at the appointed

of ane annual furth of the burrowis be south Forth." A charter "to the Earl of Dowglas, for the keeping of the marches, with ane taillie."—Another "to William Douglas of Niddisdale, of the west part of the town of Dumfreiss."

¹ Hume.

time. Henry threatened to treat his hostages according to the usages of war, and to pursue the Earl, as a perjured rebel, if he did not deliver himself up in the course of a month. The business, however, was amicably settled; for Douglas purchased his liberty by a very high ransom, and was allowed to return permanently to Scotland.

On the 3rd of September, 1419, the Duke of Albany died, and his son Murdoch assumed the Regency, a man alike devoid of ennobling virtues and debasing vices.¹

The French had often assisted the Scots against the English, and to repay the obligation, the Scots now sent a body of men to aid Charles, King of France, who seemed on the point of being expelled from his dominions by Henry V. of England. The Scottish army, under the command of Sir John Stewart, Earl of Buchan,—second son of the late Regent,—and the Earl of Wigtown, Douglas's son, who had assumed or obtained that title, consisted of about 7,000 men. They gained an important victory over the English at Baugé, and were rewarded and caressed by the French King.

Douglas, Earl of Wigtown, obtained the Lordship of Longueville in France. The Lord of Galloway, excited by the renown which his countrymen had acquired in that kingdom, raised a little army of 10,000 men,² which contained the noblest individuals and the best warriors in the south of Scotland. Such as were prevented by circumstances from going, sent their sons and brothers on this favourite expedition. The Earl of Douglas was joyfully received in France, and the King created him Duke

¹ Rymer Foedera.

² Hollinshed.

of Touraine¹ and a French marshal. The Duke of Bedford, who then commanded the English army, sent Douglas a message, on the 17th of August, 1424, that he intended to come and dine with him. The Earl understood the notice, and prepared for battle. The allied army, instead of remaining in their position as Douglas advised, advanced to meet the English, when a bloody battle ensued, in which Douglas, and by far the greater part of the Scottish auxiliaries were slain. The remains of the Scots that survived the battle of Vaneuil, were admitted by the French King as a lifeguard, an establishment which lasted long in that country.

Douglas was buried in the church of Tours, on the 20th of August, 1424, and his coat of arms remained for many years on the gates of that city. It has been asserted that he was called Tine-man ["Lose-man"] from losing battles and men. This Lord of Galloway is allowed by all to have possessed unlimited personal courage; but some writers affirm, he was devoid of prudence and unskilful in war. They do not, however, state any particular errors that he committed in his battles. It is true he was unsuccessful, but many well conducted armies have been vanquished, and many well laid plans have proved abortive. The biographer of the Douglasses thinks that his bad fortune should not diminish his praise or eclipse his glory; and that he was not inferior to his predecessors because he was less prosperous. His abilities, he adds, shone forth through the clouds of adversity, which surrounded him; whereas, theirs were gilded by the beams of almost

¹ Hume's History of the Douglasses.

uninterrupted prosperity.¹ This Lord possessed within his own dominions almost unlimited authority; like an independent Sovereign, he issued writs and made them returnable at his castle of Thrieve.²

DOUGLAS was succeeded by his eldest son, likewise called Archibald, being the third Lord of Galloway of that name. Margaret, daughter of Robert III., after the death of her husband, the Earl of Douglas, appears to have possessed the superiority of the whole of Galloway as a life estate, whilst her son held the Lordship in fee. It had

1 Hume.

2 "In 1403, Alexander Gordon was served heir of his father, Roger, in the lands of Kenmore, in pursuance of a writ, which had been issued, by the second Archibald, Lord of Galloway, to the steward of Kirkeudbright, returnable to the said lord of Galloway, at his castle of Thrieve: On the 24th of January 1403 4 the lord of Galloway issued his precept, "*Senescallo nostro, et Balivis suis, de Kirkeudbright,*" for investing Gordon, as heir of Kenmore: And, thereupon, Thomas Herts, [Kirk] Senescallus de Kirkeudbright issued his precept, commanding his bailies, to give Gordon *saisin* of his lands.—Original writs of the family of Kenmore" His charters were granted "Apud castrum nostrum de Treve." Among the charters which he granted, was one to "Thomas Maedoual, in 1414, of the lands of *Gairachloyne* (a name vulgarized to Garthland) Lonchanys, and of *Logan*, and *Ellyrig*, [Eldrig] in Wigtownshire; the grantee rendering for the same, *one suit* at the earl's court, at Wigtown. (Macfarlane's MS. Notes from Richard Hay's Col. where there is a copy, from the autograph, which was probably taken by Hay, when his antiquary learning was appealed to, by the Macdougals.) As this charter to Garthland comprehends the lands of Logan: so, the family of Logan must be a cadet of Garthland. As to the pretensions of Maedoual of French, which his genealogist derives, by an unknown series, from Gilbert, the eldest son of Fergus, the lord of Galloway, who died, in 1161; it is sufficient to answer, that Gilbert, the supposed progenitor of French, was not the youngest son of Fergus, but the assassin of Uchtred, the eldest son. He likewise constituted Sir Alexander Gordon of Lochinvar bailie of Earlstoun. The person who exercised a regality jurisdiction was termed a bailie."

CALEDONIA.

been settled on her for life by her husband; and her brother, James I., afterwards confirmed the grant. She survived her consort at least twenty-five years; and, during that period, as Lady Superior, granted charters to several vassals in Wigtonshire, either confirming their possessions, or sanctioning transfers of land.¹ The exact time of her death cannot be ascertained, though it is certain she was buried in the church of Lincluden, where an elegant tomb was erected to her memory.²

In the meantime, the Regent and people of Scot-

1 "During the reign of James I., William Douglas of Leswalt, was sheriff of Wigton, and constable of the castle of Lochnaw: In March, 1424, William Douglas, Vicecomes de Wigton, witnessed a charter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and Lord of Galloway, to the bishop of Galloway.

In 1426, Andrew Agnew acquired from William Douglas of Leswalt, the office of constable of the castle of Lochnaw, with the four mark lands of Glenquhir, in the barony of Leswalt; and this grant was confirmed, by a charter of the superior, Margaret, the Duchess of Tarenne, on the 10th of November, 1426; wherein she calls Agnew, "dilecto scutifero meo:" This was further confirmed, by the king. Andrew Agnew, also, acquired the mill of Invernessan, in Wigton-shire, with some tofts belonging to it; and of this he obtained a confirmation of the king, in February, 1430-1.

Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, the son of the said *scutifer* of the Duchess, was *scutifer* to James II., who, in 1451, granted to him the office of sheriff of Wigtonshire, on the 25th of May 1451. He died, between 1460, and 1470; and was succeeded, by his son, Quinten Agnew of Lochnaw, who was sheriff of this shire, during a great part of the reign of James III., and the first half of the reign of James IV. He married Mariot, the daughter of Vaus of Barnbarrow, which was the first connection between these families.

This inferior family of the Douglasses seems to have ended, at the beginning of the reign of James III. In October, 1463, Mary, the queen-dowager, obtained a grant of the lands, revenues, &c. which pertained to the king, by the decease of the late George Douglas of Leswalt. Regist. Mag. Sig. B. vi. 106. 129. This Douglas was, probably, of a *bastard family*." CALEDONIA.

2 The late Thomas Johnston of Jamaica, Esq., a zealous antiquary, opened the tomb, but no remains were found in it.

land began to wish for the return of their Sovereign, who had long lingered in useless captivity. An embassy was despatched into England to negotiate for the releasement of James, and they succeeded in obtaining his liberation. A splendid train of the highest barons and gentry of his kingdom, amounting to three hundred, met him at Durham. At the head of this brilliant cortege appeared the Earl of Wigtown, who was appointed one of the conservators of the truce concluded at that place.

On entering his kingdom, James proceeded to the capital and held the festival of Easter; and, on the 21st of May, 1424, both he and his Queen were crowned at Scone.

A parliament was speedily assembled, by which many wise laws were made.

JAMES I.

THE family of Douglas had now risen to a pitch of greatness, hitherto unattained by any subject. The present chief took the titles of Earl of Wigtown and Douglas, Lord of Galloway, Bothwell, Eskdale, and Annandale; Duke of Touraine, Lord of Longueville, and Marshal of France.

Soon after James's return he became jealous of his nephew, the Earl of Douglas, and, on the ninth day after the second parliament had met at Perth, threw him into prison, together with William Douglas, Earl of Angus,¹ Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, Herbert Herries of Terregles, and several

¹ The Countess of Angus married William, first Earl of Douglas, by whom she had a son, Sir George Douglas, who inherited his mother's title: she was the Earl of Douglas's second wife. By this marriage the title passed into the family of Douglas. (Crawford's Peerage.)

others who were confined for some time. Murdoch, the late Regent, son of the first Duke of Albany, with Lord Alexander Stewart, Murdoch's youngest son, was also arrested: his eldest son Walter had been previously imprisoned. Murdoch himself was conveyed to the castle of Caerlaverock, and there confined.¹ Walter Stewart, being brought to trial on the 24th of May, 1425, was found guilty and condemned to death. The King in royal robes presided as supreme judge. The Earl of Douglas and Sir Herbert Herries, having been restored to liberty, acted as two of the jurors. He was beheaded on an eminence near the castle of Stirling on the same day. Next day, Albany himself and his second son were brought to trial, and convicted by the same jury. Sentence of death being immediately passed upon them, they both publicly suffered on the same fatal hill.—These acts of severity were much reprobated. In James's third parliament, an amusing provision was made, entitled, "*Anent hostillaris in villagis and burowyis.*" "It informs us that hostlers, or innkeepers, had made very grievous complaints to the king against a villanous practice of his lieges, who, in their travel from one part of the country to another, were in the practice of taking up their residence with their acquaintances and friends, instead of going to the regular inns and hostelries; whereupon the sovereign, with counsel and consent of the three Estates, prohibits all travellers on foot or horseback from rendezvousing at any station except the established hostelry of the

¹ A tower in Caerlaverock castle is still called Murdoch's tower. Tradition says, with its usual inaccuracy, that the Duke of Albany was murdered there.

burgh or village, and interdicts all burgesses or villagers from extending to them their hospitality, under the penalty of forty shillings. The higher ranks of the nobles and the gentry would, however, have considered this as an infringement upon their liberty, and it is accordingly declared, that all persons whose estate permits them to travel with a large retinue in company, are permitted to quarter themselves upon their friends, under the condition that they send their attendants and horses to be lodged at the common hostelries."¹

Douglas continued for some time in royal favour, and assisted, with other great barons, at the baptism of the King's twin children, Alexander and James. Among the gracious acts of royalty which James exhibited on that joyous occasion, was the conferring of the honour of knighthood upon William, the son and apparent heir of the Lord of Galloway. But these festivities could not remove the mutual jealousy which subsisted between the King and his subjects, or restore that confidence and cordiality which his severity to the greater barons had eradicated. In the following year, he sent the Lord of Galloway into confinement; but at the meeting of Parliament, in the month of October, he again set him at liberty and became fully reconciled to this dreaded nobleman. After this reconciliation, Douglas, afraid lest his Sovereign's wrath might be again kindled and prove fatal to him, asked permission to remove to France, that he might take possession of the Duchy of Touraine, which had been bestowed upon his father by Charles VII. James, who only wanted a plausible pretext for cutting off

¹ Tytler.

this potent baron, cheerfully granted him permission to go into what the Sovereign considered an honourable exile, where he could no longer overawe the royal authority, or neutralize the effects of those measures, which James had in contemplation for enlarging the prerogatives, the wealth, and the influence of the crown. The King considered that, in the absence of Douglas, many occasions would arise, when he would have it in his power to diminish the accumulated jurisdiction which this chief had acquired, and even to curtail his estates and detach his adherents.

JAMES II.

JAMES I. being assassinated at Perth, on the 21st of February 1437, was succeeded by his only son James II., a boy in the 7th year of his age.—The convention of estates, afterwards appointed Sir Alexander Livingston of Calendar, governor, or guardian of the King's person;¹ and to his care the tuition of the young prince was entrusted: they nominated Sir William Crichton chancellor.

No sooner had Archibald Douglas heard of the death of a monarch whom he respected, dreaded, and hated, than he hurried from France to assume the first place among the nobles of the land, and either direct or overawe the operations of the Government. The powerful House of Douglas had now reached the summit of its greatness; for the Lord of Galloway possessed almost all the south of Scotland; and the inferior barons and gentry looking up to him as their patron, and acknowledged him as their Lord. His vassals and their dependants, from their vicinity to England, and the constant wars in which they had been engaged, were better

¹ Balfour.—Scott, &c.

disciplined and more accustomed to arms than the inhabitants of any other district of Scotland. Besides, the Douglasses were formidable, not only from their vast territories and numerous warlike dependants, but also from their own matchless military talents, which seemed to be hereditary in the family. Their superior talents, however, were unfortunately accompanied by boundless ambition and arrogant presumption; and their chief succeeded in obtaining the high office of Lieutenant-General.¹

The Douglasses seemed now to lay claim to the rank of independent princes, considering themselves beyond the power of the laws of their country, and above the allegiance due to the Sovereign. It was no uncommon thing for Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to ride about with a retinue of one thousand retainers,² or even two thousand, on particular occasions, amongst whom were many of the most noted desperadoes of the borders.³

Crichton and Livingston, by their ambitious contentions and private enmity, weakened both the energy and the efficiency of the Government.⁴ Douglas, now decidedly the most powerful and opulent man in the whole kingdom, despised them both,⁵ and though solicited to interfere⁶ left them

1 Tytler.

2 Hume.

3 Redpath's Border History.

4 Balfour.—Hume,

5 Balfour.—Scott.—Tytler.

6 Lindsay of Pitscottie.—His answer was, "It is bot litle skaith I think for me, albeit sick mischeivous traytouris as Sir William Crichtoun and Alexander Livingstoun, whom yea call governour, mone warres contrair otheris, and als it becometh not the honorable estait of noblemen to help any of them, albeit ilk ane of thame wraick vtheris, so that thair war not sick ane thing as any memorie of thame heirafter to our posteritie, As

to waste their power and influence, by harassing, and, consequently, weakening each other.¹ Feuds, bloodshed, and devastation prevailed in many parts of Scotland, which the Government, "divided against itself," had no power to restrain. Douglas, we are told, even countenanced disaffection, encouraged disorder, and protected depredators.—Lindsay of Pitscottie asserts, that he issued a proclamation prohibiting any man within his dominions, under pain of death, from obeying the King's officers; alleging that he had the sole jurisdiction, or supreme judicial authority, within the ample limits of his own territories. This public distraction almost entirely suspended the operations of trade and agriculture. Famine, consequently, again ensued, and after it an appalling pestilence, the virulence of which was so great, that those whom it seized generally expired within twenty-four hours. This scourge, which happened in the year 1439, greatly depopulated the country.²

In the middle of these disorders, Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, was carried off, not inopportunately for the contending rulers, by an

to myselff, thair is nothing more pleasant than to hear of warre and discord betixt them tua unhappie tyrrantis; and namlie, quhair the beginning of thair dissensione is not groundit vpon ane guid caus, bot vpon ane schamfull and wicked ground, wold God I might sie ane miserable mischeif to befall thame both, seeing they have deserved the same condignlie throw thair awin ambitione, falshood, pryd, and hight. For I know it is the just judgment of God, that deceitful tyrrantis, setting thair wholl purpos and intent to wraik otheris, according to thair demerites, sould be punished in the sight of the world: and speciallie, they have so oft offended noblemen and simple men of guid lyffe and conversatioun."

LINDSAY'S Chronicles of Scotland.

¹ Tytler.

² Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles.

inflammatory fever, at Rastalrig, on the 26th of June, 1439, and was buried in the church of Douglas, called St Bride's church,¹ "leaving to his son," as Mr Tytler says, "an immense and dangerous inheritance of power and pride."

His conduct to Lord Kennedy is adduced as a proof of his forgiving and generous disposition. This nobleman had injured and offended him to such a degree, that he published his intention of giving the lands of Stewarton to any individual who would bring Kennedy's head to him. When Lord Kennedy became aware of this offer, he was fully convinced he could not escape the danger arising from the declared hostility of so powerful a man; and he resolved, as a species of prevention, to present his own head to his enemy. He accordingly went privately to Wigtownshire, and found Douglas in the church of St Ninian, at his devotion. Immediately after Divine service, he offered his head to the Earl, and claimed the reward. Douglas astonished at his resolution and confidence, forgave him his former faults and made him his friend: he also bestowed upon him the lands of Stewarton² which his descendants, the Earls of Cassilis, continued to enjoy.³

1 Hume.—The following inscription was placed upon his tomb.

"Hic jacet Dominus ARCHIBALDUS DOUGLAS, Dux Turoniæ, Comes de Douglas et Longueville, Dominus Gallovidiæ, et Wigton, et Annandiæ, Locum tenens Regis Scotiæ. Obiit 26. die Mensis Junii. Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo octavo."

2 Hume.

3 "The Kennedies are of Irish origin; but, it is quite uncertain, when they emigrated to this island. The first, in record, says Crawford, was Sir Joan Kennedy, who is mentioned,

To Archibald succeeded WILLIAM DOUGLAS, a youth of about sixteen years of age.¹ The young Lord of Galloway took no part in the quarrels and reconciliations of the two ambitious rivals,—the governor and chancellor. He resided in his own castles, within his hereditary dominions, adored by his vassals, and principally guided in his proceedings by the admonitions of Malcolm Fleming of

in the treaty, for David II.'s ransom. He acquired the barony of *Cassilis*, by marrying the daughter of Sir John Montgomery, and by the ratification of David II. In his troubled reign, John Kennedy, the chief of a powerful clan, in Carrick, acquired the lands of Crugelton, of Polton, of the two Brocktouns, and of Leithydal, in Wigtonshire; John Kennedy granted those lands to his son, Gilbert Kennedy, who obtained a charter of confirmation, from the same king in January 1365-6. His dependant, Lord Kennedy, during the reign of James III., acquired the barony of Leswalt, together with the lands of Moncebrig, Barquhony, and others in Wigtonshire. This family, who obtained the Earldom of Cassilis, in 1509, also, added, afterwards, a great many other lands to their possessions, in Wigtonshire, where the Kennedies maintained, for a long time, the chief sway, in this distant district, which occasioned the local poet to cry out, in popular rhymes:

“ Twixt Wigton and the town of Air,
Port Patrick, and the Cruives of Cree.
No man needs think, for to bide there,
Unless he court with Kennedie.”

The seat of this family, in Wigtonshire, was called Castle Kennedy, a fortlet of threatening aspect, in the peninsula, which was formed, by the loch of Inch. In the changeful reign of Charles II., Castle Kennedy, with many lands of that family, in Wigtonshire, passed, from the Earl of Cassilis, to Sir John Dalrymple, the younger of Stair. Other lands of that once grasping family have subsequently gone into different hands, and the Kennedies do not seem now to have any estates in Wigtonshire. During the 17th century, there were more than half a dozen of subordinate families of Kennedy, which held lands, in Wigtonshire: But now, there is not one, among the freeholders.”

CALEDONIA.

¹ Tytler.—Scott.

Biggar. During these selfish and unseemly contentions, the country still continued to be afflicted by the two severe scourges, famine and pestilence.¹ The youthful Earl of Douglas, elated by his early hereditary power and royal ancestry, scrupled not to exercise the prerogatives of sovereignty, and acted in every respect more like a prince than a subject. He treated every person about him with unbounded arrogance, and rode attended by a numerous body-guard of Knights.² Fleming and Sir John Lauder of the Bass, were sent ambassadors to the King of France, to obtain for their young master an investiture in the Duchy of Touraine, which his grandfather had received and his father enjoyed: this possession was valued at the yearly rental of 10,000 crowns.³ All who dreaded Crichton and Livingston, found with Douglas a secure retreat, from which they might bid defiance to the power of the established Government of the country; and all who wished to lead an idle, abandoned, and dishonest life, wore his arms and professed themselves his vassals. The south of Scotland seemed on the point of being formed into a distinct and independent principality. It now appeared as if passing events had conspired to raise one great family to such an elevation, as to over-top and eclipse the majesty of royalty itself.

1 In the year 1439, wheat and oatmeal rose to five times their ordinary price, and many died of absolute want. The pestilence which followed the famine, after visiting England, first appeared in Dumfries. It was aptly denominated "the pestilence without mercy," for all who were attacked by it certainly expired in twenty-four hours. From internal commotion, famine, and disease, the country seemed to be on the point of becoming totally depopulated. (Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles.

2 Tytler.

3 Hume of Godscroft, p. 188.

The wily Crichton who had been the confidential promoter of the measures, by which, in the late reign, so many of the turbulent nobles were cut off, now began to devise the means of for ever crushing the exorbitant power of the haughty Douglasses. Crichton proposed to Livingston, to join him in this nefarious undertaking; and, though personal rivals and political enemies, they both agreed in the detestable project of destroying two boys, whose youth loudly proclaimed their innocence of the crimes laid to their charge.¹ The young Earl of Douglas and his brother were respectfully invited to attend a meeting of Parliament in Edinburgh, in which, it was pretended, the interests of the state required their presence and counsels. Flattered by this attention, and perhaps hoping to add to his overgrown authority, by dictating to the Parliament, or at least peremptorily communicating to this august assembly his wishes and designs, the Lord of Galloway set out on his journey to the metropolis of the kingdom.—Crichton, aware of his approach, met him on the road at a distance from the city, and courteously conducted him to his own castle which stood a few miles from Edinburgh, where he entertained him for two days with the most respectful attention, and the most sumptuous hospitality.² From his castle, Crichton accompanied his noble guest to Edinburgh. Douglas himself, his only brother David, and Malcolm Fleming lodged in the town. Many other barons, with their vassals, had already arrived; and whispers of danger to the young Douglasses be-

¹ Scott.

² Hume.—Lindsay.

gan to be circulated amongst the supporters of the Government. An awful stillness prevailed; but it was like the calm which precedes the hurricane; and the friends of Douglas began to suspect the sincerity of those ostentatious acts of kindness and respect, which were proffered to their guileless superior. Douglas, with his brother and counsellor, was invited to a royal feast in the castle, for the purpose, as it was pretended, of introducing him to the young King, that the exalted youths might afterwards become suitable companions, and faithful friends. Many of Douglas's adherents dissuaded him from accepting this invitation; but the Earl himself was too magnanimous and unsuspecting to listen to their doubts and fears. They then entreated him to remember his father's advice to his sons; "Never to trust themselves both at once in the power of any person who might have an interest in their death, or a wish to endanger their personal safety;" but he still remained inexorable, and could not be diverted from his rash purpose.¹ Thus inveigled, he and his brother entered Edinburgh castle without any retinue, and were introduced to the King, who, unacquainted with the ultimate purpose of the visit, received them with much kindness and affability, appearing overjoyed at the prospect of participating in their amusements and sharing their society.

After this introduction, the devoted brothers sat down to a magnificent entertainment at the King's table; and every countenance assumed the appearance of joy and welcome.² The young monarch

¹ Hume.—Lindsay.

² Lindsay.

treated his noble guests with boyish fondness ; and both the governor and chancellor displayed towards them almost parental attachment and kindness. The repast lasted long ; for it was served up with cumbersome pomp, and a great variety of delicacies were produced. At last a bull's head, the token of death, was placed before the noble youths, who understood the signal, and immediately started up to make their escape.¹ Their efforts proved unavailing, for they were instantly seized by armed men, who, at the concerted signal, rushed into the apartment. The King shed tears at the dreadful spectacle, and entreated the governor and chancellor to spare his cousins.² His requests were vain, for, after a mock trial, they were conveyed, with their hands bound, to the court on the west side of the castle and instantly beheaded.³ Thus fell the Earl of Douglas and his brother David ; and three days afterwards their faithful friend and counsellor, Malcolm Fleming, also perished on the same spot by the hands of the executioner. This tragical event took place on the 24th of November,

1 Hume.—Lindsay.—Scott, &c. Tytler looks upon the story of the Bull's head as a fable, because the circumstance is not found in the Auchinleck Chronicle, an almost contemporary authority. Hector Boethius, or Boece, mentions it, and the great antiquary, Sir Walter Scott, states, that the emblem of death used on the present occasion was a "black bull's head." The following stanza of an ancient ballad, recorded by Hume and Abercromby, is expressive of the popular indignation at the deed.

" Edinburgh-Castle, Town, and Tower,
 God grant thou sink for Sin,
 And that even for the black Dinner
 Earl Douglas got therein."

2 Hume.

3 Lindsay.—Hume.—Balfour.—Scott.—Maitland.

1440, when Douglas had scarcely completed his seventeenth year, and King James II. was only about ten years of age.

UNTO WILLIAM succeeded his grand-uncle James, Earl of Avondale¹ and Lord of Abercorn,—called from his corpulence, James the Gross,—in all the lands that were entailed or destined to descend to heirs male, but Margaret, daughter of Archibald Douglas, and sister to the last Lord, inherited the unentailed dominions, particularly Galloway, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale. While James thus became Earl of Douglas, Margaret, William's sister, became Countess of Galloway. James was a man of indolent habits and peaceable dispositions; and, hence, he raised no civil commotions to avenge the murder of his nephews: it has, indeed, been surmised that he was privy to the odious act. But he did not long enjoy his new honours; for he died at Abercorn on the 23rd of March, 1443, little more than two years after his advancement to the Earldom of Douglas. He lived in peace with the King's Government, and left to his eldest son William, a large inheritance of family influence and wealth.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS had no sooner attained the lofty station of Earl of Douglas, than he began to display the independence of a sovereign prince, and in all respects to imitate the haughty and ambitious daring of his grandfather, rather than the sluggish submission of his father. Almost in every thing he set the Government at defiance.² He permitted

¹ Tytler.—Caledonia.

² Buchanan, — Drummond, — Maitland. — Wood's Peerage.

his numerous dependants and vassals to plunder the lands of the loyal subjects of the King; gave protection to criminals; fomented internal discord; and excited disorders in the country, by which both Crichton and Livingston were thwarted, harassed, and perplexed, in their management of the affairs of the kingdom. The administration of justice became enfeebled by the deeds of this powerful nobleman; and both the governor and chancellor began to consider how they might, either by secret artifice or open force, most effectually annihilate the pride or reduce the power of this despotic baron.

The young Sovereign had now nearly completed the fourteenth year of his age; but in wisdom, energy, and knowledge, he far excelled those of his own years. He was tired of the honours of a monarch, without possessing the power of royalty, and eagerly desired to emancipate himself from the thralldom in which he had been held, particularly by the watchful Crichton: he wished, at least, to assist in holding the reins of government with his own hands. The Sovereign now resided at Stirling, and the ambitious barons, upon learning his wishes, hastened thither to do homage to their young King, and to vie with each other in obtaining the first place in his affection and favour. Young Douglas, to neutralize the hatred of his enemies, and frustrate the dark designs of Crichton, appeared,—by the advice of Livingston with whom he is said to have suddenly coalesced,¹—amongst the foremost to wait upon

¹ Tytler.—This indefatigable historian avers, that Douglas and Livingston coalesced and united their influence against

his Sovereign,¹ and soon, by his dutiful attendance, respectful submission, and earnest supplications, obtained the pardon of his treasons against the state.² But Douglas sought not only pardon, but favour. The pomp of his appearance, the manly dignity of his person, the elegance of his form, his courteous and graceful demeanour, his skill and superiority in martial exercises, the affectionate regard which he professed for the youthful monarch, and his condemnation of every thing which the King disliked, soon so endeared him to James, and gave him such an ascendancy in his counsels, that Crichton was completely removed from the royal favour; and Douglas, with the concurrence of Livingston, was appointed Lieutenant-General³ of the kingdom; who thus adding his own hereditary influence to the authority of the crown, became the first, and by far the most powerful man in Scotland.⁴ In the meantime, to secure a still farther accession of wealth and power, he obtained a divorce from his first wife, and a dispensation to marry Margaret, called the Fair Maid of Galloway, a girl who had hardly completed her twelfth year.⁵ The union took place, and the immense estates which had been divided, after the execution of William and his younger brother in Edinburgh castle, were once more concentrated. Through his influence, his three

Crichton, the ancient rival of the governor, though the great majority of writers consider that Douglas and Livingston still continued enemies.

1 Lindsay.—Balfour.

2 Balfour.

3 Tytler.

4 Hume.—Tytler.

5 *Infra nubile annos.*

brothers, about this time, were ennobled. Archibald, who had married the youngest daughter of the Earl of Moray, obtained that Earldom, to the prejudice of James Crichton, husband of the eldest;¹ Hugh was created Earl of Ormond; and John, Lord of Balveny.²

Among the first uses which the Earl felt disposed to make of his interest with the Sovereign was, to punish Crichton for his relentless and fatal enmity to the House of Douglas. By the new favourite's influence and advice, a rigorous inquiry was ordered to be made into the transactions of the late chancellor's administration.³ Crichton was accused of embezzlement and treason; but he refused to obey the summons which called him to a judicial trial.⁴

1 Maitland.

2 Hume says "His Dependence and Following may be judged by these his Lordship and Estate; and for his other Friendships, there were divers Houses of the Douglasses, as Angus, Morton, Drumlanrig; by Alliance he had Aubigny and the Lord Fleming of Cumbernauld, who had married his Sister; by his Mother the Earl of Orkney; by his Wife Beatrix [Margaret] the House of Crawford, of which her Mother was a daughter, beside the old Friendship that was ever betwixt them; and this may be seen by History, who list to observe it, whereof more may be found by a more accurate Disquisition. Thus enriched, thus waited on, thus followed, thus served, thus underpropped, and sustained by Wealth, Friendship, Dependence, Alliance, and Kindred, his Power and Greatness was such, as was not matched under the Prince by any in this kingdom." HUME.

Tytler also mentions, that "He was supported by many warlike and potent lords in his own family, and by connexion with some of the most ancient and influential houses in Scotland. His mother, a daughter of the house of Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, gave him the alliance of this northern baron; his brothers were the Earls of Moray and Ormond; by his married sisters, he was in strict friendship with the Hays of Errol, the Flemings, and the Lord of Dalkeith."

3 Balfour.—Lindsay.

4 Lindsay.—Hume.

Douglas procured his condemnation by Parliament; and he was declared a rebel and traitor, and his property forfeited to the state.¹

Forrester of Corstorphine, Douglas's friend, was despatched to put that part of the sentence into execution, which confiscated all his goods to the use of the crown. Barnton castle, belonging to Sir William, was taken about the same time by Douglas himself, and demolished; but the ex-chancellor soon retaliated the injury, by wasting the lands of Corstorphine, the property of Forrester,² as well as the territories of Strathbrock, Abercorn, and Blackness, belonging to Douglas.³ Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, superseded Crichton in the office of chancellor. He was nearly related to the King, being sister's son of James I. His intellect, naturally strong, had been cultivated by an excellent education and much foreign intercourse; and, possessing the double influence of head of the church and chancellor of the kingdom, he was fully enabled to stand forward as the defender of the King. Society was now agitated by violent discord, but the stronger party espoused the cause of the King and the Earl of Douglas. The castle of Edinburgh still remained in the possession of the ex-chancellor; but after being besieged for nine weeks by Douglas, it surrendered on condition that an amnesty should be granted to Crichton and his adherents of all their past crimes, and that the King should reinstate him into the office of chancellor.⁴

1 Hume.—Balfour.—Lindsay.

2 Lindsay.—Hume

3 Lindsay.

4 Balfour.

A temporary, but gloomy, tranquillity succeeded.

James II., had at this time attained the age of fifteen years, and he was advised to enter into the marriage state. The able Crichton, along with some other commissioners, was selected to be sent to France for the purpose of renewing the ancient league between the two countries, and procuring a suitable consort for his Sovereign. After visiting that kingdom, the commissioners repaired to the court of the Duke of Gueldres, that they might solicit his daughter Mary, to become the wife of James, and the queen of Scotland. The absence of Crichton left his friends defenceless against the machinations of Douglas and his partisans. The embassy proved successful.

James, having now arrived at puberty, was probably not averse to see his reign adorned by the splendour of martial achievements; and, at the earnest entreaties of the French King, seconded by the advice of Douglas, he renewed hostilities with England. The war at first was carried on by petty incursions on both sides. Greater projects, however, being soon contemplated, the strength and fury of the Scottish nation were, at length, vigorously called into exercise.

The Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, English wardens of the east and west marches, made an irruption into Scotland, and left the towns of Dumfries and Dunbar enveloped in flames.¹ This outrage called forth speedy retaliation. The Lord of Galloway assembled a provincial parliament at Lincluden college, wherein were en-

¹ Redpath's Border History, p. 407.

acted several border laws.¹ Among other things it was decreed, that upon the first alarm of an invasion from England, *bales*, or beacon-fires should instantly be formed, in order timeously to intimate the danger, and call up the inhabitants for the defence of the country. The Sheriff of Nithsdale, and the Stewards of Annandale and Kirkeudbright, were to appoint proper persons to preserve and maintain these signals; and every person so appointed, who should fail to keep up and light his beacon, was to be fined in one mark for each offence.² After this meeting, the Lord of Galloway despatched into Cumberland, his brother, John Douglas of Balveny, who burned and plundered Alwick, and wasted the surrounding country.³

The English to anticipate any new or sudden enterprize by the Scots, collected an army of 6,000 men under Percy, to invade the western borders of Scotland, from which they had been of late most grievously annoyed. The Scots indignantly prepared to meet and repel this invasion. The western marches were under the peculiar protection of the Earl of Douglas, and, indeed, on him, as Lieutenant-General, devolved the whole management of the national defence. He commissioned his brother Hugh, Earl of Ormond, to drive back the invaders, whilst all the adherents, dependants, and vassals of his House were summoned to

1 " In the body of the Scottish laws. MS. Harl. 4700., may be seen ' The ordinances of war sett downe, at Lincludan college, by all the lords, freeholders, and eldest borderers of Scotland, on the 18th December, 1448, by the commandment of Earle William Douglass.' "

CALEDONIA.

2 Introduction to Nicholson and Brun's History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, p. xliv.

3 Buchanan, B. xi, Chap. xxvi.

arms. Scarcely had the English passed the Solway and pitched their tents at the small river Sark, when the Scottish army, then at no great distance, appeared ready to attack them. With haste they formed themselves in order of battle: the trumpets sounded and the armies engaged with impetuous valour. Terrible for some time was the deadly struggle. Fury roused each warrior to vigorous exertion and determined heroism. The English, at last, were obliged to fly; but, in the meantime, the river had become swollen by the returning tide, and many of them perished in its waters, or were cut down, as they hesitated to plunge into the impassable stream. Fifteen hundred fell in battle, and five hundred perished in the Sark. The commanders, Percy, Harrington, and Pennington, with a great number of inferior rank, were taken prisoners, who enriched the captors by their ransoms.¹ In the English camp much gold and silver, besides other kinds of booty, was found, which Douglas distributed among the combatants according to the laws enacted for regulating the division of plunder. The principal captives were conveyed to Lochmaben castle, and there kept in close custody until their liberation. Only twenty-six of the Scots fell.² This splendid victory still farther enhanced the fame, the wealth, and the power of the Douglasses. To offend them was now more dangerous than to offend the King; to disregard their orders or thwart their measures,

1 Tytler.—Auchinleck Chronicle.—p. 34. “Auchinleck Chronicle was privately printed by Mr Thomson, Dep. Cl. Reg. of Scotland, and is almost the solitary authentic record of this obscure reign.”

TYTLER.

2 Tytler.

was little short of rebellion against the state. The inferior barons courted their protection, and subjected themselves to their vassalage, in order to procure their countenance or escape their resentment. So powerful was the Earl of Douglas become, that in open violation of the laws of the kingdom, and with perfect impunity, he laid desolate the lands of Colville of Ochiltree,¹ took his castle, and slaughtered himself, along with all the males within it; because he had slain in a party conflict Auchinleck of Auchinleck, a particular friend and favourite of the Earl of Douglas. This cruel murder deeply incensed the youthful monarch; but he felt it advisable to dissemble his resentment.

Crichton conducted home in safety the Flemish Princess, and fulfilled the wishes of his young Sovereign. She was attended from Flanders by a gallant train of courtiers; and James received his bride with a youthful lover's ardent and joyful welcome. From the moment of the Princess's arrival until her marriage, the time was filled up with feasting, masks, revelry, and tournaments. It may impart some notion of the immense influence of the Lord of Galloway, to be informed, that on the present chivalrous occasion, the military force by which he was attended amounted to 5,000 men. At the head of this array he conducted the Scottish champions to the lists.² The royal marriage was solemnized with much pomp at Edinburgh, in 1449, and James felt himself in some measure constrained to confer new possessions and additional honours upon the members and favourites of the powerful,

¹ Tytler on the authority of the Auchinleck Chronicle, styles him Colville of Oxenham.

² Tytler.

though dreaded House of Douglas. The King, however, had determined to crush Livingston, whose influence and secret hostility he feared.— Sir William Crichton was now completely detached from, or rather hostile to, the interests of his old friend and rival Livingston, who, with his eldest son and some of his confidential supporters, was seized, impeached, and condemned. The younger Livingston, along with one of his friends, was hanged and afterwards beheaded.¹ Their fall excited the commiseration of the people, and they were looked upon as the victims of the latent and long-cherished resentment of Douglas and Crichton. The elder Livingston saved himself from a violent death, by paying, it is said, a large sum of money; but he was sent into confinement in Dumbarton castle, and his estates forfeited.²

In the same Parliament which had inflicted ven-

¹ Pinkerton.

² Whether Douglas participated in devising the ruin of the Livingstons, cannot now be ascertained. "The most probable account" says Mr Tytler, "seems to be, that, aware of the increasing strength and energy of the party of the sovereign, he found it expedient to act as an ally rather than an enemy, and in good time to desert, and even to share in the spoils of those, whom he considered it desperate to defend. It is certain, at least, that immediately subsequent to the forfeiture of the Livingstons, the Earl of Douglas repeatedly experienced the favour and generosity of the sovereign. When Dundas castle, after a resolute defence of three months, surrendered to the royal army, the wealth of the garrison, the cannon, provisions, and military stores, were divided between the king, the Earl of Douglas, and Sir William and Sir George Crichton. On the forfeiture of Dundas's lands, a great part of his estate was settled on Douglas; his lordship of Galloway was erected into a special regality, with the power of holding justice and chamberlain ayres, to be held blanch of the sovereign by the tenure of a red rose; he obtained also the lands of Blairmarks in Lanarkshire, forfeited by James of Dundas, and of Coulter and Ogleface, which had been the property of the Livingstons." TYTLER.

geance upon the Livingstons, the state of the country was considered, and remedies proposed for those evils and abuses that had arisen during the minority of the Sovereign. Some of the enactments were more applicable to Galloway than any other part of the country; and they throw much light on the state of the kingdom at this period.¹

Though thus seemingly all powerful at home, Douglas perceived that he had roused the permanent jealousy of his Sovereign, and he became desirous to withdraw from the kingdom: he wished, also, to display his magnificence abroad, that he might gain the admiration and procure the homage of the various inhabitants of distant lands. After many splendid preparations had been made, he set out, along with an illustrious and noble band of companions, and a numerous, gaudy, and devoted train of attendants, to visit France and Italy.² He was received and entertained in France with much courtesy by Charles, and invested with all the honours and privileges of the Duchy of Touraine. From France he proceeded to Italy, and in Rome was welcomed with princely honours and regal

¹ See Appendix (K)

² "His train consisted of six knights, with their own suites and attendants, and fourteen gentlemen of the best families in the country, with their servants, accompanied by a body of eighty horse, or men-at-arms." TYTLER.

"Thair was vtheris of lower estate, as Cather, Vrqhart, Campbell, Forrester, and Lauther, all knightis and gentlmen, whose convoy maid the earle so proud and insolent, that he represented ane kingis magnificence, quhair evir he came. Out of Flanderis he past in France, and out of France to Italie, and so forwardis to Rome. Bot the Romanes having knowledge of his cuming, mett him with ane honorable companie, and received him verie princie within the toun."

state. The splendour of his retinue, the magnificence of his equipage, and the liberality of his expenditure, reflected new glory on the Scottish nation; for Douglas and his companions appeared, not as a troop of needy barbarians, but as an illustrious train of the most gallant knights that Europe could produce.

At home, in the meantime, the greatness of the House of Douglas began to be undermined. A truce having been negotiated with the enfeebled Government of England, James was left at liberty to form plans and devise measures for the diminishing of that power which enervated the efforts of royalty itself. While Douglas was in Scotland, the ascendancy which his great personal qualities had acquired over the monarch's mind, and his unbounded influence with the people, had made the authority of the crown contribute to enhance the power of the vassal. But now when he was absent, James awakened from his delusive dream of safety, and perceived that he had elevated Douglas far too high,—that he had exalted him to an eminence from which he might hurl down destruction even upon the Sovereign's head. James's suspicions and surmises were enflamed by his courtiers, Kennedy and Crichton,¹ into uncontrollable rage; and he determined at all hazards to extirpate the faction, or, at least, confine the power of Douglas within the limits due to a subject.

John Douglas of Balveny had been entrusted with full authority to manage the affairs of his brother

¹ Lindsay.

during the Earl's absence on the continent;¹ and it seemed to be his principal design to irritate the King, by setting the royal jurisdiction at defiance.² Balveny at last was cited to appear before the Parliament, to answer for certain charges which had been formally prepared against him, as the procurator of the Earl.³ He refused to obey the summons, but being apprehended, he was brought by compulsion.⁴ Driven to this extremity, he yielded to the royal authority: and the King, feeling reluctant entirely to sever the bond which united him to his late favourite, by raising the arm of justice or vengeance, accepted his submission. No sooner did Balveny perceive himself extricated from the dangerous predicament in which he had been placed, than he scornfully violated every promise he had made to his incensed Sovereign, and refused to redress the grievances of which so many complaints had been justly made; thus acting as if deception and rebellion were among the most important duties which had been imposed upon him by his absent brother. The King now commissioned his chancellor to confiscate for the use of the crown, the rents of the Earl of Douglas's estates both in Galloway and Clydesdale.⁵ The vassals of the Earl, however, slighting this officer's authority and despising his commands, prevented him from executing the royal mandate. Greatly provoked by this insolent and daring disregard of his power, the

1 Tytler.—Lindsay.

2 Balfour.—Tytler.—Lindsay.

3 Lindsay.—Tytler

4 Lindsay.

5 Lindsay.

King himself, having collected a strong military force, marched into Galloway and the counties where his sovereignty was disputed.¹ At the approach of this army, the outlaws fled to their strong-holds for safety, and the King sent a numerous body to pursue them, but they were repulsed with much disgrace. Enraged at this fresh contumely, James collected an additional army, and took by force their fortalices and castles: amongst the number were the castles of Lochmaben and Douglas. In Lochmaben castle, which had not long held out, he put a new garrison, but because the castle of Douglas had been so difficult to gain, he razed it to the ground.² James then ordered restitution to be made to all who had been plundered by the vassals of Douglas, and punished the rebels, though with much lenity, considering the aggravated nature of their crimes.³

Whilst William, Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, was revelling in all the luxury and magnificence of Rome, he received the dismal news of the transactions in Scotland. Astonished, alarmed, and confounded, his whole party bade adieu to the western metropolis; and, without any arrangement, or even parade, hastened home in small parties and by different roads. The Earl himself passed through England; but when he drew near the confines of Scotland, he sent his brother James before him to court, for the purpose of ascertaining the King's intentions respecting him, and if possible to sooth the monarch's angry feelings before William him-

1 Lindsay.—Tytler.

2 Tytler.—Lindsay.

3 Lindsay, &c.

self should arrive.¹ This young man was not received in a repulsive or unkind manner by James, who at once assured him, that if his brother would restrain the assassinations and robberies of his dependants, he would be no less acceptable to his Sovereign than he had formerly been, and that the late transactions would be altogether forgotten.²

The Earl himself afterwards arrived; and, upon promising to regulate every thing within the limits of his authority according to the King's pleasure, he appeared to regain all his former ascendancy over the royal mind.³ His castles and strongholds were delivered up to him, and he was again appointed Lieutenant-General, or Justiciary, of the kingdom,⁴ and Warden of the west and middle marches of Scotland.⁵ Douglas, however, could not now place implicit confidence in the monarch's friendship or professions. He perceived that an inordinate jealousy of him had been raised in the breast of James, and he was afraid it could never be fully or permanently suppressed. With the King's knowledge and permission he, therefore, repaired to England for the assigned purpose of afterwards visiting the continent, but really, as many then considered, with the culpable design of holding treasonable intercourse with one of the English factions.⁶ This im-

1 Lindsay.

2 Lindsay.

3 Tytler.

4 Tytler.—“At the same time.” Mr Tytler says on the authority of Boece, “an entail was executed, by which the Earldoms of Douglas and Wigton were settled upon him and his descendants for ever; whom failing, to his brothers James, Archibald, Hugh, and John de Douglas in succession.”

5 Lindsay.

6 Tytler.

prudent conduct again awakened the King's strong suspicions, and inflamed his resentment.¹ Again Douglas submissively returned, and again, at the intercession of the Queen and many of the nobles, he was forgiven. But James would not be completely reconciled to his former favourite; for Parliament having deprived him of his high offices, the King commanded him to return into privacy within his own domains. The Earl of Orkney and Sir William Crichton were appointed to fill the offices of which he had been deprived; and this appointment gave great offence to the Earl of Douglas; for he considered them as his deadly enemies. He understood, indeed, that Crichton had said openly among his friends, that the King did not conduct himself like an independent and spirited prince in allowing Douglas to escape with his life; and, also, after his rebellious acts, in being so often reconciled to him. He had, likewise, added, the Earl was told, that it would have been well for Scotland if the family of Douglas, with all their friends, had been long ago rooted out from the land; and that until this was done, the King's power would never be firmly established, nor his subjects live in peace.² Incensed by this information, and by the determined, undisguised hostility of Crichton to his person, he resolved on the assassination of this avowed enemy, at the first opportunity. At last he received information, that the chancellor was to pass between his own castle and Edinburgh, upon a particular day. A party of Douglas's adherents lay in ambush at the appointed time to attack him,

1 Lindsay.—Tytler.

2 Lindsay.—Hume.

when on the road. An encounter took place, and the old man, with his brave companions, made so vigorous a resistance, that some of the assailants were slain, whilst Sir William safely and honourably retired to his own castle. Crichton's friends could not brook this murderous assault. They collected in considerable numbers, and compelled the Earl of Douglas, who was on a visit to Edinburgh with a small number of followers, to flee in disgrace to his own territories.¹

Douglas for the aggrandizement of his power and his own protection, now formed or renewed a league offensive and defensive with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, who were masters of the greater part of Scotland; and by means of this agreement he hoped to cancel the influence of the chancellor, and even bid defiance to the power of James himself. The chiefs of this confederacy, it is said, could have brought, on the shortest notice, forty thousand men into the field;² and they held Crichton and all the individuals who were in favour at court, in the utmost detestation. Sir William re-

¹ Lindsay.

² "When a chieftain designed to summon his clan, upon any sudden or important emergency, he slew a goat, and making a cross of any light wood, seared its extremities in the fire, and extinguished them in the blood of the animal. This was called the *Fiery Cross*, also *Crean Tarigh*, or the *Cross of Shame*, because disobedience to what the symbol implied, inferred infamy. It was delivered to a swift and trusty messenger, who ran full speed with it to the next hamlet, where he presented it to the principal person, with a single word, implying the place of rendezvous. He who received the symbol was bound to send it forwards with equal despatch to the next village; and thus it passed with incredible celerity through all the district which owed allegiance to the chief, and also among his allies and neighbours, if the danger was common to them. At sight of the *Fiery Cross*, every man, from sixteen years old to sixty, capable of

presented this league to the King, as a conspiracy against the crown, and dangerous to the monarchy. Douglas, now considering himself fortified at all points, began to oppose the execution of the laws more openly and more insolently than he had previously done. All within the limits of his authority, who exhibited any signs of loyalty or obedience to the royal will, were looked upon as the enemies of his House, and persecuted with every species of exterminating violence. Sir John Herries of Terregles, a person much attached to King James, having claimed compensation for the robberies which had been committed on his lands by the dependants of Douglas, but without success, collected his vassals, and made an inroad into the territories of the Earl, that he might retaliate the injuries, and if possible remunerate his people for the losses they had sustained. Herries was unsuccessful in this attempt, his party being completely routed, and he himself taken prisoner. Douglas caused him to be put in irons, and afterwards executed, though the King had sent the most positive injunctions by a herald, that the person of Herries was not to be injured.¹ Soon after this transaction, Sir Patrick Thornton, a dependant of the House of Douglas, audaciously slew Sir John Sandilands of Calder, the King's kinsman, along with two knights of the name of Stewart, both of whom enjoyed the favour and close friendship of their Prince.²

bearing arms, was obliged instantly to repair, in his best arms and accoutrements, to the place of rendezvous. He who failed to appear, suffered the extremities of fire and sword, which were emblematically denounced to the disobedient by the bloody and burned marks upon this warlike signal." *LADY OF THE LAKE*,

1 Tytler.—Lindsay.

2 Balfour.—Tytler.

A still more flagrant violation of the laws of the country, and insolent defiance of the authority of the Sovereign, took place in the case of Maclellan, Tutor of Bombie, as he was called, ancestor of the noble family of Kirkeudbright.¹ Maclellan had secretly aided Herries in his late feud with the Lord of Galloway, and had remained faithful to the King, notwithstanding his lands lay in the middle of Douglas's possessions in Galloway. The threats and entreaties of his potent neighbour were alike unavailing: he positively refused to join against his Sovereign, or engage in any traitorous conspiracy to overthrow the legal Government of the state. The Earl became highly incensed at Maclellan's stubborn fidelity to the King, and disregard of his own power; but his indignation was roused into fury, when he understood that the Tutor of Bombie had killed one of the servants belonging to his family. Accordingly, he suddenly assaulted the castle of Raeberry, the Tutor of Bombie's principal residence; and having either carried it by storm, or obtained admission by treachery, he took its owner prisoner, and conveyed him to the strong castle of Thrieve,² where he kept him in close confinement. Sir Patrick Gray, Maclellan's uncle by the mother's side, hav-

¹ The Maclellans are considered to have been of Irish origin. The clan became so numerous and respectable that fourteen knights of the name, are said to have existed in Galloway at one time.

The Knights, according to tradition, of the name of Maclellan, were the proprietors of Gelston, Ravenston, Kileruickie, Sorbie, Glenshinnock, Troquhain, Barholm, Kirkeconnel, Kirkcormock, Kirkgunzeon, Borgue, Barscobe, Bardrockwood, Colvend.

