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A

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

TOWN OF KELSO,

AND OF THE

Town and Castle of Roxburgh.

WITH A

SUCCINCT DETAIL OF THE OCCURRENCES IN THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND
CONNECTED WITH THESE CELEBRATED PLACES,

AND AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING VARIOUS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, &c.

BY JAMES HAIG.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR JOHN FAIRBAIRN, WATERLOO PLACE;
AND JAMES DUNCAN, LONDON.

1825.

TO HER GRACE

THE

DUCHESS OF ROXBURGHE,

AS A SMALL TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR HER GRACE'S PUBLIC

AND PRIVATE VIRTUES,

THIS WORK

IS, WITH PERMISSION, RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY HER OBEDIENT AND OBLIGED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

IT is to be regretted, that amidst the numerous publications issuing from the press, so few relate to the topography of our own country; and, more particularly, as almost every town in Scotland has shared in the public events of former times. There are few people who are not attached to their native place; and, although not so interesting to the generality of readers, yet to those who reside, or who have resided, in the town now described, it is hoped the following sketch will not appear uninteresting.

The environs of Kelso have been universally admired for the beauty of their scenery; and few districts of the kingdom are so remarkable for events of military fame as the county in which it is situated. It is therefore matter of surprise, that while the pen of the topographer has been employed in giving consequence to

places much inferior in interest, no account of this celebrated spot has yet been offered to the public.

The beauty of the surrounding country naturally draws a number of strangers to this quarter, and the want of some account of the place has been much felt. To supply this defect, the present work was undertaken; and the author has only to regret it has not fallen into more able hands. He is quite aware of his inability to undertake such a task; but he has endeavoured to give a faithful account of the various important events that occurred. The description and history of the monastery of Kelso, (which for magnificence ranked in the first class of our ancient ecclesiastical establishments,) have been principally drawn up from rare and valuable documents; and the notices of the several Abbots, with the rental of the Abbey, must be received with some portion of favour both by the general reader and the antiquary. To the lovers of Scottish history, the connected account of the ancient town and castle of Roxburgh, and of the various events of which they were the theatre, will not, it is hoped, be

found destitute of interest ; and as the principal events in this quarter arose out of the general affairs of the kingdom, so the sketch here given embraces a survey of almost every political and military transaction during the most important period of our national history. Particular attention has been paid to the description of the town of Kelso, its manners, customs, trade, the noblemen and gentlemen's seats in the vicinity ; and a brief sketch of the lives of the most eminent men born in the county has likewise been subjoined.

To render the work more complete, neither labour nor expense has been spared : every work on Scottish history, worthy of credit, has been diligently consulted, and the different relations of the same occurrences (in many instances discordant, especially as to dates), have been carefully compared ; reconciled where it was possible, and, where this could not be effected, the grounds of the existing discrepancies have been explained in copious notes. To the whole is added an Appendix, comprising various authentic and official documents, illustrative of the circumstances noticed in the text.

The author is sufficiently aware, that many faults of method and style may be discovered in the course of the work ; but as he only aspires to the humble character of a faithful compiler, he ventures to hope, that the candid reader will be disposed to treat them with some degree of indulgence.

Advocate's Library, August 25, 1825.

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INTRODUCTION.

IF the description of towns be either useful or interesting, few places in Scotland can prefer stronger claims to the attention of the topographer than the town of Kelso. The events of former ages, combined with the local circumstances of the place, give to it a varied and prominent importance, both to the antiquary and the statist. This town, and its immediate neighbourhood, have been illustrated by many remarkable events in the ancient history of our country, the remembrance of which, cannot fail to associate the scene of their occurrence with sentiments of peculiar interest.

Of the origin of Kelso nothing is known. It is not until the reign of David I. that we find mention made of such a place, although it is sufficiently manifest, that even at this early period, it was accounted of considerable importance.

No town in Scotland has ever been known under a greater variety of appellations, all derived from the same original, than the town of Kelso; and there is scarcely an ancient author who mentions that place,

who designates it by the same name. According to the most early accounts, we find this town denominated Calceo, Calcoe, Calko, Calcehon, Calcon, Calonia, Calcovia, Kalcehoh, Kalco, Kalcho, Kalchow, Kelceo, Kelcon, Kelchou, Kelhou, Kelchehon, Kilchow, Kelcou, and Kelsow. The etymology of its ancient name is quite uncertain, but the most probable derivation of it is from an eminence near the Tweed, called the Chalk-heugh,* and which contained a quantity of gypsum, and other calcareous matter. *Calx*, in the Latin language, signifying *chalk* or *lime*, and *calc*, in the Irish or Celtic, as well as the Teutonic tongues, means the same; and *how*, a hill or height. Calchow is therefore evidently translated by Chalk-height, or Chalk-heugh.†

* This place, which was formerly a dry and barren rock, possessing a wild and romantic appearance, has assumed of late a very different aspect. Some years ago, it was projected to throw the whole of this eminence into gardens, a plan not only useful in itself, but conducing likewise to the general embellishment of the neighbouring scenery. The late Miss Paton of Kelso was the first to set the example, which was soon followed by the other proprietors. A wall is now carried along the whole base of the height; and the gardens on the face of it, from their sloping direction, and the tasteful manner in which they are laid out, produce an imposing effect.

† Chalmers' *Caledonia*.

HISTORY OF KELSO.

PARISH—AGRICULTURE.

THE parish of Kelso, in the county of Roxburgh or Teviotdale, exhibits the appearance of an irregular triangle, extending from north to south $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length; about the same in breadth from east to west, and contains a surface of nearly 6000 acres.* It is beautifully situated on both sides of the rivers Tweed and Teviot, which unite at the town of Kelso; the former dividing the parish into two equal parts. It is bounded, on the north and east, by the parishes of Earlstoun, Ednam, and Sproustoun, (the last separates it from Northumberland;) on the south, by the parish of Roxburgh; and on the west, by the parish of Markerston.

* The present parish of Kelso was formerly divided into the three parishes of Kelso proper, St James, and Maxwell. The parish of St James lay between the two rivers, the parish of Maxwell to the south-east, and the parish of Kelso on the north and west of both rivers. The ancient parish of Kelso belonged to the bishopric of St Andrews, and the parishes of Roxburgh and Maxwell to the Episcopal see of Glasgow; the Tweed being here the boundary of the two bishoprics.—*CHALMERS*, vol. II. p. 186.

In the northern part of the parish the surface is generally level; but, in the southern, it abounds in hills, which, though mostly arable, are better calculated for pasture; and considerable herds of black cattle and sheep are annually reared.

The soil, for an extensive range, on the banks of the Tweed and Teviot, is a rich, deep loam, on a bottom of fine gravel; and the system of agriculture here practised seldom fails in producing early and plentiful crops. In the north-west the soil is composed of a wet clay, and in the south it is thin and wet, on a red aluminous bottom; consequently the crops in these districts are considerably later than those on the finer ground.

The improvements recently made in agriculture are nowhere more conspicuous than in this parish. Previous to the general introduction of lime and marl as a manure, the general return to the farmer barely compensated him for his labour, especially on the cold and wet soils; but since their introduction, things have changed materially for the better.

Formerly the practice was to portion out the lands into six equal parts, each of which in succession received a summer fallow; this was followed by crops of wheat, barley, oats, pease, then oats or wheat, and afterwards they were either laid out in pasture, or again fallowed, each portion receiving, on its being first ploughed up, the whole dung of the farm. The consequence was, that often after the first, and generally after the

second year, the crops were very deficient ; but according to the improved system, by which the rotation of crops is limited to four, including turnip or potatoes, (which had not been introduced when the old method was in practice,) the land is kept clean, and in good condition, with far less expense. The system, however, varies, in some degree, according to the difference of the soil, which, in some places, being wholly clay, the crops are restricted to wheat, pease or beans, barley and oats, which are succeeded by fallow ; and in others, where it is cold and wet, the first crop after the summer fallow is wheat, succeeded by hay, and then, if not laid out in pasture, by oats.

The whole of the county of Roxburgh is excellently adapted for cultivation ; and in no part of Scotland has agriculture attained to greater perfection : It may, therefore, be interesting to the reader to give a short sketch of its progress and improvement in this county, from the earliest period we find it noticed in history.*

* Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, speaking of the state of Scotland in more rude and barbarous times, has the following excellent remarks on the progress of civilization and of agriculture, to the conclusion of the 13th century.—“ The Caledonian woods long gave shelter and pasture to various animals which no longer exist within North Britain. Throughout many an age of rude society, hunting and pasturage were the principal occupations, as they were the principal subsistence of a wretched people. Long after agriculture began her operations, at the commencement of the twelfth century, the Scottish woodlands furnished mast, and pasture, and harbour, to numerous herds of swine, droves of cattle, studs of horses, and flocks of sheep. The introduction of a new people, who possessed the habits and the

When the Romans entered this county in the first century, they found it in its rude and natural state, covered with impervious woods, and interminable wastes ; and their conquests being merely a military occupation, they did little, except in the vicinity of their camps, for the improvement of the soil. The Saxons, who invaded it after the departure of the Romans in the fifth century, bestowed somewhat more attention on husbandry, began to cut down the woods, and to cultivate the grounds. But it was not till the middle of the 9th century that we find anything like an approach to civilization, when Ecgred, Bishop of Lidisfarn, built the village of Jedworth. The next settlement in the county, which is found on record, is Edenham, by

knowledge which they had acquired in countries of more refinement, gave unwonted energy, during the twelfth century, to all the pursuits of an improving husbandry. The woods were now cleared away, and villages were reared ; meadows were drained, and the fields were manured ; hay was preserved, and corn was cultivated ; mills were erected, malting was practised, and brewhouses were built in every hamlet. During that period, the kings and earls, the bishops and abbots, were the great farmers, who carried on their operations by means of their cottars and villeyens. They reared numerous beasts of every kind ; they cultivated corn of every sort, with such skill and success as to be scarcely credible in modern times : Horticulture was practised, and orchards were planted. As the result of all these georgical pursuits, we hear of the import and export of corn, amid the frequent returns of scarcity and of famine. The rude produce of the country, its wool, and skins and hides, were the articles of exportation to more industrious countries, which supplied the Scottish people with such luxuries as were then in vogue. Before the sad demise of Alexander III., in 1286, they had acquired, under a beneficent government, much happiness, plenty, and peace."

Thor-Longus, a vassal of Edgar, who conferred upon him, by grant, Ednam, then a waste or desert ; which, with his own followers, and at his own expense, he commenced to improve, and built upon it a church, a myln, a malt-kyln and brewhouse, which in those rude times were the buildings first erected on the manors thus granted to a chief.

But although, even during the occupation of this country by the Saxons, the lands were divided into cultivated and uncultivated ; it was not until the reign of that munificent prince, David I., that a plan of systematic cultivation was adopted. This wise and good prince was not only a great husbandman himself, but he was the spring and “ moving cause of husbandry in others,” as he possessed numerous manors, with all the necessary buildings, in every shire throughout the kingdom.

During the reign of his successor, Malcolm IV., we find the cultivable land in this county surrounded with hedges, and the wastes or meadows by ditches ; and we also find the first mention of a dairy, which was established at Cumbesley by the monks of Melrose. In this age, the nobles and chiefs paid particular attention to agriculture ; but the most intelligent, and perhaps the most extensive, agriculturists of those times, were the monks, who were endowed with extensive territorial property in this shire.

Until this period the labour of cultivation was per-

formed by *villeyns*,* with the assistance of the cottagers, for which they received a certain portion of ground ; but the monks, who were reckoned the most liberal masters, and who were ever forward to reward their serfs for their good conduct, were the first to convert their services into money ; so that, in progress of time, these villeyns and cottagers were intrusted with the cultivation of some husband lands, on paying rents, and yielding services for their cottages and lands.

The civil discord and contention which took place on the death of Alexander III., and which continued almost unceasingly for nearly three centuries, not only retarded improvement, but, in fact, destroyed agriculture in this district, which was the principal theatre of strife. From the accession of James to the English throne, to the time of the Union, things were not in a much better state ; and even when this great measure was effected, so reduced were the Scottish landholders, in consequence of the long-continued factions, broils, and civil wars which had devastated the country, that they were possessed neither of skill nor of capital to enable them to take advantage of the internal quiet and security which ensued.

Encumbered with such difficulties, it is not surprising that a long time should elapse before the vigorous

* The term *villeyn* signifies one who was bound to his lord as a member belonging and joined to a manor, of which the lord was owner.—BAILLY.

practice of improved husbandry was general in this or any other county. "The practice of draining, inclosing, summer-fallowing, sowing flax, hemp, rape, turnip, and grass seeds, was introduced by Dr John Rutherford, about 1740;" but a regular system of cropping was not adopted till 1753, when Mr Dawson, an enterprising and skilful farmer, began turnip husbandry, and his example has been generally and successfully followed throughout this district. About the same period, potatoes were first planted, drill-ploughing adopted, and the sowing of grass introduced by Dr Rutherford. Fans for winnowing corn were first used by Mr Rogers, at Cavers, in 1737, and marl and lime were first employed as manure in 1755.

The improved method of husbandry having thus obtained a firm footing, the old practice was gradually abandoned; and such was the progress of the new system, that, in 1773, on a survey of the county, by order of the Trustees for Fisheries, all the farmers were reported as "found busy in the practice of it." And when a second survey, by the same authority, was made about 1780, Mr Wight, in his report, states his surprise "at the amazing advances all had made since his former survey, as every field had assumed a better aspect from an improving hand." The consequence was, that in the twenty years previous to 1794, the rents of land in this county had increased to double their former value.

Since this period the agriculture of Roxburghshire

has continued in a progressive state of improvement, and may be said, from the increased capital employed in it, and the consummate skill of the farmer, to have almost reached the utmost perfection of which it is capable.

In the year 1813 an agricultural society was formed in this county, under the name of the "Border Agricultural Society," for the purpose of promoting emulation in every branch of this science, by premiums to be awarded to superior skill, enterprize, and industry; and, in the year 1820, this society having formed a junction with the Tweedside Agricultural Society, their interests and views were united into one, now denominated "The Union Agricultural Society." By the regulations of this society, exhibitions, for the purpose of bestowing premiums, are to be held at Kelso and Coldstream, or Cornhill, viz. two years in succession at Kelso, for one at Coldstream or Cornhill. Independently of the benefits which the county has derived from the breed of the different kinds of stock introduced by this society, a very great advantage has been conferred on the town of Kelso and its agricultural district, by the establishment of the monthly cattle markets, commencing in January, and ending in May.

Some parts of this district abound in freestone, while others are perfectly destitute of it. About a mile from Kelso there was formerly an excellent quarry, known by

the name of the "Quarry-holes," which, however, from the number of springs, it was found impossible to work to any advantage. When the new Town-house of Kelso was erected, the stones for the building were dug out of this quarry, after a great expense had been incurred by the late Duke of Roxburgh in drawing off the water; but from the rapidity of its increase, it was found that the cost of keeping it under, far overbalanced the profit derived from the materials obtained, and it was in consequence abandoned.

Sprouston quarry, about three miles distant from the town, furnishes a very fine species of freestone, of a light blue colour, and of a hard and durable nature, and is the stone principally used for building in Kelso and the neighbourhood. At Sinless there is another quarry, of a bright yellow colour, but remarkably soft, which is generally employed in the construction of walls and fences.

There is also a quarry at Swinton, of a fine yellow colour, and very hard, and is reckoned the best in the county; but from its distance, being upwards of ten miles from the town, the expense of carriage is too high to admit of its being brought into general use.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

It is stated in the Introduction, that the town of Kelso has been the scene of many important events ; and this assertion is fully warranted by the prominent place it occupies in the pages of the history of our country.

Situated on the Borders, and a frontier town of the kingdom, it was repeatedly desolated by fire and sword, during those unhappy conflicts which devastated both countries for so many ages. Kelso, or its immediate neighbourhood, was the usual rendezvous of our armies upon the eastern Marches, when the vassals were summoned either to repel an invading enemy, or to retaliate on English ground the injuries which had been committed on their own.

Kelso is also famous as a place of negotiation ; and many truces, or treaties, were here concluded between the two nations. It was likewise frequently honoured by the presence of the sovereigns of both kingdoms.

As the *Ancient History* of Kelso, connected as it is with the general history of Scotland, cannot therefore fail to be interesting to every one desirous of becoming acquainted with the deeds of his forefathers, the writer has endeavoured to gratify the reader by the following *Sketch*, drawn from the most authentic sources.

No event of historical importance appears to have occurred at Kelso prior to the reign of William I., surnamed the Lion, when, in the year 1209, the Bishop of Rochester left his See in England, and came to take refuge in this town, the kingdoms of England and Wales having been laid under an interdict by the Pope, on account of the contumacy of King John, arising from the following circumstance :—A vacancy happening in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, in the year 1205, part of the monks took upon them to fill it up, by choosing their own superior to the office ; but falling soon under their displeasure, they ejected him, and, in concurrence with the suffragan bishops of the province, elected in his room the Bishop of Norwich, who enjoyed the favour of King John. A deputation of twelve of the monks being sent to Rome to notify their proceeding to the Pope, he declared both the present and the former election to be irregular, and consequently null ; and having determined the sole right of election to be vested in the convent, he compelled the deputation to nominate Stephen Langton, an Englishman and a cardinal, to the vacant see. To this decision John refused submission, and, in his representations to the Holy Court, made use of such intemperate language as provoked the Pope to lay the kingdoms of England and Wales under an interdict, and this was ultimately followed by sentence of excommunication

against the king, and the fulmination of a bull releasing his subjects from their fealty and obedience.

The interdict, which was originally proclaimed in 1206, was renewed in still severer terms in the year 1209, so that "all order, all religion, all dignity, was laid prostrate, and no privilege favoured or allowed, except the baptism of infants, which was performed without the church. Then were seen bodies lying unburied outside the burying-ground, prelates as well as priests, clergy as well as laity, all heaped together in cross ways and public roads."

The clergy, thus prevented from performing the duties of their office, resorted to countries where they might exercise their functions ; and accordingly the Bishops of Rochester and Salisbury retired to Scotland, and fixed their residence, the former at Kelso, the latter at Roxburgh. These prelates were hospitably received by King William, who gave them eighty chalders of wheat, sixty-six chalders of malt, and eighty chalders of oats.*

William de Valoines, Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, died at Kelso, in the prime of life, in the year 1219, and was interred in the Abbey Church of Melrose.†

In consequence of the internal troubles of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III., his father-in-law, Henry III. of England, found it necessary to interpose, with the view of restoring order, by giving li-

* Fordun, vol. I. p. 523. † Ib. vol. II. p. 43. Crawford, vol. I. p. 258.

berty and protection to the king and queen, who were kept prisoners in Edinburgh Castle by those to whom Henry had intrusted the care of them, on their marriage in 1251, till Alexander should attain the age of majority.

With this intent, in the summer of 1255, Henry and his Queen, attended by a large retinue of his nobles, proceeded to the Marches, where he had ordered a numerous force to be assembled in case of emergency. Alexander and his queen, who by this time had been released from their confinement, and were then residing in Roxburgh Castle, hearing of the arrival of their royal relatives at the Castle of Wark, proceeded thither to welcome them to the Borders. Alexander himself made no stay at Wark, returning the same day to Roxburgh, but his queen was prevailed upon to remain there with her mother, who had taken ill.

Henry, at the earnest solicitation of his son-in-law, proceeded the next day to Roxburgh, where he was received with every demonstration of joy, amid the loudest acclamations, by the king and his nobility. During his residence at the Castle, Alexander, in compliment to Henry, and in honour of his visit, formed a grand procession at Roxburgh, and introduced the king with great pomp into Kelso, and afterwards conducted him to the Abbey, where he had commanded a royal banquet to be prepared, at which most of the nobility of the kingdom attended. After partaking of the banquet, King Henry took occasion to address the guests, strongly recommending to them to intrust the care of the

king, and the administration of the government, to the Earl of Dunbar and his party, and, on leaving the entertainment, proceeded to Wark Castle on his return to England.* For further particulars of what occurred on this visit, see *Ancient History of Roxburgh*.

Edward I. of England, having summoned the Scots nobles to attend a Parliament to be held at York on the 14th day of January, 1297; on their failing to appear, ordered the kingdom to be invaded in the course of eight days from that date. The army destined for this service was accordingly assembled at Newcastle, consisting of 100,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 1200 men-at-arms; having entered Scotland, these troops proceeded to Roxburgh, and relieved the castle, at that time besieged by the Scots. After this, they passed the Tweed at Kelso, and marched to Berwick, which they took, the Scots having abandoned the town before their arrival.†

The town of Kelso, as has before been remarked, was often fixed upon as the place for arranging and settling truces and treaties between the two kingdoms. The first mention we find of any such occurrence there, is in the year 1380, when, agreeably to the tenor of a truce formerly concluded, the Kings of Scotland and England were, by the conditions of that truce, to send their ratifications of the same, in writing, under the great seal of their respective kingdoms, the former to

* Chron. Mail. p. 220-1. Ridpath, p. 145.

† Ridpath, p. 209.

the monastery of Kelso, the latter to the monastery of Melrose, on the day of the festival of the Epiphany of our Lord; but the exact day on which this festival ought to be observed being uncertain, they agreed to refer this disputed point to their councils, who were to decide upon it; and their pleasure in this matter was, in consequence, to be signified in the same way, at the same places, on the day of the festival of the Purification of the Virgin.

The foregoing truce not being likely to lead to a permanent peace between the two kingdoms, and the differences between them assuming a more serious appearance, it was proposed, in the year 1381, to refer the points in dispute to the decision of a jury chosen out of both nations, composed of persons of equal rank; but it being considered as degrading to the majesty of independent sovereigns to submit their concerns to the judgment of their own subjects, it was finally agreed upon by the commissioners on both sides, to refer every matter of difference to a foreign prince, unconnected with either party, whose award should be binding upon them. The difficulty attending such a reference, (especially in fixing upon a sovereign prince on the continent, against whom no objection could be brought by one or other of the disputants,) appeared, however, to be so great, that it was determined to prolong this truce for three years, in order to obtain this desirable end; and in the meantime to endeavour, by every means in their power, to adjust their differences themselves.

This having been agreed upon by the commissioners, the King of Scotland was desired to forward his consent to this arrangement, in writing, under the great seal of his kingdom, to the monastery of Kelso, before the festival of St Michael ; and the King of England was to do the same to the monastery of Melrose.*

Another truce was concluded at Kelso in the year 1391, the conditions of which do not appear to have been strictly observed, for in the ensuing year, 1392, we find the King of England appointing commissioners to meet those of Scotland, " in any place that may be fixed upon in the Marches ;" and in his instructions, referring to the above-mentioned truce, gave them directions strictly to adhere, in their future arrangements, to the stipulations contained in it ; and in the year 1393, a meeting of commissioners from both kingdoms was appointed to be held at Aiton or Kelso, to treat on the means necessary to be adopted for the faithful observance of the truces concluded between the two kingdoms, and for the preservation or continuance of them ; and also for the punishment of certain attempts, misprisions, and evil deeds, contrary to the form and tenor of the said truces, committed by the subjects of both kingdoms.†

The truce which was agreed to in the year 1397, between England and Scotland, was concluded at Dun-

* Rymer, tom. VII. p. 314. Ridpath, p. 351.

† Rymer, tom. VII. p. 759.

ferline on the 2d day of October, being Michaelmas-day; and the complaints of the inhabitants of the Borders of either kingdom against the encroachments of the other, appear to have been the only grievance it was designed to remedy. The parties complaining were, by this convention, ordered to render a statement of their complaints; the English to the Abbot of Kelso or his deputies, and the Scots to the Constable of Roxburgh castle, who was to forward them to the Warden of the Marches; this truce to be in force for one year. The King of England, however, did not ratify this convention for some months, but at last he signified his pleasure, that, agreeably to its tenor, it should continue in force for the time specified, and that the indentures should be exchanged on the 16th of October, 1398; and it was farther agreed, that commissioners should meet on the 21st of the same month, to reconsider the terms of this truce, and to provide for an adjustment of all existing differences. The following is the clause in the original truce respecting the delivery of their complaints:—

“ Alwa it is accordit, for cause of mar playn and hastie redresse, yat al ye of the kinrik of Scotlande yat ar plantif of ony of ye kings leges of Inlande, yai sal sende yair billes, indented of yair playntes, to the Castel of Roxburgh, and delivir yaim to the lieutenant or the constable of the Castel before yhole nest commande; ye qwhilk sal receyve yaim, and sende yaim to ye conservatairs or his deputes, to ger yaim be warnit to finde borowis, to aper befor the forsayde lordes at ye forsayde day and plaece: Ande al yai of the kinrik of Ing-

lande yat ar plantife of any of ye kinges leges of Scotland, yai sal sende yair billes, indentid of yair playntes, to the Abbey of Kelso, and delivir yaim to ye abbat or the segestayne of the same abbey, before yhole nest commande, yat yai may be sende furth to ye conservatairs of ye trewes or yair depütes, to ger yaim be warnit and finde borowis, to aper befor ye forsayde lordes, at ye forsayde day and place.”*

Henry IV. of England having arrived at Newcastle, on his way to Scotland to claim the crown of that kingdom, wrote a letter, dated the 6th day of August, 1400, to inform the King of Scotland (Robert III.) of his intention, and requiring him to be ready to do homage to him, on the 23d of the same month, at Edinburgh, where he meant to be on that day ; and also requiring him to summon all his peers, spiritual and temporal, to be present to acknowledge him as their sovereign. At the same time he also sent letters to the prelates and nobles to the same effect. These letters were intrusted to special commissioners, with strict injunctions, and under pain of forfeiture of whatever could be forfeited by them, to obtain, if possible, admission into the presence of the king and his nobles, and to read these letters to them ; but should this be impracticable, then they were to read them, openly and aloud, at Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedworth, Melrose, Edinburgh, and other public places within the kingdom.

This measure not producing the desired effect, King Henry advanced into Scotland ; and having arrived at

* Rymer, tom. VIII. p. 18. Ridpath, p. 361.

Leith, he sent a second letter, of the same purport, to the king, on the 21st of August, and also one to his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, at that time governor of the castle of Edinburgh, requiring him to surrender it into his hands. To this summons the duke replied, by a herald, that he would not surrender, but that he would, in the course of six days, give him battle, and either force him to relinquish his design of laying siege to the castle, or run the risk of falling in the attempt. The English king did not prosecute his object farther, but returned to England; and shortly afterwards a truce was agreed to, and commissioners appointed to meet at Kelso, to negotiate a peace between the two kingdoms. These commissioners met accordingly, and another truce for twelve months was signed on the 21st of December.

The following is a translation of the letter which King Henry sent to Robert, King of Scotland:—

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to the King of the Scots, health, that you may instantly do what We advise.

“ Whereas our ancestors and progenitors, by the right of superiority and direct dominion, from the most remote antiquity, viz. from about the time of Loerinus, son of Brutus, governed the kings of Scotland and their dependencies in their temporalities, and received from the said kings for the kingdom of Scotland, and from the chiefs belonging to that kingdom, the oath of liege homage and fidelity.—We doubt not to receive the same from you.

