

serenity of thought in the man to whom we can justly apply what Washington Irving said of Roscoe :—‘The solitude of such a mind is its state of highest enjoyment; it is then visited by those elevated meditations which are the proper aliment of noble souls, and are like manna sent from Heaven in the wilderness of this world.’

FERNANDE BLAZE DE BURY.

ART. III.—KILMACOLM AND THE GLENCAIRNS.

Kilmacolm: A Parish History, 1100-1898. By JAMES MURRAY, M.A., Minister of the Parish. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1898.

HISTORICALLY, Kilmacolm is not a great parish. Within its limits, ancient or modern, no great battle has been fought, no great council held, no great historical incident happened. Its inhabitants seem to have been born, to have eaten, fought, slept, done, or left undone, their daily duties, with one or two exceptions whom we shall have to notice, like most other people in any other parish in Scotland, who have done nothing to give their parish any more importance than the least known among the ecclesiastical districts in the kingdom. The parish, indeed, is almost in the enviable, or unenviable, position of being without a history. And yet, with the aid of the Register of the Abbey of Paisley, the manuscript Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, Pitcairn's *Trials*, Chalmers' *Caledonia*, the *Origines Parochiales*, a number of volumes issued under the authority of the Lord Clerk Register, a few well-known local books and histories of Scotland, and, without going very deeply into the subject, Mr. Murray has managed to write a very readable, attractive, and praiseworthy history of the parish, even though much that he has here and there written in it is inferential rather than historical, and sometimes just a little irrelevant to the history of the parish of Kilmacolm.

The Parish of Kilmacolm, which down to 1694 included the burgh of barony of Port-Glasgow and the Bay of Newark, touches the Clyde on the north, and runs southward, with the Parish of Erskine on the one hand, and the ancient Parish of Inverkip, which included Greenock, on the other, till it marches with the parishes of Kilbarchan and Lochwinnoch. It stands high and is fairly dry, considering its neighbourhood, upon the heights which separate Renfrew from Ayrshire, and which were known to the monks of Paisley as 'the moors,' and has long been known for the bracing and salubrious nature of its climate. The village is delightfully situated, and, until about twenty years ago, was a sort of sleepy hollow, a mere agricultural hamlet, with its smithy and carpenter's shop, but since then it has become a centre of villadom, being much resorted to by merchants and others from Glasgow for summer quarters or as a place of permanent residence. On this account, perhaps, but as likely as not on some other, within recent years an attempt has been made to change the name of the place from Kilmacolm to Kilmalcolm. To this foolish and ignorant attempt the Minister of the Parish lends no countenance. Practically, he gives the correct derivation and significance of the name and settles its pronunciation when he derives it from *kil*, a cell, the particle of endearment *ma* or *mo*, my or dear, and *Colm*, or *Columba*—the church of my dear or beloved Columba.

In early times the parish formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, which had its capital at Alcluith, or Dumbarton, and stretched southward to the Derwent, and included within its limits Cumberland and Westmoreland, with the exception of the baronies of Allerdale or Copeland in the former, and Kendal in the latter, and the counties of Dumfries, Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, and Peebles, in Scotland.* That Strathclyde was inhabited by the Cymric or Welsh Celts, as Mr. Murray says, is in the main true, but it is more likely that what has come to be known as the parish of Kilmacolm had for its early inhabitants Celts more akin to those who were dwelling in Cornwall and in the Highlands of Scotland than to the Cymri.

* Skene, *Celtic Scot.*, I., 235.

That the Damnonii, who belonged to the earlier Celts or Goidels, and were of the same race as the Dumnonii of Cornwall, dwelt along the southern shores of the estuary of the Clyde, seems to be generally admitted,* and the probability is that in the parish of Kilmacolm they preceded the Welsh, and were themselves in all likelihood preceded by that mysterious race, the Ivernians. But whether the Goidels or Brythons were first in the parish, few remains of its Celtic inhabitants have been found. Certain mounds remain, and one of them has been examined by archæologists, but apparently with no very definite result as to the people by whom it was raised. Of the place-names which survive, the majority indicate a Gaelic rather than a Welsh population.† Whether the place was ever visited by the Scots of Irish Dalriada does not appear, but it is not at all unlikely that in one or more of their many piratic expeditions up the Clyde, they landed in Newark Bay or on some other part of the Kilmacolm shore and carried away their captives, just as they carried away the future Patron Saint of their country from the shore on the opposite side of the Clyde. For the interesting statement, which occurs at the bottom of page 4, respecting the presence in the district of Kilmacolm of the greatest of all the Scots of Dalriada, one would like to have some other assurance than is vouchsafed by Mr. Murray. His words are: ‘The visit of Columba to St. Mungo at Glasgow is historical, and as, on that occasion, he passed up the southern bank of the Clyde, he necessarily traversed a portion of Kilmacolm Parish.’ Apparently the visit of St. Columba to St. Mungo is historical, but so far as we know there is no authority for the assertion that St. Columba journeyed on foot along the southern banks of the Clyde. Assuming, however, that he approached the Molindenar Burn from the direction indicated, though that may be questioned, he may have gone by the northern just as readily as by the southern bank, or he may have sailed up the river and landed at the mouth of the burn. Of the three, considering the

* *Ibid.*, I., 236 ; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 44, 152, 219, 291.

