

THE
ANTIEN'T AND MODERN STATE
OF THE
PARISH OF CRAMOND.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS,
RESPECTING SOME OF THE MOST CONSIDERABLE FAMILIES
AND INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH THAT DISTRICT;

COMPREHENDING A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND PROJECTS OF

JOHN LAW OF *LAURISTON*,

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE FINANCES OF FRANCE.

[Wood, John Philip]

—Τεμενος νεμομεωδα μεγα,—
Καλον, φυταλιης, και ἀρενης πυροφοροιο.

ΩΜ. ΙΑ. Μ. 313.

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711

TO HIS GRACE

HENRY DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH,

EARL OF DONCASTER,

&c. &c. &c.

THE FOLLOWING PAGES,

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF A DISTRICT

IN WHICH IS COMPREHENDED

A PART OF HIS GRACE'S EXTENSIVE TERRITORIAL PROPERTY,

ARE,

AS A TESTIMONY OF THE RESPECT INSPIRED

BY HIS

UNSHAKEN ATTACHMENT TO HIS SOVEREIGN AND TO HIS COUNTRY,

(CONSPICUOUSLY MANIFESTED ON SEVERAL TRYING OCCASIONS,)

AND BY THE EXEMPLARY TENOR OF HIS PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC
CONDUCT,

HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

SOME years ago, impelled by a strong degree of curiosity to obtain some knowledge of the antient and modern state of my native Parish of *Cramond*, I began, at leisure hours, to make collections of materials tending to ascertain these points. My researches were chiefly directed to the biography and genealogy of the most considerable families and remarkable individuals connected with that district. I soon found, however, that I was perhaps the last person who should have engaged in such an enterprize; my very peculiar and disagreeable situation (*scopulis surdior Icari*) not only precluding all oral information, but also placing in the way obstacles so many and so great, as to occasion me to throw down my pen, and, for a time, to relinquish every attempt of that nature.

In 1790, the public spirited President and Founder of the Board of Agriculture and National Improvement circulated his queries for elucidating the real political situation of *Scotland*, by means of statistical accounts of the different parishes of that kingdom. Judging it the duty of every well-wisher to the country to contribute, as much as lay in his power, to the promotion of that noble design, I immediately set about arranging the materials I had collected. When this was accomplished, I took the liberty of transmitting the manuscript to that distinguished senator, in order that such extracts might be made from thence as fell within the scope of his important and arduous undertaking, which his abilities, perseverance, and high estimation in the public mind, eminently qualified him to carry into full effect. He was pleased, on returning the manuscript, to urge the printing thereof in a detached form, several particulars contained in it, though omitted to be excerpted as foreign to the plan of his work, nevertheless appearing to him not improper for publication.

The local and very circumscribed nature of the subject, however, added to my own consciousness of the defective manner in which I had treated it, made me long hesitate to follow this advice. But finding that no connected memoirs of the most extraordinary

traordinary character to which, as a heritor, the parish lays claim, had hitherto been published, I ventured in 1791 to print a few copies of a small tract, intitled, "A Sketch of the Life and Projects of *John Law of Lauriston*, Comptroller General of the Finances of *France*." This step I was induced to take solely from the hope, that by announcing my intentions in the introduction to that work, I should be favoured with further communications concerning the parish in general, and Mr *Law* in particular. In this hope I was not entirely disappointed; for I soon afterwards had the pleasure of receiving from *Paris* several books and papers which contributed to clear up some mistakes I had fallen into respecting the *Mississippi* System. The correction of these errors, and the favourable terms in which the "Sketch" was noticed in some periodical publications, were the principal inducements that led me to send the present work to the press.

In this work it was my original intention to have detailed at length the descent of all the considerable families connected with the parish, in alphabetical order; and for that purpose I had made copious genealogical collections. Finding, however, that the prosecution of this plan would greatly exceed all reasonable limits, and that several of these had been fully treated of in other publications, I gave up that design. I have made particular mention only of the families of *Hope of Grantoun* and *Craigieball*, *Law of Lauriston*, and *Elphinstoun of Barntoun*, and inserted Pedigrees of those of *Loch of Drylaw*, *Inglis of Cramond*, and *Hewison of Braehead*; none of whom have subsisted in this district for a less period than a century. To these is added a short account of the first Earl of *Gromarty*, and his son Sir *James Mackenzie of Roystoun*, who resided long in the parish.

The views of *Lauriston*, *New Saughton*, and *Muirhouse*, will, I hope, afford no unfavourable specimens of the talents of the engraver, *Scott of Edinburgh*, an artist who merits every encouragement from the public. I intended to have had several other plates engraved in the same finished stile; but I was obliged to drop that design on account of the heavy expence attending its completion. The portrait of Mr *Law* was engraved by *Quenedex* at *Paris*, from an original picture of that celebrated minister, in the possession of his nephew, at that gentleman's own charge.

Of the many and striking defects of the present publication, none can be more sensible than myself; and I can truly and without affectation say, that *dum relego scripsisse pudet*. The principal cause of these has been already mentioned; the incomplete state of the public records and parochial registers proved a great bar; and I

had

had the misfortune of finding some of the heritors prejudiced against my undertaking. This proceeded from a mistaken notion that I intended to specify the extent and rental of each estate in the parish; an inference drawn from the minute inquiries I was under the necessity of making into these particulars, in order to be enabled to state correctly the rent and produce of the whole district. So far from mentioning the real value of each respective property, I have not even set down the sum at which it is rated in the Cess, or Land Tax, Books; and I have in general omitted the dates of the births of persons now alive, from an apprehension that the insertion of them would give offence to several individuals.

I shall only add, that I have made collections respecting the neighbouring Parishes of *Corstorphine, Kirklistoun, Dalmeny, and Abercorn*; but all further progress in these pursuits depends upon the reception this work meets with. That it will be favourably received is a hope that, I am apprehensive, cannot reasonably be indulged, when the confined nature of the subject, the imperfect manner in which it has been treated, and the variety and importance of the affairs that now occupy the attention of the public, are considered.

JOHN PHILP WOOD.

EDINBURGH, }
18 Feb. 1794. }

E R R A T A .

- Page 16. line 5. *for 1676 read 1661.*
29. 21. *for Sir John Foulis, read James Foulis, brother of Sir John Foulis.*
48. 3. *for only read oldest.*
52. 7. *for the read he.*
52. 27. *for 1429 read 1529.*
53. 3. *for 1680 read 1580.*
69. 17. *for 1688 read 1668.*
85. 1. *for Annual number of, read Annual average of.*
174. 12. *for with read worth.*
187. 5. *for interperfed read intersperfed.*
197. 19 *from the bottom, for Se read Si.*
229. 29. *for their read the.*
240. 3 *of the note, for at the same time to deliver, read, at the same time engaging to deliver.*

A D D E N D A .

- Page 160. line 14. *after Lady Georgina, add, " married at Ormiston-Hall 24th Nov. 1793 to the Hon.
" Andrew Cochrane, M. P. Major of the 21st Regiment of Foot, brother of the
" Earl of Dundonald."*

N. B. Whatever sums are mentioned in the following Work are Sterling money, unless where particularly specified to the contrary.



P A R I S H
O F
C R A M O N D.

P A R T I.

S E C T. I.

SITUATION, EXTENT, SURFACE, ORIGIN OF THE NAME, ROMAN HISTORY,
AND ANTIQUITIES.

THE PARISH OF CRAMOND, the subject of the following pages, is a pleasant and fertile district, lying principally in the county of *Mid Lothian* or *Edinburgh*, at the north western corner of that shire; and extending along the south shore of the Frith of *Forth*, into which the river *Amon*, after running a course of above thirty miles, disembogues itself at the village of *Nether Cramond*. Part of this parish, (about one tenth of the whole,) is situated in the county of *West Lothian* or *Lindburghow*, which is separated from *Mid Lothian* by the *Amon*, for several miles above its confluence with the *Forth*. The parish is bounded on the W. by the parishes of *Dalmeny* and *Kirkliston*, on the S. by those of *Corstorphine* and *St. Cutbert's*, and by the last mentioned parish on the E. The northern boundary is formed by the Frith of *Forth*; which, at this place, is from four to six miles broad.

From a computation that, it is hoped, will be found very near the truth, the parish appears to contain 3900 Scotch, or about 4900 British statute, acres. The extreme length of this district, measuring from *Leny-bridge* on the west to *Wardie-burn* on the east, is nearly six miles; and the breadth scarcely ever exceeds two miles. But it is needless to enter into any farther specification of the dimensions or form, since the annexed sketch, though by no means entitled to the claim of exact accuracy, will serve to give a better idea of both, as well as of the relative situations of places therein, than could be conveyed by the most minute description.

The eastern part of this district, lying two miles N. W. of the metropolis of *Scotland*, appears rather level; though the ground, in some places, forms gentle risings. Near the center of the parish we behold the north end of a craggy ridge, very steep on the eastern side, but declining gently towards the west, called, from the adjacent parish, in which the principal part of it lies, *Corstorphine Hill*. The utmost altitude of this hill, which bears, when viewed from E. or W. some resemblance to the figure of a cock's comb, having indentations in several places along the summit, is 470 feet above the level of the sea; and the view from the top is reckoned remarkably fine, the Frith of *Forth*, the coast of *Fife*, and the City of *Edinburgh*, forming part of the landscape. To the N. and W. of this conspicuous object, the face of the parish becomes more variegated than the eastern side, and agreeably diversified with rising grounds, particularly with *Leny* and *Craigie* hills: But the chief ornament of this part is the *Amon*; the banks of that stream, from *Craigieball* to its confluence with the *Forth*, being very high and steep, almost wholly covered with wood, and frequently chequered with bold and overhanging rocks. The land, in general, rises to a good height even close to the shore: there are, however, in three or four places along the sea side, sandy plains or links; particularly an
 extensive

extensive tract at the north western extremity of the parish, called *Long-green*, forming part of the park of *Barnbougle*.

The parish takes its denomination from the principal village, where the church stands, called *Cramond*. This name may be resolved into the Celtic compound *Caeramon*; *Amon* being undoubtedly the true name of the river which falls into the *Forth* at this village, as that word signifies a river in general, and is not unfrequently applied to particular streams. In addition thereto, it is to be observed, that the Romans had at this place, a considerable station or fort, (in the Gaelic *Caer*); so from this circumstance would naturally arise the word *Caeramon*, or the fort on the river. It may be mentioned, in support of this etymology, that the name of this parish has been sometimes written *Karramund*, particularly in the learned Sir *James Dalrymple's* Historical Collections.

A mist of obscurity, which every effort has been exerted, but in vain, to dissipate, involves the history of this parish till the arrival of the *Romans* in *Britain*. It is almost unnecessary to mention, that their first successful invasion of this island (for the two preceding incursions of *Julius Cæsar* are by no means entitled to that epithet,) took place A. D. 43, under the command of *Plautius*, lieutenant of *Claudius Cæsar*, who, following his victorious general the ensuing year, subdued a great part of *Britain*, and as a memorial of his conquest, gave his son the honorary appellation of *Britannicus*. Some imagine that a settlement was formed at *Cramond*, during the reign of *Claudius*, from the circumstance of several coins and medals of that emperor having been found here, particularly a very remarkable medallion of brass, about the size of a half crown piece. On one side of this medal, (an engraving of which may be seen in *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 147.) is the head of *Claudius*, with these letters, very fair, TI. CLAUDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. T. R. P. IMP. on the reverse is S. C. and NERO CLAUDIVS DRVSVS, with the figure of a person on horseback, on the top of a triumphal arch, between two *vexilla*. This, however, is but very slender evidence to oppose to the established fact,

that *Julius Agricola*, the lieutenant of *Vespasian*, was the first Roman commander that penetrated so far north as the Frith of *Forth*; and this expedition into *Scotland* did not take place earlier than the 80th year of the Christian æra.

That *Cramond* soon became one of the most important, as well as one of the most considerable stations the Romans occupied in *Scotland*, is evident from the great number of coins and medals dug up at this place, the altars found here, the military roads, the remains of a dock, and other memorials of that great nation; of which in order. It is previously to be observed, that the learned and accurate *Horsley*, author of that valuable work, *Britannia Romana*, and *Gordon*, the editor of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, must have paid particular attention to the Roman antiquities of this place; the former being son-in-law of Principal *Hamilton*, one of the ministers of *Cramond*, and the latter having been patronized and assisted by that accomplished antiquarian, *Sir John Clerk of Pennycuick*, Baron of Exchequer in *Scotland*, a considerable proprietor in this parish.

An almost incredible number of coins and medals have been, at different periods, found at this place; a few were of gold and silver; but by far the greatest part brass. The series is as follows: Some of *Claudius*, who conquered great part of this island, A. D. 44, and died in the year 54; of his successor *Nero*; of *Galba*, who succeeded *Nero*, A. D. 68, and died the same year; of *Vespasian*, whose reign commenced A. D. 69, and terminated in 79; of *Domitian*, who reigned from the year 81, till he was murdered in 96; of his successor *Nerva*, whose short reign ended in less than sixteen months after his accession to the throne; of *Trajan*, the adopted son and successor of *Nerva*, who died in 117; of *Hadrian*, *Trajan's* successor, who was in *Britain* from 117 to 120; of *Antoninus Pius*, (one of them a well preserved gold medal,) who reigned from 138 to 154, and one of his consort *Faustina*; of *Septimius Severus*, whose reign commenced in 195, and who died at *York* in 210. One of these last, meriting particular notice, is of silver, having

on one side the head of the emperor, and these words, SEVERVS PIVS AVG. and on the other a clothed female figure, holding a laurel branch in her hand, with the following letters, FVNDATOR PACIS. From this inscription, the medal is supposed to have been struck upon occasion of a treaty of peace being concluded with the *Caledonians* by that monarch, one of whose *hyberna* or winter quarters *Cramond* is supposed to have been. Some coins and medals of his empress *Julia*, as also of his profligate son and successor, *Antoninus Caracalla*, were found at this place; and one of the emperor *Dioclesian*, having on the reverse a figure representing a genius, and this inscription; GENIO POPVLI ROMANI *. From this last it would appear, that the Romans did not quit *Cramond* altogether till above 200 years from the time they first settled here; the reign of *Dioclesian* having commenced A. D. 284, and terminated, by his resignation of the purple, and retirement to his delightful palace at *Salona* or *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*, in the year 304.

The altar stone, delineated in Fig. I. of the Plate of Antiquities, was found at *Cramond*, and is now in the valuable library of the Faculty of Advocates in *Edinburgh*. The most probable reading of the inscription is, " Jovi Optimo Maximo cohors quinta Gallorum, cui præest Iminius Honus
" Tertullus præfectus, votum solvit libentissime merito." The stone is of a reddish colour, not very coarse, but of much the same grit with the stones most frequently made use of by the Romans upon such occasions. Possibly an I is included in the letter N of the fourth line, or perhaps *Honus* is the name. Indeed the names of the Præfect are in found not very like those of the Romans, the *cognomen* alone excepted. From thence one may conclude that he was not a native of *Rome* or *Italy*, and that the *prænomen* and *nomen* might be his own, and the *cognomen* assumed upon his being made a citizen. The A in the third line in the word
præest

* *Horsley's Britannia Romana*, 205. *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 117.

præst is lost in the breach; but as there is room enough for it, so the other letters shew that the vacancy is to be supplied in that manner. The greatest curiosity is in the second line, which undoubtedly is to be read *cobors quinta*; this being the only inscription, found in *Britain*, wherein the fifth cohort of the *Gauls* is mentioned, though the fourth often occurs. The different cut of the letter L is also remarkable*.

Figure II. of the plate represents another altar, which long remained exposed to the weather in the garden of *Cramond House*, but is now removed to *Pennycuick*, the seat of Sir *John Clerk*. The first part of the inscription is sufficiently plain, "*Matribus Alatervis et Matribus Campes-
tribus cobors prima Tungrorum.*" Indeed the numeral letter does not appear very distinct; yet since only the first cohort of the *Tungrians* occurs in inscriptions found in *Britain*, it is probable it was also the same in this. As to the subsequent part of the inscription on this altar, it is by no means easy what to make of it. *Horsley*, who examined the original twice, and compared it with the engraving in *Gordon*, particularly remarking what letters were plain and distinct, and what were not so, imagines the words next to *Tungr.* might have been *instituerunt sacram
aram*. This appears not disagreeable to the remains of the letters; (and he observes elsewhere that on an altar found at *Riecbester* in *Northumberland*, the words *aram instituerunt* were clear and legible;) then, he thinks, the last line may have been *CONL. RES. XX. V. V. Conlapsam restituit legio vicefima valens victrix*. So that, according to this probable explanation, the whole inscription is to be read, "*Matri-
bus Alatervis et Matribus Campes-
tribus cobors prima Tungrorum in-
stituerunt sacram aram; conlapsam restituit legio vicefima valens victrix.*" The oblong figure of the *focus* on the top of this altar is remarkable.

Sir

* *Itin. Sept.* 101, 116, 117. *Brit. Rom.* 204. Sir *Robert Sibbald's* Historical Inquiries, 48.

Sir *Robert Sibbald* says it was the most complete he had seen; and mentions particularly the hollow place on the top, within square lines raised above the surface of the stone, for receiving the blood or other liquors offered in sacrifice. He then enters into a long dissertation on the *Deæ Matres*, which, on the authority of *Jacobus Sponius*, he concludes to have been the tutelar goddesses of the provinces and towns, while the *Matres campestris* were the *Matronæ campis præsidentes* *.

This inscription is the more particularly to be attended to, as it appears from thence that *Alaterva* was the appellation by which the Romans distinguished this station, and no other memorials of that name are to be met with any where else. The late Sir *John Clerk* of *Pennycuik*, in a letter to his friend *Roger Gale*, Esq. introduces the following observations on this subject. "As you very well notice, *Ptolemy* mistook several *Latin* names when he rendered them into *Greek*. Of this kind, as I suspect, is his Πρωτον Στρατοπειδον, *Castrum Alatum*, which our antiquarians have applied to *Edinburgh*. I rather believe that the place designed by *Ptolemy* is an old Roman station on the sea-coast, which we call *Cramond*, about four miles from *Edinburgh*, and that it was antiently called not *Castra Alata*, but *Alatervum* or *Castra Alaterva*; for in this place a few years ago was found an altar with this inscription, *Matribus Alatervis et Matribus Campestribus*; the rest is described by Mr *Gordon*: and you know that it was common enough among the *Romans* to dedicate altars to the *Matres* or inferior goddesses of the place. If this conjecture be not right, I am at a loss what is meant by the *Matres Alatervæ*."

To this Mr *Gale* replied, "I suppose when you say that the *Saxons* gave name to the City of *Edinburgh*, you only mean the latter part of the name, *burgh*; the former part seeming to be truly British, *Aden* or *Eden* in that language denoting *ala*, a wing; and thence comes *Ptolemy's* Πρωτον Στρατοπειδον, *Castrum Alatum*, so called, as I presume,

* *Brit. Rom.* 205. *Itin. Sept.* 116. *Hist. Inq.* 47.

“ fume, from its lofty situation, which, if true, brings back the *Castra*
 “ *Alata* from *Cramond* to *Edinburgh*; and there might be a village,
 “ called *Alaterva*, at the place where the altar inscribed *Matribus Ala-*
 “ *tervis* was found, though the name is no where else extant *.”

It is needless to be at the trouble of refuting those who assign other names to *Cramond*, as *Bremenium* and *Alauna*; and necessary only to observe, that it is no uncommon circumstance for the name of a place to be extant in inscriptions alone; *Horsley* mentioning three other instances, *Bracchium*, *Habitancum*, and *Apiatorium*, as occurring in *Britain* †.

The stone represented by Fig. III, found at *Cramond*, and belonging to Sir *John Clerk*'s collection, is evidently of the centurial kind. According to *Gordon*, the inscription should be read, “ *Jovi votivo sacrum legio*
 “ *secunda fecit.*” But the more judicious and accurate *Horsley* thinks that, as the stone is not an altar, and *Jupiter Votivus* would be singular in *Britain*, it should be rendered, “ *Legio secunda Augusta fecit jussa.*” The position of the letters, or form of the inscription, favours this reading more than the others: and it is to be observed that a single letter is often put for a double one upon inscriptions; so we read *jusi* for *jussit* in *Gruter*. *Jussa* is the same with *ex jussu*, and it was usual with the Romans to pretend that they took their vows upon them, set up statues or stones, and erected altars, from some divine command or impulse ‡. For instance,

*Hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso,
 Effigiem statuere, nefas quæ triste piaret.*

VIRG. Æn. II. 183.

*Etce Jovis monitu, deceptus imagine somni
 Rex jubet incapti curam demittere belli.*

OVID. Met. XIII. 216.

This

* Appendix to *Gordon's Itin. Sept.* p. 180, 183.

† *Brit. Rom.* 354.

‡ *Brit. Rom.* 205. *Itin. Sept.* 116.

The altar, sketched in Fig. IV. dug up near *Cramond*, was long in the possession of the Earl of *Ruglen*, and is now at his grandson the Duke of *Queensberry's* castle of *Neidpath* in *Tweeddale*. The head represented upon the stone, has been generally taken for that of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the lineaments of the face, and shape and situation of the horns, rather favour *Silvanus*. *Horfley* thinks that the two figures, stretching out on each side under the beard, might be designed to represent the feet of a goat; for *Silvanus* is usually clothed in the skin of that animal, fastened at the neck by the two forefeet. It is, however, evident that they bear a much stronger resemblance to the *insignia* of the god *Priapus*; and in the *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Esprit et les Progres des Arts de la Grece*, is a representation of *Bacchus*, having figures of that sort in the very same position. The *focus* at the top of the altar was complete; and the marks of fire were very visible thereon in *Horfley's* time, at which period, it would seem, from the silence of *Gordon* in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, that this monument had been recently found. It appeared, at first, to have been the capital of the altar, N^o I. which seemed to have been broken off; for the colour and grit of the two stones suited well enough. But a more critical inspection showed this conjecture to be ill founded, the one being rather too large for the other; and besides, as Lord *Ruglen* himself observed, they were found at a distance from each other*.

The great Roman military way, the subject of the first *Iter* of *Antoninus*, from *Prætorium* in *Lincolnshire*, to *Bremenium* in *Northumberland*, proceeded from the last mentioned station, by *Eildon* and *Soutra*, to *Bowbridge*, near the east end of the *Pentland* hills. At this place, evident vestiges of the causeway were visible a few years ago; and the present turnpike road from *Edinburgh* to *Linton* is cut, for near a mile, in the very line of its direction. From hence, the military way was continued by *Ravelfston* to *Cramond*, where several remains thereof have been found

B

at

* *Brit. Rom.* 105.

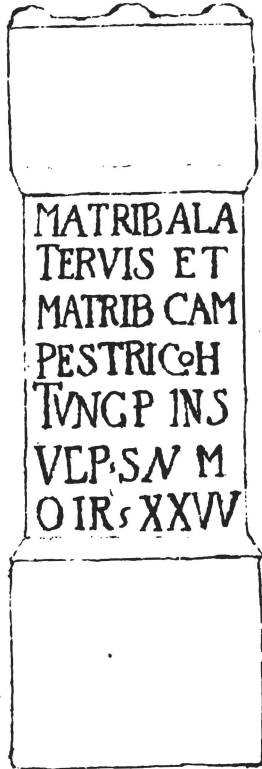
at different times, particularly in 1774, when improvements were making on the grounds adjacent to *Cramond House*. This road, as is supposed, then proceeded across the *Amon*, and passing over *Mons* hill, went by way of *Queensferry* and *Abercorn*, to *Caerridden*, situated at the eastern extremity of the wall of *Antoninus*. It is true, indeed, that no *vestigia* thereof can be traced betwixt *Cramond* and *Caerridden*; but, as General *Roy* well observes, there is every reason to believe that the communication must have been continued, from this important naval station, along the *Forth* to the end of the wall *. *Maitland* (Hist. Scot. I. 303,) mentions that a Roman way ran from *Inveresk* to *Cramond*, crossing the water of *Leith* at the foot of the Weigh-house wynd in the town of *Leith*; but no traces thereof are to be found in this neighbourhood. The IV. and V. *Itineres* of *Richard of Cirencester* appear to have passed through *Cramond*, although the name is not mentioned in either of them; a circumstance that will appear rather extraordinary, when the importance of this place is considered.

The situation of *Cramond*, at the mouth of a well-sheltered harbour, to which the military ways afforded a safe and easy communication from their southern posts, could not escape the observation of the Romans, as rendering it particularly fit for the reception of such of their vessels as had occasion to visit the *Bodotrian Frith*, and it is probable that this was one of the most considerable marine stations belonging to them in *Scotland*. In proof thereof, Sir *Robert Sibbald* mentions, that “ upon the east side of the mouth of the *Amon*, the foundation of a mole, built upon a rock, doth appear yet very strongly cemented; so it seems there has been a dock for small ships here, which dock has advanced some length into the frith †.” I could not discover any remains

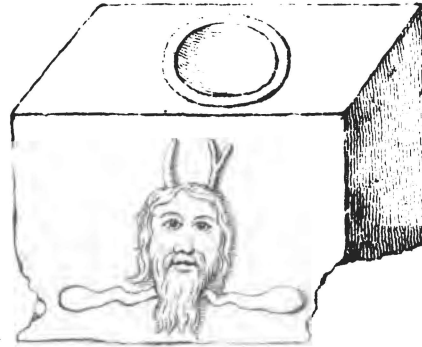
* *Vide* that splendid work, published at the expence of the Society of Antiquaries in *England*, intituled, “Military Antiquities of the Romans in *Britain*,” by the late Major General *William Roy*; wherein the different roads formed by the Romans through *Scotland* are distinctly traced.

† Hist. Inq. 33.

II.



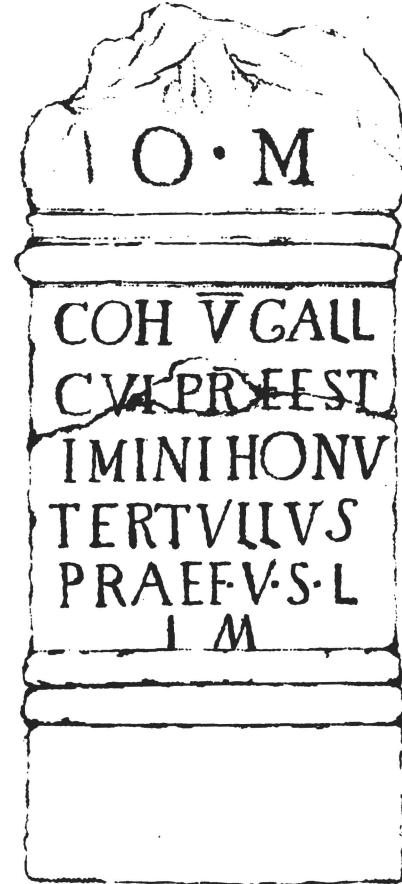
IV.



III.



I.



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mains of this work ; but an intelligent observer, who resided on the spot, imagined that he could trace it by the lime and mortar oozing through the sand, and adhering to the shingle or small stones on the beach, for the space of forty yards, running E. and W. parallel to the shore, about 90 feet N. of the Spade manufactory at *Cramond*. About a century ago an anchor much corroded with rust was dug up in the garden of *Cramond House*; and Sir *Robert Sibbald* mentions that a ball of iron, joined with a cross bar in the middle, for shooting out of a *ballista*, or machine of that kind, was found here.

When the foundations of the present manse or minister's house, at *Cramond*, were digging in 1745, there were discovered some stone walls, in different directions parallel to each other, about four feet below the surface of the ground, of the height of three feet, and but a small distance asunder, among which were found divers Roman medals and *fibulae*, and a great quantity of potsherds or broken urns. This is supposed to have been a pottery. In the garden of the manse was dug up a stone, about 18 inches square, having the figure of an eagle, grasping lightning in its talons, very coarsely done in *alto relievo*. This stone was, by the predecessor of the present incumbent, given to the late Mr *Walter Ross*, who built it up in the wall of his curious tower at *St. Bernard's* near *Edinburgh*.

In making a new road to *Netber Cramond*, in 1778, there was discovered, about twenty yards north of the porter's lodge of *Cramond House*, a pavement made of lime intermixed with small stones, about nine inches thick, and five feet in diameter, though of an irregular form. Below this pavement were found burnt earth, charcoal, and several fragments of brown earthen pitchers, the mouths and necks of some of them in an entire state, with an ear on each side. Many pieces of bricks and tiles lay scattered about, the latter much thicker than those now in use, and marked with lines on one surface by way of ornament.

Stones are dug up frequently at *Cramond*, bearing the marks of tools, chiefly in zigzag, or in diagonal lines crossing each other, which go, a-

mong the common people, by the name of Roman stones. In November 1787, some workmen clearing ground for building houses on *Cramond* shore, happened to fall upon a lime-kiln, about twelve feet in diameter and eight in height, built upon the solid rock with the above mentioned kind of hewn stones. A quantity of lime stone, of a very rich quality, was found in the kiln, which, from the colour of the stones, appeared to have been much used. It had an arched entrance, five feet high, facing the harbour, about thirty feet distant from the tide mark. Whether or not this was a Roman work, I will not pretend to determine; though I should think that the stones of which it was composed, the circumstances of all traces and tradition of the building having been forgot, and its being deeply covered by accumulations of soil, are strong presumptions in favour of the affirmative.

The rock of freestone, known by the name of the *Hunter's Craig*, on the sea shore west from *Cramond*, had, on its east face, a rude sculpture, bearing some resemblance to the figure of an eagle, standing upright with its back to the rock, by some supposed to have been executed by the Romans. All traces of that figure are now worn away, the stone of which this rock is composed being of a very soft friable nature. On the subject of Roman antiquities, I have only to add, that, within my remembrance, there was to be seen a large sepulchre, formed of flat stones, on the east side of the road leading from *Lauriston* to *Nether Cramond*, in the line of the military way, a little below the east entry to *King's Cramond*; but this monument is now completely destroyed.

After the departure of the Romans, a dark cloud of obscurity again settled over the parish of *Cramond*, of which I cannot find the smallest memorial in any historian, till the year 995, when a bloody conflict took place, between *Kenneth*, natural brother and commander in chief of the forces of *Malcolm*, the second king of *Scotland* of that name, and those of *Constantine*, usurper of the throne, who headed his army in person. From the most circumstantial accounts of this engagement, it appears that the troops of the former were far inferior in numbers; but
this

this inferiority was more than counterbalanced by the superior prudence of the commander, who took up his station at *Cramond*, having the advantage of both the sun and the wind, and taking care that the forces should be flanked by the river. The troops of the usurper, trusting to their numbers, rushed furiously to the attack; but were so much incommoded by the beams of the sun, and by the dust raised by the wind, which then happened to blow strongly, that it was scarcely possible for any one in that army to hold up his head. A very great slaughter was made on both sides, and the two commanders, *Kenneth* and *Constantine*, on a charge, mortally wounded each other*.

Grantoun, in this parish, is famous in history for the landing of the English troops, under the command of the Earl of *Hertford*, from a fleet of two hundred sail, on the 5th of May 1544. This armament was fitted out by King Henry VIII. of *England*, to take vengeance on the Scotch, for the refusal of *Mary* of *Lorraine* to consent to a match between her unfortunate daughter, *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, and his son prince *Edward*; a match than which none could have been more suitable for both parties, and which appeared to have been pointed out, by the finger of providence, as a safe and honourable way of terminating all animosities between two kingdoms fitted, by their relative situation, to be united under one sovereign. But the Queen mother, and that furious bigot, Cardinal *Betbune*, consulting only the interests of the catholic religion, to which that alliance, they apprehended, would have given a mortal blow, took the fatal resolution of sending the young and innocent Queen to *France*. This resolution, in all probability, laid the foundation of the miseries *Mary* afterwards endured, they being, in a great measure, to be attributed to the dissolute principles she could scarcely avoid imbibing in the profligate court of Francis I. The English

* Vide *Forduni Scotichronicon*, *Hearne's* edition, I. 345. *Buchanani historia* lib. i. *Holinshed*, 223. *Lescæus de rebus gestis Scotorum*, 19. The latter, by mistake, says the battle was fought *ad Annandæ amnis ostia*.

glish were, for several days, employed in ravaging the country, plundering and burning houses and villages, for seven miles round, and scouring the frith. The parish of *Cramond* must, no doubt have suffered more severely than any other district, *Grantoun* being the head quarters of the English land forces, and principal station of their ships.

I will now proceed to make the tour of the parish, giving a description of the principal seats and possessions therein, with a brief account of the proprietors of each, as far back as I have been able to trace them. This part of the work, I am concerned to mention, will be found extremely incomplete, owing not only to the defective state of the public records of the kingdom; but also to the circumstance of my having, from some of the heritors, met with every species of discouragement in my enquiries; though, on the other hand, the very kind and flattering reception I had the happiness of experiencing from a great majority of the proprietors, actuated by a more liberal spirit.

————— *Quibus arte benigna*

Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan,

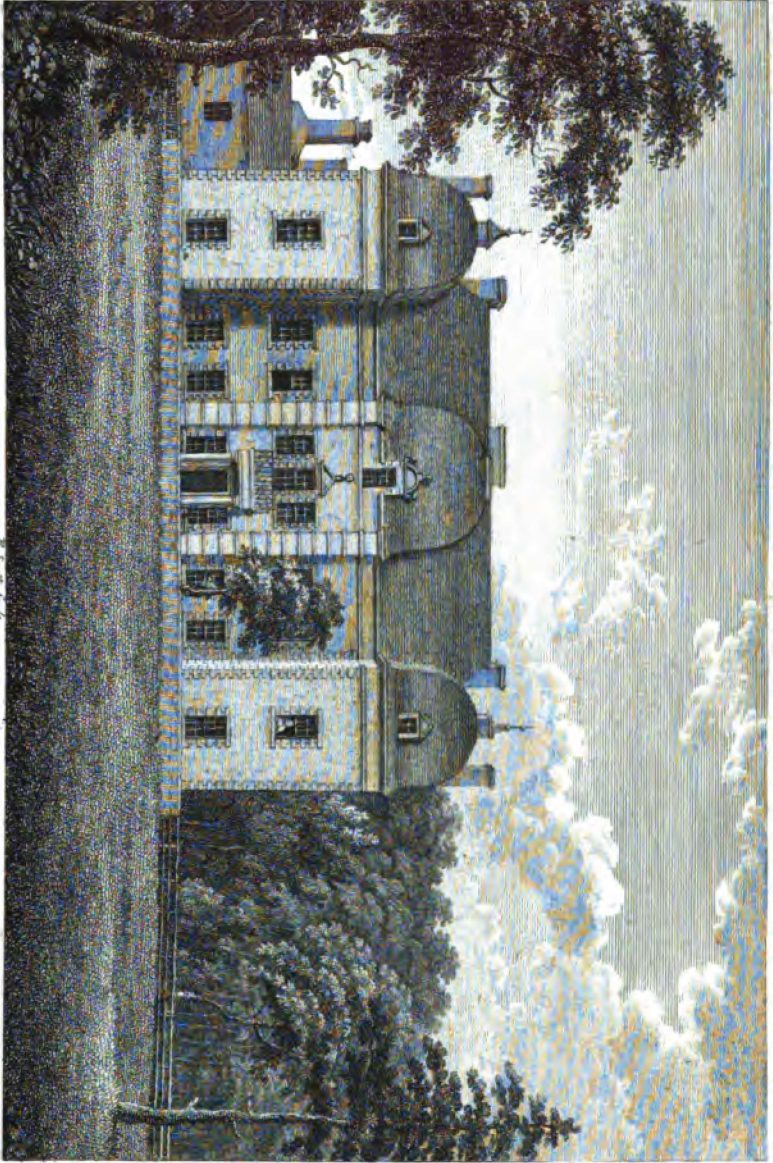
demands every acknowledgement, and will ever be remembered with the warmest gratitude.



S E C T. II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT ESTATES, MANOR HOUSES, &c. IN THE
PARISH, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROPRIETORS OF EACH, AS
FAR BACK AS CAN BE TRACED.

ENTERING the parish at the N. E. corner, near *Newhaven*, the first place we meet deserving particular notice is *Royssoun*, incomparably the most extensive building in this district, and one of the largest in the three Lothians, though it is by no means easy to obtain a distinct view
of



ROYSTOUN HOUSE.

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of the house from any quarter, from the great number of trees crowded together about it. This edifice, a sort of oblong square inclosing a court, measures 117 feet in length on the E. and W. sides, which are irregularly built, and not similar to each other. The S. front, the most ornamented and regular of the whole, is 90 feet long; and in the center of the N. front is a large stone tablet thus inscribed :

GAZE CONGESTÆ NIHILI
 IMPENSÆ VSVI SVNT
 CVM GLEBIS
 AVGENTVR ET LABORES
 IN NOSTRVM ERGO
 ET AMICORVM SOLATIVM
 TVGVRIOLVM HOC
 ÆDIFICARE CVRARVNT
 GEORGIVS ET ANNA
 VICECOMITES A TARBAT
 ANNO ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ 1685.
 NOSTRA TVM HOSPES
 NAM HOSPITIVM EST
 NVNC NOSTRVM
 TVNC ALTERIVS
 POSTEA VERO
 NEC SCIO NEC CVRO CVIVS
 NAM NIHILI CERTA DOMVS.

From this inscription, and another on the S. front, it appears that this lordly mansion, (affectedly stiled a little cottage, *tugurium*), was built in 1685, by *George Viscount of Tarbat*, probably on account of the vicinity of this place to the metropolis, where his presence was then almost constantly required, his Lordship being, at this period, prime minister of *Scotland*. It has been said, that when this edifice was finished, Lord *Tarbat*, in the vanity of his heart, called it *Kingstown*; but the then Viscount of *Kingstown* complaining of this appellation, as a kind of

furpation of his title, the name was changed to *Roystoun*, the first syllable of which, in French, signifies King. This assertion is, however, ill founded; for, although the old name of this place was *Easter Grantoun*, or the easter half of the barony of *Grantoun*, it was erected into a separate barony, by the name of *Roystoun*, in ¹⁶⁶¹1676, some years before Lord *Tarbat* purchased the estate. The ceilings of some of the rooms are adorned with paintings in a good taste; and at the north west corner of the main building are extensive offices and stables, erected by the great *John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich*, who, on becoming proprietor of *Grantoun* and *Roystoun*, changed the name of the place to *Caroline Park*, in memory of the consort of George II. to whom, while Princess of *Wales*, his Duchefs had been Maid of Honour.

The earliest possessors of *Roystoun*, I have been able to trace, are the *Logans*, a branch of the once potent house of *Restalrig*; *Andrew Logan* occurring as proprietor hereof in 1580*. In 1601, he sold the lands of *Easter Grantoun* to *Walter Henryson*, Writer to the signet, whose son, *Walter Henryson*, assigned them in wadset †, in 1641, for L. 1333:6:8, to one *David Jobnkin*, merchant in *Edinburgh*. His second son, *James Jobnkin*, obtained the property of these lands in 1652, by the refusal of *Thomas Henryson* to enter heir to *Walter* his father; but he did not long keep possession, selling them, in 1659, to *Patrick Nicoll*, merchant in *Edinburgh*, who, in 1661, had *Easter Grantoun* erected, by charter under the Great Seal, into a barony, to be called the barony of *Roystoun*. He had an only daughter, *Margaret*, married 16th March 1665, to *George Graham* younger of *Inchbraco*, an old cadet of the noble house of *Montrose*; and on them he settled *Roystoun* in 1669. In 1683, they sold
this

* *Charta in publ. arch.*—*Andree Logan*, incolæ villæ de *Leith*, et *Eliz. Sandis*, sp. dimidietatis orientalis terrar. de *Grantoun*, 18th Feb. 1580.

† A wadset is a temporary right, by which lands, or other heritable subjects, are impignorated by the proprietor to his creditor, in security of his debt. *Ersk. Instit. tit. 8. c. 3.*

this barony, and the golden acres, a piece of ground in the adjoining parish of *St Cutberts*, for the sum of L. 2111 : 2 : 2 $\frac{3}{4}$, to Sir *George Mackenzie of Tarbat*, a crafty statesman, noted for his opposition to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, upon whose downfall in 1678 he became Prime Minister of *Scotland*, and continued at the head of affairs till the Revolution. He was created Viscount of *Tarbat* by King *James II.* in 1685, and advanced to the dignity of Earl of *Cromarty* by Queen *Anne* in 1703, being then Secretary of state, an office he soon afterwards resigned, on account of his great age. Dying at his noble seat of *New Tarbat* in *Rofs* Shire, 17th *August*, 1714, æta. 84. he was, in virtue of an entail executed by himself in 1688, succeeded in the barony of *Roystoun* by his third son Sir *James Mackenzie*, created a Baronet in 1704, and made a Lord of Session and Justiciary, by the title of Lord *Roystoun*, in 1710. His Lordship died 9th *November* 1744, æta. 73, having, under the pretext of fictitious debts charged upon and affecting the estate, obtained, in 1739, an act of Parliament to enable him to sell *Roystoun*, which he accordingly did, for about L. 7000 *, to the great *John* Duke of *Argyle* and *Greenwich*. This truly illustrious nobleman resided some time at this place; and dying of a paralytic complaint, at his seat of *Sudbrooke* in *Surry*, on
the

* As the debts were stated so high as to exhaust the price, Lord *Roystoun* thought his heirs secured from any challenge on that head; but after his death, his nephew Sir *George Mackenzie of Cromarty*, substitute in the entail, brought an action against his Lordship's grandson and heir, Sir *John Stewart of Grandtully*, and the trustees named in the act of Parliament, to give an account of the charge and discharge, in order to ascertain the residue of the price, and apply the same, in terms of the act, in the purchase of lands to be entailed as those of *Roystoun* were. The defence set up was, that the money for which the lands sold was more than exhausted by the debts named in the act; but to this it was answered, that they were fictitious. The defenders, in reply, did not pretend to justify these debts, but contended, that the Court of Session had no authority to question or canvass their truth, after an act of Parliament had declared that they were to be stated as exhausting the purchase money; and this defence was sustained by that Court. However, upon an appeal to the house of Lords, the judgement of the Court of Session was reversed, and Sir *John Stewart* obliged to account.

the 4th of *October*, 1743, in the 65th year of his age, his property in this parish devolved upon his eldest daughter, *Caroline*, Baroneſs of *Greenwich* and Counteſs Dowager of *Dalkeith*, who poſſeſſes *Grantoun* and *Royſtoun* in liferent, the fee being in her only ſurviving ſon, *Henry* Duke of *Buccleugh*.

North weſt from *Royſtoun*, a garden only intervening, ſtands *Grantoun* houſe, a pictureſque building, ſituated on the ſummit of a rocky height on the ſea-coaſt, commanding a pleaſant view up the frith, and ſcreened by lofty trees from the eaſterly winds, ſo diſagreeable in this part of the country. Neither date nor inſcription can be found to denote the period when this edifice was built; but, from the ſtile of architecture, it appears to have been erected not long after the Engliſh invaſion in 1544, (mentioned at p. 13.) in which, probably, the old houſe was deſtroyed. *Grantoun* was formerly a very commodious and pleaſant manſion, but is now falling to decay*.

From the writs of the lands of *Grantoun* it appears, that in 1479 they belonged to *John Melvill* of *Carnbee* in *Fife*, as he obtained a charter thereof from *John* Lord *Melvill* dated 20th *November* that year. † His ſon and ſucceſſor, *John Melvill* of *Carnbee*, was killed at the battle of *Flowden* 9th *September* 1513, ‡ and this family continued in poſſeſſion of the lands of *Grantoun* till 1592, when Sir *John Melvill*, younger of *Carnbee*,

* *Grantoun* was laſt occupied by *Richard Norris*, ſon of Admiral Sir *John Norris*. He was made a captain of the Royal Navy, 7th *Oct.* 1735, ſailed in 1740 with Lord *Anſon* on his voyage round the world as commander of the *Glouceſter*, but quitted the ſquadron at *Madeira*, and returned home, having obtained leave to do ſo, on pretence of bad health. He commanded the *Effen* in the engagement off *Toulon* in 1744, where he behaved in ſo puſillanimous a manner, that he thought proper to abſcond, and was on that account diſmiſſed the King's ſervice, and diſinherited by his father. He married Miſs *Croſbie*, a niece of the Duchefs of *Argyle* and *Greenwich*, and dying in obſcurity at *Edinburgh*, 3d *March* 1778, was buried at *Cramond*, where his wife had been interred 20th *January* 1772.

† There appears to be ſome miſtake here as the title of Lord *Melvill* was not granted till 1616. *John* Lord *Rofs* of *Halkhead* and *Melvill* is probably meant.

‡ *Douglas's* *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 527—529, where is a long, though incorrect, account of this family.



Granton House.

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Carnbee *, and *Alison Ross* his spouse, sold them to one Mr *John Ruffel*. *Ruffel*, in 1603, alienated them for L. 1277: 5: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ to Sir *Alexander Gibson* of *Durie* in *Fife*, by whom, in 1613, they were sold, for L. 1866: 13: 4. to Sir *John Arnot* of *Berwick*. *John Arnot* of *Woodmiln*, grandson of Sir *John*, in 1619, sold *Grantoun* to Sir *Thomas Hope* of *Craigball*, afterwards his Majesty's Advocate for *Scotland*, stiled, by an eminent cotemporary †,

Maxime Phæbigenum! magni laus prima Senatûs!

Lima fori! titulis major, Hopæ! tribus.

This great lawyer made *Grantoun* his principal place of residence, particularly during the struggles between *Charles I.* and the Covenanters, of which party he was reckoned the most able counsellor, being engaged in their interest as well from inclination, as out of gratitude, they having been the first founders and promoters of his fortune and fame. Dying in 1646, he was succeeded by his eldest son Sir *John Hope* of *Craigball*, whose son and successor Sir *Thomas*, in 1656, sold *Grantoun* to his uncle Sir *Alexander Hope*, who, in his youth, had been cupbearer to *Charles I.* Sir *Alexander* died at *Grantoun* in Feb. 1680, æta. 69, having, before his death, sold this estate to his nephew *John Hope* of *Hopetoun*, who, in March 1682, (two months before he perished at sea on a voyage from *England* with the Duke of *York*), alienated *Grantoun* to his brother Sir *William Hope*, afterwards of *Balcomie*, Knt. and Bart. one of the most accomplished cavaliers of the age, highly distinguished for knowledge of horsemanship and skill in the art of defence, on each of which subjects he published a celebrated treatise.

He did not long keep possession of *Grantoun*, selling it, in 1688, to Sir *William Paterson*, eldest son of *John Paterson* Bishop of *Ross* from 1662 to 1679, and brother of *John Paterson* the last Archbishop of *Glas-*

C 2

gow,

* It appears that this Sir *John Melvill* had been inhibited by his father, but had procured the inhibition to be declared null on account of some informality in the execution, and that he gave to the purchaser of *Grantoun*, warrandice over the lands of *Carnbee*.

† Dr *Arthur Johnston*, physician to King *Charles I.*

Sir *Hugh Macculloch* of *Piltoun*, descended from the family of *Cadbole* in the County of *Rofs*, acquired an ample fortune in the profession of a merchant in *Edinburgh*, and died 6th *Aug.* 1688, æta. 70*, leaving the lands of *Piltoun* in fee, (the life-rent being secured to his relict, Dame *Jean Gibson*, who married, 6th *Sep.* 1695, *John* third Lord *Lindores*, and died in 1712 †,) to his kinsman *James Macculloch*, who, in 1690, made purchase of the estate of *Mulderg* in *Rofs-shire*. His eldest surviving son, *David Macculloch* of *Mulderg*, died without issue in 1755, having, in 1716, sold *Piltoun* for L. 6000, to *Thomas Fairholm* of *Kinglass*, grandson of *John Fairholm* of *Craigieball* in the county of *Linlithgow*. Mr *Fairholm* did not long keep possession of *Piltoun*, his creditors disposing of it, in 1727, to *George Ainslie*, merchant at *Bordeaux* in *France*, descended from *John de Ainsley* of *Dolpbingtown* in *Roxburgh-shire*, one of the *magnates Scotiæ* who were compelled to swear fealty to *Edward I.* when that monarch invaded this kingdom in 1296 †.

George Ainslie of *Piltoun* died at *Bordeaux* 11th *Aug.* 1773, leaving by his wife *Jean*, daughter of Sir *Philip Anstruther*, of *Anstrutherfield* in *Fife*, (sister of *Christina* Countess of *Traquair*) five daughters, and three sons, 1. Sir *Philip Ainslie* of *Piltoun*; 2. Major General *George Ainslie*, Colonel of the 13th regiment of infantry, Lieutenant Governor of the *Scilly* Islands, and one of the staff officers attending his R. H. the Duke of *York* on the continent, and 3. Sir *Robert Ainslie*, who having recommended himself strongly to Government by several important services, particularly by finding means to procure, out of the *Duc d' Aiguillon's* office, copies of the dispatches sent by the court of *France* to that of *Madrid*, at the critical period of the *Falkland* Islands affair, was, in 1775, appointed ambassador from *Britain* to the *Ottoman Porte*, a station he still fills with

* Monumental inscription in the *Grayfriars* church-yard, *Edinburgh*. This family bore for arms, Erm. a fret engrailed G. Crest, an Ermine. Motto, *Sine macula*.

† Session Records.

‡ *Douglas's* *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 300—302, where the descent of this family, for no less than sixteen generations, is clearly deduced from *Thomas de Ainslie*, who flourished in the reign of *William* the *Lyon*.

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W. D. Davidson

Muirhouse, in the County of Edinburgh, the seat of William Davidson, Esq.
taken from the east.

with great ability. Sir *Philip Ainslie* of *Piltoun*, the eldest son, began his military career in 1754, as sub-lieutenant and adjutant of the second troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, in which he rose, by due gradations, to the rank of Major. In 1762, when hostilities commenced betwixt *Spain* and *Portugal*, on account of the support given by the latter to *Britain*, he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Portugueze cavalry, and one of the Aides de Camp to his S. H. Prince *Charles* of *Mecklenburgh-Strelitz*, who commanded their troops as Lieutenant General. After his return from the continent, Sir *Philip* was constituted Lieutenant Colonel of the 4th regiment of horse, (now the 7th Dragoon Guards), at which time he was honoured, by his present Majesty, with the order of Knighthood; but meeting with some cause of disgust, he thought proper in 1787, to retire from the service*. He made purchase of considerable part of the valuable barony of *Craigleith*, in the parish of *St. Cuthberts*; and having married the Hon. Miss *Elizabeth Gray*, fifth daughter of *John*, twelfth Lord *Gray*, had issue by her, (who died 24th August 1787, and was buried at *Gramond*), three sons, and four daughters.—This antient and honourable family bear for arms Ar. a cross floree, S. Crest, a dexter hand grasping a scymetar, proper. Motto, *Pro rege pro patria*. Supporters, Two Knights, armed at all points, with lances, &c.

West from *Grantoun*, in the center of a fertile and extensive demesne, upwards of 300 acres of which lie quite compact, and free from the intersection of public roads, an advantage no proprietor in this parish, the Earl of *Roseberry* alone excepted, can boast of, is *Muirhouse*; the seat of *William Davidson*, Esq. This mansion, erected about the year 1670, is a large and lofty building, four stories in height, situated in the midst of extensive gardens, and presenting a wide front to the south. Three noble avenues, each nearly half a mile in length, formed of old oaks, limes, and other stately trees, lead to the house from the W. N. and E. the gate terminating

* Information most readily and politely communicated by Sir *P. Ainslie*, who was likewise at the trouble of procuring for me the perusal of the writs of *Piltoun*.

terminating the latter, being ornamented with two griffins, executed in a masterly manner, in allusion to Mr *Davidson's* armorial bearing, which has two of these animals for supporters. The grounds reach down to the shore, where the banks are high, and covered with beautiful and thriving plantations, mostly laid out by the present worthy proprietor, who has paid great attention to the embellishment of this place, which every circumstance contributes to render a most desirable residence.

In the early periods of the Scottish monarchy, when the feudal system operated in full force, and the Sovereign was little more than the principal baron of the kingdom, his revenues arose chiefly from his own landed possessions. Among these was included a considerable portion of this parish, *Muirhouse* and *Cramond Regis* constituting part of the royal demesne; and it would seem that there was a royal residence at the former, from the original charter of this barony by King *Robert Bruce*, to the brave Sir *William Oliphant* of *Aberdalgy*, by way of excambion for a piece of ground within the inclosure of *Kincardine Park*. This charter, which is one of the oldest writs deposited in the Register-office, and has no date, (though supposed, from particular circumstances, to have been granted about 1316 or 1320), runs in these terms, "Robertus, &c. "*Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse, et hac presentis charta nostra confirmasse* "*Willielmo Olyfaunt Militi dilecto et fidei nostro, totam terram nostram* "*de Muirhouse cum pertinent. infra viccom. de Edinburgo in excambium* "*pro quadam petia terræ quam Joannes de Baliolo cepit infra clausuram* "*parci de Kincardine in lie Mernis, et quam terram dicto parco volumus* "*remanere.*" Now, it is scarcely possible that these lands could have had the name of *Muirhouse*, if there had been no house on them belonging to his Majesty; and tradition relates, that there was a hunting seat of the King's here. Sir *William Oliphant* dying 3d Feb. 1329, was succeeded by his son Sir *Walter Oliphant* of *Aberdalgy*, who married *Elizabeth*, daughter, as is said, of King *Robert Bruce*, though the late learned Sir *David Dalrymple* of *Hailes* has, in the first volume of his *Annals*,

nals, p. 153. started some well founded doubts whether she was actually daughter of that great monarch. They had a son, *Walter Oliphant of Aberdalgy*, whose eldest son and successor, Sir *John Oliphant of Aberdalgy* dying about the year 1420, was succeeded by his son Sir *William*, one of the hostages for the ransom of King *James I.* in 1424. Sir *John Oliphant* son and successor of Sir *William*, was killed at the battle of *Arbroath* in 1455; and was succeeded by his eldest son Sir *Laurence*, who had the honour of being raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord *Oliphant* before 1458, and died in the 1500. *John*, second Lord *Oliphant*, his eldest son, died in 1516; and his two sons, *Colin* Master of *Oliphant*, and *Laurence* Abbot of *Inchaffray*, having been killed in his lifetime at *Flodden*, 9th *September* 1513, he was succeeded by his grandson *Laurence* third Lord *Oliphant*, who died 26th *March* 1566. His eldest son and successor, *Laurence* fourth Lord *Oliphant*, died in 1592, and his eldest son *Laurence* having perished at sea going over to the Low Countries, in 1583, the title devolved upon his grandson, *Laurence* fifth Lord *Oliphant*, who, by a course of extravagance, squandered away almost the whole of the extensive property he inherited from his ancestors*.

Muirhouse was sold by this spendthrift, about the year 1616, after it had been 300 years in the direct line of his family, to a cadet thereof, Sir *William Oliphant* of *Newton*, at that time both a Lord of Session and King's Advocate, who died 13th *Apr.* 1628, æta. 77 †. He settled *Muirhouse* upon his eldest son, Sir *James Oliphant* of *Newton*, who was created a baronet 28th *July* 1629, and on the 3d of *Nov.* following made a Lord of Session; but having murdered his gardener by shooting him with a hagbut, he was, in 1632, expelled from the bench. He married *Marjory*, daughter of—*Graham* of *Inchbraco*, and by her, besides other children had a son and successor Sir *James Oliphant* of *Newton*, born 20th *Octob.* 1612, who in a drunken fit stabbed his mother with a sword in her own

D

house,

* *Douglas's Peerage*, 526—528. *Crawford's Peerage*, 377—380.

† Monument in the *Grayfriars* church, *Edinburgh*.

house, so as to occasion her death. He thereupon fled into *Ireland*, disposed of all his landed property, and died in great penury and wretchedness*.

Muirhouse was purchased in 1631, by *John Hamilton*, apothecary in *Edinburgh*, who dying about 1654, was succeeded by his eldest son, *William Hamilton of Muirhouse*, born 9th Mar. 1634, who about 1662 sold this estate, and in his old age fell into a situation so distressful, that in 1695 several heritors of the parish of *Cramond* presented a recommendation in his favour to the Kirk Session, setting forth, "that taking into
" their consideration the low and deplorable estate of *William Hamilton*,
" sometime of *Muirhouse*, who was born and bred in this parish, and
" that it consisted with their knowledge that he had a numerous family
" of small children, and that by God's providence he had not where-
" with to maintain and educate them, therefore they found themselves
" obliged in conscience and credit to give him what assistance they could
" towards the relief and support of him, his wife, and children; and for
" this purpose desired the Session would allow him a weekly pension of
" half a crown:" which was accordingly granted, with some restrictions †.

The barony of *Muirhouse* was purchased by *John Denholm*, son of *Robert Denholm of Westbiels* in the county of *Lanark*; he married *Catherine*, daughter of *John Nairn of Goldinghouse*, brother of *Robert Lord Nairn*, and his son and successor, *Robert Denholm of Muirhouse*, about 1672, sold this estate to *James Hunter of Muirhouse*, one of the faculty of *Advocates*, who died, in bankrupt circumstances, in 1697. His eldest son *Alexander*, (who was one of the Captains of the Militia of the county of *Edinburgh* in 1689) having declined to enter heir to his father, the creditors sold *Muirhouse*, towards the end of the last century,

* *Scotstarvet's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, 139, 140. *Gilmour and Falconer's Decisions* ad ann. 1663. Register of Baptisms of *Edinburgh*.

† Session Records.

ture, to *Robert Watson* of *Damhead*, merchant in *Edinburgh*, descended from the ancient family of *Saughton**. He died in 1708, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, *Robert Watson* of *Muirhouse*, born 29th Aug. 1698, who married *Henrietta* daughter of *William Baillie* of *Lamington*; but dying without male issue in 1722, æta. 24, the estate devolved on his next brother, *John Watson* of *Muirhouse*, then settled as a merchant in *Glasgow*. He married the Hon. Miss *Anne Mackay*, (only daughter of the second marriage of *George* third Lord *Reay*), by whom he had a daughter, *Janet*, married to *Alexander Rocheid* of *Inverleith*, and two sons, *Robert*, his successor, and *George Watson*, born 26th Jan. 1732, appointed a captain of the Royal Navy 11th Dec. 1759, who died unmarried in 1771, æta. 40. *John Watson* of *Muirhouse* dying 14th Jan. 1774, æta. 73, was succeeded by his only surviving son, *Robert Watson* of *Muirhouse*, born 26th June 1727, who served many years in the army, particularly in *Germany* during the war; and was Lieutenant Colonel of the 25th regiment of infantry, one of the aides de camp to the King, Deputy Governor of *Portsmouth*, and a Lieutenant General. He was obliged, by a heavy load of debt contracted by his father and by himself, in consequence of attending more to the dictates of his own generous heart than to the suggestions of prudence, to dispose of the barony of *Muirhouse*, and to retire to the Earl of *Morton's* seat of *Aberdour* in *Fife*, where he died 10th May 1791, æta. 64, leaving the poor remains of his once ample fortune to two of his servants.

D 2

From

* He married *Mary*, daughter of Sir *Robert Baird* of *Saughtonball* Bart. and by her had several children. Their eldest daughter, *Elizabeth*, born 23d Feb. 1690, married 27th Oct. 1712 to *Robert Dundas* of *Arnisfoun*, Member of Parliament for the county of *Edinburgh*, King's Advocate, and Lord President of the Session, was mother of *Robert Dundas* of *Arnisfoun*, (born 29th July 1713) also Member of Parliament for the county of *Edinburgh*, King's Advocate, and Lord President of the Session; and grandmother of *Robert Dundas* of *Arnisfoun*, who at present fills with great ability the important stations of Member of Parliament for the county of *Edinburgh* and King's Advocate. A singular instance of the representatives of one family, for three successive generations, rising to first rate professional knowledge, rank, and practice,

From him *Muirhouse* was purchased in 1776, by *William Davidson* Esq. many years one of the most considerable merchants at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*. He had retired from business for some years before he acquired this fine seat, where he usually passes the summer and autumn months; dividing the winter season betwixt his pleasant villa at *Highbury* in *Middlesex*, and his house in *Red Lion Square, London*, in the society of a numerous circle of friends, among whom are to be reckoned some of the first characters in the nation, in point of rank, wealth, abilities, and learning. He bears for arms, Az. on a chevron, O. between two stars in chief, and a pheon in base, Ar. a fleur de lis, G. Crest, a phoenix in flames, proper, Supporters, two griffins, proper. Motto, *Viget in cinere virtus*.

South from *Muirhouse*, in the midst of a compact, extensive, and valuable estate is *Drylaw* house, presently occupied by *Robert Blair*, Esq. Solicitor-General of *Scotland*. From three charters in the *Register Office*, it appears that *Drylaw* for a long period belonged to the *Forresters*. Sir *John Forrester* of *Corstorphine*, Lord High Chamberlain of *Scotland*, in 1406 settled *Drylaw* upon his brother *Thomas Forrester*, but he dying without issue, these lands reverted to Sir *John*, who thereupon obtained a charter of them, bearing date 4th *Feb.* 1424. His great grandson Sir *Alexander Forrester* had a charter of the whole barony of *Corstorphine*, the lands of *Drylaw*, &c. dated 12th *Sept.* 1533; and was succeeded by his son *James Forrester* of *Corstorphine* *. *Elizabeth Forrester*, daughter of this *James*, was married to *David Macgill* of *Nisbet, Cranstoun Riddel*, and *Drylaw*, from whence it would appear she brought him this estate as her portion.

This

practice, and enjoying, as it were by inheritance, the highest honours in the power of their Sovereign to confer, or of their countrymen to bestow.—Major General *David Watson*, youngest son of *Robert Watson* of *Muirhouse*, rose, by his merit, to the office of Quarter Master General of the forces in *Scotland*, and died Colonel of the 38th regiment of infantry at *London* 7th *Nov.* 1761, unmarried.

* *Douglas's Peerage*, 271, 272.

This *David Macgill*, (who was second son of Sir *James Macgill*, Provost of *Edinburgh*), reckoned one of the most able lawyers in *Scotland*, and a zealous partizan of *Queen Mary*, occurs frequently in the histories of the turbulent period of her reign, wherein he is generally stiled the Laird of *Drylaw*. In 1582, he was appointed Advocate to King *James VI.* an office he held till 6th *Feb.* 1595, when Sir *Thomas Hamilton* being conjoined with him, he took that so much to heart, as to die of grief a few days afterwards. His son and heir, *David Macgill* of *Cranstoun Riddel* and *Drylaw* was, 8th *May* 1597, appointed a Lord of Session, and dying in 1607, was succeeded by his son, Sir *James Macgill*, who was created a Baronet 18th *July*, 1627, made a Lord of Session 3d *Nov.* 1629, and raised to the Peerage, by the titles of Viscount *Oxford*, and Lord *Macgill* of *Coussland*, 19th *Ap.* 1651 †. His Lordship died in 1663, having, by disposition dated 2d and 6th *Ap.* 1641, sold the lands of *Easter* and *Wester Drylaw* to *James Loch*, a considerable merchant in *Edinburgh*. This *James Loch* of *Drylaw* married *Isobel Macmath*, by whom he had a son and successor, *James Loch* of *Drylaw*, born 3d *May*, 1650, and married to *Isobel* daughter of *George Foulis* of *Ravelstoun*. Their eldest surviving son, *George Loch* of *Drylaw*, born 28th *Mar.* 1678, inherited the estate at his father's death in 1690, married 30th *Sept.* 1697, his cousin *Jean*, daughter of Sir *John Foulis* of *Ravelstoun*, Bart. and was succeeded by his eldest son, *James Loch* of *Drylaw*, born 13th *Aug.* 1698. This gentleman was a person of a recluse disposition, and lived in a retired manner, immersed in mathematical and mechanical pursuits, till 1748, when he married *Frances*, daughter of the Hon. *William Erskine*, brother of the fourth Earl of *Buchan*. By her, who died of a fever in 1750, he had a daughter, *Margaret*, married in 1768, to *James Loch* of *Herdmanbiels*, and a son *George*, who succeeded to the estate of *Drylaw*, at his father's death in 1759. This young gentleman resided several years abroad, from whence he returned a worthy and re-] spectable

† *Douglas's Peerage*, 534—536.

spectable character, and settled at *Drylaw* in 1779 *, having in that year espoused *Jean*, daughter of *John Adam*, of *Blair*, M. P. by whom he had five sons, and one daughter. He was obliged, on account of heavy incumbrances affecting the estate, and other untoward circumstances, to alienate his extensive property in this parish, to *William Ramsay* of *Barnzoun*, in 1786, after it had been nearly a century and a half in his family; and he did not long survive this alienation, which, it is said, gave a severe shock to his spirits, dying at *Richmond* in *Surry*, 27th *June* 1788, æta. 39.—This family bear for arms, Ar. a Saltire engrailed S. between two swans, naiant in lochs, (in allusion to the name) proper, in the flanches. Crest, a swan devouring a perch, proper. Motto, *Affiduitate, non desidia*.

Easter Drylaw, in this parish, long belonged to a family of the name of *Stalker*. At *Cramond* a monument is erected to the memory of *John Stalker* of *Easter Drylaw*, who died 6th *Feb.* 1608, æta. 60, having on the capital a shield charged with a saltire between four leaves. A descendant of his, *John Stalker* of *Easter Drylaw*, † about 1638, sold these lands to Sir *James Macgill*, proprietor of *Wester Drylaw*, by whom, in 1641, they were disposed to *James Loch*, Esq. as before mentioned.—In the public registers is a charter of the lands of *Drylaw Co. Edinburgh* to *George Douglas*, commendator of the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, bearing date 2d *Mar.* 1572.

To the S. of *Drylaw*, lie the lands of *Grottbill*, which, in 1350, were granted

* *Drylaw* was, for several years preceding 1779, possessed by Lady *Margaret Wemyss*, relict of *James* 9th Earl of *Murray*, an excellent and hospitable lady. She died there 31st *Aug.* 1779, much regretted.

† A younger son of this *John Stalker* accompanying *Andrew Lord Frazer* in the army of the Covenanters to *Aberdeen-shire*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the royalists in the battle fought near *Turreff* in *May* 1639. After the engagement was over, he was put to death in cold blood by Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo*, and *John Gordon* his servant, for which they were indicted to stand trial before the Court of Justiciary; this cause however did not come on, *Haddo* being convicted of high treason, and executed at *Edinburgh* 16th *July* 1644.—M. S. Excerpts from the Justiciary records.

granted by *Henry Multer*, burghers of *Edinburgh*, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, to God and the altar of *St John* the Baptist in the church of the blessed *Virgin Mary* of *Edinburgh*, and to a chaplain officiating therein, for the salvation of his soul, and of those of his ancestors and successors; as appears from a copy of a charter, granted by *Henry de Brade*, (chief of a considerable family in *Midlothian*), confirming and approving of the above grant of these lands, of which he was the superior, dated on the Thursday before the feast of *St Luke*, the same year. This charter narrates that whereas the said *Henry Multer* held these lands of him (*Henry de Brade*), for payment of a pair of white gloves in name of quit rent, and with the exception of six acres of arable land assigned for the payment of thirty pence to the King for the ward of the castle of *Edinburgh*, he resigned all claim he or his heirs could have to the said pair of gloves; and likewise, for the salvation of his own soul and of those of his ancestors and successors, he directed that the said sum of thirty pence should, in future, be levied from his lands of *Brade*, and that the lands of *Grothill* should be freed from payment thereof in all time coming.—*Robert Multer*, son of *Henry*, confirmed the grant made by his deceased father, by a charter dated 23d Jan. 1362 *. *Dominus Ricardus Lausone*, canon of the collegiate church of *St Giles* in *Edinburgh*, and prebend of *Grothill* in the said church, for augmenting the revenue of the said benefices five shillings per annum more than these lands of *Grothill* paid before to himself and his predecessors, granted in feu farm to that careful person (*provido viro*) *Walter Scott*, burghers of *Edinburgh*, the King's baker, and his heirs whatever, the said lands of *Grothill* in the parish of *Cramond*, bounded on the E. by the lands of the Lord of *Innerleith*, on the S. by the lands of Lord *Lindsay* of the *Byres* and the said Lord of *Innerleith*, and on the W. by the lands of *Craigcrook* and *Ralestoun* (*Ravelstoun*.) This grant has no date, but I should suppose it took

* *Father Hay's* collections, M. S. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in *Edinburgh*.

took place towards the end of the 15th century, soon after which *Grottbill* came into the possession of the *Adamsons* of *Craigcrook*, and continued in that family till about 1640, when it was sold to Sir *John Smith* of *Grottbill*, Lord Provost of *Edinburgh* in 1642 and 1643. In 1683, his son *John Smith* disposed of the lands of *Grottbill* to *James Loch* of *Drylaw*, and they have ever since remained annexed to that estate. In 1398 the rent of *Grottbill* was 5 merks, or L. 3:6:8 Sc.

To the S. W. of *Drylaw*, in a hollow at the foot of *Corstorphine* hill, which here makes a turn or crook to the eastward, whence the name is derived, stands *Craigcrook*, apparently the most antient edifice in the parish, though the date of its erection cannot easily be ascertained. It was probably built early in the sixteenth century, by one of the *Adamson* family, who were long proprietors of this place. Over the outer gate of the court yard is the date 1621, and a shield of arms, on which nothing is now visible, except a mullet in the fess point, which, with three cross croquets fitchée, composed the armorial bearing of the *Adamsons* of *Craigcrook*.