² Hume.—Scott.—Caledonia. Thrieve castle stood on an island of twenty acres in extent in the river Dee.

ing received intelligence of this outrage, was much distressed at the dangerous situation in which his relative was placed. Being commander of the royal guard, and, consequently, much at the palace, he possessed both the favour and confidence of his Sovereign. He, therefore, entreated the King to interfere in Maclellan's behalf; and James took a warm interest in his loyal and spirited subject's safety. To prevent him from sharing the fate of Herries, the King wrote a kind and soothing letter to the potentate of Galloway, requesting him as a favour, rather than a right, to deliver up the person of his prisoner into the hands of Sir Patrick Gray, that the offender might be conveyed to Edinburgh and put upon his trial.¹

Sir Patrick, himself, went with the Sovereign's letter to the Castle of Thrieve, and Douglas, with whom he was distantly connected, received him just as the family were leaving the dinner table. Having inquired if Gray had dined, and being answered in the negative, he politely declined entering upon the subject of the mission, until Sir Patrick had got something to eat, saying "It was ill talking between a full man and a fasting." But this civility was shown only for the purpose of gaining time to put his wicked design into execution. Suspecting the purport of the present extraordinary visit, he gave secret orders for his victim's execution, before his guest had finished the repast, or he had opened the King's letter. During the time of Sir Patrick's dinner, the Tutor of Bombie was beheaded in the court of the castle;² and after removing the head

¹ Lindsay.—Tytler.—Balfour.—Buchanan.

² Scott.—Hume.—Balfour.—Buchanan. Crawford in his

to some distance, the executioners covered the body with a white cloth.

When Sir Patrick Gray's dinner was finished, the royal communication was presented, which

Peerage makes the following statement.

“ Sir Patrick Maclellan was interr'd in the Abbey Church of Dundrenan, under a Monument of Free-stone.”

The Death of this Gentleman, Sir Patrick Maclellan, was so deeply resented by his Relations of the Sirname of Maclellan, that they committed great Depredations upon the Douglasses Lands within the bounds of Galloway, without any Warrant or Authority; for which Action, the Laird of Bombie himself, and most of his Friends who were engaged in that Enterprise were forfeited in the Reign of King James II. The Barony of Bombie was again recovered by the Maclellans, as the Tradition goes after this Manner. In the same Reign, says an Author of no small Credit, (Sir George Mackenzie in his Baronage MS.) it happened that a Company of Saracens or Gipsies from Ireland, infested the Country of Galloway; whereupon the King emitted a Proclamation, bearing, That whoever should disperse them, and bring in their Captain dead or alive, should have the Barony of Bombie for his Reward. So it chanced that a brave young Gentleman the Laird of Bombie's Son fortun'd to kill the Person for which the Reward was promised, and he brought his Head on the point of his Sword to the King, and thereupon he was immediately seized in the Barony of Bombie; and to perpetuate the Memory of that brave and remarkable Action, he took for his Crest a Moor's Head on the point of a Sword, and THINK ON for his Motto.”

CRAWFORD'S PEERAGE.

The tradition of the country respecting the capture of this Gipsy Chief, named Morrow,—probably a corruption of Moor,—who from his swarthy complexion was called Black Morrow is briefly thus.

His giant strength and ferocity made him the terror of the Stewartry, but as his chief residence was in the wood near Kirkcudbright, called to this day the “Black Morrow,” (at that time forming part of the Barony of Bombie,) the lower and more wealthy part of the district suffered most by his depredations.

Young Maclellan, son of the former Laird of Bombie, anxious to recover his father's land, but not daring to attack Black Morrow personally, filled a well beside his cave in the wood with spirits, of which the outlaw drank so freely that he soon fell asleep, which Maclellan perceiving sprang from his hiding place and at one blow severed the head of Black Morrow from his body, and with it proceeded to the King, thus regaining his father's large domains.

Douglas received and perused with the most profound humility and counterfeited respect. He then politely thanked Gray for his trouble and care in bringing so friendly and gracious a letter from his Prince; and he added,—“The King’s demand shall be instantly granted, and the rather for your sake.” Douglas, taking Sir Patrick by the hand, led him to the green plot where the headless body of his nephew lay. “Sir Patrick,” said he, as the servants removed the bloody cloth, “here is your sister’s son—though without the head,—the body, however, is at your disposal.” “My Lord,” replied Gray, suppressing his grief and indignation, “since you have taken his head you may take the body also.”¹ He then called for his horse, and having mounted it and cleared the draw-bridge, to which the Earl had accompanied him, he reigned up the noble animal,—for he could repress his indignation no longer,—and shaking his mailed glove, defied Douglas as a blood thirsty coward, and upbraided him as a disgrace to knighthood.² “If I live,” he added, “you shall dearly pay for this day’s work.” Having given vent to this ebullition of feeling, he galloped off. “To horse and pursue him,” exclaimed the enraged Douglas with much vehemence; and if he had not been mounted on a strong and fleet horse, he would have undoubtedly met the fate of his nephew; for he was closely pursued to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, a distance of nearly sixty Scottish miles.³

The King now plainly saw that some strong

1 Lindsay,—Scott.—Tytler.

2 Tytler.

3 Scott.

measure must be adopted to check the growth of a power, which, if neglected, would soon overthrow the Scottish throne: but what was proper to be done at this eventful period, he could not discover. Openly to contend with the potent Earl of Douglas and his numerous friends, would, he perceived, be hazardous in the extreme, and would, in all probability, terminate both the Sovereign's life and reign; since the confederate Lords could, at this time, assemble a force far superior to any army which the crown could raise. After many perplexing doubts and distracting fears, James determined at length to have recourse to the deep and artful policy of his father's reign, or even, if necessary, to adopt the dark and bloody counsels of the subtle Crichton, that he might relieve himself of an enemy so much to be dreaded—of a subject so turbulent and contemptuously rebellious.¹

Douglas was, therefore, courteously invited to attend the royal court, then at Stirling, that an amicable conference might take place, and an adjustment be effected.² Lest the presence of Crichton should be disagreeable to the despotic Lord of Galloway, James promised to remove him from the court.³ The Earl, however, hesitated to accept the invitation.⁴ Letters of pardon and protection which bore the royal signature, were granted under the King's great seal,⁵ to remove any apprehensions which he might entertain of his

1 Hume.

2 Scott.—Tytler.—Lindsay.—Buchanan,

3 Hume.

4 Lindsay.—Hume.

5 Scott, &c.

personal safety, from putting himself in the power of a monarch whom he had so grievously and audaciously offended. Some writers add,—and there seems no good reason to doubt their accuracy,—that many of the nobles also sent a written communication, binding themselves to protect the Earl of Douglas, provided the King should evince any inclination to break his sacred promise.¹ Douglas thus assured that he might repair to his Sovereign's presence, and again return to his own castle, without in any degree compromising his safety or independence, set off for Stirling with a princely train of attendants.²

The Galwegian chieftain arrived at Stirling on the 19th of February, 1452; and he found the King lodged in the castle, which stands upon a rock, rising abruptly from the plain, and is only accessible by one strongly defended gate. Having placed his followers in the town, Douglas himself instantly repaired to the castle, and was received with every demonstration of friendship; being invited to dine with the King next day. At the appointed hour, he entered the fort, but his followers were excluded. Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow, head of the House of Hamilton, one of Douglas's confidential companions and powerful allies, pressed forward to follow the Earl as he entered the gate of Stirling castle; but Livingston, who was in the castle with the King, though his near relative, struck him upon the face, and when he rushed upon his assailant with his

¹ MS. Chronicle in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. A. C. c. 26. TYTLER.

² Hume.—Maitland.

drawn sword, he was repulsed by a lance, until the gates were shut against him.

Hamilton was much enraged at the time, on account of this usage, but he afterwards perceived that Livingston, in excluding him from the castle, was also excluding him from the danger into which his noble friend was rushing.¹

The King received Douglas most cordially, and he dined at the royal table. Supper also was presented at seven o'clock. After this entertainment, at which nothing but kindness and friendship seemed to prevail, James conducted his powerful subject into a private apartment, and there, in the recess of a window, entered into conversation with him about public affairs. The King talked with much mildness and forbearance of the recent measures of Douglas; and when the subject of the bond, which had been entered into by the three Earls and their friends, was introduced, James earnestly, though calmly, expostulated with his noble guest on the pernicious nature of such a confederacy.²

He pointed out to Douglas that such a league, being clearly against the laws of the country, set a bad example to his subjects, and induced them to believe they were a people without law, and that every man might act as he pleased. The King, therefore, urged him most fervently to abandon it,

¹ Scott,

² The tenor of the bond was, that "they were never to desert each other during life; that injuries done to any one of them should be considered as done to all, and be a common quarrel; neither should they desist, to the utmost of their abilities, from revenging them; that they should concur and use force indifferently against whatever persons, within or without the realm, and spend their lives, goods, and fortunes, in defence of their debates and differences."

as inconsistent with his allegiance, and subversive of the peace and welfare of the nation.¹ Douglas returned a haughty answer;² and, upon being still farther pressed, absolutely refused to cancel the illegal bond, accusing his Sovereign, at the same time, of mal-administration of public affairs, and mis-government of the kingdom. James, notwithstanding this haughty answer, still astonishingly restrained his anger, and ardently entreated Douglas not deliberately to do anything derogatory to the honour of his ancestors; for if he persevered in the course he had begun, he would deserve to be deprived of life, lands, and goods; to have his name abolished; and his honours extinguished for ever. Still the proud chief remained unmoved, and at last angrily replied, that he had it not in his power to dissolve the league, particularly without the consent of the Earls of Ross and Crawford, the other principal contracting parties, and if he had, he so little regarded the name of traitor, with which he had been branded, that he would be sorry to break faith with his best friends to gratify the "boyish caprices" of any of his enemies.³ The insulted monarch, suddenly bursting into a fit of ungovernable rage at his stubborn obstinacy and insolent defiance, exclaimed; "By Heaven, my Lord, if you will not break the bond this shall." So saying, he plunged a dagger, first into the Earl's throat, and then wounded him in the lower part of his body. Sir Patrick Gray,

1 MS. Chronicle in the University Library, Edinburgh, Hawthorden's Hist. p.p. 85 86. TYTLER.

2 Tytler.—Buchanan.

3 Tytler.—Hume. We have inserted the conversation at full length in the Appendix. (L)

Douglas's sworn enemy, who along with some others had listened to the altercation either in the chamber or at the door of it,¹ rushed upon the dying man and dispatched him by a blow on the head with his pole-axe: the Earl died without uttering a single word.² Others of the King's attendants showed their zeal by wounding even the dead body.³ Thus fell, on the 20th day of February, 1452, the imperious, powerful, and turbulent Lord of Galloway, the victim of his own rashness and credulity.⁴ The bloody and mangled corpse of this haughty nobleman was thrown from the window at which the King and he had stood, into a piece of ground on the north side of the castle called the Nether Bailery.⁵ It is thought the body did not receive Christian burial; for some years ago, a skeleton was found interred below the fatal window, which was conjectured to be the remains of the mighty Earl of Douglas, who fell so treacherously by his Sovereign's hand.⁷ The room where the murder was committed still bears the name of "Douglas's Room." This Lord of Galloway, upon an emergency, could have brought fifteen thousand men into the field, and his revenue was at least equal to the King's, or perhaps much superior.

William who had enjoyed the Earldom of

1 Hume.

2 Scott.

3 Hume.—Lindsay,

4 Scott.—Lindsay.—Balfour's Annals.—Buchanan.

5 Gray's MS, Chronicle Advocates' Library.—Auchinleck Chronicle, p, 47,—MS, Chronicle in the University Library, Edinburgh,

TYLLER,

6 History of Stirlingshire.

7 Scott, &c.

Douglas and Lordship of Galloway for the space of nine years, left behind him no children.¹

1 "William, Earl Douglas, and lord of Galloway, granted—'dilecto armigero suo Roberto Vaus,' the lands of Barnglass, and Barnbarrach, &c. in Wigton-shire: And his charter was confirmed, by a grant, from the king, on the 13th of August, 1452. [Nisbet's Heraldry, ii. App. 251.] This family acquired additional property and some consequence, in the reign of James VI.; but, they do not appear to have spread much in this shire. The name has been changed from *Vaus* to *Vans*, a change which is peculiar to this shire. They appear to have been a good deal connected, by intermarriage, with the family of Agnew; and the two families of Vaus, in Wigton-shire, have taken the surname of Agnew, in addition to Vans; as Vans Agnew of Barnbarrow, and Vans Agnew of Sheuchan.

The family of Vaus, in Wigton-shire, claim their descent, from a younger son of the family of Vaus of Dirlton, who had the honour of sitting in the great parliament of Brigham, 1290. This claim is supported, by the armorial bearings of the two families being the same.* The first person of the name of Vaus, who appeared, in Wigton-shire, was Alexander Vaus, who was bishop of Galloway, in 1426; and continued, in this high station, till his resignation, in 1451."

CALEDONIA.

* "During the crusades, many coats of arms were introduced, being painted on the shields of the leaders, to distinguish them in battle, as they were generally cased in armour. Richard I. adopted as his emblem, three lions passant, which are still on the royal shield of England."

INCE'S OUTLINES OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAP. VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF WILLIAM, LORD OF GALLOWAY,
UNTIL THE END OF THE REIGN OF JAMES V.

THE EARL'S party in the town of Stirling, were soon apprized of his death. Four of his brothers had accompanied him on this fatal visit. The adherents of his House in a paroxysm of frenzy, immediately ran to arms; but, after the first burst of anger had evaporated, they went to their lodgings and there remained during the night. Next day they assembled and held a consultation,¹ when they declared James, the eldest of the four, his brother's lawful successor in the titles and property of the principal family.²

James now with much vehemence of language³ inveighed against the treachery of the King, and advised his attendants to lay instant siege to Stirling castle.⁴ "Send," said he, "for your friends and followers from all quarters, and let us draw out of their lurking holes those men who are only valiant in perfidiousness, while they are still perplexed and irresolute, and troubled with the guiltiness of

1 Hume.

2 Balfour — Scott — Lindsay. — Hume.

3 Buchanan, — Balfour. — Hume.

4 Lindsay.

so horrible a deed.”¹ As they had come unprepared for any warlike undertaking, they resolved to abstain from the siege and return home to collect their followers.² This interval was of much service to the King; for the Douglasses and their friends did not return until the end of March, when the odiousness of the murder was in some measure effaced from the public mind, and the boisterous irritation occasioned by it, had in a great degree subsided into a calm. As the insurgents passed through the various towns and villages on the way to Stirling, James Hamilton caused the King’s *Writ of Safety* to be dragged at the tail of an old lean horse, with the great seal suspended from it.³ Notwithstanding the length of time which the insurgents had allowed to elapse without any active measures, still James felt himself but ill prepared for their reception. As soon as they had arrived at Stirling, with the sound of four hundred horns and trumpets, they proclaimed the King, then in the castle, a base and perjured traitor, and annexed to his name every opprobrious epithet that virulence could devise.⁴ They afterwards pillaged the town, but the fortress defied all their exertions; and, after this ostentatious display of rebellion, they again retired, ostensibly for the purpose of collecting a stronger reinforcement. They, however, sent back Hamilton of Cadyow, to burn the town of Stirling to the ground.⁵ After this empty show of heroism,

1 Buchanan —Hume.

2 Scott.—Buchanan.

3 Hume.—Buchanan.—Scott.

4 Scott.—Hume. According to some accounts, this proclamation was made at the gate of the castle, and in the hearing of James on the day after the murder.

5 Lindsay.—Scott.—Hume.

they proceeded to Dalkeith ; for there was none of their adversaries against whom their anger burned with more unbounded fury than against the Lord of Dalkeith, who was descended from one of the branches of the family of Douglas. They ravaged his lands and laid siege to his castle ; but all their efforts proved abortive ; for after wasting much time before it, they were at last obliged to depart without effecting their purpose.¹

The flame of rebellion now spread far and wide, and so many great barons were in alliance with Douglas, that the King was much perplexed what line of conduct to pursue.² At one time, it is said, that rather than await a conflict where defeat seemed inevitable, he determined to withdraw to France,³ and leave the vacant throne for the possession of his antagonist.

In this season of difficulty and doubt, James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, and son of the sister of James's father, stepped forward to animate his Sovereign by his counsel and assistance.⁴ Kennedy gave his advice in a symbolical manner : he took a bunch of arrows tied together by a leathern thong, and asked James to break them.—The King replied, “that this was beyond his strength.” “That may be the case,” said Kennedy, “while they are bound together, but unloose them, and you will easily break them one by one. In this manner, my Liege, you ought to deal with your insurgent barons. Attack them while they are united in one great design, and they will be too

1 Lindsay.—Hume.

2 Scott.

3 Hume.—Hollinshed.

4 Hollinshed.—Tytler.

powerful for your strength. If you can devise any means of separating them, you may as easily overcome them, one after another, as you could break the arrows when taken singly:"¹

Acting upon this hint, by gracious representations through his secret agents, by large promises of lands, treasures, and honours to those who would desert the cause of the Douglasses and support their Sovereign in the present crisis, James allured to his side, many who had withdrawn their allegiance, rather through fear of his enemies, than attachment to their cause.²

Thus was the kingdom harassed by internal commotion, and embroiled in all the misery of a civil war. Douglas and some of his vassals, were ordered to appear and take their trials, under pain of forfeiture; and failing to obey the summons, they were declared outlaws and robbers, and the loyal subjects of the King enjoined to resist and pursue the partisans of the faction, as enemies of the state.

In the month of May, 1452, the Earl of Huntly rose in arms for the purpose of aiding the King, and the Earl of Crawford assembled his vassals in behalf of Douglas. A battle ensued, and the Tyger-Earl of Crawford was defeated with great loss.³ The news of Huntly's success inspired the King's party with fresh spirit in the south; for it seemed to augur no good fortune to the cause of the rebels. But for some time both parties dreaded a pitched battle and confined their hostility to menaces and

¹ Scott.—*Martial Achievements of Scotland*,

² Scott.

³ Tytler.—*Balfour*.—*Hollinshed*,

ravages. The adherents of Douglas plundered the lands of the King and of the King's subjects, while the loyal party wasted the possessions of Douglas in Galloway, Annandale, and Selkirk forest. This state of petty and harassing warfare continued for some time; and, in consequence of it, another famine, followed by an infectious distemper, widely prevailed. In this distressing state of the country, many of the friends of Douglas entreated him to throw himself on the King's mercy, who had often shown himself to be a prince of a placable disposition, and not ruin, by undue pertinacity, an ancient family; nor sacrifice the lives of brave men who had adhered to his fortunes, whether in prosperity or adversity. But Douglas haughtily replied; "That he would never trust himself in the power of the murderer of his brother—a man who was restrained by laws neither human nor divine."¹ This reply was received in various ways—by different individuals with approbation or disapprobation.—The more daring applauded the greatness of soul which it displayed; the more prudent condemned it as rash,—as pushing things to a dangerous extremity,—and again entreated the Earl to seize the present favourable opportunity of effecting a reconciliation with his Sovereign, whilst his party was undiminished, and his friends still adhered to him in his hazardous course.

The royal cause had now evidently gained ground, and the King summoned a parliament to convene at Edinburgh on the 12th of June, 1452. During the night before the meeting, a placard was affixed to the door of the Parlia-

1. Hume.—Lindsay.—Buchanan.

ment house, signed by Douglas and his three brothers, with Lord Hamilton, their near relation, renouncing their allegiance to James, as a perjured, lawless, and tyrannical murderer, and declaring their determination never to obey him as their prince. Parliament by a solemn deed unanimously pronounced the assassination of Douglas a legal act. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, was forfeited, and the Earldom bestowed upon Sir James Crichton, eldest son of the chancellor. The loyal barons received rewards of lands and honours; but, as many of the grants did not obtain the sanction of Parliament, they were considered illegal.¹ About the same time Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, was appointed Sheriff of Wigtownshire.²

Numerous circumstances now combined to weaken the power of the once formidable family of the Douglasses. Immediately after the termination of the Parliamentary labours, the King summoned an army, and soon found himself at the head of 30,000 men, well equipped, and animated with one spirit of loyalty.³ With this powerful force, he proceeded in person against Douglas. Having directed his march through Peebles-shire, Selkirk forest, and Dumfries-shire, he penetrated into Galloway. On the subsequent appearance of this large army before Douglas's castle, the

1 Tytler.

2 "Regist Mag. Sig. B. iv. 201. In the abstract of the charters, in the great Seal Register, a MS. in the writers to the signet's library, the date of this charter is 25th May, 1451: And the same date is given, in Sir Robert Douglas's MS, Notes, from the Register; But Nesbitt's Heraldry, i. 163. says that, the charter, which remained in possession of the family, was dated the 29th July, 1452."

CALEDONIA.

3 Auchinleck Chronicle. Tytler.

haughty chief found himself compelled to submit, and humbly implore forgiveness. The consequence of this overture was, an immediate negotiation, in which the King, perhaps conscious of his provoking aggression, consented, upon certain rigorous terms, to extend pardon to the still potent rebel and his adherents. The conditions were enumerated in a written document which is still preserved.

This humiliating bond was executed at Douglas, on the 28th of August, 1452; and the Earl gave his solemn oath upon the "haly evangillis," that he would duly perform the conditions it contained.¹

James now desirous fully to convert the Earl of Douglas from a discontented and dangerous enemy, into a peaceable and loyal subject, not only promised to grant him possession of the Earldom of Wigtown and the lands of Stewarton, but engaged to apply to the Pope for a dispensation to enable him to enter into a marriage with the Countess of Galloway, the youthful widow of his deceased brother, by which union he would acquire her large unentailed estates. The dispensation was procured and the marriage took place;² though much against the inclination of the lovely heiress.³

1 See Appendix (Page 21)

2 Tytler.—Lindsay.—Caledonia.

3 "As the fair maid of Galloway was only twelve years old when the dispensation was granted, for her marriage with Earl William, in 1444, she must have been born in 1432, and she was nearly twenty-one when she married Earl James, in 1453. By neither of those marriages had she any issue; and they were both regarded, as illegal. After the forfeiture of Earl James, and during his life, she was married to John Stewart, Earl of Athol, the uterine brother of James II.; by whom she had two daughters."

There is every reason to believe, that at the very moment when James Douglas was thus experiencing the lenity, and even kindness of his Sovereign, he was acting an insincere and treacherous part.— At least, it is beyond a doubt, that a short time after this hollow submission, he entered into a correspondence with the English ministers, the object of which was, to overturn the established government of Scotland, and remove the royal family from the throne.

The King now undertook an expedition to the north.¹ The Earl of Crawford, having grown weary of internal discord, was among the first to forsake his ill-fated ally.² Being deserted by a part of his friends, and suspicious of others, he reflected, that if he continued in arms, all chance of pardon would be for ever lost, and that nothing but a speedy submission could effect a reconciliation. Having seized this opportunity of the royal presence, he clothed himself in a mean garb, calculated to excite commiseration, and, with his hands and feet bare, threw himself, along with some of his adherents, as a penitent suppliant at the feet of his Sovereign, when passing through Angus. In this manner he ingenuously confessed his former offences and entreated forgiveness, declaring that whatever he might hereafter enjoy, would be entirely derived from the clemency and bounty of his royal master. All present were deeply affected by his words and his tears; and, though grieved at his late treasons, they felt unwilling that this illustrious and ancient family should en-

1 Tytler. &c.

2 Scott.—Hume.

tirely perish, and seconded his plea of mercy.¹—The monarch himself, perceiving his broken and contrite spirit, was moved to compassion, and restored him to his former estate and honours. The King, who had taken an oath that he would destroy the Earl's castle of Finhaven, and make the highest stone of the building the lowest, partly accomplished his vow, in a literal sense, by paying the Earl a visit, and ascending to the battlements of the castle, where he found a loose stone which he threw into the moat, and thus satisfied his conscience.² Crawford, during the brief remainder of his life, endeavoured to evince his gratitude to the King by all the means in his power. By this well judged act of clemency, the enmity of many of the rebellious nobles was annihilated, and they wished to enter into terms of perfect reconciliation with the Government.

During the year 1454, Douglas carried on a treasonable correspondence with England, and made preparations for rising in arms against his Prince. The traitorous designs of the Earl at length transpired, and the King, who had gradually weakened the power of Douglas by detaching his friends, became bolder in his measures.—The traitors perceived that all their hopes rested on foreign support; and, accordingly, they despatched Lord Hamilton to London, to solicit the assistance of the English Government.³ This messenger returned with an answer, that the ruling party would espouse their cause on no other condition than that Douglas and all his friends should acknow-

¹ Lindsay.—Hume.—Tytler.—Scott.—Balfour.

² Hume, &c.

³ Tytler.—Hume.

ledge themselves the subjects of England, and take the oath of allegiance to the English crown.¹ Many of the faction, however, refused to accede to such terms. All hopes of external assistance having now vanished, Hamilton advised Douglas not to allow his party to be weakened by intrigue and delay, but boldly to try the fate of a battle. Roused by this representation, the Galwegian chief summoned the whole military strength which his family and friends could collect, amounting to nearly 40,000 men, and advanced to raise the siege of Abercorn castle, situated between Stirling and Edinburgh, by far the strongest and best fortified of all the strongholds belonging to the Douglasses. The King, who had assembled his forces principally from the northern counties, advanced to meet him, at the head of an army, superior in numbers, but inferior in discipline.² When the two armies came within sight of each other at the river Carron, the friends of the Earl, who observed some indecision on the part of their leader, advised him either to gain renown by achieving a victory, or free himself from misery and contempt by an honourable death. But when all was in readiness for the important contest which was to decide whether James Stewart or James Douglas should wear the crown of Scotland, the King, to paralyse the courage or destroy the ardour of the hostile army, commanded, by his heralds, Douglas and his followers to lay down their arms, and quietly depart to their own homes, under the pain of death and forfeiture. He then proclaimed an amnesty

¹ Tytler.—Douglas, himself, it is said, would have agreed to the proposal.

² Scott, &c.

of past offences to all such as should obey this injunction, and forsake the banners of rebellion. Douglas heard the summons with apparent derision, and, ordering the trumpets to sound, advanced to the conflict. The proclamation, however, had produced a visible effect upon his troops, and he still farther damped their spirit and courage by exhibiting symptoms of irresolution. This warlike display ended in Douglas's leading them back to the camp with the intention of protracting the war.¹ By this action his officers were disgusted and alarmed; for they plainly discovered that their commander had neither energy nor discernment to enable him to meet the dangerous exigency of the momentous occasion.² No sooner had the Earl of Douglas returned to his tent than Sir James Hamilton, ashamed of his timidity, visited him for the purpose of expostulating with him on his vacillating conduct, and discovering whether he intended to fight or not. Sir James assured him, that every hour diminished the chance of success; for the longer he postponed the battle, the fewer men he would have to contend on his side.³ Douglas replied with a haughty air, that "if he was afraid to stay, he was welcome to go home." Hamilton took him at his word, and leaving the rebel camp, with all his brave and well disciplined followers, about 300 cavalry, and as many infantry, joined the King's army that very night.⁴ This example was so generally followed, that, in the morning, scarcely a

1 Scott.—Lindsay.—Hume.

2 Hume.—Scott.

3 Lindsay.

4 Scott.—Tytler.—Balfour.—Hollinshed.

hundred warriors,—except the immediate followers of Douglas,—remained in the silent camp.¹ In this deserted condition, he was obliged to fly. The castle of Abercorn was afterwards stormed, and some of the garrison hanged or put to the sword. It was then half demolished and left as a monument of the victory.

The Earl lurked in Annandale and Galloway during the winter; and in spring, his three brothers, the Earls of Moray and Ormond, and Sir John Douglas of Balveny, with their followers, were attacked and routed at Arkinholme by the Earl of Angus, who was descended from the House of Douglas, and nearly related to the present Earl. Archibald, Earl of Moray was killed; and Hugh, Earl of Ormond, being severely wounded, fell into the hands of the royal party. After he had recovered from his wounds, he was sent to the King and executed as a traitor. James Douglas himself, and his brother John, escaped through a wood and fled; the former to the territories of his ally, the Earl of Ross, and the latter to England,² where James himself, afterwards, also found a retreat and received an annual pension of £500.³

The King called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 9th of June, 1455. Next day James, Earl of Douglas, was condemned and his property forfeited. Three days afterwards, Beatrix, his mother, and his deceased brother, Archibald, Earl of Moray, with Sir John Douglas of Balveny, were also found guilty of treason, and their estates confis-

¹ Hume.—Scott.—Lindsay.

² Tytler.—Scott.

³ Tytler.

ated. The Earl of Ormond's forfeiture had already been fixed by his condemnation and execution.¹ Their domains were annexed to the crown by act of Parliament.² This act may be considered as the dawn of freedom to Galloway, which had so long groaned under the oppressive tyranny of an ambitious and imperious family.

James about this time marched into Galloway,³ which opposed little resistance to his legitimate authority. On this expedition he visited the town of Kirkcudbright, and afterwards laid siege to Thrieve castle⁴—the last place which held out for

1 Tytler.—Buchanan.—Balfour.—Scott.—Hume.

2 Balfour.—Hume. "Eodem anno Comes Moraviæ frater Comitum de Dowglas cum fratre suo Comite de Ormont, et Johannes Douglas eorundem fratre intraverunt Ananderdaill et illam depredati sunt; et spolia ad matrem in Karleil portarunt, presentantes. Quibus (dominus) de Johnston cum ducentis occurrit, et acriter inter illos pugnatum est. In quo conflictu dominus Comes Moraviæ occiditur, et caput ejus regi Jacobo presentabatur, sed rex animositatem viri commendabat, licet caput ignorabat. Occisus etiam fuit Comes de Ormont. Tunc convocato Parlamento annexæ erant illorum terræ, Coronæ regiæ, viz. Ettrick forest, tota Galvaia, Ballincreiff, Gifford, cum aliis multis dominiis Eorundem."

"The manuscript from which this extract is taken, and which has never been printed, is preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. A. C. 26." TYTLER.

3 Caledonia.

4 Tradition says that the artillery which the King brought for the reduction of Thrieve castle, produced little effect upon its thick and strong walls. A great number of people from the surrounding country had assembled to witness the warlike operations, and among them a blacksmith of the name of M'Kim, or M'Minn, and his sons. When old M'Kim perceived the inefficiency of the royal ordinance, he told one of the officers that, a larger cannon should be obtained. The officer replied, that he did not think there was a larger one in the kingdom.—M'Kim said, after observing the way in which the guns had been manufactured, that if he was furnished with materials, each of his sons would form a part, and he would soon gird the pieces together, and thus produce a large gun. This proposal was agreed to, and the famous piece of ordnance, now known by the name

its fugitive owner, which was quickly taken. The citizens of Kirkcudbright seem to have afforded some assistance in this difficult undertaking. This oppressive castle was afterwards garrisoned by the King's troops, who contributed their aid in esta-

of Mons Meg, was made, the inhabitants of Kirkcudbright having furnished the iron. The first shot, it is said, very much disconcerted the party in the castle, and the second went through the strong walls. The castle then surrendered. Different families of the name of M'Kim, or M'Minn, (for the appellations must have been originally the same,) have continued from time immemorial, blacksmiths in the lower district of Galloway.

Some years ago, when labourers were engaged in making the great military road at Carlingwark, they came to a large mound on the line, which, when the surface of earth was removed, turned out to be a mass of ashes or cinders, such as are generally left from a forge. Amongst the ashes was found an ancient silver spoon. This is supposed by many to be the place where Mons Meg was manufactured.

“ Popular as Mons Meg has been amongst the Scottish antiquaries of the nineteenth century, her celebrity, when she was carried by James the Fourth, July 10, 1489, to the siege of Dumbarton, if we may judge from some of the items in the treasurer's books, was of no inferior description. Thus under that date we have this entry:—‘ Item given to the gunners to drink silver when they carit Monss, by the King's command, 18 shillings.’ Mons, however, from her enormous size and weight, proved exceedingly unmanageable; and, after having been brought back from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, she enjoyed an interval of eight years' inglorious repose. When James, however, in 1497, sat down before Norham, the great gun was, with infinite labour and expense, conveyed to the siege, and some of the items regarding her transport are amusing. The construction of a new cradle or carriage for her seems to have been a work of great labour. Thus, on July 24, 1497, we have, ‘ Item to pynouris te bere ye trees to be Mons new cradill to her at St Leonards qubare scho lay, iii sh. vid;’ and again, July 28, ‘ Item for xiii stane of irne to mak graith to Monsis new cradill, and gevlokkis to ga with her, xxxs. iiiid.’ ‘ Item to vii wrightis for twa dayis and a half ya maid Mousis cradill, xxiii sh. iiiid.’ ‘ Item for xyiii li of talloun [tallow] to Mons.’ ‘ Item for viii elne of canwas to be Mons claiths to cover her.’ ‘ Item for mare talloun to Mons.’ ‘ Item to Sir Thomas Galbraith for paynting Monsis claiths, xiiii sh.’ ‘ Item to the Minstralis that playit before Mons doune the gait xiiii sh.’ The name of this

‘blishing the power of the law. Lochrutton castle, another stronghold of the Douglasses whilst they possessed Galloway, was committed to the keeping of Herries of Terregles, who conveyed it to Lord Maxwell¹

After the act had passed on the 4th of August 1456, which annexed the Lordship of Galloway to the crown, it was consigned to the care of a chamberlain, who was empowered to collect the rents and feu-duties; and for this office he received a salary of £120 scots.² The King now obtained the extensive patronage which had belonged to the Lords of Galloway, and appointed his own officers in the district for the execution of every act of legal authority. The steward of Kirkcudbright now became the servant of the King.³

Before the fall of the Douglasses, Kirkcudbright remained a burgh of regality under their detested sway; but after this event, it was created a royal burgh by a charter, dated at Perth, the 26th of October, 1455,⁴ the chief magistrate being

celebrated gun, as stated in the treasurer’s accounts, is simply Mons. Drummond of Hawthornden is the first author who calls her Mons Meg. For these curious particulars I am indebted to the manuscript notes of the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling.”

TYTLER.

For an able and interesting historical account of Mons Meg, prepared for this work by Mr Train, see Appendix [M.]

¹ Caledonia.

² “ This salary was increased to 220*l.* Scots, in 1633. The rental of the lordship, in 1522, and 1601, amounted to 4345*l.* Scots: but before 1667 it was reduced, by suppressions, remissions, and grants, to little more than 1600*l.* Scots. Mr Solicitor General Purvis’s MS.”

CALEDONIA.

³ Caledonia. By this change the land-holders who had been vassals of the Douglasses, became tenants in *capite* of the King, Nor was Galloway ever again granted to subjects superior.

⁴ Statistical Account.—Caledonia.

styled alderman. The Maclellans of Bombie had long the principal influence in this burgh, and frequently held the office of first magistrate.¹ This act of kindness on the part of James excited the jealousy of the town of Dumfries, and a contest regarding their respective privileges, took place between the rival burghs. Their disputes were referred to Parliament, and subsequently to the King's Council.² The fall of the great family of Douglas produced the elevation of other Scottish Houses. The King distributed many of the immense forfeited estates of the rebel lords, amongst those who had afforded him assistance in suppressing their dangerous and overgrown power. In this distribution, the Earl of Angus came in for the Lordship of Douglas, and by far the largest share of the disposable property; such a share, indeed, as enabled his family to pursue, in some respects, the same ambitious career that their kinsmen belonging to the elder branch had done; though they neither ascended so high, nor sunk so low as the original family.³

Sir James Hamilton also rose into power, on the ruins of the Lord of Galloway. The desertion of his kinsman's cause at Abercorn, being gratefully remembered by his Sovereign, he was rewarded by extensive grants of land. The hand of the King's eldest daughter was also promised to him in marriage.⁴

On Sir David Scott of Kirkurd and Buccleuch were likewise bestowed great gifts of land for his

1 Caledonia.

2 Caledonia.

3 Tytler.—Scott.

4 Martial Achievements of Scotland.—Scott.

services at the battle of Arkinholme. Now commenced that course of aggrandizement which raised his family to ducal honours.¹ In Annandale and Galloway, Johnston and Maxwell were enriched by the liberal distribution of the spoils of the forfeited nobles.

The Lord of Galloway after his defeat, having applied for support to the Earl of Ross, one of the parties in the fatal league, repaired to England.— Ross, dissatisfied and insecure, was easily incited to war. His forces, consisting of 5,000 men under the Lord of Isla, first burst forth upon the adjoining country belonging to the King, and spared neither the lives nor property of loyal subjects.— They next visited, with unrelenting cruelty, Argyle and Arran, and returned home loaded with booty.

The English, likewise, took advantage of the distracted state of the country and made inroads into Scotland, both destroying and carrying off much property. Many of the Scots were slain in defence of their possessions.²

In the year 1456, Margaret, wife of the two last Earls of Douglas, seeing nothing but ruin be-

¹ Scott.

² "Galloway was well protected against sudden invasion from the English borders, by the defensive state of the town of Dumfries. The wall, or fortification, of the town of Dumfries commenced at the eminence called the Moat, which overlooks the Nith at the north-western extremity of the town. Here stood the north port, from which the wall was continued in an almost straight line to the site of *Christie's*, or the Old Chapel, where it formed a somewhat acute angle, and afterwards described nearly an oval, until it reached St Michael's church, a little to the eastward of which, it turned by a sudden bend towards the Nith; and terminated on the banks of the river, a little to the westward of the place where the Infirmary now stands. Near to St Michael's church stood the south port which communicated with the Castledykes and Caerlaverock; and a short way south

fore her family, fled to the King and craved mercy for her offences. She laid the whole blame of her improper conduct upon James Douglas, her last husband, and his wicked counsellors, flatterers, and followers, who had not only advised her to contract that illegal marriage, but had also constrained her to take such a step. She represented to the King, that heartily repenting of her ungodly life, she had taken the first favourable opportunity, presented by the Earl's absence, to seek her Sovereign's forgiveness and protection; solemnly declaring, she had erred rather through necessity than choice. The King, having acceded to her request, received her into favour, and married her to John, Earl of Athole, his uterine brother.¹ He also bestowed upon her the Lordship of Balveny.² The wife of the Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, followed her example.³

Not long after, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and James Douglas, the exile, entered the Scottish borders, with an army composed of both Scots and English, and wasted

ward from Christie's chapel, stood the east port, which, together with the northern entrance, communicated with the whole country to the north and east. On the opposite side, the town was sufficiently defended by the river, although it was then much shallower than at present; so much so, indeed, that a paved ford which made a communication between the castle of Dumfries and the House of Terregles, ran through it to the westward, and was at all times passable excepting when the river was more than usually swollen with rain. (Burnside MS. ap. Dumfries Magazine, vol. iii. pp. 476. 477.)

1 "She had no children by her two first husbands; but by her third marriage she had two daughters: Lady Janet, married to Alexander, Earl of Huntly; and Lady Catherine, to John, sixth Lord Forbes."

TYTLER.

2 Lindsay.

3 Boethius.—Tytler.

the country. At last the Earl of Angus collected a chosen party of his countrymen; and, attacking the plunderers, drove them back in disorder upon their own borders. A general engagement ensued, but while the fortune of the day was yet doubtful, and the conflict hung in suspense, a party of the English, afraid of losing the valuable booty they had obtained, quitted the field and left the others unsupported. Thus the Earl of Angus gained an easy, though not a bloodless victory; the numbers slain on both sides being nearly equal, but many of the English were taken prisoners. This success cheered the King and disheartened John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles,¹ who continued still in a state of rebellion against his Sovereign. This "Ocean Prince" now sent messengers to implore the royal clemency.² The King returned a doubtful answer, neither granting Ross a pardon, nor yet excluding all hopes of forgiveness. He said, as the Earl had given no evidence of a change of a disposition, he would allow him and his associates time to prove the sincerity of their professions by their loyal conduct. He assured them, in the meantime, of his protection; and declared that their happiness or misery for the future, depended entirely upon themselves.³

James thus relieved from intestine commotion, turned his whole attention toward England. This country was distracted by domestic dissensions; the Houses of York and Lancaster contending for the superiority. Both parties applied to James for

¹ Scott.—Balfour.—Tytler, &c. The Earl of Ross is called Donald by Lindsay.

² Tytler.

³ Tytler.

assistance, but he temporized with them, probably with the intention of taking advantage of the civil broils in England, for the purpose of recovering some fortresses which had been ungenerously torn from Scotland, during a state of internal distraction. He, accordingly, in 1460, laid siege to Roxburgh castle. The walls being peculiarly strong, a battery was erected on the north side of the river Tweed. The King commanded the artillery to fire upon the castle, and he stood near to mark the effect of the shot.¹ The cannons of that period, instead of being formed out of one solid piece and bored, were made of bars of iron fastened together by hoops like a barrel, and made tight by wedges formed of oak. One of these awkwardly manufactured guns burst in going off, and a wedge, or fragment of it, struck James on the thigh and killed him on the spot. He died in the 30th year of his age.²

JAMES III.

AFTER the death of James, the Queen continued the siege, and, to animate the army, brought her son James III., a boy of about seven years of age, into the camp. The nobles persevered and reduced the castle, which was levelled with the ground.³ The court then removed to the capital, and the King's remains were deposited in the sepulchre of Holyrood Abbey.

At this period, England was convulsed by the "wars of York and Lancaster." Henry VI. was now in captivity, but his indomitable Queen Margaret, with her son, had escaped into Scotland.

¹ Lindsay.—Balfour.—Scott.—Tytler.

² Balfour.

³ Balfour.—Scott.—Lindsay.

Immediately after the royal funeral, intelligence reached Edinburgh, that the fugitive princess, after passing through Dumfries, where she was joyfully welcomed, had fixed her residence in the monastery of Lincluden. Upon receiving this information, the Queen-mother, together with the young King and suite, proceeded to that place. A conference of twelve days took place. Encouraged by the promise of cordial support and warlike co-operation, the energetic consort of the feeble Henry returned to York; where, in a council of her friends, she formed the daring resolution of attacking London and liberating her imprisoned husband. At Wakefield she routed the army of the Duke of York, and thus fixed for a time the ascendancy of the House of Lancaster.¹

The chief management of Scottish affairs devolved, at this time, on Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews; and the care of the Privy Seal being entrusted to James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden, he was admitted into the most secret councils of the Queen and Government.²

The Lancastrian cause did not continue long triumphant. In little more than two short months, Henry was defeated in the decisive battle of Tooton, and obliged to forsake the kingdom.

Kirkeudbright now afforded shelter to the unfortunate monarch, who, with his high minded lady and diminutive court, fled hither. Henry resided here until his heroic consort visited the Scottish Queen at Edinburgh, in order to concert measures with the Government, for regaining to her hus-

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.—Tytler.

² Tytler.—Crawford.—Rymer.

band the crown of England. She was received in the metropolis with the most distinguished kindness and respect, and the Queen-mother, as well as the ministers of the young King, expressed the warmest sympathy for her misfortunes. Various conferences were held respecting the measures that should be adopted, for the restoration of the exiled monarch to his hereditary throne. But numerous difficulties presented themselves in the prosecution of this design. Edward IV. had already commenced his intrigues in the Highlands and Isles with two powerful barons, John, Earl of Ross, and Donald Ballock, Lord of Isla. To meet the representatives, or ambassadors, of these potent chieftains, who assumed royal state, Edward despatched the Earl of Douglas and his brother Lord Balveny, now become English subjects. Differences still remained unsettled between the Governments of Norway and Scotland, and a war with England, on the part of the latter country, might produce serious misfortunes, and could yield few permanent or solid advantages. Margaret, however, offered to indemnify Scotland for the sacrifices she might make, by instantly delivering up the two valuable frontier towns of Carlisle and Berwick.¹ The prize being too alluring to be rejected, a treaty was concluded.

Edward, on beholding the conduct of Scotland, determined to invade that country, and, by the assistance of the expatriated Douglasses, to expel the reigning dynasty from the throne. In the event of the subjugation of Scotland, it was stipulated that Douglas, Ross, and the Lord of Isla, were to receive equal portions of the district beyond the

¹ Parliamentary Rolls.—Tytler.

Frith of Forth; whilst Douglas was to be put in possession of all his former estates in the south of Scotland. The treaty is dated at London on the 13th of February, 1462.¹ At this period, the powerful Earl of Angus, induced by the promise of an English Dukedom, engaged to assist the exiled monarch in the recovery of his hereditary dominions.² In the following year, Margaret, with a convoy of four Scottish ships, sailed from Kirkeudbright to Bretagne, in France:³ not long after, Henry returned to England in disguise.⁴

The minority of James the III. was rather prosperous. At an early age, he married Margaret, Princess of Denmark, and obtained, as a marriage portion, the islands of Orkney and Shetland.

This fortunate state of affairs was interrupted by the death of Bishop Kennedy, in the year 1466.⁵ James soon showed that he was devoid of talents necessary for government; and, in the line of his general conduct, some marks of a feeble and indiscriminating mind became visible. The King was possessed of a somewhat timorous disposition, and this constitutional timidity made him afraid of the nobility, and even of his own brothers,

1 Rotuli Scotiae.—Tytler.

2 Hume of Godscroft, vol. ii. pp. 21, 42, quotes from the original treaty, which he had seen, "And so the treaty was sealed and subscribed with a Henry as long as the whole sheet of parchment; the worst shapen letters, and the worst put together, that I ever saw."

3 Caledonia.—Tytler.

4 "William of Wyrcester, 492. 30th August, 1461. 'The Kyng Herry is at *Kirkowbrie*, with four men, and a childe:—Queen Margaret is, at Edinburgh, with her son.' Paston Letters, i. 248. On the 16th of April, 1462, Margaret sailed, from Kirkeudbright, to Bretagne. In 1463, Henry returned to England in disguise."

CALEDONIA.

5 Keith.

the Duke of Albany and Earl of Marr. Avaricious, likewise, to an inordinate degree, he became both hated and despised by the aristocracy.

With the concurrence of Parliament, James granted to his Queen the whole Lordship of Galloway, with the customs and "*firms*" of the burghs of Kirkeudbright and Wigtown, as well as the castle of Thrieve.¹ This grant was ratified and renewed after the King had attained the full age of twenty five years.² In the summer of 1474, Queen Margaret visited Galloway, and made a pilgrimage to the church of St Ninian, at Whithorn, attended by six ladies of her bed chamber, who got six new livery gowns on the occasion. Among other articles furnished at the same time, according to the Treasurer's accounts, were four panniers to the Queen, charged eight shillings, or two shillings each.³

Previous to this reign, the ministers of state and royal favourites had generally been selected from amongst the nobility; but James, who was fond of scientific information, found men more congenial to

1 "In 1471, the lords-auditors of causes, in parliament ordered letters to be written to the steward of Kirkeudbright, to ascertain certain facts, and to carry into effect their lordships' decision, concerning some lands in that stewartry. *Acta Auditorum*, p. 16. On the 28th October 1477, Robert, the second son of John, Lord Carlisle, obtained a grant of the office of Stewart of Kirkeudbright, with the keeping of the castle of Thrieve, the fortlet of Earl Douglas, in Galloway. *Great Seal Regist. B. viii. 49, 50.*" CALEDONIA.

In 1470. Quentin Agnew of Lochnaw, succeeded to the office of Sheriff of Wigtownshire. Five years afterwards James III. granted a commission of lieutenancy to John, Earl of Lennox, within the Sherifffdom of Wigton. *Regist. Mag. Sig. B. viii. 3521.*

2 Caledonia.

3 Fragment of the Treasurer's Accounts of that Date.—Among the articles furnished, for the queen's pilgrimage, there

his mind in a lower rank of society. He, accordingly, made Cochrane, an architect, Rogers, a musician, Leonard, a smith, Hommel, a tailor, and Torpichen, a fencing master, his constant companions; and conferred upon men, whom the haughty barons called masons and fiddlers, every mark of royal favour. Such conduct excited the indignation of the nobility, who began to make comparisons between the King and his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Marr,—young men more like the aristocracy of Scotland in manners, and more resembling their father in spirit, than their elder brother. They both excelled in military exercises and personal accomplishments, which, in those times, were accounted indispensibly necessary in men of rank. To James's companions the two princes were peculiarly odious; and the princes, on the other hand, viewed them with contempt, and scorned the arts by which they had gained the royal favour. James, at first, saw with uneasiness and jealousy, the hold which his brothers had gained on the affections of his subjects; and the private insinuations of his favourites soon changed that jealousy into deadly hatred. The weak minded monarch at last erased from his breast every impression of fraternal attachment, and gave up his mind to the dark and bloody designs of an eastern

are the following charges in the Treasurer's accounts:—

For panzell crelis [panniers] to the queen at her passage to St Ninian's 8*sh*.

Item for a pair of *Bulgis*, 10*sh*.

Item for a cover to the queen's cop, 12*sh*.

Item, to Andro Balfour, 20th of August, 1474, for livery gowns to six ladies of the Queen's chamber, at her passing to Quhytehorn, 21 ells of gray fra David Gill, price L.10, 10*s*. Scots.
(Caledonia.—Weber's Flodden Field.)

I Scott.

despot. The absurdities of astrology and sorcery had never taken a stronger hold on the human understanding than at this period;¹ and James's studies were not of a nature to preserve him from the baneful influence of superstition. Aware of this weakness, his unworthy favourites filled his mind with apprehensions of dangers that were to arise from the hostile designs of his brothers. They informed the timid and credulous James, that a witch had been consulted by the Earl of Marr, concerning the King's death, and that she had answered, he would fall by means of his nearest relations. They brought also a pretended astrologer, who predicted, that a lion in Scotland should be killed by his own whelps. Impressed by the companions of his private hours, with the probability of approaching danger, and at last confirmed in his suspicions by their unfounded representations, he formed the cruel purpose of removing by death his royal brothers, and, with much seeming kindness, invited them to visit him at Edinburgh. Albany, having received secret intelligence of the King's fatal designs against him, refused the invitation, and fortified himself in his own castle of Dunbar. Marr, unapprised of the danger, obeyed the royal mandate, and was secretly put to death, it has been said, by the orders of his brother.² Despairing of safety in Scotland, Albany fled from Dunbar into England, and ultimately to France.³

In the meantime, James became more and more the creature of his favourites. He elevated Coch-

1 Tytler.

2 Drummond,—Scott. The death of Marr is still involved in mystery.

3 Tytler.

rane, his principal favourite, to the peerage, and bestowed upon him the Earldom of Marr, lately possessed by the King's brother. Rogers was raised to the honours of knighthood; and the nobility were not only excluded from the government of the country, but even from the royal presence.

To redress the national grievances, the barons had recourse to a mode of proceeding entirely in accordance with their characteristic ferocity.