† See the lists given by Mr. Murray, pp. 3 and 258-60. Some of the names occurring in the latter list are of course English.

habits of the Saint and its comparative ease, one would say, in the absence of definite information, that the last mentioned is the one the Saint was most likely to take. But it is quite possible that he travelled overland, and took the opportunity as he journeyed to visit some of his missions. Mr. Murray is much nearer the truth, we imagine, when he conjectures that among those who visited his parish, at a somewhat later period, were the Norsemen.

When we come down to the year A.D. 946, we reach solid ground. In that year, according to the Saxon Chronicle, 'King Edmund harried all Cumbraland and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots.' In the following century Duncan Canmore is styled rex Cumbrorum, and Malcolm filius regis Cumbrorum, and on his accession as Malcolm III. the latter doubtless ruled over all that his father had ruled, *i.e.*, over the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde as well as over Scotland, though, towards the close of his reign, Cumbria, to the south of the Solway, was wrested from him by William Rufus, who erected it into an earldom. On the death of Edgar, Cumbria, to the north of the Solway, was bequeathed to David, his younger brother, with the title of Comes, who, on his accession as David I. in 1124, finally united Kilmacolm with the rest of the northern part of Cumbria to the Scottish Crown.

So far it is impossible to discover anything of any great importance in the history of the parish, and it is impossible to discover anything of the kind in its subsequent history. As has been already said, much of what has transpired within its limits is similar to what has happened in most parishes in Scotland. Still, there are many incidents of much importance in connection with its history which are extremely interesting, and help to throw light upon the less known portions of the history of the country.

That there was a church in Kilmacolm in the twelfth century is known, but how long it had been there is not. Probably the original church of the district was built or founded, as Mr. Murray conjectures, by a disciple of St. Columba. It is doubtful, however, whether what is now known as the 'Old Church' was the original church. It may

almost certainly be said it was not. The first church may have been built of wood and wattles, after what was known as the Scots manner, or it may have been a rude stone building of an oval form, similar to some noticed by Mr. Muir in the Western Islands, or it may have been built of rough stones in a quadrilateral shape : but all that is mere conjecture. So also is Mr. Murray's idea that 'The first rudimentary conception of an ecclesiastical parish was the boundaries of a clan.' It is much more likely that the limits were determined by the conditions of population, and, where the Roman Government extended, by the divisions established by the civil power. The church in Kilmacolm may have felt the reforming hand of Queen Margaret or it may not, though it is likely that in one way or another it did. At any rate, by the year 1169 the Culdees, who had at first served the church, were gone. In that year it was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Glasgow, and along with the other churches in Strathgryfe and their pertinents, with the exception of Inchinnan, which belonged to the Knights Templars, had been given by Walter the High Steward to his newly founded Benedictine Monastery at Paisley. Another church existed in the district, the Chapel of Syde, built and endowed by Lord Lyle of Duchal. Apparently it was what would now be termed a private chapel, being designed for the use of the lord of the manor and his retainers. It seems to have been served by the domestic chaplain of the Lyles. As was usual, the parish church was served by a vicar appointed by the monastery, and doing duty there in place of the brethren. Mr. Murray has discovered the names of a few of these vicars, but none of them is of any particular fame. Nothing is known of their characters or of the influence they had. After the fashion of the times, they were entitled to the prefix 'Sir' *—a prefix

* Mr. Murray's explanation of this term is in some respects correct, but the explanation Nares given in his *Glossary* is worth quoting :—'A title formerly applied to priests and curates in general ; for this reason : *dominus*, the academical title of a bachelor of arts, was usually rendered by *sir* in English at the universities. So that a bachelor who in the books stood *Dominus* Brown, was in conversation called *Sir* Brown. . . Therefore as most clerical persons had taken that first degree, it became usual to style them *Sir*.'

which continued to be used in England long after the time of Henry VIII., and does not seem to have been dropped there until it was supplanted by the modern 'Reverend.' Whether the vicars were appointed regularly, and whether when appointed they served the parish with fidelity, there is nothing to show. Mr. Murray fears that it is almost certain that there were long intervals in which there would be no stated minister, but only occasional visits from one of the monks of Paisley. Judging from what happened in other parishes, Mr. Murray's fears are probably well grounded, but as a matter of fact, there are no records, with the exception of a note here and there as to the value of the teinds and their collection, and the annual rental of certain fishings belonging to the charge, all of which go to show that the living was of no great value, and that in all probability it was not one that was much sought after or that would be easily filled when vacant.