It would appear that *Craigcrook* formerly belonged to the noble family of *Grabam*; since in Father *Hay's* collection of Charters, there is preserved a copy of a resignation made by *Patrick de Grabam*, Lord of *Kinpunt*, and *David de Grabam*, Lord of *Dundaff*, of all right or claim they could have to the lands of *Craigcrook*, in favour of *John de Allynrum*, burghers of *Edinburgh*, bearing date 9th Ap. 1362. *Allynrum* immediately settled the whole of these lands upon a chaplain officiating at the altar of the blessed virgin *Mary*, in the church of *St Giles* in *Edinburgh*, and his successors for ever, each successor to be nominated by the magistrates of that city within two months after the death of the preceding chaplain, "*Ad honorem Dei, beatæ Mariæ Virginis matris suæ,*
"*et omnium sanctorum, et pro salute animarum recolendæ memoriæ Domini*
"*Roberti D.G. dudum Regis Scotorum illustris, et Dominæ Elizabethæ Regi-*
"*næ et sponsæ suæ, et pro salubri statu et prospero excellentissimi principis*
" et

“ *et domini mei Domini Davidis, D. G. Regis Scotorum, et Domini Wil-*
 “ *lielmi Comitis de Douglas, et Domine Margueritæ sponsæ suæ, necnon*
 “ *Archibaldi Douglas Militis, quamdiu egerunt in humanis, et pro salute a-*
 “ *nimarum suarum cum ab hac luce migraverint, et animarum omnium an-*
 “ *tecessorum et successorum suorum; et etiam pro salute animarum burgen-*
 “ *sium et communitatis burgi de Edinburgo, omnium antecessorum et succes-*
 “ *sorum suorum; animarum patris mei et matris meæ, fratrum, sororum, pa-*
 “ *rentum, et amicorum meorum, ac eorum de quibus deliqui aliqualiter in*
 “ *hoc mundo, filiorum et filiarum meorum; necnon pro salute animæ meæ et*
 “ *animæ Johannæ sponsæ meæ, et animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum.”*

From a register of the annualrents of the church of *St. Giles in Edin-*
burgh, and the altars therein, made by order of the magistrates and
 principal burgessees of that city, in 1368, it appears that the rental of
Craigcrook then amounted to *L. 6 : 6 : 8 Sc. per annum*. Eight years
 afterwards, the aldermen, bailies, and community of *Edinburgh* granted
 to *Patrick Leper*, and *John Leper* his son and heir, and their heirs, in
 feu-farm (*feudifirmam*), the lands of *Craigcrook*, on condition of their
 paying from thence the annualrent of *L. 6 : 6 : 8 Sc.* for the support of
 the altar of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of the chaplains officiating
 there, in equal portions at the two usual terms in the year, 5th *March* 1376.
 The said *John Leper*, however, resigned the whole ecclesiastical lands of
Craigcrook to *John de Hill*, chaplain, and his successors, chaplains at the
 said altar, 4th *Nov.* 1428. In 1540, Sir *Simon Preston* of *Craigmillar*,
 Provost of *Edinburgh*, made a resignation of these lands into the hands of
 Sir *Edward Marjoribanks*, Prebend of *Craigcrook*. *Marjoribanks*, the
 following year, let them in feu-farm to *George Kirkaldy*, brother of Sir
James Kirkaldy of *Grange*, Lord High Treasurer of *Scotland*, for pay-
 ment of *L. 27 : 6 : 8 Sc.* 13th *Dec.* 1541. But *Kirkaldy* having re-
 signed *Craigcrook* to Sir *Edward*, 19th *June* 1542, these lands were the
 same day assigned by *Marjoribanks*, with consent of the Provost and
 chapter of the collegiate church of *St. Giles*, in feu-farm and heritage

for ever, to *William Adamson*, burghers of *Edinburgh*, and *Janet Napier* his spouse, and their heirs.

This *William Adamson* of *Craigcrook* possessed the most considerable estate in this parish in his days, his property extending from *Craiglieth* to *Cammo*, and comprehending *Grottbill*, *Craigcrook*, *Clermiston*, *Southfield*, and part of *Cramond Regis*. He was slain, along with his kinsman *Alexander Napier* of *Merchiston*, at the battle of *Pinkie*, 10th *Sept.* 1547, and was succeeded by his grandson *William Adamson* of *Craigcrook*, who was served heir 8th *March* 1559. He died in 1599, and was succeeded by his son *William Adamson* of *Craigcrook*, who had issue a son and heir, *William Adamson* of *Craigcrook*, born 13th *Nov.* 1614. This last *William* was served heir to his father in 1621, and died before 16th *May* 1656, when *Robert Adamson* his son was served heir; but not long afterwards he disposed of his extensive property in this parish to different persons.

From him *Craigcrook* was purchased, in 1659, by *John Mein*, merchant in *Edinburgh*, *Margaret Howie* his wife, and *John Mein* his son. This last *John* married, 16th *Feb.* 1662, *Catbarine*, daughter of *James Loch* of *Drylaw*; but dying soon thereafter without issue, was succeeded by his brother *Patrick Mein* of *Craigcrook*, who was served heir 25th *May*, 1669, and on the 14th of *July* following, sold this estate to *John Hall*, one of the bailies, and afterwards Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*. He was created a baronet 8th *Oct.* 1687; and having acquired the extensive barony of *Dunglass* in the county of *Haddington*, still enjoyed by his descendants, he sold *Craigcrook* in 1682 to *Walter Pringle*, advocate, whose son *John Pringle* of *Craigcrook* was served heir 25th *Sept.* 1685. This gentleman, in 1698, disposed of *Craigcrook* to *John Strachan*, writer to his Majesty's signet, who died about the year 1719, leaving his whole property real and personal, viz. *Craigcrook*, *North Clermiston*, and *Boddams*, a house in *Edinburgh*, and certain sums of money, mortified for charitable purposes.*

He

* Writs of the estate, charta in publ. arch. &c.

He executed two Deeds of Mortification, both registered in the books of Council and Session ; the first of which is as follows.

BE it kend to all men be thir presents, me *John Strachan of Craigcrook*, writer to the signet, for as much as God in his goodnes (to whom I give thanks) has blessed my pains and industrie ; therefore, out of ane thankful commemoration of his kindness and love to me, I have mortified and disponed, and even be thir presents I mortify and dispone, for charitable and pious uses, all lands, heritages, fums of moneey and other goods and gear that shall happen to belong to me, the tyme of my decease ; and that none of my relations or nearest of kin may have power to quarrel with what I either have or shall do with my fortune, in haill or in part, for reasons and causes known to myself, I doe by thir presents preclude and debarr them, and all that may pretend right from them any manner of way, from having access to, or intromission with, or inspection of, any lands, heritages, silver, goods and gear whatsoever pertaining and belonging to me the tyme of my decease, any manner of way for ever. Accordingly, I think fit to leave, and be thir presents I doe leave, to *William Strachan* my brother the sum of 600 merks Scotch, payable yearly in 200 merks, out of the rent of my lands and annualrents of my money, and no otherwise. As also I leave to *Margaret Strachan* daughter to the said *William*, spouse to *William Campbell* Littler in *Banff*, the sum of 600 merks money foresaid, to be payed yearly in 200 merks out of the said rents of lands and annualrents. And sicklyke, I leave to *Agnes Fulton* my sister's daughter, spouse to Mr *Daniel Gilchrist* minister at *Lintoun*, the like sum of 600 merks money foresaid, and payable yearly in manner above specified, and conformes as the other two are to be payed, and no otherwise; and for ever debarr them be thir presents, from all further access or right to any thing pertaining to me the time of my decease. And farder I the said *John Strachan* hereby declare all former deeds done in favor of the fornamed persons, or my nearest of kin, by word or writes, void and null, for now and ever, as if the sament had never been made nor granted. Providing always, like as it is expressly provided and declared, that it shall be leafome and lawful to me the said *John Strachan* at any time during life, *etiam in articulo mortis*, by word or wryte, to alter thir presents in haill or in part, and dispenses with the not delivery thereof. And for the more security I consent to the registration hereof in the books of Council and Session, or in any other judges book competent, therein to remain for preservation ; and to that effect constitute Mr *Matthew Mackell*, Advocate, my procurator. In witness whereof I have written and subscribed thir presents with my hand, at *Edinburgb* 20th *July* 1710. (Recorded 27th *Mar.* 1721.)

The second is of the following tenor.

Be it known to all men be thir presents, me *John Strachan of Craigcrook*, for as much as God in his goodnes (to whom I give thanks) has blessed me in my pains and industrie in my employment, I doe, out of an thankful resentment and commemoration

commemoration of his kindness and love to me, and withal, that none of my relations or nearest of kin may have right to what shall happen in land or money to belong to me the time of my decease, except what I have left or may leave under my hand; therefore I doe debarr and preclude them therefrom upon considerations known to me; and be thir presents, upon the provisions, restrictions, and limitations, underwritten, I the said *John Strachan*, for charitable and pious uses, assign and dispone all and haill the maills and duties of the lands of *Craigcrook*, as payable by the tenant thereof, present or to come, forth of the lands thereof, with the rents of the mannor place, yeards, dovecoat and haill pertinents, park and gairdner's house, the lands themselves, mannor place, and others foresaid never to be sold, in regard the samen are hereby mortified with the rents thereof. As also I hereby mortify, assign, and dispone, the maills and duties of the lands of *North Clermiston* and *Boddams*, presently possessed by *Thomas Wall*, the lands thereof also never to be sold, but to remain as mortified land for ever. Likeas the rent of my dwelling-house in *Edinburgh*, the house likewise never to be sold, but to remain as mortified land: And in like manner I mortify, assign and dispone the annualrent of all sums of money that shall happen to belong to me, the tyme of my decease, the present funds to remain and secured as principal sums, being mortified. And in regard I am to make some statutes anent the foresaid mortification and managers thereof, I doe hereby recommend to two Advocates, two Writers to the Signet, and the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, at the sight of the Lords of Session any two of their number to oversee the premises, and to employ ane discreet person to uplift the rents when due; for whose pains I allow yearly 100 merks; and, as uplifted, to employ the samen as the foresaid persons order, to poor old men and women and orphans: And I allow yearly to the Advocates poor yearly for their pains, 50 merks Scots, and to the writers to the signet 100 merks yearly; and ordains the rights of my lands and the bonds belonging to me to be secured at the forenamed persons their sight: And for the ministers of the presbytery their pains, I allow yearly twenty pounds Scots to be payed to one of them successively for an Bible, and to begin with the moderator of the presbytery and thereafter yearly ilk one *per vices* as the presbytery shall appoint: Providing always, like as it is hereby expressly provided, that thir presents are not to wrong or alter my wife her liferent of the said lands of *Craigcrook* and others above mentioned, but the samen to stand in force as conceived, as also any legacies or other things I have left, or shall leave by word or wryte, to any person by wryte under my hand, to stand; and recommend to the persons above specified to order the payment thereof as therein is mentioned: Lykeas it is hereby expressly provided and declared, that it shall be in my power at any time during life to alter thir presents, and to annull the samen in baill or in part, by word or wryte. And for the more security, I consent to the registration hereof in the books of Council and Session, and to that effect constitute Mr *Matthew Mackell*, Advocate, my procurator. In witness whereof I have written and subscribed thir presents with my hand, at *Edinburgh* 24th Sep. 1712. (Recorded 4th Aug 1719).

As

As Mr *Strachan* omitted to make any regulations, the trustees thus constituted did, upon the 6th *Feb.* 1775, agree upon the following statutes concerning the management of this valuable mortification ; which, in this parish alone, yields an annualrent of upwards of *L.* 320.

I. THAT the persons authorised by the deeds of mortification to be the trustees, meet together the first Monday of *Feb.* and *July* yearly, at twelve o' clock noon, in the hall of the Trustees of the fund for Ministers Widows in *Scotland*, &c. with consent of the trustees ; and to adjourn themselves as they shall see cause, and meet as often as the preses of the last meeting, or the clerk, shall find it needful to call them ; any seven of them to be a quorum ; and each meeting to chuse a preses, who shall sign the resolution, orders, and conclusions of that meeting : and that the annual stated meeting in *Feb.* shall chuse a standing committee of their number, who shall prepare all business remitted to them ; and the said meeting, and all other meetings of the trustees, shall also have power to appoint other particular committees, as upon any emergency may seem to them necessary.

II. That the foresaid trustees, at one of their stated meetings, elect a discreet and fit person to be clerk and factor during pleasure, for uplifting the rents of the mortification, and distributing the same, as he shall be especially ordered by the trustees, and to keep regular books, and to record therein the acts and deeds of the trustees, to receive in petitions, make up rolls, and transcribe the minutes into a book, and keep the same in good order. Which clerk and factor shall have a salary of twenty pounds sterling yearly, payable at Candlemas for the year preceeding : and this to be in full for service, pens, ink, paper, books, and all other demands whatsoever as clerk.

III. That the factor so appointed, be impowered to use all needful diligence for inbringing the rents and revenues of the said mortification, and be ready to lay his accounts before the trustees when required : and it is hereby specially provided, that the same be examined and revised at the stated meeting in *Feb.* yearly, that the accounts of the preceding year may be laid before the lords overseers, together with the whole transactions of the trustees for the said preceding year.

IV. THAT one be chosen to be messenger or officer to the trustees, to continue during pleasure, who is to give advertisement of the time and place of their meeting, and to attend the same, and the other affairs of the mortification, as he shall be directed by the managers, their preses, or clerk and factor. And as some of the trustees do not reside in the city of *Edinburgb*, he is to leave an advertisement for the Advocates with the keeper of their library, one for the Writers with the under-keeper of the signet, and one for the Presbytery with their clerk. And the foresaid officer is to have thirty pounds Scots yearly, at the term of Whitsunday for the year preceding.

That

That after deduction of the necessary expences of management and reparations, and of the sums directed by the mortification to be paid to the Advocates, and the Writers their poor, and to the moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the whole remainder of the rents and annualrents shall be bestowed upon pensioners, certified by persons of known character, to be proper objects of this charity.

That in order to make up the roll of pensioners, a list of the persons petitioning, together with their petitions and certificates, shall be laid before one of the two stated meetings, who may either instantly reject any of these petitions, or remit them to the more particular consideration of their committee, who shall make inquiry into the circumstances of the petitioners, and report their opinion to the following stated meeting, who may then approve or not of such report, as they shall see cause.

That a list of the persons found qualified shall then be made up, and the pensioners to be enrolled shall be chosen out of the said list, a special regard being always had to such as have no other pension, and have formerly been in creditable circumstances: and that none shall be enrolled, but at one of the two stated meetings, in the manner above expressed; nor shall this roll be altered at any intervening diet; but upon information of misbehaviour in any of the pensioners, payment may be suspended till one of the stated meetings: and that the trustees determine the quota that is to be allowed yearly to each of the pensioners on the said roll; and in proportion to the foresaid pensioners of one half, at each term of Whitfunday and Martinmas yearly.

V. THAT the roll be written in three columns, the first to contain the pensioners, their names and designations; the second the sums allotted to them; the third to be a place for the subscriptions of such as can write. Upon the head of which third column is to be written a general discharge for them all; and at the end of the roll, an order upon the factor to pay conform to the same, signed by the preses; and that the factor count conform to this roll; and that there be a new copy of the roll, with the alterations and additions as occasion requires, written out and signed each half year.

VI. And in regard the mortification is only for "*poor old men, women, and orphans,*" it is ordained, that no men or women under the age of sixty-five* be enrolled for pensioners; and that no orphans be enrolled, or allowed to continue, after their age of twelve years complete: and in case of orphans, a person's name shall be inserted in the roll, such as the managers can trust, to receive and discharge for them, and to oversee them.

VII. That no pension exceed the sum of five pounds sterling yearly.

VIII. That the factor send no money to absent pensioners, but upon a certificate, or some evidence of their being alive.

IX. THAT a chest be provided, wherein shall be lodged all the writs and securities

* At the general meeting in Feb. 1793, the managers agreed that sixty-five should be altered to sixty-three.

ties of the mortification, and the books of the trustees, their managements, and accounts, after the same are completely filled up, revised, and recorded; one key of which chest is to be kept by the moderator of the presbytery of Edinburgh, and another by the clerk and factor to the mortification: and the said chest is never to be opened, but by order of a meeting of the trustees duly advertised, or of their annual committee, and that one of them be present at opening and closing thereof.

X. THAT a full inventory of the whole writs of the said mortification be kept in the chest, and one with the clerk of this mortification. And that a receipt-book lie in the chest, in which is to be set down a receipt to be signed by the out-taker, bearing the cause of taking out any of the said writs.

XI. THAT these rules stand in force, till altered at one or other of the stated meetings, at the sight of the lords overseers; and that no alteration be made, or new rules enacted, till proposed at one meeting, and left to lie on the table till another stated meeting, and the lords overseers be advised therein*.

West from *Craigcrook*, lie the lands of *North Clermiston*, formerly called *Clairbarstoun*, which antiently belonged to the *Cramonds* of *Cramond*, a family of no small repute in this parish from whence they were denominated,

* A tradition exists, that a murder was committed in *Craigcrook* house; but it appears that this is a mistake, founded on the circumstance of Mr *Stracban's* house-keeper, *Helen Bell*, having been murdered in her way out there, on *Monday 3d Nov. 1707*, by *William Thomson* wright in *Edinburgh*, and *John Robertson* smith in *Pleasance*. These two men had been in company with the unfortunate victim in Mr *Stracban's* house in *Edinburgh* on the *Saturday* preceding; and she having mentioned that she was going out to *Craigcrook* on the *Monday* morning, they met her at 5 A. M. near the West Bow, and told her they were going part of her way. She gave *Thomson* two bottles, and the key of her master's lodging, to carry, in order to lighten her burden; but when they came below the Castle, they threw her over the steps, struck her with a hammer, and having thus dispatched her, returned to the house to rob it. Having opened it with the key, they lighted a candle at the kitchen fire, prized up the study door, broke open the chest where the cash was kept, out of which they took eight bags of money, and a purse of gold, leaving two bags behind. *Thomson* carried six of the bags and the purse, and *Robertson* the other two bags (one containing L. 100) in their aprons. The latter proposed to carry all the tow and lint they could find, and the bed-clothes, to a back room, and set them on fire, in order to burn the house; but *Thomson* said he had done wickedness enough already, and was resolved not to commit more, even when *Robertson* threatened to murder him for that refusal.

What

minated, as will afterwards be more particularly noticed. These lands were, in 1541, sold by *James Cramond of Auldbar*, to *William Adamson of Craigcrook*, and they constitute part of Mr *Strachan's* mortification. Adjoining to them, is *South Clermystoun*, the property of *Samuel Mitchelson Esq.* Writer to the Signet; but only a small portion of this estate lies in this parish, the remaining part being situated in that of *Corstorphine*.

The lands of *Lauriston*, lying immediately to the west of the barony of *Muirhouse*, rise by a gradual ascent from the banks of the *Forth*. On the summit of this ascent, stands the castle of *Lauriston*, commanding, from its elevated situation, an extensive prospect, especially of the sea and coast of *Fife*. There is no date visible upon the building; but from particular circumstances, this castle appears to have been erected by Sir *Archibald Napier of Merchiston*, and his second wife Dame *Elizabeth Mowbray*, towards the end of the 16th century*. Over the south door is a stone tablet, thus inscribed:

R. D.

What is remarkable, *Thomson* deposed, that on their return through the *Grassmarket*, after the murder, they swore to each other to give their souls and bodies to the devil, if ever any of them should discover and inform against the other, even after being apprehended. *Robertson* proposing that this engagement should be engrossed in a bond, a man started up betwixt them in the middle of the *Bow*, and offered to write the bond, which they had agreed to subscribe with their blood; but on *Thomson's* demurring, the person (whom he said he had never before seen,) immediately disappeared.

The perpetrators of this atrocious action remained undiscovered for some weeks; but at last suspicions arising against *Thomson*, he was taken up, and having made a voluntary confession of the murder and robbery, both he and *Robertson* were executed.

* The initial letters of their names, S. A. N. and D. E. M. are on the capitals of two of the windows, adorned with thistles and fleurs de lis, which led me at first to imagine that *Lauriston* had been built during the union of the crowns of *France* and *Scotland*, under *Francis* and *Mary* (1558-1560); but it appears that the *Napiers* did not become proprietors thereof till after 1587, in which year *Henry Forrester*, from whom they purchased this estate, succeeded to the barony of *Corstorphine*.



Lauriston Castle, the property of M. LAW de Lauriston, Marshal de Camp.

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R. D.

Astra nec vitæ moderatores nec
 bonorum meorum causas agno-
 sco hæc quæ possideo Dei
 benignitati accepta fero ejus
 fidei juranda voluntati disponen-
 da committo ab eo gratiam omnibus
 pro ipso utendi expeto et expecto
 Robert Dalgish, Jean Douglafs.

Anagramme.

God's great and he is al our blis.

Above this tablet is the atchievement of Mr *Dalglish*, an oak tree e-
 radicate in fess, betwixt three pheons, two in chief, and one in base;
 impaling, ermine on a chief three mullets; which last was the cogni-
 zance of the *Douglasses* of *Pompherstoun*, an antient and knightly family
 in *Midlothian*, now extinct. On the south wall of the gardener's house,
 on a stone about 19 inches square, is cut Sir *Alexander Napier's* "Celest-
 " tial Theme," probably calculated by his accomplished brother, *John*
Napier of *Merchistoun*, the immortal inventor of the logarithms; the
 figures and inscription upon this stone are engraved in the miscellane-
 ous plate, No. I.

Lauriston, a name whose orthography has varied at different periods,
 originally belonged to a family of the same name; as appears from a
 confirmation dated 19th Oct. 1490, to *William Lowranstoun*, son and
 heir apparent of *John Lowranstoun* of that ilk, of a charter made to
 him by the said *John*, bearing date 24th Mar. 1486, of all and whole
 the lands of *Louranstoun* with their pertinents, lying within the county
 of *Edinburgb*. In the Register Office is another charter of the same
 lands of *Laurenstoun*, to *Janet Inglis*, spouse of *Thomas Laurenstoun* of
 that ilk, dated at *Jedburgh* 20th Nov. 1493*. Of this family of *Lowran-*
stoun,

* Cart. in publ. arch.—In which also is a charter to *Robert Lowristoun* of a third
 part of the lands of *Cleish* and *Hawtome*, dated 24th Oct. 1471.

stoun, Laurenstoun, or Lauriston, very scanty memorials now exist; and it would appear that they did not continue in possession of the estate from whence they were denominated, long after the last mentioned period. For, early in the 16th century, the lands of *Lauriston* and *Randleston*, (now included under the general name of *Lauriston*) constituted a portion of the considerable estate of the *Forresters* of *Corstorphine*, which extended over great part of this parish. They were, towards the end of the same century, sold by *Henry Forrester* of *Corstorphine*, *Helen Preston* his spouse, and *George Forrester* his eldest son and apparent heir, to *Sir Archibald Napier* of *Edinbellie* and *Merchistoun* *, and *Dame Elizabeth Mowbray* his wife, and their heirs. This *Sir Archibald Napier* was appointed Master of the Mint in 1587, and died, at a very advanced age, in 1608. He was twice married, first to *Janet*, daughter of *Sir Francis Botbwell*, by whom he had an only child, *John Napier* of *Merchistoun*, born in 1550, whose wonderful invention, the logarithms, the fruit of unassisted reason and science, entitles him to one of the highest niches in the Temple of Fame †. *Sir Archibald's* second wife was *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Robert Mowbray* of *Barnbougle*; by her he had one son, *Sir Alexander Napier* of *Lauriston*, who, on the 14th of *Feb.* 1626, was constituted one of the Senators of the College of Justice, but did not long enjoy this high station, dying towards the end of the 1629 ‡. At his death, it appeared he had previously sold the lands of

* The *Napiers* of *Merchistoun* had however property in this parish long before they became possessed of *Lauriston*; for in the public registers is a charter of King *Robert III.* dated 16th *Feb.* 1391, confirming to *William Napier* Governour of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, a grant of the lands "quondam Symonis Rede militis infra territorium de Cramont Regis, et que fuerunt Joannis Rede filii et heredis quond. ejusd. Symonis, et quos ipse Joannes non vi aut metu ductus sed sua mera et spontanea voluntate nobis per fustum et baculum sursum reddidit," made to the said *William Napier*, by his father King *Robert II.* bearing date 8th *Dec.* 1388.

† Vide "An account of the life, writings, and inventions of *John Napier* of *Merchistoun*, by *David Stewart*, Earl of *Buchan*, and *Walter Minto* L. L. D." 4to. *Perth* 1787.

‡ *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 364. Lord *Hailes's* list of the Session.

of *Lauriston* to *John Cant* of *St Giles's Grange*, who accordingly came into possession of them, but did not long retain this property, *Thomas Rigg* of *Lauriston* occurring about 1650 in the Session records.

In 1656, *Lauriston* belonged to Mr *Robert Dalglish*, (son of *James Dalglish*, second son of *Robert Dalglish* of *Dalglish*;) who in his youth had resided in the family of the second Lord *Balmerinocb* at *Barntoun*, where he could not fail to be impressed with the most rigid principles of the Covenanters, on which account he was appointed clerk to the famous General Assembly of the church of *Scotland* that met at *Glasgow* in 1638, wherein episcopacy was abolished. Mr *Dalglish*, (who was solicitor to King *Charles II.*) died 12th Oct. 1662, and was buried at *Cramond*, leaving, by his wife *Jean Douglas*, a daughter of the house of *Pompherstoun*, an only child, *Margaret Dalglish*, his sole heiress, born 28th Mar. 1645, married 23d Jan. 1662, to *Ludovick Craig*, of *Riccartoun* in *Midlothian*, great grandson of that celebrated lawyer, Sir *Thomas Craig* of *Riccartoun*, Advocate to King *James VI.* famous for his learned treatise on the Feudal System. That lady, and her eldest son *Thomas Craig* of *Riccartoun*, in 1683, sold the lands of *Lauriston* and *Randleston* to *William Law*, goldsmith or banker in *Edinburgh*, in whose family they still continue*.

This *William Law* of *Lauriston* derived his descent from an ancient and respectable family of the same name, long seated at *Litbrie* in *Fife*; and dying at *Paris* about the year 1688, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, *John Law* of *Lauriston*, afterwards Comptroller General of the Finances of *France*, perhaps the most remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune on record. The reader will find a circumstantial account of this extraordinary character and his projects in the second part of this work; so I will in this place just mention, that at his death at *Venice* in 1729, in the 58th year of his age, he was succeeded by his only son, *John Law* of *Lauriston*, who died unmarried, a cornet of the regiment of *Nassau Friesland*, at *Maastricht* in 1734, aged about 30.

F 2

The

* Records of Kirk Session, marriages, and baptisms of *Cramond* and of *Edinburgh* Writs of the estate. &c.

The estate of *Lauriston* thereupon devolved on his uncle, *William Law*, (only surviving brother of the Comptroller General), director general of the company of the *Indies*, and one of the directors of the royal bank of *France*. He died at *Paris* in 1752, æta. 77, leaving two sons, the youngest of whom, *James Francis Law*, distinguished himself so highly on the coast of *Coromandel* and in the *Decan*, that he was raised to the chief command of the troops of the French East India company, in which capacity he died at the *Isle of France* in 1767, æta. 43. The eldest son, *John Law of Lauriston*, Chevalier de *St. Louis*, was for many years governor of *Pandichery*, Commandant General of all the French settlements in *India*, President of all their councils, and King's Commissary; and in 1780 was raised to the rank of *Marechal de Camp*, answering to that of Major General in the British service. His eldest son, (not to mention one who died an infant), *John William Law of Lauriston*, a Lieutenant of the French Navy, failed in 1785 with the celebrated *M. de la Perouse*, on a voyage round the world, and has in all probability perished with that unfortunate circumnavigator, of whom no accounts have been received since he left *New South Wales* in *March* 1788. Mr *Law* has five other sons, the oldest of whom is married and has issue. This distinguished family bears for arms Ermine, a bend between two cocks *, G. Crest, an unicorn's head, proper. Motto, *Nec obscura nec ima*.

The barony of *Nether Gramond*, adjoining to *Lauriston* on the *W.* extends along the shore of the *Forth*, and the banks of the *Amon*. On a rising ground above the sea, surrounded with some of the finest old timber in the county, stands *Gramond* house, the most ancient part of which was built about 1680; to this Sir *Adam Inglis* made a considerable addition in 1772, and his brother Sir *John* has greatly improved the whole place.

N. W. from the house is a square tower of three stories, each having a vaulted

* The *Laws* bearing cocks for their arms, is supposed to refer to the concluding part of the crow of that animal having a similar sound. Nisbet's Heraldry, I. 356.

vaulted roof, the only remains of a palace of the Bishops of *Dunkeld*; *Cramond* having been for a long period the property of these prelates, and their chief place of residence on the south side of the *Forth*. At the W. end was a chapel, now entirely demolished, and the edifice appears to have extended to the N. and E. No memorials remain of the date of its erection; but it was probably built previous to 1409, in which year the tower of *Cramond* is particularly mentioned in an indenture of excambion to be hereafter narrated.

It is by no means clearly ascertained at what period the town and lands of *Cramond* first came into possession of that see. In the learned *Sir James Dalrymple's* Historical Collections, it is said, that "*Robert Avenale*, alias *Avenale*, Justiciary of *Lothian* in the reign of *William the Lion*, (who swayed the Scottish sceptre from 1160 to 1214), and his family, did possess *Karramund*, and gave that part of it to the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, called *Bishop's Cramond*, now possessed by *Sir John Inglis, Bart.*" *Keith*, in his catalogue of the Bishops of *Scotland*, says that *Richard de Prebenda*, second bishop of *Dunkeld*, died at *Cramond* in 1173 or 1174, and was buried at *Inchcolm*; also, that *John de Leycester*, the seventh bishop of that see, died at *Cramond* in 1214, which is confirmed by *Fordun*. From an indenture of excambion, however, in the possession of *Mr Watson of Saughton*, it appears that *Robert de Cardney*, the then Bishop of *Dunkeld*, made, in 1409, an exchange of his lands of *Gammo* in this parish, for the tower of *Cramond*, several pieces of ground within the barony of *Kirk Cramond*, and divers annualrents, with *John de Nudre*, and *William de Nudre* his son and heir *. We may safely conclude that

* It does not appear at what time the family of *Nudre* (or *Niddery*) first settled at *Cramond*; their property at this place, given to the Bishop of *Dunkeld* in exchange for *Gammo*, is thus described in the indenture of excambion. "*Joannes de Nudre de Cramond, dedit, concessit, &c. Turrim suam situatam infra villam ecclesiasticam de Cramond, nec non omnes et singulas terras suas in baronia de Kirk Cramond jacentes, viz. duas terras jacentes prope turrim, ex parte occidentali ejusdem turris, et 10s. annui redditus de terra Willielmi Smythson, et 10s. annui redditus*

that the good prelate, who, it is reported, owed his advancement to his sister *Marion de Cardney's* connection with King *Robert II **, would take care not to have the worst of the bargain, according to the usual practice of the Romish Clergy; and it is observable that *Nether Cramond* is at this day distinguished for natural fertility, above all the other lands in this parish.

Thomas Lauder, who was Bishop of *Dunkeld* from 1452 to 1476, obtained in 1454, a charter for erecting different properties belonging to his see on the south side of the *Forth*, to wit, *Cramond*, *Abercorn*, *Prefton*, and *Aberlady*, into one barony, to be called the barony of *Aberlady*. This worthy and public spirited prelate, who is stiled *omnium suæ ætatis pientissimus et doctissimus*, did a vast deal of good to his see, building a bridge over the *Tay* at *Dunkeld*, purchasing two lodgings, one in *Edinburgh* and the other in *Perth*, for the accommodation of his successors during the sitting of parliament, and founding a number of chaplainries and prebends.

“ de terra Joannis Symfon, et 10s. annui redditus de terra beredum quond. Adæ de Suffe.
 “ Item terram suam ex parte boreali terra Jacobi Dow jacentem, cum crosta dictæ terræ
 “ pertinen. Item terram suam jacen. ex parte australe——antedictæ cum mare ex
 “ parte una, et terra Alani Broun ex parte alia, cum crosta dictæ terræ pertinen. I-
 “ tem terram suam de la Grein bank, supra terras——
 (here are two or three words not legible, apparently, *dicti episcopi*, which will recon-
 cile all difficulties, by showing that the Bishops had property at *Cramond* previous to
 the excambion) “ ex parte occidentali ecclesiæ de Cramond. Item terram suam jacen-
 “ tem ex parte australi dictæ——inter terras Alani Brown ex parte boreali, et terram
 “ dictæ turris ex parte australi ex parte altera, cum crosta eidem terræ pertinen. cum om-
 “ ne et singulas alias terras suas infra præfatam baroniam de Kyrk Cramond jacentes.”
 The bishop and his successors were bound to pay from thence an annualrent of five
 shillings of usual money to *Thomas de Cramond*, who appears to have been the supe-
 rior of that property.

* Abbot *Mill's* account of the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, M. S.—In the public registers
 is a charter from *Robert II.* of the lands of *Tolyry*, *Burroly*, *Easter Balmogall*, and
Sbenball, the mill of *Milnatbort*, Co. *Kinross*, to “ *Marion de Cardney*, and the chil-
 “ dren begotten or to be begotten between us and her, whom failing, to the heirs of
 “ of the body of the said *Marion* lawfully begotten,” dated 27th *Mar.* 1372.

prebends. In 1574, a degenerate successor of this munificent prelate, *James Paton*, the first Protestant Bishop of *Dunkeld*, thought proper to alienate the town and lands of *Cramond* to *Archibald Douglas* of *Kilspindie*; for which, and for other dilapidations of his benefice, he was deposed the following year, 1576*.

Archibald Douglas of *Kilspindie*, descended from *Archibald* (Bell-the-Cat) Earl of *Angus*, was succeeded in the lands of *Cramond* by his son *Patrick*, who, about the year 1600, alienated them to *Alexander Douglas*, macer in *Edinburgh*, portioner of *Rathbyres*, by whom, in 1612, *Cramond* was sold to *James Inglis*, merchant in *Edinburgh*, only son of *Archibald Inglis*, a considerable merchant in that city. This *James Inglis* of *Cramond* died in 1637, having married, in 1609, *Sarah* daughter of *John Morrison* of *Prestongrange*, by whom he had a son and successor, *John Inglis* of *Cramond*, born 25th Aug. 1611, a person of worth and integrity, and a considerable sufferer for his conscientious adherence to the Presbyterian mode of worship, after it was prohibited by law. He married, in 1632, *Janet*, daughter of *John Elies* of *Southside*, and died in 1684, æta. 73. having had several children, one of whom, *John Inglis* younger of *Cramond*, died at *Paris*, in the course of his travels, 20th June 1664, æta. 22, unmarried; so that the succession devolved upon the youngest and only surviving son, *James Inglis* of *Cramond*, born 17th May 1660, twenty eight years after his parents' marriage, who was created a baronet 22d March 1687, and died in 1689, in the 29th year of his age.

His only surviving son and successor, Sir *John Inglis* of *Cramond*, was born 23d Sept, 1683, and after attaining a period of life to which very few reach, without suffering so much as one days confinement by sickness, died at *Cramond* 3d March 1771, æta. 88. He was universally esteemed and respected, and enjoyed for some years the office of Postmaster General of *Scotland*. His wife, with whom he lived no less than

* *Keith's Catalogue of Bishops*, 55, 179.

63 years in a married state, was *Anne* daughter of *Adam Cockburn* of *Orni-stoun*, Lord Justice Clerk; and they had ~~issus six sons and~~ as many daughters. His ^{only} surviving son and successor, Sir *Adam Inglis* of *Cramond*, was born in 1714, studied the law at *Leyden*, and entered advocate 1736. He died at *Cramond* 9th Nov. 1772, æta. '59, without issue by his wife, Lady *Dorothea Primrose*, daughter of *James* second Earl of *Roseberry*, and was succeeded by his brother, the present Sir *John Inglis* of *Cramond*, whose only surviving son, *Adam Inglis* of *Southfield*; was called to the bar in 1782*.

Southfield, from whence Mr. *Inglis* takes his designation, is a considerable farm in this parish, lying more than a mile to the S. W. of his father's property of *Nether Cramond*. *Southfield* was formerly part of the great estate of the *Nidderys* of *Cammo*, but about the year 1470 was, together with *Cramond Regis*, and several other lands in this parish, divided among heirs-portioners and otherwise. In 1546, the lands of *Southfield* were purchased from *John Crichton* of *Southfield* by *William Adamson* of *Craigcrook*, a successor of whom, of both his names, sold them in 1634 to Sir *John Smith* of *Grottbill*. In 1676, *John Inglis* of *Cramond* acquired from Sir *John Young* of *Leny*, and others, creditors of the said Sir *John Smith*, the ten merk land of *King's Cramond*, part of *Niddery's Mill*, *Southfield*, *Hunterland*, *Greenrig*, &c. together with the Kirklands of *Cramond*, and the patronage of the altarage of St. *Thomas* the Apostle and St. *Apollonia* the Virgin. These Kirklands, and a quarter of *Niddery's Mill*, had been mortified, in 1508, by *Janet Elphinston*, relict of *Richard Lawson* of *Hierigs* †, Justice Clerk, in favour of Sir *William Linton* and his successors, chaplains to the altar of All Saints, of St. *Thomas* the Apostle, and St. *Apollonia* the Virgin, to be built within
the

* *Douglas's Baronage*, 264, 265. *Parish Registers*, &c.

† *Lawson* had acquired the fourth part of the lands of *Cammo* from *Janet*, daughter and coheirefs of *William Baillie* of *Cammo*, spouse of *John Gifford*, about 1500.

Nisb. Heraldry, II. App. 100.

the college church of *St. Giles* at *Edinburgh*. Falling into lay hands at the Reformation, they were purchased by the *Smiths* of *Groatbill* in 1610*.

Nicholas Bannachtyn, first Provost of the collegiate church of *Corstorphine*, to which he was appointed on its foundation in 1429, dying in 1470, left an annual rent out of the lands of *Kirk Cramond*, for the express purpose of celebrating masses for the souls of him and the future masters of *Corstorphine* Provostry, on the 14th of *June* annually. For the better securing this mortification, the terms of the donation were engraven on a stone, fixed into the east wall of the chancel of the collegiate church of *Corstorphine*, where it still remains; this piece of ground, which long retained the name of the Priest's Acres, belonged in 1630, to one *Margaret Jousie*, and is now the property of *Sir John Inglis* of *Cramond*.

When persons of landed property first began to be denominated from their possessions, a considerable estate in this parish, particularly about *Over* and *Nether Cramond*, belonged to a family who thence stiled themselves *Cramond*, or *de Cramond*, and bore for arms, Az. a bend O. between three pelicans feeding their young, Ar. Among the writs belonging to the mortification of *Craigcrook*, is a transumpt of a charter of confirmation, granted by *Alexander Seaton*, Knt. Master of the house of *Torpichen*, of the order of *St John of Jerusalem*, of the kingdom of *Scotland*, confirming a charter granted by *John de Cramond*, to *Thomas de Cramond*, his son, of two oxengates of land in the tenement of *Cramond* and *Clairbarstoun*, within the constabulary of *Edinburgh*, and which two oxengates of land *Simon*, the son of *Nicol*, goodfire to the said *John*, gave to *William* the Constable his father, in marriage with *Agnes* his mother, of which two oxengates of land, one oxengate with the toft and croft, lies on the S. part of the said town of *Cramond*, in the E. of *Rutherfield*, in three pieces, and the other oxengate lies in the E. part of the said

G

arable

* Ex informat. *Jo. Inglis*, Eq. Bar.

arable land of *Clairbarstoun*, between the lands of which *William de Cramond* *, cousin of the said *John*, held of the Master and brethren of the house of *Torbichen* on the S. and the lands of the Abbot and convent of *St Colm* on the N. to be holden of the said Master and brethren of *Torbichen*, &c. This charter, having the charter confirmed, engrossed of date at *Cramond* upon the morrow after the feast of the body of our Lord 1345, is dated at *Templestown* in a free court holden there, upon the Friday next after the feast of *St James* the Apostle the same year †.

John de Cramond, mentioned in the above paper, was one of the principal men of the county of *Edinburgh*, when *Edward I.* of *England* overran *Scotland*, as I find him submitting, and doing homage, to that monarch, for his lands and possessions in this shire in 1306 †.——This family early acquired extensive possessions in the counties of *Perth* and *Forfar*, and were connected in marriage with several of the most considerable houses in the north, particularly with the *Keiths*, great Marshals of *Scotland*, and the *Maules* of *Panmure* §. In 1362, *Mauritius de Cramond* sold the lands of *Meikleour* in *Perthshire*, to *John Mercer*, whose posterity still possess the same ||. A son or brother of this *Mauritius*, *Simon de Cramond*, nephew of Sir *William Keith*, great Marshal of *Scotland*, was a Carmelite friar, high in the estimation of King *Robert II.* Being sent by that monarch to conclude a treaty of peace with *Charles VI.* of *France*, he was made Bishop of *Poitou* in that kingdom, and afterwards had the honour of being raised, by Pope *Gregory XI.* to the

* *Willielmus de Cramond* is designed *Clericus de Garderoba Domini Regis*, in a charter of *John Earl of Strathern*, A. D. 1278.——In *Rymer's Fœdera*, II. 791, is an order from *Edward I.* to the Sheriff of the county of *Dumfries*, prohibiting him from meddling with the possessions of *William de Cramond*, parson of the church of *Wynchdurre*.

† The said charter of confirmation was transumed at the instance of *Richard de Cairnes* of the *Craig*, Lord of the east part of *Cramond*, 30th Jan. 1454.

‡ *Rymeri Fœdera*, II. 1015.

§ Chartæ in publ. Arch.

|| *Nisbet's Heraldry*, I. 221.

the high ecclesiastical dignity of patriarch of *Antioch* *. *Dempster* mentions that this great man was educated in a Carmelite monastery at *Cramond*; but, as no such foundation existed here, it is undoubtedly a mistake for the monastery of that order at *Queensferry*, established by *Dundas* of *Dundas* in 1330.

The *Cramonds* having taken up their residence in the north, gradually disposed of all the property they possessed in this parish. *Thomas de Cramond*, who occurs in 1409, was succeeded in his estate here by *Alexander de Cramond* of *Melgun*, who had a charter under the great seal of the lands of *Clairbarstoun* and others in this parish, pertaining to *Thomas*, 18th *May* 1445. His successor, *Thomas Cramond* of *Melgun*, had a charter of the lands of *Eddrocbat*, 21st *Jan.* 1472, and had a son and heir, *Alexander Cramond*, who, 22d *July* 1490, obtained a charter of his property here. Dying in 1516, he was succeeded by his son, *James Cramond* of *Melgun* and *Auldbar* †, who, in 1541, disposed of *Over Cramond* and *Clairbarstoun* to *William Adamson* of *Craigcrook* ‡. Thus, the interest of this once considerable family ceased in the parish from whence they had been denominated, after a continuance therein of upwards of 300 years.

On a gentle declivity, at the northern extremity of *Corstorphine Hill*, and almost in the center of the parish, stands *Barntoun House*; the principal part, extending about 70 feet by 40, was built in 1681 by Sir *Robert Miln* of *Barntoun*. At the N. W. corner is part of the old mansion of the Lords *Balmerinoch*, with the date 1623 on one of the windows; adjacent to which on the N. is a chapel built in 1770 by Lord and Lady *Glenorchy*, in which divine worship was frequently performed, during their residence at this place.

The barony of *Over Barntoun*, about the 1400, belonged to a family

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of

* *Father Hay's Scotia Sacra*, 682, 684.

† In the public registers is a charter to *James Cramond* of *Auldbar*, and *Isabella Erskine* his spouse, of the third part of the lands of *Baldwy*, dated 4th *June* 1527.

‡ Writs of the estates of *Barntoun* and *Craigcrook*.

of the name of *Towers* (*de Turribus*) a branch of that seated for some centuries at *Invercrist* in this county; but about 1450, on the resignation of *Nicholas Borthwick* of *Levy*, it became the property of *George Crichton*, Earl of *Gaitbriens*, and Lord High Admiral of *Scotland*, who dying in 1455, left this barony to his daughter, *Lady Janet Crichton*, wife of *Robert*, third Lord *Maxwell* of *Coerlaverack* *. Her second son, *George Maxwell*, had *Barnatoun* settled upon him, but he soon sold it to Sir *Archibald Dundas* of *Dundas*, in the county of *Linlithgow*, chief of that very respectable family; a family yielding to none in *Scotland*, whether considered in point of antiquity, or the number of great characters it has produced, particularly in the present century. Sir *Archibald* dying in 1479, was succeeded by his only son, *John Dundas* of *Dundas*, ambassador to *England* in 1485. He adhered firmly to the interest of *James III.* from whom he obtained a signed patent of the dignity of Earl of *Forth*; but that unfortunate monarch being slain in an engagement with his rebellious subjects before the great seal was appended thereto, the patent could never be reckoned valid. He died in 1494, and his son and successor Sir *William Dundas* of *Dundas*, in 1507, sold *Over Barnatoun* to Sir *Robert Barton*.

This Sir *Robert Barton* of *Over Barnatoun* was, in 1511, master skipper of the great *Michael*, a famous man of war built by King *James IV.* whose son and successor *James V.* in 1524, appointed Sir *Robert* Comptroller of the Exchequer, and in 1529, raised him to the offices of Lord High Treasurer of *Scotland*, and Master of the *Cuinzie House*, (i. e. General of the Mint.) He acquired a considerable fortune; and dying in 1538 †, was succeeded by his son, *Robert Barton*, who having, previous to 1429¹⁵²⁹, married *Barbara* only daughter and heiress of Sir *John Mowbray* of *Barnbogle*, obtained an act of parliament to assume the name and arms of *Mowbray*, and settled at *Barnbogle Castle*. The second son of that marriage,

* *Douglas's Peerage*, 112, 318.

† *Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State*, p. 373.

marriage, *James Mowbray*, had *Barntown* assigned to him by his parents in 1548 *, but about 1558, he disposed of this barony to one Mr *Alexander Machan*, Advocate, by whom, about ¹⁵⁸⁰ 1680, it was sold to Sir *James Elphinstone*, third son of *Robert*, third Lord *Elphinstone* †.

This, Sir *James*, being a person of great abilities, and highly favoured by king *James VI.* filled many important offices, particularly that of Secretary of State, which he held from 1598 to 1608. In 1604, he was created Lord *Balmerinock*, accompanied his royal Master into *England*, and continued high in favour till 1608, when it being by a strange accident discovered that he had, in 1599, surreptitiously obtained the King's hand to a letter addressed to the Pope ‡, by shuffling it among other papers his Majesty was to sign, he was deprived of the Secretary's place, sent down to *Scotland*, found guilty of high treason at *St Andrews* 12th Mar. 1609, sentenced to be beheaded, and his whole property adjudged forfeited. However, at the Queen's intercession, his life was spared; on condition of his confining himself to his own house of *Balmerinock*, where he died in 1612. His eldest son and successor, *John* second Lord *Balmerinock*, having offended *Charles I.* by a vigorous opposition to his arbitrary measures, was in 1634 committed prisoner to *Edinburgh* castle, tried before the Justiciary, 20th Mar. 1635, and found guilty of leasing-making, by a majority of one voice only in a jury packed with the utmost care. Sentence of death was pronounced upon his Lordship; but this the Ministers of the Crown durst not venture to carry into execution, by reason of the menaces of his friends to retaliate upon them; on which account the King was unwillingly constrained to remit the iniquitous condemnation §. Lord *Balmerinock* was perhaps the best friend the Covenanters had; supporting them not only with his counsels

* Cart. in publ. Arch.

† *Crawford's Peerage*, 32. *Douglas's Peerage*, 64.

‡ *Calderwood's ecclesiastical History*, 427.

§ *Burnet's History of his own Times*, I. 22.

fels and countenance, but also supplying them with large sums of money, by which he irretrievably injured his once ample fortune; and departing this life in 1649, was succeeded by his only son, *John*, third Lord *Balmerinoch*.

This nobleman was born in 1623, and dying in 1704, æt. 82, was succeeded by his only surviving son, *John*, fourth Lord *Balmerinoch*, who, in 1688, in his father's lifetime, was obliged to dispose of the barony of *Barntoun* to discharge part of the debts contracted by his grandfather in the service of the public. The interest of this great family thus ceased in this parish, of which they had been, for nearly a century, the principal ornament.

Barntoun was purchased by *Robert Miln**, one of the farmers of the revenue of Customs and Excise, who, in 1685, acquired the lands of *Binny*, and was created a baronet in 1686; but his affairs soon falling into disorder, he was obliged, in 1691, to dispose of *Barntoun* to *George Hamilton* of *Binny*. This gentleman was also created a Baronet in 1692; but being deeply engaged with Sir *Robert Miln*, and involved in many intricate transactions, he was soon constrained by his creditors to sell the barony of *Barntoun*, which was purchased by Lord *John Hamilton*, Earl of *Ruglen*, the disposition bearing date 24th Aug. 1698.

His Lordship was brother of *James Duke of Hamilton and Brandon*, killed in the famous duel with Lord *Mobun*; and also of *Charles Earl of Selkirk*, to whose titles he succeeded in 1739. He made considerable
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* He and the other farmers were in 1682, summoned before the Privy Council, for an attempt to bribe Lord *Hatton* the Treasurer Depute (brother of the Duke of *Lauderdale*.) It came out in evidence that the sum of 14,000 merks had been appropriated for this purpose, and delivered to Sir *William Binny* and Mr *Miln* of *Barntoun* to give to Lord *Hatton*, who rejected the offer with contempt; but these two gentlemen kept the money to themselves, and made the rest of the farmers believe that his Lordship had taken it. For this offence Sir *William Binny* was fined 9000, and Mr *Miln* 3000 merks, over and above their respective shares of 14,000 merks in which the whole farmers were amerced. They had also been guilty of several unwarrantable exactions. *Fountainball's Decisions*, 2d Aug. 1682.

additions to his property in this parish, and dying at *Edinburgh* 3d *Dec.* 1744, æta. 82, was buried in his vault in *Cramond* Church. His only son, *William* Lord *Daer* and *Riccartoun*, Captain of a troop of Lord *Tyrawley's* regiment of horse, having died in his lifetime at *Edinburgh* 20 *Feb.* 1742 æta. 46 *, he was succeeded in his title of *Ruglen*, and in his extensive possessions, by his eldest daughter, *Lady Anne Hamilton*, countess of *Ruglen*, born 5th *Apr.* 1698. Her ladyship married *William* the second Earl of *March*, by whom she had one son, *William*, the present Duke of *Queensberry*, Earl of *March* and *Ruglen*, and Baron *Douglas* of *Ambresbury*.

In 1770, his Grace sold *Barntoun* to *John*, Viscount *Glenorchy*, only surviving son of *John* third Earl of *Breadalbane*; but, his Lordship did not long enjoy this purchase, dying here 14th *Nov.* 1771. He left his whole property in this parish, and a rent-charge of L. 1000 *per annum*, upon the *Breadalbane* estate, to his relict, *Wilhelmina*, Viscountess *Glenorchy*, a lady eminently distinguished for superior piety, apparent in innumerable beneficent actions, for which her ample income could scarcely suffice. On this account, as well as from other motives, she disposed of her whole property in this parish in 1785, and died at *Edinburgh* 17th *July* 1786, æta. 44; leaving the most considerable part of her fortune for the purposes of promoting religion, knowledge, and industry, in both parts of the united kingdom.—Her Ladyship resided occasionally at *Barntoun*; but that place had the honour of being for some years occupied by her beautiful, amiable, and accomplished niece, the Countess of *Sutherland*. *Lady Glenorchy's* property was purchased by *William Ramsay*, Esq. a considerable banker in *Edinburgh*, and one of the directors of the Royal Bank of *Scotland*, who came to reside here in 1788, and has ever since paid unremitting attention to the improvement of this place.

Nether

* His death was occasioned by a fever, brought on by overheating himself at an assembly, dancing with Miss *Blair* of *Kinfauns*, afterwards *Lady Gray*.

Nether Barntoun, south east from hence, was for more than a century the property of the *Forresters**, a branch of the *Corstorphine* family, and purchased about 1590 by the first Lord *Balmerinock*, from *James Forrester* of *Nether Barntoun*. *Craighouse*, adjoining to both the *Barntouns*, belonged to a family of the name of *Cairns*. *Richard de Cairnes* of the *Craig*, Lord of the east part of *Cramond*, occurs in 1454, and *James Cairnes* of *Craighouse* occurs 1471. It afterwards became the property of the *Logans*, a branch of the once potent house of *Restalrig*, and continued, for seven generations, in that family, who during this period matched with the *Halkets* of *Pitfirran*, *Woods* of *Bonington*, and *Houstons* of *Leny*. *James Logan* of *Craighouse*, Sheriff Depute of the county of *Edinburgh*, is a witness to a charter of his cousin Sir *John Mowbray*, dated at *Barnbogle* 24th Sep. 1511. One of his descendants, *James Logan* of *Cowstone*, sold *Craighouse* to the second Lord *Balmerinock*, by disposition bearing date 11th Mar. 1619†.

To the N. W. of *Barntoun* House, at the distance of about half a mile, is *Kings Cramond*, also belonging to Mr *Ramsay*. The old house was built about the year 1640, by Sir *John Smith* of *Grotthill*, the most considerable proprietor in the parish, and a person of no small consequence in his days. In 1640, he was nominated one of the Supervisors of the Covenant; in 1641, the Parliament of *Scotland* appointed him one of the Commissioners for the Treaty of *Rippon*; in 1642, and 1643, he served the office of Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*; and in 1649, he was a Commissioner for the Excise, and for revising the laws and acts of Parliament. He flourished here many years in great splendour, having a numerous family of children and grandchildren ‡; but his affairs at last falling
into

* Cart. in publ. Arch. 6th Mar. 1487, *Mattheo Forrester terrarum de Barntoun*.

† Writs of the estate of *Barntoun*.

‡ *Robert Smith* of *Southfield*, Sir *John's* eldest son, was born 24th Ap. 1632, and married 12th Aug. 1652 *Elizabeth* daughter of — *Hopt*, Esq. by whom he had three sons and as many daughters.

Nº 11

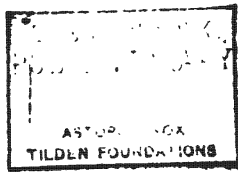


Cramond Regis in 1791.

Nº 1



Stone at Lauriston. P. 41.



into disorder, he was obliged, when near eighty years of age, to dispose of his extensive property in this parish, in different lots.

The house and lands of *Kings Cramond* were purchased, in 1672, by Sir *John Young* of *Leny* in this parish, one of the farmers of the revenue, who dying in 1690, was succeeded by his eldest son, *Archibald Young* of *Leny*. He died unmarried in 1694, and the estate thereupon devolved on his brother *Thomas Young* of *Leny*; but he did not long keep possession of *Kings Cramond*, which he sold, the same year, to *Thomas Gibson*, one of the principal clerks of Session, son of Sir *John Gibson* of *Pentland*. In 1697, this estate was purchased from him by *John Mackenzie*, also one of the principal clerks of Session, who, in 1707, had his property in this parish erected into a barony, to be called the barony of *Cramond*. Removing to *Delvin* in *Pertshire*, which he had acquired in 1705 from the Earl of *Northesk*, he, in 1707, disposed of *Cramond* to Lord *Charles Ker*, Director of the Chancery, (second son of *Robert Marquis* of *Lothian*,) by whom, in 1718, this barony was sold to the Earl of *Ruglen*, and has ever since remained annexed to *Barntoun*. Since that period, the house of *Kings Cramond* has been occupied by different tenants; by *Robert Dundas* of *Arnistoun*, the first President of the Session of that family; Baron *Edlin* of the Exchequer; *James Watson* of *Saughton*; Sir *John Sinclair* of *Longformacus*; and, for 32 years preceding 1792, by the author's father*,

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who

* *John*, seventh son of *Jasper Wood*, of *Warristoun* and *Curriebill* in the County of *Edinburgh*, a property he inherited from his mother, *Marion*, daughter and heiress of *Jasper Johnston* of *Warristoun*, elder brother (as is presumed) of *James Johnston* of *Twickenham* in *Middlesex*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, Ambassador from King *William* to the Elector of *Brandenburg*; and son of Sir *Archibald Johnston* of *Warristoun*, King's Advocate, Lord Register of *Scotland*, and one of *Cromwell's* Lords of Parliament, whose character is accurately drawn by his nephew *Burnet*, the noted Bishop of *Salisbury*, in the first volume of the History of his own Times, p. 28. Mr *Wood* died at *Edinburgh* 2d March 1792, æta. 76, leaving one surviving son, the author of this volume, by his wife *Isabel*, daughter of *John Philp* of *Greenlaw*, in the County of *Edinburgh*, sister and coheirs of *James Philp* of *Greenlaw*, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty of *Scotland*.

Of this last mentioned gentleman, my uncle, I beg to be indulged in saying a few words.

who during that long period enjoyed in a high degree the regard and esteem of the neighbouring gentlemen, never having had the slightest difference with any of them. Very large additions and considerable alterations are now making to this house, which is destined for the residence of *George Ramsay* Esq. banker in *Edinburgh*, eldest son of *William Ramsay* of *Barntoun*.

The name, *Cramond Regis*, clearly indicates this place to have been once the property of the Crown. From several charters in the Register Office, and in the possession of the proprietors of *Barntoun* and *Brae-bead*, it appears that the royal domains in this quarter were, at various periods, parcelled out among different persons. The following are the titles of a few of the charters and other writs respecting these lands :

1391, 16 Feb. *Carta Willielmi Naper, de terris quondam Symonis Rede militis, infra territorium de Cramont Regis.*

1471,

words. He was born at *Edinburgh* 9th Feb. 1716, studied the law at *Leyden*, commenced Advocate in 1739, and practised at the bar till 1746, when he was appointed Judge of Admiralty. He diligently executed the duties of that office, his decisions being remarked for their equity, justice, and impartiality, till his death 1st May 1782, a period of 36 years, without receiving one shilling of salary from the public, although his proportion of the fees of court, sentence money &c. did not, on an average, amount to *L. 70 per annum*, a most shameful and inadequate allowance for a Judge! Of this, the present administration were so sensible, that shortly after their establishment, a salary of *L. 400* a year, was, by act of Parliament (26 Geo. III. cap. 47.) settled on the Judge of Admiralty. This necessary statute could not, however, but excite a train of mortifying reflections in the minds of the relations, and particularly of the heirs, of Mr *Philp*; of whom it may be said, without partiality, that his services were fully as meritorious, and as deserving of a recompense from the public, as those of any judge in the kingdom, especially when it was acknowledged that in probity and integrity he was excelled by none. In consequence of this cruel neglect of government, an ample personal fortune he inherited from his father was reduced to a mere trifle in supporting the dignity of his station; a circumstance that will not be wondered at, when the excessive advance in the price of living, and the fall in the value of money, that took place of late years, are considered,

- 1471, 17 Junii, *Carta* Willielmi Rule de Craumound, *fabri, de terra in villa de Cramond Regis.*
- 1471, 18 Junii, *Carta* Jacobi Carnis et *sponsæ, terrarum de Cramont Regis et de Craghous.*
- 1475, 22 April. *Carta* Thomæ Mowbray de Cammo, *de terris in territorio de Cramond Regis.*
- 1499, 27 May, Retour, *John Skinner* heir to *Thomas Skinner* of the lands of *Cramond Regis.*
- 1507, 17 May, *Safine* to *James Logan*, of certain lands in *Cramond Regis.*
- 1508, 2 Aug. *Carta* Davidis Logy, *nepotis et hæredis Joannis Logy en le Queensferry, de tenendria terræ in Cramond Regis.*
- 1517, 17 April. *Carta* Jacobi Logan in *Leith et Jonetæ Crawford ejus sponsæ, terrar. de Cramond Regis et de Craghous.*
- 1526, 8 Dec. *Carta* Walteri Chapman de *Everland, terrarum Regis le King's Medow vocat'.*
- 1527, 9 Jan. *Carta* Jonetæ Wod, *filæ Willielmi Wod de Bondyngtoun, terrar. de Cramond Regis et de Clairbarstoun.*
- 1536, 2 Sept. *Carta* Joannis Murray *Barbetonforis terrar. regis vocat. King's Medow.*
- 1569, 10 March, Charter of *James Livingstone*, portioner of *Cramond Regis*, to *James Corfane.*
- 1574, 8 Feb. *Carta* Joannis Wardlaw, *de terris de Dubhouse in Cramond Regis jacen.**

So numerous and so various indeed were the families having interest here, that it is scarcely possible to give a particular enumeration of them. The principal proprietors of *Cramond Regis* were the *Cramonds* of *Cramond*, *Mowbrays* of *Cammo*, *Logans* of *Craigbouse*, and *Logies* of *Logiefland*, which last family subsisted here nearly two centuries. In 1610, part of the lands of *Cramond Regis* came, by purchase from *John Eiston* writer in *Edinburgb*, into the possession of one *Robert Smith*, who married

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ried

* The *reddendo* in most of the charters is *unum denarium usualis monetæ, nomine alba firmæ, si petatur tantum.*

ried *Agnes Primrose*; and his son and heir, *Sir John Smith of Grottbill*, already mentioned, became, by several subsequent purchases, the most considerable heritor of the parish.

In 1620, *Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston* acquired a good estate in *Cramond Regis*, which he enlarged in 1643, by purchasing half of the lands of *Cammo, Everland, &c.* Dying in 1662, he was succeeded by his son, *Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston*, who, in 1694, sold his whole property in this parish to *Alexander Howison of Braehead*, and *John Menzies of Cammo*.

West from *Kings Gramond*, is the village of *Upper or Over Cramond*, in which is a house and small property belonging to *Mr Robert Spotswood*, who has exercised the profession of a surgeon in a skilful and humane manner in this neighbourhood, (his medical practice extending over great part of the adjacent country) for above forty years, after having served some time in the Royal Navy. He was particularly noticed by the late Earl of *Hopetoun*, who retained him at an annual salary to attend his household and numerous tenantry about *Hopetoun House*, a duty he still punctually performs; and he has, since 1774, gratuitously executed with discernment and impartiality the troublesome office of Kirk Treasurer of this parish*.

Whitehouse, also in the same village, belonged about 1615 to *David Primrose*, uncle of Lord Register *Primrose*; he died in 1651, and his son, *James Primrose of Whitehouse*, in 1676 disposed of his property here to *William Corse*, writer in *Edinburgh*, who died in 1690. His son and successor, *John Corse*, in 1699 sold *Whitehouse* to *John Menzies of Cammo*, who removed hence after selling *Cammo*, in 1710. But even this humble retreat he was not long allowed to possess, being obliged to dispose of it in 1719, to his son-in-law, *George Edie Writer* to the Signet, who died in

* *Mr Spotswood* communicated to me a number of important and valuable observations relating to the parish; and he was at the trouble of getting the population of this district exactly ascertained in 1792, for the purpose of enabling me to give an accurate statement of that important article.

in 1750, and the same year his son *David Edie* sold *Whitehouse* to *David Strachan* merchant in *Leith*, who died in 1772. His son and successor *John Strachan* of *Whitehouse* died in 1774, and the trustees of his children disposing of this place in 1776, to *Lady Glenorby*, it has ever since followed the fate of *Barnoun*. *Whitehouse* is at present occupied by *Mrs Erskine*, relict of my late esteemed acquaintance *John Erskine*, Esq. Advocate *, son of Lord *Alva*.

Not far from the west end of the village of *Upper Cramond*, is *Braebead*, the residence of *Mrs Howison*; the lands belonging to which extend to *Cramond* Bridge, and from thence along the river to *Cammo*. Part of this property, it is said; was bestowed by one of the Kings of *Seotland*, upon a husbandman of the name of *Howison*, on account of essential services rendered to his Majesty. Tradition relates, that the King, hunting in the neighbourhood, was attacked by a gang of gipfies or robbers, who were proceeding to use him very roughly, when the above mentioned person, threshing grain in a barn hard by, alarmed by his Majesty's cries, run to his assistance with his flail, and exerted that weapon so manfully as to put the rogues to flight.

Whether the above tradition is founded on truth, or at what time the affair happened, cannot now be ascertained. The oldest charter that I have seen of the *Howison* family is one in the public registers, bearing date 15th June 1470, to *James Howison*, son and heir of *John Howison* burghers of *Edinburgh*, confirming to him a charter of *Richard Cairns* of *Craighouse* dated 19th Ap: 1465, of the lands of *Langbaugh* and *Holmedow*, with their pertinents, lying in the town and territory of *Cramond Regis*, betwixt the lands of *Thomas de Cramond*, *John Skynar*, other lands belonging to the said *Richard Cairns*, and lands belonging to the said

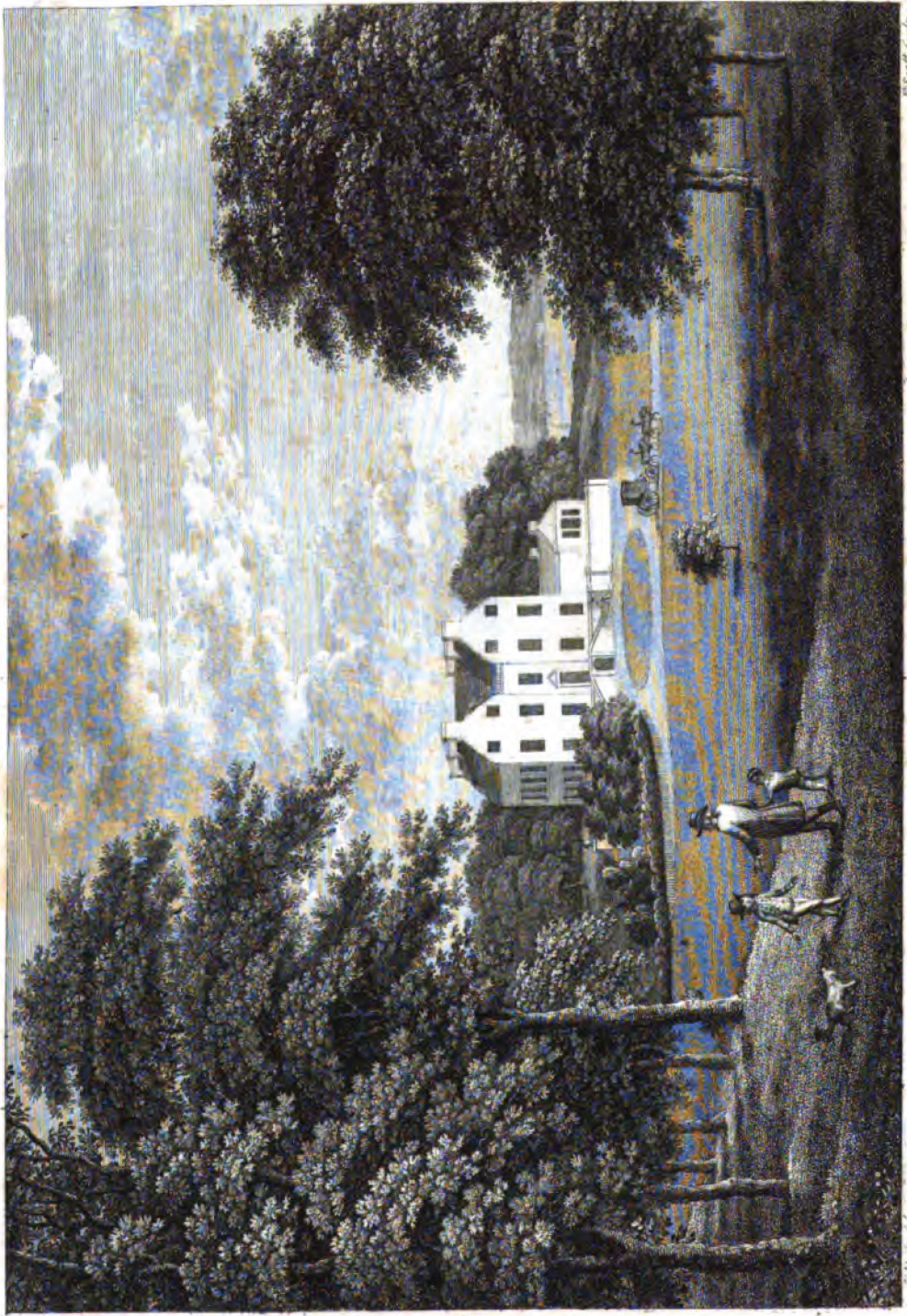
* He was born 30th Dec: 1758, studied the law in the Temple at *London* and in *Edinburgh* University, where he proceeded M. A. in 1778. In 1781 he was called to the bar, in 1790 appointed Clerk to the Commissary Court, and dying in the lifetime of his father at *Edinburgh* 16th Jan. 1792, æta. 35, was buried with his ancestors in the chancel of the church of *Alva*.

said *James Howison*, on the S. and the river *Agon* on the N. so it is evident from thence that the *Howisons* had property in *Cramond Regis* even previous to 1465. An opinion prevails, that the lands of *Braehead* are held by the tenure of attending at *Cramond* bridge, with a basin of water and a napkin every time the King of *Scotland* passes it, for his Majesty to wash his hands if so inclined ; but upon an examination of the charters it appears, that the *reddendo* is "*Servitium lavacri, in nomine alba firmæ,*" which means nothing more than giving a basin by way of quit-rent, without any stipulation of attendance at *Cramond* bridge.