Edward IV. of England now made preparations to invade Scotland, with troops under the command of the Duke of Gloucester, assisted by the Duke of Albany and Earl of Douglas,¹ and the Scottish Parliament unanimously declared war against that nation. At the Borough-moor of Edinburgh, an army of fifty thousand men was assembled, which marched to Lauder and encamped between the river and the town. The great barons who were present, being anxious to correct the abuses of the administration, now secretly met in the church of Lauder. Much was said respecting the insolence and corruption of Cochrane and his associates. To put an end to useless discussion, Lord Gray directed their attention to the following fable; "The mice," said he, "being much annoyed by the persecution of the cat, resolved that a bell should be suspended from the animal's neck to give notice of her approach. But, though the measure was agreed on in a full council, it could not be carried into effect; because no mouse had courage to undertake the office of tying the bell to the neck of this formidable enemy." Archibald, Earl of Angus, head of the second family of Dou-

¹ Tytler.

glas, a man of gigantic strength, unflinching resolution, and invincible courage, instantly started up and vehemently exclaimed; "I am he who will bell the cat," from which expression he continued to be distinguished by the homely appellation of Archibald Bell-the-cat.¹

While the barons were engaged in treasonable deliberation, a loud and peremptory knocking was heard at the door of the church. This announced the arrival of Cochrane, magnificently attended by a guard dressed in his gaudy livery. His own personal appearance corresponded with the splendour of his retinue. He was attired in an elegant riding suite of black velvet; and a massy chain of pure gold encircled his neck; whilst a bugle-horn, tipped, mounted, and ornamented with gold, hung by his side. His helmet, inlaid with the same precious metal, was borne before him. Having heard that the nobility were assembled in council, he had come to learn their proceedings, and thus knocked with furious impatience at the door of the church. Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who kept it, inquired who was there; and Cochrane answered the "Earl of Marr." As the unfortunate victim entered the church, Angus, to fulfil his promise, tore the gold chain from his neck, and told him, "a halter would become him better;" whilst Sir Robert Douglas snatched away the horn, saying; "Thou hast too long been a hunter of mischief." He felt doubtful at first whether this treatment was in jest or earnest. But his doubts were quickly removed; for while some of the barons went to the royal pavilion to secure the other favourites, he was

¹ Tytler.—Scott.

bound with a hempen cord. It does not appear that any resistance was made to these violent proceedings. Cochrane, however, did not lose his courage; and he requested to be tied with a silken cord, which could be furnished from his own tent. But to make his death as ignominious as possible, his enemies were at some trouble to procure a hair halter; and, with this they hanged him over the bridge of Lauder, his fellow minions being suspended on each side of him. They, afterwards, conducted the King to Edinburgh, and placed him in the castle,¹ under a gentle and respectful degree of restraint. After this event, the army returned home and dispersed.²

The Duke of Gloucester, accompanied by Albany who aspired to the crown, now penetrated into Scotland, and the Scottish army again assembled at Haddington to expel the enemy. A truce, however, was concluded by the mediation of the Duke of Albany; but Berwick was surrendered to the English, on the 26th day of August, 1482, never more to be possessed by the Scots.

James was soon nominally set at liberty, and became apparently reconciled to his brother;³ but his former suspicions were awakened by his own friends and the Duke's enemies, who represented Albany as having designs upon the crown. This proved no unfounded averment; for the Earl of Angus and other friends of the Duke, had concluded a secret treaty with England, by which the King of that country bound himself to assist Albany in the conquest of the whole kingdom of Scot-

1 Pinkerton.

2 Tytler.

3 Scott.

land, upon his assuming the crown of his ancestors; and Albany engaged to restore to the exiled Earl of Douglas, all his lands and dignities.¹

In the meantime, the most powerful of the conspirators, or supporters of the Duke, were deprived of their offices and honours. Angus was compelled to abandon his office of great Justiciary "on the south half of the water of Forth," to lose his Stewartry of Kirkeudbright, his Sheriffdom of Lanark, and his "command of the castle of Trief,"² whilst John of Douglas, another of Albany's associates, lost his Sheriffdom of Edinburgh. Warned by his friends of the danger in which he himself was placed, the Duke of Albany secretly withdrew into England, and delivered his own castle of Dunbar into the hands of Edward.³ In his absence, he was condemned for having conspired against his country, and the King's life.⁴

Partial hostilities having again commenced between the two nations, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas, both in exile, were desirous of ascertaining the true state of their countrymen's feelings towards them. They, therefore, collected together a party of five hundred Scottish and English cavalry, with some infantry to assist them in case of need, and vowed they would present their offering on the high altar of Lochmaben on St Magdalene's day, when a great

¹ Tytler.

² Tytler. Mr Tytler gives for his authority, "Indentura inter Jacobum Tertium et Ducem Albanie Alexandrum ejus fratrem. 16th March, 1482. MS. Gen. Register House, Edinburgh."

³ Balfour.

⁴ Acts of Parliament of Scotland.—Tytler.

fair was to be held at that place.¹ As soon as they reached Lochmaben, they were encountered with great courage by the people of the district, who considered plunder the object of the invaders. The English infantry fled at the first appearance of opposition, but the cavalry fought with much bravery until the evening. The result of the combat continued long doubtful; but, at last, a body of the King's troops arrived, and victory declared in favour of the Scots. The Duke escaped by flight; but the Earl of Douglas, being now far advanced in years, surrendered himself to a brother of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, who had once been his vassal. Kirkpatrick shed tears at seeing his old master, the great and powerful Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, in such a forlorn condition, and offered to set him at liberty, or even fly with him into England;² but Douglas refused to comply. "I am tired" said he "of exile; I have contended long enough against misfortunes; and since I must die, since there is a reward offered for my head, I had rather that you my old servant, who always remained true to me while I remained true to myself, should obtain it than any other. Take me, therefore, and by delivering me to the King, receive the reward promised in the proclamation." Kirkpatrick, however, acted with much kindness and generosity to his aged prisoner; for, after having secretly conveyed him to a retired and safe abode, he went to the King and procured the promise of his captive's life.³ The Earl, being brought before

1 Tytler.

2 Hume.

3 Hume.

his Sovereign, was ordained to be put into confinement in the Abbey of Lindores.¹ When he heard this sentence he calmly observed; "He that may no better be must be a monk."² James fulfilled his promise by bestowing upon Kirkpatrick the lands of Kirkmichael.³ This event happened in the year 1484.

Stirling castle was the favourite residence of James III., and he founded there a collegiate church which he endowed liberally, and to which he appointed a numerous train of ecclesiastics and musicians. The deanery, or provostship, of this chapel was annexed to the Bishopric of Galloway, the Bishops of which were called deans of the King's chapel, and were appointed confessors to the Queen. George Vans happened to be the first who was elevated to this dignity, being Bishop of Galloway at the time of its erection. As the expenses necessarily incurred in the maintenance of the officers of this institution were very considerable, the King annexed to it the revenues of the rich priory of Coldingham,⁴ for which proceeding he obtained the sanction of the Pope.

This annexation powerfully contributed to accomplish the ruin of the unfortunate monarch.—The priory had been long held by individuals of the family of Hume, who keenly opposed the alienation of its property. The Humes were enraged at the completion of the measure, and obtained the aid of the Hepburns, another powerful clan in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of restoring

1 Tytler, &c.

2 Tytler.—Hume.

3 Hume.

4 Lindsay.—Tytler.

it. Both families engaged to assist each other, and not to suffer the revenues to be enjoyed by any person unconnected with either the one House or the other.

The two families, accordingly, began to concert a new conspiracy against their Sovereign;¹ and there were many, who, from ancient and deep rooted disaffection or personal resentment, were too ready to embark in any undertaking against the Government. Almost all the barons in the south and west that had been dependants on the House of Douglas, viewed the King's supremacy with dislike, and would have gladly lent their aid to effect any change. Angus, likewise, with such other Lords as had been engaged in the rebellious acts at Lauder-bridge, still entertained apprehensions, that the King would, at some period, find a suitable opportunity for avenging the death of his favourites, and punishing the seditious nobles for his deprivation of personal liberty. James had also disgusted, not only the nobility, but the people by his avarice.² The conspirators, accordingly, concerted measures for immediately making themselves masters of his royal person. James was soon informed of their de-

1 Scott.

2 "The King's love of money grew, as is often the case, more excessive as he advanced in years. He would hardly grant any thing, whether as a matter of favour or of right, without receiving some gift or gratuity. By this means he accumulated a quantity of treasure, which, considering the poverty of his kingdom, is absolutely marvellous. His 'black chest,' as his strong-box was popularly called, was brimful of gold and silver coins, besides quantities of plate and jewels. But while he hoarded these treasures, he was augmenting the discontent of both the nobility and people; and amid the universal sense of the King's weakness, and hatred of his avarice, a general rebellion was at length excited against him." Scott.

signs and hostile demonstrations; for the lords of the whole south of Scotland,—who could assemble their forces with unparalleled rapidity,—had taken the field and were ready for action. He immediately summoned them by his herald, to lay down their arms, and present themselves for trial. But his letters were destroyed with every mark of contumely, his heralds insulted or abused, his power unceremoniously despised, and his authority openly defied. After these rebellious proceedings, the insurgents advanced with the intention of ultimately laying siege to the castle of Stirling, in which James resided; but as the King had not a sufficient number of his friends around him, nor such forces at hand, as could certainly defend him from the vindictive attacks of his rebellious subjects, he determined to retire to the northern division of his kingdom, where the strength of his party wholly lay.

Surrounded at this crisis with many difficulties, James displayed more vigour and prudence than his enemies expected. He instantly reinforced the garrison and provided a considerable supply of additional stores. He appointed James Shaw of Fintrie,¹ a man in whom he placed much confidence, to command it, and committed to the care of this individual his only son James,² in the sixteenth year of his age, charging the governor not to allow any person, either to enter or leave the fortress, and to keep a strict eye upon the Prince, with whom the conspirators had already tampered.³ From Stirling, the King proceed-

1 Lindsay.—Scott. Mr Tytler calls him Shaw of Sauchie.

2 Scott.—Lindsay,

3 Tytler.

ed to Edinburgh castle, where he deposited his vast treasures, and after augmenting the garrison and procuring fresh stores, entrusted the fortress to the custody of a man who enjoyed much of his esteem. From Edinburgh castle he hurried to Leith, where Sir Andrew Wood had a vessel ready to receive him. Here his enemies expected to seize his person, but they were disappointed; for, before their arrival, he had hastily embarked. A part of his baggage and money, however, fell into their hands.¹ Having reached the opposite shore, he landed in safety. While passing through Fife, he visited the Earl of Douglas in the abbey of Lindores. James made him some tempting offers, if he would leave his retirement and withdraw such of the ancient vassals of his family as still remembered his former greatness, from the ranks of the rebel peers. But the Earl, loaded with years and infirmities, and tired of the vanities of the world, replied; "Ah! Sir, you have kept me and your black coffer too long shut up; neither of us can now do you any good: I, because my friends and followers have forsaken me, and have betaken themselves to other masters, and your black chest² is too far from you, and your enemies are between you and it."³ Application was also made to Douglas by the insurgent nobility to espouse their cause, but with the same success.⁴

1 Lindsay.—Tytler.

2 Alluding to the chest in which he had kept the most precious part of his treasure.

3 Hume.—Scott.

4 Balfour, It is stated by this writer that "In the beginning of this zeire, 1488, the nobilitey deall with the Earle of Douglas, now a shorne mounke in Londors abey, quherin he was as in a prisson, (by the King condemid during lyffe) to cast off his coull, and come out of his cell, and joyne with them to sup-

From Fife he proceeded northward, and found all his subjects loyal and zealous in his cause. At the head of an army amounting to nearly thirty thousand men, he proceeded towards Stirling.

During his absence, Angus, Hume, Bothwell, and others of the insurgent nobility, in order to impart to their proceedings the colour of authority, were extremely desirous to gain possession of the person of the young Prince. They, accordingly, bribed Shaw with a very considerable sum of money, who delivered up his important charge¹ and espoused their cause. When they had obtained possession of the royal youth, they issued a proclamation in his name, declaring that the King was leagued with foreigners to destroy the liberty of Scotland, and ought, therefore, to be dethroned.² With a force of about eighteen thousand men, assembled principally out of Galloway and the ancient domains of the House of Douglas,—the bravest and best disciplined soldiers of Scotland—the insurgent barons directed their march towards Stirling, at which place they expected to meet the royal army.

When James reached Stirling with his numerous forces, he repaired to the gate of the castle, and being ignorant of the governor's treason, demanded admission, which was instantly refused. The King then eagerly requested the restitution

presse so wicked and insolent a King (as they called him,) and they wold againe restore him to all his former dignities and zeuenewes; bot he being brokin with age, and weiry of the world, denyed ther sute, and exhorted them to peace and concord, bot one no tearmes wold aney more tray his auen hard fortune."

¹ Scott — Lindsay.

² Lindsay.—Scott.

of his son ; but the treacherous governor replied, that the lords had removed him from the castle without his consent.¹ The poor Sovereign was confounded at this information, and furiously exclaimed ; “ False villain, thou hast betrayed me, and if I live, thou shalt be punished according to thy deserts ! ”² If the King had possessed the castle, he might have delayed the battle until a still larger body of troops had assembled, and thus overcome the rebel lords, as his father did at Abercorn without much bloodshed.

For the night, the King, with his army, remained at Stirling. The rebel force had reached the farther side of the river Carron. Early in the morning, James, confident in the superiority of his numbers, with much firmness proceeded to meet and encounter his rebellious subjects in deadly combat. Sir David Lindsay encouraged the King, and riding up to him on a fleet and fiery grey horse, alighted and entreated his Sovereign’s acceptance of it, remarking at the same time, that the noble animal, whether his Grace was advancing or retreating, would outstrip any horse in Scotland, provided he could keep his seat.— The King returned his grateful thanks for so valuable a present at so important a period. At this time some overtures of reconciliation seem to have been made, but they led to no favourable or permanent results.³

1 Lindsay.

2 Scott.

3 Lindsay. Mr Tytler states, that, before matters were brought to a crisis, a short and hollow pacification was effected, and that the King deceived by his opponents’ professions, partially disbanded his army which, he almost immediately found

The royal army was drawn up in three lines, of nearly 8,000 men each; the King having the command of the van. Against this array, the insurgent troops, advancing from Torwood, formed themselves into three divisions of about 6,000 men each; mostly cavalry. The first was composed of East-Lothian and Merse spearmen, under the command of Lord Hailes and the master of Hume,¹ whose discontent had arisen principally from the annexation of the revenues of the priory of Coldingham, to the Chapel-Royal at Stirling. The second line was made up of the fierce inhabitants of Galloway,² and the hardy borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale, led on by Lord Gray. The Prince had the nominal command of the main body, though he was entirely under the direction of Angus and those about him.

The two armies met on a tract of ground, now known by the name of Little Canslar, on the east side of a small brook called Sauchie Burn, about two miles south of Stirling, and one mile from the famous field of Bannockburn, where Bruce achieved the independence of Scotland.

The King rode a little in advance, and from an eminence surveyed the hostile army. But when he saw his own banner displayed against him, and thus knew that his son was undoubtedly in the ranks of the rebels, his artificial courage began to decline. He then remembered the predictions, that the King was to fall by the nearest of his kin, and the words of the astrologer, that the Scottish

himself under the necessity of re-assembling as numerously as possible. The rebel forces did not disperse.

¹ Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire.

² Tytler.

lion would be strangled by his own whelps. Agitated by these childish reminiscences, his heart completely failed him in this eventful hour.¹ His idle fears were apparent to all his attendants, and they entreated him to retire from the field.² While he continued thus irresolute, the battle commenced, by showers of arrows from both sides; and the borderers, excelling in archery, from their constant wars with the English, disordered the cavalry in the King's vanguard. The Humes and the Hepburns then attacked this body, but were driven back by volleys of arrows from the Highlanders. On this repulse, the second division of the rebel army, who used longer spears than the rest of the troops, charging with wild and furious cries, bore down the royal forces opposed to them, and drove back both the first and second lines upon the third. In the midst of such an unusual and appalling scene, the remains of James's slender stock of courage and self possession completely forsook him; and, setting an example of the most dastardly cowardice to his army, he turned his horse's head and fled towards Stirling, probably with the intention of getting on board of Wood's fleet, which lay within sight of the field of battle. But he was unable to manage the spirited animal on which he had mounted—the valuable present of Lord Gray. The horse, taking the bit between his teeth, galloped furiously towards a little hamlet, about a mile from the scene of conflict. As the King was about to cross the Bannock, a woman who was drawing water, observed a man in armour galloping at full

¹ Scott.

² Lindsay.—Scott,

speed towards her ; and, leaving her pitcher, she ran off in the utmost alarm for her safety. The horse, starting at this sudden sight, threw his rider, who was so bruised and stunned by the fall and weight of his armour, that he fainted away. As the accident happened within a few yards of a mill, called Beaton's Mill, the miller and his wife carried the unfortunate stranger into their habitation,¹ and, though ignorant of his rank, treated him with much humanity. When he had a little recovered, he requested the assistance of a priest, to whom, as a dying man, he might make confession. Being asked by the woman, who he was ; he imprudently replied, "I was your King this morning."² With similar imprudence, the kind hearted female ran to the door, exclaiming to some individuals who were passing ; "If there is a priest amongst you, will he stop and confess the King ?" "I am a priest," said one of them, "lead me to him." Being introduced, he found James lying on a bed in a corner of the house, covered with a coarse cloth. He approached him kneeling ; and, with much apparent respect and concern, inquired, if he thought he would recover with proper attention. James replied, that he hoped his hurts were not mortal, if properly attended to : but, in the meantime, he said, he wished to be prepared for the worst, by making confession and having his sins pardoned by a priest. "This shall give thee pardon !" exclaimed the assassin, and pulling out a dagger, stabbed him several times to the heart, and removed his corpse, no one knew whither.³

1 Tytler.

2 Lindsay.—Scott.

3 The house in which this atrocious deed was committed, is

The name of the person who committed this despicable murder is not certainly known. Three individuals, Lord Gray, Stirling of Kier, and one Borthwick, a priest, were observed to leave the field in pursuit of the King, and it is believed that one of them committed the diabolical deed.¹ It is rather a singular coincidence, that Gray was the son of that Sir Patrick, who assisted James's father to assassinate Douglas in Stirling castle.

After the flight of James, the battle did not continue long; for the royal army, disheartened and disunited by the pusillanimity of their leader, made scarcely any farther resistance. The King had set an example of cowardice² which many were disposed to follow; at least, the royal combatants considered it vain to defend a cause which was betrayed by its patron, and the contending armies now shrunk from the unprofitable horrors of mutual slaughter. After the engagement, the royal party retreated to Stirling, and the victors returned to

still standing, and is supposed to have received its name from the individual who then occupied it. It is said to have been originally a mill, and to have been converted into a dwelling house when more commodious mills were erected near the same place. When last at Stirling, we visited the house. The lower portions of the walls, which are very thick, still remain, and bear evident marks of antiquity. The upper parts of the building have been renewed, probably with the intention of perpetuating the remembrance of so tragical an event. The corner in which the unfortunate monarch lay is pointed out, and at the date of our visit, was occupied by a chest of drawers. Tradition seems to have been careful in preserving particulars; for the account given by the inhabitants of the place completely corresponds with the narrations of our best historians.

¹ Scott.

² Mr Tytler, as well as Abercromby, exhibits the King's conduct in a more favourable light than other historians have done. Both state, that the royal army was less numerous than that of their opponents.

their camp. This battle was fought in June, 1468. James died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. At last his corpse was discovered and buried in Cambuskenneth abbey, near his Queen, who had died sometime before.¹

¹ Ferrerius.—Lesley's History.—Tytler.

THE FOLLOWING GRANTS WERE MADE BY JAMES III.

To Janet, or Joan, the repudiated wife, or widow, of William, late Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, James gave two grants of land during her life, in lieu of the terce of her husband's estate. (MS. collections concerning the family of Douglas.) One of the grants was made on the 13th of October, 1472, and the other on the 22nd of January, 1472 3. (Reg. Mag. Sig.)

In February, 1466, John Maclellan, of the family of Bombie, obtained a charter of the lands of Balmaclellan, and gave his name to the parish and village of Balmaclellan. (Reg. Mag. Sig.)

Alexander Gordon, son and heir apparent of John Gordon of Lochinvar had a charter dated 23d March, 1487, of the lands of Balmaclellan with the superiority of the same, then in the hands of the crown which, with the lands of Kenmure and Laggan, were erected into a free Barony: this grant was renewed on the 4th October, 1512. Mag. Sig. L. x. N. 135. L. xii. N. 80. ap. Wood's Peerage.

William Macgé of Balmagé, who appeared in a cause before the Lords Auditors of Parliament, in 1478, acquired from James III., on the 14th of August, 1484, a charter of his lands. The Maghies of Balmaghie, obtained new charters from James IV. and James V.; and, in 1606, Alexander Macghie of Balmaghie, received a charter of the lands of Livingston and Slogarie. This family retained possession of their patrimonial estate until the year 1786, when it became the property of a gentleman of the name of Gordon, in whose family it still remains. We find that "Michael Macgé" was one of the landholders of Galloway, who submitted to Edward III. in 1339. (Rot. Scotiæ.)

Mr Chalmers makes the following statements. "On the 17th of October, 1488, the lords auditors gave a decree, that Quinten Agnew, the sheriff of Wigton, should restore to William Adare of Kinhilt and Archibald MacCulloch of Ardwell, 28 oxen, 88 sheep, 4 horses, and other goods, the values of all which are specified. Acta Auditorum, p. 118.—In July, 1494, George, bishop of Galloway, was complained of to the lords of the council, for opposing the king's authority, in Wigtonshire, in the person of the sheriff, in the execution of his

JAMES IV.

THE confederate Lords endeavoured to make atonement for treachery to the father by loyalty to the son. They instantly placed him upon the throne, and procured from Parliament an indemnity for their proceedings. The national council at this time was entirely under the influence of the leaders of the insurrection; and by it, Hepburn, Lord Hailes, afterwards created Earl of Bothwell, was appointed ruler of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire,¹ and keeper of Thrieve castle, until the King should attain the age of

office: The lords upon hearing both parties, thought fit to refer the heinous misconduct of the bishop to the punishment of the king himself, as an example to others."

During the reign of James III., Lord Kennedy, as previously stated, acquired the barony of Leswalt, Moneepbrig, Barquhony, and some other possessions in Wigtownshire.

In the reign of James III., a branch of the family of Maxwell obtained lands in Wigtownshire. Lord Maxwell having acquired the barony of Monreith, conferred it on Edward Maxwell of Tinwald, second son of Herbert, Lord Maxwell. Edward Maxwell was the progenitor of the Maxwells of Monreith, who, in 1681, obtained the rank of baronet.

"The late Duchess of Gordon," says the author of Caledonia, "was a daughter of Maxwell, baronet of Monreith, whose daughters became Duchess of Richmond, Duchess of Bedford, Duchess of Manchester, Marchioness of Cornwallis, and Lady Sinclair of Muckle: It is very seldom, that the daughters, of the greatest families are matched in such numbers, with men of the highest rank."

By a charter of James III., dated the 10th of December, 1477, Myreton, in the parish of Penninghame, was granted, to John Kennedy of Blairquhan, and made a burgh of barony. It no longer exists; a gentleman's seat, called Myreton-hall, being built where the village stood.

"In December, 1475, James III. granted a commission of lieutenancy to John, Earl of Lennox, within the sheriffdoms of Renfrew, Ayr, Wigton, &c. Regist. Mag. Sig. B. viii. 3521."

CALEDONIA.

¹ Maitland.

twenty one years. The Earl of Bothwell had been principally instrumental in depriving James of his crown and his life. In 1504, this nobleman appointed Gordon of Lochinvar bailie of Kirkandrews, which at present forms a portion of the parish of Borgue. To Bothwell also belonged the barony of Earlston.¹

Soon after the death of King James III., Douglas expired at a very advanced age in the abbey of Lindores. Thus disappeared from the theatre of the world, the last of those tremendous Lords of Galloway, who had acted for a long series of years so conspicuous a part on the great arena of public life. Who can behold the overthrow of this mighty family, without reflecting on the instability of mortal greatness and the evanescent nature of every sublunary possession. For the space of nearly two hundred years, the House of Douglas had gradually reared its proud head until it almost "reached to the heavens". Like a huge giant it stood overawing the kingdom from one side of the

1 "The barony of Earlstoun, and the patronage of the church of Dalry, were forfeited, by James Earl of Bothwell. 1567; and in 1581 they were granted to his nephew, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. Acta. Parl. iii. 257. 409. Upon his forfeiture, in 1593, they were granted to Andrew Lord Ochiltree. Id. iv. 8. 36. They were afterwards acquired by Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, who died, in 1628, when they were inherited by his son, and heir, Sir John Gordon, who was created Viscount Kenmore in 1633. Inquisit. Speciales, 170. 210, 233 Alexander Viscount Kenmore, who died in 1698, settled the barony of Earlstoun, and the patronage of the church of Dalry, on his second son, John Gordon, who succeeded to them on his father's death. Ib. 389. In 1793, the patronage of the church of Dalry belonged to Newall of Barskioch, and it now belongs to Sir John Heron Maxwell of Springkell." CALEDONIA.

Mr Forbes of Callendar, lately purchased the patronage of this parish.

island to the other; and, before its colossal form, even proud royalty shrunk and quailed. Its sullen frown long brooded over the south of distracted Scotland, and its blighting influence was felt alike in the palace and the cottage. When the Douglasses' avenging indignation burst forth into a storm, like the tornado, it swept along with irresistible fury, leaving nothing in its track but horror, desolation, and death. Every attempt to diminish their overgrown power seemed to encrease it: every attack upon their sovereignty appeared to rebound upon the heads of the assailants. Enemies might courageously advance against this dreaded House; but, in the plenitude of its might, it remained unshaken as the rock amidst the waves of the infuriated ocean. From each succeeding attempt to overthrow it, the foes of the Galwegian despots retired in a state of impotent confusion. Raised at first,—according to the historian of their family—by one deed of martial firmness and unshrinking daring, they also sunk by one unmanly act of timidity and indecision.—Though a crown, in all probability, was within the grasp of the last Lord of Galloway, at Abercorn, yet his nerveless hand recoiled from seizing the glittering prize; though he might have hurled an antagonist from the throne; yet his terrified imagination magnified the danger of the attempt; and, without a struggle, he fell prostrate before his rival, never again to rise. The very acmé of the Douglasses' greatness was the prelude of their fall. When the tide of their fortune was at the height, it suddenly ebbed to flow no more. The overthrow of this potent family, indeed, partly resulted from the desertion of their cause by

the Earl of Angus,—a stately branch from the same noble stem,—so that it became a proverb in Scotland; “The red Douglases put down the black.”

For ages the inhabitants of Galloway had been plundered by their own chiefs, under a Gaelic custom which prevailed of giving them presents. These presents generally consisted of a horse, a cow, or some other valuable article, and were denominated *calpes*. or *caupes*. The second Parliament of James IV., in 1490, abolished the taking of *caupes* by the heads of clans in Galloway.¹

King James IV. visited the district more frequently than any other sovereign. During his whole reign, he generally resorted once a year, and frequently twice, to the shrine of St Ninian, at Whithorn, where he wept over his sins, and, with unfeigned contrition, formed resolutions of amendment, which were soon dissipated by the alluring temptations and pleasures of the world.² On such occasions, he appears to have been attended by a numerous retinue. When at Whithorn, he al-

¹ Maitland.

² Tytler. Whithorn long continued a place of great resort.

“When James IV. was at Whithorn, on a pilgrimage, in 1506, he gave a gratuity of 18s. to a pilgrim from England, that St. Ninian wrought a miracle for. [Treasurer's accounts, 1st May 1506,] James I. on the 17th of December 1425, granted a general protection to all strangers, coming into Scotland, in pilgrimage, to visit the church of St Ninian, the confessor, at Whithorn. [Regist, Mag. Sig. ii. 102.] On the 14th of December 1506, the Regent Albany granted a general safe conduct to all persons of England, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, to come by land, or water, into Scotland, to the church of Candida Casa, in honour of St. Ninian, confessor. [Privy Seal Reg. v. 85.] See Richard Hay's MS. collection, in the Advocate's library, W. 2. 2.”

CALEDONIA,

In 1508, the French ambassador, previously viceroy of Naples, died in Scotland, and desired his heart to be embalmed and sent to Whithorn.
(Balfour.)

ways made offerings in the churches, at the altars, and at the relics of St Ninian : and he gave donations to the priests, minstrels, and pilgrims, whom he found there. His almoner also liberally distributed alms to the poor of the town. In addition to these gifts, he made offerings to various churches, both on his passage to Whithorn, and on his return home. During his journeys, he lodged in the convents, as the most commodious habitations.¹

To particularize his various visits to this celebrated place of resort, would be tedious : we shall, therefore, take notice of only a very few of them.

In September, 1497, the King set out from Edinburgh, on a pilgrimage to Whithorn. He proceeded by his usual route past Biggar, through upper Clydesdale, to Durisdeer. From that place he passed across Nithsdale to St John's Kirk at Dalry ; where he presented donations to the priest and to the "pure folk" there;² then leaving this mountainous country, he travelled through lower Galloway to Wigtown,³ and afterwards to Whithorn ; making offerings and giving alms on his journey.⁴ After returning through Ayrshire and Glasgow, he repaired to Stirling.

1 Caledonia.

2 Treasurer's Accounts.

3 "The friars of Wigton received frequent gratinities from James IV., on his many pilgrimages to St Ninian's: On such occasions, the King, usually lodged at their convent, as the most commodious inn. The same king, on the 1st of January 1505.6, granted to Ronald Makbretun, *clarschawner* [harper] six marks worth of land of Knoekan, in Wigton-shire, for his fee [as one of the king's musicians] during his life ; he paying six bolls of meal, yearly, to the preaching friars of Wigton. They had, in perpetuity, a fishery, consisting of the south half of the little river Bladenoch, which falls into the sea, at Wigtown."

CALEDONIA.

4 The Treasurers Books of James IV's Reign.

During the spring of 1501, the town of Kirkcudbright was honoured by a royal visit from James, who diverged thither in one of his many pilgrimages to the shrine of St Ninian. With his usual munificence to the clergy, he gave on this occasion twenty shillings to the priests; and to the friars, £5 10s. to buy an Eucharist¹

Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, on the 12th of Sep-

1 "He arrived, at Whithern, on the 22d of April; and on the same night, he made his offerings, at the town, at the reliques, at the high altar, at the rood altar, and at the chapel on the hill, 5 French crowns [3*l.* 10s.] He gave a French crown, [1*sh.*] to the prior's *luter* [the player on the lute.] He returned through Ayr and Glasgow, to Stirling.

1501 June, The king made another pilgrimage to Whithern, where he performed the same oblations, with the same inefficient purposes.

1502 August, The king made a pilgrimage to Whithern, where he made the same oblations, distributed the same donations: On this occasion, the prior of Whithern presented a horse to the king, which repaid his majesty for his attentions to Whithern. On passing through Wigton, the king gave 1*sh.* to the pipers of that town, who usually had such gratuities, for their music.

1503 April 6th, The king was again at Whithern.

April 8th, At Wigton, on his return, he received intelligence by express, of the death of his brother, John Earl of Marr; when he charged the priests of Wigton to perform "a dirge and soul-mass," for his brother, and paid them 40*sh.* for their pains.

May 6th, The king performed another pilgrimage to Whithern: And going, by Dumfries, on the 7th of May, he made his offering of 1*sh.*, in our Lady's chapel, at the end of the town. On setting out from Edinburgh, he dispatched a courier, to bring the relique of St Ninian, which was kept at Stirling, to meet the king with it, at Whithern.

1504 June 26, The king was at Whithern; and he bought there for 4*sh.* some tokens of St Ninian. June 29, on his return, he met, and gave alms to some poor people, from Tayn, in Ross-shire, going on a pilgrimage to Whithern.

In July 1505, and in April, and August 1506, The king performed the same superstitious fooleries, at Whithern: and while, at that seat of superstition, he gave an unicorn [18*sh.*] to *two tale tellers.*"

tember, 1502, obtained for himself and his heirs a nine year's grant of the office of steward of Kirkcudbright, and keeper of Thrieve castle, With this building he acquired the lands of Thrieve Grange, the fisheries of the river Dee, and the duties or revenues belonging to the castle, for which he engaged to pay the King £100 yearly, and to keep the fortlet at his own expense.¹ In the following year, he was killed by Alexander Gordon, younger of Lochinvar, who fled. John Dunbar of Mochrum,² his son and heir, succeeded him in his offices. This assassination produced a vexatious feud between the Gordons and Dunbars, and the father of the assassin obtained an exemption from the crown on the 4th of September, 1508, for himself, friends, tenants, and dependants from the jurisdiction of the Steward and his deputies.³

James by annexing, in 1504, the deanery of the Chapel Royal of Stirling to the revenues of the See of Galloway,⁴ which were but small, greatly augmented the rental of the Bishopric. Some years afterwards, he likewise added the abbey of Tongland to the same See.⁵ In March 1503-4, James,

1 Privy Seal, Reg. ii. 96. Caledonia.

2 "Mochrum castle, which is called the *Old Place of Mochrum*, stands at the northern end of Mochrum loch. The walls, which are almost entire, are very strong. It was in former times, the strong hold of the Dunbars of Mochrum. About the year 1730, the castle, with the contiguous estate, passed, from that family, to the Earl of Dumfries." CALEDONIA.

3 Privy Seal, Reg. iii. 185. Caledonia.

4 The diocese of Galloway comprehended part of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, all Wigtownshire, and, according to some accounts, part of Dumfries-shire. The district lying between the Urr and the Nith belonged to the Bishopric of Glasgow.

5 "The amount of the rental of the bishopric of Galloway including the abbey of Tunland, as they were reported to gov-

who devoted much time to the study of alchemy and medicine,¹ nominated an Italian, that had come to this country as an alchymist and physician,² to the chair of the abbey of Tongland. This fanciful theorist seems to have been a man of questionable reputation: he probably commenced his career as an impostor, and became at last an enthusiast. Having publicly asserted his pretensions to the art of flying, he made wings, and undertook to ascend from the battlements of Stirling castle, in the presence of the King and his courtiers. The Scottish ambassadors were to leave Stirling for France at the same time; and he boasted he would arrive in that country before them. This foolish undertaking, as might have been fore-

ernment, in 1562.3, was, in money, 1226*l.* 14*sh.*; in bear. 8 chald. 7 bolls; meal, 10chald, 7 bolls; malt, 8 bolls; 268 salmon, with geese, poultry, cheese, and peats, which were not specified.

In a new rental of this bishopric, which was reported to Sir William Murray, the queen's comptroller, on the 8th of September, 1566, the value, in money, was thus stated:"

| | £ | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Summa of the whole temporality - - | 605 | 4 | 2 |
| Ditto of the spirituality - - | 752 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £1357 | 4 | 2 |
| | <hr/> | | |

Rental Book MS."

CALEDONIA.

1 James IV. was celebrated for his knowledge of medicine.

2 Murray.—Caledonia. "He appears to have come to Scotland in 1501, and was made abbot of Tunghland, in March 1503.4. In the Treasurer's Accounts he is called "Maister John, the French *Leich*," and "Maister John, the French *Medicinar*;" and "Abbot of Tunghland," after he obtained that appointment. He acquired a great deal of money from the king, by his quackery, alchemy, gambling, and borrowing money, which he never repaid. See the Treasurer's Accounts, from 1501 to 1513. *passim*. In the licence, which he received to go abroad, in 1508, he is called "*Duciane*, Abbot of Tunghland."

CALEDONIA.

seen, completely failed: he instantly fell to the ground and broke his thigh bone. William Dunbar, the Scottish poet,¹ ridiculed the absurd attempt in a satirical poem, entitled "*The Fenzied Frier of Tungland*," in which he represents the feathered inhabitants of the air as attacking him for invading their dominions, and ultimately rejoicing at his misfortune.²

1 William Dunbar was author of the allegorical poems of the Thistle and the Rose, The Golden Terge, &c.

2 "This misadventure took place in 1507. Lesley, 345-6. In the following year, he appears to have gone abroad. On the 8th of September, 1508, the king granted a licence to "*Damiane*, Abbot of Tungland," to pass out of the realm, and remain in what place he pleases, at study, or any other lawful occupation, for five years, without any injury to his abbey of Tungland. Privy Seal Regist. iii. 187. He returned again to Scotland, long before the time that this licence elapsed." CALEDONIA,

We cannot refrain from giving a specimen of the poem.

The Myttaine and Saint Martynis fowle
Wend he had bene the hornit howle,
Thay set upon him with a yowle,
And gaif him dynt for dynt.
The golk, the gormaw, and the gled,
Best him with buffets quhill he bled;
The spar-hawk to the spring him sped
Als fers as fyre of flynt.

The tarsall gaif him tug for tug,
A stanchell hang in ilka lug,
The pyot furth his pennis did rug,
The stork straik ay but stint:
The bissart bissy but rebuik,
Scho was so cleverus of her cluik,
His lugs he nicht not langer bruke,
Scho held thame at ane hint.

Thik was the clud of kayis and crawis,
Of marleyonis, mittanis, and of mawis,
That bikkrit at his berd with blawis,
In battell him about.

Thay nybbillit him with noyis and cry,
The red of thame raise to the sky,
And evir he cryit on Fortoun, Fy,
His lyfe was into dowl.

In March, 1506-7, in order to procure the recovery of the Queen, who was in rather a precarious situation after the birth of her first son, the Scottish monarch made a pilgrimage from Edinburgh to Whithorn on foot.¹ The Queen got better, and, for her happy recovery, St Ninian and the King got the sole credit. On his journey James was attended by four Italian minstrels, who appear to have been so completely fatigued and exhausted by walking to Whithorn, that he was obliged to hire horses to carry them back to Tongland.²

To show the royal gratitude to their saint, in the following July, both the King and Queen undertook a new pilgrimage to Whithorn. This visit was conducted on a most magnificent scale. The Queen travelled in what is sometimes called a litter, and sometimes a chariot,³ and had seventeen horses employed in conveying her luggage. The King's wardrobe was borne by three additional horses. One horse was employed in carrying the King's "*chapel geir*;" and the Queen's *chapel graith* was carried with it in *two coffers*. This journey lasted thirty-one days.⁴

1 "The historian Hawthornden says, that James IV., upon his Queen being dangerously ill in childbed, in 1507, went a pilgrimage on foot to St Ninians, at Whithorn, in Galloway.— In this journey he fell in love with lady Jane Kennedy, a daughter of the Earl of Cassilis; and he confined the Earl of Angus, for some time, to the island of Arran, for carrying her away."
WEBER.

This lady Jane Kennedy had a son by King James: she was afterwards third wife to Bell-the-Cat. The Earl of Angus a short time before his death, visited the shrine of St Ninian.

2 Caledonia.

3 In the Treasurer's books it is called the Queen's chariot or litter.

4 Caledonia. They visited Glenluce Abbey, and the King made a present of four shillings to the gardener.

Prior to this period the Scots had been rulers of the Isle of Man, and had held the native inhabitants in a state of oppressive thralldom. As soon as the Islanders were relieved from a foreign yoke, the insular Legislature enacted, "that all Scottish-men do avoide the land of Manx, by the next vessel that goeth to Scotland, upon paine of forfeiture of their goods, and bodyes to prison."¹ This law remained unrepealed until the year 1736, when the House of Atholl succeeded to the sovereignty of the island.

For the purpose of gratifying the hostile feelings of his subjects towards their Galwegian neighbours, Thomas, Earl of Derby, a young, fiery, and warlike chief, at the head of a formidable body of Manxmen, in 1507, made a furious descent upon the coast of Galloway, and nearly destroyed the town of Kirkcubright. For several years afterwards, many of the houses in the burgh remained uninhabited and in ruins.

This successful assault was so skilfully directed, and so bravely executed, that it called forth the most enthusiastic strains of the Manx bards, in praise of the "Earl with the golden crupper,"—as they termed their young sovereign,—and his heroic followers.

But how gratifying soever this successful expedition might be at first to the inhabitants of Man, it afterwards proved to them the source of much suffering. Cutlar MacCulloch, the chief of a powerful clan in the south of Scotland, being a brave and adventurous seaman, speedily equipped a predatory flotilla, and made repeated descents

¹ Stat. Anno 1422.. 1429. Lex Scripta of Man. p.p. 13. 27.

Note furnished by Mr Train to Peveril of the Peak vii cap.

on this little kingdom. The people were kept in such a state of perpetual alarm, that they “eat the sodden before they took the broth,” lest they should be deprived of the more substantial portion of their dinner by their unwelcome visitants, if they allowed it to remain for the second course.¹

From a deposition made at Peel castle, on the 2nd of November, 1508, by John Machariotie, of Ramsay, it appears that this daring adventurer carried off “every thing that was not too hot or too heavy for removal,” thereby giving the inhabitants of Man, ample cause to repent of the ravages committed by their warriors in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

James again visited the town of Kirkcudbright in 1508, and was hospitably entertained there. It was on this visit, that he gave to the burgh his first grant of the castle of Kirkcudbright and its lands.² This grant was confirmed by another charter in the following year, dated at Edinburgh, the 26th of February. The gift was made on account of certain aids afforded to James II., his grandfather, when that monarch was engaged in the reduction of Thrieve castle, as well as for more recent services to James himself.³ In May 1511,

1 Challerson pa. 47. London. Edit 1653. “taken by Collard Mac Culloch and his men by wrongous spoilation five box beddes and aykin burdes, ic lathe, a feder bowster, a cote of Mailzie, a mèle burde, two kestis, five barrells, a gyle fat, xx pipe, two gunys, three bolles of malt, a querene of rosate of vi stanes, certine petes, (peats) extending to ic load, viii bolles threchet corne, xii unthraschin, and xi knowte.”

2 Regist. Mag. Sig. B. xv. 167.—Caledonia.

3 When Galloway was subdued by Edward Bruce, Robert I. granted the castle of Kirkcudbright to his victorious brother, and at his death it reverted to the crown. In 1369, David II. granted it to Archibald Douglas. It remained in the hands of the

James granted a charter to the prior and canons of Whithorn, constituting the town a royal burgh, with the usual privileges: they had often previously experienced the liberality of the Scottish monarchs.

During this season of tranquillity, the King, with his parliament, enacted many wise laws for the improvement of the country. A legislative act was passed which permitted the nobles and barons to let their lands for money or grain. This measure tended, not only to the improvement of agriculture, but also to the domestic tranquillity of the nation. The burghs were now enjoined to send representatives to parliament, that they might give their advice as one of the three estates of the realm; and the attendance of the lesser barons was dispensed with. At this time the important and civilizing art of printing was introduced into Scotland, under the auspices of Walter Chapman, one of the royal household. He obtained from the King a royal patent "to exercise his mystery."

Notwithstanding all the energy, wisdom, and vigilance of James's government, feuds of a serious and pernicious nature often broke out among the fierce and vindictive chiefs of Scotland. About this time, the dependants of Maxwell of Caerlaverock, and Crichton of Sanquhar, after a long duration of enmity, and a series of petty injuries mutually inflicted, met in arms on the sands of Dum-

Douglasses until their forfeiture, when it was again annexed to the crown. Though the castle has been alienated, yet the lands that belonged to it have continued subject to a burgage tenure. When, in 1582, a modern castle was built in the town of Kirkcudbright, on the site of the Fransiscan Friary, by Sir Thomas Maclellan of Bombie, the stones of the ancient edifice, it is said, were employed in its erection. None of the ruins now remain.

fries, and fought with unabated fury until the two parties had almost totally destroyed each other.—Maxwell's friends gained a bloody and a joyless victory.¹

The period had now arrived when the country was not destined to remain long in a state of national peace and internal improvement. While Henry VII. lived, his great penetration enabled him to remove all the petty causes of dissension which arose, at intervals, between the two neighbouring kingdoms. But when this wise and cautious monarch expired, he was succeeded by a prince of a haughty and unyielding temper, which made him unwilling to purchase peace at the expense of even the most trifling concession.—James and he resembled each other too closely in their tempers to remain long in terms of sincere or intimate friendship. Henry VIII. of England, having inherited his father's crown, but not his father's wisdom, wished to distinguish his name by splendid pursuits of policy and war. Possessed of high notions of the unlimited nature of his wealth and power, and impressed with an extravagant idea of the superiority of his intellectual attainments, personal accomplishments, and military skill, he became impatient of contradiction and control, and wished to exalt that feudal authority which his father had left him, into an absolute despotism. But his ambitious disposition led him to attempt the re-conquest of those provinces in France, which had been wrested from the English, as his first important undertaking. The French saw the approaching storm, and began to prepare for it.—

¹ Balfour.—Heron.

They sent an embassy into Scotland with large presents of money to the King and his counsellors. This liberality, in conjunction with some real or supposed insults offered by the King of England, had the desired effect, and James resolved upon hostilities with his royal brother-in-law.

Henry sailed to France, in 1513, with a gallant army, and James sent his principal herald into that country to declare war against him.¹

Without waiting for the return of the herald, the Scottish King summoned an army, provided with every necessary for forty days service, to meet in the Borough-moor of Edinburgh. With this army he intended to invade England. Though the war was by no means popular, yet out of personal attachment to the King,² a vast host assembled at the appointed place of rendezvous, and amongst other warriors, a very considerable number of the inhabitants of Galloway. In the middle of this wide common, the royal standard was displayed from a large stone called the Hare-stone.

I James's letter conveying this declaration accused Henry "of refusing a safe conduct to his ambassador (a proceeding worthy only of an infidel power :) it upbraided him with a want of common justice and affection in withholding from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, the jewels and the legacy which had been left her by her father ; it asserted that the conduct of England, in a late meeting of the commissioners of the two countries on the borders, had been deficient in honor and good faith ; that Heron, the Murderer of a Scottish baron, very dear to the king, was protected in that country ; that Scottish subjects in a time of peace had been carried off in fetters across the border ; that Andrew Barton had been slaughtered and his ships unjustly captured by Henry's Admiral ; whilst that prince not only refused all redress, but showed the contempt with which he treated the demand by declaring war against James's relative, the Duke of Gueldres, and now invading the dominions of his friend and ally the King of France."

TYTLER.

2 "There was great love," says a Scottish historian, "betwixt

Various artifices addressed to the King's superstition were employed to divert him from this impolitic and unjust expedition.

While he was employed in his evening devotions in the church adjacent to the palace, at Linlithgow, an old venerable looking man, with thin bright yellow hair flowing over his shoulders, and clothed in a long azure coloured robe, girt about the middle with a linen girdle, and sandals on his feet, suddenly entered the cathedral. He pressed through the crowd to the place where the King knelt, and without exhibiting any signs of respect for the royal personage, said with emphatic simplicity;—"I am sent to warn thee against proceeding in thy present undertaking: and if thou neglectest this admonition, it will not fare well with thee, or those who may accompany thee."—After he had likewise warned him against the society and counsel of women, he suddenly disappeared from among the courtiers and could no where be found.¹ Some at the time believed him to be a spirit, others, an enthusiast, and a great many, an impostor, employed by the Queen and the English faction.

the subjects and their sovereign, for the King was free from the vice of avarice, which was his father's failing. Neither would he endure flatterers, cowards, or sycophants about his person, but ruled by the counsel of the most eminent nobles, and thus won the hearts of all men. He often went disguised among the common people, and asked them questions about the King and his measures, and thus learned the opinion which was entertained of him by his subject." SCOTT.

¹ Buchanan.—Pinkerton. Sir David Lindsay and Sir James Inglis stood close beside the King when the mysterious stranger addressed him; and Buchanan, who received his information from Sir David Lindsay himself, says, "If I had not received

Several historians also mention, that a proclamation was heard at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, about midnight, citing the King by his name and titles, and many of his nobles to appear in another world, before the tribunal of Pluto, within the space of forty days. This has likewise every ap-

this story from him as a certain truth I had omitted it as a romance of the vulgar."

I too was there, and sooth to tell,
 Bedeafened with the jangling knell,
 Was watching where the sunbeams fell,
 Through the stained casement gleaming ;
 But while I marked what next befel,
 It seemed as I were dreaming,
 Stepped from the crowd a ghostly wight,
 In azure gown, with cincture white,
 His forehead bald, his head was bare,
 Down hung at length his yellow hair—
 He stepped before the Monarch's chair,
 And stood with rustic plainness there,
 And little reverence made :
 Nor head, nor body, bowed nor bent,
 But on the desk his arm he leant,
 And words like these he said,
 In a low voice, but never tone
 So thrilled through vein, and nerve, and bone,
 ' My mother sent me from afar,
 Sir King, to warn thee not to war,
 Woe waits on thine array ;
 If war thou wilt, of woman fair,
 Her witching wiles and wanton snare,
 James Stuart, doubly warned, beware,
 God keep thee as he may.'
 The wondering monarch seemed to seek
 For answer, and found none ;
 And when he raised his head to speak,
 The monitor was gone.
 The marshal and myself had cast
 To stop him, as he outward past ;
 But lighter than the whirlwind's blast
 He vanish'd from our eyes ;
 Like sunbeam on the billow cast,
 That glances but, and dies.

SCOTT'S MARMION.

pearance of a device to rouse the King's superstition, and deter him from his rash enterprise.—Lindsay of Pitscottie, in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, says, he received the particulars of this strange occurrence from an individual who was in the town at the time when the proclamation was made. But he adds, whether the summons proceeded from men or spirits, it is impossible to determine.¹

But nothing could deter James from this unhappy expedition. With his large host, amounting, in whole, to a hundred thousand men, he entered England, and wasted much valuable time, not only in taking castles and collecting booty, but even in mere thoughtless inactivity. An English army at length advanced against him, commanded by the Earl of Surrey, who had received, as he passed through Durham, the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert. The provisions of the Scottish troops being almost entirely consumed, some returned home to deposit their booty in safety, and procure a fresh supply of the necessaries of life. Enormous multitudes, from day to day, followed the example which their companions in arms had thus set them; and James's splendid array in a short time became much diminished. The Earl of Surrey, by various reinforcements, having ultimately assembled an army superior in numbers to the Scots, found some difficulty in supporting his troops in a barren district, and during a season of almost incessant rains.

¹ His words are, "But whidder this summondis was proclaimed be vaine persones, night walkeris, for thair pastyme, or if it was ane spirit, I cannot tell."

It was commonly believed that all who were called, fell in the battle of Flodden, except one man that lived opposite the cross, who, upon hearing his name pronounced, threw down a crown and said, he appealed to the mercy of God.