As to the industrial and social condition of the parish during the Catholic period of its history, there is little information. The feudal lord was, of course, the High Steward. Under him were the Lyles of Duchal and the Dennistouns of Dennistoun, whose chief seat was at Finlaystone. The lands of the former lay on the left bank of the Gryfe, and those of the latter on the right. For the most part the superiors kept them in their own hands, and had them tilled by their men and slaves. The rest were let to tenants and cottars. All would require to follow their chiefs and take part in their wars and quarrels, of which both the Lyles and the Dennistouns had usually quite enough on their hands. As to their life at home or their occupations, when not engaged in fighting, or their general social condition, it was in all likelihood the same as that of the inhabitants of other lowland parishes, and the following may be taken as a fairly accurate description:—

'The houses were of the poorest and rudest description. Sometimes they were of wood or of wattles filled in with clay or "dry stane" without mortar, and usually roofed in with "divots." Glass was unknown, and the openings for windows were either wanting altogether, or exceedingly small. Let us take a glance into the kitchen of a tolerably well-to-do Kilmacolm farmer of the period. Along one side was arranged the "dresser," and on it stood the "mawne" or basket for bread, and the "boisie" or

meat trencher. Above it, was the "haik" or the rack on which was arranged the family plate of pewter, or more commonly, of wood. In the corner stood the "awmrie," in which were kept the household stores, and the "boyne" or "bowie" for liquor. Perhaps there might also sometimes be seen—the guid wife's pride—the "buist" or napery chest, though usually, the store of napery would be scanty enough. There was not lacking a certain amount of rough comfort. When, after the day's work was over, the family gathered around the fire of peat or heather, seated on the long settle, or "bink," and tales of saints or fairies, or other "ferlies," were told, and songs sung, doubtless there was much simple mirth and enjoyment. The glow of the fire served them for light, but if more illumination was needed there were resinous fire-spills dug out of the bogs, or the oil "crusie." The rich imported from abroad "long candles," but these were to be found only in the hall or castle. In good times food would be plentiful, though for the most part the poor crofter lived through the winter on "drummock" and water kale.'

They had their out-door amusements as well as the rich. 'Sunday,' as Mr. Murray remarks, 'was the poor man's holiday.' After Mass, when the weather was fine, there was dancing and merry-making on the village green, and though in the fourteenth century it was forbidden to spend the 'hail' Sunday in playing golf and football, there was no legal reason why part of the day should not be so spent, and the likelihood is it was so spent, just as in Lancashire part of the Sunday was spent in playing at skittles as late as the times of the Puritans. Later on, when, in 1457, the playing of either of the two games on Sunday was entirely forbidden, shooting was practised, every grown man being compelled under penalty to shoot at least six arrows at the butts. In summer, too, there would be bowling and the 'penny-stanes' or quoits; in winter curling, and at all time throwing the hammer.

With the Reformation a change came over the parish, and for a moment or two it flashes out into public notice. In the spring of 1556 Knox preached and celebrated the Communion of the Lord's Supper in Kilmacolm at Finlaystone House with Glencairn, his Countess and two sons, and 'certane of his freindis.' A tree in the Finlaystone grounds is sometimes pointed out as the place where it was celebrated, and Mr. Murray adds the tradition that the Communion cups used on this occasion were silver candlesticks reversed, the hollow

foot forming the cup. 'These cups,' he further adds, 'were regularly lent to the Parish Church for each Communion up to 1796, when they were finally delivered to the Countess of Glencairn at her request. That Knox celebrated the Communion at Finlaystone in the spring of 1556 according to the Genevan or Protestant rite need not be doubted. We have his own word for it. But that candlesticks were used, as Mr. Murray's tradition describes, is scarcely credible. If they were, it was certainly not creditable. The truth of the story, however, may be questioned. In the Kirk Session Records quoted by Mr. Murray only 'cups' are spoken of; the members of the Kirk Session speak of 'Communion cups,' and the Countess, when requesting their delivery, uses the same words; and it is extremely unlikely that either the one or the other would commit so violent a blunder as to confuse cups with candlesticks, much more Communion cups. But true or false, Knox's worst enemy could scarcely invent a story more to his prejudice.

The tradition, we imagine, is just about as credible as Mr. Murray's second 'source' or cause of the spread of the Reformation movement. He is no believer in the saying that every Scotsman is a born theologian, or that 'Scotsmen have ever, except for a brief and exceptional period in their history, been given to theology.' 'Their *perfervidum ingenium*, that has made them religious,' has preserved them, he believes, 'from becoming theological,' and says: 'The chief popular sources of the Reformation I take to be these two: first, the universal sense of oppression that appealed directly to all, and, second, that which is, as it has always been, characteristic of the Scottish people, the sense of humour.' One scarcely knows whether to take Mr. Murray seriously. Beyond a reference to Lyndsay's Satires he adduces no proof whatever of his singular discovery. Satire is not humour, even when it raises a laugh. It may be admitted, however, that Lyndsay and his satires had much to do with spreading the Reformation in Scotland; but so also had the satirical writings of Erasmus with its spread in England and on the continent; and if humour is to be credited with being one of the sources of the movement in Scotland,