“ And because our said ancestors and progenitors were, from about the time before mentioned, in possession of the

rights and dominion before said, We, retaining possession of the said right and dominion, and introducing nothing new, but being only desirous of preserving unimpaired the rights and prerogatives of our crown, to which we are obliged by the oath we have taken :

“ Therefore, We, by the tenor of these presents, require, advise, and exhort you, that, taking into consideration the effusion of Christian blood, and the other dangers and losses which may most likely happen, if, according to these premisses, the said homage and fidelity is not rendered to Us, even as your predecessors, the right and lawful kings of the Scots, and especially,

“ William, who to Henry II. and John his son, and

“ Alexander, who to Henry III. and to Edward, our ancestors, and

“ John de Baliol, who to the same Edward, and Edward, son of the said John de Baliol, who to

“ Edward III. our grandfather, Kings of England, did in later times ;—that you do the same at Edinburgh, on Monday the 23d day of the present month of August, where for this purpose, and also for the peace of our kingdoms of England and Scotland, we intend to be ; and that you shall cause all the prelates and chiefs of the kingdom to repair thither, on the same day, to perform the same.

“ Certifying to you and them, that, not from any presumption or elation of our heart, but that we may cancel the debt for which you are bound to us, we make this demand in this manner ; and we exhort you, and also order you, from the cause and force of this requisition, that you the more speedily and freely perform that homage and fidelity which is due to us, rather than (which will be the consequence of your contumacy and rebellion) you should provoke the extending the arm of our power.

“ Confiding in the kindness of the Supreme Judge, who bestows on every one what is his right, we hope that He (should you persevere in your rebellion and obstinacy) will

direct our deeds in a prosperous manner, to the preservation of our rights, and the confusion of our rivals and rebels.

“ In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

“ Witness myself, at the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the 6th day of August, in the first year of our reign.”*

Immediately upon the death of King James II., who was killed at the siege of Roxburgh castle on the 3d of August, 1460, by the bursting of a cannon, his queen with her infant son being at the time in the camp, she brought him to the nobles, who, availing themselves of the opportunity of their being assembled with the royal army, conducted him to the abbey of Kelso, where he was crowned with great solemnity, and received their oaths of fidelity and allegiance.†

The distress occasioned to the subjects of the two kingdoms, especially to those on or near the Borders, by the perpetual hostility and warfare which had so long existed between them, inclined the sovereigns of both countries to conclude a peace, on such a basis as would prevent in future the recurrence of so great a calamity. For this purpose, commissioners met at Kelso, in the year 1487, in order to prolong a truce then about to expire, to afford time for concluding a treaty of marriage between the eldest son of King James III. and the eldest daughter of the late King Edward IV. of

* Rymer, tom. VIII. p. 189. Maitland, vol. I. p. 582. Ridpath, p. 369.

† Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 189. Maitland, vol. I. p. 652. Ridpath, p. 422. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 381—2. Holinshed, p. 279.

England, in the hope that, by this alliance, a perpetual peace and lasting friendship would be established between the two kingdoms. The ratifications of this agreement were to be exchanged at Kelso, as appears from the following concluding article :—

“ And moreover it is ordaint, and by the said commissionaris of heith the kings fully aggreit and concludit, that this present prorogate trewis, to the seid firste day of September, sal be firmly kepit and observit, unto the playne expiration of the samyn day, and that athir of the said kings sal, before the xii day of the next Januare, in the kirk of Kelso, under thare grate selis, interchangeably, sufficiently, and in due forme, ratifie and conferme thir presents, and the continues of the samyn.”*

In the year 1513, James IV., at the instigation of the King of France, invaded England with an army 100,000 strong. He advanced to Norham, and laid siege to the Castle, which, from the want of ammunition, soon fell into his hands. In the meantime, the English received a great accession of strength, being reinforced by the Earl of Surrey with an army of 26,000 men, and shortly afterwards by his son, with 1000 more.

King James had previously taken his station in a strong position upon the field of Flodden, where the battle between the two armies was fought, which ended in the total defeat of the Scots; the king himself and

* Rymer, tom. XII. p. 330.

the flower of his nobility being slain, and a vast number of all ranks made prisoners. The English themselves acknowledge that the king fought with the most determined bravery, and with great skill; and that even after part of his army had been put to flight, he continued to encourage the remainder to persevere in the conflict, and not to surrender to the enemy; and himself setting the example, he plunged into the thickest of the battle, where it is supposed he met his death. The army, discouraged by the loss of their king, were soon thrown into confusion, and being hardly pressed by the enemy, retreated in the utmost disorder. The loss on both sides was immense, and many of the Scots were made prisoners.*

The disastrous battle of Flodden-Field took place on Friday the 9th day of September, 1513. It is mentioned by Buchanan, that King James had been previously advertised of the issue of this battle, by a venerable old man, who appeared to his majesty, wrapped in a blue mantle, and advised him not to risk it, as it had been revealed to him, that if he persisted in so doing, it would prove injurious to him and his army.

* Sir James Balfour, in his *Annals of Scotland*, says, respecting this unfortunate battle,—“It was no meruaille the Scotts had the losse, for, of 46,000 men, not above 12,000 stayed with the king; bot all of them vent home 4 or 5 dayes befoe the batell, and wold not stay, because the king wold not follow the counsell and adwysee of his nobility and best capitanes, bot scorned and mocked them with idle reproches, wich was his ruine.”—Vol. I. p. 237.

Having delivered his message, he disappeared, and was never seen afterwards.

It is said that the body of the king was found the day after the battle by the English, who, having embalmed it, carried it to the Monastery of Sheen, in the county of Surrey, where it was interred.

Another account of this battle states, that upon examining the slain the following morning, the dead body of the king was found by Lord Dacres, who, after it was carried to Berwick, showed it to Sir William Scott, the Chancellor of Scotland, and to Sir John Forman, his serjeant porter, taken prisoners in this battle, who immediately recognized it; and that after being embowelled, the corpse was wrapped in lead, and kept at Berwick until the king's pleasure respecting it should be signified.

Leslie and Buchanan affirm that the body found by the English was not that of the king, but had only a strong resemblance to him; and they farther assert, that the king was shortly afterwards seen at Kelso, whence he went to Jerusalem, where he died.*

Another report states, that the king, after leaving the field of battle, took refuge in the Castle of Hume, where he was murdered by the Earl (who had previously been gained over to the English interest) and

* This appears to have been, to say the least, barely possible; and, when we consider the *fabulous accounts* credited in those days, we are the more inclined to doubt the existence of the miracles said to have been wrought.

some of his adherents, which obtained considerable credit from the circumstance of one Carr, a follower of Lord Hume, having, the very night following the battle, turned the Abbot of Kelso out of the abbacy, which he would not have presumed to do, had the king been alive.*

Abercromby quotes the following passage respecting the body of King James, from a MS. History of Scotland, by the Earl of Nidsdale:—"That during the usurpation of Cromwell, a skeleton, girded with an iron chain, and involved in a bull's skin, was found among the ruins of the old castle of Roxburgh; and that the iron chain, which King James IV. did at no time lay by, made people generally believe that it was the body of that prince which they had discovered; but that the nation being then in subjection, there was no way to make a further enquiry into the matter; so the skeleton was interred, without any ceremony, in the common burial-place."†

The Duke of Albany, as Governor of the Kingdom during the minority of James V., arrived at Kelso in the year 1515, in his journey through the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the measures proper to be adopted in order to put a stop to the murders and robberies then so frequent. Here the people presented many heavy complaints against Lord Hume, the Earl of Angus, and others, who had exceedingly oppressed

* Buch. Lib. XIII. Leslie, p. 349. Baker's Chron. 259—261. Pitscottie, p. 117. Ridpath, p. 495.

† Abercromby, vol. II. p. 537.

and wronged them, at a time when they had no one to whom they could state their grievances with any prospect of redress. The Governor, who had ever evinced a just regard for the good of the kingdom, expressed his sorrow at hearing such representations, assured them he should employ all his power in obtaining satisfaction for the past, and security for the future.*

The rancorous private feuds which about this period (1520) existed betwixt different noble families of Scotland, arising from their love and desire of power, of which the following is not a solitary instance, is a matter of melancholy recollection :—Andrew Carr, or Kerr, Baron of Farnherst, pretending that he possessed the power to hold courts in the Forest of Jedburgh, notwithstanding that the lands belonged entirely to the Earl of Angus, proceeded to exercise this jurisdiction. The Earl, irritated at this presumption, determined to oppose his carrying this assumed right into effect. Both parties appealed to arms. In this quarrel, Carr was supported by Sir James Hamilton, who came to his assistance with 400 men from the Merse, while the Earl of Angus was joined by several of the name of Carr.†

* Pitcottie, p. 125.

† The quarrel which had thus commenced between them and the provostry of Jedburgh, existed for many years after this period, for we find, in the year 1590, that the "Laird of Farnherst, being then deceased, and the heir left young, William Ker of Ancrum, as descended of that house, did what he could to maintain the reputation of it, which was an eye-sore to the other; and some time before this, this gentleman, in the trial of goods stolen from England, was so vigilant

The Baron of Cessford, at this time warden of the Marches, being informed that Sir James Hamilton had proceeded to Kelso, followed him thither with a numerous army, and having fallen in with him, gave him battle. The contest, however, was not of long duration ; the Borderers, on whose courage and support he chiefly relied, deserted him, and, in consequence of his defeat, the Baron of Farnherst submitted, and held a court at Jedburgh as bailiff under the Earl of Angus, who held his court in the lands adjoining.

This dispute, though apparently adjusted, did not end here, but produced consequences still more fatal and disastrous ; for the Hamiltons, regarding with jealousy the ascendancy which Angus and his party daily obtained, used every endeavour to increase the strength of their followers. Nor were they unsuccessful, for they

as to discover the thief, who was one of Cessford's followers, and, when it was denied, to bring clear testimony of it before the council, which was taken to be done out of spleen, and to rub some infamy upon Cessford, who was then Warden. This the Lady Cessford, a woman of haughty spirit, highly resented, and moved her son, then very young, to murder Ancrum, which he did in 1591. His death was much lamented, he being a wise and courageous gentleman, and expert, beyond most men, in the laws and customs of the Borders, which, and the manner of his death, exasperated the king, who resolved to use exemplary justice on the actor. But he, having escaped, after some months' absence was pardoned, upon satisfaction made to Ancrum's children, and, as was thought, by the intercession of Chancellor Maitland, who afterwards married him to his niece, a daughter of William Maitland, the secretary."—SCOTT'S *Staggering State*, p. 103.

gained over to their cause many of the nobility, and with them the Chancellor, Archbishop Beaton. Notwithstanding, many of the friends of both parties, sincere lovers of their country, were anxiously desirous that a solid peace should be effected between them, and thus extinguish their former enmity. For this purpose, they succeeded in procuring a Parliament to be summoned to meet at Edinburgh the following year; but the Hamiltons, pretending they could not be safe in a city where a relation of the Earl of Angus had the chief authority, Archibald Douglas, at that time Provost of Edinburgh, resigned his office to Logan of Restalrig, upon which they came to town in a body. Instead, however, of intending to adjust the differences between them, the Hamiltons only projected means of revenge against the Earl of Angus; and finding him posted in the main street with about 100 followers, attacked him, and would most likely have prevailed against him, had he not been speedily reinforced by a number of his friends. The Hamiltons fled, escaping through the marshes to the northward of the town. In this affray about seventy of the Hamiltons were slain, including Sir Patrick, brother to the Earl. The loss of the Douglasses is not mentioned in history.*

The war between Charles V. and Francis I., which commenced in the year 1521, involved Scotland in hos-

* Leslie, p. 376. Maitland, vol. II. p. 776. Holinshed, vol. I. p. 307. Ridpath, p. 509.

tilities with England. Henry VIII. having first been applied to as umpire in the dispute between these monarchs, seemed to the latter to be so decidedly in favour of his opponent, that he refused to submit to his decision ; and in order to prevent him from becoming a party in the quarrel, he sent the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, who had been in France upwards of four years, to reassume the government, with the view of creating a diversion in his favour, so that Henry might be prevented from sending any troops to the continent.

The Duke was received on his return with every mark of joy and affection, but not being prepared to commence hostilities against England, he summoned a Parliament, in which it was agreed to apply for a prolongation of the truce then existing between the two kingdoms, now about to expire. This application, however, was answered by Henry with proposals for a definite peace, the first condition of which was, that Albany should be deprived of his office of governor, and of the care of the king's person, alleging that it was dangerous for the king to be in the power of the next heir to the crown. These proposals were accompanied by letters from Lord Dacres, (who had entered the Scottish Borders in February, 1522,) to the Parliament, the queen-mother, and the governor, declaring, that if these terms were not accepted before the first of March, ensuing, the Scots might stand to their peril. They were, however, rejected by the Scottish Parlia-

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ment, who, at the same time, declared their full confidence in the Duke of Albany.

In consequence, Henry levied, by royal proclamation, an immense force, consisting of all the males between sixteen and sixty, in the ten northern counties of England, and gave the command of it, and of the fleet which was to be employed in conveying it to Scotland, to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

This fleet having arrived in the Forth, the forces were landed and marched into the interior, laying waste the country in their route; and in their progress being joined by Lord Dacres, they entered Kelso, one half of which, they destroyed by fire, the other they plundered, and also did much injury to the Abbey. The inhabitants of the Merse and Teviotdale, on this occasion, nobly flew to arms, and marched to the assistance of their friends and neighbours; and thus the progress of the English being checked, they retreated within their own borders.*

From the time that James V. assumed the reins of government, there never was any settled or lasting peace with England, although Henry VIII., having many internal commotions to contend with, resulting from his determination to overturn the papal supremacy in his dominions, seemed very desirous of maintaining a friendly relation with the Scottish king, his nephew, and made several proposals for an inter-

* Maitland, vol. II. p. 787. Pinkerton, vol. II. p. 215. Ridpath, p. 513.

view with him for this purpose. James, in an evasive manner, declined for some time to meet his uncle, but at last consented to an interview at York, in the summer of 1541, whither Henry went in great pomp, in the full expectation of his keeping the appointment; he, however, did not appear, and Henry, irritated at the affront thus put upon him, and learning, while there, that the Scots had made an inroad into England, left York, vowing revenge for this insulting and unprincipled conduct on the part of the King of Scotland.

James, although prevailed upon by his clergy to decline the meeting, was by no means desirous of provoking an open rupture; he therefore sent ambassadors to London to excuse his non-attendance at York, at the same time professing the highest esteem and affection for his uncle, and proposing that commissioners should be appointed to meet on the Borders to settle a dispute respecting some land in that quarter, which the Scots had seized. The commissioners met accordingly, (July 4, 1542,) but did not settle the dispute; and although they parted on friendly terms, and James had sent an especial ambassador to apologize for his late conduct, with offers of redress for any injury sustained, Henry determined to resent the insult he had received, and, at the same time, to protect his borders from insult. He accordingly placed strong garrisons in all his frontier towns and castles, and put every place in the best possible state of defence.

Henry, intent upon his purpose, and even when King

James's ambassador was still at his court, ordered a force to invade Scotland. The governor of Norham Castle, Sir Robert Bowes, accordingly collected about 3000 men, with which he entered Scotland, accompanied by the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and others of their party, who were appointed commissioners to superintend this invasion, with the intention of proceeding to Jedburgh, and laying waste the country in their route.

In the meantime, the Earl of Huntly, who had been appointed Guardian of the Marches, was not inattentive to their motions, and, having stationed garrisons in Kelso and Jedburgh, he set out with his trusty Borderers in quest of the enemy. Having fallen in with them at Haldan-Rigg, on the 24th of August, 1542, a battle ensued, which was so severely contested on both sides, that victory remained for a long time doubtful. Fortunately, however, Lord Hume arrived at the most critical moment with 400 lancers, which inspired the Scots with fresh vigour, and finally decided the battle in their favour. Many of the English were made prisoners, among whom were Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Mowbray, Sir James Douglas, and others of equal note.

Notwithstanding this defeat, King Henry, persevering in his hostile designs against Scotland, ordered a more numerous army to be raised to march to the north, and appointed the Duke of Norfolk to the chief command. Previously to this army leaving York, King

James made an ineffectual attempt (which Henry believed to be insincere, and only for the purpose of gaining time) to treat for peace; and the negotiations being broken off, the English army was ordered immediately to advance into Scotland.

Whether James was sincere or not in his offers to treat for peace, it certainly was a good stroke of policy to prevent, as long as possible, the advances of an invading army, and it produced this effect; for the Duke of Norfolk did not cross the Tweed till the 21st of October, much too late for him to expect any great advantage from this invasion.

In the meantime, James, informed of the determination of Henry, had collected an army on Fala-Moor, 30,000 strong, from which he sent detachments to the Earl of Huntly, that increased the force under his command to 10,000 men; and, with the remainder, he retired to the Lammer-Moor, expecting that the Duke of Norfolk would endeavour by that route to penetrate to the capital.

Huntly, although unequal to any attempt upon the enemy while collected, prevented, by his hovering near them, any detachment being sent from the main body, and thus preserved the country from that devastation to which it would otherwise have been exposed. It was, however, impossible for him to save either the town of Kelso or the Abbey, which they burned. They also destroyed several villages in the neighbourhood, but the army becoming disheartened through want of provisions

and the rigour of the season, Norfolk recrossed the Tweed, and retired into England. The intelligence also that James was in the field with a well-appointed and numerous force, it is said, hastened their retreat, which the same authority states to have been most disorderly.

King James being informed that the English had withdrawn to Berwick, instantly proposed to his nobles to advance into England; but they all, with one accord, refused, objecting against such a measure the lateness of the season and the scarcity of provisions; alleging, at the same time, that enough of honour had been gained by the retreat of the enemy. The king, being unable by any argument to prevail upon them to accede to his wishes, returned with his army to Edinburgh, where it was disbanded.*

On the death of King James V., in 1542, Henry VIII. of England, with the view of terminating the discord between the nations, and uniting them under one head, proposed a treaty of peace and of marriage between the infant queen, (Mary,) and his son Prince Edward, (afterwards Edward VI. ;) and, to effect this, he brought over to his views the Scottish noblemen who had lately been made prisoners at the battle on the banks of the Solway, whom he sent to Scotland to use all their influence in promoting his designs. The Earl of Arran, at this time governor of Scotland, professing to

* Grafton's Chron. p. 1067. Maitland, vol. II. p. 831. Knox, p. 26. Buchanan, lib. XIV. Ridpath, p. 540.

be favourable to a reformation in religion, and desirous of obtaining the assistance of Henry against the queen-mother, Cardinal Beaton, and the French party, was applied to by the Lords on their return from England, among whom were the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, who seized this opportunity of returning from exile; and, having called a Parliament in March 1543, ambassadors were sent to conclude these treaties with the King of England, to which the Cardinal and his friends made no opposition, the party in favour of the alliance with England being too strong for him to contend with at present. But the Cardinal having gained over Arran, the governor, (a weak and irresolute character,) to his interest, another Parliament was called in December of the same year, which annulled the treaties, on the ground that Henry, in the interval between their conclusion and ratification, had seized some Scottish vessels which were bound to France with fish and provisions; but the real cause was the ascendancy which the Cardinal and the French party had now gained in the state.

Henry, irritated by this conduct, resolved to take revenge on the Scottish nation; and the Earl of Lennox, who had been sent to Scotland by the King of France to strengthen the party of the queen-dowager and Beaton, (now that they had gained over the governor,) being treated by them very slightly, he, with the nobles in his interest, joined the English, and entered into a treaty with Henry, whereby it was agreed to assist him

in the conquest of the counties of Mers and Tiviotdale ; and Lennox also promised to place in his hands the Castle of Dumbarton, of which he was governor. This treaty being concluded, Lennox sailed from Bristol early in 1544, with a considerable force, for the River Clyde ; but Stirling, who held the castle under him, refusing to deliver it up, he returned to England, and shortly thereafter, in conjunction with Lord Dacres and Sir Thomas Wharton, entered Scotland by the West Marches, took and destroyed Dumfries, laying waste a great tract of country, and, having collected an immense quantity of booty, retired, without having experienced any resistance.

Another English army entering the country by the Eastern Marches, plundered and destroyed Jedburgh and Kelso, at the same time ravaging and burning the villages, &c., in the neighbourhood. They afterwards proceeded to Coldinghame, and having taken possession of the Abbey, they put the tower in a state of defence, by fortifying and leaving a garrison in it. In order to drive the English from this place, the governor, (Arran,) collected an army of about 8000 men, who, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, were employed day and night in battering and destroying the tower. The English, however, receiving a reinforcement from Berwick, Arran relinquished his attempts to reduce it, and dreading the resentment of his army, who he was afraid might deliver him into the hand of the enemy, set off privately for Dunbar. This pusillanimous con-

duct occasioned such offence, that the army, in retreating from before this fortress, would have abandoned all their artillery, had not the Earl of Angus taken the command, and with much difficulty brought it off. Sir Ralph Evers, or Eure, and Sir Bryan Layton, who had the command of this expedition, at the same time devastated the counties of Mers and Tiviotdale, pursuing their ravaging system with unparalleled barbarity;* and having returned to London to give the king an account of their success, and to demand a recompense for their services, he, by the advice of the Duke of Norfolk, bestowed upon them all the lands which they had already conquered, or should conquer; and, to enable them to protect what they had gained, and extend their acquisitions, he put under their command 2000 Borderers, and 3000 mercenaries, with which force they entered Scotland early in February 1545. This expedition they conducted with their wonted cruelty; for, having taken the tower of Bovinhouse, or Broomhouse, they consumed it, with its lady, her children, and whole family. Their predatory course, however, was

* The devastation perpetrated by the English on this occasion is next to incredible; and their booty was immense. The following is a statement of the destruction committed, and plunder carried off by them, taken from Hayne's State Papers:—"Taken and destroyed, towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, paryahe-churches, bastell houses, 192. Scots slain, 403. Prisoners taken, 816. Nolt, 10,386. Shepe, 12, 492. Nags and geldings, 1296. Gayt, 200. Bolls of corn, 850. Insight gear, &c."—HAYNE'S *State Papers*, p. 51.

soon checked ; for the Scots, having collected a small force, proceeded to Melrose, where they were joined by about 1800 men, under the command of Lesly, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and Walter Scott of Buccleuch. The English, who were then at Jedburgh, hearing of the small force that was with the Governor and Angus, marched in the night to Melrose to take them by surprise ; but their approach being discovered, the Scots retreated to the neighbouring hills, whence they could see the operations of the enemy, who, finding the Scots had left it, plundered the town and retired. The Scots, however, determined to give them battle ; and having dismounted, and sent their horses to some heights in the rear, took up their position in a low piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the village of Ancram, where they were concealed from the English, who, conceiving, from the motion of the horses, that they were flying before them, made a rapid advance ; and before they were aware, came full upon the Scots, who received them with an attack as gallant as it was unexpected. The consequence was, that the English were soon thrown into confusion, and a complete victory was obtained. Evers and Layton, and about 800 of their army, many of them persons of note, were killed, and 1000 made prisoners, among whom were “ 80 of good birth and qualitie.”

The French King, in consequence of this victory, sent 3000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of

Lorges, to the assistance of the Scots, which arrived at Edinburgh in the month of July, and being joined by about 15,000 Scots, marched to the Borders.

An English army, under the Earl of Hertford, 12,000 strong, well equipped and provided, entered Scotland in September, and laid waste the Mers and Tiviotdale. While this army was plundering Kelso, about 300 men took possession of the abbey, which they defended most gallantly for some time, but being overpowered, the English took and destroyed it. The towns and villages burnt in this irruption amounted to *five score*, and the abbeys destroyed were Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Dryburgh.

The Scots in the meantime, with their French auxiliaries, had crossed the Tweed, and reached Maxwell-heugh, with the intent of retaliating upon the English; and having destroyed a number of towns and villages, they intended to have proceeded to lay siege to the castle of Wark, which, however, the want of artillery, and the lateness of the season, prevented them from doing; and the Earl of Hertford having withdrawn, the Scots did not feel inclined to follow them, so the army was dismissed, and the French were left to guard the Borders.

The Parliament, nevertheless, which was sitting at this time at Linlithgow, in order to guard against any irruption during the winter, appointed 1000 horsemen to remain near the Borders, and levied the sum of L.16,000 for their support. This precaution had the

effect of preserving peace to the Borders for the remainder of the year.*

The Queen-Regent having, in the year 1558, sent ambassadors to congratulate Mary, Queen of England, on her marriage with Philip of Spain, charged them also to demand a renewal of the treaty between the two nations; when it was agreed that commissioners should meet the next year for this purpose. The meeting not taking place, the Queen Regent directed her attention to the strengthening of the Borders; and for carrying her intentions into effect, she called a parliament, when it was determined to build a fort at Kelso, for the expense of which, a tax of L.20,000 was ordered to be levied, one half to be paid by the spiritual, and the other half by the temporal estate; but it does not appear that this resolution was ever carried into effect.†

England, in the year 1557, being at war with France, a very considerable force was sent into Scotland, under the command of M. D'Oysel, with the hope of inducing the Queen Regent to declare war against Elizabeth. But to this although she was much inclined, yet the nobles conceiving that the only advantage to be derived from it would accrue to France, they were equally averse; and the more especially, as commissioners from both nations were at the time sitting

* Maitland, vol. II. p. 860-1. Holinshed, vol. I. p. 338. Grafton, p. 1276. Hall, p. 101. Keith, p. 48. Godscroft, p. 267-270. Ridpath, p. 550-54. Lodge, vol. I. p. 90.

† Ridpath, p. 583.

at Carlisle, for the purpose of settling the disputes upon the Borders, and adjusting the differences between the two countries. The Queen Regent, however, as she could not obtain their consent, resolved to provoke England by some act of hostility ; and this she did by ordering D'Oysel to rebuild the fort at Eyemouth, which, in terms of a former treaty, had been demolished, both nations being bound by the same treaty never to rebuild it, which had the desired effect. The deliberations at Carlisle were broken off, and Queen Elizabeth threatened with a declaration of war, if she did not withdraw her troops from France.

In the meantime the Earl of Huntly, who, as we have already mentioned, was lieutenant of the Borders, assisted by the French, entered England, destroyed several of their strongholds, and set fire to all the towns and villages which lay on his route. In these inroads he met with little resistance.

The Queen Regent having also collected a numerous army, it was marched, early in October, to Kelso, under the command of the Earl of Arran ; where, being joined by the French with their artillery, it crossed the Tweed, and encamped at Maxwell-heugh,* and afterwards proceeded to Wark castle, which, however, they were not able to reduce. It was therefore thought advisable to withdraw the army, leaving only a garrison at Kelso and Roxburgh, for the protection of the

* A village, about half a mile from Kelso.