He, therefore, felt anxious immediately to engage the enemy, and bring matters to an issue before his troops should be worn out by fatigue, famine, and hardships. On Sunday the 4th of September, he, accordingly, sent a herald to offer battle on the following Friday; and the Lord High Admiral added a message, that he was now ready to give the Scottish King satisfaction for the personal share he had taken in the death of Andrew Barton.¹ To this message of defiance, the King replied, that he was so desirous of encountering the English in a pitched battle, that if the message had reached him in Edinburgh, he would have laid aside all other business and advanced to meet him.² The Earl of Angus, known by the *soubriquet* of Bell-the-cat, and some others remonstrated with James, alleging that the English army consisted of men of mean rank, whereas the Scottish troops were composed entirely of the flower of the nobility and gentry. Incensed at this opposition, James haughtily replied; "Angus, if you are afraid, you may go home."⁴ The old Earl; justly offended at the insulting language, took his departure from the camp that night, but he left behind

¹ Andrew Barton, with his two brothers, Robert and John, received letters of reprisal from James IV., that they might revenge the death of their father, a renowned sea captain, who was slain by the Portuguese in the reign of James III. Much success attended the enterprise, but when they were returning home, they were attacked by two English ships of war, and Andrew Barton fell in the engagement; his vessels being captured, were retained as prizes. Scotland and England were then at peace, and James complained loudly of this insult to his flag. In November, 1513, John, the youngest brother, sailed with a squadron for France, but having taken sick at sea, he was landed at Kirkcudbright, where he died. (Weber.)

² Halle's Chronicle of England.

⁴ Historical Tales of the Scottish Wars, &c.

him his two sons, who fell in the fatal battle, with two hundred of the name of Douglas. The aged nobleman immediately retired to a monastery, and died broken-hearted about a year after the disastrous conflict.

On the 6th of September, James, aware of the inferiority of his army, removed to an advantageous situation on the hill of Flodden, near Ford castle, which stood on the other side of the Till. The ascent to the top of this eminence from the river which flowed at the foot of it, was about half a mile, and at the base of the declivity stood a bridge protected by artillery. On the south of the hill lay a level plain. The nearest advance that the English could make to Flodden, was through this plain, but on their approach they would be exposed to the full view of the enemy on every part of it; and the ground, besides, was of a hollow and marshy nature, with a deep river running between the two hostile armies. The flanks of the Scottish lines were sufficiently protected.

Sensible of the superior advantages possessed by the Scots, and distressed for want of provisions, Surrey, who had encamped at Wooler-haugh, dispatched a herald to King James, on the 7th, to provoke him, if possible, to descend to the plain, and on the following day, meet the English army on equal terms.¹ James refused to see the herald, but sent one of his own attendants to state, that he trusted to no advantages of ground, and would use no sinister means to gain the victory.² The Eng-

¹ Halle.

² Halle.—The words are “Woulde vse no sorcery nor had no trust of any grounde.”

lish commander, now despairing of enticing the Scots from their strong position, perceived that he must either immediately bring them to action or retire. He had recourse, therefore, to a bold and an apparently desperate measure. He crossed the Till, and proceeded along some rugged ground, on the east side of the river, to Barmoor-Wood. At this place he passed the night, about two miles from the Scottish army. During this skilful movement, the English¹ were screened from observation by an eminence on the east of Ford castle. Early on the morning of the 9th, Surrey left Barmoor-Wood; and marching in a north-west direction, almost to the confluence of the Till and Tweed, he suddenly wheeled to the eastward, and recrossed the former river,—the vanguard and artillery by Twisel-bridge, which is still standing under a splendid Gothic pile, called Twisel castle, and the rearguard by a ford about a mile farther up the stream. Surrey now had an easy ascent to the hill of Flodden, and he proceeded leisurely to form his whole line in the rear of the enemy, and between James and his native country.—The Scottish King² suffered him to make these manœuvres without opposition, though there were

¹ Marmaduke Constable, ancestor of Marmaduke Constable Maxwell Esq., the present proprietor of Terregles, commanded in the English army. Several of Mr Maxwell's forefathers were also commanders in the Scottish host.

² It appeared as if coming events had cast their shadows before them; for the King, with the *Lords of the Host* then present at Twiselhaugh in Northumberland, shortly before the battle of Flodden, enacted, "That if any man be slain or hurt to death by the enemy, or die in the King's host during the time of its service, his heir shall have his ward and relief and marriage of the King free." Acts of James IV. Cap 102—page 194.

frequent opportunities for an advantageous attack. While the English were passing the bridge of Twisel, Borthwick, the master of the artillery, falling upon his knees, earnestly requested permission from the King to fire upon the columns—which he could have done with the most destructive effect;—but James replied, “I shall hang thee, quarter thee, and draw thee, if thou fire one shot; I am determined I shall have them all before me on a plain field, and see what they can do.”¹

¹ The following admirable lines descriptive of this event are from the pen of Scott.

Even so it was—from Flodden ridge
 The Scots beheld the English host
 Leave Barmoor-Wood, their evening post,
 And heedful watched them as they cross'd
 The Till by Twisel Bridge.
 High sight it is, and haughty, while
 They dive into the deep defile;
 Beneath the caverned cliff they fall,
 Beneath the castle's airy wall.
 By rock, by oak, by hawthorn tree,
 Troop after troop is disappearing:
 Troop after troop their banners rearing,
 Upon the eastern bank you see,
 Still pouring down the rocky den
 Where flows the sullen Till.
 And rising from the dim-wood glen,
 Standards on standards, men on men,
 In slow succession still,
 And bending o'er the Gothic arch,
 And pressing on in ceaseless march,
 To gain the opposing hill.
 And why stands Scotland idly now,
 Dark Flodden! on thy airy brow,
 Since England gains the pass the while,
 And struggles through the deep defile?
 What checks the fiery soul of James?
 Why sits that champion of the dames
 Inactive on his steed;
 And sees between him and his land
 Between him and Tweed's southern strand,

The English now advanced in full array, against the rear of the enemy, their army being formed in two divisions; each division having two wings. James, on becoming aware of this demonstration, set fire to the soldiers' temporary huts, and descended the hill with the intention, it is said, of taking possession of an eminence near the village of Brankston, which might have been useful to the English. The clouds of smoke that proceeded from the burning camp, mutually concealed the two armies,¹ so that, when the smoke had disappeared, the hostile troops found themselves within a quarter of a mile of each other.

The right wing of the Scots, which was composed of the flower of their soldiery, began the battle, and their onset was irresistible. On the left, the state of matters was reversed, and the Scots were all either slain or scattered with terrible destruction. The central divisions of the two armies had now joined in close and deadly conflict. The King of Scotland fought on foot in the front rank. Though the English were far more numerous, James exhibited the most determined and

His host Lord Surrey lead?
 What 'vails the vain knight errant's brand?
 O Douglas for thy leading wand?
 Fierce Randolph, for thy speed!
 O for one hour of Wallace wight,
 Or well skilled Bruce to rule the fight,
 And cry—"St Andrew and our right!"
 Another sight had seen that morn
 From Fate's dark book a leaf been torn
 And Flodden had been Bannockburn!—
 The precious hour has passed in vain,
 And England's host has gained the plain;
 Wheeling their march and circling still,
 Around the base of Flodden Hill,

¹ Hollinshed.

romantic valour; whilst the young nobles around him vied with each other in desperate daring.—The Scots were completely surrounded by the enemy; but, forming themselves into compact order, they resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible, and accept no quarter. In the energy of despair, they made dreadful havock with their spears extended on every side, and almost penetrated through the English host. James fell at this instant.¹ Being twice wounded by arrows, he was at last despatched by a bill, a species of weapon that made a dreadful and ghastly wound.² Night arrived and the Scottish centre still kept their ground; but, during the hours of darkness, or rather towards day break, they drew off from the bloody scene in which they left their brave King and their choicest warriors.

This disastrous battle was fought on the 9th of September, 1513. The victors lost nearly five thousand men, and the vanquished about twice that number; but on the side of the English, very few men of distinction fell. The Scots left on the field of slaughter, besides their heroic King, two bishops, two mitred abbots, twelve earls, thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers. The number of gentlemen slain in this dreadful battle, was almost beyond calculation; for there was scarcely a family of note that did not lose a relation.³ Many

1 Hollinshed.

2 Scott.

3 “No event,” says an eloquent writer, “more immediately calamitous than the defeat at Flodden darkens the Scottish annals. Shrieks of despair resounded through the kingdom.—Wives, mothers, daughters, rushed into the streets and highways, tearing their hair, indulging in all the distraction of sorrow; while each invoked some favourite name, a husband, a son,

men of consequence connected with, or from Galloway, perished at Flodden; and among them were the Earls of Cassillis,¹ Bothwell, and Morton; John, Lord Maxwell, with his four brothers; Robert, Lord Herries, with Andrew his brother; Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies; Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, husband of Elizabeth Gordon of Lochinvar, whose son was provost of Lincluden; Charles M'Dowall of Logan, then a potent chief, in Wigtownshire; Sir David Dunbar of Mochrum,² Steward of Kirkcubright; and Sir William Maclellan of Bombie. His father's assassin, Alexander Gordon, son and heir of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, met his death on the same bloody field.³

a father, a brother, a lover, now blended in one bloody mass of destruction. While the pleasing labours of harvest were abandoned, while an awful silence reigned in the former scenes of rural mirth, the castle and the tower echoed to the lamentations of noble matrons and virgins; the churches and chapels were filled with melancholy processions to deprecate the divine vengeance, and to chaunt with funeral music masses for the slain. Nor, amid the pangs of private distress, was the monarch forgotten—the valiant, the affable, the great, the good, who in an evil hour had sacrificed to precipitation a reign of virtues, who in the vigour of his life had fallen in a foreign land, and whose mangled body was the prey of his enemies.”

¹ David, Lord Kennedy, was created Earl of Cassillis in 1509: he was heritable Bailie of Penninghame in the county of Wigtown.—Caledonia.

² The first Dunbar of Mochrum, was second son of Patrick, ninth Earl of March.

³ Weber's Flodden Field.—Halle's Chronicle.—Lindsay.—Buchanan.—Scott.—Tytler.—Tales of the Scottish Wars.—Crawford's Peerage.—Maitland, &c.

The following lines of Home are peculiarly applicable to this event.

A river here, there an ideal line
By fancy drawn, divides the sister kingdoms,
On each side dwells a people similar
As twins are to each other, valiant both,
Both for their valour famous through the world;
Gallant in strife, and noble in their ire,

James Hepburn, who began life as Rector of Dalry, afterwards of Parton, and who ultimately became Bishop of the Isles, as well as Lord High

The battle is their pastime. They go forth
 Gay in the morning, as to summer sport :
 When evening comes, the glory of the morn,
 The youthful warrior, is a clod of clay.
 Thus fall the prime of either hapless land ;
 And such the fruits of Scots and English wars."

CHARTERS GRANTED BY JAMES IV.

In 1504. James erected Meiton in the parish of Mochrum, into a burgh of barony. This grant was made in favour of M'Culloch of Merton. The burgh has been long extinct, and Maxwell of Monreith's seat is now on the ancient site of the village.

The Abbot of Glenluce received a charter on the 23rd of January 1496 7, constituting the village of Ballinlach, in the barony of Glenluce, a burgh of barony, but the burgh has not prospered. (Regist. Mag. Sig.) In 1510, Lord Herries received a new charter for his lands. By this charter the village of Terrezgles was made a burgh of barony by the name of Herries. (Mag. Sig.) The village now retains its ancient name.

William Maclellan of Bombie had a charter of Lochfergus and other lands, 14th May 1471. Donald Maclellan of Gyliston had a charter of the lands of Kirkcormac, 27th November 1475. Several charters to the Maclellan's of Gyliston or Gilston occur in the records.

Thomas Maclellan of Bombie, had charters of a tenement in Kirkcudbright, 22nd March 1490; of the liberty of the water called the Kirkburn, with the power of building mills, 20th February 1401; of part of Lochfergus, of Bardrochwood, Corsby, Chapletoun, and Borfalgyk, 5th February, 1492.3; of Garcrogo, 18th August 1495; and he died about 1504. He married Agnes, daughter of Sir William Dunbar of Mochrum, by whom he had three sons, viz :—1st. Sir William, 2nd Gilbert, ancestor of the present Lord Kirkcudbright, 3rd. John Maclellan of Auchlane, whose male line becoming extinct, his estates returned to his family.

Sir William Maclellan of Bombie, the eldest son, had a charter of the lands of Polmady, 12th December 1505. he fell at the battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513, leaving by Elizabeth Mure, his wife, a son and successor." WOOD'S PEERAGE.

The Gordons and Maxwells received several charters in this reign.

Treasurer of Scotland, also fell in the battle of Flodden.¹

JAMES V.

UPON the death of James IV., Margaret, Queen Dowager, became Regent of Scotland and guardian of the young King, a child of scarcely two years of age. She was enjoined by Parliament to use the counsel of Beaton,² archbishop of St. Andrews, in conjunction with the advice of the Earls of Angus and Huntly. Some of the nobility disapproved of committing the chief place in the government to a female, particularly the sister of Henry, King of England, and privately sent a message to the Duke of Albany, next heir to the crown, to repair to Scotland and assume the office of regent. In the beginning of this reign, Robert, Lord Maxwell, procured from the Queen, the Stewardship of Kirkeudbright for the period of nineteen years, and the keeping of Thrieve castle, with all the lands, feu-duties, and fishings.³

¹ Crawford's Lives of Officers of State. p.p. 368-9.

The following extract from Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, evinces the state of society in Galloway during the reign of James IV.

In 1508, Ninian M'Culloch came in the King's will for the oppression of Elizabeth Lennox, reaving 1500 sheep, her half of the effects of James M'Culloch of Cardoness, Spulzie of her tierce of the barony of Cardoness and Kirkmabreck. Stouthrief of the rents, corn, and household goods."

² James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was youngest son of John Bethune or Beaton of Balfour in Fife. Some time antecedent to 1504, he was prior of Whithorn, and was afterwards elected Bishop of Galloway, but before his consecration he obtained the archbishopric of Glasgow.

³ The monks of Newabbey, with their tenants, now craved and obtained the protection of Lord Maxwell: and in February 1544, the abbot and monks feued the barony of Lochpatrick, to the second son of Lord Maxwell, for 117 marks 8s. 8d. scots, in consideration of services done by this powerful family to the abbey. (MS. Adv. Lib. Caledonia.)

His Lordship, in 1526, obtained another charter of those offices which continued hereditary in his family. For the support of Thrieve castle, the keepers had the lands of Thrieve-Grange, with the fishings in the Dee. They, likewise, annually received a fat cow from each parish within the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.¹

There were at this period coroners in every shire of Scotland, who seem not to have been very efficient public officers. In the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright there were two, one for the western division, between the Cree and the Dee, and another for the eastern division, between the Dee and the Nith. The coronerships of those portions of Galloway became hereditary in the families of M'Dowall of Machermore, and M'Dowall of of Spot.² Wigtownshire had one coroner; and the Dunbars of Mochrum obtained the office.³

Gavin Dunbar, prior of Whithorn, son of John Dunbar of Mochrum, and Janet, daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies,⁴ was selected as a suitable person to conduct the educa-

[1 Caledonia.—Great Seal Reg.—Privy Seal Reg. M.

2 Privy Seal Reg.—Caledonia.

3 Dougl. Baronetage—Caledonia.

4 Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies, who succeeded this lady's father after the battle of Flodden, according to Crawford, "was much favoured by King James V., of whose Privy Council he was. He married first Catherine, daughter of Sir James Crichton of Cranston-riddel, 2ndly Margaret, daughter of Patrick Dunbar of Clugston, by whom he had two sons, Alexander, and John Stewart, Parson of Kirkmahoe, progenitor of John Stewart of Phisgill, in Vicecomitatu de Wigtoun. His third wife was Catherine daughter to William Stewart of Barclay, by whom he had William, first of the House of Clarie, and Robert, who, in the year 1561, procured the lands of Cardonald in Renfrew shire by the marriage of Mary, daughter and co-heiress of James

tion of the young King.¹ This duty he performed so judiciously, that he instructed his royal pupil with ease and pleasure in all the branches of knowledge, necessary for a prince to acquire in his tender years. In the meantime, the Queen married the Earl of Angus, grandson of old Bell-the-cat, a young man possessed of many attractive qualities; but rash, inexperienced, and ambitious; and this connection, by the terms of her late husband's will, put an end to her regency.

The desire for the Duke of Albany's presence in Scotland now became almost universal, and the sentence of forfeiture against his family was recalled by Parliament.² After some delay, he repaired to Scotland and landed at Ayr.³ Being received with much joy, he was installed in the office of regent.⁴

Albany found much difficulty in conducting the government of Scotland. He was supported by the middle classes, and, indeed, by the great body of the nation; but his exertions were paralysed by the clergy, and an arrogant aristocracy. Every species of outrage at this time prevailed; and a total dissolution of society seemed to be at hand. Parties of English marauders took advantage of the internal disorders of Scotland, and, breaking across

Stewart of Cardonald, and Helen, married to William Gordon of Murefede, in Vicecomitatu de Wigton."

¹ The mode in which Dunbar discharged this important trust gave much satisfaction to the rulers of the kingdom. The tie between the preceptor and pupil was never dissolved, and James took every opportunity of evincing his gratitude to his early benefactor.

² His father was that Duke of Albany, who, with Douglas, invaded Galloway.

³ Balfour.

⁴ Rymer.—Tytler.

the marches, ravaged the country with boldness and impunity. In this state of difficulties, the Regent looked to France for support as a counterpoise to the deceitful conduct and insidious attacks of England. But he soon discovered that his expectations were vain, for the policy of that country had undergone a change. He, therefore, with much earnestness, requested permission from Parliament, to visit the French King, having some expectations of advantage from a personal interview with that monarch. Leave of absence was granted him for four months; but the country was so convulsed by opposing factions during that period, that he preferred the tranquillity of France to the insecurity of Scotland, and wrote to the Queen Dowager to resume her former station in the government.

After five years' residence abroad, this nobleman, at the solicitation of the Queen's party, again sailed from France, and, according to Balfour, landed in Galloway.¹ This event, for a time, re-united the discordant factions, and gave some prospects of a strong and permanent government.

In 1522, the Duke of Albany assembled a Parliament at Edinburgh, and a war with England was instantly resolved upon; but the Queen, with that fickleness of conduct which was remarkable in her character, betrayed the interest of the Regent and the policy of government to the English warden, and became an advocate for peace.—Hostilities commenced, and the Scottish force advanced as far as Carlisle; but a truce quickly followed.

The Duke having dismissed his army, returned to

¹ Mr Tytler asserts, that he landed in Lennox.

Edinburgh and resumed the labours of his high office. The Queen, however, continued to thwart his exertions in the discharge of his duty, by revealing his secrets, and sowing dissension among the nobility. Albany again became desirous of repairing to France, that he might hold a conference with Francis I.; and, upon his arrival, he was received with kindness and respect.

During the absence of the Regent, notwithstanding the hollow professions of Henry, war began to rage upon the borders. Albany, upon receiving this intelligence, was much incensed, and determined to make a last effort to save his country. He embarked, at Brest, in a "fleet of eighty seven small vessels and a force of four thousand foot, to which were added five hundred men at arms, a thousand hagbutteers, six hundred horse, of which one hundred were barbed, and a fine camp of artillery." Having escaped the English fleet which lay in wait for him, he landed at Kirkeudbright on the 7th of October, 1523.¹

On his arrival, the patriotic Regent found the state of affairs in Scotland by no means encouraging. The Queen was treacherous and hostile; the nobles were unreasonable, refractory, rebellious, and vindictive; and the Regent, having in vain endeavoured to appease internal feuds, and render the kingdom either respected, or independent of England, took leave of a distracted country, in 1524, and retired to France, from which kingdom he never returned to the dominions of his ancestors.²

Owing to the translation of Archbishop James

1 Balfour, &c.

2 Tytler.—Balfour.

Beaton to the primacy of Scotland at this time, Gavin Dunbar, prior of Whithorn, and preceptor to the King, was appointed to the Archbishopric of Glasgow.¹

On the 3rd of August of the following year, in conjunction with the Earl of Angus and some others, this ecclesiastical dignitary proceeded to meet the commissioners of England, for the purpose of effecting a peace, and suppressing the disorders on the borders. In 1526, he was nominated one of the "Kingis counsale," and along with the Bishops of Galloway and Aberdeen, was selected by the King himself, to be of his secret council for spiritual affairs. He was also one of the Lords of the articles for the clergy.²

During the turbulent period which succeeded the departure of Albany, a feud of a serious nature occurred between Maclellan of Bombie, and Gordon of Lochinvar. These barons having gone to Edinburgh, in November 1526, to attend Parliament, an encounter took place at the door of St. Giles's church, when the *Laird* of Bombie was slain by the *Lairds* of Lochinvar and Drumlanrig, with their followers. The Earl of Angus, who now ruled the kingdom, afforded the culprits his protection, and they were never brought to trial for the aggravated outrage. A remission was granted, on the 20th of July, 1526, to James Gordon of Lochinvar,³ James Douglas of Drumlanrig, with

1 Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State.

2 Acta Parl. The Lords of the articles formed a committee of Parliament to prepare business for the general body. No measure could be submitted to the national council, without their concurrence. They seem to have been nominated by the Sovereign.

3 "Sir James Gordon of Lochinvar, had Charters of Hard.

thirty seven accomplices, for the slaughter of Thomas M'Clellan of Bombie. This remission, which is still in the possession of Lord Kenmure, bore the royal signature. Another remission under the great seal, confirmatory of the former, was granted in 1529.¹

lands, Meneboye, &c., 11th July 1539, and of Arec, 14th July 1541, all in the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright: had the appointment of the King's Chamberlain for the Lordship of Galloway, for five years, by writ, dated 16th March 1528, and by another writ, dated 1st April 1537, he was constituted Governor of the Town and Castle of Dumbarton, and Chamberlain of that Lordship, then in the Crown by forfeiture;—Sir James Gordon, with Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and thirty-seven others, had a remission for the slaughter of Thomas Maclellan of Bombie, committed on the street of Edinburgh, dated 1529. He was one of those selected to accompany King James V. on his matrimonial expedition to France, 1538; and on that occasion, he obtained a writ of privy-seal from the King, taking his friends and followers under the immediate care of the Government, and exempting them from answering to Courts for any misdemeanour whatever till his return to Scotland.

He married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Crichton of Kilpatrick. She had a Charter to her in liferent, remainder to William Gordon, her son, of the lands of Culreoch in the county of Wigton, 19th October 1542. They had issue."

"1st. May 1544. Letters of Slains, were granted by Thomas M'Lellan of Bombie, son and heir to the said Thomas M'Lellan deceased to the said James Gordon of Lochinvar, and his assistants of the said slaughter." (Extract from the list of charters, &c. in possession of the family of Kenmure.)

1 The following extract may be taken as an indication of the state of society in this district, during the reign of James V.

"In 1513, Gilchrist M'Kenzie in Killas, compounded for the stouthrief of six cows and oxen furth of Kirkmabreck, from the tenants of the Laird of Ardwall. Felony done to Andrew M' Culloch of Ardwall in searching for his slaughter.

In 1538, Alexander M'Culloch of Cardiness, came in the King's will (at same time) for oppression to Archibald Cairns, and Henry his son, coming upon them with arms within the Sanctuary of the parish church of Anwoth, to the effusion of his blood.

Item, for robbing Gilbert Ryal, furth of his set of the lands of Drummocklock, 120 bolls of oats, during the last three years.

James, in the seventeenth year of his age, was delivered from the thralldom of the Douglasses, and invested with supreme authority.— This once powerful, but now degraded faction were prohibited from appearing at court, or approaching the capital;—and the proclamation issued by the King, declared it a treasonable offence to hold communication with the Earl of Angus, or any of his adherents. Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, acquired at this time, the important appointment of Lord High Chancellor;¹ and Lord Maxwell, Steward of Kirkcudbright, received the command of the metropolis, with the office of Provost.²

Instead of endeavouring by loyalty and submission to conciliate the youthful Sovereign, Angus immediately fortified his castles and collected his

The said Alexander came in will for stouthrief of 60 sheep, 5 cows and a mare, furth of Ardwall, a black horse, a mare, furth of Kirkmabreck.

Item, from Sir Adam Stark's chaplain, seven head of cattle furth Camtray.

Item, for felony and oppression and Hamesucken, done to John M'Culloch in his lands of Auchenlerie, and for stouthrief of eight oxen and one cow from his lands.

Item, Gilbert Kerr of a horse.

Item, for oppression of Johu M'Culloch, breaking his plough, wounding his servants, &c., &c.

Sureties :—James Kenuedy of Blairquhan, and the Tutor of Bombie."

Error of Assize.

"Alexander Stewart of Garlies, and Mr Murray of Broughton, twice for acquitting the said Alexander M'Culloch of Cardiness, for the mutilation of Henry Cairns, of forethought felony.— Lord Maxwell fined £40 for their non-appearance."

PITCAIRN'S CRIMINAL TRIALS.

1 The word "chancellor" is supposed to be derived from the Latin cancellare, to cancel, because this great officer of state had the power of cancelling any writs presented to the great seal, containing objectionable clauses.

2 Hollinshed,

vassals. An act of attainder was subsequently passed against the Douglasses, who proceeded, in contempt of the royal authority, to destroy the villages of Cranston and Cowsland.¹ Angus's lands were now divided among James's loyal friends; Maxwell and Bothwell participated in the division. The rebellious Earl was, at last, compelled to fly into England, from which asylum he did not return till after the demise of James V.

Each baron in Scotland had long enjoyed an heritable jurisdiction and the privilege of holding his own courts. Notwithstanding an appeal lay to the King and council, much oppression, injustice, and partiality, accompanied the decisions of these powerful local judges. To prevent, in some measure, the perversion of law and the complaints of litigants, James, by the advice of his Chancellor, Dunbar, and with the concurrence of Parliament, instituted the College of Justice. This court was fixed to consist of fourteen members, styled Senators of the College of Justice, one half to be chosen from the spiritual, and the other from the temporal estate, with a president who was always to be a clergyman. By the statute which established the College of Justice, the chancellor was appointed to have "voit and be principale of the said counsale," and the King might add an indefinite number of judges, who had the same power of sitting and voting that belonged to the other members. The first session commenced in the presence of the King and the Lord Chancellor, on the 27th of May 1532.² William,

1 Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.—Tytler.

2 Historical account of the College of Justice.

Lord Herries,¹ Robert, Lord Maxwell² and, Henry Wemyss, Bishop of Galloway,³ were appointed extraordinary Senators soon after its institution.—

1 “William, Lord Herries, son of Andrew, and Janet Douglas, daughter of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, succeeded his father in 1513. He appears as an extraordinary lord in the sederunt of 27th June 1532. He died on the 26th September 1543, and was the last lord Herries of that surname.” COLLEGE OF JUSTICE.

Lord Herries of Terregles, got charters under the great seal of many lands and baronies, (to William, Domino Herries, &c.,) inter 1536 et 1542; he married Catherine, daughter of John Kennedy of Blairquhan, by whom he had three daughters.

1st. Agnes, married to Sir John Maxwell, second son of Lord Maxwell, ancestor of the Earls of Nithsdale. 2nd. Catherine, married to Alexander Stewart of Garlies ancestor of the Earl of Galloway. 3rd. Janet married to William Cockburn of Skirling, Esq. Lord Herries died without male issue in 1543.

The honours, however, did not descend to any of the three co-heiresses of his fortune, and Archibald Herries of Madinpenny, the heir male of the family, did not pretend to them. The dignity remained dormant, or rather extinct, till Sir John Maxwell, and his lady, in consequence of a contract with their sisters, acquired a right to the whole estate, and the lands of Terregles had been erected anew in 1566, into a lordship in favour of him and his wife and the heirs male of their bodies. After this, Sir John bore the title of lord Herries, under which he is marked in the roll of those who sat in the great parliament of 1567.”—(Wallace’s Nature and descent of ancient Peerages, Edinburgh. Edit. 1785. p. p. 187. 189 & Family Records.)

2 Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell, was a man of so much worth and merit, that James V. held him in high estimation. As soon as the Sovereign took into his own hands the administration of public affairs, he appointed Lord Maxwell captain of the castle of Lochmaben, colonel of the royal guards, and warden of the west marches. (MS. Historical account of the family of Maxwell.)

3 “The Bishop of Galloway is first mentioned in the sederunt of the Court, on the 21st March 1533. The individual who then filled that see was Henry Wemyss, who, according to Douglas, was the son of John, fifth son of Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss, by a daughter of Sir John Arnot of Arnot. As he is, however, designed in charters, ‘frater regis,’ and ‘frater naturalis regis,’ it has been supposed he was a son of Sir John’s daughter, by James IV. He was a prelate of great piety, according to Lesly, who relates a supernatural interposition of

A few years afterwards, John Letham,¹ Rector of Kirkchrist, was nominated one of the ordinary, and the Earl of Cassillis, one of the extraordinary Lords.

At this period Henry VIII., King of England, had shaken off the chains of Papal authority; and the doctrines of the reformed religion were widely spreading among the people. In Scotland, too, a great national change seemed unavoidably approaching; for religious reformation had been long advancing with a silent but steady pace. The art of printing, discovered in the preceding century, had opened men's eyes to the light of truth, and their hearts to the knowledge of their true spiritual interests. The Bible, which had been locked up from the laity by the clergy, lest it should expose the futility of many extravagant ecclesiastical pretensions, was now procured by numbers, and eagerly read, though the act constituted a penal offence.

At an early period, doctrines in opposition to the Romish Faith had been propagated in Galloway. Some of the disciples of Wickliffe penetrated into this province and exposed the corruptions of the Church of Rome. Those pious and benevolent men were assiduous in their labours of

heaven in his favour, during a remarkable storm of wind at Edinburgh, in 1524. He died shortly before 3d July 1541, and was succeeded by Andrew Durie, Abbot of Melrose."

COLLEGE OF JUSTICE.

Keith says, he was bishop of Galloway from 1516 to 1540 and styles him "bishop of Galloway and his majesty's chaplain at Stirling." p. 278.

1 Letham was one of the nine advocates appointed at its institution to practise before the court. Kirkchrist was in the diocese of Galloway and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. It now forms a portion of the parish of Twynholm. The church of Kirkchrist seems to have been small.

love. A family of the name of Gordon, predecessors of the Gordons of Earlston, not only became converts, but afforded the advocates of religious reform every protection, and even received them into their house. A copy of the New Testament was obtained by this pious family, and secret meetings were held in the woods for reading it. The sentiments of the reformers, having thus been adopted by one of the richest and most influential landholders of the district, soon spread through the greater part of it; and even before the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, who was brought to the stake at St. Andrews in 1528, the inhabitants of the district had at least secretly abjured the Catholic Faith.¹ Thus Galloway may be considered the cradle of the infant Reformation in Scotland.

James, in 1536, formed the romantic project of visiting France, disguised as a private gentleman, in search of a consort; and, with a small retinue, comprising Lord Maxwell, embarked in a vessel, which immediately put to sea. The vessel encountered a storm and sailed back to Scotland. The King landed at Whithorn, and afterwards

I Murray.—Wodrow. ‘ It may here with propriety be stated, that the family of Gordon of Earlston, then of Airds, a branch of the house of Lochinvar, had become converts to the principles of Wickliffe, and that they received into their house some of his disciples who had itinerated to Scotland to propagate the truth, and afford them protection. They had in their possession a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which was read at *secret meetings*, held in the wood of Airds; for the law at that time regarded the possession of a copy of the sacred volume as a high crime and misdemeanour,—and a much higher crime it would have been reckoned, to communicate a knowledge of it to others.’ DR. T. MURRAY’S NOTE TO THE HEAVENLY SPEECHES OF LORD KENMURE.

proceeded to Stirling: thus Galloway had another, and an unexpected visit of royalty.¹

James, however, was not to be diverted from his undertaking, but made instant preparations to execute his design with due deliberation and dignity. Having nominated a regency which included Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Lord Maxwell, Steward of Kirkeudbright, he sailed from Leith, with a magnificent suite of nobility and clergy. On New-years'-day, he married Magdalene, only daughter of the King of France, a beautiful, though delicate girl of sixteen: seven cardinals attended the marriage. After spending nearly nine months in France, the Scottish Sovereign and his interesting bride arrived at Leith on the 19th of May 1537.

The King had not long resumed the administration of the government, until his youthful Queen sunk under the influence of consumption, a disease which had given strong proofs of its insidious progress, even before the royal marriage. Both James and the nation were plunged in grief;² but he soon evinced the firmness of his matrimonial purpose, by despatching Lord Maxwell, in company with David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal, and the Master of Glencairn, on an embassy to France, where a negotiation of marriage between the King of Scotland and Mary of the House of Guise was immediately concluded. Lord Maxwell espoused the lady in his royal

¹ *Scotica Miscellanea*, vol. 3.—Hollinshed.

² Mourning dresses were now first used; but it was sometime before they became general.

master's name, and conducted her in safety to Scotland. His conduct gave great satisfaction to the King, who, in reward of his important services, confirmed to him the possession of his vast estates.¹

James's connexion with France made him disinclined to any change in the national Church.— Both Francis I. and the Duke of Guise, were proud ambitious men, and bigoted supporters of the Romish Faith. Their opinions and their wishes had considerable influence over James's mind. Besides, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, Beaton Archbishop of St. Andrews, and his nephew, afterwards cardinal Beaton, stood at this time high in the King's favour; and they, likewise, amongst with other clergymen, used every exertion to prevent him from following the footsteps of his uncle, Henry VIII. in religious matters. The Popish ministers and counsellors of the Sovereign had recourse to unjust and violent measures in order to counteract the tendency of the people to a religious change.— Many were seized, tried, and committed to the flames, now kindled by intolerance and bigotry.—

1 "The King, in reward of his faithful services, confirmed to him the lands of Ensdale, Eskdale, and Wachopdale, by a charter under the Great Seal, (Chart. in publ. archiv.) he was possessed of an immense estate, and had no less than fourteen charters from the King, of different lands and baronies, inter 1530, et 1540, (ibid) in one charter there are confirmed to him the lands of Maxwell in Roxburghshire, Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire, Springkell in Annandale, with the office of Stewart thereof, and of Kirkcudbright, the lands of Garnsalloch, Dursguheu, and Balmacruth, in Perthshire, Gordonston and Grenan in Kirkcudbright, with the lands and baronies of Mearns and Nether Pollock in Renfrewshire, &c., &c., (ibid et Chart. in archiv. tom de Nithsdale,) this charter proceeds upon a narrative of his faithful services in the King's minority, as warden of the marches, &c., &c., is dated 19th July 1537."

MS. Account of the Family of Maxwell.

Others were compelled to seek security in exile; for the inquisitions of the clergy, urged on by their jealousies and their fears, were dreadfully rigorous.

The King of England, having robbed the Church of much of its wealth, dreaded the machinations and hostile designs of the Papists both at home and abroad. He, therefore, wished to diminish the danger and lessen the odium of his heretical conduct, as it was called, by persuading his nephew of Scotland to follow the example which he had set, and thus enrich himself at the expense of the Church. For this purpose, Henry sent Lord William Howard and the Bishop of St. David's, into Scotland, who invited James to meet their Sovereign at York, in order to hold a conference on the state of the two nations. They promised in their master's name, that if James complied with their request, every thing which an opulent and prodigal monarch could do, should be accomplished to render the visit both pleasant and profitable,—James, flattered by this attention from so great a monarch,—the brother of his mother,—and perhaps not altogether indifferent to an accession of wealth, no matter from what source it proceeded, consented at first to the proposed interview, and dismissed the ambassadors with much seeming sincerity and friendship. When the news of the King's intended visit to England transpired, the favourers of the Reformation exulted in the prospect of liberty of conscience, and the termination of religious persecution: while the ecclesiastics began to tremble for the authority of their order and the fate of their extensive possessions. To avert the impending danger, the clergy promised James an

annuity of fifty thousand crowns,¹ and held out some prospects from the property of condemned heretics, if he would remain firm to his religious tenets, and abandon the intended visit to York.— James, being poor and avaricious, could not withstand the representations, promises, and solicitations of his friends and advisers. He, therefore, accepted the offers of the clergy, and refused to visit Henry, though that haughty monarch had already repaired to the appointed place of meeting, and had remained at York six days. Henry's soul was fired with ungovernable fury at this insulting neglect; and, having prepared for instant war, he commenced hostilities by ravaging the confines of the Scottish territories. James assembled the array of his kingdom, and proceeded as far as Fala, on his march to the border, where he received information that the hostile general had retired within the English frontier. Upon gaining this intelligence, the nobles who had joined the royal standard, being generally favourable to the Reformation and hostile to the priests, intimated to the King their intention of advancing no farther. They stated to their Sovereign, that they had taken up arms to repel invasion; but, as the war was an impolitic one, they would not become the aggressors. James, finding himself thus deserted, repaired to Edinburgh: the army followed his example, and having dispersed, returned home.

The King was inexpressibly indignant at the disobedience of his barons; but, by the advice of Lord Maxwell, he made a fresh attempt at invasion, and mustered from the south-west counties an-

¹ Maitland.

other army, which advanced into Annandale, and onwards to the place where the Esk becomes the line of demarcation between Scotland and England.—

The King himself remained at Caerlaverock, and awaited with intense anxiety the result of the invasion. Scarcely had the Scottish forces, amounting to 10,000 men, entered the English territories, until a royal commission was read, appointing Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, but one of the King's principal favourites, generalissimo of the little army. This injudicious appointment, which was much deprecated, seems to have been intended as a reprimand to the nobility, who declared, that to serve under such a leader would be truly degrading; whilst their retainers participated in their feelings. Lord Maxwell and some other loyal peers, by arguments, entreaties, and even threats, endeavoured to remove their antipathy; but the whole army soon became agitated by jarring discussion, and resembled more a disorderly mob than a military body. At this crisis, a reconnoitring party of three hundred horse approached the Scottish camp, and perceiving the confusion of their enemies, seized the opportunity, charged in a compact body, and, in the panic of the moment, put the Scots to flight. A thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the English at Solway-Moss. The Earl of Cassillis and Lord Maxwell were among the captives. The latter, by the aid of his numerous followers,¹ might have escaped; but, knowing his master's vindictive disposition, he declared it was better to be a prisoner in England, than be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh.

¹ The following is the copy of a bond of Man rent, given by

James received the news of this defeat, at Caerlaverock castle,¹ and instantly departed, passing first to Edinburgh and then to Falkland. His strong contending passions threw him into a fever; for, in addition to his present misfortunes, he had lately lost two sons. The news that the Queen had been safely delivered of a daughter at Linlithgow, instead of alleviating, seemed to embitter his anguish; and, after a very few days suffering, he expired. Had he not been the dupe of a dominant and selfish party; had his own intelligence kept pace with the intelligence of his people; and had he looked upon their interests and his own as inseparably united, he might have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign.²

Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, to Lord Maxwell about this time.

“Be it kend till all men, be thir present lettres me Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closburn to be bundin and oblisit, and be the Tenor, heir of bindis and oblissis me, be the faith and treuth of my body, in manrent and service to ane nobil and mychty Lord Robert Lord Maxwell, induring all the days of my lyfe, and byndis and oblissis me, as said is, to be leill and trew man and servand to the said Robert Lord Maxwell, my maister and sall nowthir heir nor se his skaith but sal let the samyn at my uter power and warn him theirow and I sal conceill it that the said lord schawis to me, and sal gif him agane the best leill and trew counsale that I can quhen he ony askis at me, and that I sal ryde with my kin, freyndis, servandis and allies that will do for me, or to gang with the said lord: and do to him aefauld trew and thankful service, and take aefauld playne part with the said lord, my maister in all and sindry his actionis causis quarrelis leful and honest movit or to be movit be him, or aganis him baith in peace and weir contrair or aganis all thae that leiffes my (allegiant to our Souveran Ladye the Quenis Grace her Tutor and Governor allanerly excep) and thir my lettres of manrent for all the dayis of my life foresaid to indure, all dissimulations, fraud, or gyle secludit and away put. In witness, &c., &c.

This deed is signed at Edinburgh, 3d February, 1542.”

1 Tytler.

2 During this reign, Archibald Dunbar, through the influence of his brother, the Archbishop of Glasgow, obtained the lands of

James died in the thirty first year of his age and the twenty ninth of his reign; leaving a number of natural children, but only one legitimate daughter to inherit his crown. He was an accomplished prince, and excelled in all the athletic and military exercises peculiar to the rude age in which he lived.

Baldoon and other possessions in Wigtownshire. He was provost of Glasgow in 1658.

“ Thomas Maclellan of Bombie, had a charter of the lands of Blackmark and others, 11th November 1521. He was killed on the High street of Edinburgh, 11th July 1526, by the barons of Drumlanrig and Lochinvar, his potent neighbours, with whom he had a feud.”

WOOD'S PEERAGE.

Jan. 13 1538.9.—“ Remission to James Gordoune of Lochinvar, William G. of Crauchlew, Andrew Agnew Sheriff of Wigtoune, George M'Culloch of Torhouse, David Gordoune, John G. called John of Quhithorne, William Cornis, young Laird of Orchardtounne, and twelve others, for art and part of the slaughter of Thomas MacClellan of Bombie, committed eleven years last by-past, in the burgh of Edinburgh.”

PITCAIRN.

Pitcairn's Criminal Trials abound in particulars, and are both interesting in themselves, and highly illustrative of the internal state of Galloway. They commence in the year 1488, and end in 1624. We intended to give such of them as are most applicable to Galloway, in notes, as we proceeded, and more particularly at the termination of every reign; but we found they would swell our notes to an inconvenient extent, and therefore we have placed all in the appendix that are not necessary to elucidate some public historical event. For the particular trials, &c. previous to this period See Appendix. (N)

CHAP. IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY STEWART, UNTIL HER
FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND.

MARY STEWART was born on the 7th of December, 1542, and, in a few days afterwards, became, by her father's death, the Queen of a distracted country.¹ Two parties now began a struggle for obtaining the supreme power, namely, the Queen Dowager, supported by Cardinal Beaton and the clergy, and the Earl of Arran, backed by the numerous promoters of the Reformation. The nobility were, consequently, summoned to meet in Edinburgh for settling the government of the country; and Beaton's faction being outnumbered, Arran was invested with all the powers and honours of the regency.

The English party having now prevailed, all the exiles and captives returned home from England, pledged to support the interests and views of Henry; and they left hostages for their fidelity to

1 Soon after the death of the King, Oliver Sinclair shared the common fate of royal favourites, being called to account for the defeat at Solway Moss. The following entry appears in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

"Apr. 21, 1543, (*apud Palacium S. Crucis.*)—Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, became surety to enter OLIUERE SYNCLARE OF PETCARNE before the Governor, Lords of Council, or Justiciar, whenever he shall be required, on premonition of xv days, to underly the law for certain crimes to be imputed to him." PITCAIRN'S CRIMINAL TRIALS.

England.¹ An ambassador was sent into Scotland to effect a treaty of marriage between the infant Queen of Scotland, and Edward, son of Henry VIII., and heir apparent to the crown. It was also proposed that the person of Mary should be committed to Henry's care, that she might be educated at his court. The Scottish Parliament, with the Regent at its head, which met in 1543, agreed to give their Queen in marriage to Prince Edward, and to conduct her, when she had attained the age of ten years, to the court of England. Even this modified agreement excited the fears and jealousy of many, lest Henry, under the pretence of a union by marriage, should effect the utter subjugation of the kingdom.

In this Parliament the first legislative step towards the final overthrow of the Roman Catholic Religion was taken. A motion was made by Lord Maxwell, the purport of which was, that the Bible should be allowed to be read in the vernacular tongue.² This overture just in itself and honourable to him who made it, was opposed by Archbishop Dunbar,—a native of Galloway, as we have seen,—and many others; but after much discussion it was carried. From this decision, which tended to undermine the whole fabric of

¹ The Scottish prisoners were not kept in close confinement: they were consigned to the custody of several Englishmen of distinction, in whose houses they lodged. Lord Maxwell was committed to the care of Sir Anthony Brown, and the Earl of Cassillis to the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Lodge's Illustrations.)

² "That it should be lawful for every one who could read, to use the English translation of the Bible, until the Prelates should publish one more correct." STEVENSON'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND STATE OF SCOTLAND, vol. i. p. 49.

Popish superstition "all the Prelates of the realm" thought proper to dissent.¹

The King of France became alarmed at the influence which Henry had attained in the Scottish counsels, and sent the young Earl of Lennox as a secret rival to the Regent, or at least as a nobleman who might have some influence over his determinations. The Earl of Arran, timid and fickle, now began to conclude that he had acted an impolitic part. Chiefly by the representations of his brother, the Abbot of Paisley, a change of opinion was effected respecting the reformed religion, and the feeble minded Regent evinced a disposition to abandon the cause he had espoused with so much eagerness and warmth. During the period that the Regent professed the principles of the reformers, he maintained two Protestant preachers in his family, Williams and Rough, or Row, whose hostility to the Church of Rome he daily encouraged. Rough afterwards became connected with Galloway. It was this individual who called the celebrated John Knox to the holy ministry.² Arran

1 Maitland.—History of the College of Justice.

2 Rough, having concluded a sermon in the castle of St. Andrews, turned suddenly to Knox who was present—"Brother," said he, "I charge you in the name of God, in the name of his Son, and in the name of this congregation, who now call upon you by my mouth, that you take upon you the office of preaching, and refuse not this vocation, as you would avoid God's heavy displeasure." The address was solemn, and totally unexpected by Knox, who, confused and agitated, in vain attempted to reply, but bursting into tears, retired from the assembly. After a few days of great conflict and distress of mind he accepted the invitation; and without any further ceremony or ordination than that already received previous to his adoption of the reformed opinions, he assumed the public office of a preacher. The reformer was then in the forty first year of his age." (M'Crie's Life of Knox)

thus swayed by minds superior to his own, at last embraced the friendship of Beaton, renounced the alliance of Henry, and devoted himself to the service of Rome and France. The treaty which the Regent had ratified and subscribed a fortnight before was now cancelled and a final stop put to the proposed marriage. David Painter, or Panther,¹ Prior of St. Mary's Isle, and principal Secretary of state, was sent as ambassador to the French court, where he remained for the period of seven years.² The Earl of Cassillis, in consequence of this sudden change, considered himself bound in honour to return to England, where he had left two brothers as hostages for his faithful behaviour.—Henry praised the conduct of the young nobleman, and, having loaded him with gifts, set him at perfect liberty.³

The English King, incensed at the Regent's duplicity and deceit, determined on immediate war. Inroads of the most wasteful description were made on the Scottish borders by the English troops. In one invasion, which lasted only for fifteen days, they burned or razed to the ground, one hundred and ninety two towers, or fortified houses, seven monasteries, five market towns, two hundred and forty villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals: Four hundred Scots were also slain, and eight hundred made prisoners; whilst 10,000 cattle, 12,000 sheep, and 1,000 horses were driven away from their proprietors.⁴

1 David Panther was a learned man and an elegant writer: his official letters are much admired. His signature which we have seen in an old deed, is "David Painter."

2 Murray.

3 Buchanan.

4 Tytler.—Scott, &c.

The reiterated and destructive incursions of the English, in which the estates of even their Scottish adherents had not been spared, created a general irritation. The people flew to arms to avenge the devastation of their country, and the English were defeated at Ancrum-moor with considerable loss, an occurrence which highly incensed their haughty Sovereign.¹ The Earl of Lennox, who still adhered to the English interest, felt himself compelled to seek safety in the court of Henry, where he married Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Queen of James IV., by her second husband, Douglas, Earl of Angus. On the 16th of September, Lord Maxwell, Gordon of Lochinvar, and Johnston, with about four hundred followers, as a just retaliation for the injury they had sustained, attempted to invade England; but they were suddenly attacked in a disadvantageous situation and completely routed. Nearly one hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the English. Lord Maxwell's son, when making an inroad into the English territories about the same time, was likewise taken prisoner.²

To obtain possession of the three strong castles of Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrieve, which belonged to Lord Maxwell, now ardently engaged the attention of Henry. He wished to use them as rallying points for his adherents. But Maxwell's conduct had been so vacillating and deceitful, having neither devoted himself entirely to the service of his country, nor the interests of England, that he could not be trusted by either of the parties now engaged in the war. Early in

¹ Scott, &c.

² Hollinshed.—Balfour.

November, therefore, the Scottish Regent stormed the castles of this nobleman, who, being seized along with some of his English associates, was committed to prison in the town of Dumfries.¹

The affairs of Scotland were at this period principally directed by Cardinal Beaton, a statesman of surpassing abilities, but of a cruel disposition.—The Regent Arran, having abjured the Protestant doctrines, gave his sanction to the persecution of heretics—as the converts were called. Many cruelties were exercised by the bigoted and vengeful Catholics, but that which roused public indignation to the highest degree of excitement, both in Galloway and other parts of Scotland, was the melancholy death of George Wishart. This amiable man, who enjoyed the confidential friendship of Lord Cassillis² and John Knox, was brought to trial for heresy. The Cardinal presided, and Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, with Wemyss, Bishop of Galloway, and some other prelates, assisted at the inquisitorial investigation. The accused in vindication appealed to the authority of the Bible, but his arguments had no weight with his prejudiced judges, and he was condemned to be burned alive. The barbarous execution took place opposite to the Cardinal's stately palace at St. Andrews, the cannons of which were pointed to the fatal spot. Beaton himself, along with Dunbar and several other church dignitaries, reclined on the walls of the castle,—which were hung

¹ Tytler.

² Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, had a mind thoroughly imbued with Protestant doctrines. He had been the pupil of the celebrated Buchanan, and had lodged, when a prisoner in England, in the house of Cranmer. Lord Cassillis was appointed an extraordinary senator of the College of Justice in 1546.

round with tapestry,—to survey the dreadful scene, and riot in the excruciating death of an innocent victim. Alas! Could such men call themselves the ministers of a Religion, which inculcates peace, and whose essence is charity, humility, and mercy? Could they call themselves the servants of the mild, the humble, the forgiving Jesus, and thus vindictively enjoy the sufferings of a helpless opponent? for private resentment and personal hatred, had a considerable share in urging them on to act the part they did in this melancholy drama. A strong guard attended to prevent a rescue. The prisoner, being brought forth, and bags of gunpowder attached to his person, was bound with chains to the stake; and, though the dismal apparatus of an appalling death stared him in the face, he displayed all the true characteristics of a sincere Christian in an eminent degree. Though placed in circumstances so awfully trying and distracting, he never ceased, even for a moment, to evince the same undaunted firmness, the same meek resignation, the same unostentatious piety, the same mild spirit of forgiveness, the same steady attachment to his principles, that had shone conspicuous, not only during his trial, but also during the whole period of his chequered life.