the same must be true of it in regard to the movement in other Protestant countries as well. And if so, what becomes of Mr. Murray's claim for humour as a peculiar characteristic of the Scottish people? A good deal more might be said on the subject if space permitted, but with all deference to Mr. Murray we will venture to say that his first 'source' is to a certain extent right, and that his second is wrong. The causes of the Reformation and its spread in Scotland were in reality more numerous and diverse than he seems to suspect. Chief among them were the unfaithfulness and scandalous lives of many of the clergy, and the fierce and intolerant and interested activity of a comparatively small minority among their opponents. That the movement was so universal and spontaneous, or that it had its roots so deeply set in the mind of the people, as Mr. Murray seems to assume, and as Dr. M'Crie and others would have their readers believe, can now, with the facts which are continually coming to light, scarcely be maintained. When the first excitement was over, symptoms of a strong tendency in the direction of a return to the old Church were not infrequent. If the old Church was unpopular, so also, after a short trial, was the Reformed, and it required all the vigilance, all the dourness, and all the intolerant zeal of the Presbyteries, backed up by the secular arm, to secure the attendance of many of the people at the long sermons and bare services with which Knox had supplanted the ancient forms of worship. This is brought out again and again in the material which Mr. Murray has happily borrowed from the Records of the Presbytery of Paisley. There is much more to the same effect in the same Records in connection with other parishes in the Presbytery. As Glencairn and his Countess, Lady Duchal, Marion Cunninghame, and Robert Algeo were 'delaited,' prayed for, and persecuted in the one part of the Presbytery, so the Earl and Countess of Abercorn, Lady Cathcart and others were subjected to similar treatment elsewhere. A poor piper, who had ventured to enliven Yuletide by playing upon his pipes in Kilbarchan, was so terrified by a citation to appear before the Presbytery, that rather than face that intolerant body he fled

the country. Similar facts may be gleaned from the records of other Presbyteries. Whether the elders in Kilmacolm acted as ecclesiastical policemen, Mr. Murray does not say. Probably his Kirk Session Records contain no intimation that they did; probably there was no need for them acting in that capacity, the eye of the minister alone being quite sufficient to detect the absentees in his small congregation on Sundays. In more populous places, however, the towns or parishes were divided into districts, as, for instance, in Glasgow, and the elders sent out during the celebration of divine service to spy out who were staying at home, and to report those they found to the Kirk Session for punishment. The fact is that for many years Presbyterianism, whether with or without bishops, had in Scotland a hard struggle to exist, while its influence upon the morality of the people, which after all is the backbone of religion, was but slight.

Anyhow, with the Reformation there came in Kilmacolm, as there came in almost all parts of the country, a change, but chiefly a change in the modes of worship, perhaps to some extent in modes of thought, though it can scarcely be said in morals or in the essentials of religion. Some superstitions were laid, and the spirit of rationalism was sent abroad. Overshadowing all was the minister and the Presbytery. And much that Mr. Murray has to relate of his parish from 1560 down to comparatively recent times is in connection with the efforts of the Presbytery to stamp out that which they deemed to be heresy, to compel conformity, and to find out witches; and the pages in which these efforts and their results are described are among the most interesting in his volume; and as drawn from authentic and official and hitherto unpublished records, among the most valuable.

So far as we know the most ancient family said to have been connected with Renfrewshire is that of Caw, commonly called Caw Cawlwydd or Caw Prydyn, one of whose sons was Gildas. In the life of St. Cadoc a curious legend is preserved in connection with this family. After visiting Jerusalem and travelling in Ireland St. Cadoc set out for Scotland, reached St. Andrews, and then returning on his steps, began

to build a monastery, apparently in the parish of Cambuslang on the Clyde, the parish Church of which is dedicated to him. While busy digging for the foundations near the 'montem Bannauc,' identified by Dr. Skene with the Cathkin hills, which run through the adjoining parish of Carmunnoch (formerly Carmannock), and separating Ayrshire from Renfrewshire, in which they terminate, there appeared to the Saint a giant who informed him that his name was Caw Prydyn, and that he had formerly been a king who reigned beyond the mountain Bannauc. Dr. Skene finds the name Bannauc in Carmannock, B passing into M in Welsh in combination, and points out that Caw is thus represented in the legend as reigning in Strathgryfe or Renfrewshire. Whether he made the parish of Kilmacolm his residence or what happened during his reign is not known. The only other fact given in connection with him is that he was the progenitor of a numerous race of Welsh saints.*