Borders. Shortly after this, Sir Andrew Carr, assisted by the nobility, invaded England with a powerful army; this coming to the knowledge of the Earl of Northumberland, (at that time warden of the North of England,) he collected his forces, and advanced to Cheviot, where the two armies met, when a severe and well-contested battle ensued. Both sides fought with unexampled fury, but the Scots maintained their ground. Shortly after, an order was issued, commanding the Scots nobility, in rotation, to take charge of the Borders; and the English receiving continued supplies of men, daily skirmishes took place between the two armies, detachments from which made repeated inroads into either country; the Scots destroying the towns and villages of the English Border, while the English, with equal success, pursued a similar system on the Scottish Borders.*

At this time the Lord James Stuart (natural son to King James V.) put Kelso in a state of defence, for its security against the repeated inroads of the enemy. We are informed, that "the same Lord James ys now buyldyng a howse of defence at Kelsey, and makyng a force about the towne."†

"The *xr*th of October, 1557, the intelligence saythe to the L. Eurye, and the L. Wharton, that the Duke,

* Holinshed, vol. I. p. 361. Lealie, p. 498. Knox, p. 93. Keith's Scotland, p. 72. Lodge's Illustrations, vol. I. p. 283-5. Ridpath, p. 587. Stuart's Reformation, p. 84. Gordon, vol. I. p. 183.

† Lodge, vol. I. p. 242.

the Erils of Huntley, Murtone, and Argile, with all the nobilyté, resolved to disparte th' army, the xviiith. in the mornynge; and the same daye thes noblemen wear with the Dowager and Docye* in Kelsowe; and there the Dowager raged, and reprievid them of their promyses, whiche was to invade and annoye England. Theyre deterrnaycions to departe, and the consyde-racions they tolde hir; and thereupone arguments grewe great betwene them, wherewith she sorrowed, and wepp openlye; Doyce in gret hevynes; and with high words emongest them to thes effects, they departed. Docye wished hymself in Fraunce. The Duke, wyth the others, passed to Jedworthe; and kepithe the chosen men on their borders. The others of their great nombre passed to their countreyes." †

About Whitsunday, in the following year, 1558, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir George Bowes, governor of Berwick, aided by other garrisons, invaded Scotland with a body of 800 horse, and 2000 foot; and, having plundered the adjacent country of all the cattle they could find, burnt the towns of Dunse and Langton, and retreated. The Scottish army stationed at Kelso, and on the Borders, were sent to check this incursion; and, coming up with the English at Swinton, a sharp skirmish took place, in which the Scots were vanquished; the whole of the foot being either slain or taken prisoners. Shortly after, a body of Scottish horse and foot

* M. D'Oysel, general of the French.

† Lodge, vol. I. 292.

entered England, who began to plunder and lay waste the country. They were attacked by a superior body of horse, under the Earl of Northumberland and his brother, Sir Henry Percy, who forced them to re-cross the Tweed, which, nevertheless, they did in good order; and although pursued by the English upwards of two miles, still they could make no impression upon them. The enemy, however, did considerable damage to the country, burning and destroying the villages, &c., among which was Ednam, about two miles from Kelso.*

The robberies committed on the Borders being so numerous, and perpetrated with a boldness and daring effrontery that set the ordinary means of preventing them at defiance, it became necessary to resort to more powerful and decisive measures. Queen Mary, accordingly, anxious to restore tranquillity in this quarter, in the year 1561, appointed Lord James Stuart her Lieutenant and Judge over the courts held, or to be held, in Jedburgh, with the Earl of Bothwell as his assistant. Lord James, acting with that decision which existing circumstances required, did ample justice to his commission; for, upon finding the banditti too numerous for his present force to contend with, he summoned the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, the three Lothians, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, and the shire of Fife, to his assistance. During the pe-

* Holinshed, vol. 1. p. 362.

† Ridpath, p. 589-90.

riod he exercised his judicial authority in Jedburgh, above twenty of the most daring of this lawless gang were condemned and executed. About the same time, a meeting took place at Kelso, between Lord James and the Lord Gray of England, for settling the affairs of the Borders, and for preventing the recurrence of such enormities in future.

The following is a copy of the instructions under which Lord James acted :—

Apud dictum Palatinum, 12 Novembris, Anno 1561.

Followis the Instructionis gevin be the Quenis Majestie to my Lord James, to be usit be him, and as he thinkis expedient, be the Advyss of the Counsale presente with him, in the procedingis at the Justice-Court, now to be haldin, by continuatioun, to the 15th day of this instant month of November, 1561, at Jedburgh :

In the first :—

Item, Gif it be thocht expedient to the said Lord James, be the Advyys of the Counsale being present with him in ony part yairof the tyme of his remaning in Jedburgh, yat ony persone or personis dissobedient within the boundis of the Myddil Mercheis, or utheris partis, be riddin on and invadit by fyre and swerd, the samyn to be als lauchfullie done as gif speciale commissioun wer gevin under the Quenis Majesties greit seill, to do the samyn uponn every particular, yair partakeris, assistaris or adheraris ; and to asage houses, and gif yai be haldin, to cast down the samyn, as sal be thocht gude be him ; and quhat sumever thing yat happynis to be done by fyre, slachter, taking of gudes, presonaris or uttherwyss in yat behalf, na persone nor personis, subjectis of this realme, to have actioun yairfoir, nowther criminalie nor ci-

villie, bot ye said Lord James, or quhatsumever utheris being with him, or at his command, doand the premissis, to be fre of all the actionis foirsaidis, with power to him to direct letteris in oure said Soveranis name, to charge all and sundry ye inhabitants of the said Mydil Merchis, and utheris partis adjacent yairto to concur with him, to the effect foirsaid, under the pane of deid : And ordanis the Signet to answer letteris upoun his deliverance, and twa of the Counsallis handwrittis to the effect foirsaid, or any uyer effaris concernyng the weill of the cunttre dureng his residence yair.

Item, Gif it sal be thocht gude to the said Lord James to wryt to the wardanis of England, or any utheris havand commissioun of the Quene of England, for the weill of this realme, and kepyng of the samyn, and liegis yairof in quietness, that he wryt to yat effect, as he sal think expedient : And als, with power to the said Lord James to charge the wardanis of all the Merchis of this realme, and utheris havand charge within ye samyn, to do in all thingis, for the suppressing of malefactoris, as he sal charge yame, and as thai will answer to oure said Soverane upoun yair allegiance and particular bandis ; with certificatioun to yame, and yai falze, yai sal be accusit yairfoir, as gif yai were chargit be oure said Soverene in particular.

Item, Gif ony persone or personis happynis to be convict at the said Justice-Court, for quhatsumevir cryme, gif the said Lord James thinkis yame to be replaitit, and ye executioun yairof to be continewit, for the better executioun of justice. That he continew the samyn, and transport, and cause the personis foirsaidis to be transportit to the burgh of Edinburgh, or sik uthir place he pleissis, quhile our Soveranis mynd be knawin thairintill.

Item, Gif ony persone or personis, being at the horne, or fugitive fra the lawis, with quhome he may not, without danger, intercommune with yame ; that he speik and intercommone and cause utheris quhome he pleissis name, with thame, for the weill of the countre, and furtherance of the

executioun of justice, als oft as he sal think expedient, for the quhilk yai sal incur na skayth nor danger in tyme to cum.

Item, Quhatsumevir uther thingis the said Lord James, be the advyses of the maist part of the lordis of ye secreit Counsale being with him, happynis to do, and put to executioun, for the weill of ye countre, ye samyn sal be haldin als lauchfullie done as gif speciale commissioun wer gevin to him or yame upoun every point and particle yairof, ia the maist ample form under the greit seill.

Quhilkis instructionis the Quenis Majestie ordanis to be insert in the bukis of Privie Counsale, and to have the strenth of ane act yairof, and to remane yairin *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.*

In the year 1566, Kelso was honoured by the presence of one of the most beautiful, at the same time, the most unfortunate of her sex—Queen Mary, who, in order to settle some disturbances on the Borders, determined to visit that part of the country. Previously to her setting out, the Earl of Morton had won over many of the Borderers to his party, and, among the rest, the Laird of Cessfurd, who at this time was warden of the marches. The queen, as may naturally be supposed, did not relish this faction; and, therefore, resolved, in order more expeditiously and more effectually to crush it, to hold a court of justice at Jedburgh, for the trial and punishment of her unruly and traitorous subjects. Her majesty, considering that the Earl of Bothwell, (who was also her lieutenant in that quarter,) might have considerable influence with the Borderers, sent him before her to Liddisdale, to prepare

* Keith, 200. Ridpath, p. 608.

them to pay that obedience and respect due to her as their queen ; but, on his arrival, he was roughly treated by the people, and being by them severely wounded in many parts of his body, was conveyed to Hermitage Castle, where he remained till his cure was effected.

In the meantime, the Queen had arrived at Jedburgh, where being informed of Bothwell's misfortune, and that his life was in imminent danger, she resolved to pay him a visit ; and accordingly left Jedburgh for Hermitage Castle ; but her stay was very short, as she returned back the same night, having travelled in the course of that day about forty miles. The consequences of this rapid journey, from fatigue and exposure to the cold of a stormy winter evening, had nearly proved fatal to her ; as she caught a severe cold, which ended in a violent fever, attended with delirium, and for some time her life was despaired of.

The lords who attended her majesty to Jedburgh, judging it advisable, in these circumstances, to prevent any tumult or disorder, published the following proclamation :—

“ Proclamatioun to keip gude Reule at Jedburgh.

“ Forasmekill as the quenis majestie, movit of the zeale hir hienes hes continowallie borne to justice, reparit to this countrie accompanyit with hir nobilite for administratioun thair of to the uthir oppressit subjectis ; and for hir hither cuming, at Goddis plessour, hir Majestie is vexit with infirmite and seikness, quhairthrow her hienes is not abill, according to hir gude inclinatioun, to attend upoun that thing quhilk wes the occasioun of hir Majesties reparing in thir parts at first : And albeit the nobillmen and counsal present hes gude hoip and confidence of hir gracious convalescence and restoring to

helth, yit in the men tyme divers personis, luffars of unquyetnes and innemeis to this commoun weill, mair respectand thair particular quarrellis nor the quyetnes of the countre, may peradventure tak occasioun throw hir hienes disease and seiknes, to revenge thair privat quarrellis, and mak molestatioun and perturbatioun to the disturbing of all gude ordour; quhilk the nobilite and counsal tymeouslie fearand, hes with ane voice and mynd consentit, and in the presence of God, and on thair honors, faithfullie promittit to uthers, that all particularitie, feid, favour, or affectioun, set asyd, thai sall declair thamselvis innemeis to the persoun or persounis quhatsumevir comittaris of the said disordour and unquyetnes, as gif the offence were done to ony of thamselvis in particular. And thairfoir ordanis ane officiar of armes to pass to the mercat-croce of the burgh of Jedburgh, and thair be opin proclamatioun command and charge all and sundrie her majesties legeis and subdittis quhatsumevir, that thai, and ilk ane of them, contein themselfis in quyetnes and gude ordour, and on nawayis to tak upoun hand to put on armour, or to invalid, molest, persew, or inquiet uthers in bodyes or gudes, be word, deid, or countenance, undir the pain of tressoun; certifiyeing thame that sall presume to do in the contrair, besyde the puneishment ordinar of the law and consuetude of the realme, thai sall be persewit and followit to the deid as traitouris to the hail realme; and the hail force and power of the nobilite sall be usit agains thame, as gif the offence were comittit agains ony of thair awn personis in particular.”*

The queen having recovered, expressed a desire to see Berwick, and as soon as she was able to undertake the journey, set out from Jedburgh for that purpose, taking Kelso in her route, where she remained two nights, and held a council, at which a private dispute was settled. From thence she proceeded to Hume Castle, and

* Keith, p. 353.

passing through Langtown and Wedderburn, arrived at Berwick, escorted by from 800 to 1000 horse. On reaching the Bounroad, she was received by Sir John Forster and the captain of the town, attended by a number of the most respectable of the inhabitants, who manifested the utmost joy on receiving this unexpected visit. Leaving Berwick she proceeded to Dunbar, and thence to her residence at Craigmillar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.*

In a letter from Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, dated Berwick, 18th of September, 1569, it is stated, that for the purpose of administering justice, and in order to suppress the petty feuds that were continually distressing the Border, the Earl of Murray had arrived at Kelso, where he intended to remain for five or six weeks. Accordingly, on his arrival, he dispatched a messenger requiring the attendance of Lord Hunsdon and Sir John Forster, that he might have the benefit of their advice to enable him to come to some determination as to the best means to be employed for accomplishing so desirable an object. They, in consequence, met him at Kelso, and made with him the arrangements deemed necessary.†

The Lairds of Buccleugh and Ferniherst, (two of the most strenuous friends of Queen Mary,) on the very night of the murder of the Regent Murray, at Linlithgow, (23d of January, 1570,) broke into England

* Keith, 351-4 Robertson, vol. II. 172. Chalmers' Q. Mary, vol. I, 191. Ridpath, 621.

† Haynes' State Papers, p. 523. Ridpath, p. 630.

with their clans, and laid waste the frontiers with unwonted ferocity. In this incursion they were accompanied by some English rebels who had taken refuge in Scotland; and their motive for it was revenge on Queen Elizabeth, for her treatment of Queen Mary, and also for the usage they had themselves received from the Regent, who they supposed had been instigated thereto by the Queen of England.

On receiving intelligence of this inroad, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to Scotland to complain of this insult, and to state, that, if the government of the kingdom was not able to prevent such outrages, or to punish the offenders, she would chastise them herself; at the same time, she would take care that the guilty alone should suffer. The lords, who at this time exercised the supreme power, declined returning any answer to the queen till a regent should be appointed, which, from the unsettled state of the country, was not likely soon to take place; she, therefore, in order to avenge this affront, and to punish those Border chieftains, as well for harbouring and protecting English rebels and fugitives, as for the outrages they had committed, and to make them, as Cecil expresses in a letter to Sir Norris, "feel the sword and firebrand," dispatched the Earl of Sussex, her lieutenant in the north, and Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, into Scotland, who, in the course of a week, totally wasted, burned, and destroyed, the vales of Tiviot, Kale, and Bowmont, levelling fifty castles and strong-holds, and above 300 villages.

This force left Berwick on the 17th of April, and the same night arrived at Wark Castle. Next morning they entered Tiviotdale, burning and destroying all the castles, towns, and villages, till they came to the Castle of Mosse, belonging to the Lord of Buccleugh, strongly situated in a marsh, which they also destroyed, and afterwards advanced to Crailing, a strong castle of the Lord of Ferniherst, laying waste everything in their route. The same day Sir John Forster, warden of the Middle Marches, entered Tiviotdale, in the direction of Gatehead, with a very considerable force, and carrying destruction along with him, pushed on to Crailing, where both armies met. This castle they burnt and destroyed, with the other strong-holds and towns in the vicinity. The two armies afterwards marched along the Tiviot, burning and spoiling all the castles and towns on that river, till they came to Jedburgh, where they halted, and were courteously received by the magistrates and inhabitants, on which account they spared the town, where the Laird of Cessford having arrived and made his submission, and having showed the Earl of Sussex that he had not been engaged in these incursions for which the present revenge was taken, he received the same favour.

Next day, the 19th, the army divided, and one part passing the Tiviot, burnt the Castle of Ferniherst, and all the other castles and towns belonging to its proprietor, till they came to Bedruelle; and having reached Minto, both armies again joined and proceeded to Hawick, carrying the same destruction along both banks

of the river. Here they intended to have fixed their quarters for the night, but the inhabitants learning their approach, had deserted the town, carrying with them most of their valuables, after taking the thatch from their dwellings, and setting fire to it in the streets. The English, irritated by this conduct, took all the wood belonging to the houses and consumed it also, thus completing the destruction of the town, with the exception of one small house built of stone, in which the English commander slept.

The following day they marched to a house belonging to the Lord of Buccleugh, which they blew up, and afterwards proceeding to the northward of the Tiviot, they destroyed all the castles, towns, piles, and towers which belonged to that nobleman's kinsmen and adherents, and the same night returned to Jedburgh.

Next day, the 21st, part of the army proceeded to the river Bowmont, and the other to the river Kale, destroying the dwellings of every sort on both these waters, and then met at Kelso, (where the lord-lieutenant was waiting their arrival,) for the purpose of laying siege to Hume Castle, but being disappointed in receiving his artillery from Wark, he was obliged to return with the army to Berwick, without attempting this siege.

On the 22d, the army reached Berwick, having been absent only six days, and in all this time never did any Scottish force appear to oppose or resist them.*

* Notes to Sadler's State Papers, vol. III. p. 419. Stow, p. 417-19. Ridpath, p. 633-35.

Lodge, in his "Illustrations of British History," has preserved an original account of the depredations committed by the English on the Borders in this year. We shall therefore take the liberty of extracting the record from that work verbatim, as printed :—

" SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE to the EARL of SHREWSBURY,
1570.

" *Right Hon'ble, and my moste especiall good Lord,*

" Forasmuche as I wolde not be forgettfull of my deutie to yo' lordship, I have thought good to troble you with these my letters, adv'tising yo' Honor the whole discourse of o' enterprises here donn, sythen so' coming into these partis.* First, my Lord Le
and
ed with my Lord Hunsdon,
hundreth armed pykes, and tow
from Wark, the xviith

of April, intred into the realme of Scottlande, and did burne and spoyle all alonge the ryver of Rowle, and the Water of Cale, and camped that night at Gedworth. The next morning he marched to Fernehurst† and overthrew it, and so burned and spoyled all along the ryver of Tyvyett, and so to

* This curious ancient Gazette contains a journal of the furious inroad made by Sussex, called here the lord-lieutenant, and Hudson, in 1570. The pretence for this expedition was the chastisement of the clans of Carre, or Ker, and Scot, which had lately committed some depredations on the English Borders, but the true motive was to awe the few remaining friends of Mary, and to prevent them from uniting while the regency remained vacant. Elizabeth issued a proclamation upon this occasion, declaring her inviolable friendship to the Scottish nation, but setting forth the necessity of punishing some particular offenders; and this was repeatedly read at the head of an army which was then employed in desolating the East and West Borders. The circumstances which attended this invasion have escaped the notice of historians. Even Camden, who lived at the time, makes no mention of so horrible a spoil.

† Ferniherst, in Tiviotdale; a house belonging to the Kers, ancestors of the Marquis of Lothian

Hawick, and burned and spoyled it. The next day he overthrew the stronge house of the Lord of Buccleugh, called Brencksome,* and from thense to Bedrowell, a howse of S^r Andrew Trumble, and overthrew it, with dyvers other notable towers and houses all alonge those ryvers aforenamed: The next night we retired to Gedworth, where we camped againe. The next mornynge we dislodged and burnt all the cuntre alonge the ryver of Bowbanck, and burnt and spoyled the hole cuntre as we marched, and came back that night to Kelsay. The nombr of the townes and villages, by estimation, was aboute fyve hundreth, the terhor of the whiche caused the reste of the cuntre to cume and offer their submission to my Lord Leventen'ute, with all the frendshipp and service they cold do to hym and to hys, and so we retyred ourselves back againe for that tyme, so that we rested o'selves thre or fower daies. The xxviith day, my Lord Leveten'ute being at Warke, accompanid withe the hole bandes of fote-ment, and one thousande horse, with thre batterie peces and tow sacris, went to the sege of Home, where he planted his batterie, where, within twelve houres after the batterie was planted, the castle was surrendred to hym symplie, being within yt tow hundredth and fortie souldiours; so the souldiours dep'ted owt of yt in there hose and doblets. Suerly, my lorde, yf I had had the charge, with fyftie souldiers, I wolde have thought me worthie to have bene hanged, drawné, and quartred, yf I had delyered yt within the moneth sege. My lorde hath appoynted M^r Wood his bande, and M^r Pykeman his band, tow of the bandes of Barwick, to have the keyng of yt; and so my lord retyred back againe to Barwicke to refresh hymselfe and his companye.

“ Item, the iiiiith daye of May he sent owte certeine bandes of horsemen, and also certeine fotemen, to marche towardes Fastecastle,† whiche, immediatlie uppon the horsemens co-

* Branxholme, near Hawick, the ancient seat of the family of Scot.

† A strong fortress, which likewise belonged to the family of Hume. It stood on a little promontory a few miles north of Coldingham.

minge, yelded themselves symplic; and there ys also certeine
 garrison appoynted there for the kepyng of yt. Assuredlie,
 my lorde, all the hole cuntre here
 submytt themselves to my lorde

Haddington

newes that hathe here happened sythens o' arryvall here;
 and as occasion shall happen, I shall adv'tyse yo' Lordship
 from tyme to tyme, as I can gett convenient messengers.
 Thus, leving to troble yo' lordship ané further, I com^mitt
 you to the Almightye, who, ever p'serve you in helth and
 long lyfe, with increase of great honor. Frome Barwick, this
 vth of May.

“ Yo' Lordshippe's at com^maundment for ev^r,

“ (Signed) ROBT. CONSTABLE.

“ To the right hon^oable and his most
 espeahall good Lorde, th' Erle of
 Shrosbury, gyve this.
 In hast, hast, hast.”*

The measures adopted by James VI. with the advice
 of his ministers, (of whom James Stewart, Earl of Ar-
 ran, was the chief,) who are represented as “ insatiable
 in their avarice, cruel in their malice, and unsatisfiable
 in their suspicions,” were considered by the Earl of An-
 gus, the Earl of Mar, and a great proportion of the
 nobles, as subversive of both the civil and religious li-
 berties of the subject; they, therefore, in order to rid
 the king of his mal advisers, and to save the country,
 resolved, after every other method had failed, to as-
 semble their forces at Stirling, there to renew their
 supplications to his majesty, to intimate to him their

* Lodge, vol. II. p. 42.

grievances, and to issue a declaration expressive of their views and intentions. Having there met, they obtained possession of the castle, (18th April, 1584,) and a Colonel Stuart was sent with 500 men to take them prisoners, when, finding they had not force sufficient to make an effectual resistance, they retired during the night, with the determination to quit the kingdom. Passing, in their route towards England, near to Kelso, where the Earl of Bothwell, (grandson to King James V., and commendator of Kelso,) then was, he secretly came out and held a conference with them ; after which, to make it appear as if he had done this in order to prevent their escape, a counterfeit chase took place for about a mile, till they reached English ground. Next day they proceeded to Berwick, where they were received, and there remained for some time ; but this place being too near the Scottish capital for them to continue with safety, especially as Lord Hunsdon, the governor, was on friendly terms with the Scottish court, they were removed first to Newcastle, thence to Norwich, and afterwards to London, for the avowed purpose of answering to charges exhibited against them by the ambassador of the King of Scotland, as rebels and traitors. This, however, was merely a pretext, the real cause of their removal to London being to concert measures for their return. The Earl of Arran, who had so long governed the kingdom, having, by his injustice, cruelty, and rapacity, excited the universal disgust and indignation of the nation ; the banished,

or rather fugitive lords, were accordingly brought to trial, in the month of April, 1585, before a certain number of the councillors of England, appointed by the queen; and although the Scottish ambassador (who was, nevertheless, though secretly, heartily attached to their cause) seemingly did everything in his power to procure their condemnation, their innocence appeared to be so clearly established, that they were acquitted most honourably of every charge brought against them.

The ambassador, having thus executed his mission, left England, where he secretly lent his aid in maturing the plan for their return; and the English ambassador at the court of James was, at the same time, ordered to use all his influence with his majesty to have them recalled.

In this state of things, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Mar, and the Master of Glamis, left London, and arrived on the Borders in the month of October, 1585, where they remained a short time; and afterwards proceeded to Kelso, where they were kindly received by the Earl of Bothwell, with whom they abode two or three days, and were then joined by Lord Hume, and others of their friends. From this they went to Jedburgh, and there published a manifesto declaratory of their intentions, and also justifying their previous conduct as dictated by the imperious necessity of the case. They now openly avowed that their purpose was to rescue the king from the power of such wicked and dangerous councillors as the Earl of Arran and his

party, and called upon every subject, in the king's name, to assist in this work. From Jedburgh they pushed on by rapid marches, taking Hamilton and Falkirk in their route, to St Ninian's, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, having with them about 4000 men; and, on the very morning after their arrival, about daybreak, they surprised the town, which they took without almost any opposition; the Earl of Arran having made his escape, and the Earls of Rothes, Glencairn, and Errol, being made prisoners. The castle, where the king resided, being unprovided for a siege even of two days, his majesty, in great wrath, sent a message by his secretary to the Lords, demanding to know the meaning of this disloyal behaviour. They answered,—“Necessity.” And as they had no intention of doing any harm to his royal person, or to offer his majesty any insult, so would they, on their knees, beg pardon, if they were admitted into his presence. This answer, in some measure, calmed his fury, and he replied, “That although he did not approve of Arran's violent measures, yet he was not less displeased with their actions.” The nobles were shortly after received by the king, who granted them his pardon, which was afterwards confirmed by a Parliament held at Linlithgow; and the party, to the satisfaction of the country, was restored to favour.* †

* Godscroft, p. 388, *et seq.* Maitland, vol. II. p. 1181. Ridpath, p. 665-6.

† It is inferred, from letters of James which are extant, that he

On the return of James VI., in 1590, from his matrimonial expedition to Denmark, he and his council were much occupied with the numerous prosecutions which at this time were instituted against the lowest of the community, upon charges of witchcraft and sorcery ; and it often happened that, to escape the horrid tortures to which the poor wretches who had the misfortune to be suspected of these crimes were exposed, many of them acknowledged their guilt, and made confessions which afford sufficient evidence that they were either extorted by, or emitted through the dread of, these tortures.

The Earl of Bothwell, an ambitious and intriguing character, and who, during the king's absence, held the second place in the council of the regency, was the object of fear, mistrust, and envy, to all those who were actuated by a similar ambition.

That he little regarded the means, whether of violence or deceit, by which he might attain his object, there is no reason to dispute ; but there is every reason to doubt that a man of his intrepidity and intelligence would have resorted to means which, in his judgment,

was privy to the whole of this business, which he secretly encouraged ; but, from weakness of intellect, or want of resolution, he could not be induced to act openly or decisively against Arran and his party, to whom he was still so partial, that before receiving the banished lords into favour, or conferring on them the government, he exacted from them a promise that they would not molest his former servants, and that they would bury in oblivion all personal or family quarrels between them.

he must have considered as altogether inadequate to his purpose. Be this as it may, history informs us, that in the examinations of certain witches and sorcerers, the king and his council received information that the earl, while the king was abroad, had consulted with some of these wretches how his majesty's life might be shortened. On this information the earl was apprehended, and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh (June 22, 1591,) upon a charge of high-treason, in order to take his trial. After two months' confinement, he effected his escape, and fled to the south, where, having collected a few followers, he was joined by the Lord of Hume.

The Earl of Bothwell, for this act, having been declared a traitor, and all who had connected themselves with him having experienced the same treatment, their fortunes and his became inseparable. The king, therefore, summoned a council, to which he required the presence of the Lord of Hume, with the view of engaging all his nobles to assist in the apprehension or subjugation of the Earl of Bothwell. Lord Hume refusing to attend this meeting, the barons of the district entered into a bond, in consequence of this refusal, to act against them both. Bothwell, in consequence, fled into England, and Lord Hume took shelter in Flanders; but shortly afterwards transmitting his submission to the king, he was pardoned, and allowed to return to the kingdom.