While he stood expecting every moment the commencement of his barbarous execution, he cast his eyes to the castle wall, upon which the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and other prelates lay on cushions, and said to the commander of the guard, “Captain, may God forgive yonder man, (meaning the Cardinal,) who lies so proudly on the wall,—within a few days he shall be seen

lying there in as much shame as he now shows pomp and vanity.”¹

The pile being then kindled, the fire arose, and Wishart was translated by a painful death, into the happy regions of immortality.

The dying prediction of the martyr received a complete fulfilment; for Cardinal Beaton was afterwards assassinated in his own castle, and his dead body exhibited from the walls to the inhabitants of the city, who had hastened to his rescue. When they found that they were too late, they departed to their own homes.

It appears by a letter from Lord Wharton to Lord Eure, warden of the east marches and captain of Berwick, that in June 1547, John Maxwell, commonly called the Master of Maxwell, brother of Lord Maxwell, in conjunction with the Lairds of Lochinvar and Drumlanrig, assembled a thousand men, and proceeded to the confines of Scotland with the intention of making an inroad into England. Having concealed themselves from observation, they despatched at day break a hundred light horsemen to the town of Glassen. But this party did not escape the observation of the enemy, who attacked them and put them to flight.²

¹ Buchanan. “That Wishart uttered this prediction, from any knowledge of an existing conspiracy against the cardinal, is a calumny not worth refuting, but that he ever uttered it at all, appears questionable; and as Knox omits it, I am inclined to believe, with Dr Cook, that a false respect for the memory of this martyr, had led his followers to represent some general declaration of God’s vengeance against sinners, as an express denunciation against the cardinal.—Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 295, and note.”

NOTE TO BUCHANAN.

² We give part of Lord Wharton’s letter.

“Advertising further your Lordship, that upon Saturday

Upon the death of Henry VIII., the Duke of Somerset, maternal uncle of the young King, was chosen Lord Protector of England. The angry spirit of Henry, still continued to actuate the counsels of the kingdom, and Somerset determined to employ the same violent measures, that had been previously resorted to, for compelling a matrimonial connection between his nephew, Edward VI., and the Scottish Queen. With a chosen army of eighteen thousand men, supported by an armed fleet, he invaded Scotland, and advanced nearly as far as Musselburgh without meeting with an opposing force. The Scottish host, which had been summoned by the fiery cross,¹ amounted to forty thousand men, and

last afore day, John Maxwell (the Lord Maxwell's brother.) the Lards Drumlangerk, young Loughinwar, and others, with their garrison lying at Loughmaben, and the countrymen lying thereabouts, to the number of 1000 men or thereupon, assembled themselves and came to a place called Tordofe in Scotland near to the water bank which divideth the realms over against the lordship of Burgh; and being there, sent 100 light horsemen in the day breaking to a town called Glassen upon the water bank in England, and laid the rest in an ambush at the said Tordofe.— And the country, being in good watch, escried and encountered their horsemen, where was a sharp skirmish. They have slain one Wattie Bell, servant to John Maxwell, two or three of their geldings, and taken one notable borderer; and (thanks be to God) no damage done to any Englishman, town, or goods, except a gelding slain under a servant of mine. These are such news as I have at this present: and I shall, as I can attend to, advertise your Lordship from time to time, requiring semblable from you, knowing well that your honorable wisdom will consider these my said letters and the present affairs of his Majesty better than I can advertise or declare the same. I shall notwithstanding endeavour myself to the accomplishment of all things to the best I may, according to my duty. And Almighty God send your good Lordship good health and prosperous success in honour.—
At Carlisle the 14th of June 1547

¹ The fiery cross was very seldom used in the Lowlands of Scotland.

The signals used along the borders and throughout Gallo-

contained almost the whole of the nobility of the kingdom,¹ who looked upon themselves as fighting for the independence, or rather the existence, of their country. The Scots had chosen a strong position for their camp, and Somerset seemed reduced to the necessity of either conquering or making a peace to save his army from inevitable destruction; for his provisions were totally consumed. The Scots, however, being afraid lest the enemy should secretly effect their escape, became impatient, and

way, were erected according to the following order. "That no shire might want advertisement; it was thought fit that beacons should be set up in all eminent places, so that any danger that appeared on the borders or at sea might be made known by the beacons running along the country, which beacons were a long and strong, tree set up with a long iron plate across the head of it, carrying on it an iron grate for holding a fire and an iron brander fixed on a stalk in the middle of it for holding a tar barrel; and the manner of advertisement was thus: the first fire was put on the ground beside the beacon, on sight whereof all were to provide themselves with arms, the next advertisement was by two fires, the one on the ground, the other in the large grate, on sight of which all were to come out to the rendezvous: and if the danger was eminent, to the two former signs was added that of the burning tar barrel." STEVENSON'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND STATE OF SCOTLAND, vol. ii. book ii. cap. iv. Edinburgh Edit 1756.

It was considered a high crime for any individual to absent himself from the army when his country required his services.

In proof of this, we adduce the following extract from Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

"JAMES ASCHYNNANE in Elyok (at the horn) found surety to underly the law, at the next Aire of Kirkcudbrycht, for abiding from the QUEEN'S Army, ordained to convene upon the Muir of Gladismuir, Aug. 20 last 1548.

May 14. 1557.—"ALEXANDER STEWARTE OF GARLEISE, John Dunbar of Mochrane John Gordoune of Barskeoche, John M' Culloch of Tothouse, John Jardane of Appilgerth, Robert Moffett senior and junior of Grantoune, Thomas Moffet of Klock, Robert Johnnestoune of Coittis, and John Creychtoune, Tutor of Sanchare, found caution to underly the law at the next Aire of Dumfries, for Abiding from the Queens Army ordained to convene at Lochmaben.stane, &c."

committed the same fatal error that they had often previously done. Observing a movement in the English army which they construed into a retreat, they abandoned their strong position to attack the enemy before they could reach their fleet. As they advanced, the guns of the hostile ships were brought to bear upon them, and caused considerable loss. The English cavalry first rushed upon the Scots, who stood firm, calling out; "Come on ye heretics;" and the assailants were beaten off with dreadful loss. Somerset ordered them to renew the assault, when Grey their commander, observed, they might as well charge a castle wall. The compact order, however, of the Scottish troops, exposed them to much loss from the archers and musketeers who were now employed, instead of cavalry, against the vanguard, as well as from the enemy's artillery which had been judiciously placed. Angus who commanded the first line, made an oblique movement to avoid the shot. The main body unfortunately mistook this movement for a flight, and got into a state of hopeless confusion. The van itself afterwards also fled. Now began a dreadful carnage. For more than five miles the fields were almost covered with the slain. No fewer than ten thousand of the Scots fell in the fatal battle of Pinkie. The warriors of Galloway were not saved from the general destruction.¹ Amongst the slain was the brave Sir James Gordon of Lochinvar. This proved the last great defeat that the Scots

¹ Mr Chalmers mentions, that "In 1547 the inhabitants, and free-holders of Wigton-shire rose, in defence of their country, in the minority of queen Mary; and a number of them fell on Pinkie-field, while fighting, bravely, against the invading enemy."

sustained from the English. The battle was fought on the 10th of September 1547.¹

Two days before this terrific engagement, the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton entered Scotland by the west marches, in order to create a diversion, or prevent the inhabitants of the southern districts from sending farther aid to the main army; and also to chastise some of the barons in that quarter for their hostile attacks upon England.

The English force consisted of five thousand infantry and eight hundred light cavalry. The first night they encamped on the water of Esk, and next day marched through the lower part of Annandale, wasting the country on every side, until they reached Castle-milk. Though this fortress was of considerable strength, yet John Stewart, the proprietor's brother, yielded it up to the invaders without even a show of resistance. Lennox appointed Sir Edward Dudley,² with an English garrison, to hold the castle in the name of the young King of England. On the 20th of September, the English encamped near the town of Annan, which they afterwards summoned to surrender. A

¹ We find the following appalling description of this field of slaughter after the conclusion of the battle, by Patten, who was an eye witness of the horrid scene.

“Some lay without the legs, some houghed, and half-dead, others thrust quite through the body, others the arms cut off, divers their necks half asunder, many their heads cloven, the brains of sundry dashed out, some others their heads quite off, with a thousand kinds of killing. In the chase, all for the most part were killed either in the head or the neck, for our horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. The river Esk was red with blood, so that in the same chase were counted, as well by some of our men who diligently observed it, as by several of the prisoners, who greatly lamented the result, upwards of fourteen thousand slain.”

² Tytler.

brave officer of the name of Lyon, with the Master of Maxwell, and the Lairds of Johnston and Cockpool, made a desperate defence.¹ Having at last retired to the church and steeple, which they had strengthened by barriers of earth and other obstructions, they would listen to no terms. The English fired upon the church with such artillery as they possessed, until they could approach near enough to undermine the walls. By their operations the roof of the building was shaken, and it ultimately fell upon the brave defenders. Many of them were crushed to death, and the remainder took refuge in the steeple. Some of the English were killed in the mines. At length the Governor of the place was persuaded by the Earl of Lennox to surrender, and the brave defenders were permitted to retire with their lives. Fire being instantly applied to the powder in the mines, both the church and steeple were blown up, and afterwards razed to the ground. This obnoxious town was then pillaged, and subsequently burned. So striking an example of severity struck with such terror the whole of the inhabitants of the south of Scotland, that the landholders of Annandale and some other districts immediately appeared, and, having sworn allegiance to Edward, gave hostages for their fidelity. The English now returned to their own country, but again invaded Scotland about the 12th of December, and defeated the Laird of Drumlanrig with considerable loss.²

Many of the Scottish nobles and landholders had now submitted to, or entered the service of, Eng-

¹ Lesly.—Hollinshed.

² Hollinshed.

land, and bound themselves to obey the orders of the Protector. The Earl of Cassillis and Lord Maxwell were among those who made a temporary aberration from the path of duty.

In February 1547-8, Lord Wharton and the Earl of Lennox, who commanded the Scottish borderers in the service of England, assembled the whole power of the western marches, with the intention of again invading Scotland, and expected to be joined by the Douglasses, as well as the Master of Maxwell, who had much influence in that quarter. Both Maxwell and Angus, however, deceived Lennox; for they had been induced secretly to desert the English interest. On the advance of Wharton, the Earl of Angus made his appearance, indeed, but afterwards withdrew to his own men. The English commander now determined to punish such treachery. Having incautiously divided his little army, amounting to about three thousand men, he sent the cavalry forward under the command of his son, and followed himself with the infantry.¹

¹ Tytler.—Lord Wharton's MS. letters to the Protector.

“There were at the first evil news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this jorne, how the earl of Lennox and the English armie were overthrown, so that it was by order appointed, that the earl of Derby the lord Scroope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defence against the enemies, but upon the true report how the matter had passed, made by Mr. Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop, a Scotchman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied and Mr. Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Herewith were letters directed down from the council to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certain pledges, that is to say, the maister of Maxwells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greie-friars, in Dunfries, the vicar of Carlarocke and diverse others were executed at Carlill.”

But he had not proceeded far until he was attacked by Angus, who dispersed the advanced party of the invaders. The Scots, under the Master of Maxwell, who had only ostensibly joined the English army, now turned upon their allies and slaughtered them without mercy. As soon, however, as the English had an opportunity to rally, they charged with such impetuosity that the Scots were thrown into confusion, and six hundred of them either slain or drowned at a narrow ford in the river Nith.— Many of the principal barons were made prisoners,¹ by a sudden charge of cavalry. The Master of Maxwell narrowly escaped with his life.

The town of Dumfries being now in the possession of the English, they summoned the ancient burgh of Kirkcudbright to submit to the authority of Edward. Upon receiving a refusal, they sent a detachment on horseback under the command of Sir Thomas Carleton of Carleton Hall, either to compel obedience or burn the town. The hostile party reached the capital of the Stewartry a little after sun rise. The inhabitants, however, were on the alert, and, according to Sir Thomas Carleton's statement, "barred their gates and kept their dikes, for the town" he adds, "is diked on both sides, with a gate to the waterward and a gate at the overend to the fellward."² The English alight-

1 Buchanan,—Tytler.

2 The town of Kirkcudbright was anciently encompassed by a wall, with a fosse or ditch on the outside of it, into which the tide flowed. None of the wall now appears, though about forty years ago some parts of the foundation of it were razed. The fosse, however, is still traceable in many places. It commenced at the river, in the present dock, and, having passed between the gardens belonging to castle street and the west side of the park in which the new church is built, it proceeded in a straight

ed from their horses and vigorously assailed the town, but such were the strength of the place and the bravery of the citizens, that the army could make no impression upon it. One man within the walls being killed by an arrow, some of the women, imagining that the defence was hopeless, became alarmed for the safety of their husbands. "One wife," says Sir Thomas, "came to the ditch and called for one that would take her husband and save his life." "Anthon Armstrong"—continues the narrator, 'being ready, said 'Fetch him to me and I'll warrant his life.' The woman ran into the town and fetched her husband and brought him through the dike and delivered him to the said Anthon," who took him to England, and received a ransom for him. About the time of this communing the Tutor of Bombie made his appearance, with a party of his friends, and attacked the besiegers. A sharp encounter was the result. After three of Maclellan's men had fallen and

line, nearly south, and crossed the street at Mr William Johnston's house, where there was a gate, called the "*Meikle Yett*," which was taken down about 75 years ago. Two perforated stones in the pavement are here still visible, in which the pivots of the two divisions of the gate turned. The pillars, with the two globular ornamental stones which stood above them, were removed to the present entrance of the church yard. The port was arched over: on the outside stood a number of bars.

After the fosse and wall had extended a little on the other side of the street in the same direction, they formed a right angle, and proceeding towards the west, enclosed the gardens on the south side of the town. Much of this portion of the fosse is still open. At the end of the field belonging to the academy, which is occupied as play ground, the ditch and wall turned towards the north, and having enclosed the gardens on the west side of the town, the ditch entered the river: this part of it is entirely open. The wall continued along the edge of the river, and had another gate at the harbour or old ferry. The space included was almost a square, each side being upwards of 300 yards long.

several of them had been taken prisoners, the rest were defeated and compelled to withdraw. Only one of the English fell in this conflict.¹

The invaders did not venture to attack the town a second time, but returned towards Dumfries.— On their march they seized 2,000 sheep, 200 cows and oxen, with 40 or 50 horses, mares, and colts. The people on the west side of the Dee now assembled, and proceeded towards a place, then called “Forehead Ford,” for the purpose of attacking the enemy, or intercepting their retreat. The English, somewhat alarmed by this show of resistance, abandoned their sheep, and gave the charge of their “nowte and naggs,” to the men who rode the worst horses. About thirty of the best mounted proceeded to meet the Scots, if they should attempt to cross the stream; but the commander himself and a strong party remained to guard the standard, keeping themselves in readiness, however, to succour their companions in case of necessity. The Galwegians, from perceiving this demonstration and the strength of the enemy, did not venture to cross the river.²

The English inroads at this time, according to Buchanan, struck Galloway with such terror, that its chiefs, partly afraid of being deserted by the other landholders of Scotland, and partly wishing to secure the friendship of the Earl of Lennox, vied with each other who should be the first to adhere to the English government.³

1 Sir Thomas Carleton's MS. account of a foray into Scotland in February 1547-8.

2 Sir Thomas Carleton's Account,—Nicolson and Burn's Cumberland. Introduction.

3 “Moreover, the prior of Whiteerne by his letters and mes-

More irritated than subdued by the result of the English invasions, the Scots at once resolved to throw themselves into the arms of France, and give their young mistress to the Dauphin, the King's eldest son. They also determined to send her to the French court for her education. Andrew Durie, the last Popish Bishop of Galloway, was

sengers, offered himself to obey the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and haven townes of Wigton and Kirkcubrie, and the knights of Lochinwar and Garleis, the lard and tutor of Bombie, the lard of Cardines, and all the gentlemen of *Annandale, Nidesdale, and Galloway*, even to *Whiterne*, being 80 miles in length from *Careleill*, through the inducement of the foresaid prior, and of the knights of the *Loginwar* and *Garleis*, (for the favour they bare to the earl of *Lennox*) came unto Dumfreis, and there received an oath to be true to the king of *England*, and afterwards went with the earl to *Carleill*, leaving the countrie in good quiet, and the king of *England* acknowledged for lord of *Galloway, Nidesdale, and Annandael*, by the inhabitants thereof." HOLLINSHED.

The following are the names of some of the persons and places that delivered pledges to serve the King of England, with such number of men as are attached to each.

"Town of Kirkcubrie 36,—Town of Dumfries, 201,—Mr Maxwell (and more) 1,000,—Lard of Loughenwarr 45,—Tutor of Bombie 150,—Abbot of New Abbay 141,—Maxwells of Brackenside and vicar of Carlaverick 310,—Lard of Orchertown 112.—Laird of Dawbaytie 41."

We also make the following extracts from the Talbot Papers published by Edmund Lodge Esq.

"The names of such Scottish pledges and prisoners as were taken since this war first began in these West Marches: with an estimate of their values and estimations, and where they were bestowed at the first. Nevertheless divers of them are dead, part exchanged and let home upon ransoms and otherwise."

"Robert Maxwell, now Lord Maxwell, an ancient baron of great lands; himself remaining as yet in Carlisle.

The Lord Garlies, a man of 300 marks, and more, and little thereof in his hands, but holden from it by rebels in his country; himself remaining at Pontefract Castle, in the custody of Sir Henry Saville.

The Laird Johnston, a gentleman of 100 marks sterling, or

one of the commissioners sent from the Scottish Government to negotiate this marriage.¹ The terms offered by the Scots being eagerly accepted

above; for whom the King's Majesty has paid 100 marks in part of payment for his ransom to his taker, and remains himself in Pontefract Castle.

John Creighton, brother to the Laird Creighton, of very small living; himself remains with Sir Robert Stapleton.

The Laird of Cockpole, a Gentleman of £100 lands sterling, or thereabouts; himself remains with Sir William Ingleby.

The Laird of Applegarth, of 200 marks sterling, and more; his pledge, his consins, with Mr. Magnus, for 242 men.

The Laird of Dabatie, of 20 marks land; his pledge his brother; with Sir John Tempest, for 41 men.

The Laird of Orcharton, of £10 lands; his pledge with Sir William Calverley, for 112 men.

The Laird of Loughinware, a man of 200 marks lands, and in goods better than £1000; his pledges his consins; two of them with my Lord Scrope, and one with my Lord Conyers, for 95 men.

James Maclean, [Maclellian] Tutor of Bomby, a man of good estimation and small living: his pledge his son and heir, with Dr. Bransby, for 151 men.

John Maxwell, the Lord's brother, who answers for all upon his brother's lands, having at that time no lands, and now, by marriage, fair lands; his pledge Hugh Maxwell, his nephew, for 1000 men and more.

The Abbot of New Abbey, of 200 marks sterling in right of his house; his pledge Richard Browne and Robert Browne, his consins, for 141 men.

Laird of Closburne, of £100 sterling and more: his pledge Thomas Kirkpatrick, his cousin, for 403 men.

The town of Kirkcudbright, a pretty haven: pledge for it Barnaby Douglas's son, worth nothing, for 36 men.

Town of Dumfries, a fair market town, pledge for it Cuthbert Murray, worth little or nothing, for 221 men.

Town of Lochmaben, a poor town; pledge for it Andrew Blacklock, a poor man, for 47 men.

Robert Maxwell, of Cohill, of small or no lands; his pledge Archibald Maxwell, his brother a child, for 91 men.

Abbot of Salside, his house of £100 yearly: his pledge James Johnson, his son and heir, for 20."

I Murray.—Andrew Durie was admitted an extraordinary Lord of Session, 2nd July, 1541.

Of many of the previous bishops of Galloway, little or nothing is known. A historical account of several of those eccle-

by the French King, a strong fleet was sent to Scotland with auxiliary forces: this fleet was ordered to bring back the youthful Queen, and Mary embarked in the Clyde in July, 1548. She was accompanied by four young ladies of rank, about her own age, destined to be her companions, or playfellows. They all bore the name of their mistress, and were called the "Queen's Maries."

Though the great object of the English Government had thus become unattainable, hostilities still continued on the borders.

David Painter, now Bishop of Ross, was sent, in 1550, as commissioner to France from the Scottish Parliament, that he might endeavour to bring about a peace between England and Scotland. This desirable object he succeeded in accomplishing; peace being proclaimed at Edinburgh in the month of April.

During the period of war and turbulence, the reins of government had been held by Arran with a feeble hand. The Queen Dowager and the French party, though willing to employ the Regent as their tool, yet had long laboured to sap the foundation of his authority. The friends of the

siastics may be found in Dr Murray's valuable work, 2nd Ed. p.p. 31—35.

"The family of Barnbarroch have given two bishops to Galloway. Alexander Vaux was consecrated Bishop of Galloway some time before the year 1426. His name is mentioned by Rymer; and Boyce terms him a learned man, and of noble extraction. In 1429, he was appointed by James I. one of the preservers of the peace on the borders of Scotland; and he is said to have contributed much to the overthrow of the then all-powerful family of Douglas.—George Vaux, cousin to Alexander, was Bishop of Galloway. It was during the time of this prelate, that James III., having founded a chapel-royal at Stirling, annexed it to the Bishopric of Galloway." NEW STAT. ACCT.

Reformation, whom he had betrayed, despised him. Mary of Guise saw his unpopularity, and aspired to the government of the kingdom. She, therefore, sailed for her native country, ostensibly to visit her daughter, but in reality to concert measures with the French court for accomplishing that purpose: Durie, Bishop of Galloway, with the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Maxwell, and several of the nobles, accompanied the Queen Dowager on this important occasion. David Painter was afterwards employed by the King of France to induce, if possible, the Earl of Arran to resign the regency of Scotland in favour of the Queen Mother. In this negotiation he proved successful, and the French King, as a reward for his acceptable service, bestowed upon him an abbey in Poictou.¹

No sooner was Mary of Guise established in the government than she changed the chief officers of state, and appointed the Earl of Cassillis Lord Treasurer.² She also endeavoured to diminish the authority of the nobles and enhance her own. With the design of effecting this purpose, she proposed that a tax should be levied for paying mercenary soldiers to defend the kingdom. With this species of force under her command, she confidently anticipated that she would be able to overawe the turbulent barons and manage the affairs of the state according to her sovereign pleasure. The proposal, however, met with an exceedingly ill reception from Parliament. A proclamation was, therefore, issued by the Queen Regent, prohibiting the nobility from travelling with more than their usual house-

1 Murray.

2 Balfour.

hold train; but the Earl of Angus, when coming to Parliament, appeared with a thousand horse.—Being checked by her for his disregard of the proclamation, he jestingly replied; “The knaves will not leave me.”

In 1555, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar was nominated by the Queen, Justiciary of the Lordship of Galloway; and he received a renewal of his commission in the year 1587.¹

¹ “Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, who was, in 1555, appointed Justiciary of the Lordship of Galloway, had charters of several ecclesiastical lands in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, from Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, 15th April, 1564; and from the Commendator of Tunland, 20th May, 1566. He entered into a bond of manrent with Douglas of Drumlanrig, Crichton of Sanquhar, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and others, 1561.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE HOUSE OF KENMURE.

Notwithstanding the appointment mentioned in the text, we find that in the year immediately preceding, he was accused of several crimes.

Jul. 11. 1554 (*apud Jedburgh*.)—JOHN GORDOUNE OF LOCHINVER, John G. of Barskeoche, Roger G. of Cayll, David G. of Markbreck, Roger G. of Hardland, Mr Malcolm M'Culloch, Gilbert M'Dowell of Machirmoir, Eliseus G. servant of vniq¹ Symon G. and Patrick M'kee of Larg, found surety to underly the law at the next Aire of Kirkcudbrycht and Wigtoun, for Convocation of the lieges in wailike manner, on Jun. 5. last, coming by way of Hamesuckin to the house of Michael M'crakene, burgess of Wigtoune, and searching for him for his Slaughter: and for other crimes contained in their Letters.”

We find likewise the following entry in the same year.

Dec. 19. 1555—, SIR JAMES M'CULLOCH, in Annyk, replegiate by the Bishop of Whithorne, for art and part of Resetting, Supplying and Intercommuning with M'Culloch of Ardwell, and Finlay M'Culloch, rebels and at the horn, for the cruel Slaughter of Patrick More, &c. The Laird of Lochinvar (John Gordoune) surety.—Thomas M'Clellane Tutor of Bombay, Michael M'C., his brother, Gothray M'Culloch of Ardwell, John M'C. in Bahholm, Ninian Glendonyng in Partoune, Richard M'Ky of Myretoune, and John Akinzeane, found cautin to underly the law at the next Aire of Wigtoune and Kirkcudbrycht, for the same crime.”

The prevalence of Protestant doctrines, which had been daily gaining ground in Scotland, strongly inclined the nobles to resist the augmentation of the Queen Regent's power. A great proportion of the smaller barons, and even many of the great nobles, had already embraced the Protestant faith; and the preaching of John Knox, a man of transcendent talents, unbounded zeal, and unwearied perseverance, was daily adding to the number of the reformers. Among the converts of distinction, was Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, and natural son of James V. Being a young nobleman of great parts and valour, he soon became one of the most active leaders of the Protestant party.

In 1558, Andrew Durie, Bishop of Galloway, died,¹ and was succeeded by Alexander Gordon, son of John Gordon, Master of Huntly, and Jane Stewart, natural daughter of James IV. Gordon is entitled to the honourable distinction of being

¹ Durie died in consequence of a fright he had received from the mob in Edinburgh, when they intercepted the procession in honour of St Giles, broke the image of the Saint, and abused the priests. (History of the College of Justice.)

² "Penninghame was the usual residence of the Bishops of Galloway, so that in one sense the persons, some of them very eminent, who successively held that see, may be regarded as having been connected with this parish. But the celebrated Bishop Alexander Gordon, (titular Archbishop of Athens,) who died in 1576, was connected with this parish by being proprietor of the estate of Clary, (afterwards the seat and still the property of the noble family of Galloway,) which estate he conferred on his only daughter, who was married to Anthony Stewart, Rector of Penninghame. (Gordon's *History of the House of Gordon*. Murray's *Literary History of Galloway*, 2d. edition, p. 49)"

NEW STAT. ACCT.

The Bishops of Galloway had a right of regality over all their lands, and, as they chiefly resided at Penninghame, this jurisdiction was generally termed the Bailiery of Penninghame. The Earls of Cassillis were heritable Bailies. (Caledonia)

the first prelate of Scotland that embraced the Protestant opinions. This change in his sentiments took place immediately after his consecration to the vacant see.¹

Alarmed at the progress of the Reformation in Scotland, the Queen Regent, perhaps more from the desire of gratifying her brothers, than from her own natural disposition, which was gentle and moderate, began to irritate the Protestants by summoning their preachers to stand their trial at Stirling, on the 10th of May, 1559. They repaired to the place appointed, with such a formidable party of friends and admirers, that she was glad to allow them to depart and return home. She, however, broke her promise, that no farther proceedings would be urged against them; for, after their dispersion, she ordered them to be proclaimed outlaws and rebels, as if they had refused to appear.² Matters being now come to a crisis, both parties prepared for war. The Protestant leaders formed an association called the CONGREGATION, which rapidly encreased both in numbers and zeal; and, during the month of April, in the year 1559, this body first assembled at Perth. Knox, who had lately returned from Geneva, addressed them in

As the Bishops, however, resided occasionally at Kirkchrist, and had a jurisdiction over their lands in the Stewartry, this jurisdiction was termed the Regality of Kirkchrist. The Maclellanz of Bombie were justiciaries and bailies of the regality.

¹ Murray.—College of Justice, &c.

² „ The Laird of Dun greatly ashamed at the Queen's breach of promise, and hearing that Lord Maxwell, though only a secret favourer of the Reformation, was upon some slight reason cast into prison, and that mischief was determined against himself, secretly left the court and returned to Perth.” *Stevensou's History of the Church and State of Scotland*, vol. i p. 93. Edinb. Edit 1753.

such a torrent of impassioned eloquence, that he fired their souls into frenzied enthusiasm. The mob, upon beholding a priest preparing to celebrate mass, became infuriated; and, falling upon the churches and other religious houses, broke their windows and destroyed their ornaments. This pernicious example was followed in other parts of the kingdom; and many beautiful buildings were either partially demolished, or reduced to heaps of useless ruins. The destruction of the sacred buildings highly irritated the Queen Regent, and both parties prepared to take the field. The Lords of the Congregation assembled a parliamentary convention at Edinburgh, on the 21st of October, 1559. Lord Maxwell escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh, in which he was prisoner, and joined in the proceedings of the Congregation.¹ Mary of Guise was by the authority of this convention suspended from the regency of the kingdom. They elected also a council, which included Lord Maxwell, for the management of public affairs; four ministers being appointed to assist in their deliberations, when matters connected with religion were to be considered. The ministers nominated for this purpose, were Knox, Willock, Goodman, and Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway.² Warlike operations were conducted by the contending parties with various results. The Lords of the Congregation obtained the countenance and assistance of England, and the Queen Regent placed her chief reliance on a body of

¹ Balfour calls him the Master of Maxwell. At this period Sir John Maxwell, Master of Maxwell, was often styled Lord Herries.

² Tytler.—Murray.

veteran French soldiers. In the meantime she had retired into the castle of Edinburgh, where she expired on the 10th of June, 1560.

Francis and Mary,—for the Queen's marriage had already taken place,¹—now determined to establish peace in Scotland even at the expense of important concessions to the Protestant party.—They promised to confirm all acts,—whether for the government of the kingdom or the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs,—that should be enacted by a Parliament of the Scottish Estates. They engaged, that during the absence of the Queen, the executive government should be intrusted to a council of twelve, seven to be chosen by the Queen, and five by the estates; six forming a quorum.² They granted indemnity to all who were engaged in the late dissensions; and, on the 16th of July, the English marched for Berwick; whilst the French set sail for France.³

Parliament assembled at Edinburgh in the month of August, and the state of religion was the first subject of deliberation. In this Parliament sat Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway;⁴ Gilbert Brown, Abbot of New-Abbey;⁵ Edward Maxwell,

1 Eight commissioners had been appointed by Parliament to be present at the Queen's marriage. Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, was one of them. The Earl of Cassillis and three others died on their way home, not without suspicions of having been poisoned. (Balfour, &c.) Painter was also present at the marriage. (Murray.)

2 Tytler.

3 Annals of Edinburgh p. 53 Edition 1839.

4 Gordon was one of the Lords of the Articles, and a privy councillor.

5 Gilbert Brown was descended from the ancient family of Carslith, in the parish of Kirkmabreck. His notoriety arose from a controversy he had with John Welsh, Minister of Kirk-

Abbot of Dundrennan; Robert Richardson, Com-mendator of St Mary's Isle ;¹ the Earls of Cas-sillis and Morton, with the Master of Maxwell; the barons of Lochinvar and Garlies; and some others from the province of Galloway.² The

cudbright, and subsequently of Ayr, respecting the Roman Catholic Religion. Welsh attacked the principles of that faith. Brown wrote an answer, which he entitled "Ane answer to ane certaine libell or writing, sent by Mr John Welsche, to ane Catholicke, as ane Answer to ane objection of the Roman kirk, whereby they go about to deface the veritie of that onely true religion whilk we professe." Welsh in an elaborate reply proposed a public disputation, which Brown prudently declined. (Murray.)

1 Richardson held likewise the offices of Lord Treasurer and Master of the Mint. The Prior of St. Mary's Isle, like other priors, was a Lord of Parliament. Mr Richardson was presented to the priory on the 30th of March, 1558, after the death of Robert Strivelin, the last Prior, (Privy Seal Reg.) In 1572, the Commendator granted to James Lidderdale and his son, the lands belonging to the priory, in "feu firm:" the King confirmed the grant in the following year. The property thus granted, according to Mr Chalmers, "consisted of the two and a half mark lands called St. Mary's Isle. with the manor. wood, and fish-yare of the same; the ten mark-lands of Grange, with the mill. the mill lands, and pertinents; the ten mark lands of Torrs; and the seven and a half mark lands of Little Galtway; reserving from this last, eight acres of land, contiguous to the old church of Little Galtway, for the use of the minister." Lidderdale and his son also received "a lease, for nineteen years, from Whitsunday 1574, of the spiritual property of the priory; consisting of the tithes, re-venues, and lands of the parish churches that appertained to it, and also the tithes of the priory lands. The parish churches, which belonged to this priory were those of Galtway, and of Anwoth, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and Kirkmaiden, in Wigtownshire. "The priory was surrounded by high walls: The outer gate stood at least half a mile from the monastery; and the place where it stood is still called *The Great Cross*. The inner gate led immediately to a group of cells, where the monks lodged; and the place, where it stood is still called *The Little Cross*. Every vestige of the buildings has long been obliterated." (Caledonia.)

² See Keith.

Reformers were the most numerous and the most influential party; and they carried every measure. The whole system of Popery was condemned, and a Confession of Faith, or short summary of Protestant doctrines, drawn up by Protestant divines, adopted in its stead; the Earl of Cassillis and a few other members dissenting.—The restoration of what the ministers accounted the primitive discipline of the Church was also enacted. It now remained to dispose of the wealth of the Church. Knox and some of the reformed clergy had formed a plan for the maintenance of the clergy; but the Lords who had laid hold on the ecclesiastical lands were unwilling to relinquish their spoil, and the scheme of Knox was abandoned.

The clergy next undertook to prepare a form of polity for the future government of the reformed Church. This celebrated production was styled “The First Book of Discipline.” Among other regulations it pointed out how ministers and readers were to be appointed.¹—

1 “It is important to remark, that it committed the election of ministers solely to the people; using the precaution, that the person so chosen, before he was admitted to the holy office, should be examined by the ministers and elders openly upon all points then in controversy between the Church of Rome and the Congregation, and generally upon the whole extent of sound Christian doctrine. Such having been done, the person elected and approved of, was to be considered an ordained minister, and to be publicly introduced by his brethren to his congregation in the church to which he was appointed; it being expressly declared, ‘that any other ceremonies than the approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person presented is appointed to serve,’ are not approved of by the Congregation; for albeit, ‘they add, the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using the ceremony we judge not to be necessary.’ The same form appointed

The country was also divided into ten districts or dioceses, and ten ministers, named superintendents, were directed to examine into the deportment of pastors, the conduct of their flocks, the support of the poor, and the instruction of youth.—The institution of parish schools, to which the inhabitants of Scotland are indebted for much of their intelligence and success, was enjoined by the Book of Discipline.

The Book of Discipline was bitterly condemned by a number of the nobles and barons, who positively refused to sign it. Many, however, of the most eminent and most influential men in the kingdom eagerly subscribed it, and thus bound themselves to observe this plan of ecclesiastical management. Gordon, Bishop¹ of Galloway, the Earl of Morton, the Master of Maxwell, with the barons of Garlies and Lochinvar, put their names both to this Book and the Confession of Faith. Among the last subjects to which Parliament turned its attention, was the selection of twenty four individuals, out of which number the council of regency, comprising twelve members, was to be appointed. Cassillis, Morton, the Master of Maxwell, and the Laird of Drumlanrig, were included in the number. At this time

‘ Readers’ to such churches as, owing to the rarity of learned and godly men, could not immediately be provided with ministers. It was their office simply to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, not to administer the sacraments.”

TYTLER.

1 It was declared that all the Catholic clergy who became Converts and subscribed the Confession of Faith, and the Book of Discipline, were to retain their titles and their benefices during life,

an act was passed for demolishing abbey churches, and commissioners were appointed to see it put into execution.¹ Parliament rose on the 27th of August, 1560.

Francis and Mary heard of the proceedings of the Scottish Estates with rage and disgust; but the mind of the Queen was diverted from Scottish affairs by the sudden death of her husband, Francis II., on the 4th of December.—Many viewed the death of Francis as an interference of Providence in behalf of the infant Church of Scotland. The reformed party, now relieved from any apprehension of opposition from the court of France, proceeded with both decision and activity in the work of improvement. Ministers were appointed to parochial charges and superintendents for districts.

During the period of Mary's residence in France, all had been to her a scene of unmingled happiness and joy. Never was she approached but with tenderness, respect, and adulation. The splendour and elegance of the French court seemed well adapted to represent human life as a path of pleasure, adorned with beauty, and strewed with flowers.

It was painful for Mary now to take a subordinate station in a sphere where she had formerly triumphed—to meet with coldness and neglect in a place where all had been obedience and ad-

¹ "Hereupon (says Spottiswood) a pitiful devastation ensued; no difference was made; all churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground. The vessels employed for religious uses, with the bells, timber, and lead, were put up to sale; the very sepulchres of the dead were not spared: and, what can never enough be lamented, the libraries and church-manuscripts were cast into the fire."

miration.. She, therefore, determined to withdraw from the scene of her former unrivalled elevation, and return to her native country, destitute as it was of the elegancies of life; and rude, unpolished, and rigid, as her subjects were.

The Queen embarked at Calais on the 15th of August, 1561; and when the French coast was about to disappear from her view, she exclaimed; "Farewell! Farewell, happy France! I shall never see thee more! Passing the English fleet (which was at sea) in a storm, she arrived in safety at Leith, on the 19th of August, where little preparation had been made for her reception.¹ Horses were sent to convey the Queen and her train to the palace of Holyrood; but both the animals themselves, and their furniture were so wretched in appearance, that Mary, whose eyes had been accustomed to the splendid palfreys of France, could not refrain from shedding tears at the cheerless prospect which seemed before her. The people exhibited their joy at her arrival in the best way they could; and some of the citizens of Edinburgh, to express their welcome, played below her window on three stringed fiddles² for a part of the night, and thus prevented, by their harsh and discordant notes, the fatigued Queen from enjoying sleep. As this mistaken mark of respect was kindly meant, it was kindly received. In the morning she was again awakened by the singing of psalms under her window.³

Mary's form and manners were well calculated to win the affections of the people; but they be-

1 Robertson's History of Scotland, &c.

2 Scott.

3 Tytler.

held with uneasiness her attachment to the Catholic faith. On the first Sunday after her arrival, she had ordered mass to be performed in her own private chapel; but the popular indignation was roused to such a pitch of uncontrollable fury, that, if it had not been for the interference of her natural brother, Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, the priest would have been sacrificed at his own altar. Knox, as well as the other zealous Reformers, could not hear of the celebration of mass without horror. In his sermons he boldly averred; "That one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the Realm."

The observations which this enthusiastic preacher had made, came to the ears of the Queen; and she sent for him, that she might exhort him to use more guarded language in the discharge of his clerical duty. With this talented and acute theologian the youthful Queen rashly entered into disputation; and, when she found herself baffled and defeated in argument, she said; "Ye ar over sair for me, bot and if they wer heir quhom I have hard, they wald answer you. Madam, quoth the uther, wald to God that the most learned Papist in Europe, and he that ye wald best beleve, wer present with your Grace to susteyne the Argument; and that ye wald abyde patiently to heir the Matter reasoned to the End; for then, I dont not, Madame bot that ye sould heir the vanity of the Papistical Religion, and how little Ground it hath within the Word of God." After this interview, Mr Knox, being asked by some of his friends what he thought of the Queen, replied; "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty art, and an obdurate heart

against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me.”

In 1562, John Knox was appointed by the General Assembly, commissioner to visit the churches in Galloway and Kyle. When in these districts, he had conferences on matters of great importance with the Master of Maxwell and many individuals of rank. Quintin Kennedy, of the House of Cassillis, Prior of Whithorn and Abbot of Crossraguel,¹ offered a public conference, or disputation, with the Reformer. This offer was instantly accepted, and the discussion lasted for the space of three days at Maybole. The subject of discussion was principally confined to the mass, and Knox acquitted himself, to the admiration of every impartial person, who either witnessed the disputation, or afterwards read the arguments, which were printed.

In the beginning of 1563, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was arraigned and committed to Edinburgh castle, “for saying and hearing mass,” in defiance of a royal proclamation. The Prior of Whithorn would have undergone the same punishment if he could have been apprehended.²

¹ Knox's History of the Reformation.

² Maitland's History. The subjoined extract is from Pitcairn.

Celebrating the Mass,—Attempting to restore Popery, at Kirkoswald, Mayboll, and Paisley, &c.—Convocation &c.

May 19, 1563. John Archiebischop of Sanctandrois,* and

* John Hamilton natural son of James, first Earl of Arran well known as the author of a catechism printed at St. Andrews, 1552, after the battle of Langside from which he vainly attempted to dissuade the Queen, fled to Dumbarton castle. He afterwards fell into the regent Moray's hands, on the castle being surprised and taken; and was hanged at Stirling, April 1st, 1570

In May, 1563, Mary held her first Parliament after her arrival from France. Knox, with other Protestant leaders, used every exertion to induce the Estates explicitly to confirm the Reformed Religion; but all that could be obtained was an act of indemnity since March 1558. The Earl of Morton, and the Commendator of St. Mary's Isle, with eighteen others, were appointed commission-

forty seven others charged for the crimes after specified.

Roll or list of the rest of the persons on pannel.

Sir John Hamilton, vicar of Paslay; Maister Johne Hamiltone Subchantour of Glasgow; Malcum [Quintin] prior of Quhithorne; Hew Kennedy of Blairquhynnequhy, Maister Robert Crychtone Parson of Sanchar, Jhone Gordone of Barsheocht: Dene Gilbert Kennedy; Sir James Kennedy, Sir Thomas Mure, Gabriell Maxwell of Stanlie, with 28 others; The Assyse fylis and conuictis the saidis Kennedy of Blairquhynnequhy, Malcolm Commendator of Quhithorne; David Kennedy; Sir Thomas Montgomery; and Sir William Telzefer of the controuention of our souerane ladeis Act and Proclamatioune, chargeing all her leigis, that euery one of thame, suid contene thaim selfis in quietnes, keip peax and ciuile societie amangis thaim selfis, and that uane of thaim tak vpon hand priuatlie or openlie to mak ony alteration or innouation of the stait of Religioun, or attempt ony thing agais the forme quhilk her grace fand publictlye and uniuersallie standing at hir arrywell within this realme: that is to say, the said Hew Kennedy and Dauid Kennedy, be making of Couuocatioun of our souerane ladeis liegis to the nowmer of twa hundreth personis, bodin in feir of weir with jakkis, speris, gunnis and vtheris wapnis inuasiue of thair causing, commanding fortefeing, and ratihabitatioun, vpon the aucht, tent and eleuint dayis of Apryl last by past, cumand to the parroche Kirk of Kirkoswell and College of Mayboill, respectiue, and thair opinie maid Alteratioun and Innouation of the said stait of Religioun, quhilt our souerane ladie fand proclamit and vniuersallie standing and profesit at hir arnyvel within this realme, ministrand and abusand on thair pretendit maner, irreuerentlie and indecentlie, the Sacramentis of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, vther wyis and efter ane vther maner nor the publict and generall ordour of this realm: and the said Malcum Commendatour of Quhithorn, Schir Thomas Montgomery, and Schir William Tailzefer, ministrand and abusand on thair pretendit maner, irreuerentlie and indecentlie, in the moneth of Apryl foisaid, in the place of Congiltoun, the Sacramentis of

ers to consider who should be admitted to the privilege of enjoying it.¹ In a sermon, Mr Knox vehemently expressed his opinion on this matter, and likewise stated his utter abhorrence of the Queen's marriage with a Papist, which was much dreaded by the Protestants. For this liberty he received a summons to appear before Mary. Her rage was unbounded, and she shed many tears.² She anxiously wished to have him punished; but, by the advice of some about her, she was prevailed upon to desist.

The General Assembly, which sat in Edinburgh during the summer of 1564, made a request to the Queen, that she would grant the Friars' Church at Kirkeudbright to the magistrates, to be used as a parish church. This request she acceded to, and

Haly Kirk of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus, vtherwyis and in ane vther maner nor the publict and generall ordour of this realme resafit, and professit at our souerane ladies arrywell, content in the said Proclamatioune, and that in respect of their confessioun of the samyn in iugement.

Sentence.—Thairfoir the saidis Malcum, prior of Qubithorne Sir Thomas Montgomery and Sir William Tailzefer, were adiugit to be put in ward within the castle of Dumbartane, and the said Hew Kennedy and David Kennedy, to be put in ward within the Castell of Edinburg, thair to remain during the will and plesour of our souerane lady.

Assise.

Jhone Maxwell of Terriglis, knight, Andro Lorde Stewarte of Vchiltry, the Lard of Lochinvar, the Lard of Glengarnack, the Lard of Caprintoun, zounger, the scheriff of Air, the Lard Cunnyngameheid, Hugh Wallace of Carnell, the Lard of Crawfordland, Mr Jo Fullertoune of Dreghorne, the Lard of Rowallane, Hew Cunnyngame of Watterstoun, James Chalmer of Gaitgirth, Jhon Dumbar of Mochrume, Gawane Dumbar of Baldone.

PITCAIRN'S CRIMINAL TRIALS.

1 Balfour.—Commendators were laymen who obtained possession of an ecclesiastical benefice.

2 For the particulars of this interview, see Knox's History p. 231.

the church became a place of worship for a Protestant congregation.¹

At this time Mary received many flattering offers of marriage; but she fixed her affections upon Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley,² son of the Earl of Lennox. Young Darnley was tall, handsome, and prepossessing in his appearance; but unfortunately he was destitute of prudence, sagacity, and steadiness of character. He had acquired many external and showy accomplishments: his mind, however, was uncultivated and his courage doubtful. His passions were violent; and being altogether without experience in the

1 Statistical Account.—Keith.

Before the Reformation, there were six places of worship in the modern parish of Kirkcudbright, namely, the churches of Dunrod, Galloway, St. Cuthbert, St. Mary's Isle, St. Andrews, and the Friars' Church. The first four were in the country. St. Cuthbert's stood at the distance of about a quarter of a mile to the east of the town. Its church-yard is still used as the principal cemetery of the parish. Near it are two knolls called the Angel-Hill and the Bell-Hill. On the latter eminence was rung the bell used for assembling the congregation. This was probably a hand bell, for such bells at the time we speak of, were often used at churches. When James IV. passed through Penninghame, on a pilgrimage to Whithorn, in March, 1506-7, he bestowed 9s. upon the men that "bore St. Ninian's bell."—Near the old church of Penninghame, is also a small eminence, still known by the name of the "bell knowe," on which the bellman stood, when engaged in his avocation.

St. Andrews church was within the town, and in the situation now occupied by the new jail. It possessed a burying ground; for within the last fifty years human bones have been found in the gardens near the site of the ancient building. There was also in the northern extremity of the present parish of Kirkcudbright, a chapel dedicated to St. Bridget. The farm on which it stood is called Kirkbride.

2 The ancestors of Darnley were landholders in Galloway.—It will be remembered that Corsewell and other lands in Wigtownshire, were granted to Sir Alexander Stewart. The Earl of Cassillis and Lord Fleming approved of the marriage, but many objected to the religion of Mary's intended consort.

affairs of life, he might with both truth and propriety be called "*a great boy.*" Mary, however, was endowed with considerable talents and experience; and if he had possessed sense or gratitude, she might have soon refined his taste, and cultivated his understanding. Being her relation, a dispensation was obtained from the Pope; and the ill fated marriage took place on the 29th of July, 1565, at five o'clock in the morning. Morton, Cassillis, and Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies, were at the nuptials. She bestowed upon Darnley the title of King. Among those who were displeased with Mary's marriage was her brother, now elevated to the peerage by the title of Earl of Murray, who soon felt himself under the necessity of flying to England.

Mary's state of connubial felicity did not continue long. Her headstrong husband soon behaved to her with great disrespect, and indulged, not only in constant intoxication, but in every mean and degrading vice. Not satisfied with the influence and numerous honours which she had granted, he wished to absorb the whole power of the state by obtaining the crown matrimonial, or a full participation in the Queen's sovereignty. But Mary, perhaps, on account of his years and incapacity,—for he was yet but nineteen,—was unwilling to bestow upon him this important trust, at least, without the advice of Parliament. With childish impatience he perceived his claim to substantial royalty declined, or delayed; and his fury was directed against Rizzio, her private secretary. With Morton and a few confederates, Darnley repaired to the Queen's apartment, where this band of

barbarians assassinated her favourite, almost in the royal presence.

Mr Knox was desired by the General Assembly, in 1565, to write a consolatory letter, encouraging the ministers of religion to continue in their charges, which many of them were under great temptation to leave for want of subsistence.— He was also directed to visit, preach, and plant kirks in the south of Scotland till next assembly.¹ There is little doubt that, during this period, he was much in Galloway.

On the 19th day of June, 1566, the Queen was safely delivered of a son in Edinburgh Castle.— When her husband wished to see her, she spoke and acted in such a manner, that both he and her attendants plainly perceived, his visits were unwelcome and his presence disagreeable. The Earl of Bothwell appeared at this time her principal favourite. James Hepburn alone managed every kind of business, and all applications that were not made through him, had no chance of success.² The offices which Mary's partiality had conferred upon him, gave him nearly unlimited power in the south of Scotland. This nobleman, indeed, had displayed great zeal in the service of the Queen; but it was thought that she admitted a man of so profligate a character to too great intimacy.— The public voice accused the Queen of being fonder of Bothwell than prudence dictated, con-

¹ Knox's History.

² "Upon the 30th day of December, the Queen had returned to Stirling. Next day she went to Tullibardine, where she granted a charter for the benefice and parsonage of Kirkcudbright, to Adam Murray, servant to the Earl of Bothwell." (Goodall.) Bothwell was one of Mary's privy council.

sidering that she was a married woman, and he a married man.

In the meantime Darnley behaved with the wayward sullenness of a spoiled child, and this conduct made him the more contemptible.

Mary's son was baptised at Stirling according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and the Prior of Whithorn assisted at the solemnity; but her husband was not present, though much pomp and festivity accompanied the ceremony. After the royal baptism, the Queen appeared extremely generous to all who had any favours to solicit; and among her liberal acts, she subscribed a deed authorising a grant from the revenues of the ancient Church, for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy. This writing, being procured by Gordon, Bishop of Galloway,¹ was presented to the General Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh, on the 25th of December 1566. Some of the ministers were disposed to decline the allowance, and to depend entirely upon their flocks for support. The Assembly, however, decided that the Queen's bounty should not be refused, and they appointed the Bishop of Galloway, with the superintendent of Lothian and Mr John Rough, to bring the matter to a conclusion.²

¹ During this year the Bishop of Galloway, with some eminent contemporaries, was selected to collect the ancient laws of Scotland into a code. (Murray, &c.)