The *Howisons* of *Braehead* are by far the most ancient family in the parish, having subsisted there upwards of 320 years, a longer period than any other of the numerous families that have had interest in this district has done. *Alexander Howison* of *Braehead*, the ninth in descent from *James Howison* mentioned in the charter of 1470, augmented his property in this parish in 1694, by purchasing part of Sir *Patrick Hamilton's* estate, and died 18th *Ap.* 1793, æta. 63. His eldest surviving son, *William Howison* of *Braehead*, died of an apoplectic fit on his way home from *Cramond* church, 20th *Feb.* 1729, æta. 63. He married *Margaret* daughter of *John Mitchel* of *Alderstone*, by whom he was father of *John Howison* of *Braehead*, the last male heir of this family, who died 12th *May* 1787 æta. 74, leaving only two daughters by his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter of *John Crawford* of *Crawfordland* * in *Airshire*, widow of *William Fairly* of *Fairly* in the same county. The eldest daughter, *Elizabeth Howison*, was married in 1777 to the Rev. *James Moody*, one of the ministers of *Perth*, who is now, *jure uxoris*, proprietor of *Braehead*.

* This family of *Crawford* of *Crawfordland* is remarkable for the circumstance of having produced ten successive generations of the name of *John*, who inherited the estate without the intervention of a collateral branch. The last proprietor, Lieutenant Col. *John Walkinshaw Crawford* of *Crawfordland*, distinguished himself at the battles of *Dettingen* and *Fontenoy*, and in *America* ; and died at *Edinburgh* in *Feb.* 1793; æta. 72, unmarried. The representation thereupon devolved upon his aunt, *Mrs Howison* of *Braehead* ; but the estate, in virtue of a deed executed by himself, became the property of Messrs. *Coutts* and Co. Bankers in *London*.

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New Saughton, the Seat of Charles Watson Esq. of Saughton.

bead. The arms of this antient family are Argent a heart, proper, on a chief, Azure three fleurs de lis, Or crest, a dexter hand, erect and extended, coupéd at the wrist, proper. Motto, *Sursum corda.*

South west from *Braehead*, in an elevated situation on the east side of *Leny Hill*, stands the house of *Cammo*, now called *New Saughton*, the property and residence of *Charles Watson*, of *Saughton* in the parish of *Gorstopbine*, chief of the name in *Scotland*. *New Saughton* is a commodious mansion, built in 1693 by *John Menzies* of *Cammo*, commanding a remarkably fine view of the windings of the *Amon*, among steep and woody banks, as also of the Frith of *Forth*. Extensive tracts of valuable and well grown timber adorn this estate, particularly on the side of the river; and the grounds about the house are laid out in a very ornamental stile by the present proprietor, a gentleman not more respectable for his extensive possessions and splendid connections, than for unaffected kindness and hospitality to his friends.

The charter recited at p. 49, narrates that in 1345, part of the estate of *Thomas de Cramond* in this parish was bounded on the north by lands belonging to the Abbot and convent of *Inchcolm*. These lands appear evidently to have been those of *Cammo*; for in the indenture of excambion in the possession of Mr *Watson*, entered into between *Robert de Cardney* Bishop of *Dunkeld* on the one part, and *John de Nudre* (*Niddery*) and *William de Nudre* his son and heir on the other part, noticed at p. 45, it is mentioned that Bishop *Cardney* possessed *Cammo* heritably, in virtue of an excambion and contract of sale from *John*, Abbot of *Inchcolm*. By the indenture, which is dated at *Auchtertool* in *Fife* 30th *March* 1409, the Bishop, with consent of the Dean and Chapter of *Dunkeld*, gave and granted to *John de Nudre*, his heirs and assigns, all and whole his lands of *Cambo*, within the County of *Edinburgh*, with all pertinents and privileges thereto belonging, among which that of *mercbeta mulierum* is specially included. In exchange, *Nudre* granted and resigned for ever to the said Bishop, and his successors in the see of *Dunkeld*, his tower situated within the church town of *Cramond*,

mond, all the lands, crofts, and pieces of ground to him belonging within the barony of *Kirk Cramond*, and annual rents extending to 30s. Sc. payable out of divers possessions there, as particularly specified in the note at p. 45 and 46.

Robert Niddery of *Cammo*, probably son of *William de Nudre* before mentioned, dying without male issue, the extensive property belonging to him in this parish was divided among his four daughters, one of whom, *Elizabeth Niddery*, married *William Mowbray*, a son of the once potent family of that name long seated at *Barnbogle* castle. Their son and successor, *Thomas Mowbray*, upon the resignation of his mother, obtained from *Thomas*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, a sasine of *Cammo*, bearing date 26th July 1463*; and in 1475, he had a charter under the great seal, of all the lands and pertinents that belonged to her within the territory of *Cramond Regis* †. *Alexander Mowbray*, heir to *Thomas*, succeeded in 1506, and *James Mowbray*, heir to *Alexander*, in 1513. This *James*, and *Janet Lauriston* his wife, obtained a charter of *Cammo*, dated 8th July 1540, and he dying in 1574, was succeeded by his son *Thomas Mowbray* of *Cammo*, who married *Dorothea*, daughter of — *Houftoun* of *Houftoun*, and made a resignation of these lands in favour of *John Mowbray* his son, and *Alison Logan* wife of the said *John*, 18th June 1591. This *John* did not long survive, as he died 5th June 1593, leaving an infant son and heir, *John Mowbray* of *Cammo*, who married *Margaret*, sister of *Thomas Young* of *Leny*. In 1637, he sold *Cammo*, after it had been nearly two centuries in his family, to *William Wilkie* merchant in *Edinburgh*, descended from an ancient and knightly family, which still subsists at *Fouldean* in *Berwickshire*. He married *Alison Livingstone*, and had a son and successor, *James Wilkie*, in whose favour he resigned the lands of *Cammo*, by
 charter

* In Mr *Watson's* charter chest, which contains a numerous and valuable collection of charters and other papers, relating to his extensive property in different parts of *Scotland*.

† Cart. in publ. Arch.

charter, dated 24th *Mar.* 1640. This *James Wilkie* of *Cammo* died in 1651, having married *Gatherine*, daughter of *Thomas Young* of *Leny*, by whom he had a son, *William Wilkie*, born 5th *Oct.* 1649, who died in his infancy, and two daughters, *Agnes* and *Rachel*; the last of whom, a posthumous child, born 26th *Feb.* 1652, became sole heiress to her father. She married, 13th *Mar.* 1679, *John Menzies*, of *Coulterallers* in the county of *Lanark*, Advocate, and dying in 1688, æta. 37, left *Cammo* to her said husband, by whom she had three sons and four daughters. He made purchases of several lands in this parish, and built the present house of *New Saughton*; but his affairs becoming involved, he was obliged to retire to the more humble mansion of *Whitehouse*, and to dispose of *Cammo*, which he did in 1710, to Sir *John Clerk* of *Pennycuick*, Bart. one of the Barons of the Exchequer in *Scotland*, a gentleman whose antiquarian knowledge has been much and justly celebrated. He gave considerable assistance to *Gordon* in compiling the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*; in which it is mentioned, that “ among all the collections of “ Roman Antiquities in *Scotland*, that of Baron *Clerk* justly claims the “ preference both as to number and curiosity, and it would require a treatise to describe them.” His long residence at *Cammo*, and his connection with Sir *John Inglis*, were the means of enriching his museum with innumerable coins and other remains of antiquity found at *Cramond*.

In 1726, upon the death of his father, he removed to his paternal seat of *Pennycuick*, and sold *Cammo* for the sum of *L.* 4333:6:8. to *John Hog*, of *Ladykirk* in *Berwickshire**, (nephew of Sir *Roger Hog* of *Harcarse* in the same county, Senator of the College of Justice.) This gentleman was esteemed, not only by strangers, but even by his own family, to be possessed of great wealth; a report he took care not to discountenance, as he gave his eldest son *John* an expensive education, in

I

which

* He had purchased the barony of *Ladykirk*, for *L.* 8122:18s. and his son disposed of it in 1739, for *L.* 7652:10s. being 22½ years purchase of the free rent, to *William Robertson Esq.* whose grandson, of the same name, is the present proprietor of that valuable estate.

which foreign travel was included, bred him to no profession, and spent a considerable sum in an unsuccessful attempt to procure him a seat in Parliament for the *Kingborn* district of boroughs. In 1736, the young gentleman paid his addresses to *Barbara*, second daughter * of Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, of *Edenball* in *Cumberland*, Knight of the shire for that county, a young lady of great beauty but of small fortune, her portion being only *L. 1000*; and he, upon that occasion, applied to his father to make settlements. To this requisition old Mr *Hog* consenting with great readiness, made out a statement of his affairs, from whence it appeared that he had a clear yearly income of *L. 700*, all which he gave up to his son, reserving for himself the life-rent of *Cammo*, and upon the faith of this statement the marriage was concluded, in 1736. But soon afterwards the young gentleman came to discover that he had been most cruelly imposed upon by his father, who, so far from having *L. 700*, as he alledged, had scarcely *L. 200* a year. In consequence of this cruel and unaccountable deception, young Mr *Hog* was quickly obliged to dispose of his whole landed property, and died in *Jamaica* in 1744, leaving his wife, and four infant daughters, in a very destitute condition †.

The barony of *Cammo* was purchased, in 1741, for the sum of *L. 4252: 10s.* by *James Watson*, of *Saughton*, in the parish of *Corstorphine*, a gentleman of an ample fortune, and head of a family yielding to none in *Mid Lothian* in antiquity, and to very few in extent of property. He thought proper to change the name of this barony, *Cammo*, into the less harmonious appellation of *New Saughton*, and died 26th Dec. 1778, in the 69th year of his age. He married at *Hopetoun House* 13th January 1737, Lady *Helen Hope*, daughter of *Charles* first Earl of *Hope-toun*, by whom he had several children, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, *Charles Watson* of *Saughton*, then Captain of the Grenadier

* Grand daughter of Sir *John Chardin*, the famous oriental traveller.

† Mrs *Hog*, however, was soon relieved from that disagreeable situation, by her marriage (9th Aug. 1749,) to the Right Hon. *John Idle*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in *Scotland*. One of her daughters by Mr *Hog*, was married in 1787 to the Rev. — *Howard*, brother of *John* Earl of *Suffolk* and *Berkshire*.

Grenadier company of the 25th regiment of foot. At the close of the *American* war, he quitted the army; and having married lady *Margaret Carnegie*, daughter of *George* 6th Earl of *Northesk*, had by that excellent lady, who died, greatly lamented, at *Edinburgh* 15th *Mar.* 1793, three sons, and two daughters*.

West from *New Saughton*, lie the lands of *Leny*, (by far the most extensive barony in this district), the property of *William Hope Weir* Esq. whose noble seat of *Craigieball* stands on the opposite bank of the *Amon*, in *Dalmeny* parish. A considerable part of this barony, especially along the river, is low meadow ground, from whence perhaps the name is taken, *Leana* or *Leannab* signifying, in the Gaelic, a meadow. This low situation exposes the land to the disadvantage of being overflowed in speats, by which the grain and manure on the ground are not unfrequently floated away, to the no small prejudice of the farmers, who, however, could easily avoid all such damage, by removing their crops, as soon as cut, to the higher grounds. Near *Craigieball*, the channel of the river becomes rocky and contracted, with high and well wooded banks, adorned with pleasant walks. Here the *Amon* forms a cascade of about six feet in perpendicular height, below which, in 1757, the father of the present proprietor built a stone bridge of one arch, the chord of which is 48 feet, and the height above the water 38 feet. As the whole is executed in a rustic stile, and the spring of the arch concealed by the wood that profusely covers the banks on each side, this bridge has the appearance of a natural rock perforated †.

I 2

On

* Writs of the Estate, Session Papers, Parish Registers, &c. As the most considerable part of Mr *Watson's* property lies in the parish of *Corstorphine*, where his ancestors resided for more than three centuries, I have not enlarged further on his family in this place, since I propose, if I meet with any encouragement, to treat of that district in a separate publication.

† Of this pleasing object, there are two views engraved, though both of them are very far from doing justice to the beauties of this delightful scene; 1. A view in the gardens of *Craigieball* the seat of the Hon. *Charles Hope Weir*, *John Hope* (his son) delin. 1762, *John Brown* sculp. 4to. This was taken from the west point of *Venus* island,

On the north slope of *Leny Hill*, directly over against *Craigieball*, the late Mr *Hope* laid out a deer park, bounded on the upper part by a broad terrace walk, in the center of which he built a belvidere above 30 feet in height, and 28 in diameter, commanding a noble prospect of his extensive domains, and fronting the north. On this side is a portico supported by four pillars, having on the pediment his grandfather the Marquis of *Annandale's* arms, and above them these well known lines of *Horace*,

Dum licet, in rebus jucundis, vive beatus,

Vive memor quam sis ævi brevis.

The apartments of this pleasant edifice are furnished with real antique busts, figures, and inscriptions, brought from *Italy* by the late proprietor, whose taste in the fine arts was well known.

To the eastward of the belvidere, in former times, stood a chapel, (founded probably by one of the *Sinclairs* of *Roslin*, a family distinguished for liberality to the church;) some vestiges of which were to be traced within these forty years, and its ruins form a small barrow, still called the *Chapel-know*. On the top of this barrow is a large stone, brought from *Lenyath*, about 8 feet in height and 10 in circumference, now broke into two. S. from the belvidere is a dove-cote, with the date 1598, having near it a deep well, cut with great labour through a stratum of stone, both formerly belonging to the mansion house of the *Youngs* of *Leny*. Of this seat no remains are now left, as it was pulled down when that family removed to *King's Cramond*, and the materials sold and taken away to build the house of *Inglisfoun*, two miles S. W. from hence.

It appears that, in 1384, *Leny* constituted part of the extensive possessions

island, (so called, from a leaden cast of the *Venus di Medici* therein), and represents the bridge, with the waterfall and bathing house above it, appearing through the arch. 2. The bridge at *Craigieball*, *John Hope* delin. 1765, *J. Taylor* sculp. 4to. taken above the bridge.

feffions of Sir *Henry Sinclair of Roslin*, Earl of *Orkney*, and Duke of *Oldenburg*, from his granting an annualrent of 20 merks out of the lands of *Leny*, to Sir *James Sinclair of Longformacus*, 7th *June* that year. This grant was confirmed by his son *Henry*, 2d Earl of *Orkney*, 20th *Feb.* 1418 *; soon after which it would seem that he disposed of the barony of *Leny*, since there is, in the public registers, a charter to *Edward Crichton* of *Krealbouse*, proceeding on a charter made to him by *George Crichton*, son and heir of *Stephen Crichton* of *Cairns*, of all and whole his lands, lying within the village of *Lanying*, in the barony of *Cramond*, within the county of *Edinburgh*, to be holden of the said *George*, dated 2d *Oct.* 1427 †. In the course of that century, the barony of *Leny* was divided into two moieties, as appears from a charter to *John Houstoun* of *Houstoun* in the county of *Renfrew*, *dimidietatis de Lany*, dated 14th *Nov.* 1468. This antient and knightly family, an account of whom may be seen in *Crawford's History of Renfrewshire*, p. 102—105, continued in possession of that moiety for the space of two centuries, as it was not till 11th *June* 1688, that it was disposed of, by Sir *Patrick Houstoun* of *Houstoun*, for the sum of L. 2638 : 17 : 9½ to Sir *John Young* of *Leny* ‡.

With regard to the other moiety of the barony of *Leny*, it was long the property of a family of the name of *Borthwick*, since *Nicholas de Borthwick* obtained a charter of the lands of *Leny*, on the resignation of *George Crichton* of *Cairns*, Lord High Admiral of *Scotland*, dated 1st *Apr.* 1450. *John Borthwick* of *Leny*, successor of *Nicholas*, sold his property here to *Stephen Borthwick*, Burgess of *Edinburgh*, *Margaret Macrerick* his spouse, and *James Borthwick* his son and heir; who thereupon had a charter under the great seal, dated 14th *Feb.* 1490, of the half of *Over-Leny*, extending to ten merks of land, and also of the half of *Nether-Leny*, likewise extending to ten merks of land, at that time occupied by *Janet Crichton*, widow of *Andrew Crichton* §. *Eleazar Borthwick*, the
last

* *Douglas's Baronage*, 249.

† *Douglas's Peerage*, 112.

‡ *Cart.* in publ. Arch. and writs of the estate.

§ *Cart.* in publ. Arch.

last of that name who had interest here, was one of the inquest on the service of *John Mowbray* of *Cammo*, 28th Apr. 1614, and shortly afterwards disposed of his half of the lands of *Nether Leny* to *John Young*, writer, Sheriff Clerk of *Edinburgh*, whose sister, *Isobel Young*, spouse of *Robert Peirfoun* Flesher in *Canongate*, was proprietor of the half of *Over Leny*. *John Young* died in 1622, having, in 1620, sold the half of *Nether Leny* to *Thomas Young*, writer to the Signet, who, in 1623, acquired the half of *Over Leny* from Mrs *Peirfoun* *. He married *Margaret*, sister of Sir *Archibald Primrose* of *Carrington*, Lord Register of *Scotland*, by whom he had fifteen children; and dying about 1654, was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir *John Young* of *Leny*, born 3d Dec. 1624. Sir *John* was for many years one of the Farmers of the Customs and Excise of *Scotland*; and in 1668, acquired the other moiety of the barony of *Leny* from Sir *Patrick Housfoun*; by which, and by several other purchases, particularly of *King's Cramond*, he became the most considerable heritor in the parish. He married *Mary*, daughter of Sir *Thomas Hope* of *Kerse*, by whom he had thirteen children; and died in 1690, æta. 66, leaving his affairs deeply involved. His eldest son and successor, *Archibald Young* of *Leny*, born 15th Dec. 1665, died unmarried in 1694, æta. 29, and was succeeded by his brother Major *Thomas Young*, who, the same year, disposed of the whole barony of *Leny*, for the sum of L. 5777: 15s. 6½d, to his kinsman *Archibald Primrose* of *Dalmeny*, afterwards Earl of *Roseberry* †.

His Lordship entailed *Leny* on his second son, *Everingham Primrose*; but that young gentleman dying soon thereafter, this barony was, in 1698, sold to *Andrew Myrton*, a wealthy merchant in *Edinburgh*, descended

* Writs of *Cammo* and *Leny*. This family, however, had some interest in the parish previous to 1620; for there is in the public registers a charter to *Thomas Young*, Writer to the Signet, of a fourth part of the lands of *Cammo*, dated 12th Jan. 1587. The *Youngs* of *Leny* bore for arms, Arg. on three piles, S. as many annulets, O. Crest, a dexter arm holding a lance in bend, proper. Motto, *Pres's through*.

† Writs of the barony of *Leny*, Parish Registers, &c.

descended from the antient family of *Cambo in Fife*. Mr *Myrton*, in 1699, made purchase of the adjacent lands of *Gogar*, in *Corstorphine* parish, forming, together with *Leny*, a fair and compact property of above 1500 acres in extent, which, in 1701, was erected into a barony, to be called the barony of *Gogar*; and he was created a baronet 28th June same year. Dying about 1716, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir *Robert Myrton of Gogar*, by whom, in 1744, the lands of *Leny* were disunited from *Gogar*, and sold to the Hon. *Charles Hope Weir of Craigieball*, then Member of Parliament for the county of *Linlithgow*, second son of *Charles* first Earl of *Hopetoun* *. He died at *Craigieball* 30th Dec. 1791, æta. 82, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, *William Hope Weir of Craigieball and Blackwood*, the present proprietor.

The whole of that portion of the parish, which lies on the west side of the river *Amon*, in the county of *Linlithgow*, is the property of the Earl of *Roseberry*, constituting part of his Lordship's well known and much admired park, pleasure ground, and *ferme ornée* of *Barnbogle*. As the barony of *Barnbogle* lies chiefly in the parish of *Dalmengy*, of which, if the present work is favourably received, I propose to treat in a separate publication, I will not here enter into the detail of the uncommon beauties of this delightful park, nor make particular mention of the proprietors of the barony. On this last head I will, at present, only observe, that it was, for thirteen generations, the property of the illustrious Norman family of *Mowbray*; the last of whom, Sir *Robert Mowbray of Barnbogle*, was obliged, through debts and other misfortunes, to dispose of this noble inheritance in the year 1615, to *Thomas Lord Binning*, afterwards created Earl of *Haddington*, from whose grandson *John*, fourth Earl of *Haddington*, *Barnbogle* was purchased, in 1662, by Sir *Archibald Primrose of Carrington*, Lord Register of *Scotland*. From this able states-

man.

* The lands of *Ratbobyres*, which had been purchased by Mr *Hope* at a judicial sale, were given, along with about L. 4000, in exchange for *Leny*.

man *Barnbogle* came by descent to his great grandson, *Neil*, third and present Earl of *Roseberry* *.

There were in this parish two commons of about 130 acres in extent ; but they were divided, by decret-arbitral of *James Balfour* of *Pilrig*, Sheriff-depute of the county of *Edinburgh*, dated 30th Nov. 1762, among the proprietors claiming interest therein.

Having now completed the tour of the different estates, I propose next to treat of the ecclesiastical affairs of this district.

S E C T. III.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

NEAR the confluence of the *Forth* and *Amon*, about 100 yards to the southward of the village of *Nether Cramond*, in the midst of an inclosure skirted with well grown trees, stands *Cramond* church, which belongs to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and the Synod of *Lothian* and *Tweeddale*. In times of Popery and Episcopacy, it was included in the diocese of *Dunkeld*, having been originally a mensal church of the Bishops of that see. By the nature of all such churches, it was a parsonage of which the Bishop was understood to be parson, and, as such, entitled to the whole tithes of the parish, which he applied to his own use for the support of his household and table (*mensa*, whence *mensal*) after assigning a small portion to the vicar serving the cure, generally one of his domestic chaplains. *Cramond* church was dedicated to St. *Columba* ; in the public registers

* Charters and other writs of the barony, extending upwards of 450 years back, and containing several curious and important particulars, the perusal of which was rendered doubly interesting by the polite attention of Lord *Roseberry*, who was at the trouble of selecting and pointing out such papers as in his opinion would prove of use for this work.

sters, is a confirmation of a charter of *Alexander Curbour*, vicar of *Dunfyre* in *Lanarkshire*, bearing date 12th Jan. 1478, wherein he grants annual-rents extending to L. 9: 3s. 6d. to be levied from different tenements in *Edinburgh*, the *Canongate*, and *Leith*; for the support of a chaplain *divina celebranti et in perpetuum celebraturu annuatim*, at the parochial altar of *St. Columba*, situated within the parish church of *St. Columba* of *Nether Crawford*; and also two acres of ground lying in the village of *East Craigie*, for the building of a house to the aforesaid chaplain; to be held in pure and perpetual alms. There was also another altar in this church, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*; and the patronage of both altars was vested in the *Mowbrays* of *Barnbougle*.

The present church was built in 1656, when it consisted of a body 73 feet in length by 32 in breadth, with a cross aile 17 feet broad, stretching 15 feet out of each side of the main building, and a steeple at the W. end, about 17 feet square, surmounted with a short obtuse spire. In 1701, there was another aile added to the N. side of the church, W. of the former one, by the Earl of *Gromarty*, and the same year the S. aile was lengthened and heightened by the Earl of *Ruglen*. At the E. end of the church are two burial places, one belonging to the family of *Young* of *Leny*, and the other to that of *Inglis* of *Cramond*; the last having a Gothic roof of flag stones. This part was formerly the choir, and is said to have pertained to the Abbot of *Invercolm*. The church is covered with blue slate, and in the steeple hangs a bell, thus inscribed, MICHAEL BURGHERSDYK FECIT ME 1619. SOLI DEO GLORIA*.

The following are the only monuments erected in memory of persons above the degree of farmers.

In a niche, in the west wall of *Grantoun* aile, is a marble bust, above which is a mort head and these words, SPERANDO SUPERAVI; at the bottom of the bust, on an entablature, are these lines.

K

VERA

* This bell was carried away by the Parliament's forces, but restored to the parish by General *Mordaunt* in 1638, after much solicitation employed, and interest made, as appears from the Session records.

VERA EFFIGIES DNI. IAC. HOPPÆI
HOPTONIÆ MILITIS CELEBERRIMI,

ÆTAT. SVÆ 47.

A. D. MDCCLXI.

And on a piece of marble fixed into the stone below,

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
SIR JAMES HOPE OF HOPE TOWN,
WHO DECEASED ANNO 1661.

In the vault belonging to *Barntoun* is a leaden coffin without any inscription, containing the body of *John Earl of Selkirk and Ruglen*, who died 3d Dec. 1744, æta. 82; also a stone lying on the ground, thus inscribed,

Beneath
Are the mortal parts
of
The Rev. Mr *Francis Sberriſſ*
Firſt ſettled Miniſter
In
Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh.
His
Faithful ſervices there
Were
Short but uſeful.
In
Six months he finiſhed his labours,
Having borne
A long illneſs with much ſubmiſſion,
In
The triumphant hope of the goſpel
He
Died at *Barntoun*
June 12th 1778, æta. 28.
Bleſſed is the ſervant whom his Lord ſhall find ſo doing*.

On

* In 1787 was published, a "Short Account of the Life, Experiences, and Death, of the Rev. Mr *Francis Sberriſſ* late Paſtor of *Lady Glenorchy's chapel*", 12mo pp. 60, from whence it appears, that he was born in 1750, educated at *Muſſelburgh* and

On the outside of the S. wall of the church, near the E. end, is an oval tablet, with a pillar on each side, bearing this inscription :

Here lyes
Alexander Howison
of Braehead, who died the 18
of April 1703, his age 63 years;
also Martha Young his
spouse, who died the 6th Jan.
1704, her age 63 years.

In the church-yard, near the S. wall, is a square column, about 7 feet in height, and three feet in thickness, which appears to have had long Latin inscriptions on the N. and E. sides, but the monument being composed of very friable stone, the letters are now quite obliterated. What could be made out is, "MAGISTRO ROBERTO DALGLESIO, DE LAURISTON, VIRO CLARO, QUI OBIIT 12 OCTOB. 1662, LUDOVICUS CRAGIUS RICCAR-
"TONENSIS."

Close by this monument, is a large flat stone, supported by small pillars, thus inscribed, "*Sub hoc saxo quiescit Jana Dalglisia, Joannis Kno-
"xii Pastoris Ecclesiae quae Letha est Borealis, uxor lectissima, quae suavi-
"tate morum, aconomiae peritia, pietate erga maritum et liberos, constan-
"tia et firmitate animi in omni fortuna, insigni numinis reverentia praee aliis
"eminebat. Nata 6to Decembris 1641, nupta June 1659, obiit 26 Oc-
"tobris 1673, aetat. 32."*

A large stone built into the E. wall of the church-yard, has a coat armorial of a saltire between 4 laurel leaves, and these words below,

K 2

HERE

and *Edinburgh*, travelled abroad in 1769 with the eldest son of the Earl of *D.* and on his return, got the place of a clerk in the war office; he quitted this station in 1771, and sailed to *Jamaica* and *New York*, from whence returning home in 1773, he was, after several ineffectual attempts to obtain the presentation to a living in this country, ordained, in 1775, Chaplain to one of the Scots Regiments in the Dutch service. His health beginning to decline, and being advised to try his native air, he came over to *Edinburgh* in *Sep.* 1777, and took up his residence in *Lady Glenorchy's* house, where he continued till his death the next year.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

HERE LYES JOHN STAL-
KER OF EASTER DRY-
LAW, AN TRUE AND
LIVELY PATTERN OF
PIETY AND PROBITY,
WHA DYED 6 FEB.
ÆTA. 60. A. D. 1603.

Against the W. wall of the inclosed cemetery next adjoining to *Barn-
town* aile, is a stone thus inscribed :

“ Here lyes the body of *Catherine Oswald*, from which the soul was
“ removed by death, upon the 6th of *Aug.* 1730, in the 46th year of
“ her age, and 22d of her married life. She was spouſe to Mr *James*
“ *Smith* Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Edinburgh*, who before his transporta-
“ tion to that place, had laboured in the miniſtry at *Cramond*, for more
“ than 18 years.”

* She was a bright example of true religion and virtue in her life,
“ and of patience, faith, and reſignation to the will of God in her death.”
“ *Hoc quatecuſque monumentum ob arctitudinem loci minusculum mœrens*
“ *poſuit Jac. Smith, maritus.*”

• On another ſtone in the ſame cemetery. “ Here ſleepeth in Jeſus
“ in hopes of a joyous reſurrection, *Anne Rainalds* ſpouſe to Mr *John*
“ *Hamilton*, Miniſter at *Cramond*, ſhe was educate and married in *Ire-*
“ *land*, from whence coming in 1689, to ſojourn in *Scotland*, he preach-
“ ed in *Cramond*, where ſhe died *Dec.* 28th 1692, leaving behind her
“ four children, *Archibald, Jean, James* and *Dorothy Hamiltons*; being
“ of her age 43, whereof 19 years married.”

W. from the ſteeple is a large flat ſtone on pillars, thus inſcribed,

HERE LYES MRS ANNE HAY
WIFE OF MR PETER EDGAR
OF BRIDGLANDS. SHE DIED
THE FOURTH DAY OF APRIL
1779, AGED 55 YEARS.

ALSO

ALSO THE SAID PETER EDGAR
 WHO DIED THE DAY OF
 JANUARY 1781, AGED 75 YEARS.

There are in the church-yard several monuments of persons of inferior rank, but none of them remarkable; and in other parts of the parish, four tomb stones, supposed to be in memory of victims to that dreadful disease, the plague, who were not allowed to be buried in the church-yard, from an apprehension of the infection's again spreading by inadvertently opening the graves*. The dates on them are 1646 and 1647, and it appears from *Balfour's Annals*, that this dreadful disease had some years before, visited this place, as he says, that in harvest 1635 the plague broke out at *Cramond* and *Borrowhousefs*, being brought to these places by some *Dutch* ships, and several persons died of it.

The patronage of *Cramond* church was vested in the Bishops of *Dun-*
held till 1597, when *Peter Rollock*, of *Pilcon* in this parish, the then
 Bishop of that see, made a resignation thereof into the King's hands.
 His Majesty, the same year, incorporated and annexed the right of pa-
 tronage of *Cramond* church to the lands of *Over Barntoun*, to remain
 thatewith inseparably for ever in all time coming, and constituted *James*
Elphinstone, one of the Strators of the College of Justice, and his heirs
 male, and his successors in the said lands of *Over Barntoun* respectively
 and successively, undoubted and irredeemable heritable patrons of the
 parsonage and vicarage of *Cramond*, by charter under the great seal, dat-
 ed 11th Aug. 1597. Mr *Elphinstone* (afterwards created Lord *Balmeri-*
noch)

* Two of those tomb stones are in a field called the *Whinny Haugh*, south west
 from *King's Cramond*; a third is in a sequestered spot on the banks of a small rivu-
 let in the eastmost inclosure of *Nether Cramond* next the sea; and the fourth lies im-
 mediately within the north wall of *Caroline Park*, east from the iron gates. On the two
 first are these inscriptions; "Here lyes *John D* _____, who died the 20th of Nov.
 " anno 1647," And " Here lyes *Janet Damuboy*, who deceased the 20th of Oct.
 " anno 1647." On the third " Here lyes *Thomas Farme*, deceased 22d Juli, *Memento*
 " *mori*." The last has nothing upon it except *I. A. 1646*.

noch) had previously, (in 1589,) obtained from the Bishop of *Dunkeld* a tack of all the tiend sheaves (tithes) of this parish, for 19 years and 19 years, on payment of 260 merks Scotch; and this tack was afterwards prolonged to five times 19 years more, by act of Parliament, dated 5th *Mar.* 1618. But it appears that the proprietors of almost all the different estates in the parish, have purchased their shares of the teinds from the tacksmen, at the rates fixed by law. An ineffectual attempt was made in 1631, by *Alexander* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, to reduce Lord *Balmerinock's* right of patronage of the parsonage and teinds of *Cramond*, by a suit before the Court of Session.

The present stipend; or provision for the Minister of *Cramond* parish, as settled by decret. of augmentation and modification of the Court of Session, dated 11th *July* 1765, is 10 bolls of wheat, 44½ bolls of bear, 8 bolls of meal, 33½ bolls of oats, *L.* 52:8:11½ in money, and *L.* 6 for providing communion elements; amounting, *communibus annis*, to *L.* 130 a year; besides which, he has a glebe of about 6 acres of fertile land, lying compact and contiguous to the manse, which is a sufficiently commodious building; though for building it, *Dr Gilbert Hamilton*, the then incumbent, was allowed by the heritors of the parish no more than *L.* 83:6:8, in 1745*. So that, upon the whole, *Cramond* is one of the best livings in the church of *Scotland*†.

The

* For that miserable pittance he was taken bound to build a new manse, uphold it himself, and leave it in good repair at his removal.

† From the records of the teind office, it appears that previous to 1631, the minister of *Cramond* had a stipend of 520 merks *Sc.* in money, 16 bolls of victual, the vicarage, estimated at 200 merks *Sc.* with a manse and glebe, and that Lord *Balmerinock* gave him 16 bolls of victual more. This appearing to the Commissioners of Teinds to be by no means a competent provision, respect being had to the extent of the parish, quality of the parishioners, and number of communicants, they, on the 21st of *Feb.* 1631, settled the stipend at 8 bolls of wheat, 24 of bear, 24 of oats, 8 of meal, and 420 merks *Sc.* 20 of which were assigned for communion elements. On *Mar.* 1st 1699, the Court of Session augmented this provision to the same quantity of victual as is presently paid, with *L.* 344:10. *Sc.* in money.

The following is as complete a list, as I have been able to make, of the ministers of this parish settled since the Reformation.

William Cornwell. He was Reader at *Cramond*, 1st Nov. 1573, with a stipend of only L. 31 : 2 : 2 Sc. together with the kirklands; of this stipend L. 13 : 6 : 8 was payable out of the lands of the vicarage; L. 13 : 6 : 8 out of the lands of the bishopric of *Dunkeld* by the tacksmen or lessees of *Cramond*, as the Reader; and L. 4 : 8 : 10 out of the lands of the chaplainry of *Cramond Regis* *.

Michael Cranston, Minister of *Cramond*, occurs frequently from 1590 to 1613, and makes no small figure in *Calderwood's* History of the Church of Scotland. He was one of the commissioners for subscription to the articles, for *Edinburgh* sheriffdom 6th March 1590. At the famous tumult at the tolbooth of *Edinburgh* 17th Dec. 1596, when King *James VI.* was besieged therein by a riotous concourse of people, who wanted to wreak their vengeance on some of his privy council, particularly the *Ostavians*, who were suspected of favouring Popery, during the time that the commissioners from the people, ministers, &c. were in the Tolbooth conferring with the King, Mr *Cranston*, in the pulpit of the Old Kirk, read the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai*, and such like pieces of scripture, by which he so inflamed the passions of the mob, that they ran to arms, and attempted to force open the door of the tolbooth, but in vain. When the six ministers that denied the King's authority in ecclesiastical matters were imprisoned in *Blackness* Castle in 1606, Mr *Cranston* was one of the neighbouring clergymen that resorted to comfort them. After all this zeal against the Court, it appears that he changed sides, as I find him one of the Assessors to the Moderator of the General Assembly that sat down at *Glasgow* in June 1610, by which Episcopacy was established in Scotland. To bring about this end so much desired by the Court, money was largely distributed among the members of the Assembly on pretence of bearing their charges, and an increase of stipend was promised to some of the ministers †. Mr *Cranston* died 1631 ‡.

William King, the next minister of *Cramond*, died 1632 §.

William Colvill, his successor, brother of the first Lord *Colvill* of *Ocbiltree*, || resigned

* MS in Bibl. Jurid.—*Nisbet*, in his System of Heraldry, blazons the arms of one *Hay* of *Earbhill*, sometime minister of *Cramond*, (arg. three escallops within a bordure engrailed, gules). He must have been predecessor of Mr *Cranston*, and in *Calderwood's* Ecclesiastical History Mr *Walter Hay* occurs as one of the ministers of *Edinburgh* presbytery in 1581.

† *Calderwood's* Ecclesiastical History, 250, 364, 625.

‡ Records of the Tiend-office.

§ Records of Baptisms of *Edinburgh*, *Mary* daughter posthumous of sometime *William King* minister of *Cramond*, and *Margaret Couper*, baptized 12th July 1632. Also Records of the Commissary Court.

|| Bishop *Guthrie's* Memoirs, p. 69. 83.

ed his charge here in 1639, in order to go to *France* with a letter from the chiefs of the Covenanters to the French king, to implore his Majesty's assistance against the arbitrary proceedings of *Charles I.* but passing through *England* was taken into custody at *London*, and all his papers seized*. Mr *Colvill* was sent to *Newcastle* prison, from whence he was relieved by the Scotch army after their victory at *Newburn*, 30th *Aug.* 1640, and made one of the ministers of *Edinburgh* †, but was deposed from that charge by sentence of the General Assembly, 27th *July* 1649 ‡. At the Restoration, being offered a bishopric by King *Charles II.* he declined the offer, but accepted the office of Principal of *Edinburgh* University; and by his Majesty's order had the favour of being exempted from the Declaration and other compliances contrary to his principles. He died about 1675. He was author of divers pieces in English, and *Ethica Christiana* in Latin.

William Dalgleish, who had been, in 1635, deprived of the living of *Kirkmabreck* near *Wigton* §, for his opposition to Episcopacy, was settled at *Cramond* in 1639, in room of Mr *Colvill*, with whom he appears to have been nearly connected, as the name of his wife was *Elizabeth Colvill*. In 1662, he was deposed for non-conformity, and died before the Revolution ||.

Alexander Young, his successor, descended from the family of *Auldbar*, was a native of *Aberdeen*, and removed from *Cramond* to the Archdeaconry of *St. Andrews* in 1666. In 1671, he was consecrated Bishop of *Edinburgh*, where he sat till 1679, when he was translated to the see of *Ross* (by the powerful influence of the Dutchess of *Lauderdale*, who wanted to make room for her favourite Bishop *Paterfon* to come to *Edinburgh*). He died in *France*, after undergoing the operation of lithotomy, in *Aug.* 1684, æta. 55 ¶.

David Falconer was minister of *Cramond* from 1666 to 1675, when he was promoted to the professorship of divinity in the university of *St. Andrews*.

John Sommervell, his successor, was deprived of his benefice 2d *May* 1689, for refusing

* *Rusworth's* Collections, 1037 and 1119, and *Burnet's* History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 30. In *Dalrymple's* Memorials, vol. ii. p. 57. is preserved a letter from Mr *Colvill* to his friend and patron Lord *Balmerinoch*, dated 30th *Apr.* 1639, disapproving of the draught of an address to the French king, proposing another, and submitting them to the judgement of the Earl of *Lothian* and Mr *Robert Leightoun*.

† *Crawford's* Lives of the Officers of State, 203.

‡ Acts of Assembly, and Principal *Baillie's* Letters, ii. 289, 310, 311.

§ *Stevenson's* History of the Church of *Scotland*, i. 145.

|| *Wodrow's* History of the Church of *Scotland*, i. Appendix.

¶ *Keith's* Catalogue of the Bishops of *Scotland*, 40, 120, compared with his monument at *St. Andrews*.

refusing to pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and on account of his former way of converse among the congregation not having been so harmless and blameless, as the carriage of a minister ought to be among his people. He died in poverty in 1692*.

John Hamilton, a Presbyterian Minister at *Cumber* in the County of *Down* in *Ireland*, a place he had left on account of the troubles in that kingdom, took charge of *Cramond* 6th Dec. 1689, only until he should have access to his own parish in *Ireland*, or be orderly loosed from thence. He was a person of exemplary piety, and strictness of discipline; in 1692, he was appointed one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, and notwithstanding very great opposition from the parishioners of *Cramond*, was obliged to remove to that city, by order of the Synod of *Lothian* and *Tweeddale*, in 1693. He died at *Edinburgh* 17th Oct. 1702 †.

William Hamilton, son of *Gavin Hamilton* of *Airdrie* in the county of *Lanark*, descended from the ancient *Hamiltons* of *Preston*, was settled minister of *Cramond* 3d Sept. 1694, and he left this charge in Oct. 1709, on being appointed Divinity Professor in *Edinburgh* College, an office he filled with great reputation till July 1732, when he was made Principal of the University, but died 12th Nov. same year, highly distinguished for piety, learning, and moderation ‡.

James Smith, who had been tutor to the first President *Dundas* of *Arncliffe* and others, afterwards minister of *Morbame* in *East Lothian*, was, after long and bitter altercations among the parishioners concerning other candidates for this charge §, unanimously elected minister of *Cramond* 16th Jan. 1712. In 1730, he was appointed one of the ministers of *Edinburgh*, and in July 1732, succeeded Mr *Hamilton* as Divinity Professor, and also succeeded him as Principal of the University; but like his predecessor, did not long enjoy that office, dying at *Coldstream* upon his return from *Bristol* hot wells 14th Aug. 1736 æta. 56. being then also one of his Majesty's chaplains.

L

Robert

* Session Records.—See also *Fountainball's* Decisions, i. 232. where is a state of a procès of scandal between Mr *Sommervell* and his maid-servant.

† Records of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*.

‡ One of his daughters, *Anne*, born 4th Jan. 1703, was married to *John Horsley* F. R. S. author of that valuable work, *Britannia Romana*, by whom she was mother of *Samuel Horsley*, the present learned Lord Bishop of *St. David's*.

§ On Thursday 9th Feb. 1710, at a very full meeting of the heritors and elders of the parish, *Robert Lithgow* and *William Brown* being set up, 34 voted for the former and 26 for the latter; but the matter being carried before the Presbytery and Synod, the successful candidate prudently declined accepting of a charge where he was disagreeable to half the parish. At this keenly contested election, the Earl of *Ruglen*, in whom the right of patronage was vested, voted only as a private heritor.

Robert Hamilton, fourth son of Principal *William Hamilton* before mentioned, born at *Cramond* 19th *May* 1707, was, on *Mr Smith's* removal, settled here 4th *Ap.* 1731. In 1736, he was appointed one of the ministers of *Edinburgh*, and in 1754, Divinity Professor in the University there, as also Dean of the order of the Thistle. He died 3d *April* 1787, æta. 80.

Gilbert Hamilton, his brother and successor, being ninth and youngest son of Principal *Hamilton*, was born 16th *May* 1715, and settled at *Cramond* 1st *May* 1737. He had so great an attachment to this place, that he would never remove hence, although solicited to accept of a charge in *Edinburgh*; and died minister of *Cramond* in *May* 1772, æta. 57. He was an affable, easy, plain man, high in the esteem of the superior order of his parishioners.

Charles Stewart of *Dunnairn* in *Fife*, descended from, and representative of, *Archibald Stewart* of *Dunnairn*, a younger son of *James* fifth Earl of *Murray*, was ordained minister of *Cramond* 27th *Ap.* 1773. He preached his farewell sermon here 25th *Feb.* 1776, and on the 28th of that month, gave in a demission of his charge to the Presbytery, setting forth, that at the time of entering into the ministry, being fully satisfied with the doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith, he had no manner of scruple in accepting of a pastoral charge in the church of *Scotland*. That now, however, after having, with the greatest deliberation, searched the scriptures, he could find no authority in the New Testament, for any national church whatever; that government by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, &c. did not seem to be that which Christ had appointed in his churches, and therefore, though he still preferred the church of *Scotland* to every other, as being the most pure and orthodox in its doctrines, he could not, in these circumstances, continue any longer in it. The Presbytery, unwilling to lose so valuable a member, from scruples which, they imagined, might be removed, appointed a committee of four, to converse with him. This conversation was however ineffectual, as on the 27th of *May*, he declared before the Presbytery, that his sentiments remained unaltered, so his demission was unanimously accepted. He afterwards entered into an anabaptist congregation; studied medicine, took the degree of M. D. and now practises with great reputation at *Edinburgh*.

Robert Walker, son of the pastor of a Scots congregation at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, was settled at *Cramond* 21 *Nov.* 1776, and removed to the first charge of the Canongate of *Edinburgh* in 1784.

Archibald Bonar, Mr *Walker's* successor, fifth son of *John Bonar* one of the ministers of *Perth*, was in 1779, ordained minister of *Newburn* in *Fife*, from whence he was, in 1783, translated to *Glasgow*; but finding his charge in that populous city too laborious and public a situation for a disposition naturally fitted for retirement, he was glad to accept the offer made to him by *Lady Glenorchy*, of this more easy and quiet charge of *Cramond*, where he was settled in 1785.

The vicarage of *Cramond* is rated *L.* 4. in *Bagimont's* Roll*, which was made up in 1412. The rental of *Cramond* to the Bishop of *Dunkeld* is thus stated in 1561: "Kirk and Mains of *Cramond*, 58 chalders of vic-tual;" of the total 19 c. 4 chald. 5 bolls 1 firloft payable to that prelate. At the Revolution this parish paid *L.* 100 *Sc.* per annum; of the total *L.* 1662:17:6. *Sc.* payable to the Bishop of *Dunkeld*.—MS. in *Bibl. Jurid.* †

So much for the ecclesiastical affairs of this parish; I will now proceed to subjects connected therewith, the schools, the mode of supporting the poor, and the Session Records.

S E C T. IV.

SCHOOLS, MODE OF SUPPORTING THE POOR, EXTRACTS FROM THE SESSION RECORDS.

CRAMOND formerly was in great repute as a place of education, to which the salubrity of the air and vicinity of the sea did not a little contribute; and several gentlemen of the first families in the kingdom, have received the rudiments of knowledge in the established school of this place, but its situation is now completely reversed. The average number of scholars at this school is between 70 and 80; and the emoluments

L 2

of

* Cardinal *Bagimont*, legate from the Pope to *Scotland* in 1412, summoned before him all the ecclesiastics to give up the value of their benefices on oath, and made a standing rental of them called *Bagimont's* Roll, which became the authentic and constant rule of taxing ecclesiastics.

† In another MS. I find the vicarage of *Cramond* rated at *L.* 41:6:8. towards the *L.* 200,000 voted in 1617, by the Convention of Estates, and in the same MS. the vicarage of *Cramond* is rated at *L.* 42:8. but no reference is made to what period. The prebends of *Craigcrook* and *Grottbill* in this parish, belonging to the provestry of *St. Giles*, are also mentioned therein.

of the master, exclusive of their fees, and of proclamation and baptismal dues, amount to about *L.* 14: 10. *per annum* *. There are two other schools in the parish, one at *Barntoun*, attended by between 50 and 60 scholars, and the other, at *Gruntoun* has on an average 30.

The parochial funds amount to above *L.* 1200, yielding an annual-rent of above *L.* 56, the collections at the church doors come to about *L.* 39, and the hire of the mortcloths† to above *L.* 7. yearly, making a total annual income of above *L.* 102. With this sum 41 ordinary, and 16 extraordinary ‡, poor are supported and relieved, as their several necessities require, after which a small surplus commonly remains, at the end of each year, to augment the capital fund §. The above is stated from the average of the receipts for ten years preceding 1790, and include the collection on sacramental occasions, average *L.* 6: 4. annually; a trifling sum compared with the oblations at the communion 1690 and 1691, the former having amounted to *L.* 20: 5: 8. and the latter to *L.* 23: 15: 2. The following table will exhibit a comparative view of the parochial funds at three different periods, of ten years each.

Average

* Including the interest of *L.* 25, given in 1786, by Sir *John Inglis* for the establishment of a Sunday evening school.

† Palls, generally of black velvet but sometimes of cloth, of various sizes and of different degrees of fineness, made use of for covering the coffin during the procession at funerals; for the hire of which certain specified rates are, by the representatives of the deceased, paid to the parish whose property they are.

‡ By ordinary poor are meant those who on account of old age, or other circumstances are likely to be continued upon the roll till their death. By extraordinary, such as in all probability may in process of time, be able to maintain themselves.

§ In the dreadful season of scarcity that happened in 1782 and 1783, 305 bolls of meal and flour were purchased by the heritors, and distributed among the poor at a price so much below the market rate, that about *L.* 46. was lost on the whole quantity.

<i>Annual Average</i> Average number of	From 1670 to 1679.	From 1700 to 1709.	From 1780 to 1789.
Principal sums, &c. belonging } to the parish	L. 303 0 0	L. 600 0 0	L. 1220 0 0
Collections at the church doors	L. 12 12 0	L. 37 10 0	L. 38 12 0
Collections at the communion, in- } cluded in the preceding article	L. 3 5 0	L. 12 9 0	L. 6 4 0
Sums received for the hire of the } mort-cloths	L. 1 11 6	L. 4 4 0	L. 7 2 0
Distributions to the poor	L. 18 0 0	L. 48 0 0	L. 96 17 6
Number of ordinary poor	—10—	—32—	—41—

How the principal sum accrued in the first instance, cannot now be known, the account books of the parish, previous to 1636, having been carried off by *Cromwell*. The increase of the capital was in a great measure owing to several persons to whom the parish money had been lent, not paying interest for many years, (in some instances the annual-rents ran up till the principal sum lent was more than doubled,) and to savings made by economical treasurers in years of plenty. The whole is gratuitously managed by the church treasurer*; and his accounts are audited at a meeting of heritors, the minister, and elders, who defray the expence of the meeting out of their own pockets†.

Here, one cannot but remark the wide difference betwixt this mode of providing for the poor, in this country, and the arbitrary and oppressive

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* Formerly the church treasurer used to be changed every year, one of the heritors accepting of that troublesome office in his turn; but that mode was afterwards altered, Mr *Robert Spotswood*, Surgeon, portioner of *Over Cramond* before mentioned, has since 1774 executed this trust with discernment and impartiality, his profession enabling him to know the real circumstances of all the families in the parish and neighbourhood, so as to render all attempts to impose upon the Session impracticable and hopeless.

† Of all the funds of *Europe*, none are managed at so little expence to the fund itself, none so frugally, none so impartially, and none laid out more to the purpose for which they were raised, than the poor's funds under the care of the Kirk Sessions of *Scotland*. *Statistical Account*, Vol. vi. p. 48.

five method of managing the rates for their support in England. The consideration of the exemption from this tax, and of the vast superiority this part of the united kingdom enjoys in that respect, will, no doubt, have a due effect in disposing the landholders to contribute liberally to the relief of an industrious peasantry, when rendered by age, infirmity, and sickness, unable to provide for themselves. Of all the lower classes, those employed in the cultivation of the earth, are the best entitled to protection and support; the more especially when it is considered, that the most diligent and industrious labourer will, with every exertion, find it a hard matter to bring up a large family properly; and, at the same time, to make provision for the debility of old age, or the ravages of sickness*.

The records of the Kirk Session, which begin 7th Sep. 1651, (the Session books preceding that period having been carried away by *Cromwell*) exhibit many curious memorials of the strictness of discipline which prevailed in the church of *Scotland*, during the course of last century; though it appears, at the same time, that the present generation has by no means become worse than their forefathers, contrary to the well known assertion, that

Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit

Nos nequiores.

The records preserving several instances of the grossest immoralities, as well as of profanations of the sabbath, by slaying horses, catching fish, getting drunk in so beastly a manner as to fall vomiting in the church

* A friendly Society, instituted at *Cramond* in *August* 1773, now consists of 80 subscribers, each paying 4s at entry, and 4s 4d yearly, besides 6d on the death of a subscriber, and 4d on the demise of the wife of any of them. The sums thus raised are employed as follows; each subscriber in distress, has 2s 6d a week allowed him; 40s is paid towards the funeral expences of a subscriber, and 30s for those of his wife; and when a subscriber leaves a widow, she is entitled to receive a pension of 20s per annum out of the funds, which in 1790, amounted to upwards of L. 100. They have now however, fallen to L. 90, owing to the increase of widows, and in the course of last year 1792, the Society distributed upwards of L. 34.

church itself, &c. It must however, be remarked, that much greater care was taken to put a stop to such practices, (the parties offending being severely censured, and publicly rebuked, set in the stocks, and sometimes appointed to appear in sackcloth before the congregation,) than is now done to check the most open and scandalous irregularities *. Emancipation from the intolerable yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny is no doubt to be reckoned among the advantages enjoyed by the present age; but it were much to be wished that great part of the antient discipline was restored. The relaxation of manners may be attributed in some measure, to the non-attendance of the landed proprietors on the meetings of the Kirk Session, and their not enforcing its decrees. During the last century, and beginning of the present, these meetings were numerous and well attended; even the most considerable heritors, peers of the realm not excepted, not disdaining to attend punctually. They took strict cognizance of the manners not only of the lower classes, but also of the higher ranks, as will appear from the following instances. In 1657, *Robert Adamson of Craigerook*, being accused of excess in drinking, was ordered to be summoned before the Session, *Aug. 16th*;—*Sep. 6th.* following he was again accused of relapse in drunkenness at *Gogar* last Lord's day. After several excuses, he was obliged to appear before the Session, *20th Dec. 1657*, and did acknowledge his miscarriage by excess in drinking, promising by the Lord's assistance not to fall into the like again. The Session thought fit to dismiss him with a rebuke, and an admonition to walk more circumspectly in time coming. Much about the same time, *James Primrose of Whitehouse*, another heritor, nearly related to Lord Register *Primrose*, was taken to task by the Session for drunkenness, cursing, and swearing.—*Feb. 16th 1700*, *Mary Millar* compeared before the Session, and on being interrogated, confessed that Sir *William Paterson* of *Grantoun*, Bart. was the father of the child she brought forth lately, and that the fact was committed in *Grantoun* House, the week before

Fastens.

* From the Session records of late years, it appears that no censure was inflicted on a married man, found in bed with a woman and her daughter at the same time.

Faastens even, when he came out to *Grantoun*, and brought her out, and stayed there from Tuesday that week, till Saturday, although his family then lived in *Edinburgh*, and nobody was at *Grantoun* but *James Anderson*, Sir *William's* boy; and *Robert Hunter* the town Treasurer of *Edinburgh* came and took away the child. The minister waited on Sir *William Paterson*, who acknowledged his sin, but hoped the Session would deal discreetly with him in consideration of his age and character (he was then about 70, and had held a high office under Government for many years). They were however peremptory in insisting on satisfaction, probably on account of his having been a violent persecutor of the Presbyterians while he was Clerk of the Privy Council; he delayed to come before them for some time, going to *Bath* and other places, but on his return to this part of the country he was again sent for by the Session, whereupon he formally appeared before them 14th Nov. 1701, and professed his sorrow for committing the sin of fornication, and his willingness to submit to the Session, for removing that scandal. He was then rebuked and exhorted to repent, and appointed to appear in the public congregation, to remove the scandal; but the records are silent as to the latter point's being complied with.

It must however be acknowledged, that the attention of the Session to prevent the Sabbath from being profaned, too often degenerated into intolerable strictness; one *John Young* and his wife being, 5th Nov. 1691, sharply admonished by them for having meat roasting at the fire in time of afternoon's sermon, and for entertaining strangers on the Lord's day. Several persons were also much harrassed for absenting themselves from church, although they pled in excuse that they had been either at other neighbouring places of worship, or visiting sick friends; and one *David Anderson*, a smith in *Lenymuir*, was, 7th Aug. 1664, severely rebuked by the Session for shoeing a horse of the Earl of *Wigtoun's* son, on the Sabbath; notwithstanding he affirmed that he was compelled to do so against his will, and that it was a work of necessity, in regard the young nobleman was posting home to his lady, then lying very sick.

One,

One cannot but smile at the following instance of the Parson's minute attention to the private concerns of his parishioners. *Mar.* 4th 1698, the Minister reported to the Session, that he had spoken to my Lord *Tarbat's* groom, and *Mary Milligan*, who did lie in one room, but in two separate beds, and that they had promised to forbear the same.

Of the superstition and credulity of the common people, take the following examples. *Sept.* 15th 1695, *John Knight* in *Lauriston* gave in a complaint against *James Baptie* and *Margaret Thomson* his wife, that the said *Margaret* had upon Sunday come in a rage, upon his wife keeping the kine upon their own grafs, swearing and cursing, and using imprecations upon her and the kine, and one of them swelled and died that night. *Baptie* and his wife were sharply rebuked by the Session.—*Jan.* 22d 1688, a dead child having been found on *Cramond Muir*, near the town of *Upper Cramond*, and one *Janet Millar* having gone from thence to *Comrie* the same day, she was sent for, and having appeared before the Kirk Session some days thereafter, the child was raised out of its grave, and she was caused handle the body before the Session and a great confluence of people; but, it is remarked in the records with no small surprize, no tokens of blood appeared at all! She was afterwards examined several times; but no further light being thereby obtained, the affair was referred to his Majesty's Advocate, by whom she was exculpated.

S E C T. V.

MANUFACTURES, VILLAGE OF CRAMOND, HARBOUR, SHIPPING, AND FISHERIES.

THE only Manufacture in this parish worth mentioning, is that of iron, carried on to a considerable extent by Messrs. *Cadells* and *Edington*,

M

who

who first settled at *Cramond* in 1771, and now employ a capital of above £. 30,000. All the mills on the *Edinburgh* side of the *Amon*, (on the opposite bank there is only one, now in ruins,) which are four in number *, are the property of that company. Their works consist of two mills for flitting iron and rolling hoops, three forges, two steel converting furnaces, (one of them the first of the kind erected in *Scotland*, holding about 10 tons of iron) spade, nail, and file manufactories, warehouses for raw and wrought iron, houses for the superintending partner, his clerks, and some of the workmen, and an accounting house. At these works, bar iron is manufactured into blistered, square or faggot, and German steel, hoops and rolled iron, rod iron, boiler and pan plates for fire engines, sock moulds, anchor palms, bolts for ship building, spades, shovels, nails, files, and other articles. These different branches employ above 80 men and boys, each of whom earn from 3s to 26s per week.

The iron used at these works comes chiefly from *Russia* and *Sweden*, upwards of 1000 tons being annually imported from the *Baltic*. The average cost per ton, (including the duty of customs payable on importation, 56s, and freight, from 8s to 15s,) is £. 17. for Russian, and £. 18. 18. for Swedish iron; but a very fine kind of the latter, the produce of the famous mine of *Dannemora* in *Upland*, called *Oeregrunds* iron, from the port where it is shipped, comes to £. 24 per ton. This last sort is used solely in the manufacture of steel. These different kinds of iron have advanced in price no less than 50 per cent since 1780; this rapid rise has induced the proprietors of these works to erect blast furnaces at *Clyde*,
near

* Of these, *Cockle* and *Niddery's* mills, the nearest the mouth of the river, were acquired from the *Carron* Company by Messrs. *Cadells* and *Edington* in 1771. *Peggie's* mill with some acres of ground, was purchased by them in 1781 from *David Clegborn* of *Fairlyhope*; and *Dowie's* mill, with the banks of the river adjacent thereto, from *Lady Glenorchy* in 1782. The house for the resident partner is a commodious building, erected on the summit of the brae above *Cocklemill* in 1778, in a situation calculated for enjoying to the greatest advantage, the view of the meanders of the river, the park and pleasure ground of *Barnbougle*, and the Frith of *Forth*.

near *Glasgow*, with the view of making bar iron for *Cramond*; and they hope that these furnaces will, in a few years, furnish them with a sufficient quantity of this valuable article, and thus enable them to keep at home the large sums at present remitted abroad.

A considerable part of the steel manufactured at these works is exported to *India*; and the German steel made here sells so high as *L. 56* per ton. The spade and shovel branch was introduced at *Cramond* by one *Richard Squires* from *Newcastle*, a worthy, capital, and industrious workman, greatly superior to any in that line in *Scotland*. The works of his own hand are easily distinguished; and are in particular request even in *London*. About 1000 dozen of spades and shovels, and 23 tons of nails, are annually manufactured at these works; but the greatest part of the red iron made here is sent to *Stirlingshire*, where the *Cramond* Company employ above 200 men to make it into nails, of which large quantities were before the late war, exported to *America*. The forge hammers weigh from 4 to 6 cwt. each, are wrought by water, and make from 140 to 160 strokes in a minute. These hammers, and other cast iron articles used here, are made at *Glyde*.

The *Cramond* works are supplied with coal from the *Grange*, in the county of *Linlithgow*, a large estate belonging to the Messrs. *Cadells*; and they annually consume about 1600 tons of that mineral. The freight from *Grange* to *Cramond* is 1s 6d. per ton; the prime cost of the coal, and other charges, may amount to 7s 6d. so that the price of this article at *Cramond* is about 9s. per ton.

Under this head of manufactures, it may be observed, that in the links of *Royfoun*, there formerly was a considerable salt work, with a village of about thirty houses thereto belonging, some vestiges of which may still be seen, though the name is now buried in oblivion.

Netber Cramond, situated on the east bank of the river *Amon*, at its junction with the *Forth*, is a thriving village, containing 87 families, and 343 individuals, chiefly iron workmen, sailors, and day labourers. This place gave title to *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *Thomas Beaumont*, of *Stoughton*, Co.

Leicester, wife of Sir *Thomas Richardson*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and King's Bench, that lady having been created Baroness of *Cramond*, *ult. Feb. 1628*, by the following patent.

“ Carolus, &c. fecisse, creasse, et constituisse Elizabetham Dominam Richardson, conjugam Domini Thomæ Richardson, militis, Jusficiarii Principalis in foro Causarum Communi in palatio Westmonasteriensi, pro toto tempore vitæ suæ, Baronissam de Cramond, ac post illius decessum, creamus perque modum successionis, Dominum Thomam Richardson militem, filium et hæredem dicti principalis Jusficiarii, Dominum Baronem de Cramond. Dando &c. eidem post decessum dictæ Dominae, suisque hæredibus masculis, quibus deficientibus, hæredibus masculis de corpore dicti Domini Thomæ Richardson patris, post decessum præfatæ Dominae, titulum, &c. Baronum Parlamento, tenendum et habendum præfatum titulum Domini Baronis de Cramond, post decessum præfatæ Dominae, cum suffragio in Parlamento, dummodo personaliter præfentes fuerint, et non aliter.”—In this patent, three things are particularly to be remarked; first, that it is the only instance occurring in *Scotland*, of a female being raised to the peerage; secondly, that the Barons of *Cramond* were allowed to vote in the Scottish Parliament, only when personally present, a clause I do not recollect to have met with in any other patent; and thirdly, that the title was not limited to the heirs of the body of the baroness, the remainder being to the heirs male of her third husband, Sir *Thomas Richardson*, whose descendants, by his first wife, accordingly enjoyed that dignity after her death, although she left children by two former husbands.

The harbour of *Cramond*, which is specified in the records of Exchequer as a creek within the port of *Leith*; has belonging to it seven floops, of from 22 to 80 tons burthen, measuring in all 288 tons, and navigated by 23 men. These vessels are chiefly employed in the importation of lime for manure, coals and iron for the mills, and in exporting steel and wrought iron from thence. The *Amon*, at its mouth, has about 15 or 16 feet depth of water in high spring tides, and the sea flows

no farther than *Cocklemill*, about a quarter of a mile above *Cramond*, being stopped by the dam there. The common size of vessels brought up to that mill, is from 40 to 50 tons; but the navigation is reckoned dangerous, on account of the rocky bottom; which lays the shipmasters under the necessity of procuring three or four experienced men from *Cramond*, to assist them in hauling up, and to shew the channel and the windings in the river.

The fisheries are at a low ebb; in particular, the oyster fishery has greatly declined since 1740, when eleven large boats, belonging to *Cramond*, were constantly employed, during the season, in dragging for that delicious bivalve. The principal part of what they caught, was sold to Dutch vessels at the average price of 4s. the herring barrel; and the oyster scalps were then so productive, that it was usual for a boat with five hands, to make 30s. a day; but they are now so much destroyed, probably with over fishing, that no more than four or five boats are now employed; and even these only occasionally. The scalps about *Inchmickery*, belonging to *Lady Greenwich*, are let at the rent of L. 24 *per annum*, to the *Newhaven* fishers.

The *Amon* formerly abounded with a variety of fish, such as trouts, grilfes, some salmon, and great plenty of smelts; but owing to liming the adjacent grounds, and steeping lint in the river, it was for some years almost totally deserted by these different species, which are still extremely scarce, so that the fishings are at present of no great value. Towards the end of last century, they were the subject of a keen litigation betwixt the first Earl of *Roseberry*, and the late Sir *John Inglis* of *Cramond*; and this cause was determined by the Court of Session in 1695, after a joint probation had been taken, by the Lords finding that each had a right of fishing on his own side of the water to the middle-stream. But Lord *Roseberry* was so little satisfied with this determination, the more especially as some of the witnesses deposed, that they knew the proprietor of *Barnbogle* debar all others, and let in tack the exclusive privilege of fishing for 50 or 60 merks yearly, that in 1708, immediately

immediately after the Union, he appealed to the House of Lords. Thereupon Sir *John Inglis*, rather than contest the affair further, entered into a compromise, by which he gave up all right to the fishings, and in return, got from the Earl, the gallery still possessed by his family in *Cramond* church.

Upon the very extensive tract of sands, along the shore of this parish, left dry at low water *, whales have sometimes been stranded. On the 2d of *Feb.* 1690, no less a number than twenty-five, though of the very smallest sort, were left by the tide, on the sands south of *Cramond* island. Most of them measured twelve feet in length, but the lesser did not in general exceed nine or ten, and part of their carcases being buried at the foot of some fruit trees, it was observed that these trees yielded a vast quantity of fruit the following autumn †. In 1701, a male whale, 52 feet long, about 30 in circumference, and having 46 teeth in the under jaw, was cast ashore near the town of *Cramond*. On the 9th *Nov.* 1736 a young whale, 40 feet long, was stranded at *Grantoun*; and 1st *Dec.* 1740, one of the spermaceti kind, 16 feet in depth, and between 50 and 60 in length, was put ashore near the *Hunter's Craig*, and sold for L. 56. Soon afterwards, another whale tumbling about above *Queens-ferry*, was heard to make a hideous moaning, imagined to have been for the loss of the former, which was supposed to have been its mate.

In *March* 1769, one of the blunt headed, cachalot, or spermaceti kind, was stranded at the *Hunter's Craig*, which measured 54 feet in length; the breadth of the tail, at its extremity, was 13 feet. On the 22d of *Dec.* following, another of the same species was left by the tide on the sands near *Cramond* Island, and brought into *Sandy Haugh*. This last is described by *Pennant*, *British Zoology*, vol. iii. p. 61, accompanied with

an

* When the tide retires, all the space between *Grantoun* and the *Hound* point, a tract of about five miles in length, and one in breadth, is left dry the first quarter of ebb. In several places along that tract, are deep holes, full of mud, in which strangers are not unfrequently entangled.

† *Pbalainologia Nova*, 25.

an engraving of the fish, whose length was 54 feet, its greatest circumference, which was just below the jaws, 30; the upper jaw was 5 feet longer than the under one, whose length was 10 feet. The head was of a most enormous size, very thick, and above one third of the fish; the end of the upper jaw was quite blunt, and almost 9 feet high, having the spout hole near the end of it. The teeth were placed on the lower jaw, 23 on each side, all pointing upwards; in the upper jaw opposite to them were an equal number of cavities, in which the ends of the teeth lodged when the mouth was closed. The tail measured 14 feet from tip to tip; *penisque fuit 7½ pedes longus.*

S E C T. VI.

RENT, AGRICULTURE, AND PRODUCE.

WITH respect to the rent of this parish in former times, little can be said, as I found it impracticable to procure the perusal of old leases, and such other papers as would have given an insight into the subject, and enabled me to state the progressive improvements in agriculture. From a MS. collection of charters, &c. in the Advocates library, it appears that in 1368, the rental of the lands of *Craigcrook* and *Grottbill* in this parish, and of *Ravelstoun* adjoining to them, was *L. 17 Sc.* Computing from the present extent of these lands, 600 acres, this gives somewhat more than 6d. per acre; and the computation, cannot be far wrong, as it is also mentioned that six acres of the lands of *Grottbill* were assigned for the payment of 30d. annually, for the ward of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, being at the rate of 5d. the acre.

In 1630, by orders of the Commissioners of Teinds, a valuation of this parish was ordered to be made, each heritor being obliged to give up the value of his property upon oath, to persons appointed for that purpose.

This

This valuation was brought, by Lord *Balmerinoch*, titular of the teinds, under review of the Commissioners, at *Holyroodhouse* on the 10th and 15th Dec. 1630. It appeared that the value of the stock and teind of the whole lands of the parish, (*Nether Gramond* belonging to Mr *James Inglis* excepted, that estate being held by a charter *cum decimis inclusis*, and therefore not subject to tythe,) was,

308½ bolls of wheat,
 1335 bolls of bear,
 1326½ bolls of oats and oat-meal,
 8 bolls of horse corn.

So that estimating the extent of the parish, after deduction of *Nether Gramond*, at 3750 acres, each acre was valued at somewhat more than three-fourths of a boll of victual. Some parts of the parish were however rated considerably higher, *Lauriston*, *Grantoun*, and *Roystoun*, yielding each of them more than a boll of victual per acre, and twenty acres in *Over Gramond*, belonging to *David Primrose* of *Whitehouse*, being rated at 40 bolls of bear, which gives 2 bolls to the acre. The annual average of the fiars of the county of *Edinburgh*, from 1628 to 1649 was, wheat 15s 2d. bear 12s 8d. oats and oat-meal 11s 6d. the boll. Computing at these rates, and estimating the horse corn at 10s. the boll, the above valuation amounted in whole to *L. 1845 : 19 : 2* sterling*.