Bothwell still remained upon the Borders, and kept

up a correspondence with some of his majesty's domestics in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, who favoured his design of procuring possession of the king's person ; and a fit opportunity, as he supposed, offering, he, by a rapid march, reached the palace, which he entered through a private passage, accompanied by a band of resolute and desperate men ; and would have effected his purpose but for the intervention of some faithful and well-affected servants, who gave the alarm in sufficient time to allow the king to retire to a place of safety, and to obtain help from the city, (December 27, 1591.) The earl was, in consequence, obliged to retire, but his design was not abandoned, for he afterwards made the same attempt at Falkland, when the king very narrowly escaped falling into his hands.

The immediate effects of these two attempts to seize his person, were the assembling of a large force by the king to follow after and take Bothwell ; who, aware of his inability to withstand this force, again took refuge in England, imploring the protection of the queen, and her good offices with the King of Scotland to receive him again into favour.

Although he did not obtain his object in this way, yet, through his influence with his friends, the Stewarts, he was allowed to return, and was admitted into the presence of the king at Holyroodhouse, (1598,) who, at the solicitation of this party, granted a pardon to him and his accomplices, with the restitution of all their property. The king, however, considering this

promise as extorted from him, took the earliest occasion that offered of calling a convention at Stirling; when, upon due deliberation, the king was absolved from this promise, and it was determined to send a message to the earl, offering pardon to him and his followers, if supplication was made in a certain time, but only on condition of his leaving the kingdom during his majesty's pleasure.

These terms were accepted by Bothwell; but learning that Hume had been allowed to return to court, he threatened the king that he would oblige him to fulfil the promise given to him at Holyroodhouse; and, despairing of this by negotiation, again took up arms to enforce it. He was, in consequence, summoned to appear before the council, and failing so to do, was a second time denounced a rebel.

Bothwell, aware of the distracted state of the country, and knowing well the irresolute temper of the king, had obtained the concurrence of a number of powerful nobles in his attempt to overthrow the present measures of the court; and in this he was encouraged, (though secretly,) by the English cabinet, who regarded James in heart, attached to the Catholic cause, which Elizabeth was endeavouring, by every means in her power, to destroy. The king, irritated by the obstinacy of Bothwell, yet desirous of avoiding the last extremity, summoned a convention at Linlithgow; wherein it was agreed to offer to Bothwell, and to his confederates,

(Huntly and Errol,) the restitution of their estates, on the condition of their quitting the kingdom. The clergy, however, opposing this, as betraying the cause of religion, and as contrary to the repeated declarations of the king, it became void.

Meanwhile the king, aware that the excommunicated popish lords had entered into a league to send to Spain for an army to assist them in the invasion of England, for the purpose of delivering the Spanish Catholics who had fallen into the hands of the queen, sent an embassy to the court of Queen Elizabeth, requesting money, to defend the kingdom against the landing of the Spaniards, to enable him to punish these popish lords ; and at the same time requesting Bothwell to be delivered up.

The Queen, still distrustful of James, did not comply with his requests to the extent he expected. A small sum of money was given to him ; and, with respect to Bothwell, her answer was, “ that, agreeable to treaty, he would be delivered up, or sent from the kingdom.” Still, however, she secretly encouraged Bothwell, who continued lurking about the Borders.

The rejection of the offers made by the king to Bothwell and his adherents, on the recommendation of the convention held at Linlithgow, to which, without doubt, he was stimulated by the promises of the English court, incensed his majesty to that degree, that he resolved to bring the whole of them to instant trial ; and for this purpose summoned them to surrender themselves prisoners in certain castles. This they refused ; and this

refusal, joined to the certain intelligence the King had received of the dealings of the English ambassador with these rebels, so irritated him, that he assembled a body of troops, (April 1594,) amounting to upwards of 1000 men, at Kelso, under the command of Lord Hume, Lairds Cessford and Buccleugh, to oppose Bothwell, should he attempt to enter the kingdom; where, after remaining for some time, they dispersed. Bothwell, apprized of this, immediately crossed the Borders, and arrived at Kelso with 400 horse, well armed and equipped, where he was joined by Lord Ochiltree, with 100 men. With this small force he left Kelso next day, and proceeding by way of Dalkeith, he marched to Leith, in expectation of being joined by Atholl and others.

Disappointed, however, in meeting these chiefs, he resolved to make good his retreat by the same route to the Borders; and accordingly, in the course of the night, leaving Leith, he drew up his men in order of battle on the plain between Leith and Edinburgh, where he continued till mid-day, in open defiance of the king's troops. On his advance south, when but a short distance from the metropolis, he was followed by Lord Home; but, turning suddenly upon him, he attacked and defeated his troops, pursuing them to the vicinity of the Burrow-moor, where the king was encamped with the citizens of Edinburgh, and his artillery; and the pursuit was only stopped on his receiving a fall from his horse, by which he was severely bruised.

Next day he retired unmolested to Dalkeith, and af-

terwards to Kelso, where his forces separated ; and he again retired into England.

Matters by this time having been in some measure explained and adjusted between Elizabeth and James, she by proclamation forbade Bothwell coming into England, or being received into any dwelling-house. He then returned to Scotland, where he made a fruitless attempt to obtain assistance from his old friends ; and after wandering for some time as an exile in Caithness, he again withdrew to England ; but fearing lest he might be apprehended, and sent to Scotland as a rebel, (according to the agreement between the two courts,) he took refuge, first in France, afterwards in Spain, and lastly in Italy ; dragging out a miserable existence, unpitied and forgotten.

Meanwhile his vast estates were confiscated by King James, who divided them among the following chiefs, formerly his partizans, but now his enemies. To Lord Hume he gave Coldinghame ; Kelso to Robert Carr of Cessford ; and Liddisdale to Walter Scott of Buccleugh ; while the wife and family of Bothwell were left with scarcely any support.*

From the period when the reformation in Germany had obtained something like a firm foundation, and the doctrines and principles of the two great leaders in that important event had gained a footing in England and Scotland, the whole power of the Roman Pontiff was

* Ridpath, p. 686.

exerted in both countries to prevent their dissemination and increase. Notwithstanding every attempt, whether by insinuation and flattery, or by force and persecution, to attain this end, these opinions soon obtained a preponderant influence in either kingdom.

The contention in both countries, while under separate monarchs, was principally confined to the broad basis of Protestantism against Popery; and in this warfare their success was complete,—Popery being so far abolished, that the Protestant became the established religion in both.

No sooner, however, was the government of the two kingdoms vested in one sovereign, than a scheme was formed for effecting a uniformity in rites, principles, and doctrine, throughout the empire; and the king, (Charles I.,) easily falling in with the forms of worship and doctrine established in England, lent all his authority to the plans formed by the bigotted and persecuting bishops to carry this purpose into effect. Thus were sown the seeds of all the calamities which befel both countries in this and the three succeeding reigns.

The Scots, who under James had received a modified Episcopacy, soon imbibed so violent a dislike of an hierarchical polity, and their attachment to Presbytery (which had so powerfully been inculcated by the zeal of Knox and Melville) became so strong, that they regarded everything connected with Episcopacy as so many symbols of Popery. As such, they viewed the attempts of Charles I. to introduce a new Liturgy and

canons into the Kirk of Scotland, and entered into a covenant to stand by each other, even at the risk of their lives, in opposing this imprudent and tyrannical measure.

The king, however, notwithstanding of every remonstrance, still persevered ; and, urged on by his advisers, of whom Archbishop Laud was the chief, determined, at all hazards, to force upon the Scots nation a form of worship no less obnoxious to their feelings than contrary to his own interest and duties. The consequence of this infatuated policy was a civil war.

The measure, however, being determined on, orders were sent to Scotland that the new Liturgy should be read in all the churches on Easter Sunday, 1637 ; but the opposition expected to be made to it so strongly appeared, that it was not carried into effect on that day, nor was it attempted to be read until farther orders should be received from his majesty. These orders soon came, and the ecclesiastics were commanded to perform this service, under high penalties. Accordingly, next Sabbath it was attempted in the Cathedral Church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, the archbishops, bishops, lords of session, and magistrates, being present ; but the tumult was such that it became necessary to turn out the greater part of the congregation by force ; and the doors being shut against them, the service was gone through ; the multitude, however, continuing their riotous behaviour without, by assailing the church with stones, venting their execrations against the king and his

council, and threatening the lives of those who had performed the service, the military was called out for their protection. At the same time, petitions from various parts of Scotland were addressed to the king, complaining of this measure, and setting forth their reasons for refusing to obey his commands in this instance. To these representations the king returned a most unfavourable answer; at the same time, he issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to meet for framing petitions, upon pain of high-treason. Against this stretch of power a strong protest was taken by a number of noblemen, barons, ministers, and burghers, who asserted their right to petition the king, and declared, that all their proceedings in this affair were only for the preservation of the true reformed religion, the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

The assembling of such multitudes in contravention of the king's proclamation, inspired the council with apprehension of danger; they therefore recommended that the four classes above-mentioned should choose a certain number of delegates to meet concerning this business, till the king's pleasure should be known. This was agreed to, and the rest of the people returned quietly to their homes. These delegates having met at Edinburgh, commissioners were chosen by them to digest the matters agreed to by the whole body, whose decision on these points was to be final. The first thing the commissioners decided upon was the renewal of the solemn league and covenant subscribed by King

James, his household, and by the whole Scots nation ; and to this was added a narrative of the different acts of Parliament, by which the reformed religion had been ratified since that time ; and also a declaration of all the innovations that had taken place contrary to the king's coronation oath, and the established doctrines of the church ; and that they would not yield obedience unto them until the same were sanctioned by a General Assembly and by Parliament. A copy of this act being sent to his majesty for his concurrence, he was so much displeased, that he set his face against it, and was determined not to be thwarted in his original design. This declaration, nevertheless, was signed with great solemnity and devotion at Edinburgh, in February 1638, and copies sent through the whole kingdom for the same purpose ; and so eager were the Scots to subscribe, that, by the month of April, there was scarcely a Presbyterian whose name was not affixed to it.

Such bold proceedings on the part of the Scots had this effect, that the king was induced to call his council, in order to consider the measures proper to be adopted, to prevent the resort to arms ; but, at the same time, to enforce obedience to his mandates. At this council it was determined to appoint commissioners to hear and to deliberate upon the grievances complained of, and, if possible, to effect a reconciliation :—should this prove ineffectual, to employ coercive means in order to obtain submission.

To second these views, the Marquis of Hamilton was

appointed his majesty's high commissioner to Scotland, with instructions, *for the present*, to suspend the use of the Liturgy, but, nevertheless, to require the covenant to be delivered up within six weeks. The marquis was very well received on his arrival at Edinburgh, but when the nature of his powers were made public, they were not found at all calculated to allay the ferment the former procedure of his majesty had produced ; so that, after making every endeavour to obtain the end of his mission, he was obliged to represent to the king the necessity either of yielding to the people, or of speedily quelling the malcontents by force. The latter advice was unfortunately followed, and his majesty, upon receipt of this intelligence, declared the Covenanters rebels, and made preparations to reduce them to obedience.

In the meantime, the Covenanters, aware of the king's determination, used every exertion to resist it, and for this purpose an army was raised, the command of which was given to General Lesley, (who was sent for from Germany, and who, upon this occasion, quitted the Swedish service ;) they also secured the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, but, at the same time, were miserably deficient in arms, ammunition, and money. The command of the king's forces was intrusted to the Marquis of Hamilton.

The army of the Covenanters, which amounted to from seventeen to eighteen thousand men, was ordered to rendezvous at Dunse, from whence it went to Kelso.

In the meantime, the king having taken the field in person, arrived at Birks, in the neighbourhood of Berwick, where he pitched his camp; and where, on the 2d June, 1639, he received information that the Scots had established their quarters at Kelso. His majesty hereupon called a council of war, when it was determined to send the Earl of Holland against them with one thousand horse, and three thousand foot. This force crossed the Tweed the next day at Twisle, but, from the intense heat, although somewhat refreshed by crossing the river, they were scarcely able to proceed. Having, however, arrived within a short distance of the Covenanters' army, a herald was dispatched to demand the reason of such a warlike advance; but a large body of horse and foot, which had hitherto been concealed, coming suddenly upon the English, they, after a little deliberation, judged it prudent to retreat; and arriving at the camp, their discomfiture tended in no small degree to discourage the king's army,—a great portion of which was by no means hearty in the cause.

The following letter, sent from Sir Henry Vane to the Marquis of Hamilton, will show the state of affairs at this time:—

“ MY LORD,

“ By the dispatch Sir James Hamilton brought your lordship from his Majesty's sacred pen, you were left at your liberty to commit any act of hostility upon the rebels, when your lordship should find it most opportune. Since which, my Lord Holland, with 1000 horse, and 3000 foot, marched

towards Kelsey, himself advanced towards them with the horse, (leaving the foot three miles behind,) to a place called Maxwell-heugh, a height above Kelsey; which, when the rebels discovered, they instantly marched out with 150 horse, and (as my Lord Holland says) eight or ten thousand foot; five or six thousand there might have bin. He thereupon sent a trumpet, commanding them to retreat, according to what they had promised by the proclamation. They asked, whose trumpet he was? He said, my Lord Holland's. Their answer was, He were best to be gone. And so my Lord Holland made his retreat, and waited on his majesty this night to give him this account.

“ This morning advertisement is brought his majesty that Lesley, with 12,000 men, is at Cockburnspath, that 5000 men will be this night or to-morrow at Dunce, 6000 at Kelsey; so his majesty's opinion is, with many of his council, to keep himself upon a defensive, and make himself here as fast as he can; for his majesty doth now clearly see, and is fully satisfied in his own judgment, that what passed in the gallery* betwixt his majesty, your lordship, and myself, hath bin but too much verified on this occasion; and therefore his majesty would not have you to begin with them, but to settle things with you in a safe and good posture, and yourself to come hither in person, to consult what counsels are fit to be taken, as the affairs now hold. And so, wishing your lordship a speedy passage, I rest,

“ Your lordship's

“ most humble servant,

“ and faithful friend,

“ H. VANE.

“ From the Camp at
Huntley-field, this
4th of June, 1639.”

* That the nobility and gentry of England would never incline to invade Scotland, and thereby begin an offensive war.

The day following, the King's camp was thrown into considerable alarm by the approach of the Scottish army, which took up its station at Dunse Hill. This gave the king occasion to find fault with the director of his scouts, who had permitted this advance to be made without giving him timely information. At this period the two armies were encamped in sight of each other, but neither had an inclination to offer battle; and the provisions of the English beginning to fail, they were the less inclined for hostile proceedings. A council was accordingly held the second day after, when proposals for a reconciliation were made, which being accepted, the Scottish army was disbanded; the king having consented to allow them the free enjoyment of the privileges secured to them by various declarations and acts of Parliament.

This peace, however, was not of long duration; for we find the Scottish army advancing the year following to Newcastle, where a battle took place, in which they were victorious, and obtained possession of the town. Another treaty was shortly after concluded by commissioners appointed by both parties; but this also proving unsatisfactory, neither of them considered it binding.

Had, however, the king been sincere in his desire for peace, the above treaties, although defective, might have had the effect of preserving tranquillity; but from his vacillating conduct, in always granting what was wrested from him in the hour of danger, and receding

as soon as that danger ceased to exist, the Covenanters found that no faith could be placed either in his promises, his declarations, or his treaties. Accordingly, finding themselves so repeatedly deceived, they prepared for the worst.

At this time matters were in a very critical state; the king, who still had a strong party in England and Ireland, had been very successful in his operations in the west and south of England, which gave the English parliament serious alarm. In this dilemma, and when they daily expected that he would march upon the capital, they applied for assistance to the Scots, who consented to make common cause with them, but only on condition that the Solemn League and Covenant should be recognized and signed by the English nation, and thus become the bond of their union. This being agreed upon by the Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, then sitting at Westminster, it was solemnly sworn to and signed by the House of Commons, and the Assembly, on the 25th of September. On the 15th of October, it was subscribed by the lords. The lords of his majesty's council were afterwards summoned to sign it, which some of them refusing, they were declared enemies to religion, their king and country, and their goods ordained to be seized, and their persons apprehended. To avoid the latter, many of them left the country. On the 2d February following, (1644,) it was published throughout the kingdom, accompanied with an exhortation drawn up by the Assembly, recommending the people to receive it, and requesting that all

above the age of eighteen years should subscribe the same.

The treaty of union being thus completed, the Covenanters ordered their army to march to England, which took possession of Berwick in the month of December, and on the 19th of January, 1644, crossed the Tweed, to the number of 21,000, under the command of General Lesley;* and being joined to the forces under Lord Fairfax, the Earl of Manchester, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, they laid siege to the city of York, which being relieved by Prince Rupert, a battle took place on Marston Moor, wherein the prince was defeated, with the loss of 3000 men, and the whole of his artillery. He then retired to Chester, leaving the whole of the garrisons in the north in the power of the Covenanters, to whom they submitted in the course of the ensuing summer.†

* General Lesley was created Earl of Leven, Lord Balgonie, by King Charles, in 1641, and received his patent with great solemnity in the presence of the parliament at Edinburgh, on the 6th November, the king himself placing the coronet on his head. See Sir J. Balfour, v. III. p. 139.

† Kelso appears at this time to have been the depot where troops were collected, in order to furnish reinforcements to the army in England; as we see by a proclamation published at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 11th of June this year, for the commanders and officers under the Earl of Kalender's charge to repair to the rendezvous at Kelso.—Robertson's Index.

In the same year, on account of some of the English forces in the king's interest being in the neighbourhood of Kelso, the Scots Parliament, on the 10th of April, passed an act, prohibiting the exportation of grain from Scotland to England by land:—

“ The Estatis presentlie convened, considering, that in respect of

The war being thus ended in this quarter, we hear nothing of the Covenanters' army, till, in the year 1645, we find the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvie sent, by order of Montrose, into the shires of Annandale and Nithsdale, to prevent Lesley from advancing with his army towards the Borders. In the meantime Lesley, having marched to Berwick, took the Earls of Roxburgh and Hume prisoners. On learning this, Montrose marched to Kelso, and from thence to Jedburgh, and afterwards to Selkirk, where, having quartered his cavalry in the town, he placed his infantry in a wood at a little distance from it. Lesley, however, having followed him unobserved to that town, came upon him by surprise, on the 13th of September, and taking him thus unawares, the English army was thrown into the utmost confusion; and before they could recover from it, Lesley had commenced his attack on their right wing. The English, unable to make any effectual resistance, were beat back, and forced to beg for quarter: Lesley, nevertheless, commanded them to be cut in pieces. The route being complete, the whole baggage fell into the hands of the Scottish army.

The next mention we find of the army of the Covenanters is in the following passage:—*“Some English trouperis lying on the way of Northumberland, That it is not saif that any meale be carried frome Kelso into England be land, Do therefore discharge all carieing of anie victuale into England be land, bot be order of the Comittees of Estatis of this kingdome; and recomendis to the Comittee of Warre of Roxburgh, Selkirk, To see this order punctuallie observed.”—Acts of Parliament, vol. VI. p. 84.*

nanters, is in 1647, when, by an agreement entered into by commissioners appointed for this purpose, it left Newcastle, on the 30th of January, for Berwick; and from thence, on the 11th of February, marched to Kelso. This place had been fixed upon as the rendezvous of the whole army, which was to assemble in the abbey; and having there met, six regiments of horse were disbanded, on delivering up their arms, and taking the following oath: "That they should commit no manner of violence on the roads they were to take in going to their own houses; that they should continue faithful to the League and Covenant betwixt the two kingdoms; and, lastly, that they should never ingage themselves in any party against these two crowns."*

The circumstances attending this prolonged and unnatural war are so well known, that we forbear to enlarge farther on the subject. The grand object for which both nations took up arms was obtained, and the Presbyterian form of worship fully acknowledged and established in Scotland. Happy it is for us that we live in an age when liberty of conscience is enjoyed, and every one is allowed to practise in peace whatever mode of worship is most congenial to his own mind and conscience.

In the year 1645, the inhabitants of Kelso were

* Monteith, p. 59, *et seq.* Rushworth, vol. L. p. 19, *et seq.* Nalson, vol. L. p. 230, *et seq.* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. I. p. 19, *et seq.* Gordon's Fam. of Gordon, vol. II. p. 305-489. Neal, vol. I. p. 230, *et seq.* Burnet's Duke of Hamilton, p. 139.

doomed to suffer from one of the most severe calamities with which the human race can be visited. The plague, which for some time past had been raging at Newcastle, was brought thither, where it commenced its ravages with all the fury natural to that disease. How long it continued the scourge of the inhabitants we are not informed, but it afterwards broke out in Edinburgh, where it was so fatal, that Parliament removed from thence to Stirling, where the same distemper soon after appearing, they adjourned their sittings to the 24th day of July, to be then held at Perth.*

About the year 1648, the election of commissioners for the church gave rise to much contention, and occasioned many private quarrels, which it was feared might end in another civil war. In consequence, a number of English officers who had been discharged, tendered their services, and in a very short time upwards of 100 arrived at Kelso and Peebles, with the expectation of being employed. Apprehensive, however, that their views in coming to Scotland might be misrepresented or misconstrued, they sent two of their body as a deputation to Parliament, to explain their reasons for so doing; but no rupture taking place, their services were not required.†

No town in Scotland has been more frequently visited by fire, or suffered more from that destructive element, than the town of Kelso. During the wars between

* Guthrie's Mem. p. 189.

† Ibid. p. 261.

the two kingdoms, being peculiarly exposed to the inroads of the English, it repeatedly fell a prey to the flames, the invaders having, every time they got possession of the town, destroyed it more or less. It has also suffered much from wicked incendiaries, who have frequently attempted to lay it in ruins by setting fire to it in different places.

In the month of March, in the year 1684,* it was totally destroyed by an accidental fire which broke out at two different places, and raged with such fury, that the flames could not be subdued before the whole of the town was consumed. In consequence of this awful calamity, a proclamation† was issued on the 17th of April following, recommending a general collection throughout the kingdom, for the relief of the suffering inhabitants, and for the purpose of rebuilding the town. About eighty years ago it met with nearly a similar fate; and, since that period, it has suffered considerably at different times, from the acts of wilful incendiaries. So frequent were the attempts at wilful fire-raising, that the inhabitants were put in the utmost consternation from the dread of having their dwellings burned during the night; and it was deemed necessary to institute a nightly watch for their safety. For this purpose, a portion of the inhabitants were selected every evening, and placed under the direction of some respectable householder,

* Law's Mem. p. 261. Fountainhall, p. 35, 91.

† We are sorry we cannot procure a copy of this proclamation; but we find, from the records of the city of Edinburgh, that on this occasion a liberal sum was raised by subscription for relief of the sufferers.

whose duty it was to take care that they patrolled the streets from sunset till the break of day. Happily these precautions are now become unnecessary, nothing of this diabolical nature having been attempted for several years past.

The rebellion which broke out in the year 1715, for the purpose of replacing the house of Stuart on the throne they had for so many centuries possessed, was for some time confined to the northern provinces, the rebels not having acquired sufficient strength or confidence to proceed southwards. In the month of October, however, when they had obtained possession of the whole coast of Fife, they meditated an attempt on the southern counties; and, having landed a considerable body of their forces on the Lothian shore of the Forth, at Aberlady, North Berwick, and other places adjacent, they marched to Haddington and Tranent, where they quartered the first night; next day they marched to Edinburgh, which they expected to have taken by surprise, and to have been joined by a number of the inhabitants; but being disappointed, and learning that the Duke of Argyle was rapidly advancing from Stirling with a strong detachment of dragoons, they changed their plan, and resolved to attack the town of Leith, which they took possession of without resistance; and, to guard against surprise, they placed their troops in the citadel, (an old demolished fort built by Oliver Cromwell,) which they fortified with cannon taken out of the ships in the harbour.

The Duke of Argyle having, in the meantime, arrived, he hastened to attack them with 400 horse, and 200 foot, but finding them so strongly posted that he could not act against them without artillery, he returned to Edinburgh to make the necessary preparations for attacking them next day.

Informed of his intention, and aware of their inability to withstand the force he was able to bring against them, and, at the same time, despairing of any rising of the people in their favour, the rebels determined to effect their retreat under cover of the darkness of the night. Accordingly, taking advantage of the low ebb of the tide, they quitted the fort, and marching off by the head of the pier on the sands, they crossed the mouth of the river to the knees only in water, with so much silence, that they effected their escape unobserved, and marching eastward, came safe to Seaton-house, in the immediate neighbourhood of Musselburgh, with the loss of about forty stragglers only.

While posted there, several ineffectual attempts were made by detachments from the garrison of Edinburgh to dislodge them; but having received intelligence that a considerable rising had been effected in Northumberland in favour of the Pretender,* under the command

* Patten, in his History of the Rebellion, states, that the rebels who had taken arms in Northumberland, on learning of General Carpenter's approach, and that the Highlanders were on their march to Kelso, resolved to join them at this place, and having left Wealer for this purpose, when they came near to the town they halted on a moor to arrange their troops and to appoint officers. " Whilst they

of Mr Forster, and also of the south-country gentlemen under the command of Lord Viscount Kenmure ; and at the same time receiving an express from Mr Forster inviting them to meet him at Kelso, they resolved immediately to quit this station, and to march to the south. They accordingly left Seaton-house on the 19th of October, and arrived next day at Dunse, where, after having proclaimed the Pretender, they took up their quarters for the night. The next morning, the 22d, they marched towards Kelso, where the English and Scotch horse, (*i. e.* the Northumberland and Nithsdale rebels,) had arrived ; and so excessively were they exhilarated by the accounts they had received of the gallantry and good conduct manifested by the Highlanders in crossing the Frith, and their future proceedings, that the Nithsdale cavalry, without halting at Kelso, proceeded to Ednam Bridge to greet their arrival, and triumphantly conducted them to the town, where the whole of the rebel forces was now collected.*

were thus employed, there came some townsmen from Kelso and acquainted the rebels that Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, who had been in Kelso, and had barricadoed the town, pretending to keep post there, had gone off in the night with his men, and that they might enter the town without opposition ; so they continued their march, and crossing the Tweed, though very deep at that time, and rapid, they entered the town. The Highlanders came into the town presently after, from the Scots side, with their bagpipes playing, led by old Mackintosh, but they made a very indifferent figure, for the rain and their long marches had extremely fatigued them, though their old brigadier, who marched at the head of them, appeared very well."