The most conspicuous if not historically the oldest of the families of the parish is the Dennistons, afterwards merged in the Cunninghams. They are first mentioned in the original charter of the barony of Houston, granted in the reign of Malcolm IV. (1153-1165), in which the barony is described as bounded by the 'lands of Danziel,' which, as Mr. Murray remarks, 'are manifestly Denniston.' This Danziel or Daniel was one of the knights of the High Steward, who bestowed on him the lands of Denniston about the same time as Ralph received the lands of Duchal. Hugh Dalnoston, Knight, swore the oath of fealty to Edward I. in 1296, as appears from the Ragman Roll. In 1367 Sir John de Danvelston was keeper of the castle of Dumbarton, and sat as one of the barons in the Parliament of 1371. In 1361 he witnessed a charter of Robert, Earl of Strathearn, conveying certain grants to the monks of Paisley. His son, also Sir Robert, received, in 1370, from King Robert the Bruce, most likely for services rendered in the War of Independence, the barony of Glencairn in Dumfriesshire. On

* Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, 173; Rees, *Cumbro-British Saints*, 56, 349.

his succession, three years later, Robert II. confirmed to him by charter the lands of Dennistoun, described as a £40 land, and Finlaystone 'in the Barony of Renfrew and Shire of Lanark,' to be held in free barony; and in the following year he received another charter from the same monarch conferring upon him the lands of Mauldsly and Kilcadyow, and in 1391 his estates were still further increased by a grant of King Robert III. of the lands of Stanely, near Paisley. In a charter granted by Malcolm Fleming, Knight, lord of Biger and Leigne, in favour of his grandson, William Boyd, lord of Galvane, and confirmed by the King at Rothesay, 7th June, 1397, he appears as a witness, under the style of Sir Robert of Danyelstoun, lord of that ilk.* He died about 1400-5, leaving two daughters. One of them, Margaret, married, in 1405, Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs, and conveyed to him as her dowry the baronies of Dennistoun and Finlaystone in Renfrewshire, the lands of Kilmaronock in Dumbartonshire, and Glencairn in Dumfriesshire. The other, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, and had for her portion the lands of Mauldsly, Kilcadyow, Stanely, etc., and the barony of Nether Finlaystone or Newark. Walter Dennistoun, a younger brother of Sir Robert, entered the Church, and after a somewhat restless and stormy career was consecrated bishop of St. Andrews in 1402, in return for the castle of Dumbarton, which he had seized and refused to surrender to Albany on any other terms. In 1544 a Mr. John Dennystoun witnessed a bond of manrent by William Montgomery of Langschaw, Knight, to James, Earl of Arran, etc., at Linlithgow. Among the other witnesses is John, Abbot of Paisley. †

Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs, who in right of his wife succeeded to the lands of Denniston and the barony of Finlaystone, belonged to one of the oldest families in Scotland. He traced his descent back to Warmbaldus de Cunningham, who is heard of about the year 1100. A man of considerable wealth and ability, Sir William took a prominent

* *Hist. MSS. Report*, X., i. 8.

† *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, XI., vii. 36.

part in public affairs. He also founded the Church of Kilmaurs in 1403, enriched the Abbey of Kilwinning with the lands of Grange, witnessed a confirmation of grants to the Abbey of Paisley by Robert II. in 1393, and another in 1404, and took part in the battle of Harlaw in 1411. He died in 1418, and was succeeded by his son Sir Robert, who married Anna, not Janet, as Mr. Murray says, eldest daughter of Lord Montgomery. Sir Robert sat as a baron of Parliament on the trial of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and his sons, and in 1434, two years before the murder of King James, in the monastery of the Black Friars at Perth, was appointed to the command of Kintyre and Knapdale.

One important matter in which this Sir Robert had a large hand, and which had serious consequences, Mr. Murray altogether omits. Some of the incidents connected with it he narrates, but does not appear, so far as we can gather, to have appreciated their significance. We may therefore supplement his story.

In 1366 Robert, Steward of Scotland, Earl of Strathern, granted to Sir Hugh Eglinton the office of the bailiery of Cunningham, and in 1370 appointed him chamberlain of Irvine. The office seems to have descended to his grandson, Sir John Montgomery, Lord of Ardrossan. As already said, Anna, the eldest daughter of Sir John, was married to Sir Robert Cunningham, Lord of Kilmaurs, in 1425. In the marriage contract between the parties it was stipulated that 'the said Schir Robert sal joyse and browk the Balzery of Conyngnam, with al the profytis pertenance til it, for the terme of his lyfe; and the said Schir Robert is oblist at he sal not mak na ger mak the said Balzery sekirar til him, na til his ayris, in the mentyme na he was in to the entra of the Balzery; the said Schir Jone Mungumry and his ayris hafand recourse to the said Balzery efter the dede of the said Schir Robert, in the same forme and effect as it was in the tyme of the making of thir enidentys.'

Some of the other stipulations in the contract are very curious, but the above is all that we need to concern ourselves with here. The point to be observed is that the bailiery was

given to Sir Robert only for the remainder of his life, and not to his heirs and successors. The Cunninghams, however, on his death sought to ignore this limitation, and claimed the bailiery for the family. The consequence was a long and bitter feud.