The following extracts from the record of the proceedings before the Commissioners, will afford some insight into the state of agriculture in the parish in these days.

John Mowbray of *Cammo* requested a deduction from his valuation, because, when his lands were set to tenants they paid only 50 bolls victual; and he having them now in his own hands, has with strong labouring and liming, to his great charges and expences, brought them to 4 chalders (64 bolls) victual; and he further alledged that his half of *Cammo* which

* The following list exhibits the names of the proprietors, and the value of their respective properties in 1630.

which lies runrig with the other half pertaining to Mr *Patrick Hamilton*, is no better than the said *Patrick's* half, which is far undervalued to his half.

Lord *Balmerinoch* having objected to *John Stalker* of *Easter Drylaw's* valuation (40 bolls), that his property, was of the same extent as *Wester Drylaw* belonging to *Sir James Macgill*, rated at 80 bolls; *Stalker* answered, that his lands are 40 acres less, and that the great charges and expences which *Sir James* bestows yearly, by lime and muck, is the cause of the present rent his land yields, he entertaining daily 10 horses for carrying of muck thereto from *Edinburgb* for goodding of his land.

William Adamson of *Craigcrook* said, that *Grottbill* is a bare place in it-

	N				self,
	Bolls of Wheat.	Bolls of Bear.	Bolls of Oats and Oat-meal.	Converted into Sterling Money.	
John Smith of Cramond Regis	16	64	64	L. 89	9 4
Sir James Macgill of Wester Drylaw	13½	13½	53½	49	4 6
John Mowbray of Cammo	16	24	24	41	2 8
Sir George Forrester of Corstorphin	0	0	16	9	4 0
Robert Logie of Logieland	0	64	9	40	10 8
Alexander Howison of Braehead	8	24	16	30	9 4
Peter Rollock of Piltoun	0	46	106	90	1 8
Sir James Oliphant of Muirhouse	48	48	112	131	4 0
William Adamson of Craigcrook	42	142	112	190	3 8*
Peter Hay Writer in Edinburgh	6	12	12	19	1 0
Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston	23	18	109	91	10 4
John Stalker of Easter Drylaw	12	12	16	25	18 0
David Primrose of Whitehouse	0	40	0	25	6 8
Thomas Young of Leny	24	64	136	136	18 8
Sir Ludovick Houftoun of Houftoun	24	64	136	136	18 8
Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall	0	128	24	94	17 4
Earl of Haddington	0	112	224	199	14 8
Walter Henryson of Grantoun	0	192	0	121	12 0
John Cant of Lauriston	0	142	50	118	13 8
Lord Balmerinoch	76	96	116	185	2 8
Small proprietors in Cramond, } Leny, Craigie, &c. }	0	29½	0	18	15 8
	308½	1335	1326½	L. 1845	19 2

* 8 bolls of horse corn at 10s. included.

self; and paid only L. 40 Sc. of rent, but with great charges bestowed thereon by *goodding* and otherways, it was brought to 56 bolls victual of rent; there being bestowed yearly on the *goodding* thereof L. 1000 Sc. and further, that the tenant possesses a larger farm, belonging to the Laird of *Innerleish*, lying contiguous to *Grottbill*; without which he could not pay the rent now given for the latter. As to *Craigcrook*, the rent thereof was never well paid; the tenant who last possessed had it with *steilbow geir** exceeding 500 merks Sc. but the high rent so overmastered him that he was reduced to extreme poverty; and in the end left his lands in so poor a state, that no man would take the same for the rent given up; so being thrown into his (Mr *Adamson's*) own hand, he has laboured the same with extraordinary great charges these seven years bygone. He likewise requested, that he might have a deduction from the present rent of his lands in *Cramond Regis*; 1st, because they are set in *aikerdaill*†, and there are ten or twelve onsets with gardens and other conveniencies upon the same, without which the tenants are not able to pay the rent they are valued to; 2d, because sundry of the tenants having bought some few acres, they bestow great charges by lime and other fuilzie upon the said lands; on failure of which the lands become bare, and the tenants cast the same in his own hands, so as he loses more in one year than he gains in three.

Thomas Young of *Leny* alledged that *Eleazar Borthwick*, heritor of the half of *Nether Leny*, having an intention to dispose of that property,

set

* *Steilbow geir*, or *steelbow gear*, means cattle, implements of husbandry, &c. furnished by the landlord to the tenant, who is bound, on quitting the farm, to replace them all, or to pay, according to appraisement, for such articles as are amissing, or not left on the premises. This species of tenantry prevails at this day, in the Western *Hebrides*, but is quite exploded in all other parts of the kingdom; though *steelbow*, and *steelbow straw*, are still in use in *Scotland*. In the latter case, the outgoing tenant is prohibited from selling any straw off the farm the last year of his lease, or at least to deliver to the incoming tenant a specified quantity of that article, gratis.

† *Aikerdaill* or *acredale*, signifies land in the neighbourhood of villages, &c. set in small portions of an acre or thereabouts.

set the lands out in *aikerdail* at a high racked rent, and built a number of onfetts on the same, and set the lands at this racked rent at 144 bolls victual, and sold them to Mr *John Young*; who being far disappointed of the rent he expected, sold them over again to him; (*Thomas Young*) at the same racked rate of 144 bolls, of which he never could get thankful payment of 96 bolls, and the tenants became so poor as not to be able to pay the rent; and there is presently owing him by a poor tenant thereof 800 merks Sc. of silver, and 80 bolls victual; and that the tenants on one farm have other trades and callings whereby they live, and without which they could not pay their rent. He further alledged, that great part of *Nether Leny* is a bare muir, meet for neither tillage nor pasturage; and touching the lands of *Over Leny* he affirmed, that within a short space after he acquired the right of the same, he was constrained to abate to one tenant 16 bolls of victual of his rent yearly, and to another 12 bolls; but notwithstanding thereof they cast the lands into his own hands, and he has laboured them with his own goods these divers years bygone, and annually bestows very great charges by liming and otherways upon the same; and that a great part thereof is bare craggy hills, whereon a plough will not go.

The Commissioners of Teinds deferred the consideration of the objections to the valuation till 14th *Jan.* 1631, when they settled the rent of the parish, (*Nether Cramond* being still excepted) as follows,

290 $\frac{1}{7}$ bolls of wheat,
 1227 bolls of bear,
 1139 bolls of oats and oat-meal,
 6 bolls of horse corn,

L. 12 : 7 : 2 $\frac{1}{7}$ sterl. of vicarage teind;

amounting altogether, in stock and teind, at the before mentioned rates of conversion, to L. 1667 : 11 : 0 $\frac{1}{7}$ *.

The valuation of this parish, in the Cefs books of the county of *Edinburgh*, is L. 9591 : 12 : 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Sc. and in those of *West Lothian*, L. 705. Sc. in

* Records of the Teind Office, *Edinburgh*.

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all *L.* 10,296: 12: 2½ *Sc.* or *L.* 858: 1: 0½ *ster.* The Commissioners, appointed by Act of Parliament 4th *Aug.* 1649, to take this valuation on or before the 30th of the same month, were required, upon oath, to use their best endeavours to obtain a right and true information of the whole rents, and were directed to convert the victual rent in the three *Lothians* into money at the following rates, viz. wheat at 11s. 4½d. bear, rye, and pease at 8s. 10½d. and oats and meal at 7s. 9½d. the boll *. These rates were little more than half of the fiars of the county of *Mid-Lothian* for that year; but it appears, that notwithstanding their extreme moderation, the valuator acted in a manner still more favourable to the landholders, to whom, it would seem, from the foregoing settlement by the Commissioners of Teinds, they made an abatement of one-fourth of the real rent.

Since the beginning of this century, the rent and value of land, in this district, has risen in a triple proportion. In 1716, an estate of 240 acres sold for *L.* 6000, and the same property was disposed of, in 1789, for *L.* 15,750. Another estate, extending to 550 acres, let in 1744 for *L.* 360, is now very low rented, the tenants having paid large *graf-fums*, at *L.* 740.—The present rent of the parish may be thus stated; of the 3900 *Scots* acres it contains,

2100 are distributed into 14 farms, extending from 100	
to 280 acres each, at a rent of	<i>L.</i> 3900 0 0
700 divided into 12 farms of from 40 to 80 acres each,	
at a rent of	1100 0 0
200 let to many different persons, in small proportions,	
at the rent of	400 0 0
800 occupied by the respective proprietors, valued at	1280 0 0
100 of waste rocky and hilly ground, such as <i>Corstorphine Hill, &c.</i>	20 0 0
<hr/>	<hr/>
3900	<i>L.</i> 6700 0 0

Making an average of about 35s. per acre. The rent of the iron works may

* Rescinded Acts.

may be estimated at L. 260, and the village of *Cramond* may yield to the landlord about L. 140 *per annum*; so the total rent of this district is L. 7100. The fee simple, or total value, of all the land in this parish may be estimated at L. 210,000; the property of about 1500 acres having been, within these few years, transferred for L. 87,000, or L. 58 per acre.

The produce of the land of this district, taken one year with another, may be estimated as in the following

TABLE OF PRODUCE.

	Produce per acre.	Average value.	Number of acres.	Total pro- duce.	Total value.
Hay	180 stone*	0s. 6½d.	800	144,000 stone	L. 3300 0 0
Wheat	6½ bolls †	21 0	700	4550 bolls	4777 0 0
Beans & pease	6 do.	13 0	450	3000 do.	1950 0 0
Oats	7 do.	14 6	400	2800 do.	2030 0 0
Barley	6 do. ‡	16 0	300	1800 do.	1440 0 0
Potatoes	30 do. §	7 0	150	4500 do.	1575 0 0
Pasture	—	40 0	750	—	1500 0 0
Fallow	—	—	250	—	0 0 0
Waste lands, &c.	—	—	100	—	28 0 0
Straw sold in <i>Edinburgh</i> and elsewhere	—	—	0	—	400 0 0
			3900		L. 17600 0 0

From the foregoing Table, it will appear that the principal article raised in this parish is Hay; the great demand for that commodity at *Edinburgh* securing a constant market. It is produced from red and yellow clover seed, mixed with rye grass, and is cut early; formerly eight or ten pounds of the former, along with two bushels of the latter, were sufficient to sow an acre, and did not fail to produce great crops for

* Trone weight.

† The boll for wheat, beans and pease, and oats, contains 85 Scots pints, or 8789.36 cubic inches, (somewhat more than 4 Winchester bushels of 2150.42 cubic inches each,) and weighs from 224 to 256 lbs.

‡ The boll for barley contains 124 Scots pints, or 12822.16 cubic inches, and weighs from 288 to 320 lbs.

§ Each boll of potatoes may weigh 28 stone Dutch.

for two years successively. But the frequent repetition of this crop has lessened the returns; so that it is now difficult to raise hay the second year, although double the above quantity of clover seed is allotted to each acre. The clover and rye grass seeds are sown with the preceding crop of barley, wheat, or oats; and care is taken to have the ground previously well pulverized with harrowing and rolling, and the stones picked off. Hay is a favourite crop with the farmers, being an article easily disposed of, and also cheaply reaped; the expence of cutting and making seldom exceeding five shillings the acre, even when the produce is above 200 stone. Sometimes, though rarely, a second crop is made the same year.

In this parish Wheat takes the lead of all other grain; the farmers being induced to sow as great a quantity thereof as possible, in order that they may be better enabled, by its lucrative returns, to pay the high rent of the land in this district. It is sown in every situation, on every kind of soil, and often with very little attention to the state of the ground; by which, and by the frequent repetition of this impoverishing species of grain, the crops are by no means so good as they formerly used to be. Of this alteration the farmers are become sensible; and therefore, although they still endeavour to have a great proportion of their land in wheat, they are now more attentive to have the ground on which it is sown in good order. Summer fallow, potatoes, beans and pease, and rag-faugh *, seem now to be the most general preparatives for a crop of wheat.

Beans or pease, either singly, or mixed together, are raised in considerable quantities; part is sown in drills, and regularly horse hoed, though this practice is far from being generally followed.

Oats are still much cultivated, but not in so great a proportion to other grain, as they formerly used to be. Dutch oats have, in some places, been of late substituted in the room of barley, as they are well adapted

* Rag-faugh is ploughing the ground twice or thrice after cutting hay.

adapted for sowing late in the season, and thus enable the farmer to work his land in the same manner as for the last mentioned crop.

A large quantity of Barley was formerly raised in this parish, when it was the customary practice to lay the whole dung of the farm on the land destined for this grain; which, with frequent ploughings, insured a lucrative return. But, of late years, the dung being almost wholly allotted to the wheat, the barley has declined in quality, and become so unprolific, that some of the farmers have entirely given up sowing that article, substituting in its place Dutch oats, as before mentioned. The quantity of barley, produced in the parish is, however, by no means trifling, as will be observed from the Table.

Potatoes form an important article of the produce of this district, the vicinity of *Edinburgb* affording an opportunity of disposing of them to advantage. They are an excellent preparatory for wheat, though a very troublesome crop, requiring much attention and great labour.

Some turnips, cabbages, carrots, and yams, are cultivated in this district, though the quantity is but small. The yams are very productive; the red species never yielding less than 50, and sometimes producing 100 bolls of 28 stone each, per acre, even without having the ground dunged. The white yam, a more delicate kind than the former, but coarser than potatoes, produces also a great crop, and is reckoned more safe for cattle than the red sort, which is apt to hove them when taken in quantities.

A large proportion of this parish is in pasture, chiefly about the gentlemen's seats.——No part of these grounds is let, for the purpose of pasture alone, at less than 30s. an acre, and some of them yield a rent of 45s. and 50s. the medium is therefore moderately stated in the table at 40s. an acre. The pasture grounds are applied to the purposes of breeding and fattening cattle. A good quantity of butter and milk is sold, during the summer; but there is, in this parish, nothing equivalent to the professed dairy in *England*, where lands are allotted for that purpose alone.

The

The grain raised in the parish is reckoned among the best in the shire; so in estimating the value I have added 1s. per boll to the fiars of *Mid-Lothian*. The price of barley, oats, and beans, bears some proportion to the state of the crop; but the price of wheat, the most important grain, stands in no relation whatever to the produce*. This circumstance seems to be owing to a sufficient quantity for home consumption not being raised in this country; consequently the deficiency must be supplied by foreign grain; and therefore the market falls to be regulated by the price of that article abroad. The price of hay would bear a near proportion to the produce †, as no foreign influence can prevail in this case, were it not affected by the quantity of fodder procured by the corn crops, and also by its own produce in preceding years. Crops 1785 and 1786, although small and not weighty, were not however so diminutive as the high rates at which they sold (9d. and 10d. per stone) would indicate; but these high rates were owing to the scarce crop of straw in the same years; and in the sale of crop 1786 in particular, the price advanced above its natural level, owing to the dread the people had of a dearth similar to that of the preceding year. But as soon as the winter passed over, these fears dissipated; and hay, of which a considerable quantity remained, fell rapidly in price, and continued low till 1790, when a weak crop of hay, in conjunction with a still weaker crop of straw, raised it again to a high pitch. Potatoes have in price a nearer connection with the crop than any other production of the land, although no other crop varies so much in its price, (from 4d. to 8d. per peck); but this is entirely owing to the produce being equally variable.

Straw

* The produce of wheat in this district in 1782, was about 6½ bolls per acre, and the price was 25s. per boll. In 1785, the produce of that article was only 5½ bolls; but that poor crop sold no higher than 18s. a boll, owing to the opening of the ports for the importation of wheat, by which procedure the farmers in this district were considerable losers.

† In 1780, the price of hay was 5½d per stone; in 1781, 7d. in 1782, 6d. in 1783, 5½d. in 1784, 6½d. in 1785, 10d. in 1786, 9d. in 1787 and 1788, 5d½. and in 1789, 5½d.

Straw is in itself an object of great importance in this parish, as well as in the whole country for five miles round *Edinburgh*; pease straw is the most valuable, felling from 3d. to 8d. per stone trone weight, and yields in consequence from 30s. to *L.* 5 per acre; oat straw sells from 1½d. to 6d. per stone, and that of wheat from 1½d. to 4½d. Barley straw is the least valuable of all, never producing more than 3d. per stone. As much straw is fold off the lands three miles round *Edinburgh*, as pays, one year with another, 7s. 6d. for every acre within these bounds.

No certain rotation of crops prevails; one or other of the following systems is, however, usually adopted. First course, 1. Fallow without dung, or Potatoes. 2. Wheat. 3. Beans, dunged or drilled on light ground, broad cast on the heavy land. 4. Wheat. 5. Barley. 6. and 7. Clover and rye grass hay. 8. Oats.—Second course, 1. Hay, and rag-faugh. 2. Wheat. 3. Oats. 4. Beans and pease. 5. Barley.—Third course, 1. Fallow. 2. Wheat. 3. Oats. 4. Beans. 5. Barley or Dutch oats. 6. Hay. It must, however, be mentioned that these rotations are frequently broke into, owing to the inconstancy of the climate.

The principal species of manure used in this district is ashes, stable and street dung, from *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, of which about 10,000 cart loads are annually brought into the parish. Each cart load comes to about 1s. of prime cost, and 1s. 6d. of carriage, consequently the total amount of that article is *L.* 1250 *per annum*; and about the same quantity of stable dung, &c. may be made in the parish. The long continued use of the town dung has filled the soil full of every kind of annual weeds, in particular bird seed, or wild mustard, called here *scaldricks*, of which the whole fields are one continued blow in the early part of summer*. Lime,
 O from

* The more luxuriantly this plant blows, the greater crop of grain is expected from the ground. The tenants here are derided by the farmers in more remote parts of the country, on account of the foulness of their lands, proceeding from the great abundance of street-dung. But the former comfort themselves with the consideration,

from the Earl of *Elgin's* quarries in *Fife*, and from *Bourdeaux* and *Gilmerton* in *Liberton* parish, is sometimes used for manure; from 40 to 80 bolls of shells are laid on each acre, costing about 1s. 4d. per boll. Marle was some years ago discovered on the farms of *Marchfield* and *Craigcrook*, where a considerable quantity of that valuable article was procured; but, the working becoming very expensive, is now discontinued, and the pits from whence it was taken are filled with water.

The plough generally used is that invented by *Small*, (recommended by Lord *Kames*;) having a curved mould-board, and a chain below the beam, drawn by two horses, and worked by one man. This implement which costs L. 2, is far preferable to the old Scots plough, that required four horses, a ploughman, and a driver. The harrows are generally of the old kind, with 4 bulls and 20 iron teeth, improved by slots instead of rungs; a few of Lord *Kames's* harrows are also used. The rollers are chiefly of stone, 5½ feet in length, and 14 inches in diameter, drawn by two horses, and cost, with the frame, L. 2. The dung-carts contain above 29 cubic feet, are mounted on stout narrow wheels 4½ feet in diameter, with iron axles, weigh about 5 cwt. altogether, and usually carry 16 cwt. two horses being yoked to each. Their price is L. 8:8. Single horse carts are coming into use; and it is asserted that they occasion a considerable saving of labour, one horse being able to draw 12 cwt. in them, with as great ease as two do 16 cwt. in the former. Corn carts are simple and light machines, mounted occasionally upon the wheels of the dung carts, for driving hay or unthreshed grain; they cost only 15 shillings*. There are in the parish many drill ploughs; three or four of Mr *Sandilands's* patent sward-cutters; some very complete

tion, that though the latter keep their grounds in much cleaner trim, they are, nevertheless, unable to make it produce, one year with another, so lucratively as the farmers in the vicinity of *Edinburgh*, who, from this plentifulness of manure, have crops almost every year upon land naturally far from being of a fertile quality.

* All the carts have narrow wheels, no broad wheels nor waggons being used in the parish.

plete threshing machines upon a large scale; and one of a peculiar form, constructed by Mr *George Robertson* at *Grantoun-mains* *, a very intelligent farmer, occupying the most extensive tract in this district, from whose valuable communications the present account of the agriculture of the parish was drawn up. This machine, though by no means comparable in strength to the former, answers the purpose sufficiently, and costing only *L. 20* is within the reach of even the inferior order of farmers.

Every sort of draught work is, in this parish, performed by horses, oxen being little, if at all, employed. Very few horses are bred here, they coming chiefly from the counties of *Linlithgow* and *Lanark*, measuring from 15 to 16 hands high, and costing from *L. 16* to *L. 20*. There may be about 200 horses employed for the purposes of agriculture in this district, a much less number than formerly, when four were universally yoked to a plough, and this practice remained here so late as 1780.

There are in the parish, about 100 ploughmen and carters, each of whom receive from *L. 4* to *L. 5* in money, 2s 6d. for kitchen †, 10s. for two pairs of shoes, 6½ bolls of oatmeal, a house and garden rent free, the carriage of their coals ‡, maintenance during harvest, and some small perquisites, all together moderately estimated at *L. 13* per annum; a great increase when compared with the wages of this class in 1760, which were no more than *L. 8*, including every article; and even so late as 1775, *L. 9*. was reckoned high emolument. Maid servants employed by farmers, are maintained in their masters houses, and, besides, receive *L. 3* per annum of wages. Barnmen, and other able bodied labourers, are paid from 5s. to 6s. a week, when constantly employed; but when

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* He published, "Observations on the proposals of the Trustees, relative to turn-pikes in the county of *Mid-Lothian*," 8vo. *Edin.* 1787.

† Kitchen is an allowance instead of milk, butter, small beer, and other articles, answering to the *opsorium* of the Romans.

‡ Each ploughman and carter consumes in the year four carts, containing 16 cwt. each, carried from 8 to 10 miles.

only occasionally hired, 1s. 2d. a day. A mason's wages are 1s. 8d. and a hay cutter's from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. per day. Reapers get from 6d. to 1s. a day, besides their maintenance during harvest. Women working in the fields earn in general 6d. a day, and are much better employed in that respect than formerly, there being now a great deal of hoeing, weeding, and picking performed by them, infomuch that they now have at least one half of the year outwork. When not thus employed they usually betake themselves to spinning, at which they seldom make more than 3d. a day. Young girls earn from 3d. to 4d. a day in the fields.

Work by the piece is now coming into use. In that case, corn is cut at 5s. per acre on an average, and threshed at 6d. per boll. Hay is cut from 1s. 6d. to 3s. per acre, according to the weight of the crop, and made, in some cases, at 2s. per acre. Stone and lime walls are built at 12s. and houses, barns, and stables, at 25s. per rood, the employer furnishing materials.

The following table exhibits a comparative state of the prices of labour in 1760, 1775, and 1790.

	1760			1775			1790		
A ploughman, <i>per annum</i>	L. 8	1	0	L. 9	2	0	L. 13	8	0
A maidservant, ditto	1	16	0	2	6	0	3	0	0
A common labourer, per day	0	0	7	0	0	10	0	1	2
A mason, ditto	0	1	1½	0	1	4	0	1	8
Women in general, ditto	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	6

Leases are usually granted for the term of 19 years. Two farms are held on a 57 years lease, but sublet at 20s. and 30s. per acre more than the original rent. One extensive barony is let at a low rate, large gratifums having been paid at entrance; a practice which cannot be too severely reprobated, as it deprives the farmer, at his outset, of the funds necessary for carrying on his business with spirit and effect.

The soil, as may be expected in so extensive a district, varies extremely.

SECT.

S E C T. VII.

POPULATION.

THE following statement, taken from the parish registers and account books, will give some idea of the fluctuations in the population of this parish for 140 years back.

	Baptisms.			Couples married.	Buried.
	Males.	Females.	Total.		
From 1 Jan. 1652 to 1 Jan. 1672	468	420	888	345	—
1672 ——— 1692	535	526	1061	315	548
1692 ——— 1712	482	473	955	311	633
1712 ——— 1733*	565	518	1083	199	687
1733 ——— 1753	514	496	1010	232	551
1753 ——— 1773	427	387	814	212	445
1773 ——— 1793	373	386	759	195	458

The registers of baptisms and marriages commence 1st *Sept.* 1651; and appear to have been, for a long period, very accurately kept; the greatest number baptised in one year, was 72 (in 1682,) and the smallest 21 (in 1663). No certain conclusions can be drawn from the number of marriages; for when the parties reside in different parishes, their names are inserted in the registers of each. In 1665, 31 couples were married, while in 1715 only one marriage is registered. The number of persons buried was taken from the entries in the parish account books, (which begin 20th *June* 1636), of the sums paid for the hire of the mortcloths, usually entered in such terms as these: "17th *Feb.* 1667.

" Mortcloth:

* The register for 1720 being incomplete, the baptisms, marriages, and burials, of that year are altogether omitted in the above statement; consequently each division contains exactly 20 years.

“ Mortcloth to *Hallyards*, 15s.” “ 8th *Jan.* 1699, Mortcloth for a child of Mr *John Mackenzie* of *Upper Cramond*, 10s.” &c. The original mortcloths having been purchased by contribution of the heritors and principal farmers, these persons and their families were exempted from all payment of the dues for the use of them, consequently their burials are not entered in any of the parochial books; and it likewise appears that when the populous barony of *Leny* belonged to the *Myrtons* of *Gogar*, several of the inhabitants were interred at *Gogar* Chapel, making use of the *Corstorphine* mortcloths. On these accounts, the deaths previous to 1733 amounted in reality to a greater number than the table would indicate; though from 1733 to 1793 they are, in general, sufficiently accurate. In 1688, 61 persons were buried, and in 1670 and 1757, 10 each year, the greatest and least numbers in the books.

In the time of the rebellion, 15th *Aug.* 1715, the minister and some of the heritors met at *Cramond* church, and took a note of the fencible men belonging to the parish, whom they found to amount to 324. The total number of inhabitants at that period may, from this enumeration, be computed at 1600.

The return from this parish to Dr *Webster* in 1755, was 1458 souls; but not long afterwards, the population of this district appears to have suffered a rapid diminution; one of the most considerable heritors in the parish having resolved to take his property into his own hands, for the purpose of improving a naturally poor tract of ground, and adorning it with extensive plantations, no less than three families of farmers, and 31 of cottagers, containing in all about 160 individuals, were, in consequence, obliged to leave that estate. The failure of the oyster fishery, the enlargement of some of the farms by throwing two or more into one *, and the removal of mechanics to towns, also contributed to the diminution of the population about this period.

The

* That the uniting of small farms, in place of occasioning a decrease of population, as commonly supposed, does in reality augment the number of inhabitants, though it

The establishment and extension of the iron manufacture could not fail to occasion an augmentation of the numbers of the inhabitants of the parish, who have, for some years past, been in a progressive state of increase. In 1782, a note of families and individuals in *Netber Cramond* and its environs was taken by *James Batbgate*, a clerk of Messrs. *Cadells* and *Edington*; and, at my request, he took the trouble to complete his list in 1785. On summing it up, it was found to amount to 319 families, and 1340 individuals; but part of Mr *Hope* of *Cragieball's* property, lying in *Corstorphine* parish, having been inadvertently inserted in this list, the real numbers were 310 families, and 1306 individuals.

The present incumbent, in a letter to Sir *John Sinclair*, after expressing his doubts as to the accuracy of the above state, mentioned that at
the

is true that fewer hands are employed in the cultivation of the ground than formerly, is maintained by the same intelligent person who communicated to me the valuable observations on the agriculture of this district, inserted in the preceding section. He adduces, in support of this seeming paradox, the necessity every occupier of 40 acres and upwards lies under of employing one or two unmarried young men, who board in the house, and sleep in the stables, to take care of the farm cattle, a task to which a married man cannot submit, as he has his own family to attend to in the evenings. Accordingly, it will be observed, that on farms of from 40 to 100 acres, unmarried men are almost uniformly employed, the farmer and they doing the whole business, with little assistance from cottagers. But as no person who can avoid it, will employ any more of that description than are absolutely necessary for taking care of the horses and other cattle, on account of the trouble such people occasion, the labourers on large farms are chiefly married persons having families. Thus, on his own farm, about half a century ago, when it was occupied by three tenants, there were about six unmarried men servants, and only six families of cottagers; but now no less than twelve men are employed, ten of whom have families, making a population of at least one third more, and annually putting out a young colony of three or four to service, to trades, and to the army or navy. Perhaps it may here be asked, how the farmer was formerly supplied with labourers, from so few married families of that description, and what now becomes of the children of the latter, when fewer hands are required in husbandry? But to this an answer is easy, by stating the simple fact, that formerly it was usual for the sons of mechanics to apply to the plough, while hardly an instance thereof now occurs, it being common for the sons of ploughmen to become tradesmen in their turn.

the date of his epistle (6th Dec. 1790) the population of the parish was nearly 299 families and 1112 individuals. This however appears to be considerably under-rated, even making allowances for the removal of most of the gentlemen's families to *Edinburgh* in the winter season, and for several new houses (16 in number,) built in 1791 and 1792; since a careful enumeration, superintended by Mr *Robert Spotswood* before mentioned, on purpose for this work, in summer 1792, produced the following Table.

Individuals	-	-	1485	In <i>Netber Cramond</i> village	-	343
Males	-	-	734	In <i>Over Cramond</i> do.	-	137
Females	-	-	751	In <i>Lauriston</i> do.	-	76
Under 10	-	-	359	In <i>Muttonhole</i> do.	-	73
From 10 to 20	-	-	298	Resident heritors	-	8
From 20 to 50	-	-	598	Individuals in their families	-	86
From 50 to 70	-	-	191	Gentlemen, not heritors, and farmers	-	34
From 70 to 90	-	-	39	Individuals in their families	-	300
Married couples	-	-	247	Established clergyman	-	1
Widowers	-	-	21	Surgeon	-	1
Widows	-	-	27	Clerks at the iron-works	-	3
Bachelors & unmarried women house-keepers	-	-	35	Millmen at do.	-	12
Families	-	-	330	Slitters at do.	-	2
— of 1 individual	-	-	29	Forgemen at do.	-	6
— of 2 individuals	-	-	71	Nailers at do.	-	11
— of 3 do.	-	-	42	Spademakers at do.	-	8
— of 4 do.	-	-	52	Labourers, carters, &c. at do.	-	18
— of 5 do.	-	-	43	Apprentices and boys at do.	-	22
— of 6 do.	-	-	32	Seamen and apprentices	-	23
— of 7 do.	-	-	22	Schoolmasters	-	3
— of 8 do.	-	-	12	Brewer	-	1
— of 9 do.	-	-	6	Baker	-	1
— of 10 do.	-	-	6	Butcher	-	1
— of 11 do.	-	-	5	Smiths	-	13
— of 12 do.	-	-	2	Wrights, coopers, and turners	-	30
— of 13 do.	-	-	3	Mafons	-	11
— of 14 do.	-	-	1	Weavers	-	10
— of 16 do.	-	-	2	Taylors	-	9
— of 22 do.	-	-	1	Shoemakers	-	5
— of 31 do.	-	-	1	Gardeners	-	16
				Licenced male serjants	-	25
				Antiburgher		

Antiburgher Seceders	-	4	Glassite	-	-	1
Episcopalians	-	9	Anabaptists	-	-	6
French Calvinist	-	1	Established Church *	-	-	1464
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Licensed four-wheel carriages		7	Barrels of Strong Ale brewed annually			9
—— two-wheel do.	-	4	—— of Small Beer do.	-	-	8
—— carriage and saddle-horses		46	—— of Twopenny Ale do.			308
Carts	-	120	Inhabited houses, liable to duty			17
Ploughs	-	75	Old window duty	-	L. 51 19	0
Licensed alehouses	-	7	Commutation tax		L. 63 16	6
Pigeon houses	-	10	House tax	-	L. 9 15	3
<hr/>						
Horses, of all kinds	-	300	rage L. 6 each			L. 2100
Their value, from 40s to L. 50, average L. 12 each	-	L. 3600	Sheep	-	-	600
Cows and black cattle		350	Their value, from L. 10 to L. 25, average L. 20 per score			L. 600
Their value, from 40s to L. 10, ave-						

Mr *James Spotswood* farmer at *Lenymuir*, the oldest person in the parish, is now in his 90th year; and it is not a little remarkable, that the ages of him, two brothers and a sister, all natives of this district, born of

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* A full copy of the enumeration, which contains the names of the heads of families, their places of residence, and employments; and the number of souls in each family, divided into sexes, and classed according to their respective ages, is made out for the purpose of insertion in the *Parish Register*, agreeably to the recommendation of Sir *John Sinclair* in one of the introductions to his invaluable *Statistical Enquiry*. Perhaps it may be found not unworthy of the attention of the landholders, in this and the neighbouring districts, to keep by them a roll of the inhabitants on their respective properties, the number of their families, the characters of individuals, &c. and have it corrected, by personal inquiries if practicable, towards the end of every year; at the same time administering relief and assistance where requisite. The advantages attending that practice it is almost unnecessary to enumerate, since every proprietor would thereby obtain a clear insight into the real situation of each family, have it in his power to select the most deserving objects for, and ascertain their pretensions to, relief, and be enabled to account for the increase or diminution of population, carefully encouraging every circumstance conducing to promote the former, and, where expedient or necessary, checking all tendency towards the latter.

the same parents, and now living, amount to 324 years. The number of souls above 70, will appear remarkably small, when compared with the total of the population; but this cannot be attributed to the climate, few places in *Scotland* being able to boast of a purer air, or more healthy situation, than this parish enjoys. Neither can it be referred to the intemperance of the lower classes, their food consisting principally of oatmeal for breakfast and supper, with milk in the season. They seldom taste flesh, fish, butter, or cheese; and during the winter months, live chiefly on potatoes, prepared in different ways. The inhabitants of the village of *Cramond* consume a great quantity of cockles, muscles, limpets, and other shell fish; which appear to be a very healthy diet, as for some years past, the mortality of that place has been almost exclusively confined to aged persons and children. There are no diseases particularly prevalent in the parish; some years ago, the common people used to be so much afflicted with the ague, especially during the spring and summer months, that it was with difficulty the farmers could get the necessary husbandry work performed, for want of hands. This disease was wont to be exceedingly severe and distressing, but it has, since the year 1775, almost wholly disappeared from this neighbourhood; a circumstance that may be attributed, in a great measure, to the thorough draining of the ground.

S E C T. VIII.

MINERALS, ISLANDS, BRIDGES, ROADS, REMARKABLE CUSTOMS, MANNERS
OF THE INHABITANTS, EMINENT MEN.

FREESTONE abounds in many places, particularly along the shore at *Caroline Park*, and in Lord *Roseberry's* grounds; where it is of a soft friable nature, interspersed with veins of ironstone. In *Fair-a-far* farm,
along

along the banks, and in the bed, of the river, is a great quantity of freestone, of a whitish colour, and of a hard close grit. At *Lauriston* is a quarry of the same sort; the stone, lying in inclined strata with perpendicular fissures, pretty soft and friable, and of a grey colour; a great quantity is daily carried to *Edinburgh*. In *Barntoun* inclosures, north of the house, there is freestone of a white colour exceedingly hard, as also near *Muirhouse*; and at *Peggie's Mill* is a freestone rock, but as it does not lie in any regular strata, the quarrying thereof is very difficult, sometimes requiring the assistance of gunpowder.

Whinstone, moorstone, or granite, are found in great abundance, especially in *Corstorphine*, *Leny*, and *Craigie* hills, and in *Cramond* island; from the first and last mentioned places, stones are quarried for the floors of ovens, a purpose for which they are particularly adapted. Ironstone is to be met with, along the shore at *Caroline Park*; and the *Carron* company frequently carry great quantities from thence to their works. It is generally found in strata two inches thick, inclosed in seams of freestone; but it is sometimes picked up in small detached pieces, of various sizes.

In some places along the banks of the *Amon* are veins of blae, or a kind of killas; below *Cocklemill* is a vein of a light colour, on breaking whereof the figures of moss or plants appear distinctly marked on the stones. There is a burst of limestone rock in the bed of the south branch of the river at *Venus* island. *Petroleum*, and ochre both yellow and red, are sometimes met with in the shelving rocks east from *Long-green*, and at the north end of *Cramond* town.

On the lands of *Marchfield* is a spring of mineral water called the well of *Sparw*, reckoned beneficial in scorbutic cases, and highly purgative if drunk copiously.

There is an evident appearance of coal in the barony of *Royston*, and in the adjacent lands of *Wardie*; large seams being perceivable on the sea shore, both within and without the sea mark. The people in the vicinity, when fuel is scarce, often carry off from hence parcels of coal,

though of an exceeding poor quality. Hence arises a proverb, current in the neighbourhood, "They are better than want, like *Wardie coal*." A pit was sunk, and machinery erected, in *Piltoun* wood in 1788, but abandoned directly, on account of the badness of the coal; the vestiges of several mines are still to be seen, in the links of *Broompark*. The coal used in this parish is brought either from *St David's* and other ports on the frith of *Forth*, or from the pits to the southward of *Edinburgh*.

There are in this parish two islands, one belonging to *Barnton*, called *Cramond* island, and the other to *Grantoun*, bearing the name of *Inchwickery*. *Cramond* island lies at the distance of 1338 yards N. N. E. of the village of *Nether Cramond*, rising high in the middle, with steep cliffs on the east side composed of granite. This island, containing 19 acres, is accessible at low water to foot passengers, has on it two houses, sometimes inhabited *; and formerly abounded with rabbits, though they are now almost extirpated. It was once the property of the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, but passing from them to the second Lord *Balmerinock*, has ever since belonged to *Barnton*. The Earl of *Roseberry*, wishing to acquire this island, in order to ornament with plantations an object standing in a conspicuous point of view from *Barnbougle* Castle, made an offer of *L. 600* for it to the present Duke of *Queensberry*, which sum his Grace was willing to accept; but just at that crisis disposing of his whole property in this parish to Lord *Glenorchy*, the matter dropped. Lord *Roseberry* afterwards renewed his proposals for the purchase of the island to La-
dy

* They once served as an asylum for unfortunate females whose situation required a temporary retirement, as appears from the Session records. 18th *Sept.* 1690, the Minister told the Session, that he being informed that a stranger gentlewoman was brought to bed in *Robert Young's* house in *Cramond* island, he went with Mr *Howison* of *Braehead* to visit her. Not obtaining a satisfactory answer to his inquiries, Mr *Menzies* of *Cammo* the ruling elder, with Mr *Howison* and two sheriff officers were sent to the island to apprehend her, but meeting one Mr *Arthur Forbes* there, he gave a bond for *L. 400 Sc.* obliging himself to sit the lady before the church session of *Cramond*, on the 9th of *Oct.* next ensuing, but on the 15th of *Sept.* Mr *Forbes* carried her away from the island, so his bond was declared forfeited.

dy *Glenorchy*, who thought proper, as I was informed by his Lordship, to ask no less than *L.* 200 for this barren spot, which never yielded more than *L.* 10 of yearly rent; a demand that, it may well be supposed, he would not agree to. The present proprietor has generously complimented the British Wool Society with the free pasturage of this island, which is excellently adapted for the *Shetland* breed of sheep. On this island, and along the shore of the parish, about 10 tons of kelp are annually made from the sea ware.

Inchmickery, above a mile to the N. E. of *Cramond* island, is a barren rock with a thin surface of sod, measuring about two acres, much frequented by sea fowl. I have seen the surface quite overspread with the eggs of the taton (*Sterna hirundo*), so as completely to load a boat from *Cramond*. It is the opinion of the vulgar, that the pasture of this islet is sufficient to maintain two sheep in good order, but that if a third is put in, it will be starved, while the two former continue to thrive.

Cramond bridge, situated about a mile from the mouth of the river, consists of three arches, each about 40 feet in diameter; the breadth of the road within the walls is only 14 feet. The situation is extremely bad, the river making a wide curvature immediately above it, by which means the stream, in place of coming directly upon the points of the piers, acts with great force upon their sides, so as often to shatter them, thereby occasioning frequent and expensive repairs. The date upon the center arch is 1619; but it appears there had been another bridge here before that period, as an act of parliament was passed in 1587, mentioning that a complaint had been made, that the bridge of *Cramond* had been for a long time fallen down, and no passage could be got over it; on which account a commission was given to the Lord *Seton*, the Lairds of *Dundas*, *Craigiehall*, *Barnbogle*, and *Inverleith*, or any three of them, to pass to the said bridge and inspect the same; and the Lords of Secret Council were thereby impowered to grant a reasonable stent and taxation upon such parts of the country as they should think most expedient, for the support of the said decayed bridge, and to impose tolls upon certain commodities passing

ding it. This statute, however, would appear to have been of no effect, as another act of the same import passed in 1607. While the bridge lay in ruins, the road along the shore by *Netber Cramond* to *Queensferry* was much used, and the effect remained long after the cause was removed: (probably owing to the badness of the roads previous to the introduction of turnpikes.) On that account the Earl of *Haddington* gave in a petition to Parliament complaining that the road from *Cramond* by *Barnbogle* to *Queensferry* is a private road, and much used by people to his great annoyance. An act was therefore passed in 1662, changing the way betwixt the *Queensferry* and *Cramond* by *Barnbogle*, and ordering travellers between the two former places to go round by *Cramond* bridge. There is no other bridge over the *Amon* in this parish, except that built by the Hon. *Charles Hope Weir* of *Crugieball*, described at p. 67.

The roads in this district, are in general kept in good repair, and are chiefly composed of granite, broken leisurely with hammers into small pieces, by poor old men past other labour, and strewed on the middle of the road; afterwards the sides and ditches are cleared of rubbish, which is thrown over, and soon incorporates with, the stones. The public road from *Edinburgh* to *Queensferry*, one of the most pleasant and frequented in *Scotland*, traverses great part of the parish; crossing the *Amon* at *Cramond* bridge, on the west side of which is a toll bar, let in 1789 for *L.* 142, but in 1790, the rent fell to *L.* 130.

There used to be a festival celebrated in this parish, upon the 1st of *August* annually, called the *Lammas* Feast. On that day, the herds* in the eastern quarter met upon *Corstorphine* Hill, and those in the west assembled upon *Leny* Hill; each party had a tower built of fods, with tables of the same materials, having a trench dug round them for the conveniency of sitting, at which they feasted on cream, butter, and
cheese,

* Boys who attended the cattle, to prevent their trespassing on the corns, when inclosures were as yet rare.

cheese. After dinner, the standard bearer of each party took down the ensign, made of a tablecloth ornamented with all the ribbons the herds could borrow from the girls of their acquaintance, elevated on a long pole, from the top of their respective tower. The piper went playing before the standard bearer, behind whom marched the herds arranged in order, and blowing their horns, till they came to *Cramond muir*, where both parties met. The weaker side generally submitted to the stronger by lowering its colours; and then races were run betwixt picked men of both parties; after which each returning to their own tower, spent the evening in jollity, running races, and playing at the ball and at quits. It however sometimes happened that each party being nearly equal in numbers, neither would agree to submit to the other, by lowering its flag; in such cases they decided the superiority by force, particularly in 1734, when many were sorely hurt on both sides. The east party, although worsted in the fight, had the address to carry off the colours of the west division, who, in reprisal, stripped the prisoners they had taken of their coats, which they kept till their flag was restored. This festival, (of which I have given but a brief sketch, as a minute account of a similar ceremony is printed in the 1st volume of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, p. 192,—198.) has been disused in this parish since 1758.

As for the manners of the different classes of inhabitants, it may confidently be affirmed, that no other country parish in *Scotland* of equal extent, contains a greater number of resident heritors more decent in their general deportment, more punctual in attendance on religious ordinances, more ready to promote every measure tending to alleviate the distresses, or to meliorate the situation, of the common people; and, what will appear not a little extraordinary when the splendid fortunes possessed by some of them are considered, more free from luxury, pride, and ostentation. There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that the landed property of this district, which has already undergone so many changes

changes, will now continue, for a long course of years in the possession of the descendants of the present heritors. The farmers are in general industrious, sober, intelligent, and hospitable; few are wealthy; and none of them, happily for their families, entertain the foolish ambition of vying with their superiors in the luxuries of life. With respect to the lower classes, I can safely assert, from the observation of several years, that a greater degree of industry, honesty, and content, cannot be seen any where. No doubt there are exceptions, especially among a particular class; but the before mentioned character is applicable to a great majority of the common people, particularly those employed in agriculture; and they demeaned themselves in a quiet and peaceable manner, well worthy of imitation, during the late ferment that agitated the country. Sensible of the invaluable blessings secured to them by the excellent constitution of this kingdom, which has stood the test of ages, no wish for innovation or alteration found a place in their minds, and no reforming clubs presumed to rear their heads in this district. Indeed, no room for complaint can possibly exist, when it is considered how equitably the taxes for securing these blessings are proportioned; since by a calculation, founded on careful inquiry, which will be found rather over than under the truth, it appears that each individual, in the families of the common people of this parish, does not pay, in indirect taxes for necessary articles, viz. soap, candles, leather for shoes, salt, and the beer they may have occasion to use when milk cannot be had, more than 1s. 5½d. yearly. While at the same time it will be found, that the resident heritors, and a few other gentlemen and farmers in this district, pay in direct impositions, such as the cess, and the duties on inhabited houses, windows, horses, carriages, and servants, no less a sum than *L. 410 per annum*, not to reckon indirect taxes on the variety of articles consumed in their families, extending to a sum beyond all computation, though certainly far exceeding *L. 1000* annually.

I will now conclude this last section, with briefly noting the persons distinguished for their actions, their writings, or other remarkable qualifications,

fications, to which the parish lays claim on account of their being proprietors or natives of this district, and the number of these is by no means inconsiderable. During the course of the last century, in particular, the following are principally to be remarked. Sir *James Elphinstone* of *Barntoun*, Secretary of State to *James VI.* by whom he was created Lord *Balmerinoch*. His son, *John*, second Lord *Balmerinoch*, a nobleman noted for his spirited opposition to the arbitrary measures of *Charles I.* for which he narrowly escaped losing his head; and for being the best friend the Covenanters had, supplying them with money till he irretrievably ruined a very ample fortune. Sir *Thomas Hope* of *Grantoun*, Advocate to *Charles I.* well known as one of the ablest and most successful lawyers at the Scottish bar; to whose sound counsel the firm establishment of the Presbyterian mode of worship in this kingdom is in a great measure owing. His grandson, Sir *William Hope* of *Grantoun*, who was distinguished for superior proficiency in the fashionable accomplishments of the times in which he lived, particularly for great skill in fencing, and in horsemanship, on each of which subjects he published a celebrated treatise. That fine scholar, and pleasant companion, but crafty and slippery statesman, Sir *George Mackenzie* first Earl of *Cromarty*, whose numerous works are well known. During the course of the present century, may be reckoned Sir *James Mackenzie* of *Royftoun*, a Lord of Session and Justiciary, considered as one of the first Judges in criminal causes of his time; *John Law* of *Lauriston*, Comptroller General of the Finances of *France*, and his nephew *John Law* of *Lauriston*, Chevalier de *St Louis* and Marechal de Camp. But all these will be more particularly noticed in the biographical and genealogical collections immediately following.

The farm of *Grantoun* in this parish, was for a long series of years occupied by a worthy race of farmers of the name of *Gleghorn*; several of whose offspring have made no small figure, and merit a place here.

George Gleghorn, born at *Grantoun* 18th Dec. 1716, Surgeon of the 22d Regiment of Foot, was quartered with it in *Minorca* from 1744 to

1749, and soon afterwards published an octavo volume, intituled, "Observations on the Epidemical Diseases in *Minorca*, from the year ¹⁷⁴³ 1744 to 1749, to which is prefixed a short Account of the Climate, Productions, Inhabitants, and Endemial Diseases of that Island;" which has passed through several editions. Settling as a physician in *Dublin*, he rose to high estimation and extensive practice; and being appointed Lecturer of Anatomy in Trinity College, was the first person that established what could, with any degree of propriety, be called an Anatomical School in *Ireland*, which long flourished with still increasing splendor and utility under his auspices. Having acquired an ample fortune by his profession, he made several purchases in that kingdom, particularly in the county of *Meath*; and died at one of his seats there, 22d Dec. 1789, æta. 75, unmarried, leaving the bulk of his great property to his eldest surviving nephew *George Cleghorn* of *Kilcarty* in *Meath*, (of which county he is High Sheriff and Major of Militia this present year 1793,) also a native of this parish.

William Cleghorn, nephew of *Dr. George Cleghorn*, born at *Grantoun* 30th Oct. 1754, studied at *Dublin* University, and completed his medical education at *Edinburgh* College 9th Sept. 1779. He afterwards visited several parts of the Continent, and returning to *Dublin* in 1780, was associated with his uncle as Anatomical Professor in Trinity College. Very high expectations were entertained of his success; but these hopes were unhappily blasted by his premature death, of a fever, at *Dublin* 20th April 1783, æta. 28. His brother, *Dr. James Cleghorn*, likewise a native of this parish, succeeded his uncle as Professor of Anatomy in Trinity College in 1790.

Having now concluded what may properly be called the Topography of the parish; I propose now to proceed to the second part of this work, containing genealogical and biographical collections respecting the most antient and considerable families, and remarkable individuals, who now possess, or formerly enjoyed property, in this district.

P A R T

P A R T II.

GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS.

ROYSTOUN.

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE OF ROYSTOUN, FIRST EARL OF CROMARTY,
AND HIS SON SIR JAMES MACKENZIE OF ROYSTOUN.

SIR *George Mackenzie of Tarbat*, eldest son of Sir *John Mackenzie of Tarbat*, Bart. (by *Margaret*, daughter and coheirefs of Sir *George Erskine of Innerteil*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice), was born in the year 1630, and succeeding his father in 1654, immediately requested from King *Charles II.* a commission to raise what forces he could, in order to attempt his Majesty's restoration. Having obtained that commission, he joined the Earl of *Middleton* with a large body of men, and in company with that nobleman, sustained a war against the English for a whole year; but being defeated by Colonel *Morgan*, he made a capitulation with the ruling powers, upon very honourable terms*.

At the Restoration, his old friend Lord *Middleton*, coming into the chief direction of Scottish affairs, Sir *George* became his principal confidant; and was, in 1662, sent up to *London* by that nobleman with two draughts of an Act of Indemnity, one of them containing a

Q₂

clause,

* *Crawford's Peerage*, 88.

clause, declaring twelve particular persons incapable of holding any place of public trust. Sir *George* met with a gracious reception from the King, and was considered at Court as one of the most promising young men in *Scotland*. In consequence of his suggestions, his Majesty issued an order of council, empowering *Middleton* to pass the Act with the before mentioned clause; and Sir *George* was sent back with it to *Scotland*, accompanied by the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Newburgh*. The wild and uncontrolled extravagancies of these noblemen, occasioned *Middleton's* whole conduct to fall into such an universal odium, and so much contempt, that the King was forced, in a short time, to put an end to his ministry*.

Middleton's intention in having the above mentioned clause inserted in the Act of Indemnity, was with the view of getting the Earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, whom he reckoned his principal enemies, included among the persons to be incapacitated. By Sir *George Mackenzie's* advice, every member of Parliament was ordered to give in a list of twelve persons; such as had the greatest number against them on these lists to be declared incapable; and emissaries were sent abroad, who so managed matters, that these three obnoxious persons were included in the twelve by a great majority. Upon the passing of the act, the Duke of *Richmond* and Sir *George Mackenzie* were selected by Lord *Middleton* to carry it up to Court for the King's approbation. Knowing that all success depended on the act's being kept secret, and carried to his Majesty, before he should be prepossessed against it by Lord *Lauderdale* or his party, care was taken to visit the packet, and to stop all the posts from *Edinburgh* to *Durham*; but these precautions were frustrated by the diligence of Lord *Lorn*, who dispatched by the cross roads a servant, that got to Court three days before the others. The King receiving the news he brought with great surprise, assured Lord *Lauderdale* of his protection; so upon the Duke's and Sir *George's* arrival,

* *Burnet's History of his own Times*, i. 148.

val, he gave them but a cold reception; and on their delivering to him the Act of Incapacity sealed up, told them that it never should be opened by him; adding, that their last actings were like these of madmen, or of men who were perpetually drunk. Sir *George* said all was yet entire, and in his hands; the act being, by a special clause, of no force unless approved of by his Majesty; he magnified *Middleton's* zeal for his service, and the loyalty of the Parliament, who had on this occasion consulted both his safety and honour; adding, that the incapacitating clause was only intended to put it out of the power of men, who had been formerly bad instruments, to be so any more; and even that was submitted by them to his judgement. *Charles* heard all this very patiently, and dismissed them without any farther discourse on the subject, so they hoped he was mollified; but in a short time *Middleton* was dismissed from all his places; and Sir *George Mackenzie*, sharing his fate, remained without any power or interest during the long administration of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; which could not fail of being but an irksome situation for a young man, full of ambition, and of great vivacity of parts*.

Upon *Lauderdale's* disgrace, Sir *George* again rising into favour was, on 16th Oct. 1678, appointed Lord Justice General of Scotland; 1st Nov. 1681 he was made one of the Lords of Session, in the room of Sir *Thomas Murray of Glendoick*, superseded; and the same year had the office of the Lord Register bestowed upon him. Becoming now Prime Minister for *Scotland*, he purchased the lands of *Roystoun*, on which he built the house described at page 15, in order to have a pleasant retirement at a small distance from the capital, where his presence was frequently required; and he continued to possess the chief power of *Scotland* during the remainder of the reign of *Charles*, and all the time of his successor *James*; by whom, upon the 15th Apr. 1685, he was created Viscount of *Tarbat*, and Lord *Macleod of Castlebaven* †.

At

* *Burnet*, i. 149, 153.

† *Crawford*, 88.

At the Revolution, his Lordship came to Court, and was well received by King *William*; but his arbitrary proceedings in the two former reigns had rendered him so obnoxious to the people, that his Majesty did not then think proper to employ him. However, in 1692, his Lordship was restored to his old office of Lord Register, in which, it would appear, from the lately published correspondence of Principal *Carstairs*, he conducted himself in a manner not to be imitated by any honest man. Secretary *Johnstone*, in a letter to the Principal, dated 16th May 1693, says, "*Tarbat* has been caught grossly malversing in his office of Clerk both in public and private business in Parliament, and it was only to prevent noise that he was not suspended from his office. His falsifying the minutes over and over again was made so plainly appear in Parliament, that neither he nor any man for him had so much as one word to say in his defence. And my Lord *Colintoun* will to morrow petition the Parliament, and decline him as clerk, for emitting the other day an order, in the name of Parliament, which order they never gave, in a private process depending before the Parliament betwixt my Lord *Tarbat's* mother and Lord *Colintoun*. This is the third time Lord *Tarbat* hath been caught, and the thing always so gross, that he lost countenance and gave over defending himself, yet still he relapses. I have been tried by one for him if he might be allowed to sell his place. He has made try *Grant* if he would buy it, and he offers to sell it for 50,000 merks; now consider that he'll make this money by it in a year and a half, and imagine what can be his reason to sell it. For my own part I am fully satisfied that whatever my Lord *Middleton* is doing he is at the bottom of it, and if he is in earnest to sell it so cheap, it is because he trusts to the success of the designs now in Lord *Middleton's* hands." Secretary *Johnstone* in another letter mentions that *Tarbat* sent Lord *Colintoun* word that he would not be clerk in his concern, and so prevented the cloud ready to break upon him; and in a third letter he animadverts upon

upon his Lordship's conduct in negotiating with the clergy, in order to prevent their taking the oaths of allegiance and assurance*.

Of the situation into which he had brought himself by these unwarrantable practices, *Tarbat* was so sensible, that 16th *May* 1695, he wrote to Mr *Carstairs*, in these terms: " I know too well the temper of our
 " hott party not to know with that how inconvenient it were for you
 " to be seen in my company ; yet since I am sure you wish them well,
 " and the King at ease from their turbulent designs, it will not displease
 " you to carry to the King what may contribute to both these ends,
 " which, I can assure you, the inclosed will in some measure do. I en-
 " treat you to represent to the King, that I am not afraid of my adver-
 " sars, for I am not guilty of a thought prejudicial to him, nor wearied
 " of serving him ; but if he judge it either fit or easy to please a party
 " with allowing my address for a private life, I can as willingly quit a
 " beneficial office to serve him, as they can trouble him untill they get
 " it. Though I am afraid this will not cure the distemper, yet its all
 " that I can contribute to it. But, when their heat cannot bear with
 " the *E. Melville's* family, and with you, to whom they owe, under the
 " King, all the power they have, I can little wonder at their fretting at
 " me ; but I hope their folly will not frighten the King from faithful
 " servants, nor you from giving counsel for their sakes, whose fire will
 " hurry to self-prejudice, if not stopt by prudence. I hope my fidelity
 " in endeavouring to enlarge the bottom of his Majesty's government ;
 " and especially by bringing in such of the northern clergy, as would
 " qualify themselves for ecclesiastical office according to the present
 " law, will not always be considered as undutifulness in me. I wish the
 " holding of so many out be not. But I shall be best pleased if my fears
 " for the effect of these heats be disappointed ; I will adventure to en-
 " treat the favour to you, to second my desire to the King, in giving me
 " a safe and easy retreat, and to favour me with a letter, whereby those
 " in:

* *Carstairs's* Letters, 172, 180, 181.

“ in the government may know, that my person, my little estate, and
 “ the pension which his Majesty has given me during my life, and not
 “ depending upon my being in or out of employment, may be secured
 “ by his Majesty’s protection. And if you please to give him my faith-
 “ ful assurance of being as zealous for his person and interest when in a
 “ private, as if I were in the highest station, I will make good your
 “ promise, and likewise assure you, that by so doing, you will very much
 “ oblige me, and engage me to be your faithful friend and servant *.”

In that letter was inclosed the following draught of a warrant to be
 issued by the King. “ We having allowed our right well beloved and
 “ right trusty cousin and counsellor, *George Viscount of Tarbat*, to lay
 “ down the office of Clerk of our councils, registers, and rolls; and his
 “ old age rendering him less able to attend frequently at our council,
 “ it is our pleasure that he be not called to attendance, but when he
 “ voluntarily comes, or on our express call. And we likewise require
 “ the Lords of our Treasury now in place, or any who shall succeed
 “ them, to make the pension of *L. 400* yearly, under our privy seal,
 “ granted by us to the said *George Viscount of Tarbat* during his life
 “ to be effectually paid to him in manner as is contained in our letter
 “ of gift, and pension granted to him by us, in all points *.”

Lord *Tarbat*, with an anxiety for the success of this application, that
 gives no very favourable idea of his innocence, again wrote on the sub-
 ject to Mr *Carstares*, 11th *June* 1695, concluding thus: “ I wish to have
 “ a very general remission sent me, because I see faults fight for in o-
 “ thers on no great grounds. If it comes, let it contain treason, perduel-
 “ lion, and a general of all crimes; though, on all that’s sacred, I know
 “ not myself guilty, nor do I fear any thing on this side Irish witnesses
 “ or evidence †.”

Upon the accession of Queen *Anne* his Lordship was sent for to Court;
 constituted

* *Carstares*, 229, 230.

† *Carstares*, 231.

constituted Secretary of State, and advanced, on the 1st of *Jan.* 1703, to the dignity of Earl of *Cromarty*. His Lordship's great age making the fatigue of the Secretary's place uneasy, he demitted that office in 1704, and in lieu thereof, got an employment of a much easier nature, that of Lord Justice General, which he resigned in 1710. He zealously promoted the Union, not only by his votes and speeches in Parliament, but also by publications on that subject*.

In *June* 1714, in the 84th year of his age, his Lordship retired to his noble seat of *New Tarbat* in *Ross-shire*, with a determined resolution to stay six years there and live thriftily, in order to save up money that he might spend in *London*; but this most commendable design was most unexpectedly interrupted in its very outset, by death, who removed his Lordship from this transitory stage, at *New Tarbat* 17th *Aug.* 1714, a few days after *Queen Anne* had given way to fate.

Lord *Cromarty*, although extremely fickle and unsteady in his political conduct, was allowed to be a good natured gentleman, possessed of a great measure of polite learning, and good parts, and master of an extraordinary gift of pleasing and diverting conversation, which rendered him one of the most entertaining companions in the world. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, and reckoned among the ablest members of that learned body; in the Philosophical Transactions, many papers of his Lordship's may be seen. His other publications, arranged in chronological order, are, 1. A Vindication of King *Robert III.* from the Imputation of Bastardy, *Edin.* 1695, 4to.—2. The Mistaken Advantage by Raising of Money, *Edin.* 1695, 4to.—3. Letter to the Earl of *Wemyss* concerning the Union with *England*, *Edin.* 1706, 4to.—4. Friendly Return to a Letter concerning Sir *George Mackenzie's* and Sir *John Nisbet's* Observations and Response on the matter of Union, *Edin.* 1706, 4to.—5. *Synopsis Apocalyptica*, or a short and plain Explication of *Daniel's* Prophecy, and of *St John's* Revelation in concert with it, *Edin.* 1707,

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4to.

* *Crawford*, 89.

4to.—6. Historical Account of the Conspiracy of the Earl of *Gowrie*, and of *Robert Logan of Restalrig*, against King *James VI*, *Edin.* 1713, 8vo.—7. A Vindication of the same from the mistakes of Mr *John Anderson* Preacher of *Dunbarton* in his defence of Presbytery, *Edin.* 1714, 8vo*.

His Lordship was twice married; first to *Anne*, daughter of Sir *James Sinclair* of *Mey*, Bart. and secondly, 11th *Ap.* 1700 †, to *Margaret* Countess of *Wemyss*. By this last, who died in 1705, he had no issue ‡; but by his first wife he had three sons; 1. *John*, second Earl of *Cromarty*, who married, first, in 1685, Lady *Elizabeth Gordon*, daughter of *Charles* Earl of *Aboyne*; secondly, 25th *Ap.* 1701 †, *Mary*, daughter of *Alexander* Lord *Elibank*; and thirdly, *Anne*, daughter of *Hugh* Lord *Lovat*; and departed this life in 1731, leaving issue.—2. Sir *Kenneth Mackenzie* of *Cromarty*, who, in 1704, was created a Baronet, with his father's precedence (8 *Feb.* 1628). He got from his father, in 1695, the extensive barony of *Cromarty*, purchased in 1649 from Sir *Robert Innes*; and was succeeded by his son, Sir *George Mackenzie*, who becoming bankrupt, *Cromarty* was sold to *William Urquhart* of *Meldrum* in 1741.—3. Sir *James Mackenzie* of *Roystoun*.—The Earl of *Cromarty* by his first lady, had also four daughters; 1. Lady *Margaret*, married to *David Bruce* of *Clackmannan*.—2. Lady *Elizabeth*, married to Sir *George Brown* of *Coalstoun*.—3. Lady *Jean*, born 11th *July* 1661, married to Sir *Thomas Stewart* of *Balcaiskie*;—and, 4. Lady *Anne*, married to *John Sinclair* of *Murkle*,

* *Lockhart* of *Carnwath's* Memoirs, 66—68.

† Parish Register.

‡ To her memory Lord *Cromarty* erected a statue in *Wemyss* Castle, having an inscription, ending with these lines:

Pulchra Venus, Pallas sapiens, et casta Diana,
Trina sub hoc cernitur ære Dea.
Pars ejus melior vivitque perennior illo,
Mens ea cælestis jam super astra regit.
Corporis effigiem posuit Cromertius heros,
Nupta fuit mæsto nam Dea trina viro.

Murkle, Senator of the College of Justice, brother of the Earl of *Caithness*, and died at *Edinburgh* 21st *Oct.* 1740.

Sir *James Mackenzie*, third and youngest son, came into possession of *Roystoun*, in virtue of an entail executed by his father in 1688, by which this barony was settled on him and the heirs male of his body, which failing, on Sir *Kenneth* his brother, and the heirs male of his body. Applying to the study of the law, he was in 1698 called to the bar, where he practised with reputation, and was created a Baronet 8th *Feb.* 1704. Upon the resignation of his uncle Lord *Prestonhall*, he was, on the 7th of *June* 1710, appointed one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and a Lord of Justiciary; and sat on the bench with high reputation for more than 34 years, even until his death, at which time he was senior Lord of Session. He died at *Edinburgh* 9th *Nov.* 1744, æta. 73, and was buried on the 15th in the tomb of Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Rosehaugh* in the *Grayfriars* church yard. He is said to have been a person of vast learning, honour, and probity, impartial in judgement, justly ranked among the first judges in criminal causes of the age; and in private life a most polite, friendly, agreeably facetious, and affable gentleman.

Lord *Roystoun* married *Elizabeth*, youngest daughter of the celebrated Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Rosehaugh*, his Majesty's Advocate for *Scotland*, widow of Sir *Archibald Cockburn*, younger of *Langtoun*; a marriage that involved his Lordship in a long course of litigation for his great property with the Earl of *Bute*, who had married Sir *George's* other daughter, in which the Earl finally prevailed. Lord *Roystoun* had by her two daughters, *Anne*, the wife of Sir *William Dick* of *Prestonfield*, Bart. and *Elizabeth*, married 13th *Jan.* 1725 to Sir *John Stewart* of *Grandtully*, Bart. also one son, *George Mackenzie* of *Little Farnese*, born 18th *Oct.* 1708, a Captain in Sir *John Bruce Hope's* Regiment of Foot; who married, 20th *Jan.* 1743, *Isabel*, daughter of *Archibald Stewart* of *Torrence*, but died without issue, in the lifetime of his father, at the

Dean near Edinburgh, 15th May 1744, æta. 36. His widow afterwards married, 3d Oct. 1748, Sir Robert Henderfon of Lordel, Bart.

GRANTOUN.

HOPE OF GRANTOUN.

FROM the most authentic accounts, it appears, that although the firname of *Hope* has been of long standing in this kingdom, *John de Hope* occurring as one of the free barons who submitted to *Edward I.* when he invaded *Scotland* in 1296, this family is of French extraction. *John de Hope*, their immediate ancestor, was one of the gentlemen attending *Magdalen de Valois*, first wife of King *James V.* at her coming into this country in 1537; and after the death of that beautiful princess the same year, he thought proper to settle in this country. Marrying *Elizabeth*, daughter of ——— *Cuming*, Esq. he was father of *Edward Hope*, one of the Commissioners from the city of *Edinburgh* to the General Assembly of the church of *Scotland* in 1560. *Henry Hope*, son and successor of *Edward*, a considerable merchant, having frequent occasion, in the course of business, to visit the continent, married, on one of these excursions, a French lady, called *Jaqueline de Tott* (or, as some call her, *Joanna Juvitor*), and by her had two sons. *Henry Hope*, the youngest, following the profession of his father, was progenitor of the great and opulent branch of the *Hopes* of *Amsterdam*; a house, for extent of commerce and solidity of credit, superior, without exception, to any private mercantile company in the world*.

Thomas Hope, eldest son of the first *Henry*, after proceeding through the usual forms of grammatical learning with no small applause, entering upon the study of the law, made so rapid a progress in juridical knowledge

* *Douglas's Peerage*, 348. *Baronage*, 58. *Nisbet's Heraldry*, Appendix, 97.

knowledge, that he was, at a very early age, called to the bar. However, like the generality of young lawyers, his practice was very limited, and his talents were imperfectly known, for some years after his admission; but in the year 1606 he burst at once upon public notice on the following occasion.

Six ministers of the Church of *Scotland* having thought proper to deny that the King and his Council possessed any authority in ecclesiastical affairs, were on that account imprisoned for some months in *Blackness* Castle, indicted of high treason, brought to *Linlithgow* 10th Jan. 1606, and the same day put on their trial by a jury, consisting chiefly of landed gentlemen of the three *Lothians*, before Sir *William Hart* Justice Depute, assisted by the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of *Mar*, *Montrose*, *Dunbar*, and *Linlithgow*, the Lords *Glamis*, *Scoon*, *Elphinstone*, *Abercorn*, *Balmerinloch*, *Newbottle*, and *Blantyre*, and several other members of the Privy Council. As it was carefully promulgated that the King and Court had openly expressed the highest displeasure against the ministers, and had declared that they would show no favour to any person that should appear on their behalf, none of the great lawyers chose to undertake the defence of persons so avowedly obnoxious to the ruling powers; even Sir *Thomas Craig*, although he was Procurator for the Church, refused to be concerned in this affair, and Sir *William Oliphant*, who had at first promised to plead for them, sent word, the day before, that he would have nothing to do in that cause. The poor parsons, thus abandoned, applied to Mr *Hope*, who, pitying their case, with the greatest cheerfulness and resolution undertook their defence; and notwithstanding the reiterated endeavours of the Court to perplex and browbeat him, conducted it in so skilful and masterly a manner, that he made a deep impression on the jury. However, by unlawful tampering with the jurors (some of the Lords of Council having procured admittance to them after they were locked up) and assurances that no harm was intended against the persons or goods of the pannels, nine out of the fifteen jurymen were induced to bring in a verdict of guilty, and

and the ministers were sentenced to banishment forth of the kingdom, which was accordingly executed*.