* Although the rebels acquired peaceable possession of the town at

Next day, being Sunday, Lord Kenmure, commanding in chief, ordered Mr Patten, chaplain to Mr Forster, to preach in the forenoon at the "Great Kirk," and gave orders that all the men should attend divine service. In the afternoon, Mr William Irvine, a Scottish clergyman, delivered an eloquent discourse, strenuously exhorting his audience to be zealous and steady in the cause. Next morning, the Highlanders were drawn up in the church-yard, and marched with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing, to the Market-place, where they were formed into a circle, having an inner circle composed of the gentlemen volunteers, within which stood the lords and other gentry. Si-

this period, it does not appear that the inhabitants were friendly to the cause; for, "on the 8th of August, the inhabitants of Kelso assembled in their church, and with the utmost unanimity subscribed the following agreement:—'We, subscribers, do, by these presents, bind and oblige ourselves, by the blessing of God, to assist and stand by one another in defence of our lawful sovereign, King George, the succession of the crown happily established by law, and the Protestant religion, in opposition to a Popish Pretender, and all his abettors.' Next day Mr Chatto, a magistrate, assisted by the neighbouring gentlemen, Mr Ramsay, the minister, and the principal inhabitants, concerted measures for their mutual defence. Besides those who were already armed, 120 muskets were given to a select number of the inhabitants, under the command of proper officers, and distributed through the several wards of the town. Such was the resolution of the inhabitants of this place, which was merely a burgh of regality belonging to the Duke of Roxburghe, that a hundred more offered their services than could be supplied with arms. They were reviewed by Sir William Bennet, of Grubbet, and Sir John Pringle, of Stichel, Barta. Indeed, the whole of Teviotdale displayed a great attachment to the principles of the Revolution."—*Charles' Trans. in Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 224.

lence being commanded, the trumpet sounded, and Sea-ton of Barns, who assumed the title of Earl of Dunfermline, proclaimed the Pretender, in the following terms :—

“ Whereas, by the decease of the late King James the Seventh, the imperial crowns of these realms did lineally descend to his lawful heir and son, our sovereign James the Eighth ; we, the lords, &c., do declare him our lawful king over Scotland, England,” &c.

Afterwards was read the manifesto of the Earl of Mar, and the other noblemen, gentlemen, &c., asserting the undoubted right of their lawful sovereign, James the Eighth, to the crown, and for relieving the kingdom from its oppressions and grievances, arising particularly from the union of the two kingdoms, the heavy taxes levied, and the large debts imposed for the maintenance of foreign troops ; which being finished, the people, with loud acclamations, shouted, No union ! No malt ! No salt-tax !

This ceremony having been concluded, the Highlanders were sent to their quarters, where they remained till the 27th, during which time nothing material occurred except searching for fire-arms and ammunition, of which, however, they did not find much, having only picked up a few muskets,* some pieces of cannon

* The following very uncommon accident happened while the rebels lay in Kelso, which, from its singularity, deserves to be recorded :—“ A Highlander having taken the lock from his musket, he laid down the barrel, &c., across the arms of a chair, whilst he, at two yards’ distance, having cleaned, and was trying the lock, a spark of fire flew from it directly, and most exactly, to the touch-hole of the

which formerly belonged to Hume Castle, some broadswords, and a small quantity of gun-powder which lay concealed in the church.

General Carpenter, commanding the royal troops who were sent in pursuit of the rebels, having now arrived at Wooler, and purposing to be at Kelso on the 28th, Lord Kenmure, on receiving this intelligence, called a council of war to consider the proper measures to be adopted, when it being agreed to retire from Kelso, he marched immediately from thence to Jedburgh; and it being afterwards decided that the army should advance into England, they proceeded to Preston, where they were surrounded by the royal army, and forced to surrender prisoners at discretion. Here the Earls of Nithsdale and Wintoun, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn, were made prisoners.*

In the year 1718, a General Commission of Oyer and Terminer was appointed for the trial of those implicated in the late rebellion; the Right Honourable the Lord Justice-Clerk, Lord Pencaitland, and Lord Newhall, were the commissioners, and they were to sit at Perth, Dundee, Cupar, and Kelso. On the 15th of September they left Edinburgh for Perth, attended by a great number of gentlemen and lawyers, to commence their sittings; and having been detained longer in the

piece, which was loaded, and went off and wounded three children sitting round the fire; and it was the more strange, that at such a distance, by mere chance, a spark should direct its way to the touch-hole, and the bullet should wound all the three children who did not sit in a line."—PATTEN.

* Patten's Hist. of Rebellion, p. 16, *et seq.*

north than they expected, Lord Newhall was sent from Cupar to Kelso to adjourn the court for some days, till the other judges should arrive. The court, however, met at Kelso the 4th of October, when only a single case was presented for its consideration, which was against a Mr Cranston; but the grand jury having returned the bill, *ignoramus*, the jury was dismissed, and the court adjourned. On the 7th of October, the lords returned to Edinburgh.*

Notwithstanding the unsuccessful termination of the attempt made by the Pretender in the years 1715-16, to wrest the sceptre of these realms from the reigning family, he still maintained a secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles and others, who only waited a proper opportunity to renew the same scenes of bloodshed and misery which had accompanied and followed the former rebellion.

This opportunity seemed to offer itself in the year 1745, when, from the disputes in parliament, carried on with unusual acrimony between the Whig and Tory parties, foreign powers, but especially France, considered the nation ripe for revolt. That power, ever jealous of the increasing prosperity of Great Britain, judged this period, therefore, most favourable for assisting the Chevalier de St George to regain possession of the throne of his ancestors, the people being represented as groaning under the oppression of a foreigner, and burdened for purposes destructive of British liberty.

* Scots Courant, 1718.

The French ministry, desirous of distracting the British councils, and of forcing King George to withdraw his support from Austria and her allies, concerted measures with the Chevalier, then residing at Rome, for an invasion of these kingdoms.

Tempted by the lavish promises of support in men and money, the Chevalier readily fell into their views; but being incapable of engaging personally in the expedition, on account of his advanced age, he delegated this trust to his son Charles, who accepted the command with enthusiasm and alacrity. His brave and enterprising spirit, and his amiable and courteous demeanour, soon secured to him the esteem and affection of those who favoured his cause; and, encouraged by the representations of the Highland chiefs, (who considered the measures of the existing government in attempting to dissolve their clans, to be destructive of their power and consequence, which they expected, should they prove successful in placing him upon the throne, to retain,) he resolved to make a vigorous attempt to recover the kingdom of his ancestors.

The design of France at first was to land a large army on the southern coast of England; but this force having put to sea, and come in sight of a strong English fleet which it was not thought safe to encounter, escaped into port, after suffering a considerable loss of transports in a severe storm. The plan of invading England on a large scale was, in consequence, abandoned.

Charles, by no means discouraged at this inauspici-

ous commencement, persisted in his application to the French court for a vessel to convey him to Scotland, which kingdom being represented to him as totally destitute of troops, he was led to believe would be an easy conquest ; and his request being at last complied with, he embarked on the 15th of July, on board a small vessel of eleven guns, at the port of St Lazare, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, and some others, and, after a most boisterous passage, succeeded in landing at Borodale, in Lochaber, in the latter end of the same month.

Here he remained till about the middle of August, when, having collected about 1800 men, he determined to push to the southward. With this force, which daily increased, he advanced by Perth, Stirling, &c., to Edinburgh, the royal troops retiring on his approach ; and on the 17th of September he reached the capital, and fixed his head-quarters at Holyroodhouse.

General Cope, who, on the first accounts of the landing of Prince Charles, had been sent to the north to oppose his progress, having, on his arrival at Inverness, learned the prince's advance to the south, hastened with his army to Aberdeen, where it was embarked for the Frith of Forth, and, landing at Dunbar on the 15th of September, marched immediately for Edinburgh. On receipt of this intelligence, the prince, on the 20th, marched to the eastward to meet him. The next day the fatal battle of Prestonpans took place, after which the prince returned to the capital, where he remained till the 2d of November, when, informed of

the vast preparations making in England to oppose him, he determined to advance into that country by the way of Carlisle.

On the same day the last of the Highlanders departed from Edinburgh ; and next day the rear of the army left Dalkeith, accompanied by Prince Charles on foot. The army advanced in three columns ; the right column, amounting to nearly 2000 men, marched by Peebles, Moffat, &c. ; the middle, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick ; and the left, amounting to nearly 4000 men, by Kelso. Prince Charles marched with this column, and entered Kelso on the fourth, in the evening. From thence he sent a message to Wooler, to prepare quarters for 4000 foot, but instead of proceeding thither, he passed the Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick ; from whence he directed his route by Langholm, Cannoby, and Longtoun, towards Row-cliff, where he crossed the river within four miles of Carlisle, and, reaching Murray's on Borough-side, he halted on the 8th, waiting for the arrival of the other columns.

Many of the Highlanders deserted on the march, especially at Kelso ; and many of his followers, with their arms, were secured, and delivered to the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and to the commanders of his majesty's ships in the Forth.

Notwithstanding these desertions, which were pretty numerous, the prince advanced and laid siege to Carlisle, which surrendered to him on the 15th of November, and, leaving there a small garrison, he marched by

Lancaster, Manchester, &c., to Derby, which place he entered on the 4th of December, at noon, with 450 horse and 2800 foot.

The approach of Charles so near the Capital filled the inhabitants with alarm, and every precaution was instantly taken to prevent him from obtaining possession of it. In the meantime the prince, disappointed in not finding the English, as he expected, flock to his standard, nor the French attempt an invasion of the south of England, as had been promised; and also finding himself hemmed in by the armies under the Duke of Cumberland and General Wade, called a council of war to determine what ought to be done. After mature deliberation, they decided for a retreat, in order to fall back on their resources, and to meet the army coming from Scotland. The prince was wholly averse to this step; but neither his arguments nor his entreaties could induce his officers to alter their opinion. Accordingly the army, on the morning of the 6th, commenced their retreat over a country covered with snow and ice, and closely pursued by the Duke and Marshal Wade. On the 20th of December, the prince arrived at Carlisle, where he only stayed one night, and then pursued his march toward the north by Dumfries; and on the 26th he arrived at Glasgow, which city he treated with great severity, quartering his troops for several days upon the inhabitants, and obliging the town to furnish him with necessaries to the amount of L.10,000. From Glasgow, Prince Charles proceeded to Stirling, and laid siege to the castle; but hearing of the approach

of General Hawley, he left a division of his army to carry on the siege, and with the main body advanced towards Falkirk to meet him. The two armies, accordingly, met on a moor in the neighbourhood on the 17th, when a severe action took place, which ended in favour of the rebel army. General Hawley being forced to leave the field, retreated to Edinburgh; and the prince the next day marched to Stirling, to press the siege of the castle, which was resolutely defended by the governor, General Blakeney.

On receiving intelligence of the battle of Falkirk, government made every exertion to arrest the progress of the rebellion; and the Duke of Cumberland was dispatched to take command of the forces, who, immediately on his arrival at Edinburgh, gave orders for the march of the army towards Stirling. On hearing of the royal army being near Falkirk, Prince Charles resolved to march from Stirling to offer it battle; but in this he was overruled by a council of war, and an immediate retreat to the north determined on. The consequence was, that the rebel army never halted till it reached Inverness. The battle of Culloden, which happened on the 16th of April, 1746, completely crushed this rebellion, which threatened the most serious consequences, and restored to the country peace and tranquillity.*

Happily for these kingdoms, the complete frustration of this infatuated attempt, for ever excluded from

* Charles' Trans. in Scot. vol. II. p. 11, *et seq.*

the thought of the expatriated family the idea of regaining the crown of their ancestors ; and since that period, the internal peace of the country has remained undisturbed. Of consequence, very little can be supposed to have occurred at Kelso that deserves the notice of the historian. It is pleasant, however, to remark, that during the time intervening, to the very date at which we write, this town has continued to prosper in every respect, and in no small degree ; and from its increased size and population, the enlargement of its trade, and the respectability and opulence of its inhabitants, it now ranks high among the provincial towns of the united kingdom. We shall, however, mention some circumstances that have happened here, (mostly within the memory of the present generation,) which may not be deemed too trifling for insertion in this work.

It will be remembered, that about 40 years ago, an intense interest was excited in this country by the daring and hazardous exploits of M. Lunardi, the celebrated aeronaut, who, in the course of the autumn, 1785, made ascensions from most of the principal towns of Scotland. On the 22d of October, in that year, he ascended from Kelso, in the presence, and amid the acclamations, of an immense concourse of spectators ; and after an excursion of an hour and twenty minutes, he descended in a field near Barmuir, in Northumberland.*

* Of this excursion M. Lunardi published the following account at the time :—“ I set off from Kelso at five minutes after 2 o'clock. I rose gradually ; had with me a barometer, and other instruments, for the experiments I intended to make, besides provisions, and

One of those strange and unaccountable phenomena, a whirlwind or tornado, which are so frequent in hot climates, visited Kelso in the year 1788, of which we find the following accounts in the journals of the day : —“ Kelso, May 28.—Yesterday, about one in the forenoon, a whirlwind for some time obscured the air in our wood-market, by collecting in its vortex the loose earth, dust, and straw, whirling it up to a great height. It forced a woman with a child in her arms against a wall, and bruised her arm ; it lifted up a cart, and

eighty-eight pounds of ballast. I kept myself just a mile high from the surface of the earth. I went in a cloud with the balloon, but the flag being 150 feet from the gallery, it remained in sight of the spectators. I was two minutes in the cloud, when I lowered again, not to deprive the people of the sight of my balloon. I kept myself hitherto constantly in sight of the earth. I went, an hour after my setting off, through a cloud, and above it the barometer fell to 26, five-tenths, when the earth was no more visible to me.

“ After being four minutes in this situation, I kept myself very low, when I perceived the sea to be no farther than six miles from me. I then began to come down so low as to hear distinctly the voices of the people. I anchored at Doddington Muir, and called people to get hold of the rope, and they came, and six got hold of the ropes from the car ; and after having shook hands with Mr Strother, who was the first gentleman on horseback who reached me, I ordered the men to carry me to Berwick. They carried me near Barmuir, in Northumberland ; but the wind blowing fresher, and the balloon dragging them after it, I thought proper to descend in a soft field, where I emptied the balloon.

“ Mr Richard Thomson of Barmuir ordered his servants to take care of the balloon and appendages, and, giving me his horse, conducted me to his house, where he entertained me with every civility in his power.

“ I touched the ground at twenty-one minutes past three o'clock, and finally descended, and emptied the balloon in the field, at four.”

twirled a pair of unshod wheels about which lay on the ground horizontally, like mill-stones in a mill. Some children at play on an eminence were carried off to a distance, and a cart was taken up and dashed against a house with such force, as to drive one of the shafts through the wall. Its violence being exhausted, it soon disappeared."

Government having selected Kelso as a most eligible place for the reception of prisoners taken during the late war, who were admitted to their parole, a considerable number were sent thither in the month of November, 1810, where they remained till June, 1814; when, upon the conclusion of the general peace, they were sent home. During their stay, they conducted themselves with great propriety, and received the most civil and hospitable treatment from the inhabitants, which they repaid by contributing not a little to their amusement, by their theatrical and other exhibitions, to which the more respectable classes were invited. The greatest number of prisoners on parole stationed at Kelso, never exceeded 230.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.

THE TOWN OF KELSO is pleasantly situated, immediately on the northern bank of the river Tweed, at its confluence with the Teviot, in $55^{\circ} 36'$ north latitude, and in longitude $1^{\circ} 20'$ west from Greenwich ; and is distant forty-two miles south by east from Edinburgh, nine miles west from Coldstream, twenty-three miles west from Berwick, eleven miles east from Jedburgh, and nine miles north of the English border. The woody hills which surround it on all sides, form, as it were, an amphitheatre of exquisite beauty.

The town is built much after the fashion of the Dutch and German cities,* consisting of a spacious square or market-place, with four streets and some considerable wynds, diverging from it in different directions.

The market-place is a square of large dimensions, chiefly composed of modern buildings, and containing the principal shops. On the east side of it stands the new Town-house, an edifice of considerable elegance. From this square issue the four streets, viz. Roxburgh-street, Bridge-street, the Horse and Wood Markets,† and the Mill Wynd.

* The towns in Germany and Holland have generally a large square used as a market-place in the centre, from which issue all the streets.

† This street, which was formerly very narrow towards its extre-

The principal street, which bears the name of the county,* is upwards of a quarter of a mile in length, and is esteemed the most healthy, as it certainly is the most pleasant, in the town, running in a parallel direction with the river Tweed.

Bridge-street, though not equal to Roxburgh-street in extent, surpasses it in general appearance; as it contains many elegant houses. From it run the Ovan Wynd, a lane leading to Ednam House, and the Abbey Close, formerly the passage to the old bridge.

GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN.

At the Reformation the whole of the lands and revenues belonging to the monastic establishments in the kingdom, became confiscated to the Crown. The monks of Kelso previously held the regality of Kelso, which comprehended the town with its pertinents, the barony of Bolden, and the lands of Reveden with their pertinents. These the King granted to Francis, Earl of

mity, has lately been much improved by taking down several old houses. It is the public road to Berwick, and by its former narrowness, the inhabitants were exposed to considerable danger from the number of carriages, carts, &c. continually passing along it in contrary directions. This danger is now happily removed.

* Roxburgh-street was formerly of much greater extent, and it is even in the recollection of some of the inhabitants, that it reached as far as the middle of the Duke of Roxburgh's garden; the plan of which embracing the ground on which several of the houses stood, they were, in consequence, taken down.

Bothwell, Admiral of Scotland, who being afterwards accused of high treason, in compassing the King's death, and having not only escaped from justice, but also taken up arms against his sovereign, his estates were, in the year 1605, escheated to his majesty, who, the same year, bestowed the regality of Kelso upon Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, ancestor of the Duke of Roxburgh ; which grant was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1607. This regality, with the jurisdictions belonging to it, being, however, considered incompatible with the administration of justice and public quiet, was abolished in 1747, the Duke of Roxburgh receiving a remuneration ; but the town of Kelso is still a burgh of barony, the property of his Grace, with baronial rights.

The government of the town is accordingly vested in a baron bailie, appointed by the Duke of Roxburgh, assisted by fifteen stent-masters or councillors, who act in conjunction with him in the assessment of the inhabitants. Of these stent-masters, his Grace has the nomination of *eight*, who hold their appointment for two years ; the others are elected annually by the different corporations, and consist of the Preses of the Merchant Company, a Deacon Convener, the Deacons of the five corporations, viz. : Hammermen, Skinners, Shoemakers, Tailors, and Weavers, (one of whom is now elected Deacon Convener, which was not the case formerly,) and the Deacon of the Butchers, although they are not a corporate body. The chief and only duty of these councillors is the management of the revenue of the

town, consisting principally of an assessment which they are empowered to levy on the inhabitants for defraying the current expenses of the year ; such as repairing the streets, supplying the town with water, and any other incidental charges which may occur.

Previously to the year 1795, the heritors assessed themselves with stent for the support of the poor ; but since that period, the inhabitants at large are assessed for this purpose, according to their circumstances, or in proportion to the rent of their dwelling-houses. Payment, however, of this assessment for the poor, has been resisted by the inhabitants who are not proprietors, and in general successfully, as payment has never been enforced.

It is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the time when the trades of Kelso were first erected into corporate bodies, yet it is evident that this took place at a very remote period. About a century ago the books of the Merchant Company were destroyed by fire, which prevents us from learning the time of its commencement ; and no register of their proceedings was again kept till the year 1757. The books of the incorporation of tailors commence in the year 1619 ; but of the other trades we have not been able to obtain any information from which we could venture to fix any date to their original institution. The corporations are, in general, wealthy, and are able to make suitable provision for the indigent, and for the widows and orphans of their deceased members.

The baron bailie holds a court every Saturday, for the recovery of small debts within the jurisdiction of the town ; and the Justices of the Peace sit here once in every month for the recovering of similar debts contracted within the county, and for other matters competent to this tribunal.

Like most country towns, Kelso formerly suffered very much from want of a proper regard to cleanliness, to which little or no attention was paid by the ruling powers ; but latterly a most material change has taken place for the better ; and several customs have been abolished, which were not only most intolerable nuisances, but certainly a great detriment to the comfort and health of the inhabitants—such as the throwing of water, &c. from the higher windows, to the great danger of the passengers ; and leaving their ashes and filth in the streets. The former nuisance is now prohibited on pain of fine ; and to prevent the latter, a cart with a bell goes through the town at an appointed hour, to receive whatever the inhabitants may have to put into it. Another inconvenience to which Kelso, in common with the generality of the towns in Scotland, was long subject, and to which, even the metropolis, under its well-regulated, though expensive police, is still much exposed, has been removed, by proper and convenient places being erected in different parts of the town.

POPULATION.

The increase in the population of Kelso has, within the last seventy years, been considerable, as may be seen by the official reports made to Parliament during that period. By the return made in the year 1755, the number of inhabitants amounted to 2781; and by a similar account taken 1790-5, it had increased to 4234. They were again numbered in 1801, when there appeared to have been a trifling falling off, the population at this period being only 4196; but, upon another census being taken in 1811, a very considerable increase had taken place, the return at this time being 4408; and by the last report made in 1821, the population extended to 4860 souls, forming, upon an average of sixty-six years, an increase of thirty-one and a half annually, or 2079 in the whole.

This increase has been attributed to the vast influx of small farmers, mechanics, and labourers, who, on the system of letting small farms being given up, and most of the villages in the neighbourhood destroyed, were obliged to resort to the town both for employment and accommodation.

MANNERS.

The manners of the inhabitants of Kelso in general, are more polished than in most country towns, which in a great measure may be accounted for by its delightful situation, which constitutes it the resort of all the fashion in the vicinity, and of numerous visitors of the first rank in both kingdoms.

The higher class are affable and courteous in their address, and benevolent and liberal in their dispositions. The middle class are polite and obliging, hospitable and friendly. The lower class, in general, are sober, honest, and industrious; attentive to the interest of their employers, with a becoming deportment toward their superiors.

The upper ranks dress in the first style of fashion, and the balls and assemblies present an elegance of female attire not to be exceeded out of the metropolis.

The merchants, who form a most respectable class of the inhabitants, are just and honourable in their dealings, and are a credit to the station they occupy in the community. Indeed, it may be said of all ranks, that they perform the duties belonging to their different spheres, with the strictest propriety and decorum.

The community at large are also highly to be commended for a strict regard to their religious duties. Public worship is very generally attended, and the other

exercises of the Sabbath performed in a most exemplary manner, so that the scenes which too often disgrace the streets of the metropolis on that holy day, are quite unknown there.

CUSTOMS.

It was the custom formerly for a drum and bagpipe* to parade the town at five o'clock in the morning, to awaken the inhabitants to their labours, and at ten o'clock at night, to signify the propriety of their retiring to rest ; but this practice has long since ceased. At present, the hours of commencing and leaving off work, are notified by the sound of the bell, which rings at the hours of six in the morning and eight in the evening. The bell also rings at ten at night, for the same pur-

* The custom of having regular pipers in each of the border towns, is of very long standing, and it is only within a few years back that such an officer was considered as an unnecessary appendage. Kelso continues to adhere to the old practice, and a piper is still kept by the town, who, however, only officiates on public occasions, and at St James's Fair. Leyden, in his introduction to the *Complaynt of Scotland*, states, that the pipers of the Border "rivalled the fame even of the Highlanders, and, at least in the opinion of their countrymen, were supposed to excel them in musical skill as well as graceful execution. In the official capacity of town-pipers, they commanded a much higher degree of respect from the peasantry than wandering musicians ; and, traversing the country at particular seasons, chiefly in spring, for collecting seed oats from the farmers ; and at autumn, about harvest-home, they exhibited the last remains of minstrelsy among the borders."

pose, it is presumed, as the drum and bagpipe were formerly employed, although this was also the case even when the former practice was in being.

A curious custom is still prevalent in Kelso, as in many of our country towns, to summon the inhabitants to the funeral of their deceased neighbours, by sending the bell-man through the town to remind those who are invited of the hour of interment.

The King's birth-day is here observed as a holiday, with every expression of loyalty. In the afternoon, the Chief Magistrate and council, or deacons, with the most respectable of the inhabitants, joined by the Bowmen of the Border, assemble in the square, where a table is placed, set out with wines, &c. and drink his Majesty's health, and other loyal toasts connected with the day; and about the time this ceremony commences, a large bonfire is lighted in the centre of the market-place, which is, during the evening, surrounded by a crowd of the younger classes, who amuse themselves with firing squibs, &c.; and the bells are set a-ringing, which continue at intervals until the evening closes the scene.

This is a day of excellent sport for the boys of the town, who take care to make sufficient provision for this bonfire, by collecting beforehand plenty of materials of a combustible nature; and they are not very nice about the manner in which they obtain them; considering it quite lawful to seize everything of that kind which they have an opportunity of laying their hands

upon, in order to testify their loyalty and joy upon so happy an occasion.

The Kelso St John's lodge of freemasons have a grand procession on the 24th of June, St John Baptist's day, on which the election of the office-bearers takes place.

The Society of Gardeners, on the second Tuesday in the month of July, the day of their annual general meeting, parade the streets, accompanied by a band of music, and carrying an elegant device, composed of the most beautiful flowers, which, on the company reaching the inn where they dine, is thrown from the window to the crowd, who soon demolish it in a scramble for the flowers.

On Michaelmas day, (September 29th,) the different corporations meet to choose their deacons, and after the election, each of these bodies walk in procession through the streets of the town. They afterwards dine at different inns, and in the evening they severally give balls to the wives and friends of the members.

On the Thursday following, the deacons, &c. meet in the Town-house to elect their Convener, on which occasion there is also another procession, and after it a sumptuous dinner, at which most of the principal inhabitants are present, and the evening concludes with a ball.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

Kelso, though not entitled to rank among the commercial towns of Scotland, has nevertheless a considerable trade, which affords employment and support to a numerous body of the working classes.

The first and principal branch is the dressing of lamb and sheep skins, the tanning of hides and the currying of leather, all which are carried on to a vast extent, especially the former—the number of lamb and sheep skins dressed here annually almost exceeds belief, amounting, on an average, to not less than 100,000.

Pork is here cured to a great extent, which finds a ready sale in the English market.

The manufacture of flannel is pretty extensive, as is also that of different kinds of linen. Woollen cloth is likewise made here, but not in any great quantity, being principally for private use.

The manufacture of hats forms an important branch of the trade of the town; and the quantity of stockings made annually is considerable.

Boot and shoe-making is carried on upon a very large scale, supplying not only the town and neighbourhood, but disposing of immense quantities at the different fairs and markets in the north of England.

Candles are also made here, but not in sufficient

quantity to supply the consumption of the town and its vicinity.

The shop-keepers, or merchants, in Kelso, are numerous, and deal to a great amount in woollen-drapery, haberdashery, hardwares, and other household goods. There is also a great demand for the various kinds of grass and other seeds.

The alteration in the law regulating the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms, which will allow the importation of Scottish spirits into England, upon more favourable terms than heretofore, promises also to be beneficial to Kelso;—a distillery upon a large scale being commenced, which holds out the prospect of a liberal return to the proprietor, and of employment to a number of labourers; as, from the shortness of the distance, and the consequent small expense of carriage, the places lying on the English border will resort thither for that commodity, instead of bringing it from the more northern counties.