In 1448, the office was again formally bestowed by the Crown upon Alexander, the eldest son of the first Lord Montgomery. His son, the second Lord, succeeded him in the office, and in 1482 procured a transumpt of the chief documents relating to it. Six years later a stronghold of the Cunninghams, the house of Kerrielow, was pulled down and destroyed by Hugh, Lord Montgomery, probably as a retaliation, and in October of the same year, 1488, for good and grateful service done to the King, the offence was remitted. On June 4, 1498, the King, James IV., granted to Hugh, Lord Montgomery, another charter of the office, and two days later issued letters to his subjects in the bailiery of Cunningham and burgh of Irvine commanding them to obey Lord Montgomery. In the same year Lord Kilmaurs was required to find security to keep the peace.

The feud, however, still went on. At last a stop was apparently put to it in 1509, when a Decree Arbitral was pronounced by consent of both parties declaring that Hew, Earl of Eglintoun, had full and heritable right to the office of bailiery of Cunningham, enjoining both parties to 'hertfully forgiff vthers all rancour and malice betwix thame,' and fixing certain sums to be paid as amends for hurt and damage. The quarrel soon broke out again, and in 1523 another Decree Arbitral, which enumerated no fewer than twenty-two raids or 'spulzeis' made by the Cunninghams, was pronounced by consent of both parties. In this Decree the arbiters again find for the Earl of Eglinton. As to the 'spulzeis, heirschippis, damnagis and skaithis' done by the Earl of Glencairn and his son to the Earl of Eglinton and his friends, the former were adjudged to pay £1,218 14s. 3d. Scots, in full contentment of all such, less certain sums to be paid for 'spulzeis' done by the Montgomeries on the Cunninghams, which reduced the

sum actually paid to £418 Scot. The parties were further bound to keep the peace under a penalty of £3000 Scots.

Decrees Arbitral, however, seem to have been powerless to quell the strife. In 1528, only five years after the last Decree Arbitral, Eglinton Castle was burned down, and all the charters of the family destroyed, by William Cunningham, son of Cuthbert, Earl of Glencairn, and certain accomplices, and the feud may be said to have culminated on 18th April, 1586, when Hugh, the fourth Earl of Eglinton, was murdered by the Cunninghams. That this murder was deliberately planned by the Cunninghams is put beyond doubt by the certain bonds recently published, in which James, the seventh Earl of Glencairn, agrees to shelter the perpetrator of the crime, Cunningham of Robertland, whom he undertakes to maintain at the hazard of his life, and refers to the conspiracy as one for revenge.*

Sir Robert, who may be said to have induced this long and sanguinary quarrel, or at anyrate to have helped to lay its beginnings, unintentionally, of course, by his marriage with Anna, the daughter of Lord Montgomery, was succeeded by his son Alexander, who, for his services to James II., was in 1455 created a peer of the realm under the title of Lord of Kilmaurs. He stood by James III. during his minority, and in 1488, just before the insurrection broke out, was made Earl of Glencairn. He fell at Sauchie. The family's new title was revoked by James IV., and Robert, who succeeded the first Earl, was known only as Lord of Kilmaurs. He died in 1490, and was succeeded by his son Cuthbert, against whom the arbiters found in 1509. He was allowed to resume the earldom, and married Marjory Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus, who was one of the arbiters just referred to. In 1527 he erected Kilmaurs into a burgh of barony. Most of his time, however, seems to have been taken up with the feud about the bailiery. In this he was energetically supported by his son William, who succeeded him in the earldom, in or about 1540.

* *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, X., i. 2, 11, 16, 18, 21, 23, 24, 29.

William, the fourth Earl, distinguished himself in other ways, though not to his credit. For many years before he succeeded his father he had been in the pay of the English. In 1516 Dacre, the English Ambassador, wrote to Wolsey that he was doing his best to separate the Regent and his nobles, and that for that purpose 'I have the Master of Kilmaurs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland.' Mr. Murray does not put the matter a bit too strongly when he says, 'we find the young lord in the thick of every conspiracy of the period.' He was one of the 400 who, in 1525, scaled the walls of Edinburgh, where Parliament was sitting, and demanded a change of government. Along with Lennox he supported Arran against the Regent Albany, and from first to last was a consistent traitor to his Sovereign. Taken prisoner at Solway Moss, where his presence is somewhat suspicious, he signed, along with Cassilis and others, a compact in which an undertaking was solemnly given to sustain the pretensions of Henry VIII. against Scotland, and to admit English garrisons into its fortresses. In March, 1543-4, Henry VIII. wrote to him and Angus that they had written very obscurely without stating in what they require to know his Majesty's pleasure, but that in case they conduct themselves towards his Majesty like men of honour and courage, as he has no doubt they will, they shall not want the aid at his hands that they can reasonably demand.* A subsequent letter shows that they were anxious that a 'main army' should be sent into Scotland for their relief.† In the following year a commission was issued to the Earl of Argyll and others which sets forth that 'William, Erll of Glencairne, being continualie in company with Mathew, Erll of Lennox . . . in all his tressonabill dedis, havand intelligence wyth owre auld innemyis of Inglande, now in tyme of weir, to the gret apperand dampnage and skaith of this our realme and liegis therof, wythout haisty remeid be put therto.' For which reasons the Earl of Argyll and others named were empowered to charge the keepers of the House of Finlaystone to deliver

* *Salisbury Papers*, I., 23.