By the commendable intrepidity, knowledge of the law, and singular abilities, manifested by Mr *Hope* at this important trial, he became so greatly the favourite of the Presbyterians, that they never afterwards undertook any business of moment without consulting him; and he was retained in almost every cause brought by individuals of that party into the Courts of Justice, so that he instantly came into the first practice of any lawyer of that period. By this, in a few years, he acquired one of the most considerable fortunes ever made at the Scottish bar; which enabled him to purchase, between 1613 and 1642, the lands of *Grantoun*, *Edmonstoun* and *Cauldcotts* in *Midlothian*, *Prestongrange* in *East Lothian*, *Kerse* in *Stirlingshire*, *Mertoun* in the *Merse*, *Kinninmonth*, *Arnydie*, *Craigball*, *Ceres*, *Hilltarvet*, and others in *Fife* †. His reputation, his wealth, and influence with the Presbyterian party advanced, in process of time, to such a height, that King *James VI.* thought proper, in the beginning of the year 1626, to constitute him his Advocate, jointly with Sir *William Oliphant* of *Newton*; and in 1628, he was honoured with the dignity of a Baronet of *Nova Scotia*, his patent bearing date 11th *Feb.* that year.

Sir *William Oliphant* giving way to fate 13th *April* following, King *Charles I.* was pleased not only to appoint Sir *Thomas Hope* to be his sole Advocate, but also to grant him several honourable privileges not enjoyed by his predecessor. With this view his Majesty sent a letter to the Lord President of the Court of Session, of this tenor: “ Right trusty
 “ and well beloved cousin and counsellor, though it was our pleasure to
 “ remove our late Advocate from the ordinary place of Session, which
 “ was brooked by him and his predecessors, Advocates for the time, e-
 “ ver since the first institution of the College of Justice; yet it was not, nor
 “ is

* *Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland*, 509.

† *Cartæ* in publ. Arch.

“ is it our will that our said Advocate be any ways prejudiced in any o-
 “ thers, the honours, liberties, privileges, and respects appertaining to
 “ the said place; and seeing, as we are certainly informed by Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Hope* our now Advocate, that Mr *Henry Lauder* Advocate for the time
 “ to our umquhile great grandfather, King *James* 5th, who was the first
 “ institutor of the College of Justice, had place to sit within the inner
 “ house to hear all causes reasoned and voted by the Lords, except these
 “ wherein he was an actual pleader himself, conforme to ane special war-
 “ rand, directit to that effect by our said umquhile great grandfather,
 “ which is zit recorded in your books of federunt, and that we judge it
 “ necessary for our service, that the said Sir *Thomas Hope* enjoy the like
 “ privilege, to the effect, that he may better consider and understand of
 “ what shall concern us, our interest and service. Therefore it is our
 “ pleasure, that if you find the said warrand extant in your books of fe-
 “ derunt, you insert the like in favours of Sir *Thomas Hope*, to the effect
 “ he may have place, and sit in the inner house according to the tenor
 “ thereof, and also that you observe in the said Sir *Thomas Hope* his fa-
 “ vour all other privileges, liberties, and immunities, due and appertain-
 “ ing to the said place; and that you insert these presents in your books of
 “ federunt for his warrant. Given at *Whitehall* 23d *May* 1628.”

The Lords of Session, not wishing to have any stranger admitted to the
 knowledge of their secret transactions, delayed paying obedience to
 these commands, which produced a second letter from his Majesty, in
 the following terms: “ Whereas we were formerly pleased to write unto
 “ you, that our trusty and well beloved counsellor Sir *Thomas Hope* our
 “ Advocate might be admitted to sit among you, and hear, as our said
 “ letter bears; as we perceive by your answer, you have delayed the do-
 “ ing thereof, and that upon no such reason as could give us satisfaction:
 “ for since Mr *Henry Lauder*, upon a letter from one of our Royal pre-
 “ decessors, was admitted to sit and hear, we cannot but think it reason-
 “ able that our Advocate for the present, should have the like privilege.
 “ Therefore our pleasure is, that upon sight hereof, you admit him ac-
 “ cording

“ cording to our former letter, to sit and hear all causes wherein, being
 “ required by you, he doth clear himself by oath from all such interest
 “ as may make him justly to be removed; and, as we can conceive no
 “ prejudice that can arise hereby to you, when our said letter is obeyed,
 “ if we find it to prove otherwise upon further information, we will give
 “ order for the remedy thereof as the case shall require; so expecting
 “ the performance of this our demand, we bid you farewell from *Hamp-*
 “ *ton Court, 10th Oct. 1628.*”

This peremptory mandate had the desired effect, for 18th *Nov.* following, the Lords of Session made an act of sederunt, whereby they
 “ admitted and received Sir *Thomas Hope* to sit in the inner house to
 “ hear and see the delivering of bills, the giving of interlocutors, deci-
 “ sions, and determinations, of all causes and actions there occurring,
 “ so that he may hear and know such things as shall happen to occur
 “ that concerns his Majesty, (accepting allenarly these actions and causes
 “ wherein the said Sir *Thomas Hope* is an actual pleader, or wherein he
 “ hath given advice or consulted, or wherein he hath any interest
 “ whereby he may be lawfully removed or declined to be present;) and
 “ they designed him a particular place to sit in, without their own benches,
 “ and placed him therein, after they had taken his oath to keep the
 “ secrets of the house, and not to reveal or divulge the same in any
 “ sort *.”

Perhaps the King had hopes, by means of these extraordinary honours and privileges, to detach Sir *Thomas* from the Presbyterians, and procure the assistance of that able counsellor in his favourite design of uniting the three kingdoms under one form of public worship; but if *Charles* entertained these expectations, they were by no means gratified. For although Sir *Thomas* discharged the duties of his high office with attention and propriety, his gratitude, his principles, and his inclination, were too powerfully engaged to his first friends and benefactors, not to embrace
 all

* Acts of Sederunt.

all opportunities of affording them every assistance in his power; and it was with pleasure that he beheld that party increasing every day in numbers and in consequence. It would draw out this account to too great a length, to enumerate the various steps taken by them in pursuance of his advice; such as rejecting the Service Book in 1637, subscribing a Solemn League and Covenant in 1638; and in 1643, when the King would not permit the Parliament to meet, Sir *Thomas* advised the calling of a Convention of Estates. This counsel was followed, and the Convention accordingly met at *Edinburgh* 22d *June* that year*.

His Majesty now finding that the Presbyterians had become so powerful as to render all opposition to that party unavailing, resolved to try what effects conciliatory measures would produce, and therefore nominated the Advocate, as a person known to be every way acceptable to them, to represent him, as Lord High Commissioner, in the General Assembly which met at *Edinburgh* 2d *Aug.* 1643. This appointment of Sir *Thomas* to an office of so much importance, (an honour never afterwards conferred upon a commoner,) at that critical period, so greatly disgusted the noblemen of the King's party, that very few either of them or their friends chose to attend the Assembly, and the field was therefore left in a manner free to the Covenanters, who carried all before them. It was resolved by this meeting, in concert with English Commissioners, that another Solemn League and Covenant should be sworn and subscribed throughout both *England* and *Scotland*; and after nominating some of their number to repair to *London* to join with the Divines assembled at *Westminster* for promoting that work, the Assembly rose in triumph upon the 19th of *August* †.

In 1645, Sir *Thomas Hope* was appointed one of the Commissioners for managing the Exchequer, but did not long enjoy that office, dying the next year, 1646. He had the singular happiness of seeing, before his death,

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death,

* *Gutbrie's Memoirs*, 130.

† *Gutbrie*, 134. Acts of Assembly.

death, two of his sons seated on the bench, while he was Lord Advocate; and it being judged by the Court of Session unbecoming that a father should plead uncovered before his children; the privilege of wearing his hat while pleading was granted to him. This privilege his successors in the office of King's Advocate have ever since enjoyed, though it is now in danger of being lost through desuetude.

The learned Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Rosebaugh* in his "*Characteres Advocatorum*," thus discriminates Sir *Thomas Hope's* professional excellencies: "*Sucesserunt Hopius, Nicholsonus, et Stuartus, quem triumviratum ipse non aliter vidi, quam solem occidentem auratis suis radiis hemispherum purpurantem solemus intueri. Hopius mira inventione pollebat, totque illi fundebat argumenta ut amplificatione tempus deesset; non orabat, sed arguebat, modo uniformi, sed sibi proprio. Nam cum argumentum vel exceptionem protulisset, rationem addebat; et ubi dubia videbatur, rationis rationem. Ita rhetorica non ille defuit, sed inutilis apparuit. Dividisse dixisset Hopium et Nicholsonum provincias; hic enim eloquentiam nostram, ille jurisprudentiam limavit.*"

The following engaging picture of Sir *Thomas* was drawn by a contemporary, Dr *Arthur Johnston*, Physician to King *Charles I.*

Maxime Phœbigenum! magni laus prima senatus!
Lima fori! titulis major, Hopæ! tribus,
Regia dum curas, famulum quoque protege Regis,
Credita cui Domini vita salusque tui est.
Lyncæa mens, lingua est tibi nectare dulcior omni;
Labe carens pectus, candidiusque nive.
In vultu Charites, Spes est in nomine, dotes
Quas alii sparsas, tu simul unus habes.
Exfere virtutes, mensuram nominis implens,
Et te, Jonstono quantus es, esse proba.*

That

* *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ, lxii.*

That these compliments were by no means hyperbolic, is evident from the works composed by Sir *Thomas*, viz. 1. *Carmen seculare in serenissimum Carolum I. Britanniarum Monarcham*, Edin. 1626.—2. *Psalmi Davidis et Canticum Salomonis Latino carmine redditum*, MS.—3. Major Practicks.—4. Minor Practicks.—5. *Paratitillo ex universo Juris Corpore*;—and, 6. A Genealogie of the Earls of *Marr*, MS. a production manifesting the high estimation in which this great man held the histories of noble families.

Considering the height to which parties were carried, during the reign of *Charles*, a circumstance that could not fail exceedingly to exasperate the tempers of men, it would have been surprizing indeed, if Sir *Thomas*, placed for so long a period in a conspicuous public station, had been able to escape the shafts of calumny. The Royalists did not cease to hold him forth as a monster of ingratitude, merely because he thought himself bound in honour to assist the Presbyterians, whenever he was called on, with his best advice. Those by whom this charge was made, did not allow themselves to consider, that it would have been a piece of the blackest treachery and ingratitude in him to have abandoned a party to whom he was firmly attached, who had been the first founders of his fortune and fame; and whose unremitting and liberal support completely established both, as well as occasioned his rise to the high station that excited so much envy and malice against him. Perhaps it may be objected, that under these circumstances, he ought not to have accepted the place of King's Advocate; but it may be mentioned, that this officer has properly no concern in political affairs, his business being to attend to the King's interest in the *Courts of Justice*; and it could never be alledged that Sir *Thomas* neglected this essential part of his duty.

He married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *John Bennet*, of *Wallyford* in *East-Lothian*, and by her had issue:

1. *Elizabeth*, born 29th *June* 1603, died unmarried.
2. Sir *John Hope* of *Craigball*.
3. Sir *Thomas Hope* of *Kerse*.

4. *William*,

4. *William*, born 10th *Apr.* 1608, died young.
5. *Henry*, born 26th *Dec.* 1609, died in infancy.
6. *Sir Alexander Hope of Grantoun.*
7. *Sir James Hope of Hopetoun.*
8. *David*, born 3d *Oct.* 1615.
9. *Patrick*, born 28th *Jan.* 1617
10. *Margaret*, born 28th *Dec.* 1618. } These three died young.
11. *Mary*, born 13th *June* 1620, married in 1638 to *Sir Charles Erskine of Cambuskenneth and Alva*, and had issue.
12. *Elizabeth*, born 10th *July* 1623, died unmarried.
13. *Anne*, born 19th *Apr.* 1625, married in 1645 to *Henry Lord Cardross*, and had issue.
14. *Charles*, born 4th *June* 1627, died young*.

Sir John Hope of Craigball, the eldest son, following the profession of the law, was admitted a Lord of Session 27th *July* 1632, (in the room of *Sir James Oliphant of Newton*, expelled for shooting his gardener,) appointed in 1645, one of the Privy Council, and died about 1655. He had two sons, *Sir Thomas* and *Sir Archibald*; the eldest, *Sir Thomas*, born 11th *Feb.* 1633, had a son and successor *Sir Thomas Hope*, fourth baronet of *Craigball*, who married *Anne*, daughter, and at last sole heiress, of *Sir William Bruce of Kinross*, Baronet, by whom he had three sons, *Sir William Hope*, who predeceased his mother, *Sir Thomas Bruce-Hope of Kinross*, who died without issue, and Lieutenant General *Sir John Bruce-Hope of Kinross*, who died without surviving male issue in 1766. *Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillour*, second son of *Sir John of Craigball*, born 9th *Sep.* 1639, was bred to the law, and at the Revolution, 1st *Nov.* 1689, appointed a Lord of Session. He died in 1706, æta. 67. his son *Sir Thomas* entered Advocate in 1701, succeeded his cousin *Sir John Bruce-Hope* in the title of Baronet 1766, died in 1771, and was grandfather

* Registers of *Edinburgh*.

father of the present Sir *Archibald Hope of Pinkie*, Baronet, undoubted chief of the name*.

Sir *Thomas Hope of Kerse* in *Stirlingshire*, the second son, born 5th *Aug.* 1606, applied to the same profession in which his father and elder brother had figured so conspicuously, and was called to the bar. In 1640 he had the honour of being chosen Colonel of the troop of horse raised by the College of Justice, to attend General *Leslie* as his life-guard, when he marched into *England* at the head of the Scottish army. On the 13th *Nov.* 1641, Sir *Thomas* was admitted a Lord of Session and Lord Justice General, and on the 16th of the same month, was nominated one of the Commissioners to treat with the Parliament of *England*, about the most effectual method of suppressing the Irish rebellion. He composed two treatises; 1. "Law Repertorie," and 2. "Commentarius in Libros Digestorum, nempe xviii. ad xxiv. et in alios nonnullos Juris Civilis Libros;"—the first in one, and the latter in two, folio MS. volumes. Dying in 1643, æta. 37, in the lifetime of his father, he was succeeded by his son Sir *Alexander Hope of Kerse*, born 12th *Dec.* 1637, and created a Baronet 30th *May* 1672. His son and successor, Sir *Alexander Hope of Kerse*, born 13th *Aug.* 1663, married 24th *Ap.* 1690 to the Honourable Miss *Nicholas Hamilton*, daughter of *William* second Lord *Bargeny*, and was father of Sir *Alexander Hope of Kerse*, born 3d *Jan.* 1697. He married Lady *Anne Carnegie*, daughter of *David*, fourth Earl of *Northesk*, and by her, who died 4th *Feb.* 1733, had a son and successor, Sir *Alexander Hope*, the present Baronet, who sold his noble paternal inheritance to the late Sir *Laurence Dundas* †.

Sir *Alexander Hope*, third surviving son of Sir *Thomas*, born 12th *March* 1611, was in his youth one of the Cup-bearers to King *Charles I.* He married Miss *Anna Bill*, an English lady of fortune, and purchased, in 1656, the estate of *Grantoun* in *Midlothian*, where he fixed his residence.

* Registers of *Edinburgh*, *Douglas's Baronage*, 58,—61.

† Parish Registers. *Douglas's Peerage*, 69, 522.

dence. Dying there without issue, 15th Feb. 1680, æta. 69, he had sepulture at *Cramond* *.

Sir *James Hope* of *Hopetoun*, fourth and youngest surviving son of the first Sir *Thomas*, born on 12th July 1614, having betaken himself to the study of the law, was at a proper age called to the bar, where he practised several years with no small reputation. He did not, however, confine himself entirely to legal pursuits; for having in 1638 acquired by marriage the property of the valuable mines of *Leadbills*, he applied to the attainment of skill in mineralogy; and his endeavours were attended with so great success, that he brought the art of mining to a degree of perfection unknown before that time in *Scotland*. This not only highly advanced his private fortune, but also procured him, in 1641, the lucrative appointment of Governor of the Mint, to which was afterwards annexed, by act of Parliament, a power to hold courts in the Mint Office. On the 1st of June 1649 he was nominated one of the Senators of the College of Justice, by the title of Lord *Hopetoun*, and the same year the Parliament of *Scotland* appointed him one of the Committee of Estates, a Commissioner of Public Accounts, and one of the Revisers of the Laws. In 1654, he was constituted a Commissioner for the sale of the forfeited estates in this kingdom; and departing this life towards the end of the year 1661, æta. 48, was buried in *Cramond* church, where is a marble bust of him, with this inscription.

SPERANDO SUPERAVI.

VERA EFFIGIES DNI. JAC. HOPPÆI
HOPTONIÆ MILITIS CELEBERRIMI,
ÆTAT. SUÆ 47.
A. D. MDCLXI.

HERE LYES THE BODY OF
SIR JAMES HOPE OF HOPETOUN,
WHO DECEASED ANNO 1661 †.

* Session Records.

† *Ex tumulo*. Dougl. Peer. 350. Crawf. Peer. 219. Rescinded Acts.

Sir *James Hope* married first, 14th *Jan.* 1638, *Anne*, only daughter and heiress of *John Foulis*, of *Leadbills* in the county of *Lanark*, and had issue by her, who died in 1656.

1. *Thomas*, born 23th *Nov.* 1640.
2. *Elizabeth*, born 7th *Sept.* 1642.
3. *Sarah*, born 4th *Jan.* 1644.
4. *Robert*, born 13th *Feb.* 1645.
5. *Thomas*, born 5th *Feb.* 1647.
6. *James*, born 22d *Ap.* 1649.
7. *John Hope* of *Hopetoun*, his heir.
8. *Anne*, born 29th *Feb.* 1652, died young.
9. *Rachel*, born 15th *March* 1653, married to *David Bethune*, of *Balfour* in *Fife*.

} All died in their infancy.

10. *George*, born 23d *Nov.* 1654.
11. *Alexander*, born 6th *Apr.* 1656.

} Both died in infancy.

Sir *James* married secondly, in 1657, *Lady Mary Keith*, eldest daughter and one of the co-heiresses of *William* seventh Earl *Marisball*, and by her, who after his death became the wife of Sir *Archibald Murray* of *Blackbarony*, Bart. had three children,

12. *William*, born 1st *Aug.* 1658, died an infant.
13. Sir *William Hope* of *Balcomie*.
14. *Mary*, a posthumous child, born 7th *Jan.* 1661, died young*.

Sir *William Hope*, Knight and Bart. only surviving son of the second marriage, born 15th *Ap.* 1660, served in his younger days in the army, travelled much abroad, and became one of the most accomplished cavaliers of the age, being renowned for skill in fencing and in horsemanship, and for uncommon gracefulness and agility in dancing. He published 1st, "The complete Fencing-Master, in which is fully described the whole guards, parades, and lessons belonging to the small sword, as also the best rules for playing against either artists or others with blunts

" or

* *Dougl. Peer.* 456. Baronage, 72. Parish Registers.

“ or sharps ; together with directions how to behave in a single combat upon horseback ; illustrated with figures engraven on copperplates, representing the most necessary postures,” 12mo, *Edinburgh* 1686.

2. “ The Parfait Marechal, or Compleat Farrier,” translated from the French of the Sieur de *Solleysel*,” *Edinburgh*, 1696. fol. He, in 1682, purchased the estate of *Grantoun*, in the parish of *Cramond* ; but disposing thereof in 1688, was thereafter designed of *Kirklistoun* ; and under this designation had the honour of being created a Baronet 1st *March* 1698. He was many years Deputy Governor of *Edinburgh* castle ; bought the lands of *Balcomie* in *Fife* for *L. 7500*, in 1705 ; and departing this life at *Edinburgh* 1st *Feb.* 1724, æta. 64, was buried in the *Canongate* church ; his death being occasioned by a fever, brought on by overheating himself with dancing that well known minuet, the *Louvre*, at an assembly. By *Elizabeth Clerk* his wife, he had one daughter, *Elizabeth*, born 7th *Nov.* 1682, and buried at *Cramond* 25th *Jan.* 1686 ; also one son, Sir *George Hope* of *Balcomie*, a Captain of the Earl of *Orkney*'s foot, who married 29th *Nov.* 1724, *Anne*, daughter of Sir *John Mackenzie*, of *Coul*, Bart. and died in *Ireland* 20th *Nov.* 1729. Sir *William Hope*, the last Baronet of this branch, only son and successor of Sir *George*, was, in 1749, appointed a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy ; but afterwards preferring the land service, procured in 1752, a Lieutenancy of the 31st regiment of infantry, and a Company in the East India troops. He was killed in *Bengal* not long afterwards, and leaving no issue by his wife, a Dutch lady, remarried to — *Lambert Esq.* the title became extinct*.

John Hope of *Hopetoun*, only surviving son of the first marriage of Sir *James Hope*, born 16th *June* 1650, inherited his mother's great and valuable property, and laid the foundation of the vast interest his family now enjoys in *West Lothian*, by purchasing, in 1678, the Barony of *Abercorn* from Sir *Walter Seton*. By this purchase he became heritable
 Sheriff

* Parish Registers, Birth Brieves, &c.

Sheriff of the county of *Linlithgow*, and his influence therein was still farther increased by the acquisition of the extensive properties of *Niddery* and *Winchburgh*, from the Earl of *Wintoun*. He thereupon fixed his residence at the noble old castle of *Niddery*; but being high in favour with *Charles II.* and his brother the Duke of *York*, did not fail to make frequent journeys to Court, and returning from one of these expeditions, embarked on board the Gloucester Frigate, along with the Duke and several persons of quality. This vessel had the misfortune to be wrecked on a sand bank near *Yarmouth*, on the 5th of *May* 1682, by which accident Mr *Hope* perished, in the 32d year of his age; leaving, by his wife Lady *Margaret Hamilton*, daughter of *John* fourth Earl of *Haddington*, a lady eminent in all the virtues of her sex, who was buried at *Tynninghame* 31st *Dec.* 1711, one son, *Charles Hope* of *Hopetoun*, and a daughter, *Eleanor*, who married *Thomas*, sixth Earl of *Haddington*, and died at *Edinburgh*, in a very advanced age, 19th *April* 1768. It is not a little remarkable, that Mr *Hope* was the only one of the representatives of the four sons of Sir *Thomas* of *Craigball*, who had not the honour of being dignified with any title; but this is to be attributed entirely to his premature death. Of the circumstances attending this unfortunate accident, the reader will find a particular detail in the subjoined note *.

T

Charles

* Extract of a letter, from Sir *James Dick* of *Prestonfield*, to Mr *Patrick Elies* Merchant in *London*, dated at *Edinburgh* 9th *May* 1682.

“ Upon Sunday last at eight o’ clock at night, his Royal Highness and his retinue that were alive, arrived safe here, there being a most sad disaster upon the Saturday before. At seven o’ clock in the morning, the man of war called the *Gloucester*, Sir *John Berry* Captain, where his Highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one; the said ship did strike in pieces, and did wholly sink, upon the bank of sand called the *Lemon* and *Oar*, about some twelve leagues from *Yarmouth*. This was occasioned by the wrong calculation and ignorance of a pilot, which put us all in such consternation, that we knew not what to do, the Duke, and the whole that were with him, being all in bed when she first struck; the helm of the said ship having broke, and the man being killed by the force thereof, at the said first stroke. When the Duke had got his clothes
“ on

Charles Hope of Hopetoun, only son and heir, born in the year 1681, was consequently an infant at the time of his father's melancholy death, but by the care of his excellent mother, rose superior to the disadvantages of being early left without paternal controul. By the accumulati-

ons

“ on, he enquired how things stood, she being sunk nine feet water in her hold, and
 “ the sea fast coming in at the gun ports; and all the seamen and passengers were not
 “ at command, every man studying his own safety, forced the Duke to go out at the
 “ large window of the cabin, where his little boat was ordered quietly to attend him,
 “ lest the passengers and seamen should have thronged so in upon him, as to drown
 “ the boat; which was accordingly so conveyed, as that none but *Earl Winton*, and
 “ the President of the Session*, with two of his bed-chamber men † went with him,
 “ but were forced to draw their swords to hold people off. We seeing his Highness
 “ gone, did cause tackle out with great difficulty the ships boat, wherein the Earl of
 “ *Perth* got in; and then I went by jumping off the shrouds into the boat; the Earl
 “ *Middleton* immediately after me did jump into the same upon my shoulders; with-
 “ al there came the Laird of *Toucb*, with several others, besides the seamen that were
 “ to row, which we thought a sufficient number for her loading, considering there
 “ was going such a great sea, occasioned by the wind N. E. and that we saw that at
 “ the Duke's boat there was another overwhelmed by reason of the greatness of the
 “ sea, which drowned the whole in her except two men whom we saw riding on her
 “ keel, which they say were saved. This made us desire to be gone; but, before we
 “ were aware, there leapt from the shrouds about 20 or 24 seamen in upon us, which
 “ made all the spectators and us to think we were sinking; but, not being able to
 “ come at, being so thronged, and all having given us over for lost, did hinder 100
 “ more to leap in upon us. Among them that were left, were my Lord *Roxburgh*
 “ and Laird *Hopetoun*, and Mr *Littledale*, *Roxburgh's* servant, and Dr *Levingston*, the
 “ President of the Session's man; all being at the place where I jumped would not
 “ follow, since it seems they concluded more safety to stay in the vessel, than to ex-
 “ pose themselves to any other hazard, all which persons in an instant were washed off
 “ and all drowned. There perished in this disaster above 200 persons; for I rec-
 “ koned there were above 250 seamen, and I am sure there were 80 noblemen and
 “ gentlemen, their servants being excluded; my computation was we were about
 “ 330 in all, of which I cannot understand 130 to be saved.

“ Our difficulties and hazards that were in that boat were wonderful to be all fav-
 “ ed, for if they had not thought us all dead men, I am sure there would have many

“ more

* Sir *George Gordon of Haddo*, afterwards Earl of *Aberdeen*.

† One of these was *John Churchill*, afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*.

ons of his income during the course of a long minority, he found himself, on coming of age, in possession of one of the largest fortunes in the kingdom, with which he made several advantageous purchases in different counties; and he was elected member of Parliament for the county of *Linlithgow* in 1702. The ensuing year, the Queen was pleased, after appointing him a Privy Counsellor, to raise him to the dignity of the

T 2

Peerage,

“ more jumped into the boat above us, for we were so throng we had no room to
 “ stand; so when we were forcing ourselves off the ship, she being sinking by degrees, all the time was like to sink our boat down, and besides, the waves were so
 “ boisterous that we were like to be struck in pieces upon the wreck so sinking;
 “ this was not but with great difficulty we forced out the boat from the ship; and
 “ when we came to row to the nearest yacht, the waves were such and we overloaded,
 “ ed, that we every moment thought to have been drowned; and being about midway to the yachts, there were a great many swimming for their lives, who caught
 “ all a dead gripe of our boat, holding up their heads above water crying help;
 “ which hindrance we kept off, and their hands loosed, telling them they would both
 “ lose themselves and us. This would not do to make them loose their grips; but,
 “ they were forced by several in our boat, except one that took hold of me, which I
 “ caused catch into the boat, lest I should have been pulled down: and, when it
 “ pleased God to bring us wonderfully to one of the yachts sides, being much less as
 “ one quarter mile distant, they not daring to come nearer by reason of the bank of
 “ sand upon which we were lost. And if it had not been that there were guns shot
 “ from our ship, shewing them our distress by that sign, the other men of war that
 “ were immediately following, would have come into that same disaster; but they
 “ immediately did bear off, and the four yachts came up as near as they durst, and
 “ sent off their boats to help; but all that could be done could not prevent this great
 “ loss of 200 men, as I have said.

“ I was in my gown and slippers lying in bed when she first struck, and escaped as
 “ I have said in that condition. When unexpectedly and wonderfully we came to the
 “ yacht side called Captain *Saunders*; we were like to be crushed in pieces by the
 “ yacht, which by reason of the great seas was like to run us down, till at length
 “ a rope was cast which was so managed that we came to the lee side, and there every
 “ man clam for his life, and so did I taking hold of a rope, and so made shift upon
 “ the sides till I came within mens reach, when at last I was hauled in. When I
 “ looked back, I could not see one bit of the whole great ship above water, but about
 “ a Scots ell of the staff, upon which the Royal standard stood, for with her
 “ striking

Peerage, by the titles of Earl of *Hopetoun*, Viscount *Aitbrie* *, and Lord *Hope*, with remainder to the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to the heirs female, by patent bearing date 15th *April* 1703. In 1715, his Lordship was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of *Linlithgow*, represented King *George I.* as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* in 1723, and was nominated one of the Knights of the Thistle in 1738. At the general election 10th *May* 1722, the Scottish Peerage elected his Lordship one of their sixteen representatives to Parliament, and he was constantly re-chosen at every general election till his death, which happened at *Hopetoun House*, on the 26th of *Feb.* 1742, in the 61st year of his age. His Lordship; distinguished for uncommon beauty of person, and elegance of manners, was very facetious and entertaining in conversation, had a strong attachment to the sports of the field; and delighted much in fine horses; of which, as well for carriages and the road, as for hunting and races, he had the best, without comparison, in the kingdom, and built, for their reception, the grandest stables and riding houses in *Scotland*. The noble feat of his family, *Hopetoun House*, which he caused to be erected, under the direction of Sir *William Bruce*, remains to this day a striking monument of the uncommon magnificence of his taste.

His

“ striking she came off the sand bank which was but three fathom; and her draught
 “ was 18 feet, so there was 18 fathom water on each side, where she struck, for she
 “ broke in the deepest place. Now, if she had continued on the three fathom; and
 “ broke in pieces there, all would have had time to save themselves; but such was
 “ the misfortune, that she wholly overwhelmed and washed all into the sea that were
 “ upon her decks, expecting relief by boats which certainly would have been, if she
 “ had but staid half an hour more. So that to conclude this melancholy account,
 “ all the above persons, our countrymen that were of respect I have told. There
 “ are of Englishmen of respect dead, my Lord *O'Brien*, and my Lord *Hyde*'s brother,
 “ who was Lieutenant of the ship.”— *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, Vol. II.

* *Aitbrie* is a considerable estate near *Stirling*, but that property having been exchanged by the first Earl of *Hopetoun* with Mr *Dundas* of *Manour*, for the lands of *Stonehill* in *Westlothian*, this title is now difused by the family, the eldest son being always stiled Lord *Hope*.

His Lordship, with a degree of prudence seldom found at his age and in his situation in life, connected himself, when only eighteen years old, with one of the first families in the kingdom, marrying, 31st Aug. 1699, Lady *Henrietta Johnston*, only daughter of *William* first Marquis of *Annandale*, (by *Sophia* his first wife, daughter and heiress of *John Fairholm* of *Craigieball* in the county of *Linlithgow*;) and by her, who was born 1st Nov. 1682, and died at *Hopetoun House* 25th Nov. 1750 æta. 69. had the following numerous progeny.

1. Lady *Margaret*, born 3d March 1700, died 9th May 1703.
2. Lady *Sophia*, born 31st May 1702, married to *James* Earl of *Finlater* and *Seafield*; and died at *London* 25th Apr. 1761.
3. *John*, second Earl of *Hopetoun*.
4. Lady *Henrietta*, born 21st Feb. 1706, married to *Francis* Lord *Napier*, and died 17th Feb. 1745, leaving issue.
5. A Son, born and died 22d July 1707.
6. Lady *Margaret*, born 18th Dec. 1708, married at *Hopetoun House* 20th Dec. 1745 to *John Dundas* of *Duddingstone*, had issue one daughter *Henrietta*, who died 24th Ap. 1749.
7. The Hon. *Charles Hope Weir*, of *Craigieball*.
8. Lady *Helen*, born 27th July 1711, married at *Hopetoun House* 13th Jan. 1737 to *James Watson* of *Saughton*, and died 22d July 1769, leaving one surviving son, *Charles Watson* of *Saughton*.
9. Lady *Christian*, married at *Hopetoun House* 8th Apr. 1743 to *Thomas Graham* of *Balgowan*, and has issue.
10. *William*, born 3d June, and died 24th Nov. 1715.
11. Lady *Anne*, born 21st July 1718, died 24th Dec. 1727; æta. 10.
12. Lady *Charlotte*, born 4th March 1720, married at *Hopetoun House* 1st Oct. 1741, to *Thomas* Lord *Erskine*, only son of *John* Earl of *Mar*, and died without issue at *Edinburgh* 24th Nov. 1788, much and justly regretted.
13. Lady *Rachel*, born 10th July 1721, died in infancy*.

* Registers of *Abercorn* and *Kirklistoun* Parishes. Dougl. Peer. 350.

The Hon. *Charles Hope Weir*, F. R. S. second surviving son, was born 8th *May* 1710, and on the death of his uncle *James* second Marquis of *Annandale*, in 1730, succeeded to the estate of *Craigieball*. On the 13th of *May* 1743, he was chosen member of Parliament for the county of *Linlithgow*, by a majority of 11 to 8, in the room of *George Dundas* of *Dundas*, who had vacated his seat by being appointed Master of the Works in *Scotland*, and on this occasion ineffectually attempted to be re-elected; and for this county Mr *Hope* was constantly re-chosen at every general election till 1769, when he voluntarily declined the representation. In 1744, he was appointed Governor of *Blackness* Castle, afterwards enjoyed the offices of Commissary General of Musters in *Scotland*, and Ranger of *Etterick* Forest, and departing this life at *Craigieball* on the 30th of *Dec.* 1791, in the 82d year of his age, was buried at *Dalmeny*. He married first, at *Edinburgh*, 26th *July* 1733, *Catherine*, only daughter and heiress of Sir *William Weir*, of *Blackwood* in the county of *Lanark*, Bart. and by her, who was born 1st *Dec.* 1716, and died at *Edinburgh* 5th *Dec.* 1743, had six children. 1. *Charles*, born 31st *Dec.* 1734, died young. 2. *William Hope Weir* of *Craigieball* and *Blackwood*. 3. *Henrietta*. 4. *John*, to be hereafter mentioned. 5. *Rachel*, and 6. *Charles*, both died in infancy.

Mr *Hope* married secondly, 20th *March* 1746, Lady *Anne Vane*, daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Darlington*, (by Lady *Grace Fitzroy*, daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Cleveland*, son of *Charles* II.) and by her had two sons. 1. Brigadier General *Henry Hope*, Lieutenant Colonel of the 44th Regiment of Foot, and Deputy Governor of the Province of *Canada*, who served with honour in *America*, where he was wounded, last war, and died, universally regretted, at *Quebec* 13th *April* 1789, without issue by his wife, *Sarah*, daughter of — *Jones*, Prebendary of *Ardmagh*. 2. *Charles Hope* Esq. Captain of the Royal Navy, who married a daughter of Admiral Sir *Herbert Sawyer*, and has issue. Mr *Hope* having obtained, in 1757, an act of Parliament for divorcing him from Lady
Anne

Anne, and to enable him to marry again, took to his third wife, 2d *Apr.* 1766, *Helen*, daughter of *George Dunbar* of *Leuchbold*, in the county of *Linlithgow*, and had issue by her, 1. *George*, Captain of the Royal Navy, 2. *Helen-Charlotte*, 3. *Margaret*, and 4. *Elizabeth*.

William Hope Weir of *Craigieball* and *Blackwood*, eldest surviving son and heir of the Hon. *Charles Hope Weir*, completed his education at the Universities of *Pisa* in *Italy*, and of *Gottingen* in *Hanover*, and was in 1756 appointed a Cornet of the first regiment of dragoon guards, which he joined next year in *Germany*, then the seat of war. In 1759, he quitted the army, being constituted Commissary General of Musters in *Scotland*, on his father's resignation; and married 5th *Jan.* 1775, *Sophia*, daughter of *Joseph Corrie* of *Dumfries*, (by *Margaret* his wife, daughter of *John Philp* of *Greenlaw*) by whom he has issue, 1. *Charlotte*. 2. *Harriet*. 3. *Helen*, died in *Sept.* 1786, æta. 8, buried at *Dalmeny*. 4. *Charles*. 5. *Mary*. 6. *James-Joseph*. 7. *Jean*. 8. *Edward-Hamilton*.

John Hope, third son of the Hon. *Charles Hope Weir*, born 7th *April* 1739, was initiated into business in the great house of the *Hopes* of *Amsterdam*, where he continued some years, and afterwards settled as a merchant in *London*. At the general election in 1769, he was elected Member of Parliament for the county of *Linlithgow*, being opposed by *James Dundas* of *Dundas*, who presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the return, upon very frivolous grounds. However, as Mr *Hope* voted against the Ministry in the memorable affair of *Wilkes's* expulsion, it is no wonder that the petition (contested elections being then determined by the majority of the whole Commons) went against him, and that he lost his seat for following the dictates of his conscience. He was author of several tracts on various subjects, most of which were collected into one volume, intitled "Thoughts in prose and verse, started in his walks by *John Hope*," 8vo. *Stockton* 1780, and he died at *Newcastle upon Tyne* 21st *May* 1785, æta. 47. He married

married 2d *June* 1762, *Mary*, only daughter of *Eliab Breton* of *Norton* in the County of *Northampton*, and by her, who died 25th *June* 1767, æta. 25 *, had three sons: 1. *Charles*, who was called to the bar in *Dec.* 1784, appointed Judge Advocate of *Scotland* in 1786, and Sheriff of the County of *Orkney* and *Zetland* in 1791. He married 8th *Aug.* 1793, *Lady Charlotte Hope*, sister of the present Earl of *Hopetoun*.—2. *John*, Captain of a company of one of the Scotch regiments in the service of the states of *Holland*; but refusing to take the oaths to serve against all their enemies, not excepting *Britain*, he was obliged, along with many others of his countrymen, to quit the Dutch service, and is now Captain of a troop of the 13th regiment of Dragoons.—3. *William*, Master and Commander of the Royal Navy, married at *Hopetoun-house* 8th *July* 1792, to *Lady Anne Hope*, eldest daughter of the present Earl of *Hopetoun*, and has one daughter, *Elizabeth*, born 2d *May* 1793.

John,

* Tablet erected to her memory, between the monument of *John Duke of Argyle* and *Greenwich*, and *Handel* the musician, in *Westminster Abbey*, with this inscription, “ To the memory of *Mary Hope*, who died at *Brockball*, in the County of *Northampton*, on the 25th of *June* 1767, aged 25, and whose remains unnoticed lie in the “ neighbouring church at *Norton*, this stone an unavailing tribute of affection is by “ her husband erected and inscribed. She was the only daughter of *Eliab Breton* of “ *Fortyball, Middlesex*, Esq. and was married to *John Hope* of *London* merchant, to “ whom she left three infant sons, *Charles, John, and William*.

“ Tho’ low in earth, her beauteous form decay’d,
 “ My faithful wife, my lov’d *Maria*’s laid,
 “ In sad remembrance the afflicted raise,
 “ No pompous tomb, inscrib’d with venal praise;
 “ To statesmen, warriors, and to kings belong
 “ The trophied sculpture, and the poet’s song,
 “ And these the proud, expiring, often claim,
 “ Their wealth bequeathing to record their fame;
 “ But humble virtue stealing to the dust
 “ Heeds not or lays or monumental bust.
 “ To name her virtues ill befits my grief,
 “ What was my bliss can now give no relief,
 “ A husband mourns; the rest let friendship tell;
 “ Fame! spread her worth; a husband knew it well.”

John, second *Earl of Hopetoun*, was born at *Hopetoun House* on the 17th of *Sept.* 1704, and received an education suitable to his high quality, both at home and in foreign parts. After his return from abroad, when his character had assumed a decisive form, it was, with no small satisfaction, observed that he had been profusely endowed with the most noble qualities of the head and heart; uniting to good sense and unerring judgement, a benevolence of disposition, and a degree of probity and integrity never exceeded, and but rarely to be equalled. These estimable virtues, called into energy by his very ample fortune, rendered his Lordship, during the course of a long life, one of the most constant friends and benefactors this kingdom has ever been blessed with. Inferior to none in abilities and knowledge, he was qualified to execute with honour the first offices of the state; but he constantly resisted every solicitation to accept of a share in administration, judging that he would be enabled to do more real service to the nation, by attending to the management and improvement of his extensive possessions, wherein his liberal mind and discerning judgement could act uncontrouled. On the same principle, he declined the honour of representing the Scottish Peerage, tendered to him on the death of his father; and if he accepted the sinecure office of Lord of Police, it was solely with the view of appropriating the whole of the income arising from that useless and now abolished place, to the support of charitable institutions.

With a mind so constituted, it was impossible that his Lordship could be indifferent in matters of religion. Deeply convinced of the great truths of Christianity, his piety was sincere and exemplary, leading him to attend regularly on public ordinances; and his first employment every morning was to read a portion of scripture, and recommend himself to the protection of the Supreme Being. He was thereby enabled to bear afflictions with uncommon fortitude and magnanimity, and he had to sustain many very severe trials of resignation. The first he experienced was the death of his son-in-law Lord *Drumlanrig*, by a most mournful accident, soon after his nuptials with his daughter Lady *Eli-*

zabeth, who, in a short while, followed her husband to the grave. He afterwards suffered the repeated shocks of losing two of his consorts, the best of women and patterns of every conjugal duty; three of his sons, all fine and promising young men; and lastly, his daughter *Lady Anne*, the delight and comfort of his old age.

He superintended, with a careful eye, the education of his sons; and it being his principal aim to preserve their morals untainted, they were brought up chiefly at home, under his immediate inspection. His Lordship frequently observed, that he well knew the disadvantages attendant on a private course of education; but that no public seminary existed, in which the principles of a young man would not run the greatest danger of being corrupted; and that it was infinitely preferable that his sons, by being brought up at home, should make their appearance in the world with less learning and experience than they otherwise might possess, as this defect could easily be remedied by after observation; while, on the other hand, depravity of morals was not to be rectified without the utmost difficulty.

The most striking feature in the conduct of this great man, was the admirable order established in his domestic affairs, his household being so well regulated, that although hardly any nobleman in *Britain* lived in greater state, or kept a more numerous retinue, nothing could ever be wasted or misapplied. His attention to the distressed also formed a very conspicuous part of his character; the Royal Infirmary of *Edinburgh* was particularly indebted to his Lordship's bounty, and his principal aim was directed to the relief of industrious persons labouring under difficulties; while at the same time none could be a more determined enemy to those whose misfortunes were the result of repeated imprudencies, or a constant course of idleness. The sums expended by his Lordship in alleviating the necessities of the industrious poor of the parishes wherein he had any particular interest, amounted to upwards of *L. 1000* annually; but it was not to them alone his favours were confined, many distressed persons, reduced by unavoidable misfor-

tunes

tunes, experiencing his bounty to a great extent ; and in generosity and attention to the comfort of his dependants he was unequalled. In the latter years of his life, a second course never appeared at his table, for having observed that it had become a frequent practice in gentlemen of rather small fortunes to have two courses, in hopes that his example would have the effect of putting a stop to a custom at once ridiculous and ruinous in them, his Lordship abstained from that luxury ; and calculating how much was saved by the retrenchment, added the amount to his other bounties to the distressed.

The very ample fortune inherited from his father was, by his Lordship's prudent management, improved and increased to an extent almost unequalled in the kingdom. He made many and great purchases of land in different parts, particularly in the counties of *Linlithgow*, *Haddington*, and *Fife*, by which he became one of the first landed proprietors in *Scotland*, entailed a suitable property on the title of *Hope-toun*, and left adequate fortunes to the younger branches of his family. Such was his discernment, that when the late Duke of *Queensberry*, a nobleman to whose opinion he ever paid the utmost deference, proposed to him to become one of the subscribers to the *Ayr Bank*, as a scheme extremely advantageous both to the kingdom at large and the parties concerned, his Lordship, after two days consideration, foreseeing the consequences of a miscarriage, declined to take any concern in that affair, whose ruinous sequel is too well known and deeply felt, to be here enlarged on.

Sensible of the inestimable blessings derived to this country from the Revolution, his Lordship could not but feel the strongest attachment to the House of *Hanover*, which was conspicuously manifested in 1746 when the Duke of *Cumberland* came down to this country to quell the rebellion. On this occasion his Lordship sent his carriages and horses to attend his Royal Highness during his continuance in *Scotland*, and was careful to afford that prince every other assistance in his power. Another signal instance of his loyalty occurred in 1757, when public credit

dit was at its lowest ebb, and the French threatened an invasion of *Britain*, on which occasion Government having set on foot a lottery on terms so disadvantageous to the subscribers, that it might with more propriety have been stiled a free gift, his Lordship set his name down for 500 tickets, and gave them all away in presents.

In 1754, after much importunity, his Lordship was prevailed upon to represent his Majesty, as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* which assembled at *Edinburgh* May 22d that year; and he spared no cost to support the dignity of the King's representative. In the number and splendid appearance of his retinue, and in grandeur of entertainments, his Lordship far exceeded all his predecessors; nor has any succeeding Commissioner made an equal figure. The general election of the representatives of the Scottish Peerage having been held at *Edinburgh* the day before the Assembly sat down, his Lordship was attended by a more numerous and brilliant company of noblemen than ever appeared on a similar occasion; and his disbursements were estimated at more than three times the sum allowed by Government to the Commissioner.

His Lordship generally passed four months in each year at *Moffat* and *Ormistoun*, and in excursions to the baths of *Buxton*; during the other eight months he was accustomed to reside constantly at *Hopetoun House*, the east front of which he caused to be altered, under the direction of the elder *Adam*, to its present form, exhibiting at once the happiest union of beauty with majesty and simplicity, and the most harmonious proportion of parts, aided by every advantage of situation. At that magnificent seat, this truly respectable nobleman calmly yielded to fate, after having been afflicted for some weeks with a dropical complaint, on the 12th of *Feb.* 1781, in the 77th year of his age, and was buried at *Abercorn*.

His Lordship was thrice married. By his first wife Lady *Anne Ogilvie*, daughter of *James* Earl of *Finlater* and *Seafield*, whom he espoused at
Cullen

Cullen 14th *Sept.* 1733, and who died at *Hopetoun House* 8th *Feb.* 1759, he had nine children.

1. *Lady Elizabeth*, born 1st *March* 1736, married at *Hopetoun House* 13th *July* 1754 to *Henry* Earl of *Drumlanrig*, eldest son of *Charles* Duke of *Queensberry* and *Dover*, and dying without issue at *Hopetoun House* 7th *Apr.* 1756, was buried on the 13th at *Durrisdeer*, at the side of her husband, who died 19th *Oct.* 1754.

2. *Henrietta*, born 21st *Aug.* and died 1st *Oct.* 1738.

3. *Charles*, Lord *Hope*, born 9th *July* 1740, a young nobleman of whom no small expectations were entertained. After completing his education at home, he visited the principal kingdoms on the continent, but unfortunately falling into a bad state of health, a vessel was provided, in order that he might try the effects of the sea air, and in it his Lordship made a voyage up the *Mediterranean*, and afterwards sailed to the *West Indies* and to *America*. On his return from this last expedition he died at *Portsmouth* 6th *June* 1766, æta. 26, and was buried at *Abercorn*.

4. *James*, third and present Earl of *Hopetoun*.

5. *John*, born 1st *June* 1743, died at *Hopetoun House* 30th *Sept.* 1759, æta. 17.

6. *Lady Henrietta*, born 15th *Apr.* 1746, a lady of a most charitable disposition, and distinguished for an uncommon degree of piety, who died unmarried at *Bristol Hot Wells* 1st *Jan.* 1786 æta. 40.

7. *William*, born 21st *Jan.* 1749, died 28th *May* 1750.

8. *Henry*, born 25th *Feb.* 1755, for whose education an excellent plan laid down by the late Earl of *Kinnoul*, and his brother the Archbishop of *York*, was followed for some years. On his travels abroad, in which he was attended by Dr *Gillies*, his Majesty's Historiographer, he died at *Lyons* in *France*, 27th *Aug.* 1776, æta. 22.

9. *Lady Sophia*, married at *Hopetoun House* 29th *Apr.* 1779 to *Thomas* Lord *Binning*, only son of *Thomas* seventh Earl of *Haddington*, and has issue.

John

John Earl of *Hopetoun* married secondly at *Balgowan* 30th *Oct.* 1762, *Jean*, daughter of *Robert Oliphant*, of *Rossie* in the county of *Pertb*, by whom he had three children,

10. Lady *Anne*, born 7th *Oct.* 1763, died at *Hopetoun House* 21st *Jan.* 1780, æta. 17.

11. The Hon. *John Hope* of *Craigball* and *Rankeillour* in *Fife*, who after serving some years as a subaltern in the 10th Dragoons, and 27th Foot was in 1789, appointed to the command of a troop of the 17th Dragoons, promoted to the Majority of the 2d battalion of the Royals in 1792; and in 1793, constituted Lieutenant Colonel of the 25th Foot, a regiment in which he had begun his military career, as a volunteer in the grenadier company, in 1779. On the 15th of *July* 1790 he was, by a considerable majority, elected Member of Parliament for the county of *Linlithgow*.

12. Lady *Jean*, married at *London* 2d *Ap.* 1793 to the Right Hon. *Henry Dundas* of *Melville*, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c. &c.

Jean, Countess of *Hopetoun* dying at *Glasgow* 16th *March* 1767, her husband, on the 10th of *June* following, took to his third wife, Lady *Elizabeth Leslie*, daughter of *Alexander* fifth Earl of *Leven*; and by her, who surviving him died at *Edinburgh* 10th *Ap.* 1788, and was buried on the 16th at *Abercorn*, had issue.

13. The Hon. *Charles Hope* of *Waughton* in *East-Lothian*, Major of the 37th-regiment of infantry now serving in *Brabant*. On the 12th of *July* 1790, he was chosen Member of Parliament for the *Kinghorn* district of *Boroughs*.

14. Lady *Elizabeth*.

15. The Hon. *Alexander Hope*, a Lieutenant of the 1st regiment of Foot-guards, appointed in 1793 Major of Brigade to one of the battalions serving abroad, under the command of his R. H. the Duke of *York*.

16. Lady *Charlotte*, married 8th *Aug.* 1793 to *Charles Hope*, Esq. Advocate, Sheriff of *Orkney* and *Zetland*.

17. Lady *Margaret*, married 10th July 1793 to *Alexander Maclean*, of *Ardgower*.

18. Lady *Mary*.

James, the third and present *Earl of Hopetoun*, only surviving son of the first marriage, was educated principally at home, under the immediate inspection of his noble father, till the year 1758, when, not being able to remain an inactive spectator of the just and necessary war in which *Britain* happened at that time to be engaged, his Lordship purchased an Ensign's commission in the third regiment of foot-guards, and served two or three campaigns in *Germany*. In this corps he continued till 1764, when the war being honourably terminated, his Lordship thought proper to quit the army; and for some years afterwards, he was employed in attending, to *Italy* and other countries, his brother Lord *Hope*, upon whose premature death he was, by the articles of Union, obliged to relinquish his intention of offering himself a candidate to represent the county of *Linlithgow*, in which he had the fairest prospect of success. At the first general election after his Lordship's accession to the title of *Hopetoun*, he was chosen, by the Scottish Peerage, one of their sixteen representatives to Parliament, and soon became eminently distinguished in the House of Lords for attention to public affairs, and for the splendid eloquence with which he supported all measures he judged advantageous to the nation, and reprobated such as indicated a contrary tendency.

His Lordship, on the death of his uncle *George*, third Marquis of *Annandale*, 29th Ap. 1792, succeeded to the Earldoms of *Annandale* and *Hartfield*, and to very extensive possessions in *Scotland*, but has not as yet assumed these titles, till a determination of the House of Peers on a claim to the Marquisate is given. His Lordship is Heritable Keeper of *Lochmaben* castle, one of the Extraordinary Managers of the Royal Infirmary of *Edinburgh*, a Trustee of the New College of that city, one of the Directors of the British Wool Society, and a Governor of the Orphan Hospital, to all which bodies he has been a most munificent benefactor; also

also one of the Commissioners of the newly established Board of Agriculture.

His Lordship, on the 16th of *Aug.* 1766, married Lady *Elizabeth Carnegie*, eldest daughter of *George* sixth Earl of *Northesk*; and by her, who died at *Annandale House, London*, 19th *Aug.* 1793, had six daughters.

1. Lady *Anne*, married at *Hopetoun House*, 8th *July* 1792, to *William Hope* Esq. Master and Commander of the Royal Navy, and has one daughter, *Elizabeth*, born 2d *May* 1793.

2. Lady *Jean Elizabeth*, born 27th *Dec.* 1768, died on board the *Britannia* yacht at *Spithead*, 14th *Aug.* 1786, æta. 18, and was buried at *Abercorn*.

3. *Jamima*, born 29th *Jan.* 1770. died 31st *Dec.* 1773.

4. Lady *Georgina*, married at *Annandale* on *Jan.* 24th 1793 to *James* Esq. of *Edinburgh*, M.P. Mayor of *Edinburgh* 21st *Aug.* 1793.

5. Lady *Jamima*.

6. Lady *Lucy*, died *Jan.* 1800.

Creations. Lord *Johnston* of *Lochwood*, 20th *June* 1633. Earl of *Hartfield*, 18th *March* 1643. Earl of *Annandale* and *Hartfield*, Lord *Johnston* of *Lochwood*, *Lochmaben*, *Moffatdale*, *Evandale*, &c. a new patent, with the former precedency, 13th *Feb.* 1661. Earl of *Hopetoun*, Viscount *Aitbrie*, and Lord *Hope*, 15th *April* 1703.

Arms of *Annandale*. Quarterly, 1st and 4th ar. a saltire S. on a chief G. three cushions, O. for *Johnston*, 2d and 3d. O. an anchor in pale, G. for *Fairholm* of *Craigieball*. Crest, on a wreath a spur erect, O. winged, Ar. Supporters, on the dexter fide a lion Ar. armed and langued Az. crowned with an imperial crown, O. on the finifter, a horse Ar. furnished, G. Motto, *Nunquam non paratus*.

Arms of *Hopetoun*. Az. on a chevron between three bezants O. a laurel leaf, proper, (to denote his maternal descent from *Foulis* of *Leadhills*.) Crest, a broken globe, surmounted of a rainbow, proper. Supporters,

two

Drylaw. Herdmansh

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3.

Patrick, born
Oct. 1613

George Fou-
born 2d July

George
July
in int

ly 1681; mar-
Edward Mar-
ards, Co. Edin.

John
17th
5th

3.

George
in
21st
ric

bel, born
7th Aug.
710, died
unmarried.

Margaret,
19th May
died un-
ed.

ls, King's Re-
f Exchequer in
93.

Mar
M
C

4.

James Loch of
Herdmanshiels.

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two women, their hair hanging down, with loose garments, holding anchors in their hands. Motto, *At spes non fracta*.

DRYLAW.

LOCH OF DRYLAW.

THE annexed Pedigree, drawn up from the Registers of *Edinburgh* and *Cramond*, and other authentic documents, will exhibit the descent of a family, which, for a century and a half, enjoyed considerable property, and were in no small estimation in this parish.

LAURISTON.

LAW OF LAURISTON.

THIS branch derives their descent from an antient and respectable family, seated for several ages at *Litbie* in *Fife*, who made no inconsiderable figure, having had the honour of producing an Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *James Law*, thus highly commended by an eminent cotemporary*.

Est coma, Lae! tibi cygnæis æmula plumis;

Pectora sunt multo candidiora comis.

The first of the house of *Lauriston* was *William Law*, who, being a younger son, settled at *Edinburgh*, where he followed the profession of

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* Dr *Arthur Johnston* Physician to King *Charles I.*

a goldsmith, a business at that time partaking more of the nature of a banker's, than of that to which the name is now properly restricted, with such success as to be thereby enabled, in 1683, to make purchase of *Lauriston*. He did not, however, long enjoy that acquisition, for being severely afflicted with the stone, he took a journey to *Paris*, to have the operation of lithotomy performed, but it was done in a manner so unskilful as to occasion his death in that city, about the year 1688.

He married Miss *Jean Campbell*, (a lady whose prudent management retrieved the affairs of the family during the exile of her eldest son,) descended from the noble house of *Argyle*; and had by her eleven children, viz.

1. *Agnes*, born 1st Feb. 1666, married in 1685, to *John Hamilton*, Esq. Writer to his Majesty's Signet.

2. *James*, born 19th Dec. 1667, died in his infancy.

3. *Jean*, born 12th Sep. 1669, married 28th Ap. 1688, to *John Hay*, Esq.

4. *John Law of Lauriston*.

5. *William*, born 14th Sep. 1672, died an infant.

6. *Andrew*, born 22d Nov. 1673, a goldsmith or banker in *Edinburgh*, who married 27th Jan. 1695, *Bethia*, daughter of *John Melville*, of *Murdocairny* in *Fife*, a near relation of the Earl of *Leven* and *Melville*, by whom he had one son *Alexander*, born 22d Feb. 1697, who died in his infancy, and two daughters.

7. *William Law of Lauriston*.

8. *Janet*, born 9th Sep. 1677. } both died unmarried.

9. *Robert*, born 6th Oct. 1678. }

10. *Liliat*, born 19th Oct. 1680, married in 1698 to *James Clerk*, merchant in *Edinburgh*, and secondly, to — *Martin*.

11. *Hugh*, born 10th Jan. 1682, died unmarried*.

John Law of Lauriston, the eldest surviving son, was born at *Edinburgh*,

* Register of Marriages and Baptisms of the city of *Edinburgh*.



I. LAW,
Compt. Gen.



burgh, on the 21st of *April* 1671. From that time to the 1692, a period of twenty-one years, no memorials concerning his education and pursuits have come to my hands; only it appears, that during this period he made a competent progress in literature. The bent of his inclination, however, prompting him to apply, in a particular manner, to the studies of arithmetic and geography, he made himself so complete a master of these branches, as to be able with the utmost facility to resolve the most intricate problems in either; and it was remarked that none more perfectly understood the complex science of Algebra. He likewise bestowed much time and labour to acquire a deep insight into the principles of public and private credit, the state of trade and manufactures, the theory and practice of taxation; and in short, of all circumstances respecting political œconomy in general. The accession of knowledge, resulting from these enquiries, laid the foundations of his future eminence*.

These pursuits, however, were far from engrossing his whole attention; for having received from nature an uncommonly handsome figure, he took care not to be negligent in the acquisition of external accomplishments. For these, indeed, he became so remarkable, even at a very early age, as to be known among his companions by the name of *Jessamy John*; and, as he advanced in years, he was commonly distinguished by the appellation of *Beau Law*. He excelled in the knowledge of all games, whether of chance, skill, or dexterity; and was noted as a most remarkable player at tennis, an exercise much in vogue in *Scotland* towards the close of the last century †.

His studies were, it is said, interrupted by his being taken, while as yet very young, into his father's accounting house; but this situation, however calculated for improving his knowledge of the management of a bank, being by no means agreeable to his taste, he emancipated himself

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therefrom

* *Histoire du Systeme des Finances*, i. 68. *Memoires de Pollnitz*, ii. 245.

† Information from the late Sir *David Dalrymple*, Lord *Hailes*.—*Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, p. 503.

therefrom on the death of that parent, and soon afterwards visited *London*. This step he was probably induced to take from the expectations of increasing, in that capital, his fortune by play, to which he had already become much addicted; but these expectations were at first so far from being realised, that he was on the point of disposing of his paternal inheritance in this parish, to discharge his debts of honour. He was however saved from this mortification by his mother, who advanced him a large sum, took into her own hands the estate of *Lauriston*, which she relieved from every burden, and secured in such a manner as to prevent it from being affected by the imprudence of any of her descendants*.

In *London* Mr *Law's* superior beauty of person, ready wit, and engaging manners, assisted by proper recommendations, and aided by that propensity to deep play for which he was always noted, procured him admittance into some of the first circles, and particularly attracted the attention of the ladies, among whom he had the reputation of being extremely fortunate. This success in affairs of gallantry was, however, attended with very disagreeable consequences, involving him in an unhappy quarrel with one Mr *Wilson*, a gentleman renowned for a similar pre-eminence in personal endowments, which produced a hostile meeting between the parties. In this encounter, Mr *Law* had the good fortune to come off conqueror, laying his antagonist dead upon the spot where they fought †.

He was soon afterwards apprehended and committed to the *King's Bench* prison; some circumstances, which have not come to my knowledge,

* Writs of the estate.—Mr *Law* made a conveyance of the estate of *Lauriston* to his mother, in consequence of certain sums advanced to him; that conveyance is dated 6th *Feb*, 1692, he being then, as the disposition bears, in *London*.

† The particular occasion of this quarrel is variously stated; some say that it arose from the preference shewn to Mr *Law* by Miss *Elizabeth Villiers*, sister of the first Earl of *Yersey*, (afterwards Countess of *Orkney*,) a lady whose wit and accomplishments had power, though unaccompanied with personal charms, to make an impression on the cold breast of King *William III*.

ledge, rendering it unadvisable for him to stand trial*, he found means to make his escape from confinement; on which occasion the following advertisement was published in the *London Gazette* of *Monday 7th Jan. 1694*. "Captain † *John Law*, a Scotchman, lately a "prisoner in the *King's Bench* for murder, aged 26, a very tall, black, "lean man, well shaped, above six foot high, large pock holes in his face, "big high nosed, speaks broad and loud, made his escape from the said "prison. Whoever secures him, so as he may be delivered at the said "prison, shall have FIFTY POUNDS paid immediately by the Marshall of "the *King's Bench* †."

The publication of this advertisement, however, proved ineffectual, Mr *Law* getting clear off, and it was probably at this time that he first visited the continent. He appears to have made good use of the period of his exile, improving his knowledge of finance by observing the different modes of conducting the banks, and managing the public revenues, and

* It would appear, from Lord *Carteret's* speech in the House of Lords 26th Oct. 1721, (to be afterwards noticed) that Mr *Law* had been tried and acquitted for this murder, but that an appeal had been lodged by the relations of the deceased.

† I cannot learn, whether he had the honour of bearing any military commission in this kingdom; but I am informed that he served some time as an officer of the Walloon Guards in *Spain*.

‡ This description, conveying no favourable idea of Mr *Law's* person, occasioned at first no small degree of surprize; but, on communicating my suspicion, that it had been probably drawn up in order to facilitate his escape, which, it is said, was procured by the proper application of money, to the present M. *Law de Lauriston*, that gentleman coincided with the surmise. To manifest, the more strongly, that this had been the case, he had the goodness to order an engraving to be taken from an original portrait of his uncle, reckoned an exact likeness, in his possession; and to transmit me the plate, which, he assures me, was executed with attention and fidelity. The impressions thereof, prefixed to this work, will shew how far the conjecture is well founded. In *Bromley's* catalogue of engraved British portraits, four engravings, or designs, of Mr *Law* are noticed;—1, fol. engraved by *Langlois*;—2, 4to. designed by *Hubert*;—3, 4to. engraved by *des Rochers*;—and 4, 4to. painted by *Rigaud*, and engraved by *F. de Schmidt*. The Earl of *Orford* has in the library at *Strawberry Hill* a beautiful portrait of Mr *Law*, done in crayons by *Rosalba*.

and the state of trade and manufactures, in the foreign countries he passed through; particularly by making himself as much as possible acquainted, upon the spot, with the operations of the mysterious bank of *Amsterdam*, which he was the better enabled to do from officiating, for some time, as secretary to the British Resident in *Holland*. I am sorry that I can give no account of his travels and adventures during this period, and that it is in my power only to say, that he must have returned to his native country before the expiration of the first year of this century, the introduction to his "Proposals and Reasons for Constituting a Council of Trade" being dated at *Edinburgh* 31st Dec. 1700, and it was published there early in the ensuing year.

In this work, he submits to the public, a plan for reviving, encouraging, and promoting the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, then, in consequence of various unfortunate circumstances, particularly the miscarriage of the *Darien* expedition, at a very low ebb, by constituting, by Act of Parliament, a Council of Trade, in whom should be vested the whole of the King's revenues, the Bishop's lands and rents, all charitable mortifications and appropriations, one tenth of all grain raised, and malt made, in the kingdom, one twentieth of all sums sued for at law, one fortieth of all successions, legacies, and sales, and some other articles too long to be enumerated. This great income he proposed to employ (after deducting a stated annual sum for his Majesty's use, and for the salaries of the members of the Council,) in promoting, by all manner of ways, the trade, fisheries, and manufactures of *Scotland*, building work-houses, and purchasing all means and materials for employing, relieving, and maintaining the poor, buying up and keeping at a regular rate the various productions and manufactures of the kingdom, making and maintaining highways, bridges, and harbours; and in other beneficial purposes. He also proposes that the Council should be empowered to dispense with prejudicial monopolies, regulate the weights and measures, punish fraudulent bankrupts, liberate honest debtors who have made a fair surrender of their effects, and seize upon all beggars and vagabonds;

gabonds; and it is further submitted, that all duties upon exports, and upon such imports as are proper to be meliorated or manufactured in the kingdom, should be taken off, one per cent only excepted, but that the duties on all other imports be doubled.

From the exertions of a Council vested with such powers, and possessing revenues so ample, Mr *Law* seems to have entertained the most sanguine hopes that the trade and manufactures of *Scotland* would speedily have been recovered from the calamitous situation in which at that time they were; but the project did not appear in the same light to, and consequently met with no encouragement from, the Supreme Judicature of the kingdom.

This publication had, however, the effect of introducing Mr *Law* to the notice of several great men of this country, and he soon became very intimate with the first Duke of *Argyle*, his sons the Marquis of *Lorn* and Lord *Archibald Campbell*, the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, and other noblemen. Relying on the assistance of these powerful protectors, he, in 1705, offered to Parliament a plan for removing the difficulties *Scotland* then lay under, from the great scarcity of specie, and the insolvency of the Bank, preparatory to and explanatory of which, he published another work, intitled, "Money and Trade considered, with a Proposal for supplying the Nation with Money," printed at *Edinburgh* the same year.

After preliminary observations, tending to shew the insufficiency of gold and silver to serve as money, from their increasing in quantity while the demand lessens, and the superiority of land over all other articles as a foundation for money, being capable of improvement as the demand increases, and the quantity remaining always the same, he therein proposes that Commissioners, to be appointed by, and to act under the controul of, Parliament, should have power to issue notes, and to give them out in any of these three ways, 1st, In the way of loan, at ordinary interest, upon landed security, the debt not to exceed half or two thirds of the value of the land; 2dly, To give out the full price of land in notes, and to

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enter into the possession thereof by wadset, redeemable within a certain period; and 3dly, To give out in notes the full price of land upon sale irredeemably. Thus all the notes being firmly secured on landed property, he asserts that they would not only be equal in value to gold and silver money of the same denomination, but also be preferred to these metals, as not being liable to fall in value like them.

This scheme, although founded on sound and uncontrovertible principles, and supported by the united weight of the court party, and of that called the *Squadron*, (a few monied men excepted) headed by the Duke of *Argyle* and the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, had the fate to be rejected in Parliament, the house passing a resolve, "that to establish any kind of paper credit, so as to oblige it to pass, was an improper expedient for the nation." The rejection of the scheme was occasioned, it is said, by an apprehension that, if it took effect, all the estates in the kingdom would thereby be brought to a complete dependence upon the Government*.

Thus, finding that all his plans, which appear to have been calculated at once to benefit the nation, and to obtain promotion for himself, (it being understood that if the former had been adopted, he was to have been appointed one of the Members of the Council of Trade, and if the last had been followed, a Commissioner of the Bank,) were treated with neglect, it is no wonder that Mr *Law* should resolve to abandon his native country, where he could obtain neither honour nor profit, and try his fortune abroad †. I must again regret that it has not been in my power to make out a connected series of his adventures from his leaving *Scotland* for the second time, to his settling at *Paris* in 1714. During this period, he resided some time at *Brussels*, where he became noted for
 extraordinary

* *Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs*, 144, 145.

† It has been said that he was employed in settling the proportion of the equivalent to be paid by *England* to *Scotland* at the time of the Union. The authority for this assertion is, however, rather questionable, and it appears that he was at *Genoa* so early as the year 1708.

extraordinary success at play, to which his profound skill in calculation did not a little contribute. In two excursions he made to *Paris*, his good fortune became still more conspicuous; Pharaoh was his favourite, and at this game he was accustomed to play at the *Hotel de Gesvres, Rue des Poulies*, at the houses of *Poiffon, Rue Dauphine*, and of *Duclos*, a famous comedian, which were his ordinary haunts, although his company was greatly sought after by persons of the first rank. It is said that he seldom carried with him less than 100,000 livres in gold, every time he went to these places, where the play at last became so deep, that Mr *Law*, finding it was with difficulty his hands could contain the sums to be collected from and distributed among the gamblers at the end of every deal, was obliged to provide himself with counters, rated at 18 louis each, in order to facilitate his operations.

Visiting the principal cities of *Italy*, he continued his speculations, playing at all sorts of games, betting, and engaging in the public funds and banks, with his usual success, particularly at *Rome* in time of the carnival, at *Venice* and *Genoa*, inasmuch that in 1714 he found himself worth upwards of *L. 110,000* sterling. It has been said that his good fortune at play giving umbrage to some people at *Paris*, who could not bear to see a foreigner so successful, they found means to have him represented in the light of a state enemy, to *M. D'Argenson*, Lieutenant General of the Police, who sent orders to Mr *Law* to leave *Paris* within twenty-four hours; and that he found himself in a similar predicament at *Genoa* and *Turin*. After leaving the latter city, he passed some time in travelling through *Germany* and *Hungary*, in his accustomed stile of play and expence*.

Much as Mr *Law* was addicted to gaming, he did not, however, suffer that passion to gain a complete ascendant over his mind. Conscious of his abilities, and sensible of the depth of his knowledge in the art of finance, he ardently longed for an opportunity of bringing both into action.

Y

Accordingly,

* Hist. Syst. i. 70, 71. Oeuvres de *J. Law*, 430.