One great and material inconvenience to which the town and neighbourhood is subjected, is the distance from whence the inhabitants have to furnish themselves with coal. Several attempts have been made to procure this valuable mineral in the immediate vicinity, but hitherto without effect. Some seams have been discovered, but they were either too bad in quality, or some other disadvantage attended the working of them,

so that, after very considerable expense had been incurred, the attempt was not persevered in. The nearest place from which they are supplied with this indispensable article is about fifteen miles distant, yet, notwithstanding, the price is not much higher than in Edinburgh.

This inconvenience, it is expected, will be greatly removed by the rail-road from Berwick, which will pass through, or near to, the places whence they derive their present fuel, by lowering the expense of carriage, and affording a more regular and plentiful supply for all the adjacent country. But not only will Kelso and the neighbourhood derive essential advantage in this respect from this grand improvement, but the facilities it will afford to trade in general, from the cheapness of carriage, and other conveniences, will serve as a stimulus to excite industry and invigorate commerce, and, consequently, it will prove the most beneficial undertaking ever attempted in this part of the country.

It is in contemplation to extend the railway to Melrose, by carrying it from the east end of Kelso round the back way, to cross the Tweed near the Chalkheugh.

BANKS.

There are in Kelso branches of the Bank of Scotland and the Commercial Banking Company, the form-

er placed here in the year 1774, and the latter in 1822, which have been of much benefit to the trader and agriculturist.

There is also a Savings Bank, which enables the labourer and others who wish to lay up any portion of their earnings, to do this with advantage and security. It is conducted upon the most liberal principles, and the money can be drawn, with interest, whenever the person who deposits it chooses.

FAIRS AND MARKETS.

In no part of Scotland is the farmer afforded more frequent or better opportunities, by means of markets or fairs, of disposing of his grain, and other produce, or of supplying himself with whatever is necessary for carrying on his agricultural pursuits, than in this district, where weekly markets are held on different days in every town.

The weekly market of Kelso is held on Friday, for the sale of corn by sample, and is the best attended in the county, being frequented by the corn-dealers from the northern part of the shire, and the places bordering upon it in Berwickshire and Northumberland, and also by victuallers from Berwick. The numerous assemblage of people thus collected every week, is of infinite advantage, and is, we may say, the principal source of

gain to the inhabitants. In this market, business is done to a great amount weekly.

There are, besides, *twelve* "high markets," in the course of the year, four of which are held on the two Fridays immediately preceding the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, and two on the Friday following each of these terms. The markets previous to the terms are for the hiring of servants, of every description, for the half-year; and those that follow are for the accommodation of servants changing their places, by giving them an opportunity of purchasing such articles of wearing apparel, or anything else of which they may stand in need. The concourse of people assembled at the latter markets is in general immense, who spend the day in festivity and mirth. On these occasions, the gain to the shopkeepers (especially to haberdashers and milliners, for ornamental articles of female dress) is incredible, as scarcely a servant leaves the town till the whole of their half-year's wages is expended. The other six "high markets" are held, four of them in March, for the purpose of purchasing horses for labour during the summer, and two in the end of autumn, for disposing of those for which the farmers have no occasion during the winter, and the keeping of which would be attended with too great expense. At the first of those in March, hinds and farm-servants for the year are hired.

There are likewise four fairs held at Kelso in the course of the year. The first is on the second Friday

of May ; the second, which is called the Summer Fair, on the second Friday in July ; the third, St James's Fair,* on the 5th of August ; and the fourth, or Winter Fair, on the 2d of November.

When the Summer Fair in July was first instituted, it was for the purpose of buying lean cattle to feed them during the summer and autumn months, which were disposed of at the Winter Fair, for the convenience of the inhabitants in laying in their winter stock of provisions, being then fit for the slaughter-house, whither they were immediately carried. The custom, however, of curing meat for the winter being now generally laid aside, these fairs are held for other purposes ; those in May and July are for cattle of different kinds, and that on the 2d of November for hiring servants, and for cattle to be fed on turnips, or kept on straw during winter.

St James's Fair, the greatest in the South of Scotland, (St Boswell's excepted,) is held on a green about a mile from Kelso, the site of the old town of Roxburgh, and near to the haugh where King James II. was killed, during his siege of the castle.

At this fair the show of cattle and horses to be fed on after-grass and turnip, is generally large, and a great quantity of woollen and linen manufactures are sold in

* The privilege of holding this fair was originally granted to the burgh of Roxburgh ; but owing to the complete extinction of this town, it is now ranked among the Kelso markets.

wholesale ; but the principal business of the farmer is the hiring of reapers for the ensuing harvest.

This fair is looked forward to by the inhabitants of Kelso with peculiar pleasure and anxiety, as a great proportion of certain classes depend upon it for remuneration for the past year. It is a day of general festivity, and most of the young people repair to the fair in the evening, to regale themselves with their " friends and favourites."

From a right which the town of Jedburgh acquired (at what time, or how, we cannot ascertain, but suppose it must have happened at the period when Roxburgh lost its rank among the burghs of Scotland) to a share in the emoluments derived from the privilege of holding this fair, a great jealousy for a long time subsisted between the two towns, which was always manifested on this day. It was formerly the custom for the Jedburgh people, coming on horseback, to enter Kelso by the bridge, and to ride through to the top of the town, where they again crossed the Tweed by the ford, to go to the fair ; which, as it was going at least a mile out of their way, the people of Kelso regarded as an insult, and seldom failed to resent it ; for, on these occasions, they were often pelted with stones, and frequent bickerings in consequence took place between them and the inhabitants. Happily these animosities have been put an end to by the people of Jedburgh relinquishing this custom.

The custom of the fair being divided between the

town of Jedburgh and the Duke of Roxburghe, the magistrates of that burgh, attended by their officers, come regularly to open it, by parading over the ground at twelve o'clock. Jedburgh receives one-half of the revenue gathered, and the duke the other half.*

BUTCHER-MARKET.

The butcher-market is a very commodious place, surrounded by a high wall, and is intersected by another nearly in the centre, which divides the space allotted for selling, from the slaughter-court.† The stalls are constructed much after the manner of those in the high-market of Edinburgh. It formerly belonged to the Duke of Roxburghe, from whom it was lately purchased by Mr Richard Allan, flesher in Kelso, who rents out the stalls to the rest of the trade.

The business in the market has of late fallen off considerably, owing to a number of the butchers having opened shops in different parts of the town, where they vend their meat.

* Since that part of this work was printed off which contains the regulations of the Border Agricultural Society, in respect to the cattle-markets instituted by it, the following information has been received :—“ That in consequence of the Kelso and Coldstream markets being too close upon each other, the Society have determined, that, in future, the Kelso monthly markets will be held on the third Friday after the Coldstream market, which is permanently fixed to take place on the last Thursday of each month.”

† Formerly it was the custom for each butcher to kill his cattle at his stall, but, by this plan of appropriating a portion of the area for this purpose, that nuisance has been done away.

A great number of cattle are annually killed here, the country, for several miles round, being supplied from this market, which is considered the best in the south of Scotland, both for the variety and quality of the meat sold in it.

SCENERY.

The scenery around Kelso excites the admiration of every beholder, and presents an extensive field for poetical imagination and description. Its appearance is beautiful and striking to the stranger, and an object of high attraction to the traveller. To attempt even a sketch, where such a number of charming and delightful prospects crowd upon the sight, is a difficult task; but to do justice to the grandeur, and to point out the varied and particular beauties of this *coup d'œil*, would require the ability of a more skilful pen.

From the Chalk-heugh, the prospect has a rich and delightful appearance. The eye is attracted by the Tweed, with the island in the centre, and the surrounding objects. Fleurs, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Roxburghe, with its encircling woods; the picturesque and ancient ruins of Roxburgh Castle; the seat of Sir James Douglas, together with Pinel-heugh and the distant hills, form a most enchanting scene. The views from Fleurs and Roxburgh Castle are also very fine; and that from the bridge is so particularly

striking, and exhibits so much of the picturesque, that it at once astonishes and delights the spectator. On the right, the town and Abbey are seen to the best advantage, as also the fine mansion of Ednam-house, and its grounds. Opposite to this the Teviot joins the Tweed, and forms the broadest part of the river. A little farther up are the gardens on the Chalk-heugh, Fleurs, &c. ; and the grandeur of the landscape is much heightened by a distant view of Hume Castle, the hills of Mellerstain and Stitches, and the windings of both rivers previous to their junction. In entering Kelso from the west, the lofty precipice of Maxwell, Pinnacle-hill, Wooden, and the banks of the Tweed, present a scene at once beautiful and grand.

The view from Pinnacle-hill, in consequence of its elevated situation, can scarcely be rivalled ;—a scene of rich grandeur, rising gradually from the Tweed and Teviot, to the dark heath-clad tops of the Lammermuir-hills on the north, and the Eildon-hills on the west. At the feet of the spectator is seen the Tweed, rolling “dark and deep,” Teviot Bridge, Roxburgh Castle, Fleurs, Kelso, environed on every side by beautiful villas, the whole surrounded by thriving plantations. Beyond the woody boundary of this varied landscape, terraced fields are beheld rising over each other, in all the rich luxuriance of cultivated nature, till the whole is crowned by the distant summits.

In point of picturesque appearance, Kelso, if not unrivalled, is certainly not surpassed by any town in Scotland, being so beautifully adorned with wood and wa-

ter. As has already been observed, it is surrounded on every side with rich plantations, so that to whatever point the spectator turns his eye, the scenery presents a delightful and variegated prospect. Few rivers in Scotland can be compared with Tweed for the beauty of their windings, and very few equal it in grandeur. From the number of its tributary rivulets between its rise, about thirty miles from Peebles, and its junction with the Teviot at Kelso, it gradually assumes a grand appearance, which is heightened at every winding by the beautiful and interesting objects of the surrounding country.

Those who are acquainted with Scottish song, will find the scenery in the neighbourhood of Kelso justly and admirably described for its beauty, in the writings of our most celebrated poets.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

There are seven places of public worship in Kelso, viz. the Parochial Church, Episcopal Chapel, Relief, Burgher, Antiburgher, Cameronian or Reformed Presbyterian, and Quaker Meeting-houses.

PAROCHIAL CHURCH.

The foundation-stone of this edifice, which is a plain modern building, was laid in the year 1771, and on the first Sabbath of 1773 it was opened for public worship. It is built in the form of an octagon, nearly ninety feet

in diameter within the walls, and, when originally fitted up, might have contained upwards of 3000 people. The dimensions, however, being too large for the compass of an ordinary voice, and the hearing rendered otherwise disagreeable by an echo proceeding from the roof, which was in the form of a cupola, or dome, it was deemed necessary to make such alterations in the interior of the building as would remove these inconveniences; and these, being agreed to by the heritors, were carried into effect in the year 1823.

The gallery fronting the pulpit is appropriated solely to the accommodation of the Duke of Roxburghe; the other heritors have their seats in the other galleries. The five incorporated trades have seats allotted to them in the body of the church.

The present incumbent of this parish, the Rev. Robert Lundie, is highly and justly respected, and esteemed for the urbanity of his manners, his unaffected piety, and other excellent qualities; and his ministry continues to be both acceptable and profitable to his parishioners.*

* The following is a correct list of the ministers of Kelso since the Reformation :—

1575—Paul Knox.	1695—William Jack.
1605—James Knox.	1707—James Ramsay.
1635—Robert Knox,†	1750—Cornelius Lundie.
1660—Richard Waddell.	1800—Leslie Moodie.
1683—James Lorimer.	1807—Robert Lundie, the present
1687—James Gray.	minister.

† He appears to have been a commissioner to the General Assembly in 1611, when he preached before King Charles I. and the Parliament.

The church-yard, or burying-ground, is very extensive, and, till within these few years, was not walled in, but lay entirely open, the common resort of the school-boys for their pastimes, and was crossed by foot-paths in every direction. The skimmers even made use of it as a very good and convenient place to dry their hides; and the cattle of those who were either unable or unwilling to go to the expense, found there a cheap and luxuriant pasture.

The impropriety, not to mention the indecency, of allowing the common receptacle of the dead, a place venerated and held sacred by the most barbarous of all ages and nations, to lie thus exposed to every violence, was long felt; but it was not till the year 1807 that it was determined to wipe off this stigma from the character of the town. In this year a subscription, which was soon filled up, was entered into by the principal inhabitants, for surrounding it with a wall.*

* About forty years ago, as the grave-digger of Kelso was opening a new piece of ground, he discovered a stone coffin of very large dimensions, of which, without opening it, he gave immediate notice to the minister, (Mr Cornelius Lundie,) who, having sent for Mr Douglas, an eminent physician in the town, they proceeded to the place to examine it. On removing the lid, there was found in the coffin a human skeleton in the most perfect order, with a rod of about a yard long, covered with leather, and gilt over, and some ancient relics lying by its side. The bones, immediately upon being touched, fell into dust. The coffin was afterwards carried to the Abbey, where it lay for some time, to gratify the curiosity of those who wished to inspect it; but when this curiosity ceased, it was converted to a purpose very different from its original use. It is now laid

EPISCOPAL CHAPEL.

This chapel is a neat Gothic building, erected in a pleasant retired situation on the banks of the Tweed, and immediately adjoining to the pleasure-grounds of Ednam House, and, though small, is constructed with great taste. It is furnished with an organ and a tolerable band. The congregation, though not numerous, is composed of a respectable class of the inhabitants. The late Duke of Roxburghe had a seat in this chapel, where he regularly attended.

The chapel is situated in the middle of a cemetery, where the members are interred according to the ritual of the English church. The Rev. William Kell, the present minister, is a highly popular preacher.

RELIEF CHURCH.

This place of worship, which was built in the year 1791, is a plain square building, situated at the east end of the town. It is very well attended, and many of the hearers come from a considerable distance. The congregation is happy in possessing so able an instructor as the Rev. John Pitcairn for their pastor.

down at the fountain-head, about a mile from Kelso, where it serves for leading away the superfluous water, and also as a very convenient trough for cattle to drink out of.

BURGHER MEETING-HOUSE.

This meeting-house is built much after the plan, but on a larger scale than the Relief. It is, however, better constructed in the interior, the roof being higher, and the gallery not so confined. It is regularly attended by a numerous and respectable congregation, a great part of which come from a distance of seven or eight miles.

The interior of this house has been lately enlarged, by removing the stairs which formerly led to the gallery, and placing them outside the building, at each end. This alteration has certainly tended very much to disfigure the building, as the wings do not at all correspond with the plainness of the edifice.

This place of worship is built in a very pleasant and central situation, being immediately behind the market-place, having a large square green belonging to it, which is inclosed with a high wall. The manse, situated within the green, joined to which is a very good garden, renders it a very desirable and healthy residence.*

This building was erected in the year 1779. The present minister, the Rev. Robert Hall, has zealously laboured among his flock since that period, and is highly esteemed by them.

* In the month of August, when the summer sacrament is dispensed, if the weather be favourable, a tent is erected in this green, and the congregation, here assembled, bring each their chair, according to the ancient custom in Scotland.

ANTIBURGHIER MEETING-HOUSE.

This is a very plain fabric. The Rev. Patrick Mackenzie is pastor.

There were formerly a considerable number of Antiburghiers of the "new light" in this town, but, in consequence of the union which has lately taken place between the Burghers and Antiburghiers, they are mostly joined to Mr Hall's church. To this, in a great measure, is to be attributed the paucity of Mr Mackenzie's congregation.

CAMERONIAN MEETING-HOUSE.

This is a building of inferior appearance, and is adjacent to the Relief meeting-house. The number in this connexion is very small, and generally composed of the poorer class. For a long time they had no stated minister, and it is only lately that one has been appointed to this charge.

QUAKER MEETING-HOUSE.

A long time having elapsed since this plain building (having merely the appearance of a private dwelling, with a small burying-ground in front) has been used as a place of worship, the Society of Friends have granted the use of it for a lecture-room to the School of Arts, lately established. It is situated directly behind the parish church. *Vide* SCHOOL OF ARTS.

SCHOOLS.

Kelso is not deficient in seminaries, wherein the different branches of education are taught with much ability, and at a moderate expense. The public schools are the Latin and English, which are under the same roof, in a house near to the church, having a large plot of ground allotted for the amusement of the pupils. There are, besides, several private schools, which are well attended.

In the principal school, which is under the immediate superintendance of the rector, and occupies the upper part of the house, the pupils are instructed in the Latin, Greek, and French languages. The rector, Mr Gillies, is a gentleman of superior ability. He receives a pretty liberal salary, together with a house adjoining to the school, suitable for the accommodation of a number of boarders.

In the English school, which is in the lower part of the building, the principles of English grammar, writing, and arithmetic, are taught. The teacher, with but an indifferent salary, has no dwelling-house allowed him; but his classes being generally well attended, in some measure compensates for any deficiency in these respects. He has, besides, an allowance for teaching orphans, payable from the interest of legacies bequeathed for this purpose by two benevolent individuals of the names of Samson and Douglas.

There are also several schools for female education ; and two Sunday-evening schools, where children are instructed in the principles of religious education, which have been of infinite service to the young of the poorer classes.

A society, called the "Kelso Friendly School Society," was instituted here in the year 1816, for providing instruction to orphans and the children of indigent parents, which is supported by weekly payments of *one penny* by the members, and by donations and occasional collections in the different places of worship in the town.

KELSO BIBLE SOCIETY.

This Society was formed in the year 1813, in aid of the Parent Society, for circulating the Scriptures among the poor at home, and sending them to those countries destitute of this inestimable treasure. Its annual contributions to the general fund have been very liberal.

LIBRARIES.

The inhabitants of Kelso were among the first in Scotland to adopt the plan of establishing Subscription Libraries, by which, at a comparatively trifling expense, the members are supplied with the works of our best authors, and the various periodical publica-

tions of the day. Of these there are now three established in this town.

“Kelso Library,” which is the oldest and most extensive, occupies a handsome building, situated upon the Chalk-heugh, and commanding a most beautiful and attractive prospect. This library, which was opened on the 9th of September, 1795, consists of a collection of the most esteemed English authors, ancient as well as modern; and from the principles of this establishment, and the manner in which it is conducted, there is every prospect that, in a very few years, it will become a most valuable repository of English literature. It is open three days in the week, viz. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for the purpose of giving out books to the subscribers.

The librarian, besides a salary, has a very commodious dwelling-house in the lower part of the building, and a large garden in front of it.

The other libraries, though inferior in extent, possess a considerable number of valuable books in the various branches of literature.

SCHOOL OF ARTS.

An institution under this denomination, similar to those in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many of the principal towns in the United Kingdom, has lately been established by voluntary subscription at Kelso. Like

them, it has for its object the instruction of the mechanic, and others, in the philosophical principles of their different arts, upon a cheap and economical plan ; and, from the success it has already met with, promises to be of the utmost advantage to those for whose benefit it is intended, and who, otherwise, were inadequate to the means of obtaining the knowledge here imparted to them.

On the 11th of February last this institution was opened by the Rev. Mr Gray, minister of Eckford, who, in the most handsome manner, offered to deliver a series of lectures on chemistry. Dr Douglas of Kelso, with equal liberality, has undertaken the superintendance of a mathematical class ; and, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be accomplished, it is proposed to have a regular and scientific lecturer on mechanics.

The donations already received by this institution have been liberal, and the annual subscriptions considerable. The fee paid by mechanics for the session is five shillings, which admits them to all the lectures ; and a library is now forming for their use, consisting principally of books in the various departments of science connected with the views of the institution. The number of names entered as regular pupils amounts to upwards of seventy.

To the Society of Friends the managers are greatly indebted for the use of their meeting-house (which, a number of years past, had never been used for a place of

worship) as a lecture-room, for which purpose it is now fitted up.

NEWSPAPERS.

There are two newspapers printed in Kelso, which have an extensive circulation in Roxburgh, and the neighbouring counties on the Borders. The Kelso Mail, which commenced in 1797, is published twice in the week, viz. on Mondays and Thursdays; and the Kelso Weekly Journal, which made its first appearance in 1809, is printed every Friday. Another paper, entitled, The Border Courier, was attempted in the year 1823, but from want of support, it was not of long standing.

DISPENSARY.

The Dispensary of Kelso was founded in the year 1789, and is wholly supported by voluntary subscription. It stands in a very healthy and airy situation near the head of the town, and at a short distance from the Tweed, and is now capable of accommodating a considerable number of patients, who receive advice and medicine *gratis*, and to whom nothing is denied that may contribute to the alleviation of their sufferings.

To the late Honourable Mrs Baillie of Jerviswood, is due the merit of having been the projector of this

institution, and her benevolence and active exertions mainly contributed to the support of this establishment, which has been productive of incalculable benefit to the suffering poor. No sooner had this lady made known her plan, than she received the cordial co-operation of the humane and opulent in the town and neighbourhood, who in a very short time had the satisfaction of seeing their laudable design carried into effect.

Several very considerable additions were made to the Dispensary in 1818, and cold and warm baths were, among other conveniences, then supplied.

BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

In Kelso, as in other towns, the trades, by their charters, constituted into several persons the power of making laws for the better securing of their privileges, and the government of their members, and were allowed to institute a fund applicable to these, or any other purposes beneficial to the corporation. The consequence was, that when this fund had accumulated to a certain amount, a portion of it was appropriated to the relief of decayed members, and to the support of the widows of those who had contributed to this fund. This was the origin of "Benefit Societies," which for many ages only existed in these corporations.

The beneficial effects resulting from such institutions

were at length so apparent, that particular classes of individuals following the same occupation, (though not incorporated,) formed societies among themselves for the purpose of contributing to the relief of the aged and the widow among them; and, in the course of time, these societies were thrown open to the admission of others not at all connected with these professions, thus extending their sphere of usefulness, and enabling many unconnected with any trade, to lay up a fund for their support, when, through sickness or old age, they should be rendered incapable of earning their daily bread.

That the institution of benefit societies has been of great importance, and productive of much real and general advantage, every one must allow; and the success attending them has been such as fully to meet the expectations of their instigators and promoters, who merit the commendation of both rich and poor.

Kelso, in common with many other towns, has participated in the advantage derived from the establishment of such societies, for many years past. Of these we shall now attempt to give a short sketch, according to the seniority of their institution; and the first of which we have any account, is

THE WHIPMAN SOCIETY,

which is composed of the whipmen and ploughmen of the town and neighbourhood, and is of very long standing; but the book containing an account of its first institution being lost, we are unable to ascertain the exact time of its commencement. It is supposed, how-

ever, to have existed upwards of 150 years. Neither have we been able to obtain a copy of its rules. This society was once very numerous, but has fallen off considerably within these some years past; its revival, however, is again confidently expected. Like societies of the same denomination in other country towns, it had an annual parade of the members, with races and other sports.*

* The following account of this show is taken from Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. II. p. 397 :—

“ There is a society, or brotherhood, in the town of Kelso, which consists of farmers' servants, ploughmen, husbandmen, or whipmen, who hold a meeting once a-year for the purpose of merriment and diverting themselves; being all finely dressed out in their best clothes, and adorned with great bunches of beautiful ribbands, which hang down over their shoulders like so many streamers. By the beating of a drum they repair to the Market-place, well mounted upon fine horses, armed with large clubs and great wooden hammers, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when they proceed to a common field (the Berry Moss) about half a mile from the town, attended all the way with music and an undisciplined rabble of men, women, and children, for the purpose of viewing the merriment of a cat in a barrel, which is highly esteemed by many for excellent sport. The Generalissimo of this Regiment of Whipmen, who has the honourable style and title of *My Lord*, being arrived with the brotherhood at the place of rendezvous, the music playing, the drum beating, and their flag waving in the air, the poor timorous cat is put into a barrel partly stuffed with soot, and then hung up between two high poles, upon a cross-beam, below which they ride in succession, one after another, besieging poor puss with their large clubs and wooden hammers. The barrel, after many a frantic blow, being broken, the wretched animal makes her reluctant appearance amidst a great concourse of spectators, who seem to enjoy much pleasure at the poor animal's shocking figure, and terminate her life and misery by barbarous cruelty.

“ The cruel brotherhood having sacrificed this useful and domestic animal to the idol of cruelty, they next gallantly, and with great

Kelso United Weavers' Society, and Others, instituted July 11, 1766, is in a very flourishing condition, and consists of nearly 200 members. The funds of this society are raised by quarterly payments, and a weekly subscription by the members for the support of the sick.

Kelso Friendly Society of Gardeners, was established in the year 1777, by a number of gardeners, for the purpose of establishing a fund for the relief of themselves, their widows, and orphans; and, by their rules, others were admitted into the society, under certain restrictions and regulations. By their rules, no annuity is paid to widows or orphans unless the husband or father has contributed for ten years to the funds; and in case of his death before that time is completed, the widow or orphans have liberty to pay into the funds the remaining quarterly payments, when

heroism, proceed with their sport to the destruction of a poor simple goose, which is next hung up by the heels, like the worst of malefactors, with a convulsed breast, in the most pungent distress, and struggling for liberty; when this merciless and profligate society, marching in succession, one after another, each in his turn takes a barbarous pluck at the head, quite regardless of its misery. After the miserable creature has received many a rude twitch, the head is carried away."

The day's sport ended in clumsy races: the usual prizes were a riding and cart saddle; and frequently the company were amused by donkeys running for a small sum. The whole concluded with a dinner and ball, to which all the friends of the society were invited, and the evening generally ended in peace and harmony. The custom of the "cat and barrel" has long been given up, and it is very unlikely it will ever be revived.

they become entitled to the annuity, which is not fixed, but regulated according to the stock of the society. The widows enjoy their annuities till their death, the orphans till they are fourteen years of age. This society is divided into three classes, and the annuities are paid in proportion to the classes to which the members belonged.

Kelso Friendly Society of Cordwainers, was founded in August 1785, and is chiefly composed of the members of the craft. Its funds are very ample, and the allowance to the sick is liberal.

Kelso Friendly Society of Tradesmen, and Others, commenced in February, 1786, but does not appear to have ever succeeded; it is probable it will soon be relinquished.

Kelso Border Lodge of Gardeners, although yet in its infancy, having only commenced in 1821, has every prospect of soon being in a very flourishing state. By its regulations, the president must be an operative gardener.

Kelso St Crispin Society. This society was formed by the shoemakers, on the 25th of October, 1821, for mutual relief in sickness, and for defraying funeral expenses, &c.; and the allowance on both occasions are very liberal. The formation of this society on the anniversary of their patron, was celebrated by the coro-

nation of his representative, on which occasion there was a splendid procession, a public dinner, and a ball.*

FREE MASONS.

There are two lodges of free masons in Kelso, both holding their charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, viz.

St John's Lodge, of long standing, and The Kelso Lodge, constituted on the 5th of August, 1816.

BOWMEN OF THE BORDER.