² We have been fortunate enough to procure a document which contains the names and the incomes of the various ministers, &c., in Galloway about this time. We give it verbatim.

MINISTERS, EXHORTERS, AND REIDARS WITHIN THE BOUNDIS OF GALLOWAY, AND THAIR STIPENDIS AS FOLLOWIS.

QUHYTHERNE, John Barroun minister, ije l merkis, C: ndilmes

As the Queen's intimacy with Bothwell encreased, she assumed from time to time the appearance of returning, and encreasing, attachment to her hus-

1567,—departit this lif 1568.

Adam Flemyn reidar, the thryd of the pensionarie, xvj lib. xiiij s. iiij d. sen belty m 1572.

Mr Roger Gordon minister, jc xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d. belty m 1572.

GLASSARTOUN, John Kay reidar, x merkis, November 1570.

KIRKMADIN IN FAIRNESS, Rodolphe Peirsoun reidar, the thryd of his vicarage extending to vij li, xj s. j d.—(*Died* 1569.) in his rowme.

George Steinstoun reidar, xx merkis, belty m, 1569

SORDIE, John Makcaill reidar xx merkis.

CRUGYLTOUN, William Tailzefer reidar, the thryd of his vicarage extending to v lib vj s. viij d. and xij merkis mair sen November 1567.

WIGTOUN, Mr Robert Blindscheill minister, and to minister the sacramentis to the kirkis following—iiij xx lib.

PENYNGHAME John Craufurd exhorte, in absence of the minister at uther kirkis, l merkis.

James Falconer reidar, xvj lib. belty m 1573.

KIRKENNER, Mychell Duigalson reidar, l merkis.

LONGCASTER Lewis Fraser reidar, xx lib. (*Translatit to Mock. rem.*)

William Vause reidar, xx merkis 1568.

PENYNGHAME, Mi Mertin Gib reidar, the thryd of his vicarage extending to v lib vj s. viij d. and xij merkis mair sen belty m 1570.

GLENLUCE, John Sanderson exhorte xl merkis,

KIRKCOWAN, John Flemyn reidar, xx lib. 1567

STANNYKIRK, John Gibson exhorte, xl merkis.

CLASCHARI, James Law reidar, xvj lib. Lambes 1571.

TOSQUARTOUN Mychaell Hathorne reidar, xvj lib. Lambes 1571.

KIRK MADIN IN RYNNIS.

SAULSETT, James Thomsone reidar, xx merkis.

KIRKCO WM, Alexander Hunter reidar, xx lib.

INCHE, Cuthbert Adair exhorte, xl merkis,—(*Translatit to Dalry belty m 1570.*) in his room.

Thomas Makalexander exhorte, xl merkis, belty m 1570.

LESWALT, Thomas Makalexander reidar, xx lib. 1567.

(*Translatit to the Inch.*)

Adam Thomsone reidar, xx merkis, belty m 1571.

KIRKMADRYNE John Dunbar reidar, vj lib. xiiij s. iiij d. 1569.

MOCHREM, Lewis Freser exhorte, xx lib. 1567, and ten

band. Darnley, being seized at Glasgow¹ by a languishing distemper,—now known to have been the small pox, but then thought the effect of slow poison administered to him through Bothwell's instrumentality,—she pretended to be much interested in his recovery, and advised him to

- merkis mair sen belty m 1572.
- MONYGOFF, John Stewart exhorte, 1 merkis.
- KIRKDAILL, Thomas Regnall reidar and vicare, x lib. with the thryd of the vicarage extending to 1567.
- KIRKMAKBEK, John Moffett exhorte, xx lib. 1567.
- ANWETH, Alexander Young reidar, xx lib belty m 1570.—
(*Translatit to Twyneim sen belty m 1572.*)
Mr Malcome M'Cullo vicare and reidar, xij lib. with the thryd of the vicarage extending to xij lib. sen belty m 1572,
- GIRTHTOUN, Robert Muir exhorte, xx lib. 1567.
- KIRKCANDRIS, John Makccllane reidar, xx merkis
- BORG, Williame Strugtoun reidar, xx merkis, 1567.
- DALRY, James Doddis minister, iij xx lib. (*Translatit to Kirkcuthbrycht in 1569.*)
Cuthbert Adair exhorte, xl merkis, 1570, and ten merkis mair sen belty m, 1571.
- BALMACLELLANE, Elise Makculloch reidar, xx lib.
- KELLIS. Donald Mure vicare and reidar, x merkis, 1567.
- TOUNGLAND, William Scharpro exhorte, xl merkis, 1567.
- PARTOUN, James Carruders exhorte, xx merkis, 1570.
- CROSMYCHAELL, Thomas Makclune exhorte, xx lib. November 1567.
- KIRKCHRIST. Thomas Andersone exhorte, xx merkis, 1567, 1568, (*Translatit to Kirkcuthbrycht sen belty m 1569.*)—in his rowme.
Thomas Makculture reidar, xx merkis, 1569.—
- TWYNEIM, James Mair reidar, xj lib. ij s. ij d. 1567. (*Died at belty m 1568.*)
Alexander Young reidar, xxij lib. iij s. belty m 1572.
- BALMAGHE, Robert Chapman reidar, xx lib. —to be payit be Halyrudhous.
- DUNDRANANE, William Cutlair reidar at Dundranane, his stipend xx lib. to be payit out of the third of the Abbay of Dundrenane.
- DUNROD, Williame Makecllane reidar, xx merkis, 1570.

¹ Lindsay of Dunrod, was provost of Glasgow at this time.

remove with her to Edinburgh, that he might be near herself and her principal physician. He was lodged in a religious house called "Kirk of Field," a little beyond the walls of the city; whilst the child and his mother resided in the pa-

GELSTOUN, Cuthbert Dun reidar, xvj lib. beltym 1573.
KIRKCUITHBYCHT, James Doddis minister, iijj xx lib. November 1569.

Thomas Andersone reidar, xx merkis, beltym 1569
and now at Sanct Mary Ile sen beltym 1570.

SANCT MARY ILE, Thomas Andersone, exhorter, xx lib. beltym 1570.

KIRKORMOK, Mychaell Dun exhorter, xx merkis, with the thryd of his vicarage extending to viij merkis, 1567.

KELTOUN, James Pane reidar, xx merkis.

BUTHILL, James Patker exhorter, xx lib. 1567.

SAINNEK, Donald Maklallane reidar, xx merkis, 1567.

TRACQUEIR, Charles Home exhorter, xl merkis, beltym 1568.
John Halyday reider, x lib, November 1570.

TERREGLIS, William Thomson reidar, xx merkis, beltym 1567

KIREPATRICK, Patrick Qulitheid exhorter, xx merkis.

IRONGRAYE, Andro Mychell exhorter, xx lib. 1567.

NEWABBAY, Patrik Cowll reidar, x lib. (*Died 1570.*)
John Logane reidar, xx merkis, beltym 1570.

KIRKBEANE, John Clerk reidar. xx merkis, beltym 1571.

SUDDIK, George Ollfeir exhorter, xx merkis, with the thryd of his vicarage extendand to and ten merkis mair sen beltym 1572.

KOWHEN, John Logane reidar, xx merkis,—beltym 1567.—
(*Translatit to Newabbay sen beltym 1570.*)

LOCHRUTTOUN John Littill exhorter, xx lib. beltym 1567, and ten mair sen beltym 1572.

WR. OF ORR, John Browne reidar, xxj lib. ij s. ij d. and ten lib. mair sen beltym 1572.

KIRKGUNYEANE, Patrik Loche reidar, xx lib. beltym 1567.

KIREPATRIK OF ANDRO EDGAR reidar, xxiiij merkis. 1567.
THE MUIR.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "BUIK OF ASSIGNATIONS OF
THE MINISTERIS AND REIDARIS STIPENDIS."

FOR THE YEAR 1576.

LOCHRUTTOUN, Mr Archibald Sinclair minister, his stipend jc xx lib. to be payit as followis, viz. his awin be.

lace. The reason assigned for not taking Darnley to the royal mansion, was the danger of the infant's catching the distemper. Mary showed much attention to her husband; and to all appearance they had never been on better terms. She watched over him with much seeming anxiety, and even sometimes slept in the same house. On the evening of the 9th of February, 1567-8, about eleven o'clock, she departed for the palace. Two hours after midnight, the house in which he lodged was blown up; and the lifeless body of the King was found in an orchard at a little distance.

The murder of the unhappy Darnley created the strongest excitement through the country, and the general voice pronounced Bothwell the perpetrator of the guilty deed. Lennox, the father of the murdered monarch, was urged to become the accuser of this powerful Earl, and to demand a public

nefice of Suddik, quhilk is the chancellarie of the chapell Ryall by the kirk of Kingairth in Bute, &c.

Johnn Litill reidar at Lochrutton, his stipend xx lib. with the Kirkland, to be payit as followis, &c.

KIRKPATRIK-IRNGRAY. Johnne Broun minister, his stipend lx lib. to be payit as followis, &c.

Michaell Wichtman reidar at Kirkpatrik-Irgray, his stipend xx lib. with the Kirkland, &c.

TOUNGLAND, William Scharpro minister, his stipend lx lib. &c. Eduard Hering reidar at Tounkland, his stipend xx merkis, &c.

WIGTOUN, Johnne Young minister, his stipend lxxx lib. &c. James Falconar reidar at Wigtoun, his stipend xvj lib. iiij s. v d. with the kirkland, &c.

CLASCHANT, Michaell Hawthorn minister, his stipend liiij lib. vj s viij d. &c.

James Law reidar at Clashant, his stipend xx merkis, with the kirkland, &c.

KIRKMADIN IN RYNNIS. Johnne Qubeit reidar at Kirkmadyn in Rynniss, his stipend xx merkis, with the kirkland &c

investigation. The demand could not be evaded or refused by his daughter-in-law, and the 12th of April was fixed as the day of trial. At the appointed time the court assembled. The Earl of Cassillis, Lord Herries, and Gordon of Lochinvar, sat in the jury. The Earl of Cassillis declined at first to act as a juryman; but was compelled by the direct interference of Mary herself. Lennox, through timidity, failing to appear as Bothwell's prosecutor, and no evidence being led, the accused was declared "not guilty." In proceeding to the court he was numerously attended. Two hundred musketeers kept close by his side; and when at the bar they guarded the doors, that none of his enemies might enter the apartment.

Having brought his affairs to a happy conclusion, by effecting the death of Daruley and procuring a separation from his wife, Janet Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, Bothwell now prepared for his union with the Queen. He accordingly invited to his house the most powerful of the nobility and clergy, with the intention of inducing or compelling them to subscribe a bond declaratory of his innocence of the King's murder, and recommending him as a suitable match for the royal widow.¹

¹ The following is the substance of this deed.

"That in case the earl was afterwards calumniated for the murder of the king, they bound themselves to defend him with all their power. Moreover, considering the time present, that the queen is destitute of a husband, which want the commonweal cannot admit of, they, in case her majesty would humble herself so far as to marry the earl of Bothwell, bound themselves 'not only to forward it by word and deed, at such time as her majesty shall think it convenient, and as soon as the laws shall leave it (the words of the original) to be done, but in case any shall either directly or indirectly, upon whatever cause presume to prevent it, these we promise to look upon as our enemies, and to spend

As soon as the proposed marriage became generally known, Lord Herries, perhaps regretting his pusillanimity in signing the infamous bond, repaired to Edinburgh, with fifty horse, and entreated her Majesty upon his knees, to give up all thoughts of the intended alliance, as it would indelibly dishonour herself, and endanger the life of her son.—The Queen seemed astonished that such a report prevailed, and, with much duplicity, assured him, it was altogether unfounded; for nothing was farther from her intention. Having got this answer he returned home.¹

On the 15th of May, the Queen, with fatal indiscretion, married the man whom all looked upon as the murderer of her husband; having previously created him Duke of Orkney.

This singular and criminal marriage gave great offence to the nation. A number of the nobility took up arms to remove Bothwell from his usurped authority. The Queen and her husband raised an army, and advanced from Dunbar to meet the confederate Lords. Mary's troops were stationed on an eminence, called Carberry-Hill, but they seemed dispirited and unwilling to engage. Both the Queen and Bothwell endeavoured to rouse and encourage them, but without effect, for many of the combatants were already leaving the field. Mary saw that no chance of victory remained, and she ad-

our lives and fortunes in support of that business, against all that live or die". Edinburgh, April 19. 1567."

The subscribers are, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Galloway, Dumblain, Brechin, Ross, Isles, Orkney, Huntley, Argyle, Morton, Cassils, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, the lords Boyd, Glamis, Ruthven, Semple, Hennis, James lord Ogilvy, and Fleming. Vide Keith. p. 382, 383. MAITLAND.

¹ Maitland.

vised Bothwell to seek safety in flight. She then delivered herself up to the confederate Lords, who, after conducting her to Edinburgh, sent her a prisoner to Lochleven castle. Bothwell fled to the islands of Orkney and Shetland, and, having become a pirate, was taken by a Danish ship of war. Being thrown into a dungeon in the castle of Malnay, he, after a number of years' imprisonment, died in merited wretchedness. His lands in Galloway and other parts of the country were forfeited.¹ Whilst in Lochleven castle, Mary was compelled to resign her crown unto her son, and to appoint her brother, the Earl of Murray, regent during the Prince's minority. A bond was entered into by the Regent and many of the nobility, barons, and representatives of burghs, for supporting the young King's authority.²

1 The estate of Earlston belonged to Bothwell, and the castle is thought to have been built by him. We subjoin the following excerpt from a letter which we lately received from Mr Barbour, Bogue, a gentleman who is well acquainted with the district. "On the eastern bank of the Ken, still stands, in tolerable repair, the castle of Earlston. The famous Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, the favourite and future husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, is said to have been the founder of Earlston castle. There is much probability in this. He was permitted to hunt, in the Royal Forest of Glenkens, (part of which still remains on the western side of the Ken) and as there was no building at the foot of the Kells Rhynns, fit to accommodate Earl Bothwell and his train, he very naturally reared a hunting seat for himself."

2 This bond, dated 1567, was subscribed by the following Galloway proprietors. The Earl of Morton, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, Kennedy of Blairwhan, Dunbar of Mochrum, Douglas of Drumlanrig, James Dalrymple of Stair, predecessor of the Earl of Stair, Stewart of Gairlies, Thomas Macdowall, Charles Murray of Cockpool, afterwards Viscount of Annan and Earl of Anuandale. Gordon of Lochinvar, Maclellan of Bombie, James Rig, Provost of Dumfries, James Wallace in Dumfries, M'Culloch of Cardoness, John Gordon younger of Craighlaw, John Cathcart of Carletou, the laird of Myretoun, Murray of

Gordon, bishop of Galloway, having been appointed commissioner of the district by the General Assembly, was called before that reverend body and accused of neglecting his duty, in not having visited the "kirks" under his superintendence for the space of three years. Other charges were made against him, to all of which he pleaded guilty. His commission, however, was still continued, being only admonished by the Assembly to be more diligent and exemplary for the future.¹

Broughton, Alexander Crichton of Newhall, with his hand at the pen, (Alexander Hay, notary,) Patrick M'Kie of Larg, Roger Grierson of Lag, Vaus or Vans of Barubarroch, William Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, with his hand at the pen. See Appendix to Crawford's Officers of State.—Anderson's Collections, vol. 2. ap. Wallace's Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages. Edinburgh Edit. 1785—page 409.

A very old copy of the bond and signatures, with MS. and printed Records of the Scottish Parliament, was purchased by the publisher, at the sale of the late Sir Alexander Gordon of Culvennan's library. Sir Alexander was an enthusiastic antiquary.

It is remarked by Dr Murray; "That the hollowness of Gordon's pretensions was first detected and exposed by the Queen herself. 'I understand, said she, (in an interview with Knox in 1563,) that ye ar appoynted to go to Dumfresse for the election of a superintendent, to be established in these countrys. Yes, said he those quarters have gritt need and sum of the gentlemen so requyre. But I heir, said sche, that the bischope of Athenis wald be superintendent. He is one, said the uther, madam, that is put in election. If ye knew him, said sche, as weall as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any uther within your kirk. Quhat he has bein; said he, madam, I nyther know, nor yet will I inquire; for in tyme of darkness, quhat culd we do, but grope and go wrong, even as darkuess caryed us? Bot yf he feir not God, he deceived mony mo than me. Weall, sayes sche, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man. And thairuutill,' continues Knox, 'was not the queen deceived; for he had corrupted the maist pairt of the gentelmen not only to nominat him, bot also to elect him.' In consequence of this discovery, the appointment did not take place, but soon afterwards he was created, by the general assembly, visitor, or commissioner of Galloway." MURRAY'S LITERARY HISTORY.—

On the 2nd of May 1568, Mary effected her escape, and was soon surrounded by a powerful confederacy of earls, bishops, lairds, and gentlemen; for many, now forgetting her errors, pitied her misfortunes.

At this period of internal commotion, Edward Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrennan, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, Lord Herries, Lord Maxwell, Gordon of Lochinvar, Maclellan of Bombie, the Abbots of Glenluce and Saulseat, along with many other individuals connected with the district, signed a deed binding themselves to protect and defend their unfortunate Sovereign; and an army of 6,000 men was immediately mustered in her behalf. The Queen's troops moved westward with the intention of placing her in Dumbarton Castle, as a place of perfect security. This castle, accounted impregnable, was held for her by Lord Fleming. Murray, who occupied Glasgow with an inferior force,—his army amounting only to 4,000 men,—had such confidence in his own superior military skill and the valour of his men, that he drew out his troops on Langside-hill, with the intention of intercepting Mary's progress, that she might not reach Dumbarton and protract the war. The Queen's forces came up, and the battle commenced.¹ The Hamiltons imprudently rushed forward and closed with the Regent's

¹ In the Queen's army were the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Herries, Lord Maxwell, Lord Sanquhar, the Sheriff of Ayr, &c., and the Regent's troops contained the Earl of Morton, the Laird of Drumlanrig, &c. Lord Ochiltree was wounded in the neck by Lord Herries, who conducted himself with much gallantry during the engagement.

van, commanded by the Earl of Morton. Fresh troops being ordered to attack the flank of the assailants while they were thus engaged, the Queen's army was completely defeated. This battle was fought on the 13th of May, 1568, eleven days after her escape from confinement.

Mary beheld from a distance, with unutterable anguish, the destruction of the army on which she had placed her whole dependence. In a state of great perturbation, she sought safety in flight, and, having reached the Glenkens, travelled along the west side of the river. Here Lord Herries pointed out to her Earlstou castle, which had been the occasional residence of Bothwell, when she became much agitated, and burst into tears. So great was her alarm after her defeat, that she rode, attended by this nobleman and his Galwegians,¹ as far as a hill, now called Queenshill, in the parish of Tongland, at the head of the beautiful valley of Tarff, without once stopping to rest or partake of any refreshment. Here she was prevailed upon to eat a crust of bread, and drink a little water from a neighbouring spring. She then crossed the Dee by a wooden bridge, supposed to have been erected by the Romans.² After the

1 The Galloway men are accused of seizing the horses of their companions in arms and setting off with the Queen. We shall give Balfour's words. "Shoe seing herselue deprived of the day, fleies with the Master of Maxwell, and his company of Galloway men, qhho escaped one ther fellows horses that had endured the brunt of the batell."

Another writer says. "In the midst of the battell, the Queine, despairing of ye victory, fled, accompanied with the Maister of Maxwell, and his company of Galloway men, qhho tooke away ther fellows horses yat as zet endured the brunt of the battell. Ther wes taken prisoners one the King's syde, Lorde Settono chrieffe of Aire, laird of Trabone, laird of Innerweike."

2 The bridge stood about a mile above the village of Tong-

beautiful and unfortunate Queen had effected the passage of this river, she entered a neighbouring cottage¹ where she remained during the time her attendants were engaged in breaking down the bridge, to prevent or retard pursuit. She then resumed her journey and was conducted by Lord Herries to his mansion at Corra,² in Kirkgunzeon, where she slept during the night.—Next morning she is said to have breakfasted at Terregles, probably on her way to England by the west marches; for we find that Lord Herries wrote to the Deputy-Governor of Carlisle, to inquire if he would allow “his mistress a safe retreat if she should pass the borders.”³ From information which she received at Terregles, where she passed the night of the 14th, she must have changed

land, at a narrow part of the river; some traces of the path at each end of it are yet observable. Its erection must have taken place at a very early period; for it is known to have existed in 1300, at the time of Edward's celebrated campaign in Galloway. About forty years ago, a large beam of oak, which, from its appearance, must have belonged to the bridge, was raised from the bottom of the river, opposite the Castledykes. It had been long covered with clay or sand; but the strength of the stream had probably at this time laid a small portion of one of the ends bare. At this place, it was usual to draw a net for salmon, and it became entangled on the wood. By much exertion the beam was raised, which was found to be in a state of perfect preservation; some furniture, snuff boxes, &c. being made of it. A large block of it was long used as a press at the paper mill of Tongland. The publisher of this work has still some of it in his possession.

¹ The walls of the cottage long remained on the farm of Culdoach; they were called Dun's Wa's; probably Dun was the individual who then inhabited the house.

² Lord Herries built the Corra house. It was both a large and strong edifice. He also built Moscrop's Tower at Terregles. (Statistical Account.) An oaken bedstead, said to be that on which Queen Mary lay is shown in Corra house at the present day.

³ Maitland, &c.

her purpose before an answer could have been received, and retreated towards the southern coast of Galloway. On the 15th she arrived at Hazlefield, which belonged to a gentleman of the name of Maxwell. Here she partook of their evening repast, and remained during the night.— To acknowledge the kindness with which she had been treated, she presented the family with a small ring containing a ruby.¹ From this hos-

I We have conversed with some of the descendants of the family, who have seen the ring, and the table cloth which was used on the occasion. These relics have now, however, passed into other hands. The chair on which she sat is also in existence.

We give two extracts from a little work on Dundrennan Abbey, lately published. The author's views on this subject coincide with our own.

“ An impression has long been erroneously cherished that her last sad sojourn on the shores of a country which she never revisited except in dreams (when fancy, waking and wandering while reason sleeps, sets the strongest bolts and bars at defiance) was passed under the roof of the Abbey. The monks, no doubt, bore her true fealty but they perhaps dreaded the vengeance of her pursuers in the shape of fine or confiscation; and, from whatever motive, a lodging was provided in a private house, which at the period alluded to, was occupied by the ancestor of the late Mrs Anderson of Stroquhan. In the family the Queen observed a fine little boy, who attracted her attention to such a degree, that she requested he might be allowed to sleep with her during the night; and it was his lot to share the caresses of Majesty and beauty united, unconscions as he might be of the honour thus acquired. After great personal fatigue and distress of mind, the unfortunate Mary passed a comfortable night, as was obvious from her looks when the monks waited upon her in the morning; but before departing for the creek from which she embarked, she acknowledged her sense of the kindness received by leaving behind a valuable ring and rich damask table cloth, which formed part of her slender luggage, both of which bore the royal arms. These relics, after remaining for years in the family, were gifted by the grandmother of the lady whose name we have mentioned to a house of considerable distinction in this county, where in all probability, they still remain. The above anecdote, so far as we know, never appeared in print before, and the reader may rest assured that it is not hazarded on slight authority.”

pitiable mansion she proceeded to the abbey of Dundrennan, at the distance of two miles,¹ where

“The Abbey of Dundrennan,” to use the words of the same publication, “is situated in the parish of Berwick, within a few miles of the town of Kirkeudbright. Of religious houses it is the oldest in the south of Scotland of which any remains are standing; for of Candida Casa, Whithorn, scarcely a single vestige now remains. When in its prime, Dundrennan was a magnificent building; the Church attached to the Monastery was in the form of a cross, and the space over the intersection of the body and the transept, was surmounted by a spire, 200 feet in height. The body of the building was 120 feet in length, and divided into three aisles by seven clustered columns, supporting arches on each side. The transept measured from north to south 120 feet, and from east to west 46 feet. On the south side of the church were cloisters containing a square area of 94 feet, with grass plots in the centre, and adjoining these were the lodgings and different offices of the monastery, occupying a space of nearly 200 feet square; and to the western side of these buildings stood a small projecting erection in the shape of a cross, exactly similar to the Church, but inverted in these parts which fronted the east in one case, and the west in the other.”

HUTTON'S HISTORY OF DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

The King appointed the Abbots of Dundrennan, for it was one of the Monasteries of which the Pope had not the nomination of the Superiors. By one of the Abbots of this place, part of the Chronicles of Melrose is thought to have been written. At the end of the Chronicles is this note.—“*Hæc est vera copia Antiquæ Chronicæ de Melross in Scotia, inchoata per Abbatem de Dundranan ab Anno 735, continuata per varios ad Annum 1270.*” (Murray) The Abbot of Dundrennan attended the famous council held at Basil in 1431.

The income of the Abbey exclusive of that derived from its landed property amounted to £500. The Abbot and monks of Dundrennan had a regality over their land. The Lords Maxwell were the heritable bailies and received as a fee the five pound lands of Mullock and Heston. (Symson's Description of Galloway.)—Caledonia, &c.,

1 That Mary was three days in Galloway after her defeat, and did not remain stationary while there, may be seen from her first letter to Elizabeth after her arrival in the English territories.—Mary's letter thus proceeds.

“But being informed that they [the Regent's party] were resolved either to retake me, or all die in the attempt, I began to march towards Dumbarton, my nobility keeping between me and the enemy. This when they saw, they posted themselves in the

she was kindly welcomed by the Abbot, Edward Maxwell, of the noble family of that name.¹

Mary must have experienced much fatigue from her protracted exertion, for the distance she rode on the first day of her flight, is nearly ninety English miles.

The fugitive Queen had already formed the fatal determination of passing into England, and committing herself to the doubtful protection of an envious female and a rival Queen. Before her departure from Dundrennan, Lord Herries and

way of my forces, in order to catch me. My troops, being irritated to be thus interrupted on their march, attacked them, but without order. Thus, though I had twice their number, God permitted me to be discomfited. Many were killed in the field, many cruelly in the retreat, and many were made prisoners. But breaking off the pursuit, in order to take me either dead or alive, I hasted first to Dumbarton; but soon changing my course, God, of his infinite goodness, preserved me, to fly into your country, being well assured that I, my lord Herries, and the other nobles who attend me, will not only find a safe protection from their cruelty in your natural goodness, but assistance to recover my kingdom, and recommendation to other sovereigns. I beg you will send immediately for me, as I am in a condition not even suiting a simple gentlewoman, having saved nothing from the enemy; to escape whom, I was obliged to ride sixty miles the first day across the country, never having dared since then to travel but by night. But as I hope soon to narrate to you, if you compassionate my misfortunes, the whole of their proceedings, I will not at present importune you with a longer narrative; but end with my prayers to God for good health and long life to you, and to me patience and consolation, which I expect from you, to whom I humbly recommend myself.

Workington, May 17, 1568." (*Continuation of MAITLAND'S HISTORY.*)

I In reply to a letter which we took the liberty of writing to Marmaduke Constable Maxwell, Esq., of Terregles, this gentleman states "I have no authentic records regarding the subject to which you allude; but it has always been the belief of the family, that Queen Mary slept both here and at Coria on her way to Dundrennan, previous to her leaving Scotland for England. There is an old bed in which tradition says, she slept when here; I have also a prayer book, she was supposed to have left."

some of her wiser attendants, kneeling in her presence, with the utmost earnestness entreated her to desist from pursuing so dangerous a course; since the abbey could afford her a temporary retreat; and, on the approach of danger, she might sail to France, where she would meet with a favourable reception; yet she would not be diverted from her rash purpose; and, accordingly, she sailed, in an open boat, accompanied by a few friends, from a creek, now called Port Mary, in the parish of Rerwick, and landed on the opposite coast of the Solway Frith, in the county of Cumberland, at a place which received from her the name of Mary-Port, on the 16th of May, 1568.

CHAP. X.

FROM THE FLIGHT OF MARY UNTIL THE UNION OF THE CROWNS.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Langside, the Regent sent a party to summon the castle of Hamilton, which surrendered next day. On the 18th of May, 1568, he issued a proclamation commanding the inhabitants of several of the midland counties to meet him at Biggar, on the 10th of June, with provisions for fifteen days, that he might chastise the numerous friends of the unfortunate Mary in the south of Scotland. The Regent left Edinburgh on the 11th of June, and proceeded to Biggar, where an army of 4,000 well-mounted cavalry and 1,000 infantry, with numerous attendants, had assembled. After taking and garrisoning several castles, he reached St John's Clauchan, in the parish of Dalry, on the 15th. Here the troops remained until the next day, in expectation of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar's arrival and submission. Finding that he did not make his appearance, they marched to Kenmure castle, which they burned or destroyed:¹ they also destroyed the house of one of his friends.² From Kenmure castle the army advanced to "a strong house on the

¹ Maitland.

² Thought to be Shirmers Castle.

Water of Urr,"—probably Nether Place,—where several gentlemen who had belonged to Mary's forces, submitted to the Regent and were pardoned. Having sufficiently punished Galloway, Murray, on the 18th of June, marched to Dumfries, when a castle in the middle of the town belonging to Lord Maxwell surrendered. Here many of the adverse party gave in their adherence, which was accepted. Two days previous to the Regent's arrival at this place, Lord Maxwell and the Barons of Lochinvar, Johnston, and Cowhill, had been in Dumfries, with a thousand men under their command, but having consumed all their provisions, it was supposed Maxwell, their leader, would have yielded to the Regent, but the others objected to such a step. From Dumfries the army proceeded to Hodlam castle, which belonged to Lord Herries. About one thousand of the Queen's friends assembled to protect this mansion, and an encounter, or skirmish, followed, but without any serious result. Hodlam castle, having capitulated next day, was committed to the keeping of Douglas of Drumlanrig. It was so strong that many were surprised it did not hold out much longer. The Regent now endeavoured to draw the enemy into an engagement. He despatched the Earl of Morton, with a thousand men, who, after coming in sight of the hostile body, feigned a retreat for the purpose of inducing a pursuit; but they would neither engage nor follow their adversaries. The Regent, having taken Annan, seized the castle of Lochmaben and appointed the Baron of Drumlanrig governor of it; but, after the army had departed, some of Maxwell's men, who were concealed in secret parts of the building,

rushed out upon the possessors and again captured the castle.¹ The Regent's army, which now became distressed for want of the necessary supplies, returned to Edinburgh on the 25th of the same month.²

Mary, on the day after her landing in Cumberland, wrote from Workington to Elizabeth, who ordered Lady Scroop, then in the north of England, and some other ladies instantly to repair to the Scottish Queen. She also commanded Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knollis to hasten to Carlisle, with letters of condolence and assurances of her favour and friendship. Upon their arrival, as Elizabeth did not invite the fugitive princess to London, she despatched Lord Fleming to France, and Lord Herries to the English court, with another letter to the Queen: she also wrote to Cecil begging his kind offices.³

Elizabeth who viewed Mary's youth, beauty, and accomplishments with envy, considered her, not as a sister queen and friend in distress, but as a rival and enemy, and determined to retain her in captivity. The unfortunate Princess was surrounded by English guards, and removed to a greater distance from Scotland.

Upon the Queen's flight, the Regent, to excuse himself for the part he had taken in encouraging rebellion against his lawful Sovereign, sent a letter to Elizabeth, accusing his sister of being accessory to the murder of her husband, that she might be

¹ Hollinshed.

² Thomas Campbell, the last Abbot of Holywood, was prosecuted for assisting Queen Mary in her flight after the battle of Langside, and forfeited 19th August, 1568. Ad. Parl. iii. 54.

³ Anderson.—Maitland's History.

at liberty to marry her paramour, the unworthy Earl of Bothwell. Elizabeth, therefore, peremptorily refused to admit her cousin to her presence, until she had cleared herself of this serious accusation. Mary immediately undertook to establish her innocence of the crime laid to her charge by her subjects, to the complete satisfaction of the Queen of England. Elizabeth now pretended to consider herself called upon to act as umpire between Mary and her accusers.

The Queen of England appointed commissioners to meet at York, on the 4th day of October, to consider the evidence that was to be led by both parties. Murray, in conjunction with some others, appeared as his sister's accuser. Lord Herries, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Gavin Hamilton, and a few more of her friends, were empowered by Mary to act on her behalf.

The investigation commenced, and proceeded for some time; but at length Mary and her commissioners, having observed a strong bias in Elizabeth's mind against her cause, artfully delayed farther proceedings, by throwing obstacles in the way. At the end of five months, the Queen of England declared that she had seen nothing to affect the honour or integrity of the Earl of Murray, though he had failed to prove the criminal charges brought against his Sovereign. She would, therefore, leave the affairs of Scotland as she had found them.² The Regent returned to Scotland, and Mary was retained a prisoner by her relation.

The convent belonging to the Franciscans, or

1 Balfour, &c.

2 Scott.

Grey Friars, at Kirkcudbright, having been almost ruined by the Reformation, Sir Thomas Maclellan of Bombie, in 1569, obtained the site of the buildings, with the orchards and gardens belonging to them. He erected for his residence a castle in the same situation, bearing the date 1582, the walls of which remain almost entire.

The Regent Murray now considered his power as firmly established, but his career of eminence was suddenly cut short by the hand of an assassin. As he passed along the street of Linlithgow, Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh,¹ to avenge his own wrongs and the wrongs of his royal mistress, laid his proud adversary low by a musket shot from a balcony, and then made his escape. The death of the Regent seemed to be the signal for Mary's partisans to rise in arms, and assert the rights of their imprisoned Queen.

In the following year, Elizabeth, wishing to punish and overawe the adherents of her unfortunate rival, sent troops, commanded by the Earl of Sussex and Lord Scroop, to invade and ravage part of Galloway and Annandale. But as the attack was principally directed against Galloway, the inhabitants of Annandale, who suffered much in defending, not merely their own property, but also that of their western neighbours, expected to be recompensed for their important services. Their claims of remuneration, however, were rejected, and they plundered Galloway to reimburse themselves.²

¹ Hamilton died in 1594: he left two daughters, the elder of whom was married to Gavin Hamilton, subsequently Bishop of Galloway. (Tales of the Scottish Wars)

² "Robert Gordon, eldest son of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, was one of the strongest and most active men of his time."

After the death of Murray, the Earl of Lennox was raised to the regency of Scotland. Proposals of accommodation between Mary and her subjects being now made by the Queen of England, commissioners were appointed to conclude a negotiation for the release, under certain conditions, of the royal prisoner. Mary named as her commissioners the Bishops of Galloway and Ross, with Lord Livingston; but Elizabeth broke off the negotiation.

Between the parties of the King and Queen, hostilities now raged with envenomed rancour.—Mary's friends, among whom was Lord Herries, assembled a considerable force and obtained the command both of the castle and city of Edinburgh.¹ They convened a Parliament of their own adherents, which declared the Queen to be the only lawful sovereign. The ministers of religion, having refused to pray for the Queen, fled, and Knox re-

and gave many instances of his valour in defence of the Gallovidians against the inhabitants of Annandale, who, when they lost cattle by the incursions of the English, were in the use of supplying their losses by plundering their neighbours. In one of these encounters, his friend and follower, John Gordon of Lochinkitt, burnt the houses of Gratney, Wamphray, Locherby, &c., killed Richard Irving of Gratney, and took several prisoners.—King James VI sending out a strong party to apprehend him, he deforced his Majesty's officers, making the principal cat the warrant. However, his father and friends interceding for him, he obtained an ample remission, came to court, and was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber to the King.—At a tournament proclaimed by his Majesty, Sir Robert Gordon was one of the three successful champions, to whom prizes were delivered by the Princess Elisabeth." HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE HOUSE OF KENMURE.

¹ The Queen's party had received both money and ammunition from France, and we are told, that on the 4th day of March, 1571, men landed from France in support of the Popish religion. (Memorials of Richard Bannantyne, Secretary to John Knox.)

paired to St Andrews. His pulpit, in the meantime, was occupied by Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, whose sermons¹ were more acceptable to the occupiers of the metropolis.

Lennox, being slain in a party combat in Stirling, was succeeded by the Earl of Marr. Marr's health, however, soon gave way under the accumulated anxieties of his office, and after languishing for some time in a settled despondency at the gloomy prospects of his country, he died universally regretted.

About the same time, Knox, the great promoter and fearless champion of the Reformation, died.—Morton who succeeded Marr as Regent, pronounced this eulogium over his grave. "Here lies one who never feared the face of man."

The Earl of Morton, while chancellor, in concert with several other noblemen, invented a plan of renewing, to some extent, the Episcopal form of church government in Scotland. When a bishopric became vacant by the death of an old Catholic incumbent, the temporalities were granted to noblemen who appointed Protestant clergymen to the office of bishop, and allowed them a reasonable

¹ For a specimen of one of Gordon's sermons, see Appendix (N.) Keith mentions that "he always retained the title of archbishop of Athens and bishop of Galloway; and the benefice of this latter see he still considered as his own property, inasmuch that when he was dying, in the year 1576, he made a resignation thereof, by consent of the queen, to his own son John Gordon, by Barbara Logie his wife, who was then in France pursuing his studies; [Records; item, *Charta penes R. S. de Bultrees*,] which was afterwards confirmed to this son along with the Abbey of Tunland, by a charter under the great seal. Thus went the ecclesiastical benefices in that period." KEITH.

His son subsequently obtained from James VI. the Deanery of Salisbury. Another son, Laurence, obtained the Abbacy of Glenluce.

sum out of the revenues for their Episcopal maintenance.¹

Morton, as Regent, possessed a degree of favour and security which none of his predecessors had acquired, but he did not conduct himself with justice or moderation. He oppressed those whom he disliked, though men of sterling worth and unimpeachable integrity; and heaped favours and riches on the basest and most dishonest of his party. The course of his actions proclaimed him not only the tyrant, but also the devoted creature of England. The nobles, at length, began to exhibit symptoms of discontent; and even the more zealous of the Protestants, whose cause he had ardently espoused, were disposed to look upon him with dislike, or even abhorrence. Deeply rooted as his authority appeared, yet a storm approached which was destined to destroy it.

The King had now arrived at the age when he might exercise that power in his own person which Morton abused in his name. A council assembled and declared the King to have assumed the reins of Government, whilst Morton was compelled to resign, or surrender, the Regency with all the insignia of his authority, and to return, amidst the exulting maledictions of the people, into the humiliation of private life. Unhappy in his obscurity, Morton made another effort to regain his previous ascendancy; and he succeeded in almost acquiring his former power; for he held the King a kind of prisoner in

¹ "These were called *Tulchan* Bishops a very proper name for them, as *Tulchan* in the Scottish language signifies the skin of a calf stuffed with straw, and set up beside the cow to make her give milk to her owner." (Stevenson's History of Church and State, p. 135. History of Glasgow, p. 25.)

Stirling castle. His triumph, however, proved of short duration: his inevitable ruin was at hand, his hours were numbered.

About this time, Esmé Stewart, a relation¹ of the young King, arrived from France. He was handsome, amiable, and apparently accomplished. With this young man James entered into terms of the fondest intimacy and warmest friendship. Stewart possessed the Sovereign's confidence so completely, that almost every measure of government was instituted by his suggestion; and James soon created him Duke of Lennox. The sudden elevation of a foreigner and a supposed Papist, created alarm in the minds of the Protestants. It was currently reported, that he had been sent over from France to corrupt the morals and pervert the religion of the young King. The people lamented the countenance given to Papists at court, and the dangers to which both King and country were exposed through their secret machinations.

This state of affairs was the chief cause of that memorable transaction which occurred in 1580 and the subsequent year, namely, the swearing to, and subscription of, the national covenant. It was drawn up by John Craig, and consisted of a most solemn and explicit abjuration of the various articles of the Popish system, and an engagement to defend the doctrines and discipline of the Reformed Church in Scotland. This bond was first subscribed by the King and his household, and afterwards,—in obedience to an order of the Privy Council and an act of the General Assembly,—by all ranks of

¹ He was nephew to the Earl of Lennox, the King's grandfather.

persons throughout the kingdom. The ministers of Galloway eagerly promoted the subscription of it in their respective parishes.

The rumours which Morton had zealously circulated against Lennox provoked retaliation, and a report was spread that the late Regent intended to seize the King and send him to England. The council, therefore, appointed twenty-four sons of noblemen or barons, as a guard for the King's person. This guard included Lord Maxwell, the Masters of Cassillis and Herries, with the Laird of Bombie.

By the advice or influence of Lennox, Captain James Stewart, of the family of Ochiltree, about this time, created Earl of Arran, accused Morton of being concerned in the death of Darnley; for there was no other charge he could possibly substantiate against him: Lord Maxwell and Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar acted as jurymen. When a verdict of "guilty" was pronounced, Morton exclaimed, "God knows it is not so." Next day he was beheaded by a machine called "a maiden," which he himself had brought into Scotland from Halifax, in Yorkshire. His head was fixed on the tolbooth, where it remained a disgusting spectacle for nearly eighteen months. Thus perished the last potent Lord of the terrible family of Douglas. He acknowledged before his execution, that he had been informed of the intended murder of Darnley, but that he could not prevent it. "I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it; but it was because I durst not reveal it; for to whom could I have done so? To the Queen? She was the author of the plot.—To Darnley? He was such a bairn that there was nothing told him but he revealed it to her

again : and the two most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, Bothwell and Huntly, were the perpetrators of the atrocious deed." Morton's estates in Galloway and elsewhere were forfeited. To him belonged the baronies of Borgue, Buittle, and Preston. After the forfeiture, Lord Maxwell obtained the barony of Preston,¹ with a jurisdiction of regality. The castle of Cavers² and Wreaths, in the parish of Kirkbean, with the lands on which they stood, belonged to the Regent, who sometimes resided in them. Both passed to Lord Maxwell.³

Many had begun to worship the rising sun before his rays had fully appeared above the horizon ; and now commenced a scramble among statesmen for civil power and pre-eminence. The Presbyterian ministers, likewise, proceeded in their work of completing the polity, and remodelling the constitution of the Church. The bishops were first denuded of their titles and commanded to submit like other clergymen to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. In the month of July, the Ge-

1 In the estate of Preston was a burgh of regality called Preston, which had four yearly fairs. The cross, which was a pillar of stone seven feet high, stood on a pedestal four feet in height. Here the process of the law was executed. The village has dwindled away almost to nothing. (Caledonia.)

2 King James, while he was under the care of the Regent Morton, spent the holidays at Cavers, in the parish of Kirkbean.

At that time the chief of the clan Aitken held the Castle of Preston: this family were true Scots, poor but proud. One day James visited at this Castle, and they were very scarce of provision: the only thing they had to present was a dish of flounders, but they managed to produce two courses by giving first the brown side and then the white side of the flounder, upon which James remarked, Odds fish, man! they's fine fish, but I think the white anes are the best.

3 This nobleman also obtained the Earl's title, which he had afterwards to relinquish. (Calderwood.)

neral Assembly “unanimously declared the office of bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word of God, and as a human invention tending to the injury of the Church; and ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo*, under pain of excommunication after due admonition,”

In the year 1585, Lord Maxwell quarrelled with the King's favourite, the Earl of Arran, who prevailed upon the Baron of Johnston to oppose Maxwell at the ensuing election of provost of Dumfries. Arran even wrote to that burgh in favour of Johnston. But Lord Maxwell, with a numerous body of his friends, pre-occupied the town on the day of election, and secured the office to which he aspired. This, with other acts of insubordination, roused the indignation of James; and the offender, according to the custom of the times, was declared a rebel, and a commission given to Johnston, who had obtained the wardenship of the west marches, to pursue and apprehend the ancient rival of his family. But as the Maxwells were a very powerful clan, it was judged necessary by the Government to send aid to Johnston from Edinburgh.—The King's soldiers, having reached Crawfordmoor, were attacked by Maxwell's friends, under the command of Robert, his natural brother, and cut to pieces. Following up their advantage, they burned their adversary's castle of Lochwood the same night; and, in a succeeding conflict, Johnston himself, after sustaining a complete defeat, was made prisoner, when, overcome by his accumulated misfortunes and disgrace, he died of grief.¹

¹ Maitland.—Spottiswood.

In the beginning of the year 1586, Lord Maxwell was committed to prison for causing mass to be celebrated in the church of Lincluden, on the preceding Christmas. He was, however, soon set at liberty, but commanded by the King to leave the country : he repaired to Spain.¹

During the same year, Mr John Duncanson was appointed commissioner to visit the kirks in Galloway. The Assembly at this time granted authority "to certain brethren, to summon before them at such a day and place as they should think expedient; the commissioner for Galloway and other commissioners, if they should find occasion of slander to arise by them in Life, Doctrine, or Conversation, at any time between and the next General Assembly; to try and take probation, lead and deduce process against them, to the sentence exclusive, remitting the final judgment to the General Assembly, till farther order may be taken by uniform consent of the Brethren; and to report their process and trial to the next Assembly, where the sentence may be pronounced, according to the qualities and circumstances of the action."

For some years the ill-fated and imprisoned Mary had been almost forgotten by her subjects ; but an event occurred which placed her sufferings before them in a melancholy light. A conspiracy had been formed by a person of the name of Babington, to effect the death of Elizabeth and the liberation of Mary. This conspiracy being detected, the Queen of Scots was accused as an accomplice in the criminal undertaking. The English Government, therefore, resolved that Mary should

¹ A Calderwood.

be brought to trial for having assisted Babington in his guilty designs. For this purpose commissioners were nominated by Elizabeth and sent to Fotheringay castle, where Mary was confined.—When summoned before this tribunal, she declined its jurisdiction but at the same time asserted her innocence of the crime laid to her charge. The trial, however, proceeded, and lasted two days; and after some delay, the commissioners, in accordance with the wishes of Elizabeth, pronounced her guilty. The English Parliament had the cruelty and meanness not only to sanction and approve of these proceedings, but also to press for the execution of the unjustly condemned Queen. James made some sincere, though vain, efforts to avert his mother's fate. The exertions of the King of France proved also abortive. The Scottish clergy exulted in the sentence; for they both feared and hated Mary as the enemy of their religion.—When James learned that his mother was condemned, he ordered the ministers thus to mention her in their public prayers. “May it please God to illuminate her with the light of truth, and save her from apparent danger,” but with one exception they disregarded the injunction.¹

Elizabeth, anxious to evade the odium of putting a sister Queen to death, secretly wished to be relieved of her prisoner by private assassination. The ministers of the crown, therefore, were employed to write to Mary's keepers, insinuating that her death would be of much benefit both to the Queen of England and the Protestant religion. But these unbending guardians were not sufficiently base, or

¹ *Annals of Edinburgh*, p. 71.

servilely unprincipled, to perpetrate so atrocious a deed. At last the fatal mandate was signed by the Queen and issued. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent were sent to see it put into speedy execution. Mary met her death with becoming fortitude and pious resignation. She was beheaded on the 8th day of February, 1537, in the forty-sixth year of her age, after a captivity of more than eighteen years. Often must this unfortunate and unhappy woman have lamented, with bitter anguish, the fatal determination which she had formed in Galloway, of trusting her life and liberty to the generosity of a jealous and selfish rival.

Although the larger portion of church-lands had been seized by the voracious nobles,¹ or erected

The subjoined evinces the unwarrantable means which the nobles resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining church property.

1 "In August, 1570, Allan Stewart, commendator of the abbacy of Crossraguel, in Ayrshire, was prevailed on to visit the Earl of Cassilis, who conveyed him partly against his will, to a lonely tower which overhangs the sea, called the Black Vault of Denure, the ruins of which are yet visible. He was treated for some time kindly; but as his arms and servants were removed from him, he soon saw reason to consider himself less as a friendly guest than as a prisoner, to whom some foul play was intended. At length, the Earl conveyed his guest into a private chamber, in which there was no furniture of any kind excepting a huge clumsy iron grate, or gridiron, beneath which was a fire of charcoal. 'And now my lord abbot,' said the Earl of Cassilis, 'will you be pleased to sign these deeds?' And so saying he laid before him leases and other papers, transferring the whole lands of the abbacy of Crossraguel to the Earl himself. The commendator refused to yield up the property or to subscribe the deeds. A party of ruffians then entered, and seizing the unhappy man, stripped him of his clothes and forcibly stretched him on the iron bars, where he lay scorched by the fire beneath, while they basted him with oil, as a cook bastes the joint of meat which she roasts upon a spit. The agony of such torture was not to be endured. The poor man cried pitifully, begging they would put him to instant death, rather than subject him to this lingering misery, and offered his purse with the mo.

into temporal lordships by the Abbots, Priors, and other dignitaries ; yet a considerable part of them, either still remained unalienated, or had been granted only during the pleasure of the Sovereign. At this time all such lands were annexed to the crown by act of Parliament, the King being empowered to apply the rents in support of the government.

For some time before the death of Mary, Philip, Sovereign of Spain, the Netherlands, extensive territories in Italy, and an immense empire in the New World, had been making preparations to invade England, and effect the liberation of the Scottish Queen from her unjust captivity.

In consequence of the vast extent of his dominions, the great outline of sea-coast which they contained, and the commercial advantages by which they were enriched, Philip possessed by far the largest and most powerful naval force in Europe. His army was not disproportioned to his navy.— Though now too late to rescue the unfortunate Mary from her unjust confinement, yet he was determined to avenge, not merely her cruel death, but his

ney it contained, to any who would in mercy shoot him through the head. At length he was obliged to promise to subscribe whatever the Earl wished, rather than endure the excessive torture any longer. The letters and leases being then presented to him he signed them with his half roasted hand, while the Earl all the while exclaimed, with the most impudent hypocrisy, ‘Benedicite! you are the most obstinate man I ever saw, to oblige me to use you thus; I never thought to have treated any one as your stubbornness has made me treat you.’ The commendator was afterwards delivered by a party commanded by Hamilton of Bargany, who attacked the Black Vault of Denure for the purpose of his liberation. But the wild, savage, and ferocious conduct of the Earl shows in what manner the nobles obtained grants of the church lands from those who had possession of them for the time.”

SCOTT'S TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

own wrongs. He had at this time nearly fitted out a stupendous fleet; and a vast number of troops for land service were ready to embark. Philip eagerly courted the friendship and co-operation of James; and a faction existed in Scotland, that openly espoused the cause of the Spanish monarch.