Accordingly, on his first visit to *Paris*, he found means to procure an introduction to the *Duc de Chartres*, afterwards *Duc D' Orleans*, and Regent of *France*, with whom, as also with *Cbamillard* the then Comptroller General, he held several conferences concerning the possibility of reducing the national debt. On Mr *Law's* coming to *Paris* for the second time, the *Abbé Theful* recommended him to *Desmarets*, successor to *Cbamillard* in the office of Comptroller General, to whom he communicated a plan for remedying the disorders of the finances, but this it was not thought proper to adopt. It has been asserted that this plan being laid by *Desmarets* before *Louis XIV.* the bigotry of that monarch led him, instead of enquiring into the merits of the project, to ask whether the proposer was a Catholic; and on being answered in the negative, to say that he would have nothing to do with a heretic*.

During these various rambles, Mr *Law*, by means of his graceful figure and insinuating manners, was every where well received by persons of the highest quality, sovereign princes themselves taking pleasure in his company and conversation. At *Florence* he became very intimate with the Prince *de Vendome*, at that time Grand Prior of *France*, who did not scruple to ask the loan of a very considerable sum, which Mr *Law* lent him with the best grace in the world. Becoming acquainted at *Neufchatel*, with the Prince of *Conti*, he imparted some of his financial projects to his Highness, who thought so favourably of them as to write on the subject to the Duke of *Burgundy*, grandson of *Louis XIV.* To *Victor Amadeus*, King of *Sardinia*, by whom he was particularly noticed, Mr *Law* communicated a scheme of the same nature as that which was afterwards proposed to the *Duc D' Orleans*; but that monarch declined putting it in practice, saying that his dominions were too small for the execution of so great a design; at the same time mentioning that *France*

was

* *Memoires de la Minorité de Louis XV. par Maffillon, 99. Fragmens des Lettres Originales de Madame Charlotte Elizabeth de Baviere, Veuve de Monsieur, frere unique de Louis XIV. ii. 271.*

was the proper theatre for its performance. If I know the disposition of the people of that kingdom, added he, I am sure they will relish your schemes; and therefore I would advise you to go thither*.

Adopting this salutary advice, Mr *Law* visited *Paris* for the third time in 1714, not long before *Louis XIV.* gave way to fate, bringing with him the whole of his acquisitions during his various rambles and adventures, and fixing his residence in the *Place Vendome, or de Louis le Grand.* After the demise of that monarch, his old friend the *Duc D'Orleans* assuming the government of the Kingdom, as Regent during the minority of *Louis XV.* Mr *Law* renewed his acquaintance with that Prince, who being fond of men of spirit, vivacity and wit, could not fail of being highly delighted with that enterprising foreigner, as he not only possessed these qualities in an eminent degree, but was, besides, of a disposition not less addicted to pleasure and dissipation than his own. Mr *Law* consequently rose to no small degree of favour and intimacy with his Royal Highness, who soon finding the extent of his capacity, and the fertility of his resources, admitted him into all his private parties, and nominated him one of the Counsellors of State. Availing himself of that intimacy, Mr *Law* took care not to neglect every opportunity in his power to draw the attention of the Regent to the state of the French Finances, at that time in a situation accounted desperate by all who pretended to skill in these affairs, the long and expensive wars of *Louis XIV.* having superinduced an enormous weight of debt upon the nation, which groaned under the intolerable load of taxes imposed for payment of the interest. All industry was thus checked; trade in a manner annihilated; manufactures, commerce, and navigation had almost ceased; the merchant and the trader were reduced to beggary, and the artificer was compelled, for want of employment, to leave the kingdom. In short, such was the state of affairs, that it had been debated in Council, and proposed to the Regent, to expunge at once the debts of the state by a

* *Maffillon*, 100. *Pollnitz*, ii. 237.

national bankruptcy. This proposal he nobly rejected, preferring to it the more equitable method of establishing a commission or *Visa*, to enquire into the claims of the state creditors. By this commission the national debt was at last put into a kind of order, and the amount reduced to somewhat more than 2000 millions of livres, which at 28 liv. to the marc of standard silver, (two pounds sterling,) the then denomination of the specie in *France*, made above 142 millions sterling. Of this sum, 1750 millions of livres were established upon particular funds, at the rate of 4 per cent; and for the remaining 250 millions, the creditors obtained *billets d'etat*, as they were called, bearing also an interest of four per cent, making altogether 80 millions of interest *per annum*, which, from the distressed situation of the kingdom, was very irregularly paid; and after doing that, there hardly remained, out of an ill-collected revenue, a sum sufficient to defray the necessary expence of the civil government*.

This calamitous situation of affairs, which would have daunted a man of less spirit and enterprize, had no other effect than to render Mr *Law* more eager to provide some remedy for these evils. The most efficacious mode he judged to be the establishment of a well regulated paper credit; but as this matter was little understood, if not altogether unknown, in *France*, he thought proper, in order to pave the way for its introduction, to translate into French his publication on Money and Trade, and to explain its principles in a series of letters addressed to the *Duc D'Orleans*, and in two memorials presented to that prince. In these he strongly inculcates his favourite maxim, that the power and prosperity of a state increases in proportion to the quantity of money circulating therein; and after asserting that even the richest nations have not specie sufficient to afford full employment to all their inhabitants, and to carry their trade to the height of which it is capable, he launches out
into

* *Duclos*, i. 354. *Stewart's Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, ii. 236.

into encomiums on the advantages of paper credit for supplying that defect. In support of this proposition, he instances the vast benefits accruing to *England* and to *Holland*, from the Banks of *London* and *Amsterdam*; and adduces a variety of arguments to show that the setting up of an establishment of a similar nature, but upon an improved plan, in *Paris*, would be attended with the like good effects to *France* *.

Hoping that by these arguments the Regent was convinced of the utility and necessity of such an establishment, Mr *Law* proposed to set up a Bank, secured upon landed property unalienably engaged, and upon the whole Royal revenues, to be administered in the King's name, but subject to the controul of Commissioners appointed by the States General of the kingdom; blending in this scheme the two plans for establishing a Council of Trade in *Scotland*, and supplying that nation with money, formerly mentioned. This application was, however, ineffectual at that time, as we learn from the preamble of his Majesty's letters patent of 2d *May* 1716, where it is said, that " Mr *Law* having some time since
 " proposed a scheme for erecting a Bank, which should consist of our
 " own money, and be administered in our name, and under our autho-
 " rity, the project was examined in our Council of Finances, where se-
 " veral Bankers, Merchants, and deputies from our trading cities being
 " convened, and required to give their advice, they were unanimous in
 " the opinion, that nothing could be more advantageous to our king-
 " dom, which, through its situation and fertility, added to the industry
 " of its inhabitants, stood in need of nothing more than a solid credit,
 " for acquiring the most extensive and flourishing commerce. They
 " thought, however, that the present conjuncture was not favourable
 " for the undertaking; and this reason, added to some particular clauses
 " of the project, determined us to refuse it †."

Not discouraged by this repulse, Mr *Law* requested permission to set
 up

* *Oeuvres de J. Law, passim.*

† *Memoires de la Regence de S. A. R. Mgr. le Duc d'Orleans, i. 133.*

up a private Bank in his house in the *Place de Louis le Grand*, to be composed entirely of funds furnished by himself and by those who chose to engage in the undertaking, proposing by means thereof to increase the circulation of money, put a stop to the progress of usury, facilitate the exchange between *Paris* and the Provinces, augment the consumption of manufactures, and enable the people the more easily to pay the heavy taxes to which they were subjected. This Bank was accordingly established by letters patent bearing date the 2d and 20th of *May* 1716, containing the following regulations.

The stock of the Bank to consist of 1200 actions, or shares, of 1000 crowns, or 5000 livres each, the denomination being then fixed by law at 40 livres the marc, consequently each share was ^{1000/1.} with *L.* 250, and the whole stock *L.* 300,000 sterling. All persons whatsoever to be at liberty to subscribe for as many shares as they pleased, and it was declared that the Bank securities belonging to, as well as the money lodged in it by, foreigners, should not be subject to any confiscation, or attachment whatsoever, even in case of war with the nations to which the proprietors respectively belonged. All questions to be determined by plurality of votes, those possessing from five to ten to have one vote, from ten to fifteen shares to have two votes, and so on in proportion; but those who had less than five shares were to be secluded from any voice in the management. The accounts to be balanced twice a year, viz. from the 15th to the 20th of *June*, and from the 15th to the 20th of *January*. Two general courts to be held yearly, in which the state of the company's affairs should be discussed, and the dividends settled. The Treasurer never to have more than 200,000 crowns, nor any of the cashiers more than 20,000, in hand at a time; and they were besides obliged to find sufficient security for their intromissions. The notes to be signed by the director, and by one of the proprietors, and to be revised by an inspector appointed by the Regent. The Bank not to undertake any sort of commerce whatever, nor to charge itself with the execution of any commissions; the notes to be all payable at sight, and no money allowed to be borrowed
by

by the Bank on any pretext whatever. Various regulations were added of less importance, and too long to be enumerated in this place.

This association, of which Mr *Law* and his brother *William*, then settled at *London*, were the principal partners, assumed the firm of the General Bank of *Law and Company*, and set out under very favourable auspices, it being known that they enjoyed the protection of the Regent, and a high idea of their solidity being raised by the discourse Mr *Law* unceasingly held in public, that a Banker merited the punishment of death if he issued notes or bills of exchange, without having their effective value in his repositories. But what most attracted the public confidence, was the security their notes provided against the arbitrary practice of varying the standard of the coin at the will of the monarch; an unjustifiable measure, frequently put in execution by the French Government, to the infinite prejudice of debtors and creditors, particularly at the general coinages in 1709 and 1716, by the former of which the King gained $23\frac{2}{7}$ per cent, and by the latter 20 per cent, upon the whole specie of the kingdom. The terms in which the notes of the General Bank were couched, viz, "The Bank promises to pay to the bearer, at sight, the sum of — crowns, *in coin of the weight and standard of this day,*" (of the date of each note) "value received," effectually guarded against this contingency. Let us state by way of example that if one who had paid in, and taken out a Bank note for, 1000 livres or 25 marcs, on the 2d of *June* 1716, when the standard of the specie was settled by law at 40 livres the marc, wanted to exchange it at an after period, when the standard was fixed at 50 livres the marc, he would, on presenting his note, receive 25 marcs, or 1250 livres. The bank was, in like manner, secured from suffering on the contrary supposition. On this account, as well as from the quickness and punctuality of the payments, and the orders given to the officers of the revenue in all parts in the kingdom to receive the paper, without discount, in payment of taxes, the notes of the General Bank in a short time rose to great repute, and were by many preferred to specie, inasmuch that they soon came to pass current

for

for one per cent more than the coin itself. The most beneficial effects were thereby produced on the industry and trade of the nation, the taxes and Royal revenues being by means of the notes remitted to the capital at little expence, and without draining the provinces of specie. Foreigners, who had hitherto been very cautious of dealing with the French, now began to interest themselves deeply in this new Bank; so that the balance of exchange with *England* and *Holland*, soon rose to the rate of 4 and 5 per cent in favour of *Paris*. This Bank subsisted in high credit, to the no small profit of the proprietors *, till the close of the year 1718, when the *Duc D'Orleans*, observing the uncommon advantages resulting from that establishment, resolved to take it into his Majesty's hands, as at first proposed †.

This resolution, it may well be supposed, could not be relished by Mr *Law* and his associates; but whatever were their sentiments, they knew that all opposition to the will of the Regent would be of no avail. They, however, endeavoured to obtain permission to continue the General Bank, at the same time the Royal Bank should be set on foot. This request was refused; and the public were informed, by Act of Council bearing date 4th *Dec.* 1718, that the King had taken Mr *Law's* Bank into his own hands, under the name of the Royal Bank; that his Majesty had reimbursed the former proprietors their shares, and had become answerable for the outstanding notes issued by them, amounting to 59 millions of livres. It was also declared, that no notes should, for the future, be fabricated except in virtue of public acts of the King and Council; and by a posterior edict, his Majesty engaged that the notes should never be subjected to such diminutions as might be made on the specie,

* At a general meeting of the proprietors, held in presence of the Regent, 20th *Dec.* 1717, it was determined to order a dividend of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for six months, which is at the rate of 15 per cent per annum.

† *Stewart*, ii. 250. *Hist. Syst.* i. 79. *Reflexions Politiques sur les Finances et le Commerce*, (par M. *Du Tot*) ii. 109. *Examen du livre intitulé Reflexions Politiques sur les Finances et le Commerce* (par M. *Du Verney*), i. 299.

specie, but that they should always be paid in full. Of this Royal Bank Mr *Law* was named Director General, and branches were fixed at *Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, and Amiens* *.

Thus the Bank being placed in the King's hands departed from the principles of private and mercantile credit, upon which Mr *Law* had originally fixed it, and proceeded upon those of public credit, which in an absolute monarchy, as *France* then was, is no other than that of the Sovereign, and consequently cannot be depended upon. To add to the evil, the tenor of the notes was changed, and ran thus, "The Bank promises to pay the bearer, at sight, — livres in silver coin, value received." By this alteration the money in the notes could not but keep pace with that in the coin, both being equally affected with every arbitrary variation made upon the latter. Mr *Law* did all he could to prevent this alteration, it however took place, and the credit of the notes of the Royal Bank became as good as that of the General Bank notes, although the crowns in the latter contained a fixed and positive value, while the livres in the former could, at any time, have been reduced, at the pleasure of the Monarch, the debtor in them, to the value of halfpence. Of these notes, there were to the amount of 1000 millions of livres fabricated betwixt the 5th *Jan.* and 29th *Dec.* 1719. In *Feb.* 1720, the Royal Bank was incorporated with the Company of the Indies; and from that incorporation, to the 1st of *May* following, there were no less than 1,696,400,000 livres more fabricated in notes, making altogether a total of 2,696,400,000 livres in paper money, of which vast sum 2,235,083,590 livres were in circulation on the 29th of *May* 1720, when the Bank stopped payment, as will be hereafter mentioned †.

After the establishment of the General Bank, Mr *Law* began to develope the plan of that great and stupenduous project he had long meditated,

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ditated,

* *Examen*, i. 226.

† *Stewart*, ii. 240. — The notes were of four denominations, viz. of 10000, 1000, 100, and 10 livres, none being issued for any other sums. The number of each sort was as follows

ditated, known by the name of *The Mississippi System*, which, for a while, turned the heads of the French, and attracted the attention of all Europe; a project that, if carried into full execution, would in all probability have exalted *France* to a vast superiority of power and wealth over every other state. The scheme was no less than the vesting the whole privileges, effects, and possessions of all the Foreign Trading Companies, the Great Farms, the Mint, the General Receipt of the King's Revenues, and the management and property of the Bank, in one great Company, who thus having in their hands all the trade, taxes, and Royal revenues, might be enabled to multiply the notes of the Bank to any extent they pleased, doubling or even trebling at will the circulating cash of the kingdom, and, by the immensity of their funds, possessed of a power to carry the foreign trade, and the culture of the colonies, to a height altogether impracticable by any other means. The outlines of this plan being laid before the Regent, met, it would seem, with the approbation of that Prince, as measures were taken for the establishment of the proposed Company, and directions issued for making the requisite grants to enable them to commence their operations.

Accordingly, by letters patent dated in *Aug. 1717*, a commercial Company was erected, under the name of the Company of the West, to whom was granted the whole Province of *Louisiana*, a country watered, throughout its whole extent, by the great river *Mississippi*, from which last circumstance its subsequent operations came, by way of distinction, to be included under the general name of **THE MISSISSIPPI SYSTEM**. Of
this

113,400	-	of	-	10,000	livres each	-	1,134,000,000
1,223,200	-	-	-	1000	-	-	1,223,200,000
2,992,000	-	-	-	100	-	-	299,200,000
4,000,000	-	-	-	10	-	-	40,000,000
							2,696,400,000

By edict of 19th *Sep. 1720*, notes of 50 livres each, to the extent of 50,000,000 liv. were directed to be made, in order to facilitate the changing of the large notes into small ones.

this company 200,000 *actions*, or shares, were issued, rated at 500 livres each, and the subscription for them was ordered to be paid in *billets d'etat*. These papers were at that time in such discredit, by reason of the bad payment of their interest, that 500 livres nominal value in them would not have yielded in the market more than 150 or 160 livres; but in the subscription they were taken at their full value, which could not fail to operate as a very tempting bait to the holders to lay them out in the purchase of shares. The company thus became creditors to the King, in the sum of 100 millions of livres, the annual rent of which was fixed at the rate of 4 per cent, the first year's interest to be employed for commercial purposes, and the annual rents of the following years to be allotted for paying regularly the dividend, at the rate of 20 livres *per annum* each share, exclusive of their proportion of the profits of the trade*.

Of this Company of the West, Mr *Law* (who had now advanced so high in the Regent's favour, that the whole ministerial power was reckoned to be divided betwixt him, the *Abbe Du Bois* Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. *D'Argenson* Keeper of the Seals,) was named Director General. The actions were eagerly sought after, *Louisiana* having been represented as a region abounding in gold and silver, of a fertile soil, capable of every sort of cultivation. Such was the rage for speculation that the unimproved parts of that country were sold for 30,000 livres, the square league, at which rate many purchased to the extent of 600,000 livres; vigorous preparations were made for fitting out vessels to transport thither labourers and workmen of every kind; and the demand for *billets d'etat*, in order to purchase shares, occasioned the former to rise to their full nominal value †.

The Farmers General of the national revenues now taking the alarm, the four brothers *Paris*, principal managers of that powerful body, act-

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* Examen, i. 211. *Stewart*, ii. 235.

† *Memoires du Marechal Duc de Richelieu*, iii. 26.

ing under the patronage of M. *D'Argenson*, who was become jealous of Mr *Law's* credit with the Regent, formed a project to establish an association to advance large sums secured on the Farms and the other branches of the public revenue. This project, which was an awkward imitation of Mr *Law's* system, and on account of its opposition thereto called the *Anti Systeme*, came to nothing; and on the 4th of *Sept.* 1718, the Farm of Tobacco was made over to the Company of the West, who agreed to pay 2,020,000 livres advanced rent to the King. On the 15th *Dec.* following, they acquired the charter and effects of the Senegal Company; but, by far the most important grant was that made in *May* 1719, when an edict was published, transferring to them the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies, China, and the South Seas, together with all the possessions and effects belonging to the China and India Companies, on condition of paying the lawful debts of these Companies now dissolved. The Company of the West assumed, on this occasion, the title of the Company of the Indies; 50,000 new shares were ordered to be constituted, rated at 550 livres each, payable in coin, to be employed partly in satisfying the creditors of the old Companies, and partly in building of vessels, and in other preparations for carrying on the trade. The price of actions quickly rose to 1000 livres, the hopes of the public being raised by the favourable prospects of possessing a very lucrative branch of commerce*.

On the 25th of *July* 1719, the Mint was made over to the Company of the Indies, for a consideration of 50 millions of livres, to be paid to the King within fifteen months; and 50,000 new shares, rated at 1000 livres each, were directed to be issued, in order to raise that sum. On the 27th of *Aug.* following, the Regent took the Great Farms out of the hands of the Farmers General, and made over the lease to the Company of the Indies, on their agreeing to pay 3,500,000 livres advanced rent for them; thus relieving the people from the exactions of that powerful body,

* Hist. Syst. i. 110. Examen, i. 241. *Stewart*, ii. 254.

body, under whose management the taxes became quite intolerable, not so much from their own weight, as the oppressive mode of levying them. On the 31st of the same month, the Company obtained the general receipt of other branches of the King's revenue. When they had acquired all these grants, and had thus concentrated in themselves the whole foreign trade and possessions of France, and the collection and management of all the Royal revenues of that kingdom, they promised an annual dividend of 200 livres on every share, the consequence of which was, that the price of actions instantly rose in the market to 5000 livres, the public run upon the last creation of 50,000 with such eagerness, that nearly double the requisite sum was subscribed for, and the greatest interest was exerted, and every stratagem put in practice, to secure places in that subscription. The names of the stockholders were not declared for some weeks, and during that interval, according to Lord *Stair*, Mr *Law's* door was kept shut, while all the people of quality in France appeared on foot in hundreds, before his house in the *Place Vendome* *.

The Company now came under an obligation to lend the King, in order that he might pay off his creditors, the sum of 1500 millions of livres, at the rate of 3 per cent *per annum*, and to this rate the interest of the 100 millions formerly lent to his Majesty, (in *billets d'etat* on the first fabrication of actions, at 4 per cent,) was also reduced; the King consequently had to pay them, in all, 48 millions a year. To raise this sum of 1500 millions, there were, in the months of *Sept.* and *Oct.* 1719, 300,000 new actions created, the subscription for which was fixed at 5000 livres each. The actions were thus brought to their full number of 600,000 (for it is needless to take any notice of 24,000 more fabricated on the 4th of *Oct.* 1719, by the private orders of the Regent, but afterwards suppressed,) and to answer the dividends upon these the Company had, according to some, the following annual revenue, viz.

Interest

* Examen, ii. 245. Lord *Stair's* Letters, in the *Hardwicke* Collection of State Papers, ii. 597.

	liv.
Interest paid by the King to the Company	48,000,000
Profits upon the Great Farms	15,000,000
Ditto upon the Mint	4,000,000
Ditto upon the Farm of Tobacco	2,000,000
Ditto upon the General Receipt of Taxes	1,500,000
Ditto upon their Trade	10,000,000

making a total of 80,500,000 livres, open to be improved by the extension of their commerce abroad, and by a good administration at home. Other writers on the subject, however, computed the annual revenue of this great Company at no less than 131 millions, viz. 48 millions interest from the King, 39 millions profits upon the Farms, the Mint, and the Receipt of Taxes, and 44 millions profits upon their trade; in which case they could well afford a dividend of even more than 200 livres on every share*.

The covetousness which these prospects of immense profit in some measure, but principally the prodigious fortunes acquired by the original proprietors, excited among all ranks, was such as no nation had ever beheld before. An universal infatuation for the acquisition of shares in the India Company now seemed to occupy the whole kingdom, from the lowest of the people up to Magistrates, Prelates, and Princes †.

This

* *Stewart*, ii. 257. *Refl. Politiq.* i. 271.

† The following extract from a commission of the office of Comptroller General of the Finances by Mr *John Law*, a satirical piece, will illustrate what is stated above of the infatuation of all ranks to engage in the Mississippi.

———Les plaisans viremens,
Et continuels changemens
Que l'on a vu dans le Royaume
De *Quinquempoix* et de *Vendome*,
Et Principaute de *Soissons*.
Ou l'achat et le dividend
Causoient un rumeur si grande,
Qu'on ne vit jamais tant des rats

This infatuation, of which, at the present day, we can scarcely form a conception, increased in proportion to the difficulty of succeeding in that view; for the whole 300,000 actions of the last fabrication, being, by a particular agreement, kept up in order to be sold to the Regent, who had also got possession of 100,000 of these formerly issued, no more than 200,000 remained in the hands of the public, and only a part thereof, quite inadequate to the demand, was now brought to market. The frenzy prevailed so far, that the whole nation, clergy and laity, peers and plebeians, statesmen, princes, nay even ladies, who had or could procure money for that purpose, turned stockjobbers, outbidding each other with such avidity, that in *Nov.* 1719, the price of shares rose, after some fluctuations, to above 10,000 livres each;—more than sixty times the sum they originally sold for, when the discredit of the *billets d'etat* is taken into the account*.

So much indeed were the people interested in this business, that nothing was talked of but actions, and every place echoed with *Mississippi* and

Obseder gens de tous etats ;
 Mari, femme, garçon, et fille,
 Laquais, servantes, la famille
 En un mot, sans rien excepter,
 Venit jouer et blanqueter.
 La de tous pais et provinces,
 Merchants, magistrats, artisans ;
 Prelats, guerriers et courtisans,
 Ducs et pairs, meme des princes
 Non du pais, mais bien forains,
 Accouroient comme des essaims,
 Malgre vent, grele, pluye, et crotte,
 Pour y jouer a la marotte,
 En beaux et bons deniers comptans,
 Contre les voleurs calotines,
 Dont la *France* et terres voisines
 Se pourront souvenir long tems.

Memoires de Pollnitz, ii. 241.

* *Siecle de Louis xv.* par *Voltaire*, iii. 11.

and *Quinquempoix* *. All classes appeared to have but one object, the acquisition of shares of the India Company; mechanics laid by their work, tradesmen forsook their shops, all degrees entirely neglected their professions and employments, to embark in this new occupation; and the few that did not proceed to that extreme, conducted themselves in a manner calculated to manifest the little concern they took in affairs foreign to the *Mississippi*. One of this last description, M. *Chirac*, principal physician to the Regent, on his way to visit a female patient, having been informed that the price of actions was falling, was so affected by that piece of news that he could think of nothing else; and accordingly, while holding the lady's pulse, kept exclaiming, O good God, it falls, it falls. The invalid, naturally alarmed, began to ring the bell with all her force, crying out that she was a dead woman, and had almost expired with apprehension, till the doctor assured her that her pulse was in a very good state, but that his mind ran so much upon actions, that he came to utter the expressions that terrified her, in reference to the fall of their value. That learning herself could not shield her votaries from the infection, appears from the following circumstance. M. *de la Morbe* and the *Abbe Terrasson*, two of the ablest scholars in *France*, conversing together on the madness of the *Mississippi* adventurers, congratulated themselves on their superiority over all weaknesses of that nature; and indulged themselves in ridiculing the folly of the votaries of the fickle goddess. But it so happened that they met, not long afterwards, face to face in the *Rue Quinquempoix*; at first they endeavoured to avoid each other, but finding that impracticable, put the best look possible on the matter, rallied each other, and separated in order to make the most advantageous bargains they could. The courtiers, according to their usual custom of following implicitly the royal example, engaged so deeply in this business, that it was said only five persons of that description, (the *Marechals de Villeroy* and *de Villars*, the *Ducs de St Simon*

* The street where the stockjobbing was at first carried on.

mon and *de la Rochefoucauld*, and the Chancellor), had kept free from the contagion. The Marechal *Duc de Richelieu* relates, that those who did not embark in the Mississippi were looked upon as no better than cowards or fools *.

The negociations for the sale and purchase of actions were, at first, carried on in the *Rue Quinquempoix*, to the no small emolument of the occupiers of houses in that street, lodgings letting at so high a rate, that a house rented at 800 livres a year, yielded from 6000 to 16,000 livres a month, and even single apartments were let at the rate of a pistole a day. A cobbler, who wrought in a stall formed of planks set up against the garden wall of M. *Tourton* the famous banker, bethought himself of furnishing his little shop with a few chairs for the accommodation of the ladies that came out of curiosity to see the crowd; by which, and by supplying the brokers with pens and paper, he earned no less than 200 livres a day. At length, it becoming impossible for all to procure even that humble accommodation, most of the stockjobbers transacted their business in the open air. So great was the concourse, that all the avenues leading into the *Rue Quinquempoix* were quite choaked up by break of day, and the crowd still continued to increase till the evening bell was rung, when they were obliged to be driven away by force †. It was therefore proposed to remove the business to a more commodious situation, and the execution of this measure was accelerated by the murder and robbery of a rich stockjobber, committed on the 22d *March* 1720, by a young Flemish Nobleman, Count *Horn*, and two associates, who, under pretence of bargaining for actions, conducted the

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unfortunate

* *Fragm. ii. 273. Duclou, Memoires Secretes sur les Regnes de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV. ii. 114. Richelieu, iii. 25. Pollnitz, ii. 240.*

† The Memoirs of the Regency (Vol. ii. 331.) take notice of a hump-backed man, who in the course of a few days acquired 150,000 livres by letting out his hump as a writing desk to the brokers in the *Rue Quinquempoix*. A plan of *Paris* being about this time laid before *Louis XV.* then only ten years of age, the young Monarch found fault with it, because that street was not distinguished from the others by gilding.

unfortunate man to a tavern in the *Rue de Venise*, and there dispatched him with a poignard. The Count, who was only 22 years of age, being taken the same day, was condemned to be broken alive on the wheel; and this sentence was accordingly inflicted in the *Place de Greve* on the 26th of *March*, notwithstanding he was allied to several sovereign houses, and related to the *Duc d'Orleans* himself. The greatest interest was made to save his life; but all solicitations on that head were unavailing, Mr *Law* convincing the Regent of the absolute necessity of making a severe example of that criminal, at a time when many carried their whole fortunes in their pockets*.

The very day that this murder was committed, the Council issued an edict, expressly prohibiting all persons, of what degree soever, from assembling in the *Rue Quinquempoix*, for the purpose of selling or buying stock, and discharging the keeping of offices for their reception in that street. For some time afterwards, the stockjobbers and brokers were left to meet where they could; but in the month of *June*, the paper traffic was transferred to the *Place Vendome*. The superb hotels of which that magnificent square (or rather octagon) consisted, not being calculated for the establishment of offices for transacting business, a number of tents were for that purpose pitched in the area. Of these, some served for the accommodation of the stockjobbers, others were destined for places of refreshment, and a third set was occupied by gamesters playing at quadrille, and drawing lotteries of jewels. All the world flocked to this spot, ladies of the highest quality delighted to walk there of an evening, and the concourse was so great, that the famous Fair of *Beaucaire* appeared a desert in comparison. The excessive noise so prodigious a resort could not fail to occasion, was productive of so much disturbance, that the Chancellor complained he was thereby prevented from attending to the causes in the Chancery, which is situated in the

Place

* *Memoires de la Regence*, ii. 331, 392. *Duclos*, ii. 96. *Hist. Syst.* iii. 119—134, 182, 194.

Place Vendome. Mr *Law* thereupon agreed with the Prince of *Carignan* for the purchase of the *Hotel de Soissons*, at the enormous price, as is said, of 1,400,000 livres, and in the gardens belonging to that edifice about 600 pavilions, each rated at 500 livres a month, were disposed in regular order, beautifully interspersed with trees and fountains. To oblige the brokers to make use of them, an ordonnance was issued, prohibiting, under severe penalties, any bargain for stock to be concluded, except in one of these pavilions, and the business was accordingly carried on there, till the 8th of *Nov.* 1720, when all persons were finally discharged from assembling for the purpose of stockjobbing in any place whatever*.

The unexampled rise of the price of actions afforded an opportunity to several obscure and low individuals to acquire at once princely fortunes; and these rapid revolutions could not fail to be productive of many laughable occurrences, such as the following. A footman had gained so much that he provided himself with a fine carriage; but the first day it came to the door, he, instead of stepping into the vehicle, mounted up to his old station behind. Another, in a similar predicament, brought himself well off by pretending he got up only to see if there was room on the back for two or three more lacqueys, whom he was resolved to hire instantly. Mr *Law's* coachman had made so great a fortune, that he asked a dismissal from his service, which was readily granted, on condition of procuring another as good as himself. The man thereupon brought two coachmen, told his master they were both excellent drivers, and desired him to make choice of one, at the same time saying that he would take the other for his own carriage. One night at the opera, a *Mademoiselle de Begond* observing a lady enter, magnificently dressed, and covered with diamonds, jogged her mother; and said, I am much mistaken if this fine lady is not *Mary* our cook. The report spread through the theatre till it came to the ears of the lady,

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* *Hist. Syst.* iii. 168. iv. 5. 72. vi. 69. *Duclos*, ii. 115.

dy, who, coming up to *Madame de Begond*, said " I am indeed *Mary* " your cook, I have gained large sums in the *Rue Quinquempoix*, I love " fine clothes and fine jewels, and am accordingly dressed in them. I " have paid for every thing, am in debt to nobody, and pray what person in this place can say as much?" At another time, some persons of quality beholding a gorgeous figure alight from a most splendid equipage, and enquiring what great lady that was, one of her lacqueys answered, " A woman who has tumbled from a garret into a carriage." One of these upstarts, finding himself enriched beyond his utmost expectations, hastened to a coachmaker's, and ordered a berlin to be made in the finest taste, lined with the richest crimson velvet and gold fringe, and went away after leaving 4000 livres as earnest. The coachmaker running after him to enquire what arms were to be put on the carriage, was answered " Oh, the finest, the finest by all means." A quondam footman, sitting in a newly acquired carriage, having his way impeded by another belonging to an officer, their servants quarrelled, and the former having made use of some improper expressions, the officer obliged him to alight; and putting his hand to his sword, the other took to his heels, crying out, *Brethren* of the livery, come to my assistance. But perhaps the drollest circumstance that occurred, was what happened to one *Brignaud*, (son of a baker at *Toulouse*,) who being desirous of having a superb service of plate, purchased the whole articles exposed for sale in the shop of a goldsmith for 400,000 livres, and sent them home to his wife, with orders to set them out properly for supper, to which he had invited many persons of distinction. The lady, not understanding the business, arranged the plate according to her fancy, and without regard to their real use; so that when supper was announced, the guests could not forbear from indulging in peals of laughter to see the soup served up in a basin for receiving the offerings at church, the sugar in a censer, and chalices holding the place of salt-fellers, while most

most of the other articles were fitter for a toilet than a fileboard*.

Mr *Law* now blazed a meteor of unequalled splendor, having arrived at a pitch of power and consequence, (*summa ad fastigia rerum*.) that required a strength of intellect almost supernatural to be able to support undazzled. He saw himself perpetually followed by, and his levee constantly crowded with, Princes, Dukes and Peers, Marechals and Prelates, who all humbled themselves before his shrine with the utmost submission, while he treated them at times in a stile of consummate haughtiness. Of this *Archibald* Duke of *Argyle* used to relate a remarkable instance. His Grace, then Earl of *Ilay*, going to wait upon Mr *Law* by appointment, found the antichambers filled with many of the highest quality

* Mem. Reg. ii. 328—330. Hist Syst. iii. 72.

It may perhaps require some explanation how so many low persons should acquire large fortunes from nothing, in so short a time, but independent of the rise in the price of actions, various indeed were the ways of doing so during the *Mississippi* contagion. Some, either unable or unwilling to go to the *Rue Quinquempoix* to dispose of their shares, trusted them to others, who received orders to sell for a certain sum. On their arrival, they commonly found the price risen, and without scruple put the difference into their own pockets. A gentleman falling sick sent his servant to dispose of 250 shares, for 8000 livres each; and he sold them at the rate of 10,000 livres, making a profit of 500,000 livres, which he appropriated to himself, and by other lucky adventures increased that sum to upwards of 2 millions. A person deputed to sell 200 shares for another, kept himself concealed for some days, during which time their price rose so high that he cleared near a million of livres of profit, giving back to his employer, who had been hunting him in vain, only the market rate of the day on which he was sent to dispose of the actions. One *De Yofier*, trusted with the like number of shares, to sell for 550 livres each, disappeared, but coming back when the system was at its height, profited immensely by disposing of them at a price greatly advanced. It is likewise to be observed, that several fluctuations in the price of actions happened even in the same day, infomuch that it was not unusual for a stockjobber, by selling with one hand and buying with the other, to come out of the *Rue Quinquempoix* in the evening, with the same number of shares he had carried with him in the morning, and 200,000 livres of profit. Gambling also was carried to such a height, that it was common for one to lose or win above a million in a day. Hist. Syst. ii. 166.

quality in *France*; but being, by special orders, admitted into his private apartments, beheld the great man writing what, from the number and rank of those left to wait his leisure, he naturally concluded to be dispatches of the utmost consequence. Upon mentioning these surmises to his old friend, it was with no small surprize his Lordship learned that he was only writing to his gardener at *Lauriston* to plant cabbages on a particular spot. After this important epistle was concluded, he desired the Earl to play a party at picquet, and they accordingly sat down to that game, at which they continued for a good while, till at length the great man thought proper to give orders for the admission of his humble supplicants *. The Baron *de Pollnitz* observes, in his *Memoirs*, that he has seen Dukes and Peers of *France* waiting in Mr *Law's* antichambers like the meanest subjects, and that at last there was no getting near him without seeing the Swiss porters for entrance at the gate, the lacqueys for admittance into the antichamber, and the valets for the privilege of access to his presence chamber or closet. The audiences too were very short, and the people were quickly dismissed with very little merchandise for a great deal of money †.

Those were now reckoned supremely blest, who could obtain one word or one smile from that sole dispenser of the favours of fortune; and nothing

* Notwithstanding this well authenticated anecdote, it appears from the *Memoires de Pollnitz*, and Madame's letters, that Mr *Law* was by no means puffed up with the adulation lavishly bestowed on him; but that in general he behaved in an extremely polite and civil manner to every body. He was particularly attentive to such of his countrymen as were properly recommended to him. My aunt Mrs *Philp* informs me, that her father, the late Dr *Alexander Monro* of *Auchinbowie*, Professor of Anatomy in the University of *Edinburgh*, visiting *Paris* at this period, waited upon Mr *Law*, to whom he had letters of introduction. His reception from that minister was highly flattering; and he was accustomed to say, that the Comptroller General was one of the easiest, most affable, and best behaved men he had ever seen, and bestowed so much time and attention on him, as was perfectly astonishing when the number, the variety and the importance of the pursuits in which he was then engaged, were considered.

† Duclos, ii. 72. *Pollnitz*, ii. 244.

thing could afford a disinterested spectator more amusement than to observe the people running in crowds, pressing each other to death, only to be seen by Mr *Law* or his son, as if one of their glances had the power to enrich those upon whom it happened to fall. The former was so much plagued with suitors for actions, that he could hardly get a moment of rest either by day or night, every kind of stratagem being put in practice, and no money spared, to procure admission into his presence, even at the most unseasonable hours. Of all his solicitors, the most importunate were the ladies, who pestered him incessantly. Madame, the Regent's mother, in one of her letters, asserts that "*Si Laws vouloit, les femmes Francoises lui baiseroient la derriere,*" all ideas of decency and delicacy being completely absorbed by the more potent power of avarice; and she gives the following very striking instance of the truth of her assertion. "*Un jour qu'il donnoit audience a des dames, il voulut se retirer, ayant un si grand besoin de pisser qu'il n'y tenoit plus. Ces dames lui retinrent, il leur enfin fit confidence du besoin qui le pressoit. Oh, si ce n'est que cela, dirent elles, cela ne fait rien; pissiez toujours, et écoutez nous. Et elles resterent avec lui pendant tout le tems!*"*.

I should have hesitated in inserting this anecdote, so extremely strange, and so repugnant to every principle of delicacy, on so slight and doubtful an authority; but its truth seems confirmed beyond a doubt, since the Marechal *Duc de Richelieu*, in his lately published Memoirs, says, "*Law jouissoit alors a Paris du respect de tous les ordres de l'etat, les Duchesses lui baisoient les mains, et les Princes lui rendoient frequemment des visites. Pressé un jour d'audience par un grand concours de personnes qui avoient a lui parler, et voulant se retirer pour des besoins urgens, les dames lui dirent, Monseigneur, si vous n'avez d'autre besoin que celui de pisser, ne vous en allez pas, pissiez ici, et écoutez nous. Law sans s'etonner usa de la permission, et pissa en pleine assemblee †.*"

Madame relates other instances of the importunity of her sex. One
Madame

* *Fragm. ii. 274.*

† *Richelieu, iii. 374.*

Madame de Poucha had strained every nerve to be admitted to a dinner at Madame de Simiani's, where Mr Law was to have been present; but all her endeavours were ineffectual, it being known he did not chuse to see her. She then bethought herself of ordering her coach to be driven before the house at dinner time, and directed the coachmen and lacqueys to give the alarm of fire, which made all the guests rise from table, and run into the street. On Mr Law's appearance, she jumped out of her carriage to accost him, but he took to his heels the moment he beheld her face*.

Another lady, more adventurous, gave orders to her coachman to overturn her carriage whenever he came near Mr Law. She, however, was the first that perceived him, whereupon she roared out, "Overturn the carriage now, you rascal, overturn the carriage." The man did so accordingly; and Mr Law courteously coming to her assistance, the lady confessed that she had given such orders, in hopes thereby to have a chance of procuring the honour of speaking to him, an honour to which she could not otherwise have presumed to aspire †.

An old lady was so particularly eager and importunate in discourse with Mr Law, that not attending sufficiently to her expressions, in place of saying, "*Faites moi un concession,*" she addressed him in these words, "*Ab Monsieur faites moi je vous en prie une conception.*" He could not refrain from laughing at this droll slip of the tongue, and replied, "*Vous venez trop tard, il n'y a pas moyen a present ‡*"

Mr Law's family and connections participated of this universal adulation and courtship. The Regent desiring to have a Duchess to perform a particular piece of etiquette, that of conducting his daughter, the Princess of Modena to Genoa, somebody told him to send to Lady Catherine Law's, and he would be sure of finding all the Duchesses in the
kingdom

* Fragm. ii. 275.

† Fragm. ii. 276.

‡ Fragm. ii. 278.

kingdom there; although the insolence of that lady was so great, that she was accustomed to say, there was not a more tiresome animal in the world than a Duchess. Her son had the high honour of being named to dance with the young King, *Louis XV.* in a most superb ballet, directed by the *Marechal de Villeroy*. Miss *Law*, though then extremely young, was asked in marriage by several of the first families in Europe, particularly by the prince of *Tarente*; and having issued cards of invitation for a ball, every person who pretended to any distinction thought it incumbent, upon them to attend it. The Nuncio, coming among the first, paid his compliments to the young Queen of the Assembly by kissing her; which was, even at that time, reckoned an extraordinary mark of condescension in the representative of the Pontiff †.

The situation of *France*, in *Nov. 1719*, is thus described by a cotemporary writer. "The Bank Notes were just so much real value which credit and confidence had created in favour of the state. Upon their appearance, Plenty immediately displayed herself through all the towns and all the country; she relieved our citizens and labourers from the oppression of debts which indigence had obliged them to contract; she enabled the King to liberate himself from great part of his debts, and to make over to his subjects more than 52 millions of livres of taxes which had been imposed in the years preceding 1719; and more than 35 millions of other duties extinguished during the Regency. This plenty sunk the rate of interest, crushed the usurer, carried the value of lands to 80 and 100 years purchase, raised up stately edifices both in town and country, repaired the old houses which were falling to ruin, improved the soil, gave an additional relish to every fruit produced by the earth. Plenty recalled those citizens whom misery had forced to seek their livelihood abroad. In a word, riches flowed in from every quarter; gold, silver, precious stones, ornaments of every kind which contribute to luxury and magnificence, came to us from every country

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in

† *Duclos*, ii. 73. *Hist. Syst.* ii. 19. *Fragm.* ii. 271.

in Europe. Whether these prodigies or marvellous effects were produced by art, by confidence, by fear, or by whim if you please, one must agree, that that art, that confidence, that fear, or that whim, had operated all these realities, which the antient administration never could have produced. Thus far the System had produced nothing but good, every thing was commendable, and worthy of admiration *."

Such, according to an eye-witness, were the advantages resulting to the French, from the establishment of public credit among them. Money now circulated in the utmost profusion, all ranks of people indulged themselves in every species of luxury, and the prices of commodities rose excessively †. Strangers of every nation flocked in great numbers to *Paris* to speculate in the stocks, insomuch that it was computed there were no less than 305,000 foreigners in that capital in *November* 1719, the consequence of which was a prodigious influx of wealth into the kingdom. The very granaries and magazines were filled with inhabitants; and so great was the crowd of equipages set up, that it was scarcely possible to pass through any street without the utmost difficulty, and even danger of hurting or killing some of the numerous passengers. Fine clothes were so much sought after, that the shops in *Paris* were completely stripped of all the velvet and cloth of gold exposed for sale. On this account, several remarked, that the winter season of this year exhibited more splendor and brilliancy than the finest summer ever seen before ‡.

When

* Ref. Politiq. ii. 330.

† The ell or cloth of 15 liv. sold for 50 liv. and a pound of coffee rose from 50 sols to 18 liv. Artificers who used to work for 15 sols, now would not take less than 3 liv. a day. By an account taken from the books of the silversmiths of *Paris*, it appeared, that in the course of three months, they had made no less than 120,000 dozens of plates, besides dishes answerable; reckoning each dozen at L. 60, the total value of them alone comes to L. 7,200,000. Such was the prodigality of some of the stockjobbers, that an instance occurred where one of them gave 200 liv. for a single wood-hen for his dinner; and green pease at 100 pistoles the pint have been served up at some tables.

‡ Hist. Syst. ii. 105. *Richelieu*, iii. 37.

When this apparently flourishing posture of affairs was contrasted with the lamentable situation in which *France* was plunged at the death of *Louis XIV.* it is no wonder that Mr *Law*, who was considered as the author of all that prosperity, should be reckoned, as it were, the Saviour of the kingdom. He was perfectly idolized by the people, who looked on him as no way inferior to the King and the Regent, the mob being accustomed to cry out, Long live Mr *Law*, whenever he appeared in public. The popular veneration was still further increased by his making, along with lady *Catherine* and his son and daughter, a public profession of the Roman Catholic Religion, which was done with great pomp in the church of the Recollects at *Méun.* in *December 1719.* In order to manifest his zeal and sincerity, he communicated, and made the bread offering, at *St Roch*, his parish church, on Christmas day; and was constituted Honorary Church Warden thereof, in room of the *Duc de Noailles*, on which occasion he made a present of 500,000 liv. to complete the building of that edifice. At this season his liberality to the distressed was boundless; he distributed another sum of 500,000 liv. among the English at *St Germain en Laye*, whose pensions had been suppressed; and having, some time afterwards, ordered several vessels to be freighted with the finest fish that could be procured, for supplying the inhabitants of *Paris* during lent, it so happened that owing to a long continuance of contrary winds, the first ship did not arrive till Easter Eve. He thereupon distributed gratuitously the whole cargo of the fleet among the Mendicant Friars, and other poor communities. He likewise bestowed vast sums in alms, and contributed largely to hospitals and other charitable foundations, besides making many very valuable presents to individuals*.

The only obstacle to his advancement being removed by his conversion, Mr *Law* was, on the 5th of *Jan. 1720,* declared Comptroller General of the Finances of *France*, by which he became in name, what he

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* Mem. Reg. ii. 369.

was before in effect, First Minister of State. Thus the admiring world beheld an obscure foreigner, by the mere force of extraordinary genius and abilities, rise in the course of a few months from a private condition, to the high station of Prime Minister of the politest nation in Europe, which he governed for some time with almost absolute power. It must be mentioned, to his honour, that he voluntarily gave up the whole perquisites as well as the salary, annexed to his office; and he was so little addicted to luxury and extravagance, as to take care that the most regular order and strictest propriety should be observed in the management of his household, while, at the same time, his dress was remarked for its plainness and simplicity. All ranks now vied with each other in paying court to the new Premier; the Academy of Sciences elected him one of their honorary members; and the followers of the muses spared no pains in culling the choicest flowers of the gardens of *Parnassus* to form wreaths for adorning his temples, some specimens of which the reader will find in the subjoined note †. It was now said, that he was to be raised to the

peerage

† *Illustrissimo nobilissimoque D. D. Law, incomparabilis ingenii Viro,*

EPIGRAMMA.

Pallas inexhaustæ præcellens lumine mentis
 Concilio in superum talia dicta dedit;
 Insuetum tentemus opus, junctique creamus
 Mortalem, ingenii qui fit imago mei.
 Sese operi accingunt superi, tandemque crearunt
 Mortalem optatum, *Lawius* ille fuit.

De quodam ludi genere apud Micissippippos.

Luserunt luduntque etiam civesque, ducesque,
 Et plebs, externis turbaque missa plagis;
 Nemo perdidit; ditat se quisque; Deorum
 Talem quis ludum finxit, Apollo refer.
 Consultus, mora nulla fuit, respondit Apollo,
 Mortalis finxit, non Deus illud opus.

peerage by the title of *Duc de Tancarville*, and that the office of Grand Treasurer was to be revived, and bestowed on him. At this period he had,

At cunctos inter mortales fingere ludum
Talem quis poterat?—*Lawius* unus erat.

Eidem illustrissimo nobilissimo Viro, Philosophorum Principi.

Inventâ fecere Sophi fibi nomen ab arte;
Hactenus at solum re fine nomen erat.
Nummos mille modis augendi *Lawius* artem
Invenit, hæc veros ars facit una Sophos.

Obtulit P. *St John*, Poëta Regius.

D. Domino Joanni Law viro illustrissimo, in Scotiæ Scotorumque laudem, Elegia.

Quas tibi pro meritis cantabo carmine laudes,
Scotia! quæ potero dicere digna tui?
Scotus dat *Gallis* normam, legesque perennes,
Et regem et regnum captat amore suo.
Sed quis et in populo miretur talia dicta,
Ingeniumque tanti, ponderet ipse viri,
Divitias altas cunctis e finibus orbis
Attrahit, et *Martis* non timet ille manum.
Quæ divisa alii faciunt per sæcula multa,
Ille suo ingenio, vel meliora facit;
Ferræa sæcla abeunt, veniunt en aurea nobis!
Flumina nunc lactis, flumina mellis eunt.
Quisquis dives erit, nemo est jam pauper in urbe,
Argenti pondus fluminis instar abit.
Tot veniunt *Angli*, *Batavi*, gentisque superbae,
Ut credas ullas vix habitare domos.
Mazarin, *Colbert*, *Louvois*, cunctique ministri,
Non Scotum poterat æquiparare virum.
Omnia consilia fiunt hæc legis et arte
Consilium legis, Regis, et Urbis idem.
Si numerare licet quæ *Scotos* fecit ab annis,
Humani generis vix ea facta putes.

Accipe

had, without any sollicitation on his part, a pardon sent him from *England* for the murder of *Mr Wilson*; his native city of *Edinburgh*, proud of having produced so great a man, transmitted to him the freedom thereof in a gold box of the value of *L. 300 sterling* *; and he negotiated with *Lord Londonderry* for the purchase of *Pitt's* famous diamond, long the brightest jewel in the French Crown †.

A British nobleman who at that time visited *Paris*, said, in a public advertisement, that *Mr Law* appeared a Minister far above all the past age had known, the present could conceive, or the future could believe; that he had established public credit in a country that was become a proverb for the breach of it; and that he had shewn the French people that *Louis XIV.* was not able, with his unlimited authority, to take more away from, than he had restored to, them ‡.

During these important transactions, and for some years preceding, the place of Ambassador from *England* to the Court of *Paris* was filled by the Earl of *Stair*, a nobleman as much distinguished for courage and conduct in the field as for ability in the cabinet. Several of his letters

Accipe *Louidoici*, queis tu cumularis honores;
 Accipe, sunt animi munera digna tui.
 Perge, age, velivolum duc puppim in altum,
 Et faveant cœptis prospera fata tuis.
 Artis cultores, cum sis qui diligis omnes,
 Sis mihi consilium, præsidiumque rogo.

Tui observantissimus

Barry.

A striking likeness of *Mr Law* being engraved in a very expensive manner, the following inscription was put beneath.

Principe sub recto Gallorum sceptru tenente,
 Publica nunc rectè Quæstor hic terra regit:
 Æraque tractandi summâ perfectus in arte
 Et Regem et populum divitem ærtumque facit.

* In the diploma, which is dated at *Edinburgh* 5th *Aug. 1719*, he is styled the Right Hon. *John Law*, Lord and Earl of *Tancarville*, Director General of the Royal Bank and India Company of the kingdom of *France*.

† Mem. Reg. ii. 358. Fragm. ii. 292. *Richelieu* iii. 27. *Duclos* ii. 134. *Salmon's Chronology*, ii. 101.

ters to Mr *Craggs*, the then Secretary of State, are published in the *Hardwicke* Collection of State Papers; and the following extracts from them will shew in what a formidable light his Lordship viewed the power and abilities of his countryman, with whom, it would appear, he was on very indifferent terms.

“ You must henceforth look upon Mr *Law* as the first Minister, whose
 “ daily discourse is that he will raise *France* to a much greater height
 “ than ever she was, upon the ruin of *England* and *Holland*. You may
 “ easily imagine I shall not be a Minister for his purpose. He is very
 “ much displeas'd with me already, because I did not flatter his vanity by
 “ putting into the *Mississippi*. I did not think it became the King's Am-
 “ bassador to give countenance to such a thing, or an example to others to
 “ withdraw their effects from *England*, to put them into the stocks here,
 “ which would have been readily followed by many. I have been in
 “ the wrong to myself to the value of thirty or forty thousand pounds,
 “ which I could easily have gained, if I had put myself, as others did,
 “ into Mr *Law's* hands; but I thought it my duty, considering my sta-
 “ tion, not to do so †.” — “ I come now to take notice of one thing
 “ to you, which, in my opinion is very much to be minded, and that is
 “ the spirit, behaviour and discourse of the man, whom from henceforth
 “ you must look upon as the first Minister, and that is Mr *Law*. He, in
 “ all his discourse, pretends he will set *France* much higher than ever
 “ she was before, and put her in a condition to give the law to all *Eu-*
 “ *rope*; that he can ruin the trade and credit of *England* and *Holland*
 “ whenever he pleases; that he can break our Bank whenever he has a
 “ mind, and our East India Company. He said publicly the other day
 “ at his own table, when Lord *Londonderry* was present, that there was
 “ but one great kingdom in *Europe*, and one great town, and that was
 “ *France* and *Paris*. He told *Pitt* that he would bring down our East
 “ India

* 1st Sep. 1719.

“ India stock, and entered into articles with him to sell him at twelve
 “ months hence, *L* 100,000 of stock, at eleven per cent under the pre-
 “ sent current price. You may imagine what we have to apprehend
 “ from a man of this temper, who makes no scruple to declare such
 “ views, and who will have all the power and all the credit at this
 “ Court*.”

“ My dear *Craggs*, take my word for it, *Law's* plan is formed to de-
 “ stroy the King and his Government, and our nation; and he will cer-
 “ tainly bring his Master into it; nor is there any other way to divert
 “ him from that design, but by shewing the Master that it is dangerous
 “ for him to attack us. There is nothing but an appearance of strength
 “ and firmness on our side, or the miscarriage of *Law's* System on this
 “ side, can save us from a war with *France*; and no personal credit that
 “ any body may flatter themselves they may have with the Duke of
 “ *Orleans* will signify any thing to divert it †.” — “ I am afraid our
 “ people in *England* think too neglectfully of Mr *Law's* schemes. I
 “ own to you, that as this kingdom is disposed, there is great odds to be
 “ laid that it will miscarry; but it is not impossible, far from it, that it
 “ may hold long enough to do us a great deal of mischief. Another
 “ thing I dare be bold to say, it cannot succeed without undoing us;
 “ and if Mr *Law* can compass our ruin, I think he is in a fair way to car-
 “ ry through his project in *France*; I know Mr *Law* thinks so too, and
 “ that being the case, we may be very sure he will do us all the mischief
 “ in his power. You cannot think that power is small, considering the
 “ absolute authority he has acquired over the Regent ‡.”

To counteract, as much as possible, what he thus appears to have
 dreaded, Lord *Stair* thought it necessary to endeavour to shake Mr *Law's*
 credit with the Duke of *Orleans*, by making the latter jealous of his Mi-
 nister's

* 9th September, 1719.

† 12th March 1720.

‡ 30th April 1720.

nister's ambition, and apprehensive of ruin from his proceedings. His Lordship represented that, by his vanity and presumption, the Comptroller General was leading his Highness into great dangers and inconveniencies both at home and abroad; that by going too fast, and by taking arbitrary measures, he was in a way to ruin the Regent's credit with the nation, as well as to overturn the whole system of the finances; while, by his discourse and his conduct, he was doing every thing that lay in his power to destroy the good understanding that subsisted betwixt his Royal Master and his Highness, and betwixt his Highness and the rest of his allies. He bade the Duke beware how he trusted the reins of his chariot to that Phaeton *Law*, as he would certainly overturn it; and, in short, made use of every argument he could think of, as well to prejudice the Regent against the Comptroller General, as to prevent the latter from gaining an absolute ascendancy over his Highness's mind*.

I suppose it will be no difficult matter to determine whether this conduct of Lord *Stair*, in trying to render the Regent suspicious of a Minister who, whatever were his designs against *Britain*, he must have been conscious, served his Prince with fidelity, was consistent with the principles of honour, however it might have been justified on the score of political expediency. But all these machinations recoiled on the Ambassador's head; for the British Ministry beginning to entertain the most serious apprehensions of danger from the power and abilities of the Comptroller General, and dreading that Lord *Stair's* measures would have no other effect than to irritate him the more against *England*, determined to sacrifice that nobleman to their fears. They accused him of endeavouring to embroil *England* with *France*, in order to gratify his private pique against Mr *Law*, to whom they now thought it necessary to make all sorts of advances, in hopes of making him lay aside his ill will and ill designs against his native country; and for this purpose dispatched no less a person than Earl *Stanhope*, one of the Secretaries of

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State,

* Lord *Stair's* letters, *passim*.

State, to *Paris*. Upon his Lordship's arrival, he thought fit to acknowledge Mr *Law* as first Minister, and affected to consider him as a much greater man than Cardinal *Richelieu*, or Cardinal *Mazarine* had been; he also promised in name of his Court that his son should get the command of a regiment; and engaged to bring his brother-in-law, the Earl of *Banbury*, into the House of Lords. He moreover told the Regent, that the King was very well satisfied with Mr *Law*, and did not, in any manner, complain of him; that what Lord *Stair* had said was without any authority from his Court, and even contrary to orders; and that, for so doing, he should be recalled. This truly great nobleman being accordingly soon afterwards recalled in disgrace, was not employed in any civil or military capacity for more than twenty years, and during that time lived at *Newliston*, in a most frugal manner, having put his estate into the hands of trustees, in order to pay off the debts contracted during this embassy, one of the most splendid and magnificent on record, as Government refused to discharge them. The Comptroller General thus beheld these attempts to shake his power serve no other purpose than to establish it the more firmly, and triumphed over one of the ablest and most deserving Ministers *Britain* ever sent abroad*.

At this high pinnacle, idolized by the French, dreaded by the other European states, and courted by that kingdom who had passed a sentence of outlawry upon him, we will leave Mr *Law* for a while, and go on with the history of the System.

The credit of the Bank and of the India Company had arrived at its acme in *Nov.* 1719, shares of the latter selling for more than 10,000 liv. each; and such was the abundance of money in the former, that the Directors agreed to lend any sum on proper security, at an annual interest of only two per cent. To increase the good humour and confidence of the public, when the annual rent of the loan of 100 millions from the Company to the King was reduced one per cent, by which

* Lord *Stair*'s letters, *passim*.

his Majesty made a saving of one million of livres a year, the Regent, at the request of that body, abolished the taxes on oil, tallow and paper, amounting to 1,063,000 liv. annually, and he moreover remitted arrears of duties due to the King, to the extent of 52,178,546 liv. The Company likewise, of their own accord, suppressed the tax of 24 deniers in the livre on fish, part of the general farms assigned to them, a tax that used to produce 200,000 liv. a year; actions that could not fail to be very acceptable to the people, who became more than ever enamoured of the System *.

In the midst of this general delirium, however, a constant drain of specie from the Bank was observable. This was occasioned by the conduct of several of the original proprietors of the India Company, who, astonished at their exorbitant gains, could think of nothing but converting their shares into gold and silver, which they either hoarded up, or remitted abroad; infomuch that it was computed no less than 500 millions of livres, the property of persons of that description, had been sent out of *France* †. This circumstance, united to the prodigious quantity

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of

* *Examen*. i. 315. *Hist. Syst.* ii. 5.

† *Vernesobre de Laurieu*, a Prussian of mean origin, whom Mr *Law* had patronized, and appointed one of the cashiers of the Royal Bank, having found means to remit near 40 millions of livres to *England*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, disappeared at once, to the no small consternation of the India Company. Returning to his native country, his prodigious wealth occasioned him, although no better than an infamous robber, to be received with open arms by persons of the highest distinction in *Prussia*, where he was advanced to the first places in the financial department, and honoured with the order of the Black Eagle. One M. *Le Cevennois* having gained several millions by the first operations of the system, carried them into *England*, where he increased his wealth by speculating in the South Sea funds. *Bourdon* and *La Ricbarriere*, two famous stockjobbers, remitted hundreds of thousands of louis d' or to *England*, along with a great quantity of diamonds, and several cargoes of brandy, a commodity they had engrossed. One *Vermalet*, having gained more than a million of livres, converted them into specie, and carried the whole to *Holland*, in a cart loaded with hay and straw, driven by himself. — *Hist. Syst.* i. 175, 187. ii. 46. iv. 38, 42.

of gold and silver made into plate for the rich *Mississippians*, was the cause that there scarcely remained in the kingdom a sufficiency of specie for ordinary circulation. With the view of averting the danger with which these practices threatened the System, and also of guarding against a run upon the Bank, which it was natural to apprehend would infallibly take place when the State Creditors were paid off, as it was now proposed to discharge their demands, several edicts were issued during the months of *Jan. Feb. and March 1720*. By these, payments in specie were restricted to small sums (so low as 100 liv. in gold, and 10 liv. in silver,) the standard of the coin was kept in a continual state of fluctuation; bank notes were declared to remain always invariable, and even to be current at 5 (and in some cases 10) per cent above the specie; all rents, taxes, and customs were ordered to be paid in notes; and plate was prohibited to be made without the Royal licence. These, and other similar edicts now published, served the double purpose of increasing the profits of the Mint to the India company, and throwing gold and silver out of circulation; so that it would appear, Mr *Law* now began to entertain the idea of abolishing the use of specie altogether, especially since permission was given to every one to export coin and the metals of which it was made. But what crowned all was the famous edict of the 27th *Feb. 1720*, prohibiting individuals, and secular or religious communities, (some privileged officers excepted) from having in their possession more than 500 liv. in specie, under pain of a heavy fine, and confiscation of the sums found; an edict which could not fail to produce the most disagreeable consequences upon the peace of families, rendering the nearest relations suspicious of each other, and parents apprehensive of their children turning informers. Several were convicted of, and punished for, contravening this edict, among others a Director of the India Company; but it had in the main so much effect, as to occasion the people to run in crowds to the Bank, to exchange their specie for paper, and to think themselves happy when they had accomplished that end. The eagerness manifested to get near the tellers for that purpose induced

one to say to some of these importunate persons. "Do not be afraid, gentlemen, that your money should be suffered to remain on your hands, I will engage that all shall be taken from you." It was said that above 300 millions of livres were paid in coin into the Bank betwixt the 27th *Feb.* and 1st *April* 1720; a great sum, but yet little more than one fifth of the computed specie of the kingdom, for several individuals, who could not be persuaded that paper was of equal value to gold and silver, hoarded up, without intermission, all these precious metals they could procure, notwithstanding the penalties denounced by the before mentioned edict, which was followed by another of the 11th of *March*, forbidding any payment whatever to be made in specie*.

On the 23d of *Feb.* 1720, the Royal Bank was incorporated with the Company of the Indies, the King remaining guarantee of the Bank notes, of which none were, after that date, to be fabricated, except in virtue of edicts of Council. His Majesty moreover gave up to the Company all the profits made by the Bank since he had taken it into his hands in *Dec.* 1718; and the public entertaining the idea that these profits were immense, this contributed to raise higher than ever the reputation of the India Company's opulence. For some time previous and subsequent to this incorporation, the fabrication of Bank notes went on at so great a rate, that upwards of 2000 millions were struck off between the 29th *Dec.* 1719 and the 1st *May* 1720; and during this period, it appears that a final conclusion was put to the reimbursement of the National Creditors, by these notes, in consequence whereof the government securities granted to them were withdrawn and cancelled †.

The respectable Author of the Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy supposes that it now was the intention of the Regent to dispose of as many of the shares he already possessed, and of those which the Company were bound to sell to his Royal Highness, (he asserts, at the rate

* *Stewart* ii. 265. *Examen*. i, 319. 344. *Mem. Reg.* ii. 300.

† *Examen*, i. 340.

rate of 5000 liv. each,) as would retire the amount of the national debt already discharged, and then to destroy the Bank notes so withdrawn. The whole public debts of *France* would consequently have been converted into shares of the India Company, who would have become responsible to the respective proprietors for the dividend on the shares thus disposed of, and to the Regent for that on those which might have remained in his possession. If we suppose the price of shares during so great an operation not to have fallen below 10,000 liv. each, the amount of the whole national debt would have been withdrawn by the sale of 200,000 shares. In that case, the Regent would still have 200,000 shares left in his hands; and the dividend on these, at 200 liv. each, amounting to 40 millions, being deducted from the 48 millions payable annually by the King as the interest of the loan from the Company, leaves a remainder of 8 millions, all that his Majesty would have to pay, instead of 80 millions as at first. This sum of 8 millions might even have been altogether extinguished, if either the price of shares or the *quantum* of dividend had increased, or the rate of interest been sunk to a degree sufficient to answer that purpose*.

The assertion that the Company were bound to sell the Regent 300,000 actions, at 5000 liv. each, seems to be unfounded, no such agreement appearing among the edicts of council †. It must be allowed, however, that the above mentioned plan was both probable and feasible; since by selling the shares of the Company, and destroying the paper received for them, no notes except such as had been issued for value by the Bank, would have remained in circulation. The Bank consequently having it in their power to answer all demands, their credit would have been completely established and confirmed. Whether the Regent entertained

* *Stewart*, ii. 267.

† It appears that in *June 1720*, the Company were in possession of 300,000 actions; and that the Regent had 100,000 shares belonging to him. When the Bank was incorporated with the Company of the Indies, it was agreed by them to purchase these 100,000 shares at the rate of 9000 liv. each, payable by installments; an agreement the subsequent calamities prevented from being completed. *Examen*. i. 343.

tertaind any fuch defign is, however, merely conjectural, for the time now approached with hafly ftrides, when the public credit of *France*, high as it had been raifed, was at once to give way, involve many in widely extended ruin, and crush its accomplished author, who certainly merited a better fate. The following fteps led to this ftrange and unexpected event.

The envy that generally is the attendant on perfons raifed to high offices of ftate, Mr *Law* could not fail to have the misfortune of experiencing; and in his cafe was heightened in a very inveterate degree, from the circumftance of his being a foreigner. He was hated by almoft all the miniftry, and obnoxious to the old retainers of the Court. Cardinal *Du Bois* in particular, formerly the Regent's tutor, a man not to be equalled in wickednefs and profligacy, could not, without pain, obferve his wonted influence over the mind of his old pupil quite deftroyed by the fuperior attractions of the Comptroller General, who, he had reafon to fufpect, was determined to have him difmiffed from his office. This made him attempt all methods to injure Mr *Law* in the opinion of the Regent, in which he was joined by feveral of his colleagues; while, at the fame time, the great men of the Court, enriched beyond their utmoft hopes, flackened in their zeal for, and turned cool towards the interefts of, the Prime Minifter. The Farmers General, irritated by the lofs they fufained by taking the great farms into their hands, combined againft Mr *Law*, and the Parliament of *Paris*, who reckoned that gentleman their moft bitter enemy, leagued themfelves with thefe rich and powerful financiers. The united efforts of fuch a number of antagonifts appear to have made a deep impreffion on the Regent, from the following paffages in a letter of Lord *Stair*, dated 12th *March* 1720. " You
 " may depend upon it, that *Law* is mightily fhaken in his mafter's good
 " opinion, who, within thefe few days paft, has ufed him moft cruelly
 " to his face, and calling him all the names that can be thought of,
 " knave and madman, &c. He told him he did not know what hindered
 " him to fend him to the Baftile, and that there was never one fent
 " thither

“ thither deserved it half so well. This scene happened in the presence
 “ of *Le Blanc*, (the Secretary at War.) The Duke of *Orleans* was upon
 “ the *chaise percee* when *Law* came in. The Duke was in such a pas-
 “ sion that he ran to *Law* with his breeches about his heels, and made
 “ him the compliment above mentioned *.” It however appears by o-
 ther letters from his Lordship, of a later date, that Mr *Law* soon regain-
 ed a great share of the Regent’s confidence, though his Highness could
 not erase from his mind, the impression he had received from the reite-
 rated unfavourable reports made by his enemies. But an opportunity
 soon afterwards occurred, and was eagerly embraced by them, of engag-
 ing the Duke in a scheme which completely ruined the great designs of
 the Comptroller General, by putting an end to his plans of public cred-
 it and national affluence †.

It has been before mentioned, that at the first of *May 1720*, Bank
 notes had been fabricated to the amount of above 2600 millions of livres.
 The specie in the kingdom was estimated, at the rate of 65 livres to the
 marc, at 1300 millions. Cardinal *Du Bois*, M. *D’Argenson*, and others
 of the Ministry, now represented to the Regent that it was become abso-
 lutely necessary to form an equal proportion betwixt the notes and the
 coin, by either raising the denomination of the latter to 130 liv. the
 marc,

* From the conclusion of this letter we learn, that the cares of his station, the pres-
 sure of business, or the adulation so lavishly bestowed on him, or perhaps all these
 causes, combined, had begun to affect the Minister’s brain. “ *Law’s* head is so heated,
 “ that he does not sleep at nights, and has formal fits of frenzy. He gets out of bed
 “ almost every night, and runs, stark staring mad, about the room, making a terri-
 “ ble noise, sometimes singing and dancing; at other times, swearing, staring, and
 “ stamping, quite out of himself. Some nights ago, his wife, who had come into
 “ the room upon the noise he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come
 “ to her assistance. The officer of *Law’s* guard was the first that came, and found
 “ *Law* in his shirt, who had set two chairs in the middle of the room, and was dan-
 “ cing round them, quite out of his wits. This scene the officer of the guard told
 “ *Le Blanc*, from whom it came to me by a very sure conveyance.”—*Hardwicke*
 State Papers.