The Society of the Bowmen of the Border is composed of the noblemen and gentlemen residing in this quarter, or connected with the Borders, and was instituted in the year 1788, by a diploma from the Royal Company of Archers of Scotland. The number of the

* The processions on the anniversary of this *august* monarch, which used to be pretty frequent in Kelso, afforded much amusement to the inhabitants; but a great drawback was experienced in the difficulty of obtaining a band of music, which could not always be procured either on these or similar occasions. To remedy this inconvenience, the St Crispin Society resolved to have a band of their own; and having raised a subscription among themselves, they carried their resolution into effect, and have now a band consisting of several musicians, all tolerable proficient on their several instruments, composing it. This band was formed in the year 1822; and, since its institution, has been generally called to perform at all the public processions and entertainments in the town.

members is restricted to *eighty*, under the command of a first and second captain. It meets on the 10th of January, the first Thursdays in May, July, August, September, October, and November, and on the king's birth-day, every year.

A society, denominated "The Thistle Club," was formed here on the 15th of August, 1823, the anniversary of the King's visit to Scotland, whose primary object is to commemorate that event.

There is also a Cricket Club, which meets once a fortnight during the summer; and likewise a Skating Club.

RACES.

Racing, and the sports of the field, forming the principal amusement of the nobility and gentry in this neighbourhood, much of their attention is bestowed on the rearing of horses of this description, of the most reputed breeds. **KEILSO RACES** have, in consequence, been long and justly stamped with celebrity.

The old race-ground of Kelso, Caverton Edge, a most excellent and level course, three miles, or thereabouts, in circumference, was at the distance of five miles from the town, and, for a long time, had no appropriate place for the horses, which were generally put up at Softlaw, a small farm-house, about one mile from the course, with very indifferent stabling. This inconvenience, however, was remedied by the late John,

Duke of Roxburghe, who built on the ground an elegant stand for the accommodation of the company, the lower part of which contained stables for the running horses, where they were kept during the races.*

The late Duke, however, having, in the year 1818, planted this course with forest-trees, he removed the races to Blaicklaw, still farther distant from the town, which gave universal dissatisfaction to the inhabitants, and shortly after an attempt was made, by some malicious incendiaries, to destroy the whole of the planting at Caverton Edge with fire.

The Duke, not perhaps aware of the great unpopularity of his removal of the course, till this base attempt was made, with that benevolent attention to the interest and convenience of the inhabitants which so strongly marked his character, speedily determined to remedy the error he had committed; and having selected a spot, preferable in every respect to either of the former courses, measures were instantly adopted for carrying the Duke's intention into effect.

The ground fixed upon by his Grace was the Berry-

* This structure, which was so highly prized at first, was soon discovered to be an intolerable nuisance to the surrounding country, for bands of gipsies, finding it to be a safe retreat, where they might carry on their midnight revels without the fear of molestation, assembled here from all quarters, and took full possession of it, and never scrupled to borrow a sheep, or some other kind of farm-stock, as often as their necessities or their luxury required. They soon, however, by their nightly depredations, became so great an annoyance to the farmers in the vicinity, that they petitioned the duke to cause the building to be taken down, who having granted their request, it was removed.

moss, a perfect level, and scarcely a mile distant from Kelso. The inhabitants, therefore, sensible of the benefits that would result to the town from this change, unanimously resolved that every individual should contribute his share of labour requisite for converting this waste into a proper race-ground with all possible expedition. Accordingly, it was agreed by the incorporated trades, that they should lend their assistance in the execution of this work, which they did by turns daily, till the whole was accomplished, when, in honour of the noble donor, it received the name of the Duke's Course.

On the 12th of July, 1822, the foundation-stone of a very handsome stand was laid, on which occasion there was a grand masonic procession. This stand is now finished, and being erected after the model of that at Doncaster, is considered one of the most elegant in the kingdom, although it is reckoned by some to be placed too near the course. The ground-flat of this stand consists of, first, an area, fifty-two feet in length, receding thirty-two feet on the east side, and twenty-five on the west, appropriated for weighing the riders, a store-house, &c. ; secondly, an inner room, twenty-six feet by twenty ; and thirdly, a back room thirteen feet by nine. The principal entrance is from the west. The ascent is by a hanging stair of fifty-one steps, which leads to the main hall, ladies' room, and balconies. The hall is a handsome apartment, thirty-two feet by twenty, and fourteen feet in height, lighted by seven windows, each eleven feet high. Off from this is the ladies'

room, thirteen feet by nine. These rooms open upon the principal balcony, which is of the same dimensions as the area below. It is fronted by a very fine railing, and supported by seven arches of rusticated ashlar work. Above, is another balcony, thirty-one feet by twenty, also fronted with a railing the same as that below. The south and west fronts are of polished ashlar work, with a portico to the stair on the west. The back part of the building is forty-five feet, and the front part, thirty-one feet in height.

The first races on this course took place in the year 1822, and afforded excellent sport. The races are held twice in the year, viz. in spring and autumn.

The Royal Caledonian Hunt meets occasionally at Kelso, the neighbourhood of which affords abundance of game for the chase. During the week they remain, as well as during the time of the regular races, the town presents a very gay appearance, from the numerous company that resort thither on these occasions. Brilliant assemblies are held almost every evening during both meetings.

From its situation, and the fineness of the ground, this course may be considered as not inferior to any in the kingdom, and is a great point of attraction to the fashionables, and others in this quarter, the races being always attended by a numerous and genteel concourse of spectators.

Kelso is not without other public amusements, which

afford frequent opportunities for the display of the beauty and fashion of our fair countrywomen ; and this is done to much advantage at the different assemblies, &c., which are given during the year, as well as at the theatrical exhibitions, which generally take place during a part of the summer season.

Mr Dubbs, of the Theatre-Royal, Edinburgh, as far as we have learned, was the first who introduced this polite amusement, by appearing with a respectable company of actors during the race-week in the year 1774 ; and, shortly after, a house in the Horse-market, built for the accommodation of the inhabitants when they could not obtain the Assembly-Room, at the Cross-Keys, for their balls or assemblies, was usually let to the manager, who fitted it up as a theatre on his occasional visits. But, to the French prisoners, who were here on parole during the late war, the inhabitants are indebted for having this place converted into a theatre, which they did at a very considerable expense, for their own amusement, performing in it occasionally, and distributing tickets of admission gratis ; and at their departure, as a mark of their gratitude for the polite attention and kind treatment they had experienced, left the whole standing, with all their scenery and decorations.

STAGE COACHES.

The communication between Kelso and the capitals of either kingdom is daily, and with other towns with

which it is more immediately connected, as frequent as is necessary for the purposes of business or convenience. The Tweedside and Eagle coaches leave Kelso every day in the week, alternately, for Edinburgh; the former on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; the latter on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, returning next day, with the exception of Sunday.

The Commercial Traveller, from Coldstream, passes through Kelso for Edinburgh, and leaves it on the same days as the Eagle does.

The Wellington, from Edinburgh to London, passes through every lawful day, about noon, and from London to Edinburgh, every day, about four p. m.

There is also a coach to Hawick and Jedburgh, and one to Berwick, three times every week.

In addition to the advantages already derived from the frequent communication to different places, the mail passes through Kelso on its way to London and Edinburgh. It commenced running in May last, and it is expected will prove to be of much benefit to the town. Kelso now enjoys more intercourse with England and Scotland than any other country town in this kingdom.

NEW BRIDGE.

The inconvenience occasioned by the loss of the old bridge, which was swept away on the 26th of October, 1797,* was so great, and so universally felt, that it was

* " On the evening of Friday last, October the 25th, we experien-

absolutely necessary to adopt instant measures for the erection of another, the only passage across the Tweed being effected by boats, a mode of conveyance not only tedious, but frequently attended with considerable danger, especially in the time of great floods, that are so

ced one of the most tremendous storms of rain and wind which we recollect to have ever witnessed in this part of the country. The storm began at six o'clock, and continued to rage during the night with constantly-increasing violence. On Saturday morning the atmosphere continued gloomy, and the rivers were every moment swelling. The Teviot overflowed the island formed below Maxwellheugh-mill by itself and the mill-dam, together with the public road from the new bridge to Kelso Bridge, as well as a considerable portion of the adjoining fields. The island in Tweed, at its confluence with the Teviot, was so deeply laid under water, that the trunks of the trees growing in it were half immersed; whilst an immense body of water, from both rivers, descended with great velocity towards Kelso Bridge, rose very high behind the piers of the arches, and overflowed the banks below on both sides, inundating the road and fields from the bridge to the bottom of Maxwellheugh-mill—forming altogether a spectacle truly sublime!

“ It was observed early in the morning, that the third and fourth arches had sunk a little below their usual level; from which it was concluded that the foundation had been completely undermined, and that, of consequence, these arches might every hour be expected to fall. Business and curiosity, however, induced a great number of people, most of whom had been warned of their danger, to pass the bridge on horseback and on foot. About twelve o'clock, a great number of persons belonging to the town, as well as many of the ladies and gentlemen connected with the Caledonian Hunt, assembled at the east end of the bridge, and on the adjoining ground, for the purpose of witnessing the event, which, from the evident sinking of the two arches, was every instant expected to take place. At the time two men were rash enough to pass the bridge on horseback. Many persons now made signals, and called loudly for the return of some foot passengers, whom curiosity had led to the opposite end of the bridge, and among whom were Colonel Baird of Newbyth, and Colonel Hamilton of Wishaw. They remained, however, apparently ig-

common here, and which last for several days. In such cases, no other alternative was left for those on urgent business, but to pursue their journey by the way of Coldstream, taking a circuit of eighteen miles, which not only occasioned much delay, but had, besides, many other disadvantages.

The noblemen and gentlemen of the county, in conjunction with the opulent of the town, having consult-

norant of their danger, till a young man, whose brother was among the number, rushed forward, almost to the middle of the bridge, exclaiming, "The bridge is falling!" His brother and another relative were the only two who ventured to return, while they felt the bridge shaking under their feet. The rest continued on the other side.

"In less than five minutes the two arches sunk very fast; a rent, which was formed at the bottom of the lower side of the pier which supported them, widened rapidly; and some large stones separated and tumbled from the top of the parapet into the river. In an instant the pier fell to pieces; the two arches sprang together, and their disjointed materials sunk almost wholly beneath the water in the twinkling of an eye. The foam ascended to a great height all around, and the water was dashed on either shore beyond its former limits for a considerable way downwards; whilst the agitated countenances of the anxious spectators greatly increased the awful solemnity of the scene. Fourteen persons, among whom were the two gentlemen already mentioned, and five young boys, now remained for three hours at the west end of the bridge; but were at length rescued from their disagreeable situation by the exertions of the people of Maxwellheugh. The active interest taken by several gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, previously to the accident, in behalf of the people whose curiosity overcame their sense of danger, was highly honourable to themselves, and has probably been the means of saving lives. Mr Monro Binning of Softlaw, in particular, exerted himself by rushing to the bridge, and loudly warning the people of the impending event, not many minutes before it happened. Providentially not a life was lost."—*Edinburgh Magazine*, 1797, vol. X. p. 467.

ed the most able engineers on the subject, fixed upon a place about fifty yards below the site of the old bridge; as a proper situation for the one to be erected ; and having disposed of as many shares as amounted to the value of the estimates, the contract was signed in the year 1800, with Mr Murray of Edinburgh, and Mr Lees of East Lothian, who engaged to execute the work, and which they completed in about three years.

This bridge is constructed according to the most approved plans, and, for elegance of workmanship, and beauty of design, it has perhaps not its equal in Scotland. It is formed after the new mode of bridge-building, with five arches of beautiful polished stone, supported by handsome columns and pilasters. A toll-bar was placed upon it when it was completed, to which foot-passengers were also required to contribute, in order to defray the expense of erecting it, and which was only to continue until this was accomplished ; but works of this description, when once established, appear to acquire, by every year's standing, a more solid footing ; the toll still remains, and at present lets for L.900 per annum, so that the revenues arising from this bridge are very considerable.

PRINCIPAL SEATS.

The natural beauty of the country bordering on the Tweed and Teviot, has long been pointed it out as a most delightful situation for the residence of the noble

and the affluent. Kelso is, in consequence, completely surrounded by the seats of noblemen and gentlemen, generally constructed in a superior style of elegance and grandeur, which give additional lustre to the rich and captivating scenery of the district, and to Kelso itself an advantage over almost every other country town in Scotland. We shall, therefore, proceed to notice the most remarkable in the neighbourhood.

FLEURS, the palace of the Duke of Roxburghe, is situated on the north bank of the Tweed, within a mile of Kelso, on a rising ground, with a beautiful lawn descending to the margin of the river in front, and lofty woods behind and on each side of it. This elegant structure was built in the year 1718, by Sir John Vanbrugh; and adjoining to it a handsome Conservatory was erected by the late Duke, James,* in which there is a most excellent collection of rare and valuable plants.

The old gardens, which are partly in the town, (a considerable portion of Roxburgh Street having been pulled down for the purpose of extending them,) being

* The town of Kelso suffered an almost irreparable loss on the death of the late Duke of Roxburghe. He was a nobleman possessing the most liberal and generous sentiments—kind, affable, and courteous; and his attention to the interests and prosperity of the town was unremitting. The present representative of this noble house being a minor, has it not in his power to render the same services, although the highest expectations are formed of his following the example of his much-esteemed and justly-regretted progenitor. The Duchess, his mother, is a lady of the most amiable and humane dispositions, but her sphere of benevolence is also naturally restricted.

found inconvenient on account of their distance from the house, others have been constructed nearer to it on the west side, formed on a grand scale, and laid out in the most tasteful manner.

At about the distance of four miles from Fleurs, on the same side of the Tweed, surrounded with fine old woods, is Makerstoun, the seat of the late Sir Henry Hay Makdougall, Bart., commanding a very beautiful prospect to the south.

To the north of Kelso, about five miles, and in the neighbourhood of the village of the same name, is Nenthorn, the residence of James Roy, Esq.; and a few miles farther north is Mellerstain, the beautiful seat of George Baillie, Esq., placed in a most delightful situation, and surrounded with numerous thriving plantations.

South-east from Mellerstain, and about three miles north of Kelso, is Stichel, the family mansion of Sir John Pringle, Bart., occupying a fine rising-ground, and commanding an extensive and picturesque view of the adjacent country; and about a mile nearer to Kelso is Newton-don, the residence of Sir Alexander Don, Bart., standing upon an eminence of southern exposure, having a rich and extensive prospect over all the country lying between it and the Cheviot Hills. Sir Alexander has lately made considerable improvements both on the house and grounds. The canal has also been much enlarged—forming altogether a beautiful and rich appearance.

On the east of Kelso the gentlemen's seats are numerous and handsome. On the road leading to Berwick by Swinton, are Paradise, Dr Stuart—Edenside, Captain Tait—Woodside, Lady Diana Scott, mother to the Laird of Harden, a lady remarkable for her piety and benevolence—Broomlands, James Innes, Esq., factor to the Duke of Roxburghe—and Sydenham, Admiral Dixon. On the road to Berwick, by Cornhill, are Tweedbank, Mrs Nisbet—Rosebank, General Elliot—and Henderside Park, George Waldie, Esq. On the south side of the Tweed, and opposite to Rosebank, is Wooden, Mr Walker, remarkable for a beautiful waterfall called Wooden-lin, in a very retired and romantic situation.

Opposite to Kelso, on the south side of the river, is Pinnacle-Hill, the property of Miss Elliot, built on the top of a lofty precipitous eminence, from which it derives its name, with woods leading to the water's edge. The view from it, as has already been observed, is delightful. Considerable improvements have, within these few years, been made on the house, by building a new bow-front, and making other material alterations; a handsome lodge has also been erected at the entrance, and the grounds have been laid out with great taste.

Springwood Park, the seat of Sir John Scott Douglas, Bart., is delightfully situated on the rising-ground opposite to the ruins of Roxburgh Castle, and close by the bridge over the Teviot. The present proprietor

has of late added greatly to the appearance of his mansion, by opening a communication to it from the south end of the bridge of Kelso, which is conducted along an elegant archway, with a handsome lodge at the entrance. The avenue has also been laid out very tastefully, and when the trees arrive at maturity, the beauty of the scenery will be highly increased, and add much to the appearance of the surrounding country. Sir John has also beautified the other entrances to Springwood Park, and built handsome lodges at the different gates.

Ednam-House, the beautiful seat of John Robertson, Esq. stands in immediate proximity to the town, on the banks of the Tweed, closely adjoining to the English chapel. The house is an elegant modern building, and the grounds are laid out with much taste—the whole forming a great addition to the beauty of Kelso.

ABBEY.

DAVID, who, during the reign of his brother Alexander, was known by the title of Earl of Huntingdon, evinced, at a very early age, an uncommon piety and zeal for the church, which he manifested during his whole future life by a strict attention to its rites, and by the erection of numerous monasteries, which he endowed with immense revenues in lands, grain, and money.*

* The first introduction of monastic orders in Scotland, was long antecedent to the reign of David I., and everything recorded of the monks of those times, warrants us in believing that they were the only depositories of learning and the arts; and that the corrupt practices for which this class became afterwards so notorious, were in a great measure unknown among them in those days, although it is abundantly evident, the superstitions they practised among their votaries, even at this time, were grossly repugnant to common sense.

By means, however, of these superstitions, they obtained a complete and uncontrolled ascendancy over, not only the weak and unenlightened, but even over the more intelligent and better informed; and possessed of this power, which they deemed unassailable, they exercised it for many ages with domineering insolence and cruel rapacity. In consequence, their conduct became less guarded, and, by degrees, they arrived at an unparalleled height of open profligacy, and a total disregard of common decency.

That the Church of Rome has ever been indebted to ignorance and superstition for its chief and only support, is an undeniable fact; but that, in this enlightened age, men who have the means afforded (which they did not possess in the days above referred to) of obtaining education, the only requisite for dispelling the illusion of monastic priestcraft, should remain the willing dupes of their tricks and mummery, is an astonishing though lamentable reality.

His possessions extending from east to west along the whole borders, he was naturally attached to this part of the kingdom ; and here the first ebullitions of his zeal were displayed, for we find that previous to his accession to the throne, he erected a monastery at Selkirk, about twenty miles distant from Kelso, for an order of monks which had become very celebrated in France. Having obtained a few members of this distinguished order, he brought them to his monastery at Selkirk, where they were regularly installed, agreeably to the institutions of the Romish church. These monks were denominated Tyronensian, from Tyrone, the name

Mr Ireland, in his history of " France for the last seven years," speaking of the bigotry and superstition of French priestcraft, mentions the following circumstance, as a melancholy proof of the state to which that country is reduced, and the public mind corrupted, by that class of bigotted zealots :—

" However, as a proof that I do not advance an assertion upon superficial grounds, I will appeal to all the population of Paris and its environs, whether, at the period upon which I am now speaking, (*vis.* 1820,) a priest, not seven miles from the capital, did not give his parishioners to understand, that a spot had been designated to him in a dream, where, under a stone, he would find deposited the *shirt* formerly worn by Jesus Christ ; a fact he repaired to identify, accompanied by his auditors, which, as may naturally be supposed, he took care should be verified ; and, in consequence, the precious relic was for several succeeding Sundays displayed in procession at the villages of Argenteuil, Courbevois, &c. &c. ; during one of which expositions, an old woman quaintly remarked, *that they must have had excellent thread in those days.* When such farces as these are tolerated, let us not be surprised that the baptising of bells should have taken place, nor wonder if we find renewed all the pantomimic illusions practised by monks in the earliest ages of barbarism and confiding ignorance."

of the town in France where this order was originally established by Bertrand D'Abbeville,* a disciple of Robert D'Arbrisson, the founder of the monks of the Fouterrand order.

* Bertrand d'Abbeville was born about the year 1046, in the jurisdiction of Abbeville, in the parish of Ponthieu, of honest parents, pious and eminent HOSPITALIERS; who, according to their ability, received the poor, and with much charity relieved their necessities. They were particularly careful in training up Bertrand in the paths of virtue, and bestowed on him a liberal education, in which he soon made rapid progress. From his earliest infancy he manifested so strong a partiality for a religious life, that he even wished to imitate the monks in their dress. This exposed him to the laughter and derision of his companions; but he withstood all their railleries; and, on reaching his twentieth year, he, in company with three others, who expressed the same desire, left his native place, and went to Poitou in order to retire into a monastery where strictness and regularity were observed.

They remained at Poitiers for some time, to make themselves acquainted with the ceremonies that were regularly practised in the monasteries of that province. At the age of thirty, Bertrand was made prior of the monastery of St Savin, about twelve leagues from Poitiers, upon the Gartemle. And here, from his zeal, mildness, and humility, and his unremitting attention to their comforts, he soon became a great favourite with the monks. So much so, that on the death of the abbot he was earnestly solicited to fill his place; but his modesty inducing him to decline this high office, he retired into Maine, for the purpose of concealment, till another abbot had been elected.

He was very soon after this chosen abbot of St Cyprien, and went to rejoin Robert d'Arbrisaël, whom he accompanied in his apostolic missions. He afterwards went to Rome, to defend the rights of his monastery of St Cyprien, when he obtained what he demanded; and refused the dignity of cardinal, which was offered him by Pope Paschal the Second.

Bertrand being desirous of returning to his former retirement in the Perche, he was dissuaded from this by the mother of the Count

Bertrand, the founder of the Tyronensian order, is represented as a person of great reputation and ability, endowed with superior talents, and possessing high accomplishments, an ardent admirer of the fine arts, which he patronized and encouraged to the utmost of his power. And as this power did not extend beyond the jurisdiction of his monastery, he made it an invariable rule that no one should be admitted a member of his society who was not thoroughly instructed in some branch of science or of art; and this, as well to banish idleness (the general source of all vice) from their community, as to enable them, should occasion require, to procure for themselves the necessaries of life, which, at their first institution, they did not possess in superfluous abundance.

de Routron, who prevailed upon her son to grant to him and his monks a settlement in the wood of Tyrone. Here he laid the foundation of a monastery, which gave name to the monks of this order. It was at first built of wood. Yres of Chartres befriended this establishment very much; and mass was performed there for the first time by Bertrand, on the Easter-day following.

The fame of Bertrand spread far and near, and the order of which he was the founder was adopted and introduced into many parts of the world. Thirteen of his monks were brought over to England by King Henry I. David, King of Scotland, impressed by reports of his piety, undertook a journey to France in order to see him, but before he reached Tyrone he had died. He, however, brought with him twelve monks belonging to the order, and an abbot.

According to Souchet, Bertrand died in the year 1116, but Henschenius says, that this event did not take place till the year following. So great an example had this pious man shown while in life, that the number of the monasteries of this order increased considerably even after his death.—*Hist. des Ordres Monast.* tom. VI.

In consequence of his strict adherence to this regulation, there were found in this order artists and mechanics of every description, such as painters, sculptors, joiners, lock-smiths, masons, vine-dressers, labourers, &c. ; all which were subject to the superior, and their earnings were placed into a common stock for the general maintenance of the body.

By the rules of this society, the strictest poverty was enjoined ; and, indeed, at its first commencement, they barely possessed the merest necessaries of life. Frequently they were so much reduced as to be obliged to divide a pound of bread between two, and not unfrequently among four, of the monks ; and there were some days in which they were even destitute of this article of food, and under the necessity of subsisting on herbs and roots.

They were also debarred the use of wine, and the austerities they voluntarily subjected themselves to, appear scarcely credible. Notwithstanding the severity of their rules, applications for admission into this society increased so rapidly, that in less than three years, Bertrand had under his control not less than 500 monks. The dress first assumed by this order was *ash-coloured grey*, but it was afterwards changed for *black*. Their original institution was in the year 1109, when Bertrand founded the monastery at Tyrone.

Difference of opinion exists as to the exact period when the portion of this community of monks brought from France by David, arrived at Selkirk. Fordun

places their arrival in 1109, while Simon of Durham states it to have happened in 1113, and adds, that they remained there *fifteen years*. Fordun, however, appears in this instance to be the more exact historian; for, had they come to Selkirk in 1113, and remained there fifteen years, according to Simeon of Durham, no interval could have elapsed between their removal from Selkirk, and their settlement at Kelso. Now, we are expressly informed, that David, on his accession to the throne in 1124, at the suggestion of his pious courtiers, and by the advice of John, Bishop of Glasgow, “built a religious house at Roxburgh, and had the monks brought from Selkirk to that place.” And it is certainly very probable that David, from his partiality to the monks he had himself introduced into the kingdom, would readily adopt this advice, as, by this transference, he would have them nearer to his person, and more under his own observation.

Roxburgh, at this time the chief residence of the monarch, could not, as may well be supposed, be a very suitable abode for men of such recluse and austere habits. The hurry and bustle of camps, and the din of arms, did but ill accord with the privacy and seclusion to which they had devoted themselves; and David, no doubt, soon aware of this, perceived the necessity of removing them to a more retired situation, where, free from disturbance, from the noise of war, they might peaceably and uninterruptedly perform the sacred duties of their religion.

No place appeared more eligible for this purpose than Kelso; and here David caused a splendid monastery to be erected, on which neither pains nor expense were spared to complete the elegance of the structure, and the convenience of the building.

This abbey was finished in the year 1128, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist; and on the second day of May in the same year, the monks were removed from Roxburgh and settled at Kelso.

This monastery was richly endowed by the royal founder; and the gifts he made to it were afterwards confirmed to the church by Pope Innocent II., who died fifteen years after the erection of this building. From the liberality of David and his successors, and the donations of other pious individuals, the revenue of this abbey became immense.

David, high in favour with the Pontifical See, was anxious that some particular mark of distinction might be conferred by the Pope on this abbey, and he had the satisfaction of seeing this wish realised; for, shortly after the death of Innocent II., his successor, Alexander III., issued a bull, as appears from the chartulary of Kelso,* granting permission to the Abbot to wear a mitre and pontifical robes, and allowing him to be admitted at the meetings of all general councils.

Pope Innocent III. granted still greater privileges

* This chartulary is deposited in the Advocates' Library.

to this monastery. He freed the Abbot from the control of all Episcopal jurisdiction whatsoever ; and he also wrote two letters in favour of this abbey, the one to the High Church at Kelso, to prevent its ecclesiastical endowments from being appropriated to any other purposes than those for which they were originally designed ; and the other to the churches and other ecclesiastical establishments throughout the kingdoms of Scotland, enjoining them to refrain from all injury to the monastery of Kelso.

Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, also manifested his liberality to the monks of Kelso, who were then included in his diocese, but afterwards transferred to the see of Glasgow, by placing them in that independent situation that they might be ordained, and take the sacraments of the church from whatever bishop in Scotland or Cumbria they should choose.

DESCRIPTION.