† *Ibid.*, I., 32.

it up to be kept in name of the Queen, and authorised to 'raise fire gif neid be,' etc.* Three years later (1547), the Earl was in constant correspondence with the Protector Somerset, sending him all the news he or his spies could gather of the Governor's forces and intentions, up to the eve of Pinkie, and among other things proposed to raise a rebellion in the west, and to fortify Ardmore on the Clyde. Mr. Murray avoids the mistake of making him meet his death on the field of Pinkie. Though sometimes said to have been slain there, as a matter of fact he was not, the Governor having prohibited him from going.† The exact date of his death is unknown. He was in Council with the Queen Dowager at Stirling on January 12th, 1547-8. The following month he was engaged with Angus and others trying to raise the West,‡ and was dead by 22nd April following.§ Needless to say he was on the side of the Reforming party.

He was succeeded by his son Alexander, the fifth earl, who had been in France, and on his return had been detained in England as security for his father's good behaviour. He was the author of the *Epistle of the Holye Armitie of Allarit*, and though suspected of Protestant tendencies, was in 1542 appointed Governor of Kintyre. Subsequently he openly joined the Protestant party. It was to him and his countess and children that Knox administered the Sacrament at Finlaystone in the spring of 1556, and it was on his invitation that Knox returned from Geneva to head the Protestant party. After this he became a sort of right-hand man to Knox, and was in constant communication with the English Government. In 1560 he received a commission to destroy all 'monuments of idolatry,' and some of the most magnificent of the ecclesiastical buildings in the West still bear the marks of his vandalism and fiery zeal. He carried the sword at the coronation of James VI., and was conspicuous in hunting down the adherents of Mary. He died in 1574. Mr. Murray is of opinion that he was 'the noblest of the Glencairns.' He is also of opinion that

* *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IV., 488.

† Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, I., 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 62, 79.

§ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

the zeal of the 'Good Earl,' as he was called, for Protestantism was 'perhaps tainted by bigotry,' but thinks that he 'was at any rate sincere and conscientious.' The apology is weak. Sincerity and conscientiousness are not always lovely, and unmixed with tolerance and charity are apt to become a cloak for maliciousness.

William, the sixth Earl, was one of the Council of Regency. His connection with the Raid of Ruthven brought him under the displeasure of the king. He died about the year 1582.

It was under his successor, James, the seventh earl, that the feud in connection with the bailiery of Cunningham culminated in the murder of Hugh, fourth Earl of Eglinton. Among the Eglinton papers are certain memoranda and letters which show the part he had in it, and as they have been entirely overlooked by Mr. Murray, we may as well set down the report upon them:—

'These papers are six in number, two bonds by the Earl of Glencairn, three letters, writers not known, and a memorandum giving a clue to the somewhat mysterious tenor of the letters. The first bond by the Earl is dated 8th March, 1585-6, about six weeks before the death of the Earl of Eglinton, and binds the granter to keep unhurt and unpursued Alexander Cuninghame of Craigans [Craigends], and that until the settling of matters "succeedand vpoun the said interprys," and the Earl specially binds himself to "mantene the said Laird of Craganis, as vtheris my freindis interprysaris of the said caus, to the hasart of my lyiff, landis, and the lyiffis of all that will do for me." Signed at Fynlastoun; witnesses, David Conynghame of Robertland, Alexander Conyngham of Rois, the Earl's brother-german, Alexander, Commendater of Kilwinning, and John Conyngham in Corsall, whom the Earl describes as "my freindis foirsaid, quhome vnto I have communicat my mind heirin." The nature of the "interprys" is not stated, but may be inferred from a bond, dated two months later, in which the Earl states "vpoun the commoun iniureis done to me and my freindis be vmquhill Hew Erle of Eglyntoun it wes concludit befor me be certane of my freindis, sic as Alexander Abbot of Kilwinning, David Conynghame of Robertland, Alexander Conynghame of Aitkett, and Johnne Conynghame in Corsall, with the consent of sindrie vther my freindis, that rewengment soud be socht of the saidis iniuries; quhairvpoun it is fallen out that the said Erle of Eglintoun is slane." The Earl then binds himself to maintain the said David and the others to the hazard of his life, etc. Dated at Kilmarnock, 6th May, 1586. The memorandum states that the Earl of Eglinton's intended murder was referred to among the conspirators as "the lytill particulare," and they

themselves were called "commowneris," which terms are intended to explain unintelligible sentences in the letters.' *

Of the many accusations which were brought against the Earl, and of their consequences, Mr. Murray gives some interesting particulars from Pitcairn, and then adds the somewhat amusing remark: 'On the whole, the Earl seems to have filled the place in public affairs to which his high rank called him!' No doubt he did, but in a very queer fashion. The Earl and his Countess were much troubled by the Paisley Presbytery on the score of religion, but Mr. Murray thinks that notwithstanding the suspicions of that grave body, 'Glencairn continued faithful to Protestantism.' We doubt very much whether any one, knowing the Earl's character, or after reading what we have said above, will give the said Earl so good a character. The Earl died in 1627, and was succeeded by his son, William, who married Janet, daughter of the Earl of Lothian.