† *Maffillon*, 147. *Richelieu*, iii. 45.

marc, by which the 1300 millions of specie would have been augmented to 2600 millions; or reducing the value of the notes one half, that is, to 1300 millions. This extraordinary point was debated in council; some of the members, among whom was the Comptroller General, contended strenuously for letting matters stand as they were; or if it was judged necessary to adopt one of the alternatives, they proposed to raise the denomination of the specie, a measure that had frequently been practised before. The majority of the council, however, who bore no good will to Mr *Law*, favouring the proposition for lowering the value of the paper, it was at last, after a profound deliberation, determined to issue an edict for that purpose*.

Accordingly, on the 21st of *May* 1720, an edict was published, stating, that the King having judged that the general interest of his subjects required that the price, or nominal value of the India Company's *actions*, and of Bank notes, should be lessened, for maintaining a just proportion between them and the coin and other commodities of the kingdom; his Majesty ordered that the shares of the Company should be reduced, beginning from the day of the publication of the present edict, to 8000 liv.; — on the 1st of *July* to 7500 liv.; — on the 1st of *Aug.* to 7000 liv.; — and so on by 500 liv. a month till the 1st of *Dec.* when they were to remain fixed at 5000 liv. That the Bank notes should also be reduced, so as they should be received in payments from that date at the following rates; viz. those of 10,000 liv. for 8000 liv. those of 1000 liv. for 800, of 100 for 80, and of 10 for 8. That on the 1st of *July* these notes should be further reduced, those of 10,000 liv. to 7500 liv. and so on at the rate of 500 liv. a month, the lesser notes being reduced in the like proportion, till the 1st of *Dec.* when it was declared that the Bank notes should remain fixed, those of 10,000 liv. at

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* *Stewart*, ii. 268.

5000 liv. those of 1000 at 500, those of 100 at 50, and those of 10 at 5 livres*.

That this unjustifiable and fatal step was taken in opposition to the advice of the Comptroller General, is asserted upon the authority of his nephew, M. *Law de Lauriston*, who says “ *On se decida, malgre l’avis de M. Law, et sur son rapport cependant, puisqu’il etoit Controleur General des Finances, mais peu ecoute, de lancer l’arret, &c.*” Indeed, it seems hardly credible, that one so intimately conversant in the principles of public credit as Mr *Law* was, could approve of a proceeding diametrically opposite to them. Several, who can not be supposed to be biassed by sinister motives, unite in declaring that the Comptroller General had no hand in the framing of that fatal edict, which they alledge was the work of M. *D’Argenson*. The author of the History of the System says in direct terms, that Mr *Law* strongly opposed the issuing of the edict, contending that the least symptom of reduction would for ever put an end to all confidence and credit; and some go so far as to maintain, on the authority of a letter from a Duke and Peer of *France* to an English nobleman, that the other European States entertaining ferocious apprehensions that, in the event of the System’s being attended with success, the consequent increase of the power and wealth of *France* would prove prejudicial to their interests, the Ministers of the Quadruple Alliance concerted the mode of occasioning the miscarriage of that project, and suggested it to the enemies of Mr *Law* †.

Be the cause as it may, the edict was published; and the consequences of this shameful infraction of the Royal engagement, which solemnly promised that whatever alterations should take place on the coin, the
Bank

* Hist. Syst. iii. 149. Recherches et Considerations sur les Finances de France, vi. 336.

† Hist. Syst. ii. 196. iii. 146. Examen i. 360. Refl. Polit. i. 235. La secret du systeme de M. *Law* dévoilé, en deux lettres ecrites par un Duc et Pair de *France*, a un Milord *Anglois*. La Haye 1721, p. p 46.

Bank notes should always remain invariable, and be paid in full, were such as might have been expected. From that moment

—————*Omnia fatis*

In pejus ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri,

the whole paper fabric fell at once to the ground, the notes lost all credit, none would meddle with them; and the avenues of the Bank being blocked up by soldiers, there was no possibility of getting near the tellers, so that the day following, *May 22d*, any one might have starved with 100 millions in paper money in his pocket *.

The consternation with which all ranks were struck on the publication of this fatal edict being quickly converted into rage, it became necessary to station a number of troops in different quarters of *Paris*, to bridle the fury of the mob, from whose outrageous disposition a second tragedy of *St Bartholomew* was dreaded. Disorder and confusion reigned every where, seditious and inflammatory libels were posted up and distributed, and the life of the Regent himself was threatened; but that Prince, among whose failings want of courage certainly never could be reckoned, disregarding these menaces, continued to give public audience every day in the *Palais Royal* †.

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* *Stewart* ii. 268.

† In this season of calamity, the French, with their characteristical levity, could not refrain from sporting with their own misfortunes in epigrams and other *jeux d'esprit*; the following are selected from an infinity of productions of that nature, published at that time.

Lundi j'achetai des Actions;
Mardi je gagnai des millions;
Mercredi j'arrangeai mon menage;
Jeudi je pris un equipage;
Vendredi je m'en fus au bal;
Et Samedi a l'Hôpital.

To the Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) *de Tencin*, who had the principal hand in *Mr Law's* conversion, for which he was rewarded with the Bishoprick of *Grenoble*.

Foin de ton zele seraphique
Malheureux *Abbé de Tencin*!
Depuis que *Laws* est catholique,
Tout le royaume est capucin.

In this emergency, the Parliament of *Paris* called an extraordinary meeting to deliberate upon the situation of affairs; and the result of this meeting was sending a deputation, composed of their principal members, to the Regent, to demand the revocation of the edict of the 21st of *May*. Upon their representation, this was accordingly done by another edict dated *May* 27, establishing the paper at its former denomination. But all confidence being now gone, this edict had no other effect than to increase the mischief, by throwing again into the channel of commerce notes universally discredited, with which knavish persons paid and ruined their lawful creditors *. To render matters worse, payment was the same day stopped at the Bank, commissaries being sent to seal up the repositories, and to examine the *Accompt Books*. This was done under] pretext of enquiring into frauds alleged to have been committed by the clerks, but in reality to prevent the specie from being paid away in exchange for notes; and this procedure did not fail to increase the disorder and confusion of affairs †.

The distress of the people may easily be conceived to have been extreme, when it is considered that at the time the Bank thus stopped payment, no less than 2,235,085,590 liv. of notes were in circulation ‡. It now became necessary to issue an edict, permitting all persons to have in their possession whatever sums in specie they thought proper, and a quantity of silver was sent to the Commissaries of each section of *Paris*, to give in change for small notes to those that had the most pressing occasion for supply. On the 10th of *June*, the Bank was opened
for

* The president *de Novion* having some months preceding, sold an estate to Mr *Law* for 400,000 liv. in gold, and having reserved a right of redemption within a stated period, his son availing himself of that clause, at this juncture repaid the purchaser with notes.

† *Ricbelieu*, iii. 28. *Hist. Syst.* ii. 91. iii. 159. *Stewart*, ii. 270. *Mem. Reg.* iii. 4.

‡ The total amount of notes fabricated by this time was, as has been before stated, 2,696,400,000 liv. and of them 461,316,410 liv. remained on the 27th *May* in the Bank, which was also possessed of 336,011,050 liv. in specie. *Stewart*, ii. 271.

for the payment of notes of 10 liv; on the 11th, it was announced that the notes of 100 liv. were to be changed there into small notes, only one to be brought by each person coming for that purpose; and the 12th and 13th were appointed for the payments of notes of 10 liv. This being the only place where specie could be procured, it is no wonder that the confluence of people there should be immense; and accordingly, scarcely a day passed without some being suffocated or crushed to death in the crowd. On the 9th of *July*, an incredible throng of people assembled at the entrance of the Bank on the side of the *Mazarin* Gardens. The guards took care that a very small number should be admitted; and the gate being immediately shut, those on the outside began to be very clamorous, and to throw stones at the door, and into the gardens, which was returned from within; and one of the soldiers firing his piece through the key hole, killed a coachman, and wounded a citizen in the shoulder. At last the gate was opened; but the guards being ranged in the inside with fixed bayonets, few chose to venture within their reach, and those who did so paid dear for their temerity, several being wounded, and one run through the body. The 17th of *July* being appointed for the payment of notes of 100 liv. so extraordinary a concourse assembled, and their struggles were such, that it is said no less than 20 persons were suffocated; this occasioned a dreadful ferment among the Parisians, which was quelled with great difficulty, by the prudent conduct of M. *Le Blanc*, Secretary at War*.

It may well be supposed that the notes would be retired but very slowly in this manner; therefore, in order to give vent to the deluge of paper that overwhelmed the nation, 25 millions of perpetual annuities, at the rate of 40 years purchase, and 4 millions of annuities on lives, at 25 years purchase, were constituted in *June* 1720. In *July* following, Books of Accompts Current and Transfers, to the extent
of

* Examen ii. 25. *Richelieu*, iii. 220. *Duclos* ii. 3. Mem. Reg. [iii. 7. *Stewart*, ii. 270.

of 600 millions, were opened at the Bank, and in *August*, 8 millions more of perpetual annuities, at the rate of 50 years purchase, were issued. By these methods, it was expected that upwards of 2000 millions of notes would have been retired, and the notes so retired were directed to be burnt; but notwithstanding the eager desire of the people to get rid of their paper money, the unfavourable nature of the terms made several hesitate. It was therefore found necessary on the 15th of *August* to publish an edict declaring that the notes of 10,000 and 1000 liv. should have no currency, except for the purchase of annuities and Bank Accounts, or for the supplemental payments directed to be made on the *actions*; and by a subsequent edict, all payments whatever in notes were prohibited, after the 1st of *November* 1720. The consequence was, that many having neglected the opportunities of funding their Bank notes within the limited time, in hopes they would again recover their credit, or that better terms might be obtained, great sums of these notes were irreparably lost, remaining useless at this day in the possession of individuals*.

With regard to the shares of the India Company; it was by edict of the 3d of *June* 1720, ordered that the 100,000 shares belonging to the King, and 300,000 that were in the Company's hands, should be committed to the flames, and that 200,000 new shares should be made, and given to those individuals who brought back their old shares, they either making a supplemental payment of 3000 liv on each, or getting two new shares in return for every three they brought back. The dividend on each share was fixed

* *Stewart*, ii. 271.—A remarkable proof of this occurred 6th *Sep.* 1790, shortly after the Constituent Assembly of *France* had issued *assignats*, which, it is almost unnecessary to mention, are notes secured on landed property belonging to the public. A person was observed in the gardens of the *Tuileries*, with a crowd about him, examining some papers. These papers turned out to be a parcel of *Law's* Bank notes, amounting to upwards of 100,000 liv. which, it was imagined, had been given him by some aristocrat, to distribute to the multitude, in order to prejudice them against the *assignats*. This the man denied, affirming that they had been in his possession several years.

ed at 360 liv. and the privileges of the Company were at the same time increased and extended ; it being stated, that their affairs were in a flourishing situation, their books kept in exact order, the produce of the farms augmented, and that 105 ships with valuable cargoes, not reckoning a number of brigantines and frigates, had sailed, or were on the point of sailing, to their settlements. Soon afterwards, 50,000 new shares were ordered to be made, making in all 250,000 shares ; and on the 24th Oct. 1720, an edict appeared, directing a list of all the original proprietors of shares of the India Company to be made out. Such as still possessed the full number for which they had subscribed, were ordered to bring them back, to remain in deposit with the Company ; and those who had sold either the whole or part of their shares, were required to complete the number originally belonging to them, by purchasing from the Company, the shares in which they were deficient, at the rate of 13,500 liv. each*.

This edict could not fail to occasion a considerable degree of alarm among the old stockjobbers, many of whom prepared immediately to leave *France* ; so that it was found necessary on the 29th of Oct. to prohibit, under pain of death, any person from departing out of the kingdom without express permission from the Regent. Several were arrested on the frontiers, in *Franche Comte*, and in the vicinity of *Calais*, having large sums in their possession ; and the houses of some of the original proprietors being searched, many discoveries were made. In one lodging 20,000 louis d' or in specie were found concealed ; and jewels to the value of 2 millions having been discovered in the house of M. *Du Pin*, secretary to the King, he was sent to the Bastile, notwithstanding his protestations that it ought not to be imputed a crime to have become rich by the methods established by the Court. The Regent, Mr *Law*, and many of the most considerable proprietors of shares, did not omit paying ready obedience to the edict, depositing all the *actions* belonging

* Mem. Reg. iii. 58.

ing to them in the office appointed for that purpose; and even, of their own accord, giving up to the Company a large proportion of what each possessed. Soon afterwards the Great Farms, the management and profits of the Mint, and the administration of the whole Royal Revenues, were taken out of the hands of the India Company, who thus became reduced to a mere trading body*.

These various operations concluded, the total amount of the public debts was found to extend, at the first *January 1721*, to 2,289,762,849 liv. besides 125,024 shares of the India Company, valued by the proprietors at 899,638,855 liv. making altogether the vast sum of 3,189,401,705 liv. The interest of the former, at 2 and 2½ per cent for perpetual annuities, and 4 per cent for annuities on lives, amounted to 54,579,735 liv. while the dividend on the latter, at the rate of 360 liv. each share, came to the sum of 45,008,640 liv. extending in whole to 99,588,375 liv. of annualrents †.

The Ministry finding it would be impossible for the nation to sustain, for any length of time, so heavy a charge, resolved to establish a Commission, or *Visa*, to take an account of the claims of the State Creditors; and this was accordingly done, by edict of council dated 26th *Jan. 1721*. By this edict all persons of that description were directed to transmit to the *Visa* two papers, one titled *Bordereau*, containing their name, quality, and place of residence, together with the date, number and amount of their claims on Government. In the second paper, or *Declaration*, were to be stated the titles by which they possessed, and the sums respectively paid for, these effects. The Commissioners were directed to arrange into five classes the proprietors of Government securities, and of shares of the India Company. The four first classes were composed of those who had acquired them by the money paid by the King when he discharged the old creditors of the state, by the sale of heritable, and of

moveable

* Mem. Reg. iii. 66, 70.

† Examen ii. 143.

moveable property, and by the disposal of merchandize or other effects, respectively; while the last class comprehended all who could give no fair or satisfactory account of the origin of their acquisitions. Deductions at different rates, proportioned to the favorable or unfavorable circumstances attending the claims of the various public creditors, were ordered to be made from the demands of the four first classes, provided they amounted to more than 500 liv; for all claimants whose demands did not exceed that sum, (no less than 251,590 in number) were directed to be paid in full. The property belonging to the last class was by the edict ordered to be totally annihilated, whatever the amount might be; and this clause occasioned many shares of the India Company to fall so low, that *actions* which had cost 13,500 liv. were now sold for a single louis d'or*.

The *Visa* appointed to settle this complicated and difficult liquidation consisted of fifty boards, composed of Masters of Requests and Counsellors of the Great Council, who employed under them no less than 800 clerks; and in order to assist the Commissioners in their operations, copies of all contracts for the transfer of property, entered into before notaries, betwixt 1st July 1719 and 31st Dec. 1720, were directed to be made out. The effects carried to the *Visa*, by 511,009 individuals, amounted, as stated by the proprietors, to 2,222,597,491 liv. in contracts for annuities on lives, perpetual annuities, &c. and this sum the Commissioners reduced to 1,676,501,831 liv. the interest of which I compute at 48 millions a year, partly consisting in life annuities, and therefore continually diminishing. The shares of the India Company were in like manner reduced from 125,024, with a dividend of 360 liv. per annum a piece, to only 55,316, (afterwards increased to 56,000,) each having a dividend of 100 liv. the first, and 150 liv. every subsequent, year, exclusive of their proportion of the profits of the trade. Thus, in con-

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* Examen ii. 168. Mem. Reg. iii. 133. Hist. Syst. iv. 68. Histoire de France par Fantin, i. 345.

sequence of these arbitrary proceedings, the annual interest payable by the King was diminished to about 56 millions of livres, by which his Majesty was a gainer of upwards of 40 millions a year, and many of the public creditors were reduced to the utmost misery and distress*.

Such were the consequences of the fatal edict of the 21st of *May*, a piece of folly hardly to be equalled in the annals of any nation; and not easy to be accounted for on any other supposition, than as a contrivance of the French Ministry to free themselves from a formidable rival, to accomplish which object they did not hesitate to bring the kingdom to the brink of destruction. But it is by no means so easy to account for the Regent's giving his consent to a decree that, besides being a shameful breach of public faith, was an experiment full of danger, by which neither himself nor any other could possibly be benefited. Had

no

* *Examen ii. passim. Mem. Reg. iii. 307.* The expence of the *Visa*, paid by Government, in pursuance of an edict of council, amounted to 9,045,874. liv. 11s 9d. The *Sieur de Talbouet*, Master of Requests, the *Abbé Clement*, and the *Sieurs Daude* and *Gailly*, four persons employed in this business, being convicted of stealing 946 shares of the India Company, were condemned to suffer death; but the sentence of the two first was commuted to perpetual imprisonment, and the two last were sent to the galleys for life.

In my former publication on this subject, trusting too implicitly to the authority of *Sir James Stewart*, whose researches into this business, during a long residence in *France*, led me to imagine he had the best opportunities of coming at the real state of the case, I mentioned that the National Debt amounted, at the conclusion of the System, to 1,999,072,540 liv. But he only reckons as such the 100 millions due from the King to the India Company, and the balance of notes issued by the Bank, after deduction of the paper and specie remaining therein, without taking any notice of the shares of the Company in the hands of the public. I have therefore in stating the proceedings and result of the *Visa*, followed *M. Du Verney*, who although strongly prejudiced against *Mr Law*, explains the whole operations of the System so fully and clearly, and with so much order and distinctness, in his "*Examen du livre intitulé Reflexions Politiques sur les Finances et le Commerce*," as to give very high ideas of his talents and knowledge of the subject. It is, however, not a little remarkable, that he takes no notice of the specie remaining in the Bank when it stopped payment, extending, according to *Sir James Stewart*, to 336 millions of livres; nor does it appear what became of the greatest part of this large sum.

no such step been taken, and his Highness allowed the System to go on in the way supposed to have been at first intended, it is not unreasonable to imagine that, infatuated as the people were to acquire shares of the India Company, the sums paid to the national creditors would have been retired with the sale of less than 200,000, consequently the public would then have had about 400,000 shares in their hands. The Company could in this case easily have been able to make good their engagement to pay a dividend of 200 liv. on each of these shares, as we have seen that, on a very moderate computation, they enjoyed an annual revenue of above 80 millions, administered by themselves, and capable of great increase. By destroying the notes so retired, none would have remained in circulation except such as had been issued for value by the Bank, which would thus have been able to answer all demands made upon it. The Company being thereby relieved from every apprehension of suffering by a run upon them, would have had leisure to direct their attention to the improvement, by all possible means, of the home revenue, the culture of the colonies, and the extension of their commerce. In this case, what might not have been expected from the exertions of a body of men, possessed of almost unlimited credit, whose funds were immense, who had in their hands the whole foreign trade and possessions, and all the public revenues of the kingdom, and who moreover enjoyed the declared protection of Government, and the implicit confidence of the people.

I am aware that others entertain ideas very different from the above, asserting that the System was a monstrous and impracticable monopoly; but this opinion appears to have been taken up without sufficient grounds. All preceding attempts to establish a flourishing trade to the Indies had failed of success, from deficiency of funds in the parties concerned, so that it was far from being an improper step to endeavour to settle the commerce to these places on a solid and extensive basis, the more especially as the exclusive privilege of trading thereto was granted to the Company only for a limited period. With regard to the tak-

ing the Great Farms out of the hands of the Farmers General, I suppose none will dispute the propriety of that transfer, when the enormous profits made by those extravagant and luxurious financiers, and their unwarrantable exactions, are considered; while, on the other hand, the superior advantage of assuming these Farms into the hands of a Company, in which no person that could command a moderate sum was excluded from holding a share, is evident. By consolidating into one channel every branch of the public revenue, all unnecessary charges of collection and management were avoided, and consequently the taxes would be levied, and their amounts remitted, at the cheapest rate possible. At least it must be acknowledged that the idea was truly great; and Mr *Law's* being able to carry matters to the length he did will appear astonishing indeed, when we consider what reception would in this country await a similar attempt to unite the Customs, Excise, Stamps, Incidents, the Mint, every public and private Bank in Britain, the East India and other privileged trading Companies &c. into the hands of one great Association. The very low price at which the shares of the India Company were originally fixed must, however, be allowed to have been a capital error, though perhaps in some measure necessary to raise the *billets d'etat* from the discredit they had fallen into.

Ruinous as the immediate consequences of the downfall of the System were to several individuals, it may, notwithstanding, be said that this project was, upon the whole, rather beneficial than hurtful to *France*, as the kingdom presently turned more industrious and commercial, the people in general having become better informed with respect to the principles of trade and manufactures. The India Company still subsisting, in a short time equalled, and long continued to rival, those of *London* and *Amsterdam*; while different branches of manufacture, which had been established by Mr *Law*, remained in a flourishing state. It cannot be denied that many of the old national creditors were completely ruined by the *Mississippi*, or at least suffered cruelly in their circumstances; and that several persons had the fate of being raised at
once

once from the depths of poverty to the possession of almost boundless wealth, an elevation that could not fail to superinduce extreme luxury and profligacy, at the same time that numbers were thereby led to neglect their business, and to entertain vain imaginations of making fortunes in the stocks. Some instances of these freaks of fortune have been already adduced, to which we may add that Madame *de la Cbaumont* *, a physician's widow, who dealt in millinery at *Namur*, gained, as some say, to the extent of 60 millions of livres; the *Sieur Andre* made as much; one *M. de Verrue* acquired 28 millions; *Fargez*, once a common soldier in the garrison at *Maubeuge*, made a fortune of 20 millions; and Messrs. *Le Blanc* and *De la Faye* 18 millions of livres each, in the *Mississippi* †.

On the other hand, however, it may be mentioned that several representatives of the most antient and illustrious families in the kingdom were, by means of the profits they made during the continuance of the System, restored to their pristine glory and splendor. Of this last description, the *Duc de Bourbon* ‡ was by far the most successful; and with his

* Madame *de la Cbaumont* having been detected in illicit practices against the Revenue, was drawn out of the scrape by the exertions of one of the Contractors for supplying the French army with provisions. This acceptable piece of service led her to support their interest with so much warmth; that she soon found herself engaged for them in the sum of 1,400,000 liv. advanced by herself and borrowed from her relations and neighbours. Coming to *Paris* to solicit payment, she was forced to accept of that sum in *billets d'etat*, although they were then at 60 per cent discount. Unwilling to return to *Namur* with less than would satisfy her creditors, and resolving to risk every thing to accomplish that object, she laid out the whole in the purchase of shares of the India Company immediately on its institution, which happened just at that period, and consequently became enriched beyond her utmost expectations. Hist. Syst. ii. 94.

† Hist. Syst. ii. 122. *Massillon*, 107. Mem. Reg. iii. 115.

‡ The *Duc de Bourbon* one day vaunting of the number of *actions* of the India Company belonging to him, *Turmenies*, the Royal Treasurer, his familiar friend, took the liberty of saying, "My Lord, two actions performed by your brave ancestor were worth them all;" alluding to the gallant behaviour of the Prince of *Condé* in two engagements. *Duclos* ii. 215.

his gains purchased a vast extent of landed property, rebuilt *Gbantilly* with regal magnificence, established a menagerie there incomparably better stocked than that belonging to his Majesty, and at one time imported from *England*, at a prodigious expence, no less than 150 of the best race horses he could procure. The *Duc de la Force* also was exceedingly fortunate; but having made purchases of immense quantities of goods and merchandizes, such as spiceries, porcelain, &c. a long and curious process was instituted, to determine whether he had not thus virtually become a merchant, and consequently forfeited all right to his peerage *. The Prince of *Deux Ponts*, the *Ducs de Guiche*, *D' Antin*, *De Louvigni*, *D' Etreez*, and the Prince *De Roban*, were eminently favored by fortune; and with these may be classed *Joseph Gage*, brother of the first Viscount *Gage*. This gentleman, (stiled by the French writers Monsieur *Guaiche*,) profited so prodigiously that he offered three millions sterling to *Augustus* King of *Poland* to resign that crown in his favour; and on the refusal of that Monarch to accede to these terms, entered into a negociation for the purchase of the sovereignty of the Island of *Sardinia*, but the treaty did not take effect *.

The

* A circumstantial account of this process may be seen in the *Memoires de la Regence*, iii. 82—105. *Histoire de France par Fantin*, i. 323—333. *Histoire du Systeme* iv. 102. in which last is a satirical print, representing the Duke in the character of a porter loaded with a prodigious burden of all kinds of merchandize, and this punning inscription, *Admirez la Force*. A genealogical history of that Nobleman's family is inserted in the *Dictionnaire de Moreri*, under the word *Force*; and in the perusal of that article one cannot but remark the uncommon longevity of several individuals thereof. *James Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force*, Peer and Marechal of *France*, died in 1652, in the 97th year of his age, leaving two sons, *Armand Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force*, Peer and Marechal of *France*, who died 16 Dec. 1675, æta. 95, without surviving issue; and, *Henry Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force*, who died in Jan. 1678, æta. 95. This last mentioned nobleman had several children, of whom *Jaqueline* died 10th May 1702, æta. 91, *Armand* died 16th May 1701, æta. 86, and *Charlotte* died in the 82d year of her age.

* *Hist. Syst.* i. 33. *Voltaire* iii. 12. *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland* v. 220. *Pope touches*

The System having attracted the attention of all *Europe*, imitations thereof were quickly attempted by other nations, particularly by *Holland* and *England*, among which the famous South Sea Bubble made the most conspicuous figure; but the comparison betwixt this and the Mississippi will not hold throughout, the former having been from the beginning an iniquitous design to enrich a few at the expence of the multitude, by raising the stock through underhand measures, and suffering it to fall again when that end was answered. Mr *Law's* System, on the contrary, appears to have been founded on a real intention to extend the commerce and improve the credit of the kingdom; the price of its stock rose in consequence of an infatuation that could scarcely have been foreseen, and it was overturned by an unexampled instance of folly, by which none could have been benefited, and many were ruined.

Having thus brought to a final conclusion the history of this great affair, which, with more wit than truth, *Voltaire* styles "that astonishing game of chance, played by an unknown foreigner against a whole nation," it is now time to return to its author, Mr *Law*. Appearing in the responsible situation of Comptroller General of the Finances, on the publication of the fatal edict of the 21st *May* 1720, he could not fail to experience the principal share of the popular indignation, and indeed all the former idolatry of the Parisians for him was now converted into detestation and abhorrence. To appease them in some measure, he on the 29th *May* went to the *Palais Royal*, to resign his office of Comptroller into the hands of the Regent; and his Highness appointed two Companies of the Swiss Guards commanded by M. *De Buzenval* to attend his motions, on the pretext of hindering him from leaving the kingdom, but in reality to protect him the more effectually from the fury of the populace. Thus all attempts in his life being guarded against, the
people

touches upon Mr *Gage's* offer in his Epistle to Lord *Bathurst* on the use of riches,
v. 129.

The crown of *Poland*, venal twice an age,
To just three millions stinted modest *Gage*.

people were constrained to give vent to their indignation only in satirical prints, and in lampoons, in which *filz ainé de Satan, parpailot*, and the like names were unsparingly bestowed on him. The *Duc de Bourbon* thereupon judged it adviseable to remove *Lady Catherine Law* and her family to his seat of *St Maur*, fearing further outrages from the tumultuous disposition of the Parisians, rendered frantic by their losses and their poverty, to such a degree as to occasion many to lay violent hands upon themselves*.

Nothing remarkable happened to *Mr Law* till the 17th *July*, when the unfortunate affair at the Bank, where many were squeezed to death in the crowd, excited such a ferment among the people, that they repaired in vast numbers to the *Palais Royal*, filling all the courts of that building, and bringing along with them three of the bodies of those who had lost their lives on this occasion. *Mr Law* was just going to step into his carriage, after having had an audience of the Regent, but at the alarm returned into the *Palais*, and lay in the Marchioness *De Nancre's* apartments, where he remained till the 25th *July*. As his coach was driving off, the coachman had the imprudence to say, they were a parcel of blackguards that deserved to be hanged; this enraged the people so much that they broke the carriage in pieces, the driver hardly escaping with life, while several of the mob were much hurt in the tumult. They now began to be clamorous for *Mr Law* to be delivered up to them, but were appeased by the prudent conduct of *M. Le Blanc*, Secretary at War, who coming out to the gate, harangued the multitude in a firm tone, and calling some of the most forward, desired them to carry the dead bodies to the church of *St Eustache*, promising a good reward for that service. He then engaged to lay the complaints of the people before the Regent; but told them that before this could be done, it was necessary they should disperse, which advice the mob, perceiving their leaders gone, and observing a strong party of troops ready to fall upon them,

* *Fragm. ii. 289. Mem. Reg. iii. 5.*

them, thought proper to follow, without doing further mischief. The first President of the Parliament of *Paris* happening on that day to step out of the Assembly, was at the door informed of the disaster that had befallen Mr *Law's* carriage; a circumstance that gave him so much joy, as to occasion his scampering back into the Court in a manner unbecoming the dignity of his station, crying out,

*Messieurs, Messieurs, bonne nouvelle,
Le carrosse de Laws est reduit en canaille.*

The Parliament having at this meeting refused to register an edict of the King's Council confirming the commercial privileges of the India Company, and having behaved in a refractory manner on former occasions, it was determined to send the members into exile, in order to get quit of the embarrassments their opposition gave rise to. Accordingly the corps of *Mousquetaires*, supported by a detachment of no less than 4000 soldiers, were, on the 21st *July* ¹⁷⁸⁰ 1780, sent to conduct the whole members of the Parliament of *Paris* to *Pontoise*, where they remained in exile till the middle of *December* following*.

On the 27th *Aug.* following, Mr *Law* was, by the King in Council, appointed Director General of the Bank and of the India Company, and Judge Reporter of the affairs of the Committee of Council established by edict of the same date. He now took up his constant residence in

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the

* *Fragm.* ii. 185. *Duclos*, ii. 116. *Richelieu*, iii. 225.

The opposition of the Parliament to the System was, it is said, owing to a proposal made by Mr *Law* to the Regent, of repaying in Bank notes the sums paid by the members of that court for their places, which were in future to have been filled by persons holding commissions revocable at pleasure. This proposal having been divulged, the Parliament were so much irritated, as to resolve to send a party to seize Mr *Law*, bring him before them, try him on the spot, sentence him to death, and put that sentence into immediate execution in the court of the *Palais Royal*. So little, however, did rancour take place in Mr *Law's* disposition, that he ever after said they were the best patriots he knew, for chusing rather to forfeit their patrimony and to go into exile, than register an edict they thought hurtful to their country, and inimical to the general principles of liberty. *Duclos*, i. 375. ii. 39. *Richelieu*, iii. 41.

the *Palais Royal*, where he had assigned to him the apartments formerly occupied by the Marquis d' *Etampes*, the repairs of which cost the Regent 20,000 crowns. Still, however, the Parisians were so much enraged against him, that their rancour burst out on every occasion; and his very name was sufficient to excite tumults, as appears from a circumstance that about this time occurred. One *M. De Boursel* passing in his carriage along the *Rue St Antoine*, had his way impeded by a hackney coachman, whom his servants fell upon, and he got out to assist them. The man cunningly cried out "There is Mr *Law* who is going to murder me, fall upon and kill him;" a crowd instantly assembled, and with sticks and stones pursued *De Boursel* into the Jesuits church, as far as the altar; near which observing a little door open, he escaped through it, after barring it behind him, into the inside of the convent, but his equipage fell a sacrifice to the fury of the mob †.

From this, and several other instances, Mr *Law* could not but observe how strongly the current of popular indignation ran against him; and as the month of *December* approached, his situation became still more dangerous and alarming. The plague which then raged at *Marseilles*, at the same time that it increased the discredit of the paper, and the confusion of affairs, augmented the number of his enemies, all the evils befalling the kingdom being absurdly attributed to him. The Parliament of *Paris*, whose rancour against him was confirmed and heightened by exile, were to be recalled in a few days, and he could expect no mercy if once they got him into their clutches; so that he now began to entertain the most serious apprehensions for his personal safety, more especially as the Regent had positively refused to permit him to leave the kingdom. He however, solicited a licence to retire to one of his country seats, in hopes that matters might thus be more speedily composed; and this request being granted, he resigned all his offices. At his last interview with the *Duc d' Orleans*, it is reported that Mr *Law* said,

† *Fragm.* li. 290. *Examen.* i. 334. *Mem.* Reg. iii. 36.

said, " My Lord, I acknowledge that I have committed great faults ; I
 " did so because I am but a man, and all men are liable to err ; but I
 " declare to your R. H that none of them proceeded from wickedness
 " or knavery, and that nothing of that kind will be found in the whole
 " course of my conduct." The Regent assured him of his regard and
 protection ; and with these friendly assurances Mr *Law* quitted *Paris*,
 " so late his happy seat," and the theatre of his glory, but now the
 scene of his disgrace, on the 10th *Dec.* 1720, retiring to *Guermande*, a
 fine house belonging to him, six leagues from that capital. Two or
 three days after he had left *Paris*, the *Duc de Bourbon* wrote him a
 kind letter, mentioning that the Regent had ordered passports, permitting
 him to leave the kingdom, to be expedited, and offering to supply him
 with any sum he required to defray his travelling expences. This last
 offer Mr *Law* resolved to decline, as a few days preceding his departure
 from *Paris*, one of his clerks had brought him 800 louis d'or, received
 at the Mint, in payment of a note for that sum, payable in coin, found
 among the papers belonging to him, in the possession of the Treasurer of
 the Bank ; a most acceptable and well-timed supply, as he had not
 then in his house the value of ten pistoles in specie*.

Immediately on receiving this letter, Mr *Law* made preparations for
 his journey ; and the next day Messrs. *De Laffay* and *De la Faye* arrived
 at *Guermande*, with the passports, and a large sum in gold from the *Duc*
de Bourbon, which Mr *Law*, for the reasons already stated, declined re-
 ceiving. The Duke also sent with them his favourite *Madame de Prie's*
 post-chaise, the servants attending it having dark coloured furtouts over
 their liveries, in order to prevent discovery. In this carriage Mr *Law*
 and his son set forward to *Brussels*, attended by four equerries and six
 horse guards belonging to the Duke, having relays provided at every
 stage. The Governor of *Valenciennes*, (M. *D'Argenson*, Intendant of
Maubeuge) recognizing the fugitive, stopped him, on account of the
 passport's

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* *Fragm.* ii. 296. *Oeuvres de Law*, 425.

passport's bearing a fictitious name. He thereupon produced another passport in his true name; this augmented the perplexity of the governor, who, however, insisted on detaining Mr *Law*; but the Ex Minister producing a letter from the Regent to the *Duc de Bourbon*, covering these different passports, and granting permission to himself to quit the kingdom, was allowed to proceed on his journey to *Brussels*. From thence he sent back *Madame de Prie's* carriage, with a very polite letter of thanks, inclosing a diamond of great value. *Lady Catherine Law* remaining at *Paris* under the protection of the *Duc de Vendome*, did not leave *France* till she had discharged all the debts owing by her husband to tradesmen and the like, among which was one of 10,000 liv. to a cook *.

When the Council of State met on the 16th of *December*, a warm altercation ensued between the Regent and the *Duc de Bourbon*, on the subject of Mr *Law's* departure from *France*. The Duke said that Mr *Law* had always acted in exact conformity to the orders of the Regent, otherwise he would not have granted permission for him to quit the kingdom. The Regent accused the Duke of giving Mr *Law* the passports; that is true, answered the other, but then it was you that sent them to me; I never would have asked for them, but you directed me to carry them to him. You wished to have him out of *France*. I am willing to explain the whole affair to the King and Council. I never advised that Mr *Law* should leave the kingdom, but I opposed the sending him to the Bastile, and delivering him up to the Parliament; we could not have said or done any thing against him which would not have recoiled upon our own heads. You gave me the passports without my asking for them, and charged me to carry them to him, consequently none can attribute to me his departure from *France*. But, at least, said the Regent, did I send your carriage or your guards to escort him? you were then much more interested in his safety than myself; I permitted

† Hist. Syst. iv. 85. *Duclos* ii. 134. *Richelieu* ii. 134.

mitted him to leave the kingdom, merely because I was apprehensive that his presence would impede the cure of the disorders affecting the state, and obstruct the new regulations adopted by government*.

Very opposite opinions were entertained as to the effects the departure of Mr *Law* would produce. Some complained that the nation was thereby deprived of the assistance of the only person capable of unravelling the entangled thread of affairs, reckoning that all was lost, and looking upon the retreat of Mr *Law* as a proof that no more good was expected; while others, on the contrary, rejoiced that the kingdom was no longer given up to the projects of a rapacious stranger, which, they thought, would in time have occasioned its total ruin. The basest calumnies were spread to irritate the people against the Ex Minister; it being commonly reported that several carriages loaded with specie had preceded him to *Brussels*, in order to enable him to conclude a purchase of some of the Provinces of the Low Countries. It was also positively affirmed that he had lodged 20 millions sterling in the Bank of *England*, and large sums in those of *Amsterdam*, *Rome*, and *Venice*, reports that had not the smallest foundation in truth †.

It appears that soon afterwards the whole of Mr *Law's* property, and that of his brother *William*, Director General of the India Company, (who was imprisoned in the Bastille,) were seized upon and confiscated. Even a government annuity of 200,000 liv. on the lives of Mr and Lady *Catherine Law*, and their children, for which 5 millions of livres had been paid, was annulled; although in the edict upon which the annuities had been constituted, there was a particular clause, by which the King engaged they should never be liable to be seized upon or attached for any cause whatsoever, even on his Majesty's account. This was done under pretext that the two brothers were owing twenty millions of livres to the India Company; the falsehood of the assertion was, however, manifested

* *Richelieu* iii. 193. *Duclos*, ii. 134.

† *Mem. Reg.* iii. 73, 74.

manifested in a Memorial sent to the *Duc de Bourbon* some time afterwards, proving that so far from being debtors thereto, the balance was some millions in their favour. Notwithstanding this fact was clearly established, they found all endeavours to procure restitution of their property unavailing, no part thereof being ever restored to them; a proceeding irreconcilable with all ideas of justice and common honesty, and which can be accounted for only by referring to the arbitrary and despotic nature of the French government, a government *now* become more arbitrary and despotic than ever. In consequence, the Comptroller General beheld himself, by the ignorance, obstinacy, and injustice of others, brought down from the height of power and wealth, to a comparatively indigent and abject situation; exhibiting a sad, but not uncommon, example of the insecurity of property, in a state where the will of the executive power is paramount to all law, as is remarkably the case *at present* in *France*.

The losses sustained, and the distresses endured by many individuals, in consequence of the failure of the *Mississippi* System, and the distracted situation of affairs for a long period subsequent thereto, also contributed, in a great degree, to irritate the minds of the people against Mr *Law*. However innocent he might have been of having had any hand in advising that fatal edict, it was enough for the parties injured that he was the author of the System; and the Ministry were careful not to discourage these sentiments, in hopes of diverting the storm from their own heads. These prejudices, propagated from father to son, are the occasion that even at present, numbers hold the name of *Law* in abhorrence, and do not fail to seize every opportunity to vent their spite against that great minister, whom they look upon as the cause of the calamities their families endured. A remarkable instance of this disposition occurred when *Burke's* Reflections upon the Revolution were translated into French. The latter part of the following passage in that work, "It is not true that *Law* built solely on a speculation concerning the *Mississippi*; he added the East India trade, he added the African trade, he added the farms

" of

“ of all the farmed revenue of *France*; all these unquestionably could not support the structure which the public enthusiasm, *not he*, chose to build upon these bases,” being rendered, “ *Toutes ces choses reunis n’etoient certainement pas capables de supporter la structure enorme que l’entouffasme du public et luy proposerent d’ elever sur ces bases,*” a complete perversion of the sense, which could not have arisen from ignorance, the translator (M. *Suleau*, who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the mob at *Paris* on the 10th of *August* 1792) being master of both languages. The Revolution, however, by promoting a spirit of free inquiry, has in some measure removed the false notions entertained of the System, to which the Constituent Assembly of *France* gave a kind of indirect approbation, when they established *assignats*, these notes being founded on principles similar to those proposed in the first plan for the restoration of credit, transmitted by Mr *Law* to the Regent.

To the circumstance already stated, as well as to the liberty generally taken with the unfortunate, is perhaps in a great measure owing, that several of the French writers who have had occasion to treat of the history of these times, have used the freedom of grossly calumniating the reputation of this great man, stigmatizing him as an unprincipled knave, and attributing the downfall of the System to his machinations. As to the last accusation, they either must have had positive evidence, evidence of which in all my researches I have been unable to find the smallest trace, of Mr *Law*’s advising the publication of the fatal edict by which all was ruined, or they must have wilfully chosen to overlook his opposition to that infamous decree, which I hope has been sufficiently established in the preceding narrative. With respect to the charge of knavery, a very strong proof of the uprightness of his intentions arises from the circumstance of vesting his whole acquisitions in landed property in *France*, not remitting any part thereof to foreign countries*, which could

* Mr *Law* sent over orders to his agent in *Scotland* to purchase for him the estate of *Errol* in *Perthshire*; but as he did not remit the purchase money, the bargain was never completed.

could have been done with the utmost facility, and obliging his immediate connections, particularly his brother *William*, and his confidential secretary *Robert Neilson**, to follow the same honourable line of conduct. The amount of Mr *Law's* fortune at the conclusion of the System, will afford another refutation of the charge; the following state of his acquisitions in *France* coming from the first authority.

Le Marquisat d'Effiat, (en Auvergne)	-	800,000 liv.
La Terre de la Riviere	- - -	900,000
Le Marquisat de Toucy	- - -	160,000
La Terre de la Marche	- - -	120,000
La Terre de Roiffy	- - -	650,000
La Terre d'Orcher	- - -	400,000
Terre et Bois de Brean	- - -	160,000
Marquisats de Charleville et Bacqueville.	-	330,000
La Terre de Berville	- - -	200,000
La Terre de Fontaine Rome	- - -	130,000
La Terre de Serville	- - -	110,000
La Terre d'Yville	- - -	200,000
La Terre de Gerponville	- - -	220,000
La Terre de Tancarville, (en Normandie)	-	320,000
La Terre de Guermande	- - -	160,000
Hotel Mazarin, et Emplacemens Rue Vivienne		1,200,000
Emplacemens Rue de Varenne	-	110,000
Emplacemens de la Place Louis le Grand	-	250,000
Partie du fief de la Grange Bateliere	-	150,000
Marais ou Chantiers du Fauxbourg St. Honore	-	160,000
Maifons, surtout dans Paris	- - -	700,000
Les Domains de Bourget	- - -	90,000
Quelques petites terres, comme Valancy, St. Suplice, &c,		350,000

7,870,000 liv.

Besides

* This *Robert Neilson*, (son of *William Neilson*, Provost of *Edinburgh* in 1719,) was bred a merchant in that city, but going abroad, became private secretary to Mr *Law*, and one of the principal proprietors of the India Company of *France*. By the rapid rise of their stock, he was at one time estimated to be worth *L. 150,000*, and at this period commissioned a friend in *Scotland* to purchase for him the greatest landed estate on sale in that kingdom. But having been prohibited from remitting any part of

Besides the above, it is said that he acquired *Lislebonne* from the Marchioness *de Beuveron*, at the price of 500,000 liv. as also *Little Rambouillet* for 180,000 liv. made offer of 1,700,000 liv. to the *Duc de Sully* for the Marquisate of *Rosny*, purchased the valuable library of the Abbé *Bignon* at the price of 180,000 liv. and bought, for 150,000 liv. the place of *Secrétaire du Roy*, for the sake of the privileges of nobility attached to that office. But the making these purchases was reckoned a piece of policy necessary for the support of his own credit, and of that of the India Company; and so strict a connection subsisted between these, that it was remarked, on disposing of part of his landed property, people began to speak in very dubious terms of his circumstances, and the price of shares suffered a depression. It will also be observed that the aggregate amount of his purchases did not exceed 10 millions of livres, a very moderate sum compared with the acquisitions made by several of the adventurers in the *Mississippi*, some having realized upwards of 20 millions from nothing; while Mr *Law*, the contriver of that project, who brought with him into *France* above *L. 110,000* sterling, who was at the head of affairs, in the secret of every operation, and disposed of all things at his pleasure, did not make half that sum. His profits can easily be accounted for, when we consider the large share he had in that lucrative concern, the General Bank, and the rise in the price of *actions* of the India Company, although it would appear that he disposed of very few of the shares he possessed therein, as when he left *Paris*, he had on their

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books

of his property out of *France*, he found himself involved in the ruin of his patron and reduced to beggary. Instead of abandoning himself to despair, as many in a similar predicament would have done, he travelled into *Holland*, and there attended to the art of bleaching linen. Returning to his native country a complete master of that art, he settled at *Roslin*, where he set on foot the first bleachfield established in *Scotland*. At this place he resided many years, assiduously attending to his business, and maintaining a most respectable character, after having firmly sustained a change of fortune that the strongest head could scarcely have been able to stand unmoved.

books no less than 4992 *actions*, which could easily have been sold, when the System was at its height, for upwards of 2 millions sterling*.

It may, besides, be asked what profit Mr. *Law* could have possibly made by the decree of reduction, since he was then in possession of as many, if not a greater number of, Bank notes and *actions* as any individual in the kingdom. If to these considerations we add the active part he took to prevent the alteration in the style of the notes, and recollect that the whole operations of the System were conducted publicly, the fabrication of Bank notes, the creation of shares, and every grant and alienation made to the India Company being done in virtue of public edicts, it appears nothing better than heaping cruelty upon injustice to asperse the character of Mr. *Law*. The injustice of this conduct is aggravated by its ingratitude, since if he had not been overruled by the Regent and his perfidious counsellors, and if the operations of the System had been conducted agreeably to his advice, *France* was in a fair way of becoming one of the richest and most flourishing states in *Europe*. Whatever love he might once have felt for his native country, he had completely transferred his affections to *France*; of which, when he was Prime Minister, his constant discourse was that he would raise the nation so high that every kingdom in the world would send Ambassadors to *Paris*, while his most Christian Majesty would only dispatch couriers to the other courts in return †.

Mr

* It would seem that Mr. *Law* originally possessed 10,500 shares of the India Company. Of these, he voluntarily gave up 2000 to the Company in Oct. 1720; 3000 were deposited in security of a debt of L. 96,000 sterl. due from him to the Earl of *Londonderry*, Governor *Harrison*, and other gentlemen; and 500 were assigned for the liquidation of an unjust claim against him to be hereafter noticed.

The deficiency of 8 shares of the remaining 5000 appears to have been owing to the following circumstance. Soon after his elevation to the office of Comptroller General, he made his appearance in the *Rue Quinquempoix*; during the confusion occasioned by the crowd pressing to see him and crying out *Vive le Roi et Monseigneur Law*, a lady had her pocket picked of near 100,000 liv. in notes. On hearing this lamentable story, Mr. *Law* generously presented her with shares to the amount of what she had lost. Mem. Reg. iii. 66. Hist. Syst. iii. 8.

† Lord *Stair's* Letters.

Mr *Law* arrived at *Brussels* in the morning of the 22d *Dec.* 1720, passing under the name of *M. Du Jardin*; but as soon as it was known who he really was, General *Wrangle* the governor, the Marquis *de Pancallier*, and several of the principal persons in that city, went to pay their respects to him. He waited on the Marquis *de Prie* the same afternoon at five o'clock, and afterwards accompanied Madame *de Pancallier* to the theatre, where a vast concourse of people were assembled to behold so extraordinary a character. Next day, the 23d, the Marquis *de Prie* returning Mr *Law's* visit in great state, brought him home in his coach, to a most sumptuous entertainment, at which were present several persons of the highest quality. That evening Mr *Law* went again to the play, and after it was over, supped with the Marquis *D'Esquillache*. On the 24th he dined a second time with the Marquis *de Prie*, to whom having notified his intention of leaving *Brussels* the same evening, that nobleman ordered passports to be got ready, and Mr *Law* accordingly set out at nine at night, accompanied by his son*.

He came to *Venice* early in *January* 1721, still passing under the name of *M. du Jardin*, and continued in that city two months, partaking of all the pleasures the Carnival afforded, and living on terms of intimacy with the Imperial and French Ambassadors. The famous Cardinal *Alberoni* coming there in *February*, had an interview with Mr *Law*; and it was reported that the Chevalier *de St. George* also arrived *incognito*, and had a conference with these Ministers in the Capuchin Monastery. Whether this last particular was true or not, cannot now be certainly known; only it seems that at this period the Chevalier was not seen publicly at *Rome* for several days, and when he appeared again, looked so well that little credit was given to the report that had been circulated of his indisposition. In the mean time, the most extraordinary stories were told of Mr *Law*, tending to impress people with an idea of his being possessed of immense wealth. It was said that 160,000 pistoles

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had

* Historical Register, *ad ann.* 1721.

had been lodged on his account in the Bank of the Holy Ghost at *Rome* by some persons unknown; that he had offered a vast sum to be admitted into the order of Venetian nobility; that his son was to be married to a daughter of the *Duc de Cesarini*, who had a fortune of 100,000 crowns; and that he had drawn bills of exchange to the extent of 250,000 pistoles *.

While such reports were spread, Mr *Law* found himself under the necessity, in order to secure himself against the claims of pretended creditors, of having his name enrolled in the list of Roman citizens, it being one of the privileges of that body to be exempted from arrests and other prosecutions for debt, at the suit of any other than a fellow burgher. Having taken this necessary precaution, he left *Venice* on the 15th of *March* for *Ferrara*, on his way to *Rome*; but receiving intelligence that some of his creditors had assigned their debts to a Roman citizen, who had concerted measures to have him arrested immediately on his arrival, he judged it adviseable to return to *Venice*. After some stay there, he travelled through *Bobemia* and *Germany* to *Hanover*, where he had the honour of an audience of Prince *Frederick*, and then proceeded to *Copenhagen*. During his residing at this place, having received an invitation from the British Ministry to return to his native country, he embarked on board the *Baltic Squadron*, commanded by Sir *John Norris*, being accommodated in that Admiral's own ship. Landing at the *Nore* 20th *Oct.* 1721, he proceeded to *London*, was presented to King *George I.* by Sir *John*, and took a house in *Conduit Street*, where he was daily visited by numbers of persons of the first quality and distinction †.

The favourable manner in which Mr *Law* was received, occasioned no small umbrage to the antiministerial party, and was judged of importance sufficient to occupy the attention of Parliament. For when the
House

* *Historical Register, ad ann. 1721.*

† *Ibid.*

House of Lords met on the 26th Oct. Earl *Coringby* represented to that august Assembly how dangerous it might be, on several accounts, to entertain and countenance such a man as *Mr Law*, and desired that a day might be appointed for taking this matter into consideration. Their Lordships having appointed the 9th Nov. for the discussion of this business, Earl *Coringby* on that day resumed his argument, saying that, for his part, he could not but entertain great jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom, and who, being so immensely rich as he was reported to be, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with many who were grown desperate by being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects; that this person was the more dangerous, in that he had renounced not only his natural affection to his country, and his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, by being naturalized in *France*, and openly countenancing the Pretender's friends; but, which was worst of all, and weighed most with him, that he had also renounced his God by turning Roman Catholic; concluding that their Lordships ought to enquire whether Sir *John Norris* had orders to bring him over. To this last part of the Earl's speech, Lord *Carteret* answered, in substance, that *Mr Law* had many years ago the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that, having at last received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his Majesty's most gracious pardon; that there was no law to keep an Englishman out of his own country; and as *Mr Law* was a subject of Great Britain, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming home, if he thought fit. To this Lord *Trevor* replied, that *Mr Law* was indeed a subject of *Great Britain*, and therefore, as such, had an undoubted right to come into the kingdom; but that the circumstance of a person of his character being brought on board of an English Admiral, and at this juncture, might deserve the consideration of the house. Earl *Cowper* spoke much to the same effect; but the matter was suffered to drop; and *Mr Law*, on the

the 28th of *November* following, pleaded, at the bar of the King's Bench, his Majesty's pardon for the murder of *Edward Wilson* Esq. in 1694, being attended, on this occasion, by the Duke of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Ilay*, and several other friends *.

After this, Mr *Law* continued to reside some years in *England*. He had received intelligence of the confiscation of his whole property in *France*; but being conscious of the rectitude of his conduct in the management of the finances, and that the balance would upon examination, be found considerably in his favour, he had good reason to flatter himself with the hopes of recovering a large sum, especially as the Regent always professed a more than ordinary regard for him, and continued punctually to remit his official salary of 20,000 liv. *per annum*. He carried on a constant correspondence with that Prince, who at last came to acknowledge that he had no doubt but the System would have succeeded, if unexpected events had not obliged him to deviate from the plan originally laid down. His R. H. manifested his approbation of Mr *Law's* conduct, confessed that he still stood in need of his instructions, requested his opinion upon the then state of affairs, and concluded with saying, that his only dependence for bringing *France* to its true value was upon his abilities and knowledge. Under these impressions, the Regent had several consultations with the council upon the propriety of recalling Mr *Law*, which he had set his heart on doing; and this would have been in all probability carried into execution, had not the sudden death of his Royal Highness, which happened on the 2d *Dec.* 1723, prevented it †.

This event was a fatal blow to Mr *Law's* hopes. His expectations of recovering part at least of his property now became fainter and fainter, his pension ceased to be remitted, his embarrassments increased, processes were commenced against him both in *France* and *England*, and he was threatened

* Parliamentary Register, &c.

† *Maffillon*, 199.

threatened with imprisonment by some of his creditors, from which however, he was relieved by two noble lords becoming his cautioners. His distresses are feelingly detailed in a letter to the *Duc de Bourbon*, Prime Minister of *France* after the decease of the Regent, dated at *London* 25th *Aug.* 1724. In it he says that "there is scarcely an example, perhaps not one instance, of a stranger like him who acquired in so high a degree the confidence of the Prince, who made so large fortune in so upright a manner, and who, on leaving *France*, reserved nothing for himself and family, not even what he had brought into the kingdom with him." This letter was accompanied with a Memorial stating his situation previous to being employed in the finances, his conduct during his administration, and his condition at the date of the epistle *.

These papers were followed by a long Memorial, dated at *London* 15th *Oct.* 1724, wherein Mr *Law* examines at length the demands made upon him by the India Company, and proposes a mode of liquidating them. The demands upon him appear to have been as follows,

1. Balance of a former account, comprehending the sum of 2,521,000 liv. of subscriptions for shares, remitted by the <i>Sieur Bille</i> to Mr <i>Law</i> to be paid in by his clerks	liv.	s.	d.
	6,072,514	2	3
2. Issued by edicts of the 23d <i>May</i> 1721, for the support of families brought from <i>Germany</i> , and sent to <i>Louisiana</i> by Mr <i>Law</i>	450,000	0	0
3. Tin and lead furnished by the Company to Mr <i>Law</i>	32,639	17	0
4. Paid by the Company in Genoese money, to M. <i>de Chavigny</i>	275,184	17	4
5. Bank notes delivered to Mr <i>Law</i> 29th <i>Nov.</i> and 15th <i>Dec.</i> 1720.	7,437,342	0	0
6. Receipt of one of the clerks of the Company in the department of <i>Primes</i> †.	4,500,000	0	0
7. Paid by the Company to Mr <i>Law's</i> correspondents	3,468,694	16	0
	20,236,375	12	7
			Mr

* *Oeuvres de Law*, 398.

† By *Primes*, or first payments, are meant sums advanced upon engagements to furnish shares of the India Company, at a fixed price, within a stipulated period, as was commonly done by those who could not readily procure *actions*. The traffic in *Primes*

Mr *Law* readily acknowledges, that he ought to be held bound to pay the first article in shares, although he at the same time observes, that in the former account, therein referred to, there was stated the sum of 5 millions of livres laid out in the purchase of annuities upon his own life, and the lives of his wife and children, seized upon by the King, as formerly noticed. The second article he does not dispute, supposing the sum in question to have been issued for the support of some hundreds of families brought, at his own expence, from *Germany*, in order to be sent to *Louisiana* to assist in the cultivation of that province, who were waiting for embarkation at *Port L'Orient*, at the period of his dismissal. The third article he also allows, the tin and lead having been provided for the service of the Navy, and he having charged the amount among the sums advanced by him for his Majesty. The money paid to *M. de Chavigny* he likewise allows; as also the fifth article, which, he says, was employed, by special order of the Regent, in purchasing, at a very high price, *actions* from persons whose cases appeared uncommonly favourable. As for the receipt of the clerk, the subject of the sixth article of the claim, he absolutely denies that he is debtor to the Company on that head, and asserts no demand could be more unjust and ill founded, the receipt running in these terms: " I grant myself to have received from
 " my Lord the Comptroller General the sum of 4,500,000 liv. to ac-
 " count of 10 millions of *Primes*, which I have delivered to him. *Paris*
 " 13th Feb. 1720," signed by the clerk. Now this receipt does not prove that Mr *Law* owed 4,500,000 liv. bearing only that he had paid that

Primes increased to such a height, that it was found necessary to issue an edict, dated 11th Feb. 1720, prohibiting all bargains of that sort betwixt individuals, the Company at the same time to deliver, within a stated period, shares to those who applied for them, and paid down a certain proportion of the price by way of advance. These sums, also called *Primes*, were by a subsequent edict directed to be brought back to the Company, the holders getting in return one share for each 9000 liv. of *Primes* so brought back. Dict. de *Moreri*, au mot *Actions*. Hist. Syst. iii. 43.

that sum to account of 10 millions, so that if he had not made a second payment, he would have been owing 5,500,000 liv. on that score. The clerk did not pretend to say that he had delivered the 10 millions of *Primes* to Mr *Law*, without obtaining, at the same time, a receipt from him for that sum; but no such receipt was produced. Mr *Law* therefore says that the fact will be found to be precisely this, that on his paying the balance of 5,500,000 liv. due from him for the *Primes*, he had given, along with it, the receipt of the clerk for 4,500,000 liv. Notwithstanding the injustice of thus bringing him in debtor for the last mentioned sum, upon the authority of a receipt which, so far from proving that he was owing, bore on the face thereof, that he had paid it, Mr *Law* readily agreed that the Company might, if they pleased, deduct that sum from the amount of his shares, as in owing 4 or 5 millions less to them his situation would not be bettered, the property in their hands belonging to him, being double or treble the amount of their demands, and it was his wish to get back only what he had brought with him into *France*. As to the seventh and last article, he acknowledges that the Company was entitled to require payment thereof in specie from his brother *William*, but asserts that the King was the real debtor for the sum in question, it having been employed, by orders of the Regent, in the payment of subsidies.

After stating that, on the evening before he set out for *Guermande*, he had remitted to *Pomier de St. Leger*, 2 millions in bank accounts, worth at that time 700 per cent, or 14 millions, in order to discharge what he was owing to the India Company, but that *Pomier* had thought proper to disobey his directions, he proposes the following mode of liquidating the before mentioned demands.

	liv.	s.	d.
1. Bank Accompts. - - -	7,475,640	4	7
2. 500 shares, at 9000 liv. each, to discharge the receipt in the department of <i>Primes</i> , converted into shares at the rate fixed by edict of Council - - -	4,500,000	0	0
3. Effects belonging to him in possession of the King and India Company, as per particular list - - -	4,792,040	12	0
4. Warrants on the Royal Treasury, for payment of the subsidies and other articles advanced by Mr <i>Law</i> for the King's service - - -	3,468,694	16	0
	<hr/>		
	20,236,375	12	7

He therefore beseeches the *Duc de Bourbon*, that his Highness would be pleased to expedite warrants from the King for the above 3,468,694 liv. 16s. as also for 2,159,957 liv. 17s. 6d. owing by his Majesty on the same account, proposing with this last sum to discharge the demands of his foreign correspondents. After doing so, he stated that there would remain due to him 5,389,906 liv. 3s. 9d. in effects in the possession of the King and India Company, besides 4492 *actions* carried to the *Visa* by the *Sieur Nicolas*; and he left entirely to the Duke to settle these claims in whatever manner his Highness thought proper, at the same time hinting that his wishes were limited to the recovery of the money he had brought with him into *France* in 1714, amounting to 1,600,000 liv. at 28 liv. to the marc, or somewhat more than *L.* 114,000 sterling*.

In the conclusion, Mr *Law* mentions that he did not include in the state of his debts *L.* 96,000 sterling, due from him to the Earl of *Londonderry*, Governor *Harrison*, and others, since 3000 shares of the India Company were assigned for payment of that sum. He earnestly entreated

* At the death of *Louis XIV.* the standard of the silver coin being 28 liv. to the marc, each livre was worth 17½d.—The standard was frequently altered during the Regency of the *Duc d'Orleans*, and the subsequent administrations of *Louis XV.* being sometimes rated at 80 liv. to the marc and under, or less than 6d each livre, a circumstance which prevented me from being able to reduce, with any precision, the sums of French money mentioned in this work to sterling.

treated the Duke to order these shares to be settled in such a manner as to liquidate the demands of these creditors, and to free him from his engagements to them; but this reasonable request met with no attention from Government, although the shares in question were, at the period of the assignation, valued at upwards of one million sterling.

Some passages selected from this memorial, will paint the situation of Mr *Law* and his family in striking colours. " When I retired to *Guer-*
 " *mande*, I had no hopes that the Regent would have permitted me to
 " leave the kingdom; I had given over all thoughts thereof, when your
 " Highness sent to inform me of his intention to accord that permission,
 " and the next day, immediately on receiving the passports, I set off.
 " Consider, my Lord, if, being in the country, removed from my papers,
 " and books, it was in my power to put in order affairs that required not
 " only leisure, but also my presence in *Paris*, to arrange properly; and
 " if it is not a piece of great injustice for the India Company to wish to
 " take advantage of the condition to which I was reduced, and of the
 " dishonest conduct of clerks, in requiring from me payment of sums I do
 " not in fact owe, and which, even though I had been owing, were, as I
 " have shewn, expended for their service, and payable in *actions* or
 " notes, of which effects, belonging to me, they at that time had, and
 " still have, on their books to the amount of double or treble the sum
 " they demand. No, my Lord, I cannot bring myself to accuse the
 " Company of so much as the intention to injure me. That Company
 " owes its birth to me. For them I have sacrificed every thing, even my
 " property and my credit, being now bankrupt not only in *France*, but
 " also in all other countries. For them I have sacrificed the interests of
 " my children, whom I tenderly love, and who are deserving of all my
 " affection; these children, courted by the most considerable families in
 " *France*, are now destitute of fortune and of establishments. I had it
 " in my power to have settled my daughter in marriage in the first
 " houses of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*; but I refused all offers of
 " that nature, thinking it inconsistent with my duty to, and my affec-

“ tion for, the state in whose service I had the honour to be engaged.
 “ I do not assume to myself any merit from this conduct, and I never so
 “ much as spoke upon the subject to the Regent: But I cannot help
 “ observing, that this mode of behaviour is diametrically opposite to the
 “ idea my enemies wish to impress of me; and surely all *Europe* ought
 “ to have a good opinion of my disinterestedness, and of the condition
 “ to which I am reduced, since I no longer receive any proposals of mar-
 “ riage for my children.

“ My Lord, I conducted myself with a still greater degree of delica-
 “ cy, for I took care not to have my son or my daughter married even
 “ in *France*, although I had the most splendid and advantageous offers
 “ of that kind. I did not chuse that any part of my protection should
 “ be owing to alliances, but that it should depend solely upon the in-
 “ trinsic merits of my project*.”

Every argument, however, that Mr *Law* could urge to procure re-
 titution was of no avail, the Company persisting to demand payment in
 specie of the sums owing them, and refusing to allow him credit for the
 notes and *actions* in their hands belonging to him, while Government
 declined to account for his real and personal property in *France*, confis-
 cated and sold by them. He was therefore constrained to renounce all
 hopes of favour or justice from that quarter. How he settled his affairs
 in *England* I cannot find; but it appears that he bid a final adieu to
Britain about the year 1725, and fixed his residence at *Venice*. The
 famous President *Montesquieu* happening to pass through that city some
 time afterwards, did not omit to pay his respects to so extraordinary a
 person, and frequently visited Mr *Law*. One day, the conversation
 chancing to fall on the opposition made by the Parliament of *Paris* to
 the System, *Montesquieu* could not help asking how it happened that
 he

* The present *M. Law de Lauriston* added to the other favours I had the pleasure
 of receiving from him, a complete copy of this memorial, which has never yet ap-
 peared in print; some detached fragments only are published in the *Oeuvres de J.
 Law*, 8vo, *Paris*, 1790.

he had not endeavoured to gain over that body by bribery, as Sir *Robert Walpole* had proceeded with respect to the British Senate. In answer, Mr *Law* desired the President to remark the wide difference betwixt these two bodies; *Le Senat Anglois ne fait consister la liberte qu'a faire tout ce qu'il veut. Le Francois ne met la sienne qu'a faire tout ce qu'il doit. Ainsi l'interet peut engager l'un a vouloir ce qu'il ne doit pas faire, il est rare qu'il porte l'autre a faire ce qu'il ne doit pas vouloir* *.

At *Venice* Mr *Law* concluded the checquered course of his life, dying there in a state but little removed from indigence, on the 21st of *March* 1729, in the 58th year of his age; and he lies buried in one of the churches of that city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen. The following epitaph appeared soon afterwards.

*Ci git cet Ecoffois celebre,
Ce calculateur sans egale,
Que, par les regles de l'Algebre,
A mis la France a l'hopital †.*

His external appearance, as has been already mentioned, was uncommonly engaging, very few being reckoned his equal in personal graces; and his conversation, enlivened with wit, and seasoned with repartees, was no less attractive. Uniting to these qualifications, distinguished politeness, and the sweetest and most insinuating manners, he hardly ever failed to conciliate the regard of all who knew him †. The
Duchess.

* Nouvelle Dictionnaire Historique, au mot *Law*.

† *Mercur* d' *Avril* 1729, p. 814. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* ubi supra.

‡ *Law* etoit d'un taille haute et bien proportionée; il avoit l'air grand et preve-
nant, le visage ovale, le front élevé, les yeux bien fendus, le regard doux, le nez a-
quilin, et la bouche agréeeable; on peut, sans flaterie, le mettre au rang des hommes
les mieux faits. Son esprit repondoit a son extérieur. Tout cela joint a ses manie-
res douces et insinuantes, lui attiroit l'estime et la confiance de ceux qui l'approch-
oient. — *Hist. Syst.* i. 69.

Grand, bien fait, d'une figure agréeeable et noble, de beaucoup d'esprit, d'une po-
litesse distinguée, avec de la hauteur sans insolence. Il y avoit chez lui plus d'ordre
et de propreté que de luxe.—*Duclos*, ii. 134.

Duchefs Dowager of *Orleans* relates that, confidering he was a foreigner, he did not fpeak the French language ill; and her Royal Highnefs highly commends his polite, yet spirited behaviour, on coming firft into power, an inftance of which will be found in the fubjoined note *.

The fuperiority of his talents is beft evinced by the circumftance of his raifing himfelf, by them alone, to the firft place in point of power and confequence, in a nation accuftomed to regard all foreigners, efpecially his countrymen, in a very inferior light. While the *Missiffippi* System, a project perfectly original in its nature, and admirable for the number, the variety, and the importance of the objects it comprehended, furnifhes a ftrong proof of the extent of his genius, the greatnefs of his views, and the aftonifhing fertility of his refources in the execution of his plans.

To his moral character, I am forry to fay no compliments can be paid. His uncommon perfonal endowments generally infured him fuccefs in affairs of gallantry, and to thefe unworthy purfuits he devoted too much of his time. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath* relates, that, even before he left *Scotland*, he was “ nicely expert in all manner of debaucheries;” and it is faid that he lived feveral years in a courfe of adultery with an Englifh Lady, whom he had perfuaded to elope from her hufband, and to accompany him in his rambles abroad. The *Duc de Richelieu* fpeaks in very plain terms of the attachment the Duchefs Dowager of *Orleans* had for Mr *Law* †, and we have feen that he was
by

* *M. Laws* a eu une violent querelle avec ce fou De — qui vouloit lui forcer a faire une chofe expreffement defendu par mon fils. Scavez vous bien que je fuis, demanda t’il a *Laws*? Oui, repondit celui ci, fans cela je ne vous respecterois pas comme je fais. Vous devez donc m’obeir, dit l’un. Je vous obeirai, dit l’autre, quand vous ferez Regent. ———— Fragm. ii. 271.

† La Ducheffe Douairiere vivoit publiquement avec *Law*. — *Memoires de Richelieu* ii. 180. — *Law* un des plus beaux hommes de fon tems, fe chargea de lui (la mere du Regent) faire la cour et de lui plaire; et la Princeffe s’en accommoda; car dans fon vieux age elle avoit encore le temperament des jeunes demoifelles de vingt ans. ——— iii. 11.

by no means indifferent to the Countess of *Orkney*, the witty favourite of King *William*.