At this time, James took active measures to suppress an insurrection in the south of Scotland.— Lord Maxwell, who had been commanded to go abroad, repaired, as we have seen, to Spain, where he resided for several months, during the preparations for the invasion of England. As it was understood the Spanish fleet would steer for the port of Kirkcudbright, or, at least, for some harbour in the south or west of Galloway, where the forces might disembark in safety, and, along with the numerous disaffected in that quarter, enter England, Lord Maxwell returned home to arm his followers¹ and landed at Kirkcudbright. Many of the warlike, the necessitous, and unruly, collected around him on his arrival, and his adherents increased so fast, that Lord Herries,² the warden of the marches, finding himself unable to suppress this alarming insurrection, wrote to the King, who instantly ordered Maxwell to appear before him and answer for his conduct. The noble culprit, instead of obeying the royal mandate, proceeded

1 Robertson, &c.

2 A little before this time the General Assembly complained to the King, that Lord Herries had expelled the Protestant clergy from Dumfries, and celebrated the mass there. James, therefore, determined to proceed against him in person; but Herries, being informed of the royal intention, repaired to court; and his accusers having failed to substantiate the charge, he was dismissed on promising to attend the established church, and prevent mass from being said within the limits of his authority.

to fortify the castles in his possession. This conduct so irritated his Majesty, that he collected what troops he could procure, and immediately set out for Dumfries, where he arrived so unexpectedly, that he almost surprised Lord Maxwell in the town. Some slight resistance, however, being made, the rebel Lord was so fortunate as to seize the opportunity thus offered, and effect his escape. Next day the castles of Thrieve,¹ Caerlaverock, and Langholm, were summoned and surrendered. The King was not satisfied with the punishment which he had inflicted; for he commanded Sir William Stewart to pursue Lord Maxwell, and take him either dead or alive. Having followed him from Kirkcudbright² to the Isle of Skye, and from that place to Carrick, Stewart seized the noble offender near the Abbey of Crossraguel, and conveyed him to Edinburgh.

1 Maitland.

2 James himself also appears to have been at Kirkcudbright.—The burgh is in possession of a silver gun, which, according to tradition, was presented at this time by King James VI to the Incorporated Trades, to be shot for occasionally, that they might improve in the use of fire arms, then rapidly supplanting the bow and arrow as implements of war. The year 1587 is graven on the barrel of this miniature fusée, and also the capital letters T. M. C., supposed to be the initials of Thomas McClellan of Bombie, (ancestor of the Lords of Kirkcudbright,) who was at that time Alderman of the burgh.

This trinket, ('like a penny whistle,' seven inches in length) has been shot for only three times in the memory of the oldest person now living. In the summer of 1781 the Incorporated Trades applied by petition to the Magistrates to have the gun placed in the hands of their Convener, "that they might shoot for it at a target as formerly, and as is still practised by the Trades of Dumfries for the Silver Gun of that burgh," which petition was of course granted. The next time it was shot for was on the 22nd of April 1830, the day on which the present Earl of Selkirk attained his majority.

On this occasion the great wassail bowl of the burgh which

Scarcely had the King returned to the metropolis when he received intelligence that the Spanish armada—presumptuously styled “*invincible*,”—had put to sea. This vast armament was attacked and defeated by the English fleet; whilst the elements conspired with its enemies in completing its destruction. Some of the huge Spanish ships of war were wrecked on the coast of Galloway. Lord Maxwell, in conjunction with some other barons, afterwards wrote a letter to the King of Spain recommending another invasion of Scotland.¹

had been presented by Hamilton of Bargeny M.P. soon after the union, was used for the first time in the memory of the oldest inhabitant. It was placed at the market cross, and after the Trades had contended for the silver gun, it was filled and re-filled with potent liquor.

The last time it was shot for was on the occasion of the Queen’s coronation, on the 28th day of June 1838. The journeymen and apprentices belonging to the Trades, shot at the same time for a silver arrow presented to them by Mr William Johnston, one of the Councillors. When the procession, headed by the Magistrates and Council, the Steward Substitute and the Minister of the parish, with some of the neighbouring gentlemen, returned to the cross, the bowl was filled at the expense of the Town, and her Majesty’s health drunk with much enthusiasm.

This capacious vessel is made of walnut wood, hooped with brass, and is so large as to hold ten gallons. New Galloway is possessed of a bowl exactly similar, which is an heir loom in the burgh, but it is used generally on the birth day of the reigning Sovereign, and on that of Lord Kenmure, who is superior of the town. His Lordship recently caused the brass mountings of this relic to be renewed at a cost of several pounds. A similar bowl belongs to the town of Wigtown.

1 “If your majesty’s navy had visited us, it had met with no resistance; but it seemed the English refugees in Spain had purposely extenuated the Catholick powers of Scotland, to magnify those of their own country: we therefore entreat your majesty to serve yourself of both, that the noble purposes you have in hand may be happily perfected.” Then referring Philip to some of his own subjects who had been in Scotland, and knew how easy it was to land an army there, they added, “Our advice is that your majesty equip no more fleets, but in proper transports send part of your forces into Scotland, and part by the back of

James being now arrived at the prime of manhood, it was both his own wish and the wish of his people, that he should be united to some princess worthy of his hand. He, accordingly, despatched Sir Peter Young, Commendator of Wigtown,¹ who had been one of his tutors, and Sir Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch, Rector of Wigtown,² to the court of Denmark, in order that they might have sufficient opportunities of observing the appearance, manners, and qualifications of the Danish princesses; and if their report should prove favourable, James determined to despatch afterwards a more honourable, or formal embassy. Colonel Stewart soon followed, having instructions to enter into a negotiation with Frederick II. about the royal marriage; and all these confidential messengers returned to Scotland highly delighted with their reception, and profuse in their enthusiastic praises of the Danish

Ireland into England, by which means the English, not knowing where chiefly to make a head, and being withal divided, we with your forces may be better enabled to over-run the island. For a farther declaration we recommend you to colonel Semple, so praying God to give you a full accomplishment of all your holy enterprizes, we take our leave."

The proposed landing was to take place at Kirkcudbright. (Calderwood.)

1 New Statistical Account,—Murray.

2 "Sir Patrick was much courted during the civil wars by both parties, as appears by letters in the possession of his descendants, addressed to him by queen Mary, James VI., the different Regents during his minority, and other persons of eminence. He attached himself to the king's party, and was named of the privy council and exchequer. On the 11th of January 1576, in presence of the Regent's grace, 'Maister Patrick Wans of Barnbarroch, persoune of Wigtoune,' was appointed an Ordinary Lord on the spiritual side, in the place of Robert Maitland, Dene of Aberdene, which was declared 'vacand be his inhabilitie.' He is for some years designed, 'Wigtoune—and Rector of Wigtoune,' in the books of Sederunt."

COLLEGE OF JUSTICE

princesses. James, intent upon matrimony, sent another embassy to hasten the match.

In the meantime Du Bartas the celebrated French poet, upon the King's invitation, arrived in Scotland. Henry IV., King of Navarre, had given him secret instructions that he should endeavour to effect an alliance between the Scottish monarch and one of Henry's sisters. James, highly gratified by the attention of this brother sovereign, and pleased with the flattery of the poet, acceded to the proposal, and sent William Melville,¹ Commendator of Tongland,—who from being a lord of session, was commonly known by the designation of “Lord Tungland,”²—to France, for the purpose of seeing

1 Dr. T. Murray—Of Melville this author thus speaks. “He was decidedly hostile to the existence of presbytery in Scotland; and we find him often employed by the Scottish monarch as his commissioner in the ecclesiastical courts. In 1595, along with Macgill of Cranston Riddel, he appeared before the presbytery of Haddington with a complaint from the king against the famous John Davidson, minister of Prestoupan, for his resistance to the royal will at the last General Assembly, and for protesting against the proceedings and enactments of the two former Assemblies. In the year after that just mentioned, Sir Patrick Murray and Melville were appointed to attend the synod of Fife, and not to allow the measures of the late Assemblies to be altered or annulled. The synod, however, showed no disposition of the kind. Melville died in 1613. He was subservient to every wish of his sovereign, and showed not much respect to the civil rights and religious privileges of his countrymen.”

2 The Abbey of Tongland stood on the west bank of the Dee, contiguous to the site of the old parish church. The northern wall of the church, indeed, was part of the ruined Abbey. The situation is pleasant and the scenery picturesque. A little to the south of the edifice, the Dee forms a fine cascade, which is described by Captain Montgomery, author of the “Cherry and the Slae,” who resided at this time in Cumpston castle.

But as I lukit myne alane,
I saw a river rin
Outowre a steipie rock of stane,
Syne lichtit in a lin,

the Princess of Navarre, and reporting his opinion of her. The marriage did not take place, owing to the attachment of the Princess to the Comte de Soissons. When the King of Denmark received information of this transaction—having been

With tumbling and rumbling among the roches round,
Devalling and falling, into a pit profound.

Throw rowting of the river rang,
The roches sounding like a sang,
Quhar deskaut did abound;
With triple, tenor, counter, mein,
And Ecchoe blew a bass betwene,
In diapason sound,

SIBBALD'S CHRONICLE OF SCOTTISH POETRY.

Allan Cunningham, Esq., passes the following eulogium on the poet Montgomery.

“Montgomery deserves more notice than he has obtained; he was long spoken of, but seldom read: and I am willing to believe that the fortunate abuse of Pinkerton contributed to his fame by arming in his behalf all the lovers of old Scottish song. The cast of his genius is lyrical—there is a sweetness and a liquid motion about even his most elaborate productions, and one cannot easily avoid chanting many passages on perusal.—His thoughts are ready, his images at hand, and his illustrations natural and apt. His language is ever flowing, felicitous, and abundant. His faults are the faults of the times.”

The monks of Tongland were of the Premonstratensian order, and came originally from Cockersand in Lancashire. The Abbots of Sauleat were the superiors of the order in Scotland. The monastery of Tongland had a jurisdiction over its property, and Lord Maxwell, who was the heritable bailie, received the lands of Carzen, as his fee. Gordon of Lochinvar was his deputy. Mr Chadmers states, that Melville obtained a grant “of the spirituality of this abbey, in November, 1588: And, in December, 1588, he obtained from the King’s faculty, a pension of 616*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Scots, from the revenues of this abbey, and the bishoprick of Galloway. When the bishoprick of Galloway was re-established, and Gavin Hamilton was appointed bishop, in 1606, the king granted to him and his successors, this abbey, with all its kirks, and revenues; reserving to Melvill, the commendator, the benefit of the grants before stated during his life: He died, in 1613, when the abbey, and its revenues, went to the bishop of Galloway, who continued to enjoy

chagrined by the delays and embassies of the Scottish monarch—he gave his eldest daughter, the intended bride of James, to the Duke of Brunswick. The King, however, was not to be diverted from his matrimonial project; he solicited the hand of Anne, Frederick's second daughter, and proved successful. James himself, attended by the Provost of Lincluden, Sir Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch¹

the whole till episcopacy was overthrown. In November, 1641, a grant was made to the university of Glasgow of the whole property of the bishoprick of Galloway, and of the abbeys of Tongland, and Glenluce, and priory of Whithorn, which had been annexed to it; This grant was ratified in parliament in November, 1641, when the bishop of Galloway protested in vain. This was annulled, at the Restoration, when the bishoprick was re-established, and the bishops of this see enjoyed the whole revenues, and patronage, till episcopacy was finally abolished, in 1689, when the whole returned to the king. These notices show the grievous changes of factions and fanatical times. The ruins of this monastery evince, that the house had been of considerable extent: But the country people having undermined the building, for the freestone, the whole fell into ruins" (Caledonia.)

Many of the stones of the abbey were used for building a bridge over the Dee in 1730, and for erecting the paper mill, &c.

The kirks which belonged to Melville, were those of Girthon, Minnigaff, Troqueer, Inch, Leswalt, &c.

1 "He 'upon the suddantie, at his Hienes request,' accompanied him to Norway in the end of 1589, and witnessed the solemnization of his marriage at Upslo. While there, upon the 30th November 1589, a charter of lands and of the patronage of the churches of Wigtoun, Kirkynner, Kirkeconnell, and Colmonell, was granted to him. In December 1589 he was directed by his Majesty to return to Scotland, and was one of the privy council appointed to manage the affairs of the kingdom during the royal absence. In 1592 Sir Patrick was elected one of the Lords of the Articles, and on the first of June that year received a pension of two hundred pounds yearly, to be deducted out of the feu-duties payable by him to the crown for the lands held in feu. These charters were ratified in Parliament on the 6th of that month, the king 'remembering and acknowledging the earnest favour, guid will, and affectioun ever borne' to him by Sir Patrick. He was again chosen on the Articles on the 16th July 1593, and was of the same date appointed a Commissioner

and several other individuals, repaired to Norway to bring her home. The charge of the borders was committed to Lord Hamilton, with instructions to preserve amity between the two kingdoms; and Lords Maxwell¹ and Herries, along with some other border chiefs, had orders to assist the Lord Lieutenant when necessity required. On the 6th of May, the King and his consort arrived at Leith, and the Queen's coronation, attended with much pomp and magnificence, soon took place; for never was there a more numerous assemblage of rank at any similar solemnity. Among the guests, were Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies,² Sir John Gordon, younger of Lochinvar, and Sir Thomas Kennedy, Tutor of Cassillis.³

Certain acts having been passed against "Jesuites, seminarie Priests, and excommunicated persons," commissioners were appointed in the various districts of Scotland, to put such acts into execution. This duty devolved on Alexander Stewart of Garlies, Uchtred M'Dowall⁴ of Garthland, and Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch, within the county of Wigtown; and upon John Gordon of Lochinvar,

for the Provision of Ministers and augmentation of Stipends: He died on the 22d July 1597. He was succeeded by his son, Sir John Vans, Gentleman of the Chamber to King James, from whom are descended the present family of Barnbarroch, now bearing also the name and arms of Agnew of Sheuchan."

COLLEGE OF JUSTICE.

1 This nobleman had been pardoned on giving bond not to disturb the established religion on pain of forfeiting £100,000.

2 Alexander Stewart, who had succeeded his grandfather, was knighted at the coronation of Queen Anne. His father fell at Stirling in the King's party.

3 Foodera.

4 A few years before this, Uchtred M'Dowall of Garthland,

Thomas Maclellan of Bombie, and James Lidderdale of St. Mary's Isle, within the Stewartry of Kirkcubright.

The Lords of the privy council also gave authority to certain ministers, to call before them the inhabitants of particular places to subscribe the Protestant National Bond formerly mentioned, and the Confession of Faith. Mr James Hamilton and Mr David Biyth were nominated for the Stewartry of Kirkcubright; and Mr Ninian Maclean and Mr John Young for the Sheriffdom of Wigtown.¹

On the 5th of June, 1592, Parliament met, and passed an act, which legally established the Presbyterian form of church government, and which still continues to be viewed as the charter of the Church's liberties. Thus by unwearied persever-

had been accused of the slaughter of James Gordon of Barskeoch.

"Feb. 24. Vthred Makdowell, zoung Laird of Garthland and others dilatit, of art and part of the crewal slaughter of Vmqlor James Gordoune, sonne of Johnne Gordoune of Barskeoch, with convocatioune of Lieges, bodin in feir of weir, &c., in the moneth of Julij last bypast.

Hew Kennedie of Barquheneye, allegeth that na proces auicht to be led againis him as cautioner for the entrie of the zoung Laird of Garthland and remanant; in respect, that he is nocht lawfullie chargeit, at his dwelling place albeit it be indorsat, that he was chargeit at Dawcanane, whair his wyff was for the tyme; quhilk is nawyise his dwelling hous, nor yit was he chargeit personalie; and protestis, that quhatsumeuir proces be laid in the said matter, that the samen be nocht preiudiciall to him as sourtie foresaid, and offeris him to prove sufficienthe, that he duelt in nather of the saidis placeis, quhair he was chargeit.—Answerit Mr Thomas Craig for the gudeman of Barskeoch, that he is lawfullie chargeit, at the place where his wyff duelt for the time, and the law presopponis to samen to be dwelling place, and that thairfore abyde at the execution of the saidis letters.—'Amerciati.' Nota. Nocht to be extractit in respect of the Kingis Warrant."

PITCAIRN'S CRIMINAL TRIALS.

¹ Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland.

ance, was the establishment of Presbytery¹ obtained from a Prince who hated it in his heart.

During this year, an ordinary council of ministers was appointed to watch over the interests of religion, and "*providere omnibus, ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat.*" Ministers were also appointed in various parts of the country, to examine into the conduct of "Papists, Jesuits, and reseters of them." Mr David Blyth was named for the district of Kirkcudbright, and Mr James Davidson for that of Wigtown.²

At this time the Church of Scotland maintained the only spirit of independence in the land; for both Parliament and the courts of law had become little more than puppets of the Government. This

1 "When the pre-byteries and synods were adopted, by the General Assembly of 1581, the parishes in the eastern part of Wigton-shire, were formed into a presbytery, the seat whereof was Whithera: And this presbytery, with the large presbytery of Kirkcudbright, formed the synod of Galloway. The several parishes, in the west of Wigton shire, with those in the south of Carrick, were converted into a presbytery, the seat whereof was Colmonel, in Carrick; and this presbytery belonged to the synod of Ayr.

In 1593, a very different arrangement was made, whereby the whole parishes, in Wigton-shire, were formed into one presbytery, the seat whereof was Wigton; and this, with the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, constituted the synod of Galloway.

By the arrangement of presbyteries and synods, which was made by the General Assembly of December 1638, the parishes of Wigton shire were divided into two presbyteries. The eight parishes, in the west of Wigton shire, with the parishes of Minnigaff, and Kirkmabreck, in the west of Kirkcudbright, were formed into a presbytery the seat whereof was at Wigton. The nine parishes in the west of Wigton-shire, with the parishes of Ballantrae and Colmonel, were formed into a presbytery, the seat whereof was Stranraer; And these two presbyteries, with that of Kirkcudbright, formed the synod of Galloway. Such are the ecclesiastical arrangements which continue at the present time."

CALEDONIA.

2 Calderwood.

fact accounts for James's deep rooted antipathy to the established clergy; for the coalition between James and the Church was apparent and not real. Had it been otherwise, and had a sincere friendship steadily subsisted between them, the beneficial effects resulting from it, would have been incalculable. It would have rendered his Majesty happy at home and respected abroad. But the want of perfect harmony between the King and clergy, entailed on James much uneasiness and embarrassment to the end of his reign, and exposed the country to some alarming convulsions.

The hereditary feud between the Maxwells and Johnstons was renewed in 1593, on the following occasion. Johnston of Wamphray, with a few of his friends, having committed some depredation on the lands of Crichton, was hanged by the enraged chief. William Johnston of Kirkhill, who had attended his uncle, the Laird of Wamphray, made his escape, raised a powerful party, and, passing over to Nithsdale, ravaged the country. Crichton and Douglas of Drumlanrig collected their followers, and, by way of retaliation, attacked the Johnstons, but were completely defeated. The vanquished chiefs now resolved to apply to Lord Maxwell for his powerful protection and support.¹ This nobleman, having been reconciled to the ancient enemies of his house, felt unwilling to renew the feud, and refused to embrace their cause. The applicants, however, at last overcame his reluctance by entering into bonds of man-rent, and thus became his followers and "leige men." A number of other families of the

¹ The Maxwells at this time are said to have borne the sway from the English border to the western shore of Galloway.

district put themselves, at the same time, under the protection of Lord Maxwell.

The Johnstons heard of the bond, and prepared for hostilities. Having acquired the aid of Scott of Buccleuch's friends and clan,¹ the bravest of the border tribes, they unexpectedly attacked a party of Maxwell's men at Lochmaben, who finding themselves an unequal match, retired into the church and defended themselves for a considerable time with much bravery. The Johnstons collected a large quantity of hay and straw, which they set on fire, and burned the church of Lochmaben, with all that were in it, as a just punishment for the destruction of the castle of Lochwood.

Lord Maxwell was highly incensed at this outrage, and at the head of 2,000 men—many of them from Galloway²—entered Annandale, determined to destroy or raze the houses of Lochwood and Lockerby. A desperate conflict took place at

1 "A tradition, preserved by Scott of Satchells, who published in 1788; "A true History of the Right Honourable name of Scott," gives the following romantic origin of that name. Two brethren, natives of Galloway, having been banished from that country for a riot, or insurrection, came to Rankelburn, in Ettrick Forest, where the keeper whose name was Brydone, received them joyfully, on account of their skill in winding the horn, and in the other mysteries of the chase. Kenneth MacAlpin, then King of Scotland, came soon after to hunt in the royal forest and pursued a buck from Ettrickheuch to the glen now called Buccleuch, about two miles above the junction of Rankelburn with the Ettrick. Here the stag stood at bay; and the king and his attendants, who followed on horseback, were thrown out by the steepness of the hill and the morass. John, one of the brethren from Galloway, had followed the chase on foot; and now coming in, seized the buck by the horns, and being a man of great strength and activity, threw him on his back, and run with this burden about a mile up the steep hill, to a place called Craera Cross, where Kenneth had halted, and laid the buck at the Sovereign's feet.

LAY OF THE LAST MINSTREL.

2 Cunningham.

Dryfe Sands, not far from Lockerby, in which the Johnstons gained the victory; and Lord Maxwell, after displaying many acts of consummate valour, fell, it is said, by the hand of William Johnston of Kirkhill, who, came behind him, and after striking him from his horse, ran him through the body. The right hand, which the vanquished nobleman held up for quarter, was inhumanly cut off by his unforgiving enemy.¹ Seven hundred of Maxwell's followers were slain in this memorable encounter. The fleetness of their horses enabled the Barons of

1 "Thus far history;" but family tradition adds the following circumstance: The Lady of Lockerby, had witnessed from the battlements of her tower, the approach of the Laird of Johnstone, and as soon as the enemy withdrew from the blockade of the fortress, had sent to the assistance of her chief the few servants who had assisted in the defence. After this she heard the tumult of battle, but as she could not from the tower see the place where it was fought, she remained in an agony of suspense, until, as the noise seemed to pass away in a westerly direction, she could endure the uncertainty no longer, but sallied out from the tower, with only one female attendant, to see how the day had gone. As a measure of precaution, she locked the strong oaken door and the iron grate with which a Border fortress was commonly secured, and knitting the large keys on a thong, took them with her, hanging on her arm.

When the Lady of Lockerby entered on the field of battle, she found all the relics of a bloody fight; the little valley was covered with slain men and horses, and broken armour, besides many wounded, who were incapable of further effort for saving themselves. Amongst others, she saw lying beneath a thorn-tree a tall, grey haired, noble looking man, arrayed in bright armour, but bareheaded, and bleeding to death from the loss of his right hand. He asked her for mercy and help with a faltering voice; but the idea of deadly feud in that time and country closed all access to compassion even in the female bosom. She saw before her the only enemy of her clan, and the cause of her father's captivity and death; and raising the ponderous keys which she bore along with her, the Lady of Lockerby is commonly reported to have dashed out the brains of the vanquished Lord Maxwell."

SCOTT'S TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

Drumlanrig, Closeburn, and Lagg, to make their escape.¹

Maxwell was much lamented: being brave, humane, well-educated, and powerful, he was much respected by his countrymen in every rank of life. He was succeeded by his eldest son John, who married a daughter of the Marquis of Hamilton.

The King received the intelligence of this outrage with much indignation; but, from the state of his affairs, he could not proceed to take vengeance on the aggressors. He, however, commanded Lord Herries, Stewart of Garlies, Gordon of Lochinvar, Douglas of Drumlanrig, and some other barons, to examine into the cause of the disturbances, protect the town of Dumfries, and prevent farther commotions.²

In the year 1595, Galloway, with the rest of Scotland, experienced all the horrors of famine.—In the following May, a boll of oatmeal was sold in the district, at the exorbitant price of between six and seven pounds of our present money.

The clergy now gave great offence to the King, by railing in their sermons against the rulers of the land and many of the public measures. James became anxious to curtail this liberty—which the preachers considered as the privilege of their spiritual order,³—and if possible to bring the clergy virtually in subjection to the civil power. His Majesty, who saw that it would be vain to make any direct proposal to re-introduce Episcopacy, chose a disguised plan of accomplishing his object. It had been complained in former Assemblies, that per-

¹ M'Vitie's Battle of Dryfe Sands.—Maitland.

² Maitland.—Historical Tales of Scotland.

³ Robertson, &c.

sons possessed of the temporalities of bishoprics, abacies, &c., voted in Parliament in the name of the Church, without any authority from it; and advantage being taken of this complaint, it was proposed by the Government, that the clergy should have representatives in the national council. The weight of the court and the promises of the King prevailed; and an act was passed in 1597, ordaining "That such pastors as his Majesty should invest with the office of Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate, should have the same right to vote in Parliament as ecclesiastics had possessed in former times, and that bishoprics should be given to actual preachers or ministers." This act was represented as being passed for the benefit of the clergy, as a means of raising them to respectability and comfort.

In July of this year, Sir Thomas Maclellan of Bombie died, and his remains were deposited in a vault near his castle.¹

A General Assembly being called in 1598, the proposal referring to the clergy was introduced by a speech from the King, in which he enumerated the services he had done to the Church, and mentioned his great anxiety to restore her patrimony. I mind not said he, "to bring in Papistical or Anglican bishops, but only to have

¹ The late church of Kirkcudbright stood above the vault, and the old aisle of the building enclosed a monument which had been erected to his memory with this inscription. The arms of the Kirkcudbright family are above the monument.

Hic Dominus situs est T. McClellanus et uxor,
D. Grissell Maxvel: marmor utrumque tegit.
His Genitus R. D. Kirkcudbrius ecce Sepulchrum
Posuit hoc, Clari patris honore sui,
Ille obiit ann Dom. 1597.

See Appendix (O.)

the wisest and best of the ministry appointed by the General Assembly, to have place in council to deliberate on their own affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants despised and disregarded." The measure was carried by a majority of ten. Fifty-one clergymen were to be admitted to Parliament, nearly the same number that had a right to sit under the Papal hierarchy; and they were to be chosen partly by the King and partly by the Church. The power to be entrusted to the representative and all minor considerations were to be referred to the inferior ecclesiastical judicatories, whose suggestions were afterwards to be considered by the King and three commissioners from each provincial synod. The church courts differed in opinion, and matters were again referred to the General Assembly for an ultimate adjustment.

By act of parliament, the year 1600 commenced on the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March, which had been antecedently reckoned new year's day.

{ The General Assembly met this year at Montrose, and after much discussion it was finally agreed on the 15th of March, that this reverend body should nominate six ministers for every vacant prelacy, out of which number the King was allowed to choose one, who was to have a seat in Parliament, under the name of commissioner; but his powers were much restricted, and he was to be responsible to the Church for his public and private conduct, and removeable at the pleasure of the Assembly.— The King sanctioned the regulations made by the clergy, but he never intended to observe them; and, accordingly, he soon after clandestinely filled

the bishoprics of Ross, Caithness, and Aberdeen, and invested the incumbents with the title of bishop.

On the 24th day of March, 1603, Elizabeth died, in the 70th year of her age ; and, on the same day, the King of Scots was proclaimed in London King of England. He received the news of his accession with composure, and immediately prepared to take possession of his new kingdom.

On Tuesday the 5th day of April, James set out on his journey, having selected Gavin Hamilton, minister of Hamilton, and Andrew Lamb, both afterwards bishops of Galloway, with a number of noblemen, prelates, and gentlemen to accompany him. The King reached London on the 7th of May, and entered the metropolis of England, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude of his new subjects. The government of Scotland was entrusted by the Sovereign to a Privy Council.¹

¹ Some Charters granted by James, previous to his removal from Scotland.

In 1588, Sir Alexander Stewart obtained from the King a grant of the lands of Coitland.

“Patrick Agnew, the sheriff of Wigton, obtained, from James VI., a grant of the church lands of the parish of Cruggleton in January, 1581. *Regist. Mag. Sig. B.* xxxv. 516. He obtained, also, from the same king, various other lands in Wigtonshire, in May, 1587. *Ib.* xxxvii. 220. He was sheriff of Wigton, in 1597. See the ‘Certain Matters of Scotland.’ CALEDONIA.

“Sir Robert Gordon of Glen, son and heir of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, had a charter of the lands of Kirkandrews, &c.—31st January, 1597-8.” (*Historical Account of the House of Kenmure*)

END OF VOL. I.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Vol. i.—PAGE 68.

An epitaph on Queen Anne, [wife of James VI,] by Patrick Hannay.

“POWER to do ill, and practise only good,
Humblest in heart, highest in place and blood,
Fairest, and fre'st from loose desires in thought,
Pleasures to tempt, yet not disdained in ought :
With anxious care, in courage ne're dejected,
Though cause of joy, with no vain joy affected,
Know, reader, whensoever these lines you scan,
Such, (and none such but she) was our Queen Anne.”

According to the Old Statistical Account, a battle was fought between the Scots and English, in 1150, on Glenquicken-moor, in which the Scottish general fell, when the bishop of Whithorn seized his sword, to lead on the Scots to victory,—and was also killed. The patriotic bishop, it is said, was buried by his countrymen, under the Holy-cairn, in Mr Hannay's lands. We know, however, there was no such battle fought in that age.

NOTE B.—Vol. i. PAGE 99.

“MY attention was for several years occasionally occupied in tracing the vast rampart called “the Deil’s Dyke” through Galloway and Nithsdale.—It commences at Lochryan in the farm of Beoch, near the site of the ancient city of Rerigonium, where Agricola, the Roman general, had a station.* Thence it extends through the farms of Braid, Auchenvane, Kirnearven, and Kilfedder. From Kilfedder, it takes an easterly direction to the farm of Derry, and passes by the north end of Loch-Maberrie. It passed the old Kirk-yard of Kirk-calla; but about the commencement of the present century, the stones were carried away to make *Ring Fences* in the neighbourhood. In the adjoining farm of Ochiltree, this ancient structure runs from the east side of the loch to the summit of the hill, where there are the remains of a watch-tower made of very large stones. Along the whole line of the Deil’s Dyke, there is no other place from which a sentinel could have had such a commanding view of the surrounding country. From the hill of Ochiltree, the dyke extends along the farm of Glenvernoch. Immediately above Glendochart, the line is interrupted by a circular stone wall one hundred and ninety-two yards diameter. This is evidently a hill-fort of large dimensions.

“In the farm of Knockvill which adjoins that of Glendochart, the dyke runs into the Loch of Cree. From the opposite side of the Loch, it passes through the Camberwood, and appears again in Cardorkin, in the parish of Minnigaff; thence stretches along the hill of Blair, in the farm of

* I have seen the head of a Roman spear which was found there, in the year 1825; it was in the possession of Mr Mackenzie, of Stranraer.

Terregan, and across the moor of Dranandow, between the standing stones called "the *Thieves*" and the Nappers. As it passes from Terregan to Dranandow, it runs through a bog, and is only perceptible by the heather growing long and close on the top of it; whereas on each side of it the soil only produces rushes and moss. Near the centre of the bog, I caused the peat to be cleared away close to the dyke, and thereby found the foundation to be several feet below the surface, which appeared to me an indication of its great antiquity.

"From the *Craw Stane* of Dranandow, the dyke passes along the south side of the hill of the Garklick, through the farm of Auchinleck, over the south side of Dregmorn, by the foot of Tonderghie. It crosses the burn of Palnure, and appears again on the south side of Talnotrie. It goes up Craignelder, in the farm of Corwar, passes to Craigen-callie, and is very entire in the Garrary, Clanry, Duckieston, Largrave, and Knockreach.

"Near the old bridge of Deuch, it appears again, and continues through the farms of Moonkaig, Auchinskinnock, and hill-end of Keroch. It passes through Glencairn, Tynron, and Pentpont, and is nearly entire in the farm of Southmains, in the parish of Sanquhar.

"Keeping the course of the great dyke, Southmains is upwards of fifty miles from Lochryan.—In this distance, there are so many connecting links as to leave no doubt of this vast ruin having been originally conjoined. Where there is any breach in it, I was fortunate enough, in almost every instance, to find old people who remembered the stones having been carried away from that part of the dyke, to make enclosures in the neighbourhood.

"From Southmains, it is said to have taken an

easterly direction till it joined the large dyke, yet so entire at Thornithwaite, and at Hightae Flow, in the parish of Lochmaben. Thence it extended to *Britton Wall*, in the parish of Annan, and ran into the Solway Frith, nearly opposite Bowness, in Cumberland, where the great wall of Adrian commenced.

“Dr Clapperton of Annan, the father of the celebrated traveller of that name, traced the Deil’s Dyke far to the westward of Hightae Flow; but I am afraid the details of his survey are lost, which is to be regretted, as, in Dumfries-shire, agriculture has made larger inroads on this old structure, than in Galloway, where the greater part of the lands through which it passes, are less susceptible of being disturbed by the plough.

“This ancient fence is invariably eight feet broad at the base, with a fosse on the north or inland side, and seemingly, as far as stones could be procured conveniently, it is built of blocks of common moor-stone, which bear no mark of either chisel or hammer. As it recedes from the stony district, it is built of an admixture of stones and earth, or wholly of earth as at Hightae Flow.

“The builders of this vast rampart, have not taken advantage of natural barriers, such as lochs, rivers, and glens, to strengthen its position as a line of defence. In Galloway it uniformly includes the fertile land to the south of it, from which circumstance, and from the fosse being on the opposite side, it appears to have been built by a people inhabiting the lower and more southern part of the district.

“The era and use of all the other great walls in the kingdom being well known, it is singular that a work of such magnitude as the Deil’s Dyke should have been overlooked by historians: consequently every thing connected with its erection is involved in the darkest obscurity.

“It is not mentioned in the charter of any of the lands through which it passes, so far as I have been able to ascertain. Mr. Chalmers, the author of “Caledonia,” in a letter which I received from him, dated 16th April, 1820, says, “I wish you to understand, my good Sir, that there are questions which arise out of your communications, which justify the observation of Mr. Hume, that ‘there are questions in history as difficult of solution as any in the sciences.’ Such is the Diel’s Dyke. Considering all its circumstances, it is extremely difficult to assign its age, its object, or its builders. In Ireland, there is nothing like the Diel’s Dyke; the inference is, that it was not made by Irish hands. I am disposed to think that this work is several centuries older than the arrival of the Irish Cruithne or Picts in Galloway.” In Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 237, referring to the same subject, he adds, “It is obviously a very ancient work, and was probably formed by the Romanized Britons after the departure of the Roman armies.”

“The name of this ancient structure is an additional proof of its great antiquity, as, down to a late period in Scotland, any work of unknown origin which seemed to exceed the ordinary limits of human exertion, was commonly ascribed either to the Picts, to Michael Scott the Wizard, or to the Master Fiend himself.”

NOTE C.—Vol. i.—PAGE 140.

ST. CUTHBERT was originally a shepherd; but withdrew from his mountains, in consequence of a dream or supposed vision. He imagined he beheld the soul of Aidan, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, ascending into heaven, surrounded by a numerous host of attending angels. Being received into the community of the monastery of old Mel-

rose, this young man became distinguished for his sanctity and rigour of life. In course of time he was appointed prior, and, like other devotees, wrought pretended miracles. He was subsequently elected bishop of Hexham; but, in the following year, he exchanged that see for the bishopric of Lindisfarne. He now withdrew almost entirely from the world, and remained in solitude for three years on the small island of Farne, on the coast of Northumberland. At length worn out with self-inflictions, he died in the prime of life.

[We intended to copy from Chambers's Journal the curious and well told posthumous history of St. Cuthbert, but our limits will not allow us to give the whole.]

“According to his own request, the body of the holy bishop was immediately wrapped in a linen cloth, which had been given to him for a winding-sheet by a pious abbess named Verca, and then, indued in his robes of office, he was placed in a coffin, with the sacramental elements on his breast, and sandals upon his feet. He was then conveyed to the church of Lindisfarne, and buried on the right-hand side of the altar. Here Cuthbert would have probably lain for ever, and been soon forgotten, like so many other devout men of his own time, if it had not been, that, eleven years after, a resolution was formed to make him the patron-saint of the church in which he was buried. In consequence of this resolution, his body was raised from the grave, that it might be placed in some conspicuous situation above ground; when, wonderful to relate, it was found to have suffered not the least decay, the flesh being still soft and fair to look upon, and the joints flexible; so that nothing but the soul seemed wanting to make it once more live and breathe, while even the cerements and robes were as fresh as on the

day of their deposition in the grave. Such at least is the account which has been handed down ; of its probability the reader will afterwards be enabled to judge. The body was now placed in a wooden coffin, and set up in a shrine, to which the story of its miraculous incorruption, with the reputation of the great sanctity manifested by the bishop in life, caused multitudes of pilgrims to resort, to the great enrichment of the church. From 699, when first set up, till 875, it remained in this situation. The monks of Lindisfarne, being then forced by the Danes to desert their church, took the body of St. Cuthbert along with them, and, proceeding to the neighbouring mainland, commenced a wandering life, which lasted several years. Wherever they went they carried the body of the saint, drawn on a small curricule ; and every where they were favourably received, some giving them food, others clothing, and others money. At this period, the famous Alfred, while skulking from his enemies in the marshes of Somersetshire, was asked for alms one day by an aged beggar, to whom he readily gave a portion of what food he happened to possess. This beggar, he afterwards believed to be St. Cuthbert in a bodily shape, for that evening the saint appeared to him in a vision, and promised him a speedy victory over his enemies. He soon after gained an important victory, which, it may be readily believed, was the means of adding not a little to the reputation of our saint. Wherever the body of Cuthbert was carried, it performed miracles, and a great number of the places where it temporarily rested, became the sites of churches, which were built in his honour. These are chiefly to be found in Northumberland, Durham, and York ; but there are some also in Cumberland and Lancashire, and even in Scotland. There is a tradi-

tion that the body was on one occasion floated down the Tweed from Melrose to Tillmouth, in a boat shaped coffin of stone, the remains of which are still to be seen at the latter place. At one time, tired of their wanderings, and despairing of a shelter in England, a portion of the train resolved to go to Ireland with the body, leaving the rest asleep on the shore. They set sail at the mouth of the Derwent in Cumberland, but had not gone far from land, when a storm arose, and compelled them to return. In the confusion, they dropped overboard a precious copy of the gospels, which had belonged to Cuthbert, and was covered with gold and jewels. The book disappeared; but, observing that the wind blew to the land, they did not despair of its being driven ashore. They immediately began to wander along the beach in search of it, and, according to the story, they actually did find it, many days after, on the shore at Whithorn in Galloway. This remarkable volume was afterwards kept as an object of veneration in the church of Lindisfarne till the Reformation, after which it passed through private hands, until it came to the British Museum, where it still exists in tolerable preservation. At length the body of Cuthbert found a temporary rest in 882 at Chester-le-Street, where a cathedral was built for its reception, and where, in the course of a few years, its train of monks increased immensely in wealth."

[After several migrations the body of the saint was placed in a new shrine in the present magnificent cathedral of Durham, in August, 1104, to which it proved the source of much gain.]

"At length came the Reformation, when all the glory of this Anglo-Saxon Saint was at once to cease. In 1540, when the priory of Durham was dissolved, three visitors came to that proud minster,

to deface and cast down all the objects peculiarly associated with the ancient mode of worship. The shrine of St. Cuthbert suffered among the rest, and the tomb of the saint was irreverently broken up. If we are to believe the contemporary accounts, the body was found in as incorrupt a state as ever; probably the inspectors were only deceived, as formerly, by the appearance of entireness given to it by the swaddlings in which it was enfolded.

“The next appearance of this wonderful saint before the eyes of men, was in what may be called *our own day*. In May 1827, eleven hundred and thirty-nine years after the death of the bishop on Farne island, nine hundred and fifty-two from the removal of his body from Lindisfarne, eight hundred and thirty-two from its establishment at Durham, and two hundred and eighty-five from its last burial, it was once more exhumed in the presence of Messrs. Darnell, Gilly, Leybourn, and Fairclough, dignified clergymen of the cathedral, besides several other persons.

On this occasion they found in an inner coffin, “a dark substance of the length of a human body, which, after a moment’s investigation, proved to be a skeleton, lying with its feet to the east, swathed apparently in one or more shrouds of linen or silk, through which there projected, in their respective places, the brow of the skull, and the lower part of the leg bones. The bones of the feet were disjointed and fallen flat. The whole was perfectly dry, and no offensive smell was perceptible.

“From all the appearances, it was plain that the swathings had been wrapped round a dry skeleton, and not round a complete body, for not only was there no space left between the swathing and the bones, but not the least trace of the decomposition of flesh was to be found. The bone of the

forehead bore traces of a fillet of gold which had been burnished upon it, and, what put the practice of imposture beyond all doubt, the sockets of the eyes were filled with a whitish composition, so as to give to the exterior cloth an appearance of prominence, as if from the existence of eyes underneath. The skull, on being closely examined, was found to be rather small, the forehead low, narrow, and retreating, and the hinder portion most largely developed. The nose-bone was short, and strangely curled up, the chin deep and prominent, and the space between the top of the nose and the upper jaw-bone unusually small, so that it is not conceivable that the holy Cuthbert could have been at all handsome. The length of the skeleton was five feet eight inches.

“The bones of St Cuthbert still exist in Durham cathedral.”*

NOTE D.—Vol. i.—PAGE 183.

“Certa Dei ratio totum componderat orbem
 Et varios fines diverso munere ditans
 Non omnes uni dat opes, non omnibus unum.
 Ditat lana Seres, ebur Indos, thus Sabathaeos,
 Argentum Assyrios, electum Discones, aurum
 Chaldaeos, gummi Sabaeos, jaspis Achivos,
 Gemma Viennenses, seges Afros; vina Latinos.—
 Francia Pipinis, Brabantia milite signi,
 Anglia Richardo, *Galwidia gaudet Alano*.
 Cuique terrae suum bonitas divina valorem
 Indidit et nullam voluit, sic esse priorem,
 Quin et posterior esset, vel sic meliorem,
 Quin et deterior. Quarum Galwidia pene
 Pauperior, nimium deserta, parumque diserta;
 Nec vino, nec fruge ferax, nec gente, nec armis
 Bellica, nec censu, nec cerere praedita: cunctis

* For a fuller account, see Chambers's Journal, part 84, No. 385.

Subjicitur terris. Sed mira redemptio! *si quem Defectum patitur Galwidia, supplet Alanus.*"

NOTE E.—Vol. i.—PAGE 257.

“TRADITION informs us that Bruce retreated to the head of Loch Trool, a wild, romantic, and beautiful lake in the parish of Minnigaff. Bruce, like a wary and experienced general, saw at a single glance the advantages he might reap from his present position, and determined to avail himself of them to the uttermost. The path that wound up the margin of the lake was so narrow, that two men could not walk, much less ride abreast, while a steep hill (in several places precipitous) arose from the very margin of the water, and skirted it for nearly a mile; about the centre of this path the hill pushes forward a precipitous abutment, called still by the inhabitants of this sequestered glen, “the Steps of Trool,” the pathway here is about twenty feet perpendicular above the surface of the water, while the hill above is almost the same for a few hundred yards, and very steep for a quarter of a mile higher. It was this spot that Bruce fixed on for the scene of his operations. His slender body of troops consisted of a few hardy tried veterans, who had stood by him in many a well contested field,—who had braved every vicissitude of season, and suffered every privation with their undaunted leader. The rest were a body of half armed and undisciplined peasantry, who had been induced to join him in his hasty marches through the country; and whilst they added to his numerical force, were often a drawback on his slender resources, and even impeded the rapidity of the forced marches, which his frequent defeats rendered necessary. Fully aware that the English would follow, he sent his peasants up the

hill, with orders to loosen as many of the detached blocks of granite, as they were able to do during the night, and to hurl them down on the enemy at a preconcerted signal, which was to be three blasts on his bugle, should they attempt the pass.—The reversion of his little band, he drew up in a strong position, at the head of the lake, and having completed his arrangements, he took one or two of his most confidential warriors, and ascended a small eminence on the opposite side of the lake, to watch the success of his plans. All night his friends laboured with unabated vigour, and in solemn silence,—so that, by the aid of levers and crow-bars at the earliest dawn, he was delighted with a view of the formidable reception they had prepared for his enemies; and his eye kindled with pleasure at sight of the huge fragments, like the ruins of a wall, extending along the face of the hill, for almost half a mile in length, and his men on the alert, and waiting for the signal; a glance down the lake, shewed him the English army in full march up the defile; a body of choice cavalry led the van,—a division of heavy armed billmen followed to support them, and the face of the hill was covered with a cloud of archers to protect their flanks, Onwards they came in single files; the leading horseman had reached the fatal step, when, hark! a prolonged note from the bugle, awakens the mountain echoes, and arouses the slumbering boar from his leafy bed; hark! again, it is followed by another blast, louder and shriller than the first; again it sounds, deep—loud—and portentous, like the first note of the coming tempest, as it hurtles through the sky; a moment before this, the hill lay smiling in all the soft repose of a summer morning, and in another, it seemed to have been rent asunder by the surge of a volcano, and its entrails tossed in shapeless masses,

into the dell beneath. Down—Down! the dreadful avalanche descends, leaping and bounding, and tearing up, and breaking down every thing that obstructs its fatal progress; but woe to the predestined wretches that were penned up for slaughter in the pathway beneath. In vain were their screams for mercy, where no mercy could be shewn them; let us not spin out a tale of horror, nor gloat over the wreck of the human race. The whole of the English vanguard are said to have perished in the defile, and the rest to have become so intimidated that they retired beyond the Cree, into the county of Wigton, to await a reinforcement before they resumed offensive operations.”

NOTE F.—Vol. i.—PAGE 257.

“ DOUGLAS returns, and sudden bends his way
 To Carrick’s coast, where still the Monarch lay;
 Since the late wond’rous act the loyal bands
 Increasing daily from the neighbouring lands.
 Then all at once decamp the royal war,
 And to Glentool’s thick woody shades repair.
 And now from Carlisle on the South’ron coast,
 Pembroke, and Vanes, and Clifford lead their host.
 Swift to Glentool the squadrons shape their way,
 And fifteen hundred shields reflect the day.
 Approached the South’ron troops, and quickly found
 The Scots dispos’d along the higher ground.
 Just where a woody mountain’s rugged brow,
 Threat’ning, o’erhung a steepy vale below.
 The spies advanc’d to view the royal force,
 And found that steep impassable to horse.
 Soon they return, and to the leaders show
 The ground, and strait encampment of the foe.
 Then Pembroke—‘ Useless here our cavalry,
 And if we strive on foot to force our way;
 The Scots advantag’d by the craggy height,
 Shou’d mock our labour, and defeat our might.

Long hath the *Bruce* in martial arts been skill'd,
 And long yon legions harden'd to the field.
 Then let us, cautious, shun the plain debate,
 Act by surprize, and conquer by deceit.
 Poorly array'd a woman first shall go,
 And, unsuspected, shall decoy the foe ;
 Slyly expose the weakness of our train,
 And draw the *Scots*, incautious, to the plain.

 eantime our troops, unseen, from yonder wood,
 Shall secretly surround the hostile crowd.'

The chiefs approve. The woman takes her way,
 A staff supports her up the rugged bay.
 Straight to the King the beggar-traitress came,
 And ask'd an alms in good *St. Andrew's* name ;
 So might that *Saint* still shield him from all harm,
 And grant due success to his righteous arms.
 Not far encamp'd, she told, on level ground
 Sir *Aymer* lay, below the craggy mound.
 But his raw troops undisciplin'd appear,
 Green to the field, and novices in war.
 Wou'd he descend, soon might he rout the foe,
 Look them to flight, and gain without a blow.
 Full on her face, the Monarch fix'd his eye,
 And gaz'd, suspicious, on the the beggar-spy.
 His yeomen calls,—out springs a nimble band,
 And sudden seize the mendicant in hand.
 Afraid of death, the trembling traitress kneels,
 Her crime confesses, and the truth reveals :
 Informs the King the South'ron were at hand,
 And *Pembroke*, *Vanes*, and *Clifford* led the band.

The Monarch heard, and soon the war array'd,
 And his broad banner in the field display'd.
 Wedged in close ranks the firm battalions stood,
 And now the foe advances from the wood.
 A bow already bent the Monarch drew,
 Whiz'd the swift arrow from the twanging eugh.
 Quite thro' the foremost's gullet glanc'd the flane,
 The wounded warrior, falling, bites the plain.
 Pierce on the ranks the hardy *Edward* goes,
 And *Hay* and *Douglas* pour upon their foes.
 With their bold chiefs advanc'd th' inferior war,
 And to the ground the South'ron vanguard bore.
 Succeeding lines disheartened with the sight,
 Back thro' the wood precipitate their flight.

The haughty chiefs, asham'd at the defeat,
Industrious haste to stop the foul retreat :
Now threaten, now exhort the coward train,
But still they threaten and exhort in vain.
The hardy *Scots* th' astonish'd foe pursu'd,
And heaps of death lay scatter'd thro' the wood,
The South'ron rear beheld the routed van,
And down the rocks in wild disorder ran.
The gen'rals fled, confounded and asham'd,
And every chief his fellow leader blam'd.
Thus Bruce with twice two hundred in his train,
Drove fifteen hundred South'rons from the plain."

NOTE G.—Vol. i.—PAGE 289.

ABOUT the year 1306, Robert Bruce often wandered through the wilds of Galloway with only a few attendants. One morning, according to tradition, he was attacked by Sir Walter Selby, and a small party of the English near the Urr. The contest was fierce and doubtful until the combatants were reduced to three on each side, who were severely wounded. The sound of battle reached the ears of a woman—wife of Mark Sprotte—who was preparing her husband's breakfast, in a house at no great distance. She approached the scene of conflict, and beheld several warriors lying wounded, and two knights with their vizors closed, contending in mortal strife. One of them at last had no alternative but to yield himself a prisoner to his more powerful antagonist. Having washed their bloody hands in the Urr, they accompanied the woman to her cottage. "Bring some food," said the Scottish Knight; "I have not tasted food for nearly two days, else Sir Walter Selby, renowned in arms as he is, had not resisted Robert Bruce so long. The dame now placed before the King a small oaken table, and filled a large wooden bowl,—said to be still preserved by her descend-

ants,—with the favourite breakfast at that time of the sons of Caledonia, and put one spoon beside it. “Bring another spoon,” said the King, “and let this gentle Knight partake with me.” “I should be no true subject,” answered she, “if I feasted our mortal foe; I have vowed that a Southron shall never eat within my door in my presence.”—“To reward thy loyalty” said Bruce, “I make thee lady of as much land around thy cottage as thou canst encompass by running, whilst I take my breakfast.” As the King lifted first the spoon to his mouth, she flew from the door. Robert and his late antagonist laid aside their helmets and took alternate spoonfuls of the hot and homely fare.—After running round the hill,—now called the King’s Mount,—and encompassing the holm, the King and Selby heard her thus communing with herself as she entered the house “I shall be called the lady of the Mount, and my husband shall be called the lord on’t. We shall, nae doubt, be called the Sprottes of the Mount of Urr, while Dalbeattie wood grows, and while Urr runs.—Our sons and our daughters will be given in marriage to the mighty ones of the land, and to wed one of the Sprottes of Urr may be the toast of barons. We shall grow honoured and great, and the tenure by which our heritage shall be held, will be the presenting of butter brose in a lordly dish to the kings of Scotland, when they happen to pass the Urr.”