William, the ninth Earl, distinguished himself by the services he rendered to Charles I. and Charles II. Though a leading Covenanter, his sympathies were always with the king. By the Kirk he was regarded as one of her most devoted sons, and in 1642 the Presbytery of Paisley appointed him one of their representatives to the General Assembly. He commanded one of the regiments of the Scots Covenanting army, and more than once earnestly entreated his Presbytery 'to supply his regiment with preaching.' He fought against Montrose at Kilsyth in 1646, and, as a supporter of the Engagement for the rescue of Charles I., was in 1649 deprived of his earldom by Argyll and his followers. In 1651 he was one of the Royalists admitted to the reformed Committee of Estates, and, having announced his readiness to again do service on behalf of the king, in March, 1653, Charles sent him a commission appointing him Commander-in-Chief in Scotland until Middleton should arrive from the Hague. In the Highlands he raised a considerable following, and was promptly, on the production of the king's commission, chosen commander. But

* *Com. His. MSS.*, X., i. 29.

jealousies soon broke out, and before the year ended, Balcarras, between whom and Glencairn there was much bad blood, proposed that the command should be transferred to a committee, a proposal which the king's commission at once set aside. While Lorne and Kenmure went to Argyllshire, Glencairn made a raid on Falkland, where he took an officer and several men prisoners, for whose release Lilburne, who was then in command of Cromwell's troops, and who found Glencairn too nimble for him, had to pay. Middleton landed at Tarbatness towards the end of February, 1654, and took over the command of the forces. To this Glencairn made no objection, but when he learned that Monro was to be second in command, while they were being entertained to dinner by Middleton, a quarrel broke out between them. A duel was arranged. Glencairn slashed Monro over the left hand and forehead, and, but for the intervention of his own body-servant, would have slain him. A fortnight later Glencairn left the army in high dudgeon. At the surrender of Dumbarton he was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh, where, through his name being accidentally omitted from the general amnesty proclaimed by the Government, he nearly lost his life. While incarcerated in Edinburgh, commissioners arrived from the Presbytery of Paisley to 'deal' with him for certain irregularities in his moral conduct. With the Restoration, in 1660, his fortunes revived, and, as a reward for his services, he was made Chancellor of Scotland. Though compelled to take measures against the Presbyterians, he is said to have done what he could to protect them, and one not much inclined, as Mr. Murray remarks, to be friendly towards him, testified that he died much regretted by them. His death took place, May 30, 1644.

His son, and successor, had the reputation of being a man of 'exemplary piety,' or of being a sound Presbyterian. He held the earldom for six years, and at his death in 1670 was succeeded by his brother, Alexander, who married Mary, daughter of the Earl of Mar. A strong partisan of the Government, he assisted in the persecution of the Covenanters, though, as was the case with his father, he is said to have pro-

tected some of them. He kept up considerable state, and one of the three wonders of Renfrewshire in his day was 'how Glencairn lived so handsomely on such an estate.' He died in 1703, and was succeeded by his son, William, who took an active part in connection with the Treaty of Union, and, besides being a member of the Privy Council, held the post of Governor of Dumbarton Castle. He died in 1734, and was succeeded by his son William, the thirteenth Earl, who, by a wealthy marriage with Betty M'Guire, added the estate of Ochiltree, which her father had purchased for £25,000, to the Glencairn estates, which by this time had become greatly impoverished. In addition to Ochiltree, Betty brought diamonds to the value of £45,000 to the Earl. Her marriage is said to have been not happy. The fourteenth Earl, who succeeded his father in 1775, was elected one of the Scottish Representative Peers in Parliament. Hard pressed for money, he sold to the Marchioness of Titchfield in 1786 the estate of Kilmaurs. He knew Burns the poet, and entertained him at Finlaystone House. He died in 1791, and was succeeded by his brother John, the fifteenth Earl, who died without issue, in 1796, when the title became extinct, and the estate passed to Robert Graham, whose father, Nicol Graham of Gartmore, had in 1732, married Margaret, daughter of William, the twelfth Earl.

Mr. Murray has also several interesting chapters on the Cunninghams of Cairncurran, descended from William, younger son of the first Earl of Glencairn; the Maxwells of Calderwood, the Lyles and the Porterfields of Duchal, who go back to the year 1170, and claim as high an antiquity for their family as the Cunninghams or the Lyles. They are at present represented by Sir M. R. Shaw Stewart, the fourth baronet of Ardgowan, who owns in the parish of Kilmacolm not only the greater part of the old barony of Duchal, but also a large portion of the original lands of Dennistoun.