Besides the works already mentioned, "Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade," and "Money and Trade considered," each of which has gone through two editions, Mr *Law* published in *France* some tracts upon Credit and Finance. Towards the end of 1790, there appeared at *Paris* an octavo volume, entitled, "*Oeuvres de J. Law Controleur General des Finances de France sous le Regent.*" This volume, published by M. *Senouer*, formerly Captain of Engineers, a gentleman of uncommon abilities and knowledge, contains 1st, Mr *Law's* classical work, "Money and Trade considered," translated into French. 2d, Two memorials, on the subject of Banks and Banking, presented by Mr *Law* to the Regent. 3. Fifteen letters on the same subject, addressed to that Prince. And 4. A letter, with some extracts from a memorial, sent to the *Duc de Bourbon* from *London* in 1724, formerly noticed. This book, enriched by the intelligent editor with a preliminary discourse, and illustrated by valuable notes, is in high estimation in *France*, and has contributed not a little to remove the erroneous opinions of the System entertained in that country.

Mr *Law* married Lady *Catherine Knollys*, third daughter of *Nicholas*, third Earl of *Banbury*, (by his second wife *Anne*, youngest daughter of *William Lord Sberard*.) By that Lady, who was married first to—*Senor Esq.* and who died about the year 1747, æta. 76. Mr *Law* had one son, *John Law* of *Lauriston*, his successor, and one daughter, *Mary Catherine*, a very accomplished lady, married 4th *July* 1734, to her first cousin *William*, Viscount *Wallingford*, (eldest son of *Charles* fourth Earl of *Banbury*.) Major of the first troop of Horse Guards. This young nobleman represented the Borough of *Banbury* in two Parliaments; and a patent was made out, to call him up to the house of Peers, by the title of Baron of *Althorpe* in the County of *Lincoln*, (an estate belonging to him,) but it was prevented from taking effect by his Lordship's sudden death, 6th *June* 1740. Leaving no issue, his half brother, the
Rev.

Rev. *Charles Knollys* became Viscount *Wallingford*, and afterwards fifth Earl of *Banbury* on his father's decease 28th Aug. same year. Lady *Wallingford* surviving her husband more than half a century, died at her house in *Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London*, 14th Oct. 1790, being then about eighty years of age *.

John Law of Lauriston, only son and heir of the Comptroller General, did not fail, during his father's exaltation, to have his full share of the universal adulation and courtship lavishly bestowed on his family. He was frequently in the company of the young King, *Louis XV.* and had the honour of being named, along with some young noblemen of the highest quality in the nation, to take a part with his Majesty in a most superb ballet, planned by the *Marechal de Villeroy*; but he was prevented from enjoying that honour by an attack of the measles. Manifesting a predilection for a military life, Lord *Stanhope*, in hopes of gaining over his father, promised him the command of a regiment in the British service, a promise that was never fulfilled. In May 1720, the *Duc de la Force* being deputed Ambassador to *London*, in order to conclude several affairs of great importance with the British ministry, Mr *Law* resolved to accompany his Grace, and had actually taken his departure from *Paris* with the Duke's brother, and other young noblemen; but some obstacles arising, a courier was dispatched with orders for them to come back. After the downfall of the System, he resided chiefly at *Chantilly* and *St Maur* with the *Duc de Bourbon* and in Dec. 1720, accompanied his father in his retreat from *France*, and subsequent travels. He afterwards settled with his mother at *Utrecht* and *Brussels*, and died a Cornet in the Regiment of the Prince of *Nassau Friesland*, of the small pox, at *Maestricht* in 1734, aged about 30, unmarried †, so the estate of *Lauriston*, in virtue of

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* Information from *Thomas* sixth Earl of *Banbury*, (who died at *Winchester* 18th March 1793,) communicated by his son *William* seventh and present Earl of *Banbury*.

† *Duclos* ii. 73. *Fragm.* ii. 271. *Lord Stair's Letters*. Mem. Reg. ii. 401. Information

a special entail executed by his grandmother, devolved upon his uncle,

William Law of Lauriston, next surviving brother of the Comptroller General, who was born at *Edinburgh* 24th Oct. 1675, and bred to the profession of a goldsmith, or banker, in that city. He afterwards settled in *London*, from whence he was called to *France* in 1719, to assist in the operations of the *Mississippi* System. On his arrival at *Paris*, he was presented to the Regent by his brother, who had so much candour as to mention, that it was he that had planned the projects which bid fair to be of such advantage to the kingdom. He was immediately constituted Director General of the India Company, and one of the Directors of the Royal Bank, and continued to execute these offices with great assiduity, the department of foreign correspondence being allotted to him, on account of the high estimation in which he was held by strangers of all nations, till the downfall of the System. Soon after this fatal event, and the consequent disgrace of his brother, his whole effects were seized upon and confiscated, all his books and papers carried off, and he himself committed prisoner to the *Bastile*, where, and in the *Conciergerie*, he remained fifteen months. The chief pretext of this long confinement was a debt of about 3,500,000 liv. advanced in specie to him by the India Company; but it was proved that he had employed that sum, by the express orders of the Regent, in the payment of subsidies to foreign princes. Notwithstanding this fact was clearly established, no part of his great property was ever restored; and he continued to reside in *Paris*, in a comparatively indigent state, till his death, which happened in the

I i

Scotch

formation from the late Earl of *Banbury*. His Lordship mentioned, that on Mr *Law's* death, the widow *St Paul* of *Paris* made a demand upon *Lady Catherine Law* of the sum of 200,000 liv. due to her in consequence of some transactions during the *Mississippi* system: Her Ladyship resisting the claim, a process was instituted to compel payment, and several letters that passed on this occasion between the then Duke of *Portland* and *Lady Wallingford*, are now in the possession of the Earl of *Banbury*.

Scotch College in that city, in the year 1752, in the 77th year of his age, and he lies buried in the chapel of that seminary*.

He married Miss *Rebecca Dives*, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, by whom he had four daughters, two of whom died unmarried, a third was married, first to *M. de la Cour*, and after his death to *M. le Comte de Bermandet*, and died in 1790, the fourth became the wife of *M. de Boisseroles*, Counsellor of the Chamber of Accompts and Finances at *Montpellier*; they both had issue. *William Law of Lauriston* had also two sons, *John Law of Lauriston*, his heir, and *James Francis Law*, who was born in 1724, and at the age of 17 embarked for the East Indies, in the military service of the French India Company. In 1747, being quartered at *Pondichery*, he was detached by *M. Dupleix* with 100 Europeans and 300 Sepoys to defend the fortrefs of *Ariancopang* against, and thus retard the progress of, the British troops under Admiral *Boscawen* approaching to the siege of the former place. Mr *Law* repulsed an attack of 700 of the prime of the English army, who attempted to storm the fortrefs, and obliged them to retreat with 150 of their men killed and wounded. He continued to hold out *Ariancopang* against the whole force of Admiral *Boscawen* for some days, till a quantity of gunpowder accidentally blowing up, killed and disabled 100 of his men, whereupon he thought proper to retreat in good order to *Pondichery*, the siege of which was soon afterwards raised.

In 1751, Mr *Law* had the command of the French troops sent to the assistance of *Cbundafabeb*, Soubah of the southern provinces, and along with that prince beleaguered *Tritchinapoly* in 1752; but upon the approach of Major *Lawrence* and Capt. *Clive*, they were obliged, after an unsuccessful attempt to cut off an English convoy, to retire on the 2d of *April* into the Island of *Seringham*, formed by the *Caveri* and *Coleeroon* rivers. Here they were invested by Major *Lawrence* on the south
bank

* Mem. Reg. ii. 323. M. S. account of the family of *Law of Lauriston*, in my possession.

bank of the *Caveri*, and Captain *Clive* on the north side of the *Coleroon*, by whom all succours attempted to be sent to Mr *Law* being repulsed, and the endeavours he made to surprize the English having failed, he was constrained, for want of provisions, to surrender himself and his whole forces amounting to 800 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys, to Major *Lawrence* 1st June 1752.

Procuring his release not long afterwards, he was, in the middle of July 1756, detached from *Masulipatam* with a body of troops to the assistance of M. *Buffy*, whom he joined, after a difficult and dangerous march, wherein he was perpetually harrassed by the *Mabrattas*, on the 15th Aug. at *Hyderabad*. He was received by M. *Buffy* with the acknowledgements due to his perseverance and valour; and a peace was soon afterwards concluded with the enemy, who had no inclination to cope with the French, when they beheld the formidable succours brought by Mr *Law*. He continued with M. *Buffy's* army during 1757 and 1758, soon rose to the first rank in the service, and was made one of the Knights of the order of *St. Louis*. He died in 1767, in the 43d year of his age, at the Isle of *France*, on his voyage to *Pondichery* in quality of Commander in chief of the troops of the East India Company, leaving, by his wife Miss *Carvalho* of *Madrass*, a lady of Portuguese extraction, one son, *James Francis Law*, born at *Pondichery* in 1758, an officer in the army, (who married in 1791, and has one son,) also three daughters, the eldest is married to M. *de Bruno*, the second is widow of *Charles Smith* Esq. formerly Governor of *Madrass*, and the youngest is the wife of *Samuel Johnson*, Esq. one of the Council of *Madrass*; all these have issue.

John Law of *Lauriston*, the eldest son and heir, was born on the 15th of *October* 1719, when his father and uncle were in the zenith of their glory. Upon the shipwreck of their fortunes, his mother and her family being taken under the immediate protection of the *Duchess* of *Bourbon*, that lady superintended his education, and in 1742 procured him an appointment in the civil service of the East India Company. On

On this occasion, the Directors proposed in consideration of the merits of his uncle, who had been the founder of that company, to send him out at once in quality of Counsellor, although he had not attained the age required by their statutes; but the Dukes and his other friends judging that it would tend more to his improvement to pass through the subordinate gradations, he was accordingly at first employed as a writer. After serving some years in that capacity, he became successively Junior Merchant and Counsellor, and had the command of several settlements in *Bengal*; he was chief of *Cossimbazar* in that province in 1756, when the Nabob *Souradjot Dola* fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon the English factories. On this occasion Mr Law did not fail to render all the service in his power to several individuals and families of that nation, belonging to *Cossimbazar*, *Dacca*, and *Calcutta**; but his friendly exertions in their favour were soon interrupted, intelligence of the war betwixt *Britain* and *France* arriving in *India* in December that year. Soon afterwards, the British forces under Admiral *Watson* and Colonel *Clive* coming to *Bengal* after reducing *Geriab*, attacked and took in March 1757 the settlement of *Chandernagor*, the principal place belonging to the French in that province. Some officers and soldiers of that fortress, however, having made their escape, and joined Mr *Law* at *Cossimbazar*, he was induced, in consideration of the critical situation of affairs, to put himself at their head, the Nabob promising to supply him with money for their maintenance. This force was afterwards increased by two small detachments from *Patna* and *Dacca*. On the 16th of April, Mr *Law* received from *Souradjot Dola* orders to leave *Cossimbazar*, and march to *Boglipore*, whether he accordingly proceeded with his troop, which consisted of about 300 men, of whom 200, including 13 officers, were Europeans,

* Mr *Holwell* mentions, that he and some of those who survived the horrors of the Black hole of *Calcutta*, on their passage from thence to *Muxadabad* experienced every act of humanity and kindness from Mr *Law*, who supplied them with clothes, linen, provisions, liquors, and left no means unattempted to procure their release.—*Holwell's Tracts*, 271. 272.

Europeans, although he had no more than 6000 rupees for their support. He continued some days in the neighbourhood of that place, in consequence of letters from the Nabob, who ordered him to be constantly on the march without either advancing or retreating. This was by no means an easy task, destitute as the troop was of money and necessaries; but *Souradjot Dola*, who to his other vices joined the most sordid avarice, and was, besides surrounded with traitors that wished for nothing more than his ruin, would not for a long time afford Mr *Law* any pecuniary assistance. He, however, at last, unwillingly sent a scanty supply of about 20,000 rupees to Mr *Law*, ordering him at the same time to retire with all speed to *Faina*, where he arrived the beginning of *June*. These orders were issued in consequence of the Nabob's treacherous counsellors suggesting that it would be an easy matter to conclude a treaty with the English, when the French were removed to a distance. That effect, however, did not follow; and this unadvised step of *Souradjot Dola* in ordering Mr *Law* to remove so far from his army, and thus depriving himself of the immediate advice and assistance of so intelligent an officer, occasioned, in the opinion of Lord *Clive* himself, the destruction of that prince.

The Nabob, however, was not long in finding out his error, and on the 12th of *June* dispatched an express to Mr *Law*, with orders for him to join his army, then encamped at *Plassey*, with all expedition. Colonel *Clive*, on receiving intelligence thereof, being apprehensive that Mr *Law*'s arrival would add strength to the Nabob's force, and vigour to his councils, advised an immediate attack upon the army before that junction could take place. This counsel being followed, its fruit was the famous battle of *Plassey* fought on the 23d of *June* 1757, when *Souradjot Dola*'s whole army was defeated, and himself taken and put to death.

Mr *Law* did not receive the Nabob's letter till the 22d of *June*, ten days after the date; its transmission, having been delayed by some of the traitors in the army. He, however, immediately embarked his detachment in *battaues* upon the *Ganges*, and struggling against a violent

faithful associates. *Alygobor* and the *Mabrattas* removing from the neighbourhood of *Dehly*, and Mr *Law* marching towards that capital, met on the same road, at the distance of 16 miles from thence. Both parties encamped immediately; Mr *Law* paid his respects to the prince, in his tent, all was soon settled betwixt them, and the next day they began to march towards *Bengal*, the former hoping by this powerful assistance to be able to re-establish the interests of the French in that province. *Hitelrao* however was by no means in earnest in this affair, his sole view being to obtain the money his general had demanded from the Vizir, and in effect that minister seeing him as it were, in possession of *Alygobor*, soon came to an accommodation with *Otkar Mollar*, who obtained payment of the whole arrears due to his army. During the negotiation, Mr *Law* and his detachment were kept continually in motion, in name of the prince, but in fact to serve the purposes of *Hitelrao*, who appropriated to himself the spoils of several forts and villages taken by the French troops.

The terms of the accommodation being at last settled, *Alygobor* explained the whole to Mr *Law*, at the same time mentioning that it had become necessary to put off the expedition into *Bengal* to some future period. He requested that Mr *Law* would keep close to him; but this request the latter was under the necessity of refusing, being apprehensive that if he complied therewith he would be too far removed from the scenes of action, to co-operate with the rest of the French troops in *India*. On this account he judged it his duty to endeavour to effectuate a junction with M. *Buffy*, who then commanded in the *Decan*. With this view, he proceeded the length of *Galeor*, where receiving orders from M. *De Leyris*, Governor and Commander in chief of the French settlements, to remain in the vicinity of *Bengal*, he resolved to pass the approaching rainy season at *Ghoterpour*, a village in the province of *Al-lababad*, and accordingly arrived there in June 1758. During the wet months, he was not idle, employing his time in perfecting his detachment in their exercises, and in providing necessaries for his men, and ammunition

ammunition for the field pieces, as was his constant practice at that season.

After the rains were over, Mr *Law* continued to reside a while at *Choterpour*, uncertain what course to take; but at length he received information of the arrival of M. *de Lally*, and a strong squadron under the command of M. *d'Acbe*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, and that they were making preparations to besiege *Madrass*. Communicating this intelligence to *Alygobor*, that Prince found means a second time to elude the vigilance of the Vizir, and repaired, with such troops as he could raise, to *Mabmoud Couli Khan*, Governor of *Allabad*. Mr *Law* immediately prepared to join him; but on his arrival at *Benares* was not a little surprized to find that *Alygobor* had proceeded to *Patna* without waiting for his detachment, and had moreover left orders for him to remain where he was. This imprudent step was taken in consequence of the advice of *Mabmoud Couli Khan*, who having been, as was suspected, gained by the intrigues of Colonel *Clive*, informed *Alygobor* that if he marched into *Bengal* with his own troops alone, that province would instantly submit. Trusting to this advice, he sent orders to Mr *Law* to remain at *Benares*, and advancing towards *Patna*, (where at that time was not one European soldier or sepoy, the English having drawn all their forces to *Calcutta*, to be the better enabled to resist M. *Lally*;) the Governor amused him with negociations, till he was informed that Colonel *Clive* was on the march to relieve him, when he broke off the treaty, and bid the Prince defiance. *Alygobor* then perceiving the error he had fallen into, dispatched an express with orders to Mr *Law* to join him instantly. His detachment accordingly set out and joined the army 4th *April 1759*; but the siege of *Patna* (where the Prince lost a great number of troops in several ill managed assaults) being then in part raised, and Colonel *Clive* with the British forces and those of *Mird Jafer Ali Khan* being at the distance of only ten miles, a retreat was judged unavoidable. *Alygobor's* army however retreated in good order, the French detachment bringing up the rear.

Mr *Law* seeing that nothing effectual could now be done where he was, resumed his intention of marching into the *Decan*. This design was however frustrated by the intelligence he received of the capture of *Majulipatam* *, which laid him under the necessity of altering his course, and returning to his old quarters at *Cboterpour*, where he a second time passed the rainy months.

Alygobor resolving to make new efforts to recover *Bengal* out of the hands of the British and their allies, re-entered that province in *February* 1760, induced to take that step chiefly by the pressing invitations of the *Rajahs*, who had several proofs of the bad disposition of the *Nabob* towards them. His army consisted of above 30,000 men, almost all cavalry; but he was badly provided with artillery, having none with him except the field pieces belonging to the detachment of Mr *Law*, who joined him in *April*, and was extremely serviceable to his cause, particularly by procuring intelligence from *Bengal*. They a second time undertook the siege of *Patna*, but their artillery being too weak to make any impression on that place, defended by Europeans and sepoy well provided with arms and ammunition, they were again obliged to raise it, after losing many men. Mr *Law's* detachment in particular lost 16 Europeans, many Sepoys, and several Mogul Cavaliers who had entered into the French service. After this repulse, the army of *Alygobor* over-run great part of the province of *Babar*, and by means of Mr *Law's* field pieces reduced several small forts, and made themselves masters of an extent of country sufficient for their subsistence.

The Emperor *Alumghir Sani* was at this time assassinated by two pretended faquirs employed by *Ghaziuddin Khan*, who gave orders for proclaiming one of the young princes (whom he thought he could easily manage) Emperor, under the name of *Schab Dejan*. *Alygobor*, however, upon receiving intelligence of his father's death, was proclaimed by his army, and assumed the name of *Schab Alem*. This could not fail to operate

* By Colonel *Forde*, 7th *April*, 1759.

rate as an additional inducement to Mr *Law* to attach himself closely to that Prince, the more especially as he was informed that *Pondichery* was about to be besieged by the British, and thence saw the importance of endeavouring to make a diversion, in order to divide and weaken the troops of the latter. The most faithful servants of *Scbab Alem* on this occasion received additional marks of that prince's favour, *Soudja ol Dola* being appointed Vizir, the Rajah *Camgar Khan* nominated *Mir Bokchys*, or Generalissimo of the troops; and Mr *Law* was raised to the highest dignities in his power to bestow, being created Nabob and Emir of the empire, and appointed *Mir Ateche*, or Grand Master of the Artillery.

Still further to manifest his regard for Mr *Law*, *Scbab Alem* made him a visit of ceremony in his tent, which was reckoned a singular mark of condescension. He was also often invited to the Emperor's table, and frequently enjoyed long conversations with that Prince, whose situation was at times truly alarming, on account of the mutinous dispositions of his army. One day several soldiers having assembled about the royal tent with a menacing air, Mr *Law's* detachment was called to the assistance of *Scbab Alem*, and served for a long time as his body guard. So great was the Emperor's confidence in that party, that he could hardly think himself in safety, except when the French were about him.

Scbab Alem's affairs, however, soon began to wear a more promising aspect. Colonel *Clive* had taken his departure for *Europe*, and the Nabob of *Bengal* tired of the tyranny of the British, and listening to the suggestions of his son *Miren*, an enterprising young prince, who to great courage and talents for war joined an invincible hatred of that nation, resolved to espouse the cause of the new Emperor. He accordingly entered into a private treaty with *Scbab Alem*, and proposed to strike a bold stroke in favour of that prince, whom he proposed secretly to join; but the project was betrayed to Mr *Holwell*, at that time acting as Governor of *Calcutta*, by *Camgar Khan*, Commander in chief of the Emperor's forces.

This intelligence could not fail to occasion great consternation among the British, who foresaw the ruin of their power in *Bengal*, if the proposed junction should take place; and therefore they exerted themselves to prevent it. The only methods of bringing about this end appeared to be the deposing of the Nabob, and raising to his place one who could be depended upon, or the endeavouring to gain over *Scwab Alem* to their interest. This last Mr *Holwell* thought could be accomplished by offering to account to him for the revenues of *Bengal*, to act under his orders, and to assist him with English troops, provided he would agree to deliver up Mr *Law* and his party. But this idea was given up, and Mr *Holwell* resolved to try the other alternative, which was rendered practicable by the treachery of *Cassim Ali Khan*, son in law of the Nabob, who found means to procure the assassination of *Miren*. When this fact was perpetrated, the British found no difficulty in deposing *Mird Jaffer Ali Khan*, and raising *Cassim* to his dignity. The new Nabob, eager to manifest his gratitude, raised a large body of troops, and being joined by Major *Carnac*, marched into *Babar* to oppose *Scwab Alem*. As this army consisted of about 700 Europeans, 6000 completely disciplined Sepoys, and 25,000 well trained horse, having their arrears regularly cleared, Mr *Law* advised the Emperor to retreat, his forces, though almost equal in number, being in general badly armed, ill mounted and paid, and without subordination. The traitor *Camgar Khan* however, in whom *Scwab Alem* placed great confidence, prevailed upon that Prince to wait the event, and the two armies accordingly met at *Helsa*, a village some miles south of *Patna*, on the 15th Jan. 1761. Orders being given for engaging, *Camgar Khan*, on the first discharge of the artillery, quitted the field, and involved the whole Indian army in the rout. Mr *Law*, thus deserted, was obliged to retreat; but wishing to preserve his field pieces, which had hitherto proved the safeguard of his troop, he could not, consistently with this view, march through very difficult roads quickly enough to effectuate his escape. He was consequently soon overtaken and surrounded by the British forces, and obliged to yield himself prisoner to Major *Carnac*.

It is not a little remarkable, that *Pondicbery* capitulated the day Mr *Law's* detachment was taken 1200 miles from thence; consequently the French on one and the same day experienced two of the most severe blows they had received during the course of this war, so unfortunate for their interests in *India*. A few of Mr *Law's* men, however, made their escape, and joined *Schah Alem*; but that Prince surrendered himself to the British on the 4th *Feb.* following.

In order to form a just estimate of Mr *Law's* exertions, from his quitting *Coffimbazar* to his capture at *Helsa*, it is necessary to observe that he was not bred to the military service, and that his party consisted of only 200 Europeans collected in a hurry from all quarters, often in want of money and credit, and consequently ill provided with necessaries and ammunition. With this small force he traversed a vast extent of country far removed from any French settlement, frequently forcing his way through hostile and opposing nations, was able to engage several of the powers of *India* in his interest, and occasioned many important diversions which divided and weakened the British troops. Of all his expeditions, that which seemed the most likely to be attended with success, was the incursion he made in company with *Alygobor* into *Bengal* in 1759; for if *Madras*, besieged since the 14th *Dec.* 1758, had been taken in *February* following, as could scarcely have failed to happen, if the commanders by land and at sea, (*Lally* and *D'Acbe*) had been on good terms, the French proposed to have proceeded from thence to *Bengal*, where they would have arrived in course in *March* or *April* 1759. In that case, it would hardly have been possible for the British to have sent any detachment from their army in that province, the troops there, being scarcely sufficient to make head against M. *Lally's* forces alone; and consequently Colonel *Clive* could not have marched into *Babar* to raise the siege of *Patna*, and repulse *Alygobor*, without leaving *Bengal* quite exposed. Thus hemmed in by Mr *Law* and *Alygobor* on one hand, and by M. *Lally* on the other, the situation of the British would have become extremely perilous, the more especially as several Rajahs of *Bengal* were

were ready to espouse the cause of the Mogul Prince, who was so much attached to the French, as to have taken an oath on the Alcoran, to support their interest to the utmost of his power. From the testimony of the British themselves, it appears that Mr *Law* by the alliances he formed, more than once occasioned the most serious apprehensions to the Government of *Bengal*; so we may be allowed to suppose that had he been at the head of a strong party of well disciplined troops, regularly supplied with money, it would have become almost impossible to resist his force, especially when his personal influence with *Alygobor*, his intimate knowledge of Indian politics, his intelligence, activity, and courage, are taken into the account.

Mr *Law* returning into *Europe* on his parole in 1762, after twenty years absence, found, on his arrival in *France*, that the King, entertaining a high sense of the important services he had rendered to the nation, had been pleased, in *April* 1760, to nominate him Governor of *Pondicherry*, and Commandant (under M. *Lally*, with respect to the military department) of all the French settlements in *India*, as also to raise him to the rank of Colonel, and to enroll him among the Knights of the order of St. *Louis*. After the peace of 1763 was concluded, Mr *Law*, in consequence of these appointments failed a second time for *India*, in quality of Commissioner plenipotentiary for resuming possession of the places ceded by the English, Governor of *Pondichery*, Commandant General of all the French settlements in *India*, and President of all the Councils, both superior and provincial, to be fixed there. He was afterwards appointed Commissioner plenipotentiary for examining into, and settling, all differences that had arisen or were likely to arise betwixt the French and English establishments. In these various capacities, Mr *Law* governed the French possessions in *India* with high applause till the beginning of the year 1777, when he was relieved from his weighty charge; but the orders of the King laying him under the necessity of remaining there, till he had given his successor (who never had been in that quarter) full information concerning the different provinces and governments

vernments of that immense country, he did not find himself at liberty to leave it till the end of *June* 1778. He accordingly prepared to return to *Europe*; but intelligence of the commencement of hostilities, being soon afterwards received in *India*, the British troops at *Madras* made dispositions to attack *Pondichery*, and Mr *Law* resolved to wait the event. The siege of that place was accordingly begun in *August* 1778, and continued till the 18th *Oct.* following, when it surrendered. Mr *Law*, serving all that time as a volunteer, had the misfortune to be wounded, though in so slight a manner as not to prevent his being deputed to adjust the articles of capitulation with Sir *Hector Monro*, Commander of the British land forces; thus putting the finishing hand to his splendid career in *India* by assuming, for the second time, the character of a soldier, in which he had already been so highly distinguished, and had rendered such essential services to the cause of his country.

The ensuing year, 1779, Mr *Law* took his passage for *Europe*; and as the *Sartine*, in which he embarked, was one of the cartel ships, he flattered himself with the hope of being able to reach *France* without molestation. In this, however, he was disappointed; for meeting a British man of war of 64 guns, that vessel, without speaking a word, discharged a broadside on the *Sartine*, which killed the captain and twelve sailors and soldiers, wounded the like number, and so much damaged the ship, that she was obliged, ready to sink, to bear away for *Cadiz*. Proceeding from thence to *Marseilles*, Mr *Law* arrived in *France* in *June* 1780, and on his arrival found that he had been raised to the rank of *Marechal de Camp* on the 1st of *March* preceding*.

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* The foregoing detail was taken chiefly from a M. S. communicated by Mr *Law* himself; but as the modesty which ever accompanies real merit prevented that gentleman from enlarging on his important services, the defect was in some measure supplied by No. VI. of the *Tableau de la situation actuelle des Anglois dans les Indes orientales*, by the late noted M. *Brissot de Warville*, one of the members of the present National Convention of *France*, executed on the 31st *Oct.* 1793. In drawing this up, M. *Brissot*

He married in 1755, Miss *Jean Carvalho*, a native of *Chandernagor*, daughter of a Portuguese gentleman settled at *Calcutta*, and by her had issue,

1. *Jean*, born 8th *March* 1757, married in 1777, to *M. le Comte de la Fare Lopez*, Captain of Cavalry, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, and has issue one son and two daughters.

2. *Anne*, born 2d *Dec.* 1761, died 2d *Dec.* 1762.

3. *John*, born 31st *July*, and died 19th *Dec.* 1765.

4. *John William Law of Lauriston*, born at *Chandernagor* 8th *Sept.* 1766, a Lieutenant of the French Navy, who inheriting the spirit of enterprize for which his family has uniformly been distinguished, failed in *June* 1785 with the celebrated *M. de la Perouse*, on an expedition round the world in the *Bouffole* and *Astrolabe* frigates. He has, in all probability, perished with that unfortunate circumnavigator, of whom no intelligence has been received since *March* 1788, when he left *Botany Bay*, after having failed round *Cape Horn*, explored the coast of *Chili* and *California*, visited *Nootka Sound*, *Kamtschatka*, and *Manila*, and touched at the *Sandwich* and *Friendly Islands* *.

5. *James Alexander*, born 1st *Feb.* 1768, married to a daughter of *M. le Duc, Marechal de Camp*, Inspector General of the artillery, and has one son named *Augustus*.

6. *Charles Louis*.

7. *Joseph Charles*.

8. *Francis John William*.

9. *Louis George*.

Arms.

Briffot was assisted by a journal kept by *Mr Law*; and he has likewise inserted several curious particulars concerning the manners and customs of the Asiatics, communicated by the same gentleman.—See also *Holwell's India Tracts*, 55, 271, 272.—*Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, 121.—*Entick's History of the late war*, v. 216.—*Minutes of the Select Committee, 1772*.—*Parker's Evidences of our Transactions in India, &c.*

* *Philips' Voyage to Botany Bay*, 141.

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Cramond. | **RAMOND.**

Azure, a Lion passant Argent on a chief Or three mullets of the field. Crest, a demi lion rampant Argent, holding in his dexter paw a mullet, Or. Motto, *Nisi Dominus frustra.*

of

3. |
Thomas Inglis, merchant
in Edinburgh.

Mor-
rige.

4. | Catharine, born 28th Oct. 1613,
married, 6th Jan. 1640, to Wil-
liam Little of Libberton.

5. | Thomas, born 6th
Dec. 1614, ob.
vita patris.

6. | James, born 16th
Jan. 1616, died
an infant.

== Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw,
S. C. J. and Lord Justice Clerk,
(2d husband); married 30th Sep.
1700, died f. p. 14th Dec. 1704.

== Adam Cockburn of Ormif-
toun, S. C. J. and Lord
Justice Clerk, (3d huf-
and). He died 1735.

1. | Sarah, born 6th
Jan. 1639, di-
ed an infant.

5. | James, born 26th
Feb. 1650, died
in infancy.

4. | Janet, born 1st Feb. 1687, marri-
ed, 15th Feb. 1709, to Sir John
Clerk of Pennycuik, Bart. Ba-
ron of Exchequer. She died
29th Jan. 1760, æta. 73.

5. | Margaret, born 19th
Mar. 1688, died in
infancy.

6. | Jacobina, a posthumous child,
born 1st July 1689, died a-
bout 1750.

I. | Susan, born
Oct. 1709,
died, 23d
1730, Jn.
die of Du-
die, Co. F

== Christian, daughter of Sir
Robert Sinclair of Long-
formacus, Bart. She di-
ed at Cramond 15th Ju-
ly 1790.

7. | Margaret, born 1720,
married, 5th Mar.
1739, John Erskine
of Dun, Co. Forfar;
died at Moffat 3d
July 1747, æt. 28.

9. | James, born 1st
Jan. 1724, di-
ed 8th Mar.
1729.

10. | Janet.

11. | Patrick Inglis of
Craigs, mer-
chant in E-
dinburgh.

12. | Charles, Rear-Admi-
ral of the Blue, born
12th Dec. 1730, di-
ed at Craigs 10th
Oct. 1791, æta. 61,
unmarried. C.

Charles, died in
infancy.

Anne.

Susan, died at Cramond
30th March 1774.

Arms. *Ermine*, a bend betwixt two cocks, *Gules*. Crest, on a wreath an unicorn's head, proper. Motto, *Nec obscura nec ima*.

NETHER CRAMOND.

INGLIS OF CRAMOND.

THE annexed Pedigree, drawn up from *Douglas's Baronage of Scotland*, p. 264, 265, and from the Registers of *Edinburgh* and *Cramond*, will show the descent and connections of one of the principal families in *Midlothian*, a family which has always been highly esteemed and respected, particularly in this parish, their chief place of residence for upwards of 170 years.

NOTES in reference to that PEDIGREE.

(A.) *John Inglis*, the second proprietor of *Cramond* of this family, had so great an attachment to the Presbyterian mode of worship, that a fine of L. 6000 Sc. was imposed upon him for nonconformity, by the Parliament of *Scotland* in 1662; and on the 11th July 1674, he was summoned to attend the Privy Council, before whom he acknowledged that he had been six times in *Cramond* church, when conventicles were held there. For this *heinous* offence, the Council amerced him in the fourth part of the valued rent of his estate *toties quoties*, and ordered him to be carried to prison, to be confined there till that sum was paid, and longer during their pleasure. He was, however, discharged from imprisonment, on payment of the fine. (*Wodrow's History of the church of Scotland*, vol. 2.)

(B.) Sir *John Inglis*, second Baronet of *Cramond*, enjoyed for many years the office of Postmaster General of *Scotland*, and attained the age of 88 without suffering so much as one days confinement by sickness. Of these, 63 years were passed in a married state; and nothing could exceed the harmony in which he lived with his lady, *Anne*, daughter of *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormiston*, one of the Lords of Session, and Lord Justice Clerk, by his first wife Lady *Susan Hamilton*, daughter of *John*, fourth Earl of *Haddington*. Lord *Ormiston* married, secondly, Sir *John Inglis's* mother, by whom he had at least one daughter, *Jean*, born 29th March 1709, who was married to *William Walker*, Esq. and died at *Kelso* 25th June 1792, æta. 84.

(C) *Charles Inglis* Esq. youngest son of Sir *John Inglis*, entered early into the sea-service, and after passing through the usual subordinate gradations, was appointed Captain of the Royal Navy 15th Dec. 1761. In 1778, he sailed commander of the *Salisbury* of 50 guns to the West Indies; and on the 12th Dec. 1779, cruising in the bay of *Honduras*, had the good fortune to capture after a smart engagement of two hours continuance, in which 4 of his men were killed, and 14 wounded, (5 of whom died of their wounds,) the *San Carlos* of 50 guns and 397 men, a Spanish private ship of war. This vessel, bound from *Cadix* to *Fort Omoa*, had on board twelve brass cannon 24 pounders, a quantity of shot and shells, 5000 stand of arms, and other valuable articles. Returning to *Britain* in 1780, Captain *Inglis* was the same year promoted to the command of the *St Albans* of 64 guns, with which sailing again to the West Indies, he was with Lord *Hood* in his engagement with M. *De Grasse* 25th Jan. 1782, also with Lord *Rodney* in his glorious victories over the French fleet 9th and 12th April following. In these well fought actions, Captain *Inglis* had the good fortune to lose none of his men, only six of whom were wounded, although the *St Albans* was the next ship but one to the Admiral. On the 21st Sep. 1790, he was appointed Rear Admiral of the Blue; but did not long enjoy that promotion, dying unmarried at his brother's seat of *Craigs* near *Edinburgh*, 10 Oct. 1791, æta. 61, much lamented by a numerous and valuable set of friends and relations, to whom the many excellent qualities he possessed had deservedly endeared him highly.

B A R N T O U N.

ELPHINSTON OF BARNTOUN.

THE descent of the *Elphinston* family being amply detailed in *Crawford's* Peerage, 135,—137, and in *Douglas's* Peerage, 242—246, I shall in this place only observe, that the first of that name connected with the parish of *Gramond* was Sir *James Elphinston* of *Barntoun*, second son of *Robert* third Lord *Elphinston*, by *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *John Drummond* of *Innerpeffry* in *Perthshire*. Applying to the study of the law, Sir *James* was in due time called to the bar, where he rose to such eminence as to attract the attention of his sovereign, who was pleased, in 1586, to appoint him one of the Senators of the College of Justice. In

1596, he had the honour of being nominated one of the eight Commissioners of the Treasury, (called from their number Octavians) entrusted with the management of the King's revenues, an employment by no means calculated to conciliate the affections of the people, to whose fury Sir *James* and his colleagues narrowly escaped falling a sacrifice 17th Dec. 1596 in the tumult at the Tolbooth at *Edinburgh*. In 1598, he was appointed Secretary of State; and continuing to rise in the King's favour, the lands belonging to the Cistercian abbey of *Balmerinoch* in *Fife* were erected into a temporal lordship and barony, in favour of him, his heirs male, and heirs of tailzie and provision, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 20th Feb. 1604, and he accordingly took his seat in Parliament under the title of Lord *Balmerinoch* *.

His Lordship was, the same year, nominated one of the commissioners to treat of an union betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, and on the 1st March 1605 had the place of President of the Court of Session conferred on him. He however resigned that high office in the following year, probably on account of its interfering with the duties of the Secretaryship, which frequently required his presence in *England* near the person of his royal master. His Majesty now entertained so high a regard for Lord *Balmerinoch*, that it is said he had an intention of nominating him the English Secretary of State; but a circumstance, to be immediately related, put a sudden stop to his Lordship's career of favour and preferment †.

In 1599, his near relation Sir *Edward Drummond* having mentioned that it would be easy to procure a Cardinal's hat for their mutual kinsman *Drummond* Bishop of *Vaizon*, by obtaining a letter from *James VI.* to the Pope to request the promotion of a Scotsman to the Cardinalate, in order that he might manage the correspondence between the courts of *Rome* and *Edinburgh*, his Lordship accordingly made a proposal to that effect to his Majesty. The King declining all concern in this affair,

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Lord

* *Crawford's Peerage*, 32. *Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland*, 312, 364. *Douglas's Peerage*, 64.

† Lord *Hailer's* catalogue of the Lords of Session.

Lord *Balmerinob* went a most unjustifiable way to work, drawing up a letter in his Majesty's name to the Pope (*Clement VIII.*) requesting a Cardinal's hat for the bishop of *Vaizon*, and concluding with high expressions of regard towards his Holiness and the Catholic religion. This epistle, which was dated at *Holyroodhouse* 24th *Sept.* 1599, his Lordship contrived to shuffle in among other papers lying for the signature of the King, who entertaining no suspicions of deceit, subscribed it in course. Sir *Edward Drummond* being dispatched with it to *Rome*, the Master of *Gray*, who acted as a spy for Queen *Elizabeth* in Italy, found means to procure a copy of the letter, which he took the first opportunity of transmitting to her Majesty. *Elizabeth*, who had received, by another hand, some imperfect intelligence of this correspondence, was filled with just surprise, and immediately dispatched a messenger into *Scotland*, to enquire into the truth of the matter, and to reproach *James* for an action so unbecoming a Protestant prince. He was no less astonished at the accusation, and, with a confidence which nothing but the consciousness of innocence could inspire, affirmed the whole to be a mere calumny, and the letter itself to be forged by his enemies, on purpose to bring his sincerity in religion to be suspected. Lord *Balmerinob*, as Secretary of State, with equal solemnity denied all knowledge thereof; and in consequence of these asseverations, *Elizabeth* becoming persuaded of the falsity of the report, the affair appeared consigned to eternal oblivion*.

However, in 1607, *James* having published a book bearing this title, "*Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*, or an apology for the oath of allegiance, against the two brieves of Pope *Paul V.* and the late letter of Cardinal *Bellarmino* to *Blackwall* the Archpriest," *Bellarmino* soon afterwards produced an answer, (under the name of *Mattheus Tortus*,) wherein he accused the King of having abandoned the favourable sentiments

* *Calderwood* 427, where a copy of the letter, and of fictitious instructions from the King to Sir *Edward Drummond*, is inserted at length. *Robertson's History of Scotland*, ii. 248.

timents he had formerly entertained of the Roman Catholic religion, and in proof thereof quoted his Majesty's letter to *Clement VIII.* It was impossible any longer to believe this to be a fiction; and it being a matter too delicate to be passed over without enquiry, *James* sent for *Balmerinoch* to court, and examined him. His Lordship's confession unravelled the whole mystery; but he asserted that he had no other motive for what he did than zeal for his Majesty's service, as by flattering the Roman Catholics with hopes of indulgence, he imagined he was paving the way for his accession to the English throne. The Privy Council of *England* entertained very different sentiments of his Lordship's conduct. In their opinion, not only the King's reputation had been exposed to reproach, but his life to danger, by this rash imposture; they even imputed the gunpowder treason to the rage and disappointment of the Papists, upon finding the hopes, which this letter inspired, were frustrated †.

Some do not scruple to say that *James* himself was no stranger to the correspondence with the Pope; but that *Balmerinoch* being intimidated by the English Council, and deceived by the artifices of the Earl of *Dunbar*, concealed some circumstances in his account of the transaction, and falsified others; and at the expence of his own fame, and the danger of his life, endeavoured to draw a veil over this part of his master's conduct. In his own memorials, as quoted by *Calderwood*, is this passage, "Next followed my conviction in *St. Andrews*, wherein I was the "only actor myself, following in every point the Earl of *Dunbar's* directions, brought to me either by my Lord *Burleigh*, or the Lord "*Scoon* †."

However, the case may have been, Lord *Balmerinoch* being sent down to *Scotland* with the Earl of *Dunbar*, was tried at *St. Andrews* 12th *March* 1607, and found guilty of treason, but his condemnation was delayed

† *Calderwood, Robertson, ubi supra.*

‡ *Ibid.*

layed till the King's pleasure should be known. Upon his Majesty's confirming the verdict, sentence of decapitation and quartering was pronounced upon his Lordship in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*; and he was the same day conveyed towards *Falkland*. At the Queen's intercession his life was spared; and in *Oct.* following a warrant passed, granting him liberty of free ward in *Falkland*, and one mile round that place, on his finding security, in the sum of *L. 40,000*, not to transgress these bounds. His Lordship afterwards obtained permission to remove to his own house of *Balmerinoch*, where he died in 1612. Sir *John Scot* of *Scotstarvet*, with his accustomed malignity, says that his Lordship's death was occasioned by an amatorious potion of cantharides, administered by a maid in his house called *Young*, afterwards married to Dr *Honeyman*; but others, with a higher degree of charity, attribute it to his taking to heart the great disgrace and ignominy under which he was lying †.

His Lordship was twice married; first to *Sarab*, daughter of Sir *John Menteith* of *Carse*, by whom he had one son, *John*, his heir; and secondly, to *Marjory*, daughter of *Hugh Maxwell* of *Tealing*. By this last, he had two daughters, *Anne*, the wife of *Andrew Lord Frazer*, and *Mary*, married to *John Hamilton* of *Blair*; also one son, *James Elphinstoun*, in whose favour King *James VI.* was pleased to erect the lands belonging to the dissolved Cistercian Abbey of *Coupar* in *Angus* into a temporal Lordship, creating him a peer, by the title of Lord *Coupar*, with remainder to the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to his father and his heirs male, and heirs of tailzie, 20th *Dec.* 1607. Lord *Coupar* was appointed one of the extraordinary Lords of Session 7th *June* 1649, in the room of his brother Lord *Balmerinoch* deceased; and on account of the loyalty of his principles was amerced by *Cromwell* in the sum of *L. 3000* sterl. in 1654. He died in 1669, and leaving no issue, although he was twice married, first to *Margaret* daughter of Sir *James Haliburton* of *Pitcur*, and secondly to Lady *Anne Ogilvie*, daughter of *James*, second Earl

† *Scotstarvet's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, 60.

Earl of *Airly*, his estate and title devolved upon his nephew *John*, third Lord *Balmerinock*, in terms of the patent of creation *.

John, second Lord *Balmerinock*, only son of the first marriage, succeeded his father, whose abilities he inherited; and appears, from some of his letters that are preserved in *Dalrymple's* memorials, to have been well instructed in the literature of *Greece* and *Rome*. He soon became distinguished for opposition to the measures of Government, particularly in 1633, when the question respecting the King's prerogative of imposing apparel on churchmen was discussed in Parliament. It is said that a majority of the members voted against this motion; but that the Clerk Register thought proper to declare the question was carried in the affirmative. This the Earl of *Rothes* denying, King *Charles*, who was then sitting in the house, peremptorily insisted that the declaration of the clerk ought to be held good, unless his Lordship would consent to go to the bar, and there accuse him of falsifying the records of Parliament. This being a capital crime, the accuser was, by the law of *Scotland*, liable to the punishment of death if he failed in the proof; and Lord *Rothes* not choosing to run that risk, the act passed without further challenge †.

The peers and commoners who had voted against the motion, reckoning that all their liberties were gone, and that the Parliament was become merely a piece of pageantry, if the Clerk Register was allowed to declare the votes as he pleased without scrutiny, employed *William Haig* †, an eminent solicitor, to draw up a petition to the King, praying that this grievance might be redressed. Before presenting it, however, Lord *Rothes* was desired to carry a copy to his Majesty. When the King understood the drift of that paper, he told *Rothes* that he could not receive any

* *Keith's* catalogue of the Bishops, 257. Lord *Hailes's* account of the Lords of Session. *Cromwell's* act of indemnity.

† *Burnet's* History of his own Times, i. 22.

‡ Son of *Robert Haig*, 13th baron of *Bimerfide* in *Berwickshire*.

any such petition; and this answer being reported to the petitioners, they thought it unadvisable to press the matter further at that time*.

Lord *Balmerinoch* having kept a duplicate of this paper, interlined in some places with his own hand, very imprudently shewed it, though under the strictest injunctions of secrecy, and with a positive prohibition to take a copy, to one *John Dunmore* a notary in *Dundee*. Mr *Dunmore*, however, in direct violation of his promise, presumed, to transcribe the memorial, and having carried his copy home, gave it to *Peter Hay* of *Naughton* in *Fife* to peruse. Mr *Hay* engaged not to shew the paper to any person whatever, but being a violent stickler for Episcopacy, and bearing no good will to his neighbour Lord *Balmerinoch*, immediately carried it to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. His Grace, taking it into his head that the petition was going about for subscriptions, resolved to give immediate information to the King, and for that purpose set off directly for *London*, beginning his journey on a *Sunday*, a step exceedingly offensive to the prejudices entertained by his countrymen respecting the strict observance of the sabbath.

Lord *Balmerinoch* was, in consequence, on the 9th *June* 1634, cited to appear on the 11th of that month before the privy council at *Edinburgh*, to be examined concerning this paper. Happening to meet the same afternoon with Mr *Haig*, his Lordship advertised him of the citation he had received; and *Haig* immediately set off for *Holland* by way of *Harwich*, from whence he dispatched a letter to *Balmerinoch*, acknowledging himself to be the author of the petition. My Lord being examined by the Council, was committed to *Edinburgh* Castle, where he continued in close confinement till the 30th *March* 1635, when he was brought to his trial by a jury, which consisted, after several well-founded challenges, of these fifteen, the Earls of *Marischal*, *Murray*, *Dumfries*, *Lauderdale* and *Traquair*, Viscount *Stormont*, Lords *Forsyter* and *Johnston*, Sir *Alexander Strachan* of *Thornton*, Sir *Robert Grierson* of *Lag*, Sir *John Charteris*

* *Burnet*, ubi supra.

Charteris of Amisfield, Sir Alexander Nisbet of West-Nisbet, Sir Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, Sir James Baillie of Lochend, and John Gordon of Buckie.

After the jury were shut up, Mr *Gordon*, who in 1592 had assisted his chieftain the Marquis of *Huntley* in the murder of the Earl of *Murray*, and was therefore reckoned by the court a sure man that would go any length to serve them, spoke first of all. After apologising for his presumption in taking the first word, he desired the jury would consider carefully what they were about; it was a matter of blood, and they would feel the weight of it as long they lived. He had in his youth been drawn in to shed blood, for which he had easily procured a remission from the king, but it had cost him a great deal to obtain pardon from God, it had cost him many sorrowful hours both day and night. This speech, so unexpected, and accompanied with tears trickling down his furrowed cheeks, had a visible effect on several of the jurymen; but Lord *Traquair* (who was chosen chancellor) taking up the argument, said, they were neither to consider whether the law was oppressive or not, nor the nature of the paper, as it was judged by the court to come within the statute of leasing making; they had only to determine whether Lord *Balmerinoch* had, or had not, discovered the person who drew up the petition. To this, Lord *Lauderdale* (who had been reputed an enemy to the prisoner, but whom the latter, instead of challenging, declared to be *omni exceptione major*.) answered, that severe laws which had never been put into execution, were looked upon as made *in terror-em*; and though after the court's having judged the paper to be seditious, it would be a capital crime to conceal the author, yet before such judgement, the matter could not be so evident. The jury debated these points several hours; and at last the question being put to the vote, Lord *Balmerinoch* was capitally convicted by a majority of one only*.

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For

* *Burnet's History of his own Times*, i. 22. *State Trials*, i. 429. where may be seen the pleadings at large, and a copy of the petition, with the words interlined by Lord *Balmerinoch*.

For reasons detailed at length in *Burnet's History of his own Times*, a free pardon was granted to Lord *Balmerinoch*, who, however, continued steady in opposition to all the measures of Government, and was particularly hostile to the attempt to introduce the Service Book into *Scotland*. In 1639, he appeared among those members of Parliament who voted for the lawfulness and necessity of a defensive war, a measure that was accordingly adopted; and he was the principal adviser of the Covenanters sending a letter to *Louis XIII.*, to implore, in consideration of the antient alliance betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, his assistance against the tyrannical proceedings of their own monarch *. This behaviour could not fail highly to incense King *Charles*, who in his "Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in *Scotland*," takes particular notice thereof, upbraiding his Lordship with his father's having been beholden both for his barony and for his whole fortune to *James VI.* as also for his life, honour, and estate, after having been convicted of high treason; and with his own obligations to himself, in graciously remitting the sentence of death pronounced upon him for abetting and dispersing the infamous libel above mentioned. The conclusion of the Declaration, as far as respects his Lordship, runs in these terms, "And now this same pardoned Lord *Balmerinoch*, being one of the "chief contrivers and most malicious prosecutors of this wicked covenant "made against us and our authority, how can he be able to answer it to "God, us, and our crown, his own conscience, or to the world, even in "point of honour and reputation, it must be left to the world to judge †."

In 1641, his Lordship was elected President of the Parliament of *Scotland*; and among the first acts passed this Session, was one for committing Sir *Robert Spotswood* and Sir *John Hay*, (two of the Assessors to the Lord Justice General on his trial,) prisoners to *Edinburgh* castle, as incendiaries. On the 13th Nov. that year, Lord *Balmerinoch* was, by
Act

* The bearer of the letter was a confidential friend of Lord *Balmerinoch*, Mr *William Colvill*, Minister of *Cramond*, p. 80.

† Large Declaration, fol. p. 13. *Scottstarvet* 64.

Act of Parliament, constituted one of the extraordinary Lords of Session; and on the 16th of the same month he was nominated, along with the Earls of *Loudoun* and *Lindsay*, and others, to repair to *London* in order to treat about the raising of an army for the suppression of the Irish rebellion. This business, Bishop *Gutbrie* remarks, was managed by the Commissioners in a manner highly satisfactory to both *England* and *Scotland* *.

In the General Assembly 1643, Lord *Balmerinoch* and several other persons of high rank were chosen Assessors to the Moderator. In this Assembly it was resolved, (a deputation of Commissioners from the Parliament of *England* concurring in the resolution,) that a solemn league and covenant should be sworn and subscribed by both nations, which was accordingly done. The same year, the committee of estates having given orders for the raising of an army to assist the English Parliament, his Lordship, in order to prevent the troops from mutinying or disbanding for want of punctual payment, made a motion in Council, 5th *Jan.* 1644, for imposing a tax on several species of commodities, to form a Rock of credit for that purpose. A party of the citizens of *Edinburgh*, thereupon rising in a tumultuous manner, surrounded the Council Chamber, and threatened that unless the question was negatived, they would tear the proposer in pieces. To compose the ferment, the Council agreed to put off the consideration of the motion, till the Convention of estates should meet to debate upon that tax; and the people now thought proper to disperse. During this interval, the clergy exerted themselves so successfully from their pulpits, in behalf of the necessity and expediency of the proposed tax, that when the Convention met upon the 25th *Jan.* not one dissenting voice was heard, so it was laid on as proposed by Lord *Balmerinoch*, and proclaimed at the market cross the same day.

On the 7th *June* following, the Parliament of *Scotland* thought fit to

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express

* Rescinded Acts of Parliament. Bishop *Gutbrie's* Memoirs, 107.

express their satisfaction of his Lordship's conduct, while he filled the office of their President, by passing an act of approbation and exoneration. The same year, Lord *Balmerinoch* was, by the General Assembly, appointed to repair to *London*, along with the Earl of *Loudoun* and Sir *Archibald Johnston* of *Warristoun*, to treat with both houses of Parliament for uniformity in public worship. The same persons were, in *Feb.* 1646, nominated by the Scottish Parliament as their Commissioners to *London*, in order to co-operate with the Lord *Maitland* and others in concerting measures for the King's joining the Scottish army. Lord *Balmerinoch* returning to *Edinburgh* 2d *May* 1646, reported that the whole had been so skilfully managed, that he was confident the next post would bring accounts of his Majesty's having joined the Scottish troops, then lying at *Newark*. The event justified his Lordship's foresight, for on the 10th *May*, dispatches arrived from General *Leslie*, noticing the King's escape from *Oxford*, and his joining the army on the 5th of that month. The Scottish troops removing to *Newcastle*, Lord *Balmerinoch* repaired thither to pay his respects to his Majesty*.

In 1648, the states of *Scotland* having resolved to raise an army of 30,000 foot and 6000 horse, in order to attempt the rescue of the King from his imprisonment, the County of *Edinburgh* raised, as its quota, 1200 foot soldiers, which were put under the command of Lord *Balmerinoch*, although he had united with the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Cassilis*, *Eglinton*, and others, in opposing the levy of the troops. Nothing further occurs respecting his Lordship, than that he was one of the small number of Peers that appeared in the Parliament when it assembled 4th *Jan.* 1649. He died suddenly soon afterwards, and was buried in the vault belonging to the *Logan* family, adjoining to the church of *Resalrig*, but his remains were not suffered to rest undisturbed, his body being raised up in 1650 by *Cromwel's* soldiers, while searching that vault for leaden coffins, for the purpose of making bullets†.

His

* Rescinded acts. *Guthrie*, 213, 217.

† Rescinded Acts. *Guthrie*, 301. *Scotstarvet*, 61.

His Lordship was, without exception, the best friend the Covenanters had, as he not only assisted that party with his advice on all occasions, but also supplied them with large sums of money, by which he irreparably injured the very ample fortune he inherited from his father. He lived in habits of strict friendship with the chief leaders of the Presbyterians, and was particularly intimate with Sir *Archibald Johnston of Warristoun*. He had so strong a sense of justice, that having reason to suspect his father had made too advantageous a purchase of the lands of *Balumby, Co. Forfar*, he of his own accord gave 10,000 merks to the heir of that estate by way of compensation. *Barntoun* was the principal place of his residence; he built a new house there, and made considerable additions to his property in that neighbourhood.

His Lordship married *Anne*, daughter of Sir *Thomas Ker of Fernybirst*, sister of *Andrew* and *James* Lords *Jedburgh*, and *Robert* Earl of *Somerset* the wicked favourite of *James VI*. They had no issue for many years; but at last, when she was near fifty, and had been under a course of medicine for the dropsy, owing to the physicians mistaking her case, she was delivered of a son,

John, third Lord Balmerinock, born 18th Feb. 1623, who on coming to the title found his affairs in great disorder, by reason of the heavy debts contracted by his father in the public service. He had also the misfortune to be engaged in several law suits, particularly in a cause of great importance with his cousin the Countess of *Bedford*, respecting the estate of *Fernybirst*, whereby his affairs became still more involved, so that he was obliged (notwithstanding his succession to the estate and title of his uncle Lord *Coupar* in 1669) to dispose of almost the whole of his landed property. For his compliance with the ruling powers during the usurpation, and for non-conformity, he was fined in the sum of L. 6000 Sc. by the Earl of *Middleton's* Parliament in 1662. His Lordship died on the 10th of *June* 1704, æta. 82, having married Lady *Margaret Campbell*, only daughter of *John* Earl of *Loudoun*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, by whom

whom he had issue, *John* his heir, *James* born 23d Feb. 1655, *Margaret* born 29th Jan. 1657, and another *James*, born 12th April 1660; the three last died in infancy*.

John, fourth Lord *Balmerinoch*, and third Lord *Coupar*, the only surviving son, born 26th Dec. 1652, "was a man of excellent parts, improved by " great reading; being perhaps one of the best lawyers in the kingdom, " and very expert in the knowledge of the Scottish constitution; he rea- " soned much and pertinently in Parliament; and testifying, on all oc- " casions an unshaken loyalty to his prince, and zealous affection to his " country, he gained the esteem and love of all good men †." His Lordship strenuously opposed the Union, judging that treaty derogatory to the honour and independence of this kingdom; but however, consented to be one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage at the General Election in 1710, and again in 1713. The office of General of the Mint falling vacant in 1710, was bestowed upon Lord *Balmerinoch*, who the same year had the honour of being appointed Sheriff of the county of *Edinburgh*, then in the Queen's hands by the death of the Earl of *Dalbousie*, and in 1711 he was named one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord Chamberlain. On the accession of *George I.* his Lordship was removed from all his places, and no longer returned one of the sixteen Peers; but this harsh treatment had not the effect of driving him to desperation, as was the case with many other noblemen in a similar predicament; his good sense taught him the folly of rash courses, and during the rebellion he continued faithful to his Sovereign. He afterwards lived in a retired manner, and departing this life at his house in *Leith* 13th May 1736, æta. 84. was buried on the 17th at *Restalrig* ‡.

This

* *Crawford's Peerage*, 33. Register of baptisms of *Edinburgh*. *Woodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, Appendix.

† *Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs*, 181.

‡ *Crawf. Peer.* 33.

This worthy nobleman was twice married; first 16th *Feb.* 1672, to Lady *Christian Montgomery*, daughter of *Hugh* seventh Earl of *Eglington*; and secondly 7th *June* 1687, to *Anne*, daughter of Dr *Arthur Ross*, the last Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. By the former he had issue *Hugh*, Master of *Balmerinoch*, an officer in the army, killed at the siege of *Liste* in 1708; *John* his successor; *Margaret*, married to Sir *John Preston* of *Prestonball*; and *Jean*, the wife of *Francis* Earl of *Murray*. By the second, who departed this life 12th *Nov.* 1712, he had one daughter *Anne*, who died unmarried, and two sons, *Arthur* sixth Lord *Balmerinoch*, and *Alexander Elphinston* Esq. who died unmarried at *Leith* 1st *Oct.* 1733. *

John, fifth Lord *Balmerinoch*, and fourth Lord *Coupar*, the eldest surviving son, born 24th *Nov.* 1675, applied to the study of the law, and was called to the bar in 1703. After practising there some years with reputation, he had the honour of being nominated one of the Lords of Session, in the room of Lord *Bowbill* deceased, and took his seat on the bench 5th *June* 1714, (a few weeks before the death of Queen *Anne*) assuming, on this occasion, the title of Lord *Coupar*. His Lordship who was not less distinguished for his singular impartiality as a judge, than for his amiable

* In 1730, this Mr *Alexander Elphinstoun* was indicted at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, for that upon the 23d *Dec.* 1729, he being in company with Lieutenant *Thomas Swift* of Lord *Cadogan's* regiment of foot, after some words had passed between them in the house of *Michael Watson* Merchant in *Leith*, at parting Mr *Alexander* did challenge Lieutenant *Swift*; giving him a tip on the shoulder with a sword, telling him that he behoved to meet him next morning on the Links of *Leith*, in order to fight or give satisfaction, or words to that purpose. Likeas on the 24th day of the said month of *Dec.* he sent to the Lieutenant's lodgings in *Leith*, challenging him to meet on the Links near the town of *Leith*, where about the hours of ten and eleven, having accordingly met, they did fight a singular combat with drawn swords, and the said Mr *Alexander* did then and there give the said Lieutenant a wound in the breast with a sword, whereof he died in some short space thereafter. From the records of *Justiciary* it appears, that no further proceedings were held in this affair, than adjourning the diet twice or thrice.

ble qualities in private life, died at *Leith* 5th *Jan.* 1746 æta 71, and leaving no issue by his wife *Lady Elizabeth Carnegie*, daughter of *David* fourth Earl of *Northesk* (who survived till 21st *Sept.* 1767) was succeeded by his brother,

Arthur, sixth Lord *Balmerinock*, and fifth Lord *Coupar*, who was born in the year 1688. Preferring the military line, he had the command of a company of foot in Lord *Shannon's* regiment in *Queen Anne's* time; but on the accession of *George I.* resigned that commission, and joined the Earl of *Marr*, under whom he served at *Sberriffmuir*. After that engagement, finding the Pretender's affairs in a desperate situation, he found means to escape out of *Scotland*, and entered into the French service, in which he continued till the death of his brother *Alexander* in 1733. When this happened, his father, anxious to have him settled at home, made such strong application to Government in his behalf, that he obtained a free pardon, of which he sent notice to his son, then residing at *Berne* in *Switzerland*. Not a little surprised at this unexpected piece of intelligence, he thought it his duty, before determining whether or not to accept of the pardon, to state the whole circumstances of the case to the Pretender, who, in an answer written with his own hand, gave him permission to return to *Scotland*, and withal mentioned that he had issued orders to his banker at *Paris* to supply him with money for his travelling expences. He thereupon returned home, after having been near twenty years an exile from his native country, and was received with great joy by his aged father.

When the *Chevalier de St. George* arrived in *Scotland* in 1744, his Lordship, (then Mr *Arthur Elphinston*) was one of the first that repaired to his standard, and was appointed Colonel and Captain of the second troop of horse life-guards attending his person. He was at *Carlisle* when it surrendered to the rebels, marched with them as far as *Derby*, from whence he accompanied them in their retreat to *Scotland*, and was present, but not personally engaged, being in a corps de reserve,

serve, at the battle of *Falkirk*. At the decisive victory of *Culloden*, his Lordship, (who had succeeded to the title only a few weeks preceding,) had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the Duke of *Cumberland's* army. Being conducted to *London*, he was committed to the Tower, and brought to his trial in Westminster-hall 29th *July* 1746, along with the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, both of whom pled guilty. Lord *Balmerinob* pleading not guilty, was remanded to the Tower, and brought back next day, when after some debates about the wording of the indictment betwixt his Lordship, (who did not employ any council,) and the high Steward and Crown lawyers, witnesses were examined, who proved his being with the rebels at the several places above mentioned, and he was accordingly found guilty. On the 1st of *August* sentence of death was passed upon the two Earls and his Lordship, the Earl of *Cromarty* obtained a pardon, but the other two suffered decapitation on *Towerhill* 18th *Aug.* 1746.

Lord *Balmerinob's* behaviour at his execution, was marked with a degree of firmness and intrepidity falling to the lot of very few to possess. A short time before his removal to *Towerhill*, he requested an interview with Lord *Kilmarnock*, which was granted. After it was ended, the two noblemen saluted one another, *Balmerinob* bidding *Kilmarnock* an eternal and happy adieu, and adding, My dear Lord, I wish I could alone pay the reckoning, and suffer for us both. The latter was first executed; and during that time Lord *Balmerinob* remained in an apartment near the scaffold, in which his deportment was graceful without affectation, cheerful, but not presumptuous. He there conversed freely with his friends, twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, and desired the company to drink to him "ain de grae ta haiven," but above all, he called frequently on God, and appeared both prepared and willing to die.

Upon the Sheriffs coming into the apartment, his Lordship said I suppose Lord *Kilmarnock* is no more; and having asked how the executioner performed his duty, upon receiving the account, added, then it

was well done, and now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life. He then saluted the company in a manner so chearful as to draw tears from every eye, and hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with so undaunted a step as surprized every spectator, walked round it, bowed to the people, read the following inscription upon his coffin, "*Arturus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus* " 1800, die Augusti 1746, ætatis suæ 58," said it was right, and then looking on the block with apparent pleasure, stiled it his pillow of rest.

His Lordship then called for the executioner, who, being introduced, was about to ask forgiveness, but he stopped him, and said, "Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness. The execution of your duty is commendable." Then presenting him with three guineas, said, "Friend, I never had much money, this is all I have, I wish it was more for your sake, I am sorry I can add nothing else but my coat and waistcoat," which he instantly took off and laid upon his coffin. Having prepared himself for the block, he took his last farewell of his friends, and having once more taken a view of the great number of spectators said, "I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold;" and turning to a gentleman near him added, "Remember Sir, what I tell you, it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience." Then taking the axe from the executioner, he felt its edge, and returned it to him again, at the same time shewing him where to strike the blow, and animating him to do it with resolution, For in that, friend, said he, will consist your mercy. Then, with the same surprizing countenance, he kneeled down at the block, and having, with arms extended, said this short prayer, "O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless King *James*, and receive my soul," submitted, and gave the signal to the executioner. His body was buried along with that of the Earl of *Kilmarnock* in the Tower Chapel, and having had no issue by his wife, *Margaret*, daughter of Captain *Chalmers*, the male line of this branch of the *Elphinston* family, which had experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune, became extinct.

Arms.

ON OF B

Edinburgh, 1450.

Charter dated 19th April 1465.

Mowbray of Barnbougle, 9th Oct. 15

Feb. 1555. == Elizabeth, daughter of

died 1618. == Janet, daughter of A

died 1637. == —, daughter of James I

1680. == Alifon, daughter of — Ramsay

sons of	William.	John, b
th,		Nov.
3.		

BEHEAD, born == Margaret, daughter of
 in July 1707, John Mitchell of Alderstone, Co. Edin.
 63.

born 26th Mar. == Elizabeth, daughter
 died 12th May Crawford of Cra
 Co. Ayr.

1. |
 WILSON OF BRABHEAD, == JAMES MOODIE
 Nov. 1777. Minister of

4.	5.
William.	Margaret.

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RAEHEAD.

Argent, a heart, proper, on a chief, Azure, three fleurs de lis, Or. Crest, a dexter hand, couped at the wrist, paleways. Motto, *Ser-
sum corda.*

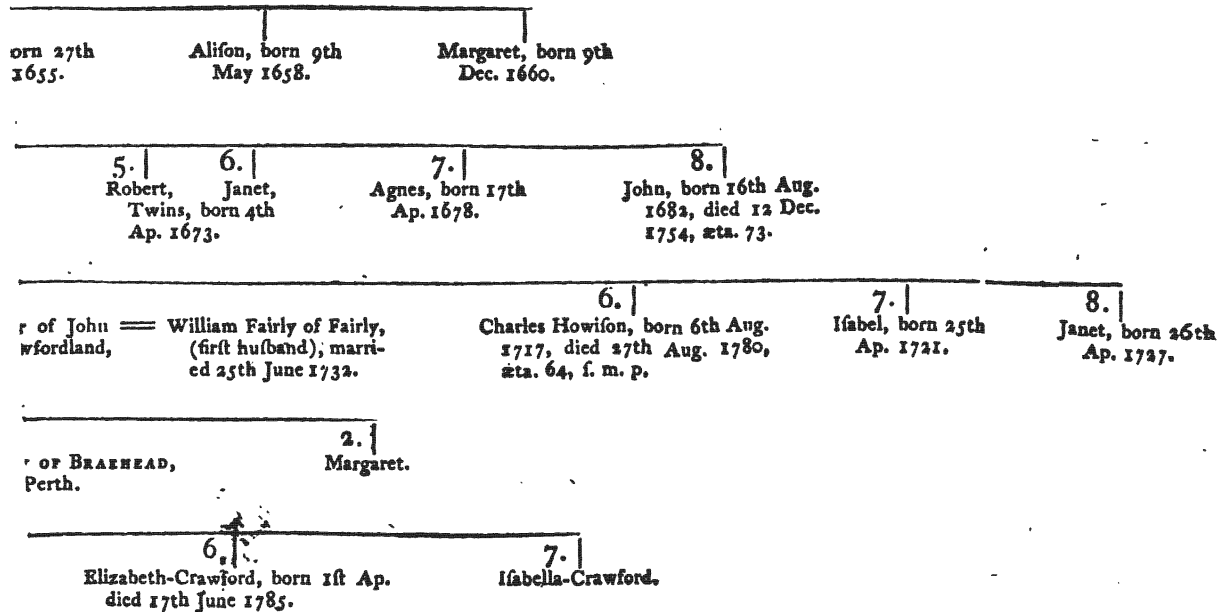
11.

F — Bathgate.

Alexander Mowbray, in Dalmeny.

Haldane, in Saughton.

Family of Blackcraig.



Arms. Arg. a chevron, sable, charged with three buckles of the field (to denote the descent of this family from the *Monteiths of Carse*) between as many boars heads, erased, Gules. Crest, a dove, argent, with a snake, proper, linked about its legs. Supporters, two griffins, proper, beaked and armed, or. Motto, *Prudentia fraudis nescia.*

BRAEHEAD.

HOWISON OF BRAEHEAD.

THIS family has already subsisted in this district upwards of 330 years, a longer period than any of the numerous families that have had interest in the parish has done; and the annexed Pedigree, drawn up from old charters, and the Registers of *Cramond*, will exhibit their descent for twelve generations.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE already stated, that it was my original intention to have detailed at length the descent of every considerable family connected with the Parish of *Cramond*, and for that purpose I had made copious genealogical collections. Finding, however, that the prosecution of this plan would greatly protract the limits of a work already too much extended, I gave up the idea, resolving to confine myself to the six families already treated of, none of whom has subsisted in this district for less than one hundred years. I will therefore now conclude this work, a work that, I am afraid, will to every reader appear extremely trifling and tedious, by subjoining a short list of such families and indi-

viduals connected with the parish, as have been noticed in other publications, with references to the books in which they are mentioned. The figures after each family denote the respective periods of their connection with the parish.

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