“On thy own terms,” said King Robert, “so loyally and characteristically spoken, my heroic dame of Galloway, shall the Sprottes of Urr hold this heritage. This mount shall be called the King’s Mount; and when the king’s of Scotland pass the Urr, they shall partake of brose from King Robert Bruce’s bowl, and from no other—presented by the fair and loyal hands of a Sprotte.

Be wise, be valiant, be loyal and faithful, and possess this land free of paying plack or penny till the name of Bruce perish in tale, in song, and in history : and so I render it to thee."

[The tradition is given at length in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, vol. iv. p.p. 387—388, by one of the descendants of Dame Sprotte, who says,]

“ And thus in one short morning did my ancestress win the lands which have given sustenance and dignity to her descendants for more than five hundred years.”

NOTE H.—Vol. i.—PAGE 296.

LOCH-DOON is a beautiful sheet of clear water, about seven miles in length, and one mile in breadth, possessing a gravelly bottom and beach—bounded nearly half of its length, on the east, by the parish of Carsphairn, and the remaining part, on the west, by the parish of Dalmellington, in Ayrshire, and the parish of Straiton, in the same county. It is surrounded by lofty hills, both on the Galloway and Carrick sides, those upon the Galloway side being green and beautiful, and those on the Carrick side heathy and rocky. About half way betwixt the Galloway and Carrick sides, are the remains of an old castle, built in the octagonal form, and situated upon a rock which is surrounded by the deep waters of the lake. This ruin is still the remnant of a strong fort, which from its situation must have been impregnable before the use of gunpowder was known. It belonged to the Lords of Carrick, the ancestors of King Robert the Bruce. There is a hill near it, still named the Brucean hill, where tradition relates that the holders of the castle encountered and defeated the English.

“ In the year 1306, Sir Christopher de Seaton,

who had married a sister of King Robert Bruce, and had rendered essential service to the King, took refuge *in his own castle of Loch Doon*; but it was pusillanimously given up to the English by Sir Gilbert de Corrie, the hereditary keeper of the fortress, and Seaton being obnoxious to King Edward, on account of his having been present at the death of Comyn, was immediately carried to Dumfries and executed. (Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. i.)

Tradition states, that when the English in 1319, besieged the castle of Loch Doon, being unable to take it by storm, they raised an embankment of earth and stone, lined with raw hides to prevent the water from oozing through the rampart, across the place where the lake discharges itself; hoping thereby to inundate the castle. The work was finished; and the water rising rapidly, one of the soldiers named M'Nab, volunteered to destroy the caul, and being a good swimmer, he took the water at midnight, with a large *Bonnet Sword*, folded in his cap, with which he succeeded in cutting several large holes in the hides through which the water rushed with such force, sweeping away every thing in its course, that he was carried down in the current, and consequently lost his life in saving his companions; but in gratitude for the service he had rendered his country, a grant of land was conferred on his son, which bears the name of Macknabton to this day.

In the dry summer of 1826, some fishing parties from Dalmellington discovered nine canoes in the deep water of the lake near to the castle: three of them were lifted entire; they were each formed of one oak tree; and must have been the boats used at one time by the inmates of the castle.—The largest of them is now in the museum of Glasgow, the others are sunk in a place made for them

at the foot of the loch, where they are placed for the gratification of the curious. In one of the canoes were found a battle-axe, and the sole and upper part of a lady's shoe; the sole was entire, the upper part which had been sewed to the sole by fine thongs seemed much decayed. [This is in the possession of Mr Train.]

NOTE I.—Vol. i. PAGE 302.

BALIOI, by a separate deed, made over to King Edward all his paternal dominions in Scotland, England, the Isles, and province of Galloway, with their appurtenances. But, not satisfied with resigning his all, he endeavoured to destroy his reputation, by putting the following reasons for divesting himself of his royalty and paternal dominions, into a formal deed under his hand and seal.

“ THAT considering the great risk men run, in regard to their precious and immortal souls, by the great ravages, depredations, and slaughters committed by them, occasioned by the frequent and obstinate rebellions of the Scots; who, at the instigation of the devil, had so often revolted against the King of England, their superior lord; and, instead of assisting himself, [Baliol,] as in duty bound, that many of the nobility, his own relations, had made leagues and associations against him, attacked his person, and endeavoured his ruin, notwithstanding his propensity to peace and quietness, which he had never been able to accomplish; nor could he now hope, by reason of his great age and weakness of body, to compass those desirable ends. But as he dreaded that, after his demise, new troubles would arise concerning the succession to the crown, since it was well known that the Brucean family had no right to it, he thought that his cousin and superior lord, Edward King of Eng-

land, by his great power, was the fittest person to subdue the rebels, and by his clemency to protect the good, which he himself had experienced by the gracious acceptance of his homage for the kingdom of Scotland, when he might have taken it into his own hands; and that ever since he had conferred on him good offices, without number; and as, by an union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, he would be enabled to reduce his enemies both at home and abroad; he, for that reason, had made over to him the crown, kingdom, and islands of Scotland. Dated at Roxburgh, the 30th of January, 1356."

NOTE K.—Vol. i.—PAGE 353.

PARLIAMENTARY ENACTMENTS.

I. Protection to the "Haly Kirk."

II. Peace to be established throughout the realm; and that all persons shall be permitted to travel in security without "having assurance one of another."

III: Against Rebellion.

IV. "It is declared to be ordained for the safety and favour of the poor people who labour the ground, that they, and all others who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come from lords, according to a lease which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiry of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent; and this notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale, or by alienation, into different hands from those by whom they were first given in lease to the tenant."

V. Against invading property.

VI. Against "sorners, outlayers, masterful beggars, fools, bards, and runners about." If such be discovered they are to be put in prison, and de-

tained as long as they have substance to maintain themselves. But if they have nothing to live upon, it is ordained that "their ears are to be nailed to the Tron, or to any other tree, and then cut off, and they themselves banished the country, to which if they return again, they are, upon their first apprehension, to be hanged."

VII. Against buying provisions, and hoarding them up till seasons of dearth.

VIII. Against treason, such as laying violent hands upon the Sovereign's person; assailing any fortress in which the King may happen to be; holding out castles against the King's forces; or supplying the castles of traitors with stores.

IX. Against carrying money out of the realm.

APPOYNTEMENT BETWIXT JAMES II., AND JAMES EARLE DOUGLAS. (*From Tytler's History of Scotland.*)

"Be it kend till all men be thyr present letters, me James Earle of Douglas, to be halden and obleist, and be thir present letters, and the faith in my lody lelie and truelie binds and obliges me till our sovercaue Lord James, be the Grace of God, King of Scotland, that I shall fulfill, keep, and observe all and sundrie articles, and condeciones, and poyntis underwrittin; that is to say— in the first, I bind and oblige me till our said soverayne lord, that I shall never follow nor persew, directly nor indirectly, be law, or any other maner of way, any entrie in the lands of the earledome of Wigtone, with the pairtiments or any part of them, untill the tyme that I may obtaine speciall favour and leicence of our soverayne Lady Mary, be the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, be letter and seal to be given and maid be hir to me thairupon. And in the samen wise, I bind and obliss me to our soverayne lord, that I shall

never persew nor follow, directly nor indirectlie, the lands of the lordship of Stewartoun, with the pertinent, or any pairt of them, the whilk were whilum the Dutches of Turinies, until the time that I may obtaine our soverayne lord's special licence, grace, and favour of entrie in the said lands; and alsua, I bind and oblidge me till our soverayne lord, to remit and forgive, and be thir present letters fullie remitts and forgives for evermair, for me, my brother, and the Lord Hamilton, and our (enverdance,) all maner of rancour of heart, mallice, fede, malgre, and invy the quhilk I or any of us had, hes, or may have in tyme to come, till any of our said soverane lord's lieges, for any actions, causes, or querrels by gane, and specialie till all them that had arte or parte of the slaughter or deid of whylum William, Earl of Douglas, my brother, and shall take thay personnes in heartlines and friendship at the ordinance and advyce of our said soverayne lord.

“ And outter, I bind and obliiss me till our said soverayne lord, that all the tenants and mailers being within my lands quatsomever, sall remane with thair tacks and mailing quhile Whitsonday come a year, except them that occupys the grangis and steids whilk war in the hand of the said Earle William, my brother, for his own proper goods the tyme of his decease, and yet thay persones to remain with thyr tacks, at our said soverayne lords will, of the said granges and steids while Whitsonday next to come; and alsua I bind and oblige me to our said soverayne lord to revock, and be thir present letters revocks, all leagues and bands, if any hes been made be me in any tyme by gane, contrare to our said soverayne lord; and binds and obliiss me, that I shall make na band, na ligg in tyme coming, quhilk sall be contrar till his hienes. Alsua I bind and obliiss me till our said soverayne

lord, to remitt and forgive, and be thir present letters remitts and forgives till his hienes all maner of maills, goods spendit, taken, sould, or analied be him or his iutromitters, in any maner of wayes before the xxii day of the moneth of July last by-past, before the making of thir present letters.— And if any thing be tane of the good of Galloway, I put me thairof, to our said soveraigne lady, the Queen's will. Alswa I bind and oblige me to our said soveraigne lord, that I shall maintaine, supplie, and defend the borders and the bordarers, and keep the trewes taken, or to be taken, at all my guidly power, and in als far as I aught to do as wardane or liegeman till him. Alswa I bind and oblige me to doe to our said soverane lord, honor and worschip in als far as lyes in my power, I havand sic sovertie as I can be content of reasoun for safety of my life. Item, I oblige me that all harmes done, and guides taken under assurance be mandit and restored. In witness of the whilk thing, in fulfilling and keepin all and sundrie articles, poynts, and conditiones before written in all maner of forme, force, and effect, as is afore-said, all fraud and guile away put, I the said James, for me, my brother, and the Lord Hamiltone, and all our pairts, (averdance,) to ther present letters sett my seall, and for the mair sickness the haly evangillis twichit, hes given our bodily oath, and subscryved with my own hand at Douglas, the xxviii day of the month of Augst, the year of our Lord jin. four hundredth and festie-twa years.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES, EARLE DOUGLAS.

JAMES, LORD HAMILTONE."

"As this authentic and interesting document," says Mr Tytler, "has never been published, it may properly be included amongst the Pieces

Justificatives of this history. It is taken from the manuscript volume preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, entitled, Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections, a. 4. 7. p. 19."

NOTE L.—Vol. i.—PAGE 368.

“FOR your Grace's favours I ought and will most certainly strive with all earnestness to obtain them. Your Grace knows that as I have the honour to command many who obey me, I know well how to render dutiful obedience to my Sovereign. None of your subjects, Sir, enjoy more lands and honours than I do, and there is not one who would more willingly engage life and fortune in your defence and honour. Those who lay snares for my life are now your Grace's constant attendants, and I dare not trust myself in your presence without a letter of safe conduct, and well attended by my friends. For the wrongs committed by my followers and vassals I am ready to give every requisite satisfaction. As to the bond of mutual friendship between sundry noblemen and myself, I can assure your Grace that we would have adhered together without any written obligation. We were driven to this bond for our own safety, not to offer violence to, but to defend ourselves from our enemies.”

“Deeds, and not words,” said the King, “make the affection and submission of a subject known, and there can be no greater security for him than to rely on the laws of the commonwealth and the country, especially in a country where the laws and not faction ought to predominate. Such men as you, my Lord, raise these factions to the subversion of all laws and authority. Is it to be tolerated for a moment that any subjects, of whatever rank and condition, are to make offensive

and defensive leagues against all persons? This is to disclaim all government, to do what they please without control, to commit treason in the highest degree, to make your own swords influence and justify your proceedings, and to conceal the progress of your career until you openly demand the crown itself. I insist upon it, therefore, that this confederacy of yours be instantly broken, and thus you will receive wonted clemency instead of deserved justice."

"The bond," replied Douglas, "being drawn up by the common consent of certain noblemen and gentlemen, and subscribed, it cannot be renounced without mutual consent. Your Grace must in consequence see that we must all meet and consult before it can be cancelled." "Nay," said James vehemently, "you shall begin first, to show a good example. No man shall in my presence disavow and disclaim my authority. You stir not from this room till you solemnly, sincerely, and deliberately, sign your withdrawal from this treasonable bond." Your Grace will recollect," replied Douglas, "that I came hither upon a public assurance of safe-conduct." No public assurance," rejoined James, "can protect any man from the consequences of a private misdemeanour."

NOTE M.—Vol. i.—PAGE 385.

INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF THREAVE CASTLE AND MONS MEG.

"It is known to the readers of Scottish history, that King David II., in the year 1369, conferred the Lordship of Galloway, on Archibald, commonly called the Grim, Earl of Douglas, to be held by him and his heirs for ever.

"The residence of Alan, the last native Prince of Galloway, was built on an islet of twenty sta-

tute acres, formed by the Dee, ten miles above the estuary of that river. (Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i. p. 175.) On the site of that ancient fortalice, Black Douglas built the stronghold of Threave, which in ancient British signifies the homestead, or dwelling. (Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiii. p. 651.)

“ Threave Castle, is yet a stately massive pile, the walls being nearly seventy feet in height, and in thickness, eight feet, forming an oblong square built of common moor stone, with an admixture of freestone *grick*, strongly cemented with shell lime. The dungeon, arsenal, and larder, occupied the lowest story of the castle. On the second floor was the barrack of the soldiers on duty.— The third floor contained the apartments of state, where the Baron lodged his friends, or feasted his vassals. A few loop-holes and arrow slits, only admitted a dim light to the arsenal and barrack, but the upper apartments were lighted by small Gothic windows.

“ The castle was surrounded by a barbican, flanked at each angle by a circular tower, secured in front by a deep fosse and vallum. After passing a draw-bridge, the only entrance to the castle was by a door, placed so high in the wall, that the threshold is on a level with the second floor.— This door was secured by a portcullis, so constructed, as to slide in a groove of solid stone work when moved by the warder under the direction of the castellan, as the safety or convenience of the garrison required.

“ Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and lord of Galloway, died in his castle of Threave, on 3d February, 1400. Several charters of his son and successor, who became Duke of Turenne, in France, were granted. *Apud castrum nortrum de Treve*, (Chambers' Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 269.)

“ Sir Alexander Gordon of Lochinvar was infeft in the lands of Kenmure, on a precept of sasine, obtained from Archibald, Lord of Galloway, dated at his castle of Threave, 24th January, 1403. (Rymer Foed. viii. 539.)

“ Margaret, daughter of King Robert III., was married to Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and at his death received Threave castle and the castellany domains as her dowery, whence she dated her charters, ‘and mitigated the rigours of her husband and his father.’ (Caledonia, vol. iii.)

“ The historian of Scotland, from the accession of the house of Stewart, to that of Mary, mistakenly called this well known castle of the Douglasses Crief and has thereby vitiated his history. (History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 231.)

“ By the forfeiture of the Lord of Galloway, in 1455, the strong fortress of Threave, with the lands and customs pertaining thereto, reverted to the crown, ‘never to be settled or bestowed either in fee or franctenure, upon any subject whatever, except by the solemn advice of the whole parliament.’ It was consequently henceforth garrisoned by the King’s troops, (Acta Parl. ii. p. 889. Regist. Mag. Sig. C. vii. 64.)—but was victualled upon the feudal principles of the act James II., Parliament xii. cap. 55, which ‘stated and ordained that the sheriff’s tax and return men’s avails for bearing the expense of the garrisons on the Borders and in Galloway.’

“ The supply received by the castle of Threave under this act, was a *Lardner mart Cow*, that is a fat cow in such condition as to be fit for killing and salting at Martinmas for winter provisions, from each of the twenty-eight parishes, comprising the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright. (Lord Fountainhall’s Decisions, vol. i. p. 688.)

“ King James III., with the assent of Parlia-

ment, on 11th October, 1473, settled on his queen, Margaret of Denmark, as part of her dower, 'the customs and *firms* of the Castle of Treve,' which grant was renewed in 1477. (Acta Parl. ii. 189. 192.)

" On 28th October, 1477, Robert, son of John, Lord Carlisle, obtained a grant of the office of Stewart of Kirkcudbright, and Keeper of the Castle of Threave. (Great Seal Register, B. viii. 49. 50.)

" Immediately after the surrender of Berwick to the English, in 1482, the Earl of Angus was compelled to abandon his office of Great Justiciary, 'to lose his office of Stewart of Kirkcudbright, and his command of the castle of Trief.' (MS. General Register House, ap. Tytler's History of Scotland. vol. iv. cap. iv.)

" In 1502, Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum obtained a grant to himself and his heirs for nine years of the office of Stewart of Kirkcudbright, and Keeper of the Castle of Threave. By this grant which was dated 12th September, he acquired the twenty marklands, called the Grange of Threave, with the fishing of the Dee, and the Lardner marts before mentioned, for which he engaged to pay the King a yearly rent of £100, and to keep the garrison at his own charges. (Privy Seal Reg. ii. 96.)

" In the beginning of the reign of James V. Lord Maxwell obtained from Queen Margaret, as tutor of her son, a grant for nineteen years of the office of Stewart of Kirkcudbright, and Keeper of 'Treve Castle,' with the usual perquisites, duties, and lands pertaining thereto. And by a charter dated 16th November, 1526, his Lordship obtained a grant in *fee firm* to himself and his heirs of these offices, with their pertinents hereditary in his family. (Great Seal Register, xxi. 9. Privy Seal Register, vii. 46.)

“ The sons of Lord Maxwell held this fortress in 1545, when it was stormed and taken by the troops of the Regent and Cardinal Beaton.— (Tytler’s Hist. of Scotland, vol. v. cap. vi.) But on the forfeiture of Lord Maxwell, in 1587, the castle of Threave was taken possession of by the King’s troops.

“ During the troubles in the reign of Charles I., the Earl of Nithsdale held the castle of Threave for the King, and armed, paid, and victualled, a garrison of eighty men, beside officers at his own expense, till at length his Majesty, unable to send him any assistance, directed him on 15th September, 1640, to make the best conditions he could for himself. (Grose’s Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i. Forsyth’s Beauties of Scotland, vol. ii. 394.)

“ In 1701, William, the last Earl of Nithsdale sold the fishings which pertained to Threave Castle, but retained the fortress and the right of the *Lardner* marts, and as these were not demanded after his attainder in 1716, William Maxwell representative of the Nithsdale family, at the abolition of heritable Juridictions in Scotland, in the year 1747, made a claim for parting with this superiority held by his forefathers over the lands of Threave Grange, and yearly supply of fat cattle levied for the support of Threave castle: but it was not sustained. (Speal Inquest ap. Caledonia, vol. iii.)

“ While the Douglasses maintained their power in Galloway, Threave castle continued the place of their pride, and the engine of their tyranny, some circumstances of which invest it with fearful interest. William VIII., Earl of Douglas, and Lord of Galloway, the most pompous of his haughty race, kept a retinue of one thousand armed men in Threave castle. (Caledonia, vol. iii.—Picture of Scotland vol. i. p. 262.)

“ As Warden of the western marches in 1452, he caused Herries, of Terregles, a gentleman of ancient family, and of large possessions in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, to be apprehended for striving to recover part of his property of which he had been plundered by the partizans of Douglas. When brought before the haughty noble, he scoffingly said to Herries, ‘ Your little block-house of Terregles, in common with the other fortalices and manor places of the petty barons of Galloway, is only occasionally decked with a dangling villain, whereas the *gallows knob* of Threave, has not been without a tassel these fifty years, and that it may not want one now, I have ordered your haunchman who has hung the usual time, to be removed to make room for his master ;’ then in contempt of an express mandate from the King, solemnly delivered by a herald, he ordered him to be instantly hanged. (Armstrong’s Notices of Scottish History, p. 47.—Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. iv. cap. i.)

“ The Gallows Knob, or Hanging Stone, as it is yet called, is a large granite block, projecting from the front wall of the castle, immediately over the main gate-way. Lest the barbarous emblem of feudal power should have been without its usual decoration, when putrefaction became offensive before the corpse was cut down, if a malefactor was not in custody to be tacked up, it was replenished with some unoffending vassal.

“ The charnel into which these victims were thrown, is to this day called the *Gallows Slot*, which signifies the Gallows Pit, and notwithstanding the time that has elapsed since the downfall of the House of Douglas, in Galloway, human bones in abundance were turned up there when the bed of the present highway was making through it in the year 1800.

“ Sir Patrick Maclellan, Tutor of Bombie, sheriff of Kirkcubright, and the chief of a powerful clan, possessing the peninsula, bounded by the Solway and the Dee; having taken part with Herries, of Terregles, who was his kinsman, against some of the partizans of Douglas, thereby so excited the indignation of the imperious oppressor, that he commenced open hostility against him, by attacking Raeberry castle, his chief residence; but finding it impregnable, he seduced one of the warders of that stronghold, to leave a wicket of the sally port unbolted, on a certain night, by which Douglas himself, at the head of a chosen band entered, and taking Sir Patrick prisoner, carried him off to the dungeon of Threave, there to suffer under the power of hereditary jurisdiction.

“ A ladle full of gold was the stipulated reward of the warder’s treachery; but when the miscreant appeared at Threave to receive the proffered boon, the metal was molten by the command of Douglas, and poured down his throat; and thus he received both his reward and merited punishment at the same time.

“ Sir Patrick Gray, of Foulis,—uncle of the Tutor of Bombie, commandant of the body-guard of James II., obtained from that Prince a warrant, requiring from the Earl of Douglas, the body of the prisoner. When Gray appeared, within the portal of Threave Castle, the Earl suspected his errand; ‘ You have not dined,’ said he without suffering him to open his commission;” it is ill talking between a full man and a fasting.”— While Gray was at meat, the unfortunate prisoner was by Douglas’s command led forth to the courtyard, and beheaded. When the repast was finished, the King’s letter was presented and opened.— ‘ Sir Patrick,’ says Douglas, leading Gray to the

court, 'right glad had I been to honour the King's messenger; but you have come too late; yonder lies your sister's son without the head: you are welcome to his body;' Gray having mounted his horse, as soon as he had passed the drawbridge, turned to the Earl, and expressing his wrath in a deadly oath, that he would requite the injury with Douglas's hearts blood. 'To horse, cried the haughty baron, and the messenger of his prince was pursued till within a few miles of Edinburgh. Gray, however, had an opportunity of keeping his vow, for being on guard in the King's ante-chamber, at Stirling, when James incensed at the insolence of the Earl, struck him with his dagger, Sir Patrick rushed in and despatched him with his pole-axe. (Pitscottie's History, p.p. 62. 63. 64. Balfour's Annals, vol. i. p. 180.)

"Goaded almost to madness by this cruel outrage against their clan; the Maclellan's strove by every means in their power to avenge the death of their chief. The act of forfeiture passed by Parliament in 1455, gave them an opportunity under the protection of Government, of openly throwing off the iron yoke of the Douglasses, under which Galloway had groaned for upwards of eighty years. (Caledonia, vol. iii.—Crawford's Peerage, p. 237.)

"The Castle of Threave being the last stronghold of the Douglasses that held out for that rebellious family. (Pinkerton's History, Appendix, vol i. p. 486.) King James II., resolved to conduct the seige in person. For that purpose he marched into Galloway, at the head of a numerous army, and took up a position at the *Three Thorns of the Carlingwark*, near the place where the town of Castle-Douglas now stands. While the King was preparing for the seige of Threave, a number

of the principal inhabitants of Kirkcudbright, to avenge the death of the Tutor of Bombie, and to shew their loyalty to his Majesty, contributed each a *gaud*, or bar of iron, towards making a great gun, for the purpose of battering down the last stronghold of the tyrannical Lords of Galloway. (Captain Denniston's Introduction to the Battle of Craignilder, p. 15.)

“ The construction of this piece of ordnance was carried on at the *Buchan Croft*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Three Thorns of the Carlingwark*. (Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 306.) by a person named Brawny Kim, who, assisted by his seven sons, soon built a gun of the bars, in the way a cooper makes a cask with staves and hoops, so large that the chamber was nearly two feet diameter. (Scot's Magazine, vol. xvi. p. 202.) While the cannon was constructing at the Buchan Croft, another party was employed making balls of granite, on the summit of Bennan Hill, and as each ball was finished, the workmen rolled it down the declivity facing Threave castle.

“ The first charge of Kim's cannon is said to have consisted of a peck of powder and a stone ball, the weight of a Carsephairn cow. The eminence from which this great gun was first discharged, was from that circumstance called *Knockcannon*, which name has continued to the present day, and in the end of the castle of Threave, facing Knockcannon, there is an aperture in the wall still called the *Cannon Hole*. A more commanding position than Knockcannon, could not have been taken to rake with shot, the very centre of the castle, and so unerring was the aim, that the first ball discharged from Kim's gun, carried away the hand of the Fair Maid of Galloway, as she sat at table within the banqueting room, and was about to raise the wine cup to her lips.

“The destructive powers of this extraordinary weapon of war, pleased the King so well, that before leaving Galloway, he erected the town of Kirkeudbright into a royal burgh, (Regist. Mag. Sig. B. xv. 169.) and granted the forfeited lands of Mollance to Brawny Kim as a reward for the service he had rendered his country by constructing such a noble piece of ordnance. As a farther reward to the inhabitants of Kirkeudbright, for their service to King James II, *at the Siege of Threave*, James IV on 26th February 1509, granted the Castle of Kirkeudbright, and the lands belonging it, to the Corporation of that town. (Caledonia, vol. iii.)”

“It is still customary in Galloway as well as in other parts of Scotland, to call persons by the name of the land they possess, hence the Soubriquet of Brawny Kim, after he had taken possession of the King’s grant became Mollance, and the cannon being named after him, with the addition of Meg in compliment to his wife, who it is said had a most stentorian voice. Thus the original name of the gun was Mollance Meg, which in the course of time has been contracted into Mons Meg. Drummond of Hawtherden who was not born till nearly a century and a half after the construction of this cannon is the first author who uses this contraction or rather corruption of the word Mollance, (See Drummond’s *Macaronies*—*Sicuti Mons Megga crackasset*.—*Tytler’s History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 423.) which has since led others unacquainted with the History of Galloway erroneously to suppose this gun to have been forged at Mons in Flanders, but no proof whatever has been as yet adduced to that effect, whereas the evidence of its having been constructed in Galloway is seemingly quite conclusive.

“The circumstance of the ball first fired from

Mons Meg, having carried away the hand of the Fair Maid of Galloway, has tended more than any other, to bring down to the present time all the particulars connected with the fall of the Douglasses in Galloway. Old people say that the vengeance of the Almighty was evidently manifested in destroying the hand which had been given in wedlock to two brothers, and that even while the lawful spouse of one of them was alive. (Caledonia, vol. iii) This ball is still preserved by a gentleman in the neighbourhood, and corresponds exactly in size and quality with those shewn in the castle of Edinburgh, as appertaining to the celebrated Meg which are evidently of Galloway granite, the component parts of which, as Geologists are aware, differ in several particulars from all other granite found in Scotland.

“ Early in the present century Threave Castle was partially repaired under the superintendence of Sir Alexander Gordon, Sheriff of the county, for the purpose of making it a barrack for French prisoners.

“ On clearing out some rubbish, one of the workmen discovered a massive gold ring, which the inscription shewed to have once belonged to “ Margaret de Douglas,” the Fair Maid of Galloway. This singular relic which is supposed to have been on her hand when blown away at the siege of the Castle, was carefully preserved by Sir Alexander Gordon, and has, I daresay, now become an heirloom in his family.

In addition to what is before stated, Symson in his work here re-printed, see page 41 says ‘ the common report also goes in that country, that in the Isle of the Threave the great iron gun in the Castle of Edinburgh, commonly called Mount Megg, was wrought and made.’ This statement written nearly a hundred and sixty years ago, should of itself set the question at rest.

“Mons Meg having effected such destruction at Threave, was taken by order of James IV., from Edinburgh Castle on 10th July 1489, to be employed at the siege of Dumbarton. If we may judge from the items, her celebrity on that occasion was not of an inferior description; on that date in the Treasurers books, there is an entry of ‘18 shillings given in drink money to the gunners.’

“Meg was also used by King James IV., at the siege of Norham. Thus on 24th July 1497, there are separate charges in the Treasurers books for “a new Cradill covering and gavalokis to ga with her, and also for the Minstrales that playit before Mons down the gait.” (Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. iv. see Note &c.,)

“In 1548 at the nuptials of Queen Mary, and the Dauphin of France, the guns of Edinburgh Castle sent forth their tributary thunders, as appears from the Treasurers books for that year, in which is entered a charge of ten shillings paid to “certain pyonaris for their labours in raising Monss forth of her lair, and for finding and carrying her bullet, after she was shote, frae Waldie Muir back to the Castle of Edinburgh,” a distance of two miles. (Dalzell’s Cursory Remarks, p. 32.) (Queen Mary’s Castles by Charles M’Kie.)

“In May 1640, Lord Etricke then Governor of Edinburgh Castle, “with greate ordinance begude to thunder on the toune. (Balfour’s Annals of Scotland.)

“When the Castle of Edinburgh on 19th December 1650, capitulated to the parliamentary troops in the list of ordnance delivered by the Governor to Colonel Moncke, is specially mentioned, ‘*the great iron murderer, called Muckle Megg.*’ (Russel’s Life of Oliver Cromwell, vol. ii. pp. 323, 324.)

“In 1682, in firing a salute in honour of James,

er part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. (Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, vol. vii. c. v.)

“ This prodigious cannon weighs six and a-half tons, and the carriage, furnished by the Board of Ordnance, in 1836, when Sir R. H. Vivian was Master General, as stated on the carriage, weighs three and a-half tons.

“ Mr Lockhart is of opinion, that the pursuit of Sir Patrick Gray, from Threave castle to near Edinburgh, suggested the scene between Archibald Bell the Cat, and Lord Marmion, as described in the celebrated poem of Marmion.—Canto v. stanza xiv.—(Note to Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Works, vol. ii. p. 147.)

“ A Melo Drama founded on the result of that outrageous transaction, was, in 1837, brought upon the stage and well received by the public,* and several small poetical pieces of considerable merit chiefly by bards, natives of Galloway, have been composed, in commemoration of events of which Threave Castle has been the scene. Its present appearance is thus described by my friend Mr Robert Chambers. “ It is a huge roofless tower, which in the bleakness of its gaunt and terrible majesty, suggests the idea of an armed skeleton, in whose facial apertures lies the darkness of death and decay.” (Picture of Scotland, vol. i. Galloway.)

NOTE N.—Vol. i.—PAGE 457;

“ 1488, Remissione to (Sir) Alexander M'ulloch of Mertoun, and xxix otheris personis, for art and parte of Birnyng and Refing of Dunskey and Ardwell, in company with the Laird of

* It was written by Mr William Train. We have seen the Drama performed, and were much pleased with the justness of the sentiment, and the elegance of the language.

Garthland; and all other actionis done be thame vnto the date hereof.

“January 20th, 1498, a lettre of remitt and forgevinnesse to Johnne of Dumbar, sone and aperand are to Johnne of Dumbar of Mochrum, and to his seruitoris, Wilzam Flemyn, and James Makcowloche, and Johnne Core, quhilk war with Elizabeth Kennedy that time scho tuik away certain money, extending to the sowme of xliij. li. gold and siluer, a siluer sele, and other small gere, had be hir in keping of a (Reverend) fader in God (George Vaus) Bishop of Galloway, &c.,

“25th February 1498.9 Remission to Thom Huchonson, and John Carynis in the Copwod, for arte and parte of the Byrnyng of Lochferguse belangand to the Laird of Bomby.

“February 15th 1493.4, Remission to Johnne Herreis of Berclly, for the refe of certain halkis out of Dundranane, and binding the men kepand thaim &c., (Apud Kirkcudbrycht)

[“This offence was always punished with severity. All the princes of the Stuart family were passionately fond of the sports of the field, and from numerous entries in the Treasurers’ accounts, it appears that hawks of fine breeds bore a very high price, which were deemed of sufficient value to be presented to Kings and princes.”]

“October 19th 1508 John Magge (M’Ghie) of Plomtoun convicted of art and part of convocation of the lieges, in company with the Laird of Bomby, during the time of the court, at the Standande stane, in Drumdranan, held by the said Laird in the year 1504: Item of art and part of the oppression done to Sir William Shankis, monk, casting him down from his horse during the time of the said court. And of art and part of the oppression done to Andrew Den’s, officer of the Abbot of Dundranan, taking and detaining him against his will, until the conclusion of the said court. Fined vj. merks.—the Laird of Bomby, and the said James for himself, conjunctly and severally, became surety to the King and party. ‘liij. li.’ Alan and John Makclessan, in Kirkcudbright, were fined x merks each for the same crime.—Peter Muir, of Balmagachane, William Levinax, younger of Caly, Alexander Porter, brother of the Laird of Lagg, Peter Levingstoun, and nine others were likewise fined iiij. merks each, excepting Peter Muir, who was delivered gratis to the Sheriff. The Laird of Bomby, became surety along with themselves, to the King and party.

“1508, John Makclessan in Kirkcudbright, convicted of art

and part of the stouthrief of two 'hoghedis' of Gasgony wine-
from Patrick Forster; and of the oppression done to the said
John at the same time — The Laird of Bomby surety for the
King and party.

“September 1st 1509, (Die Sabboti.) Patrick M'Clellane of
Gilstoune, Alexander Legait, Thomas M'Clellan in Wigtonne,
John M'Lyn miller, and James M'Culloche were denounced
rebels, and put to the horn by public proclamation, &c., as fugi-
tives from the law for art and part of the cruel slaughter, of
George Freire, and for not entering to underly the law, for the
said slaughter, and other crimes to be imputed to him. And
this was done by warrant of the King, under his sign-manuel
following: Rex.

“*Mestr. James Henrisoun*, we charge you that incontinent efter
the sycht of this precep, that ze put *Patryk Maclellane* and his
complices to be put to oure horne, efter the tenor of our down
gyfin upon hime, into our towbytht of Edynbrycht; Ande this
ze liff nocht ondon, as ze wyl ansure to ws. James (R.)

“September 3d. (Die Lune.) they were of new denounced
rebels. at the market cross of Edinburgh. &c.

“November 4th 1510, (Die Lune.) Patrick Agnew Sheriff of
Wigtoun, came in the King's will for art and part of usurping
his authority, without commission for that effect, by putting
Thomas Porter to the knowledge of an assise and accusing him
'per coloratum justificatam,' for the slaughter of John M'myane,
committed by the said Thomas; And for taking 'feyis' and
money to purge the said Thomas of the said slaughter, he being
guilty thereof. And 'per coloratum justificatam,' purging him
of the said crime. Fined 5 merks.

“November 6th, Patrick M'Clellane of Gilstoune, convicted
of art and part of the stouthrief of xx oxen from Patrick Agnew
sheriff of Wigtonne, and his servants under silence of night,—
Beheaded.

“January 16th, lettre of rehabilitatioune to Patrick M'Clellan
of Gilstoune, sayand, that the Kingis grace rehabillis the said
Patrick to his warldly honouris, digniteis and vther priuileges,
and lauchfully to succeed to his fader and vtheris his predeces-
souris nochtwithstanding the dome gevin that the said Patrickis
hede suld be striken fra his body, for the reis and stouth of xx
oxen and ky frae Patrick Agnew Shereff of Wigoune, and his
servandis, vnder silence of nycht, &c.

“October 15th, 1511, precept of remission to Mr William
Levenax of Cally, for invading and hurting Roger Gordoune,

sheriff in that part, who came with the Kingis lettress to cite him. Apud (Edinburghe.)

“1513, Patrick Agnew, Sheriff of Wigtoune and Alexander Makmechane, dwelling with him, permitted te compound for the oppression done to Thomas Makdowall and Roger M'crochat, in causing them to build his dykes with their petis, and to plough and harrow his lands in the years 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, and 1508, and for common oppression thereby done to them. Item, for the same oppressions done to James Kenneydy, Moriata Mukkevin, &c., Item for the oppression done to the said persons, in plundering each of a swyne yearly, during the said years. The Laird of Lochinvar became surety to satisfy the parties.

“He also found the same surety to compound for the Hereship of a jument, (i. e. an ox used for tillage,) from John Makrowat in the forest of Buchan. Item, for the oppression done to Thomas Makwilliam in taking and harying from him ten bolls of Barley,

“He together with George Crukshank and Thomas Mure in Wigtoun also compounded for art and part of the oppression of Thomas Kennedy in Wigtoun, in hereship from him of a young riding horse, and for striking the said Thomas Kennedy

“Patrick Agnew Sheriff of Wigtoune compounded for art and part of the stouthrief of four cows from Thomas Cunyngham in Carrick. The Laird of Orchartoune became surety to satisfy parties.

“Patrick Waus, of Irsalk; and William Graham, living with him, were allowed to compound for the stouthreif of six silver tasses or drinking cups, from the Lord bishop of Galloway near Wigtoune;—Item, for the stouthrief of certain oxen and cows from the executors of the Umqle Mr Alexander Waus. Item, for the oppression done to the Bishop of Galloway in hochin his oxen.—Item, the said Patrick for art and part of the oppression done to John M'gilwyan, in Quhitherne, in the detention of his croft, called our Lady croft.

“Patrick M'Clellan of Gilestone, and Andrew and John M' Clellan &c. denounced rebels and their cautioners amerced £100 for each for their not entering to underly the law for the slaughter of Robert Muir.

“September 23, 1515, a respitt to Matho Macknacht of Dungenche, for arte and part of the slauchter vnqhle John of Dunbar of Mochrum, committit and done be (Schir) Alexander

Gordoune of Kenmure, Knight, with qelam the said Matho was in company. To endure for a zere.

“September 25th, a respitt to Alexander Lord Gordoune, to cum to the governouris presence, or qhare be pleses, and to pass and repas with xl or fitymen. in houshald; for the space of six monethis, next to cum.”

“1515 6. February 3d, letter to Robert Lord Maxwell, conferring on him the office of Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and keping of the Castle of Treife, with the landis, fyschingis, feis, and dewteis, pertening thairto; for the termes of nynetene zeirs wythout ony praing of males or dewiteis theirfor.

“December 16th, 1528 9, John Sitlingtonne of Stanehouse, John Wilsonne of Cruglin, Alexander M'quubin of Dalquhit, John Fergussonne of Cragdareanche, and sixty seven others, denounced rebels and put to the horn, for their abiding from the King's host and army at Temptalloune. A number were persued at this time for abiding from the army of Douglas and Temptalloune: and the previous army at Stirling. They were all Galloway and Wigtoun Lairds. Among them the Lairds of Balmaghie, Garlies, Larg, Barclay, Creachane, Torhouse, Andrew Agnew, the sheriff of Wigtoun, &c.

“March 17th 1538, Fergus Makdowal of Freuche produced a respite from the King for art and part of the cruel slauchter of John Makculloche of Mochrume, of forethought felony, Gilbert Earle of Cassillis became surety to satisfy the parties.

“Alexander Stewart of Garulesse [Garlies,] John Murray of Brochtoun, the Lairds of Garthland, Myretoun, Murdoch, Blairquhan, Rossie Bonar, the tutor of Bomby, and others of less note, found caution to underly the law, at the next justice aires, of the shires where they resided, for manifest and voluntary error on assise, declaring Alexander M'Culloche of Cardoness, and his accomplices innocent and acquitted for art and part of the mutilation of Henry Carnis, of forethought felony: and for declaring Fergus M'dowall of Freuch, and his accomplices innocent and acquitted for the murder of Andrew Shankis, and sundry other crimes of oppressiou.

“1543, Ninian Edgar, young Laird of Creaken Thomas Wans, brother of the Prior, George M'Cullocht, young Laird of Dunildery, Patrick Murray, young Laird of Brochtoun, the Laird Killaster M'Cullocht, Wehtred M'Dowell, of Mondork, and twenty others, described as living with the Sheriff and the Abbot of Saulset, &c., came in the King's will for art and part of convocation of the lieges, and of art and part of the fore-

thought oppression done to Sir David Kennedy, and hindering him from holding his court at Leswalt.—The Sheriff of Wigtoun, Duncan Makke in Wigtoun, and ——— Nevin, Wigtoun, became sureties for the young Laird of Creaken, Alexander Gordoun of Auchrow for the Lairds of Ardwell and Corsewell, and the Laird of Garthlone, for the Laird of Mondork and Thomas Acoltane, &c.

“ February 8th, 1532 3, Symon M Culloch of Mytoun and a number of Galloway and Ayrshire Lairds, were denounced rebels for treasonable abiding from the host and army to the west marches, towards England, with the King’s lieutenant on 5th Jun. last. Many produced certificates of sickness, licences from the King and Lieutenant, and were discharged. The following is a specimen of the licences which were granted on such occasions.

Licence for Mr William Montgomery of Stair.

Rex.

“ We vnderstanding that our louit Maister Montgomery of the Stare, is seik, and may nocht mak travell, without danger of his life ; and that his son and apperand are, with his household, according to his estate, is to depart to our bordouris, withe our derrest brother James Erle of Murray, our grete wardane and lieutenant for the defence of our realme, and resisting our ald inemys of England ; herefore we grant and gevis licence, to the said Maister Williame to remaine and bide at hame fra this our oist and armye, now deuisit to pass to the bordouris the v. day of Januare instant, to the effect foresaid : and he sal incur no danger nor skaith through his remanyng and away-biding fra the samyn in his persoune, landis, or-gudis, and sall nocht be callit nor accusit therefore: discharging all vtheris our officiaris present or to cum, that is our justice, justice-clerk, thesaurare, and all vtheris our officiaris and ministeris of court thair of, and of their officis in that pairt, and for his comperance to our said oist and armye, we be the tenour hereof dischargis all calling or accusatioune that may follow thairupoune, nochtwithstanding ony our letteris or proclamatiounis, maid or to be maid to the contrair ; anent the quhilkis, we dispense with. be thir presentis, subscriuit with our hand, at Edinburghe, the secund day of Januare the zere of God, lm. vc. xxxij zeres, and of our regne the xx zere.”

(James R.)

NOTE N.—Vol. i.—PAGE 518.

“ THE BISCHOPE OF GALLOWAY’S PREICHING, IN THE PULPET OF EDINBURGH, *vpoun Sunday the 17th day of June, 1571.* (*Extracts.*)

“ GUID people, my text is this, of faith, hope, loue, and charitie, written in the 13 to the Corinthianis; ffor of faith procedis loue, and of loue charitie, which are the winges to hope, whereby all Christiane men sould enter in the kingdome of heavin; whair I pray God we myght all goe: And this for the present,

“ Now brethren, may I not spier at you in what place of this puir realme is faith, hope, and charitie resett? And gif thai be authorised among the thrie estates? Na, na, brethren, na! Is faith or loue amonges our nobilitie? Why then, How mony lordis hes obseruit thair hand writis and thair seales, or keipit thair promiseis, outhir vpoun thair syde or ouris? Yea, few or nane! But I wald wishe you, inhabitantes of Edinburgh, to send for your ministeris, and caus thaim pray for the Queine, pray for their lawchfull magistratis whatsumeur; for this I may say, shoe is as lauchfull, sen hir father was our natiue King, and hir mother lykwayis ane honorabill princes, and shoe borne in lauchfull bedde. This for the prufe of my argument that shoe aught to be prayit for.

“ And farder, all synneris aught to be prayit for. Gif we shuld not pray for sinneris, for whome suld we pray? seeing that God came not to call the rychteous, but synneris to repentance. Sant David was a synner, and so is shoe: Sant David was an adulterer, and so is shoe: Sant David committed murther in slaying Vrias for his wife, and so did shoe? Bot what is this to the matter? The more wicked that shoe be, hir sub-

jectis sould pray for hir, to bring her to the spreit of repentance; ffor Judas was ane synner, and gif he had bene prayed for, he had not diet in dispair. Bot mony of our ministeris are too ceremonious, at this present; ffor I remember myself, at the begynning of our religione, when I teiched ather in this pulpit, or in the pulpit heir, besides, when we wald haue bene glad to haue had the mess heir and the prieding thair: And brethir when I stoude with the stole about my neck, how many bishopis beade or buire the burding on his backe then bot I? Bot now our ministeris are growne sa wantone and ceremonious, that thei will not pray for thair lauchfull heretrix, who has permitted thame sic libertie of conscience, that thai may vse what religione thai pleis.

“ And gif we pray not for sinneris, for whome then, sen the just hes no neid of amendment? Or gif we be not sinneris, wha will say he will cast the first stone at the woman beand taen in adulterie? Is it my lord of Mortoun vpoun thair syde? Is it my lord Argyle vpoun our syde? Or is it we ministeris? Nay, brother, nay! ffor I confess my self, yea this foule carkage of myne to be most vyle carionne and altogethir gevin to the lustis of the fleshe! Ye, and I am not eschamet to say the grittest trumper in all Europe, vntil sic tyme as it pleaseth God to call vpoun me, and make me ane of his chossen vashelis, in whome he hes powret the spreit of his evangel; and as candles are licted and set vpon heich places, so sall I schaw the giftis that God he hes gevin me amongis you. God illuminat your hartis to receive the same! For gif Manasses had not been prayed for, he had not been brocht to the spreit of repentance.” (*From Richard Bannatyne’s Memorials, Secretary to John Knox. Edinburgh, printed 1836, 4to*)

NOTE O.—Vol. i.—PAGE 542.

WHEN workmen were lately engaged in pulling down the old church of Kirkcudbright, they removed the stone which covered the mouth of the vault; and though the entrance was small, many visited this abode of departed greatness. Several of the coffins, containing decayed skeletons, remained nearly entire: the very cloth which once covered them had not altogether disappeared. We had the curiosity to descend into the tomb, and while there, something like the following ideas passed through the mind. [The Old Aisle still remains.]

TO A SKELETON.

SAD mouldering remnant of mortality;
 Thou striking victim of corruption's power;
 How altered now's the state of thy existence!
 Perhaps, once robed in manhood's noble form,
 With lofty bearing, thou didst proudly move
 In court or camp, amidst the high born chiefs—
 The princely crowd of Scotland's chivalry,—
 A nation's bulwark and its ornament.

Wert thou enamoured of thy symmetry,
 Thy toil-proof frame, and never-failing strength?
 Couldst thou subdue the stubborn fiery steed,
 And artful wield the bold resistless sword,
 And point, with peerless skill, the unerring lance,
 And send the death-commissioned arrow forth?
 Thy arm is nerveless now, its skill has fled,—
 The smiling babe is not more impotent.

Wert thou arrayed in female loveliness—
 The object of a boundless admiration?
 Did features once possess that bony visage
 Which formed the genuine index of a soul,
 Replete with feeling and benevolence?
 Hadst thou once cheeks where youthful blushes glowed,
 And eyes that sparkled with unfeigned delight,
 Or shed the glistening tear of tenderness
 O'er suffering innocence;—eyes that illumed
 The mourner's pathway in this vale of sadness;
 And spoke in strains of artless eloquence
 The grateful language of concealed affection?

Did thy soul wing its exit from the field
 Of bloody conflict ; or the couch of sickness,
 Surrounded by a group of sorrowing friends,
 Who, with unwearied and intense anxiety,
 Observed vitality's receding tide,
 And grasped thy icy hand, and fondly wiped
 The chilly moisture from thy pallid brow,
 Till the faint fluttering pulse no more could move,
 Nor the eye pierce the filmy veil of death,
 Nor the tongue utter one endearing accent,
 Nor life retain its old inheritance ?

Frail melancholy structure ! once the home
 Of mingling passions, fear, hope, joy, and sorrow ;
 How thy heart swelled 'midst pyramids of wealth,
 And viewed with ecstasy increasing lordships,
 And fondly revelled in the princely mansion—
 The abode of mirth and hospitality !
 Didst thou recline upon the downy couch,
 And move enthroned within the antique chariot,
 Or skim the plain upon the nimble palfrey,
 As if the vulgar earth were undeserving
 Of the acquaintance of thy gentle foot ?
 On thy loved form might no rude breezes blow,
 Nor angry rains descend unmannerly
 To impair thy comfort, or to wound thy health ?
 Wert thou adorned with nature's richest gifts,
 Whilst on thy head reposed a coronet,
 And sounding titles and sweet adulation
 Supplied a daily banquet to thine ear ?
 Thy mansion now is narrow and obscure ;
 Silent and sterile is thy paltry lordship.
 Here are no titles to impart delight,
 No crouching vassals, no mean sycophants,
 To feast thy vanity or sooth thy pride.
 Let beauty view this dismal spectacle—
 This striking image of its future self ;
 And proud nobility survey the scene,—
 This crumbling, hideous mass of human ruins,
 And triumph in terrestrial elevation.
 Death levels all distinctions in the dust,
 As these bones are, so theirs must one day be.

Unsightly skeleton ! decaying fabric !
 What strange vicissitudes the world has seen

Since thou wert laid within the sepulchre :
 What countless myriads of human beings
 Have fluttered in the sun and disappeared ;
 Have floated down the rapid stream of time
 And sunk beneath the waters of oblivion.
 Princes have reigned whose names alone remain,
 Armies have struggled in the deadly combat,
 And rioted in fields of pain and havoc ;
 But both the vanquished and the haughty victors
 Rest in the peaceful grave in like prostration.
 Even they who mourned thy death have been lamented,
 And now are undistinguished from the earth
 That forms their lonely and their lowly bed.
 Of all who stood above this greedy vault,
 Upon that mournful day when thou wert placed
 Within its gloomy and its noisome precincts,
 Not one remains to tell thy history.

But this is not thy final destination,
 The eventful, solemn day, will soon arrive
 That bursts thy prison walls and sets thee free,
 Once more to view the upper world of light,
 And gain a crown of immortality.

Often shall I remember this descent
 Into the fearful realms of dissolution—
 This sojourn in corruption's residence
 To which no prying zephyr steals a passage,
 Or wandering sunbeam gains an hour's admittance
 To dissipate its never varying gloom.
 Here night and day, and years and ages pass
 Unfelt, unheeded, and unnumbered :
 In vain the irritated clouds discharge
 Their flaming volleys of artillery,
 Or open wide the vials of their wrath
 To deluge deep earth's fair and fruitful fields.
 In vain the infuriate tempest sweeps
 Like a malignant demon o'er the land,
 Leaving within the compass of its visit
 A melancholy scene of devastation ;
 Here their dire influence is never felt
 In this abode of death their rage is powerless.



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