The Abbey of Kelso is constructed in a form quite different from any other abbey either in Scotland or in England, being in the shape of a Greek cross. The architecture is Saxon, or early Norman, with the exception of four magnificent central arches, which are decidedly Gothic, and is a beautiful specimen of this particular style, being regular and uniform in its structure. This monastery, like most others in the kingdom, suffered much from the fury of the Reformers

in 1569, when many of its most beautiful ornaments were defaced, and a great part of the building destroyed.*

It is rather singular that this building should differ so much in appearance from either the Abbey of Jedburgh or of Melrose, which were erected by the same monarch, and within a few years of each other. The ruins of this abbey are, however, in such a state of preservation, as to give to the spectator a tolerably correct idea of the original magnificence of the building. The nave and quire are wholly demolished; the north and south aisles remain, and are each nearly twenty paces in length. False circular arches, intersecting each other, ornament the walls round about. The ruins of the eastern end present part of a fine open gallery: the pillars are clustered, and the arches circular. Two sides of the central tower are still standing, to the height of about seventy feet, but they must have been originally much higher. There is an uniformity in the north and south ends, each bearing two round towers, the

* It is much to be regretted, that so many fine buildings and noble edifices, of rich architecture, should have been destroyed at this time. Zeal for the reformed religion overpowered reason, and led the Reformers to the commission of acts of violence which, under any other pretence, would have been unpardonable. When we consider, however, the melancholy state of degradation to which this country was reduced, and the persecutions carried on by the superstitious and bigotted Church of Rome, we feel inclined to palliate these rash acts, presuming they were committed from the idea, that when they were demolishing the churches, they were at the same time destroying the religious system of the Roman Catholics.

centres of which sharpen towards the roof. The great door-way is formed by a circular arch, with several members falling in the rear of each other, and supported on fine pilasters.*

It is not certain when this abbey was first used as a parish church after the Reformation, but the record informs us that it was repaired for the purpose in the year 1648; and that it is very little more than half a century since, on account of its dangerous state, public worship was discontinued in it.†

The buildings of the abbey must at one time have occupied a very considerable space of ground, as not many years ago they extended as far east as the present parish school, and, from appearance, they must originally have reached a considerable way towards

* Mr Gillespie, in his report on the repairs of the abbey in 1822, states, "that from the remote antiquity of the abbey, and the style of its architecture, it stands high on the list of those ecclesiastical buildings in this country which form a dictionary of sciences to the artists of the present day."

† In the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, we find the following prediction of Thomas the Rhymer: "Another memorable prophecy bore, that the old kirk at Kelso, constructed out of the ruins of the abbey, should fall when 'at the fullest.' At a very crowded sermon, about thirty years ago, a piece of lime fell from the roof of the church. The alarm for the fulfilment of the words of the seer, became universal; and happy were they who were nearest the door of the predestined edifice. The church was in consequence deserted, and has never since had an opportunity of tumbling upon a full congregation. I hope, for the sake of a beautiful specimen of Saxon-Gothic architecture, that the accomplishment of this prophecy is far distant."—*Minstrelsy*, vol. II. p. 275, edit. 1802.

the banks of the Tweed, near which it is situated. In the three upper windows were hung the same number of bells, which are now removed; and when the old town-house was taken down, the clock was put up in another window of this building, where it remained for several years; but is now also removed, and placed on the front of the new town-house, lately erected.

The ruins of the abbey were, till lately, greatly disfigured by several modern additions; but of these, part were removed by order of the late Duke William, in 1805, and the remainder were taken down by the last Duke, James, in 1816, by which the ruins were restored to their original simplicity. By the removal of these excrescences, the noble transept, together with several windows and side-arches, which were by them hid, are now restored to view.

In consequence, however, of an apprehension that the ruins of this beautiful abbey would soon fall into a greater state of decay, a meeting of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county was held on the 27th day of January, 1823, to concert the measures necessary in order to prevent this unfortunate occurrence. The following report from Mr Gillespie, architect, Edinburgh, was presented, and read to the meeting:—

“ 1st, That it appears to him, from minute inspection, that unless a very speedy remedy be applied, a large portion of the building is in danger of falling to the ground; and that the bells should be immediately

taken down, as he is satisfied they have been the cause of much injury to the building.*

“ 2d, That as the greatest injury the building in general has sustained, appears to arise from water penetrating through the summit, and passing to the heart of the walls, all the loose stones should be fixed, the rents and crevices on the top carefully pinned and filled up, and then a coat of Roman cement, one inch in thickness, should be applied for the protection of the whole upper part of the abbey.

“ 3d, That many of the arches, and other parts of the building, which are in a very crazy state, should be strengthened; and that other repairs, which it is impossible fully to specify in writing, should be executed; and that the commencement of these necessary repairs should not be deferred longer than the month of April next.

“ In this report, and also at the preliminary meeting of gentlemen held on this business, on the 6th of January last, Mr Gillespie, in the most handsome manner, offered his gratuitous services in personally superintending and directing the repair. The report concludes with stating, as Mr Gillespie’s opinion, that if

* “ This report having been laid before, and partly considered by, a meeting of heritors of Kelso, held on the 28th day of November, 1822, the bells were, by unanimous agreement, ordered to be taken down, and were very skilfully removed from the belfry on the north front of the abbey, under the direction of Mr W. Elliot, architect, Kelso.”

his directions be faithfully carried into execution, our venerable abbey will be preserved for another century.

“The meeting proceeded to deliberate on the report, and having formerly ascertained from Mr Gillespie, that the probable expense of these repairs would not exceed L.500 sterling, resolved, that a voluntary subscription should be forthwith entered into for their accomplishment; and for managing said subscription, and conducting the business, a committee be appointed.”

A subscription was immediately entered into for defraying the expense of the repairs. The whole building has been run with cement, which will preserve it as an ornament to the town for a great series of years. A handsome rail now surrounds it, which will tend greatly to the preservation of this ancient structure.

The value of the endowments bestowed at different periods upon this abbey, and which belonged to it at the time of the Reformation, will appear from the following list of the churches annexed to it, viz. Selkirk, Roxburgh, Innerlethan, Molle, Sprouston, Hume, Lambden, Greenlaw, Symprink, Keith, Makerston, Maxwell, and Gordon, with some others, with their tithes, and also the schools of Roxburgh. And the revenue derived from these was very great, amounting at the same period to L.2501, 16s. 5d. in money, with 9 chaldrons of wheat, 52 chaldrons 6 bolls and 2 firlots of bear, 92 chaldrons 12 bolls 3 firlots and 1 peck of meal, 1 chaldron and 3 bolls of oats, 1 tidder of hay.

and 1 pound of pepper. The convent of Lesmahago, in Clydesdale, also belonged to this abbey, being a cell of Tironersian monks, founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Its revenues amounted to L.1214, 4s. 6d. in money, with 15 chaldrons 8 bolls 1 firiot and 2 pecks of bear, 41 chaldrons 8 bolls and 3 firlots of meal, and 3 bolls of oats.

From the first foundation of this monastery till the reign of James V., every succeeding monarch vied with his predecessor in munificence towards it, so that its possessions were immense; and the reputation of the monks for sanctity and purity of manners procured for them grants and bequests from private individuals to an extent almost passing belief, so that the revenues of this abbey amounted to not less than 10,000 merks of annual income.

Besides the monastery at Lesmahago, with its dependencies, there belonged to it 34 parish churches, several manors, a vast number of lands, granges, farms, mills, breweries, fishings, salt works, &c. in the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, Dumfries, Ayr, Edinburgh, and Berwick; and even in the distant county of Aberdeen it possessed the church of Culter. By these grants and bestowments, the abbots and convent of Kelso were in possession of a revenue exceeding in value the income of all the bishops in Scotland.

The abbots of this monastery, besides, held a distinguished rank in the kingdom, having the precedence of all the other ecclesiastics on the rolls of Parliament;

the Abbot of Kelso being the first on the list, and next to him the Abbot of Melrose.

The Abbots of Kelso were likewise frequently employed on embassies ; and their names appear to many of the truces concluded with England, as commissioners specially appointed for these negotiations.

King David II., we learn from Robertson's Index, granted to this abbey the privilege of a free market, and also bestowed upon it all the *forfaultries* of all rebels, &c., within the town and county of Berwick ; and, in consequence of the damage it sustained from the frequent incursions of the English, he gave to the monks liberty to cut, from the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, the wood necessary for the repair of these injuries.

King David II. also erected Kelso, Bolden, and Re-verden, into a regality, the superiority of which he vested in the abbot and convention of the monastery, who retained it till the Reformation.

HISTORY.

The Abbey of Kelso being finished in the year 1128, King David I. brought the monks who were to possess it thither from Roxburgh, on the 2d day of May, the same year ; and in consequence of the king's residence in the vicinity, the abbot was appointed his chaplain.

Henry, only son to David, and heir-apparent to the throne, a prince esteemed and beloved for his many

virtues and excellent qualities, died at Roxburgh in the year 1152, and his body was interred in Kelso Abbey with great funeral pomp. His death happened about the middle of June.

A dispute having arisen in the year 1202, between the monks of Kelso and Melrose, respecting the division of some lands to which both laid claim, the Pope's legate, John of Salerno, was appointed umpire between them; but, after spending a considerable time in investigating the matter, and receiving large presents of gold, silver, horses, &c., from both parties, he departed the kingdom, leaving the dispute undetermined.

The above-mentioned dispute, which related to the division of the lands between Mole and Clifton, being still undecided, both parties agreed to leave it to the judgment of Pope Celestine, who, in the year 1208, enjoined King William, with a promise of the forgiveness of his sins, to undertake the adjustment of this weighty matter, commanding, at the same time, the abbots of both monasteries to abide by his decision. The king, in consequence, repaired to Melrose, where he summoned both parties to appear before him; and having minutely examined into the claims of both, he pronounced his decision with great solemnity, which was clearly defined, and particularly narrated in a charter executed by him this same year at Kelso.

In the year 1238, the Bishop of St Andrews, with others of the nobility, being sent to York to witness the solemnization of the marriage of Alexander III., to

Margaret, daughter to Henry III. of England, he was there taken ill of a fever, of which he died. His body was brought to Kelso, and interred with great solemnity in the Abbey Church there.

David of Bernham, lord chancellor of the kingdom, and bishop of St Andrews, a rapacious and wicked character, died at Narthanthira, in the year 1253, and his body, contrary to the protest and prohibition of the church of St Andrews, was interred at Kelso.

Edward I. of England having, in the year 1296, seized and confiscated to his own use all the lands, houses, and other property belonging to the ecclesiastics in Scotland, summoned a parliament to meet at Berwick, which was attended by a great number of all ranks from Scotland, who there renewed their fealty to him, and renounced all connexion with France; he then issued orders to all the sheriffs of the different counties to restore the whole property of the church. Letters of restitution were accordingly at this time granted to the Abbots of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose, for the restoration of all their property.

In consequence of an article in the treaty between Edward III. and King Robert Bruce, by which the rights of the church in either kingdom were declared inviolate, Edward, in the year 1328, issued orders for the restitution of all the lands and pensions which the Abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose, held in England, and which had been seized by his father during the late wars, and which were still possessed by Ed-

ward III. The Scottish king, at the same time, ordered restitution to the monasteries in England, of all property of the same denomination which they held in Scotland.

During the repeated wars upon the Borders, the Monastery of Kelso was subject to frequent dilapidations, and its inmates often reduced to great distress from scarcity of provisions, which the neighbourhood, from its being generally occupied by either the Scots or English army, could not supply. In the reign of Edward III., (when he nominally held the sovereignty over this kingdom,) permission was frequently granted to the abbot to send to England for the purpose of purchasing provisions. The following is a copy of a proclamation issued by him in the year 1368, giving them this liberty, and providing for the safety of those who should be employed in this service, and is addressed to the governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and to all other governors of castles, &c. :—

“ KNOW YE, that as in behalf of our beloved in Christ, the Abbot and Convention of Kelso, in Scotland, who are in our faith and peace—it is made known to us, that the said Abbacy, its lands, tenements, and possessions, as also those holding of them, are very much wasted, and almost annihilated, by various losses through the war, as also by various molestations, inquietudes, and other losses which they are daily visited with; for that reason, the Abbot and Convention, by themselves, or their servants, ought to have liberty to purchase in England provisions for their own support and that of their family, which they have frequently been prevented

from doing.—We, therefore, taking these premises into our consideration, and graciously wishing to regard their security in this matter, have given to the said Abbot and Convention liberty that they, by themselves or their servants, may seek for and purchase in England, or wherever they please, provisions for the support of themselves and their family, and to carry them to the said Abbey, at their own proper charge, without hindrance or contradiction of any sort, taking under our special protection and defence, and also into our safe and secure conducting, the said Abbot and Convention; also their said Abbacy, men, affairs, revenues, and all their possessions, within our realm, being either in England or Scotland; and also the servants of the said Abbot and Convention, on their coming into our kingdom of England to seek for or purchase provisions at the proper expense of the said Abbot and Convention, and of their servants and friends, in conducting the same to the Abbey.

“ We are unwilling that they should be molested in any manner, either in their persons, provisions, or anything else belonging to them, (provided they conduct themselves properly and faithfully towards us,) by us, our assistants, or any of our subjects, whosoever they may be, as is generally wont to be in other letters of safe conduct.”

In the year 1420, the Abbot of St Andrews disputed the right of precedency claimed by the Abbot of Kelso over all the other abbots of the kingdom, in consequence of the privileges conferred upon them by King David I., the Holy See, and others, the dignitaries of the church, and brought the question before Parliament, when it having undergone a full and elaborate discussion in presence of King James I., he decided in favour of the Abbots of St Andrews, assigning to them the precedency of all the abbots of the kingdom, on ac-

count of the Monastery of St Andrews being the first that had been erected in Scotland.

On the night following the fatal battle of Flodden, in the year 1513, the Abbey of Kelso was seized by one Carr, a friend or dependant of the Lord of Hume, who turned the abbot out of the monastery, and took possession of it.

In the year 1516, John, eldest son to Alexander, Earl of Huntley, died on his passage from France to Scotland, and his body was brought to Kelso and interred in the Abbey.

The English, in the year 1522, having taken possession of Kelso, reduced the vaults of the abbey, the houses adjoining, and the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, (in which some beautiful Episcopal seats, or stalls, were constructed,) to a heap of ruins. They also burnt all the cells and dormitories; and, what is still worse, they unroofed all the houses of the monastery, carrying off the lead with which they were covered; and, from the interruption to all kind of work arising from these repeated inroads, the walls fell into a state of decay, and for some time continued to fall down piece-meal. During the time the abbey continued in this state, the monks resorted to the adjoining villages, where they celebrated divine worship, and were reduced to a state of great poverty and want.

At an assembly of the nobles of the kingdom, held in the year 1537, much time was occupied in an inquiry as to the efficiency of the king's (James V.) revenue to

support him in that splendour which his exalted rank required ; and it being found inadequate, they came to the resolution to increase it, by additional grants of land to the crown ; and, to give him a still farther addition to his income, they bestowed upon his four illegitimate sons the rich Abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, Holyrood, and St Andrews, the revenues of which were to be paid to the king during his life, and appropriated to his use. " By this measure," says Lealey, " there came perhaps no less money into his coffers than did arise of his kingly inheritance ;" or, according to Maitland, " the revenues of these monasteries were little inferior to the revenues of the crown."

The abbey suffered greatly from the invasion of Scotland by an English army under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, in the year 1542, who wantonly set it on fire, and almost totally consumed it.

The same calamity befel the Abbey in the year 1545, when it was again set fire to by the English army under the command of the Earl of Hertford. At this time 300 men, who had obtained possession of it, defended it with great bravery and resolution for some time, but were at length forced to yield to an overpowering force, after a great proportion of them had been slain. The remaining few surrendered as prisoners.

James Steuart, illegitimate son of King James V., on whom his father, or rather the Convention of Nobles, had bestowed the Abbeys of Kelso and Melrose, having died in the year 1558, the queen-regent conferred these

benefices on the Cardinal Guyse, her brother ; but it does not appear that he was ever inducted into them.

Lesley mentions, the monks being expelled the monastery in the year 1560, it was cruelly plundered by the reformers. What they termed the heretical remains of the great altar, they consumed by flames, and destroyed all the sacred images.

About the 22d of August, 1566, William Kerr, Abbot of Kelso, was killed by a kinsman and relation of his own, the Laird of Cessford.

The year 1580 was famous for the destruction of almost all the monasteries in the kingdom ; and, in the number, that of Kelso, an ornament to the country, and the admiration of every beholder, fell a prey to their frenzied zeal. At this time the elegant and highly-finished Monasteries of Melrose and Dunfermline suffered the same fate.

ABBOTS.

When King David brought over the monks of the order of Tyrone, from France, and settled them at Selkirk, one of their number, named Ralph, was appointed abbot, who, on the death of Bertrand, the founder of the order, in 1115-6, was elected to succeed him, when another of the monks, named William, was appointed to this situation. Ralph dying soon after, this same William was appointed in his place, and was succeeded

as Abbot of Selkirk, by Herbert, who held this office when the monks were finally settled in the Monastery of Kelso, in the year 1128. This Herbert, the first Abbot of Kelso, was a man of great learning and talent, and filled the office of chamberlain of the kingdom in the reigns of Alexander I. and David I. In this capacity he appears as witness to the deed, or grant, made by the first of these monarchs to the Church of St Kentigern, of Glasgow, of the lands of Govan, which became afterwards an endowment for a prebend in that cathedral church. He also appears as witness to a charter granted by King David to the canons regular of the Priory of St Andrews, “*de Ecclesia de Linlithew, cum Capella et terras suas, tam infra Burgum, quam extra;*” and to the donation of this devout prince of the Church of Totham, “*Ecclesie Sancti Trinitatis de Loudon, pro salute animæ suæ, et pro anima Matildis Reginae, sororis suæ Matildes, Matildas uxoris suæ,*” &c. This eminent person was promoted to the Episcopal See of Glasgow, in 1147, to which he was consecrated by Pope Eugenius, on St Bartholomew’s day, and which he held till his death in 1164. He was succeeded as Abbot of Kelso, by

Ernold, or Arnold, who kept the situation till the year 1160, when he was elected to the Episcopal chair of St Andrews, where he was consecrated in the Old Church, with great pomp and splendour, by William, Bishop of Murray, legate of the Apostolic See, in presence of King Malcolm; the bishops, abbots, and nobi-

lity of the kingdom assisting in the ceremony. (Walter, Abbot of Melrose, had been previously elected to this see, but he declined it, on account of his weak state of health, and died shortly after.) This same Arnold was, in the following year, 1161, made legate in Scotland, but being soon after deprived of this office by Pope Alexander, who had appointed him to it, he seems to have been so deeply affected by this as to occasion his death, which happened in the year 1162. We find Ernold to have been a subscribing witness to a charter granted by King David in favour of the monks of the Isle of May, and to the donation of Rindolgros. On his promotion to the See of St Andrews, he, with King Malcolm, founded the Great Church there. Upon his removal from Kelso, he was succeeded by John, formerly a canon of the same monastery, who was elected on the evening of St Andrew's day, 1160; and, on the day of Epiphany next following, was consecrated in the Episcopal Church of Glasgow, by Herbert, bishop of that see. In the year 1165, he arrived from Rome, being mitred, and enjoyed his office till the year 1178, (or, according to some, 1180,) when he died. In the year 1176, a dispute arose between him and Walter, abbot of the Tyronensian order, respecting superiority, or, as the phrase may be literally rendered, "who should appear the greater;" but this dispute was undecided at his death. John appears as witness to a confirmation of several gifts made by King David to Dunfermline.

Father Hay, in his "Scotia Sacra," says, he is of opi-

nion that one Henry succeeded the above-mentioned John as abbot, as he finds his signature to the charter of the foundation of the Monastery of Aberbrothwick, executed by King William, at Selkirk, on the 25th day of February, 1178; and this is very probable, if the date (1176) which he assigns to the demise of John be correct; for, in the year 1180, we find that

Osbert, a prior of St Maud's, was made Abbot of Kelso, who, being an eloquent man, was sent, along with Jocelyn of Glasgow, and Ernold of Melrose, and other honourable men, to transact the business of the king and kingdom, where, through God's assistance, he cautiously and prudently executed his commission; and having obtained the absolution prayed for, he returned to Scotland.* By these ambassadors the Pope, Lucius III., sent William a golden rose, with his paternal benediction. Osbert died in the year 1203, and was succeeded by

Gaufried, prior of the same monastery. About this time, John, Prior of Kelso, was made Bishop of Aberdeen, who only enjoyed this dignity one year; and, a short time previous, Walter, Prior of Kelso, and Solo-

* King William, having incurred the displeasure of the Pope, (Clement III.,) by consecrating his chaplain Bishop of St Andrews, instead of Joannes Scotus, who had been appointed to that see by him, and having refused to comply with the order of the Pope to eject him and induct Joannes Scotus, he and his kingdom were excommunicated. It was to have this awful curse removed, and to obtain absolution for the offence committed against the Pope, now deceased, that this embassy was sent.

mon, Dean of Glasgow, were appointed assistants to Angelramus, Archdean of Glasgow, and chancellor to King Malcom IV., in the debate with Roger, Archbishop of York, at Norham, upon the question of his jurisdiction over the Scottish church.*

Lord Richard de Kane (or Caen) appears to have been next in succession to Gaufried. He was made abbot in the month of April, 1206, and died in the year 1208, being succeeded by

Henry, prior of the same house, who, in the month of July, in the same year, was, by order of the Lord the Pope, inducted into that office. He was called, along with the bishops, to attend a general council with respect to the affairs of Scotland, held at Rome in 1215. The business before the council being finished, he returned home, and died in the month of October, 1218; and to him succeeded, on the 14th of November following,

* Roger, Archbishop of York, an ambitious prelate, was desirous of gaining the supremacy over the Scottish church, and had in some measure obtained it, the Bishops of Glasgow and Whithorn having yielded obedience to his metropolitan see in the time of his predecessors. In order to enforce the subjection of the whole, he obtained, in an under-hand manner, from the Pope, the appointment of Legate in Scotland, and forthwith he repairs to Norham, and issues a summons for the Scots clergy to meet him there, to do him that homage which their predecessors had been accustomed to pay to his. This they refused, denying that the Church of Scotland had ever acknowledged the supremacy of the Church of England, but sent this deputa- tion to reason the matter with him. Not being able, however, to settle the dispute in this manner, it was referred to the Pope, who, to the disappointment and disgrace of Roger, declared the Church of Scotland to be independent of all supremacy whatever, the Holy See excepted.

Richard, prior of the same Abbey, during whose incumbency it appears that Pope Innocent III. wrote the two letters in favour of this monastery, mentioned in the description of the Abbey. Of the continuation of Richard in this office, or of the time of his death, no mention appears on record; but the next abbot in succession seems to have been

Herbert, who, in the year 1236, resigned his office on the day of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the most solemn manner, by placing his staff and mitre on the great altar, and thus taking leave of his pastoral charge. Ridpath, in his Border History, on the authority of Fordun, says, that "Otho, the papal legate, being at Melrose in the year 1237, obliged Herbert to resume his charge, which he had laid down without assigning any sufficient reason. We find, however, no further mention made of Herbert; and the next abbot appears to have been

Hugh, a monk of the same monastery, who died in the year 1248, and was succeeded by

Robert of Smalchame, also a monk of the same house. The next abbot we find mentioned is

Henry, who, in the year 1275, exchanged a mortal for an immortal life, and appears to have been succeeded by

Richard, who, in the year 1296, took the oath of fidelity to King Edward I. of England. The next abbot on record is

William, who, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Robert I, (1325,) is witness to several charters granted

by that monarch. Here a great chasm occurs in the succession of the abbots, for we find no mention of any who filled this situation till the year 1493, when

Robert, Abbot of Kelso, was appointed by the Estates of Parliament one of the auditors of causes and complaints. In this same year mention is made of one Henry, Prior of Kelso, an acquaintance of Politianus and Marcilius, whose writings are voluminous; and Jacobus de Kelso, Benedict. reformat. ord. Tyron. (a monk of the reformed order of Tyrone,) is mentioned by Dempster as one of the most celebrated writers of our nation, in the year 1475. He appears to have been a man of considerable talents and learning. He translated into Scottish rhyme the thirteen books of Rutilius on Rural Affairs; and wrote a panegyric of the Virgin, in Greek verse, to Lorenzi de Medici. The next abbot of whom we find mention made, is

Thomas, who, in the years 1517, and 1521, was a commissioner for concluding truces or treaties with England; and in the year 1526, he was appointed to deliver the ratifications of the peace concluded the previous year, to King Henry, or his commissioners, and to receive the ratification of the King of England. In the year 1517, Andrew Stuart, Commendatory of Kelso and Ferne, died. The next and last abbot on record is

James Steuart, natural son to King James V., who was appointed abbot in 1537, and died in 1558; and although on his death the office was bestowed on Cardinal Guise, yet he never entered upon the duties of it.

Soon after this period, the reformation having been so far successful that the Protestant religion was established in the kingdom, the immense property belonging to this monastery was confiscated to the crown ; and in the year 1594, it was parcelled out among the favourites of the king.

In the year 1587, we find Sir John Maitland of Thirlestone, Secretary to James VI., Commendator of Kelso Abbey, and in this capacity authorized to grant leases, feus, &c., of the lands belonging to this monastery, in consequence, as the deed bears, of the monks being all deceased. The following is a transcript of the Act of the Scottish Parliament, conferring this power upon him :—

*Act authorizand the Subscriptions of Commendataris allane,
that wantis Conventis.*

“ Forsamekle as the hail monkis of the Monasterie of the Abbay of Kelso ar deceissit, sua that presentlie thair is na convent thair of, quhairby the tennentis and takkismen of the said Abbay ar vncertane in quhat maner thai sall provide the securities anent the takkis, fewis, and rentallis, quhilk thai have tane, or may tak heirefter, of the said place and Abbay of Kelso: Thairfoir our Souerane Lord and thre Estaitts of this present Parliament, presentlie declairis Sir John Maitland of Thirlstane, knight, his hienas secretair, and present Commendatair of Kelso, to haif had full ryght in his persoun of setting of all fewis, takkis, and rentallis, sen his prouisioun thairto, and deceis of the saids monkis, and convent of landis and teyndis belonging to the said Abbay and patrimony thair of; and that the takkis and fewis sett be him sen the deceis of the saids monkis, is and sal be as valide and

sufficient vnder his subscripcioun and commoun seall of the said Abbay, as gif the samin had bene sett with consent of the convent, and subscriuit be thame. And likewayes declairis the said Commendatair to haue full richt, in tyme cuming, to sett takkis of the teyndis of the said Abbay, for schort space or lang; als frelie as gif the hail convent were sit on lyve, and the samin sett with thair consent, as onie vther abbot or convent may sett within this realme."*

* Acts of Parliament, vol. III. p. 454.

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS.

Notwithstanding that Kelso is considered the capital of the district, yet it is remarkably deficient in many things which appear to us absolutely necessary to give it that stamp of respectability so requisite in a town which is the resort of all the rank and fashion in the quarter wherein it is situated. We shall, however, notice only the following, in the hope, that by thus calling the attention of the inhabitants to what are obviously great defects, they will adopt measures to remedy them.

The appearance of the town, in our opinion, would be greatly improved, and the comfort of the foot passenger much increased, by pavements being laid on each side of the different streets, or, where the breadth is not sufficient to admit of this, to have one on the side most convenient for this purpose. This, we consider, should entail no expense on the town itself; for, were such a measure once proposed, we have no doubt that the different proprietors, sensible of the advantage that would accrue to their property by its adoption, would readily defray the expense (as is done in other towns) of laying it down along the whole front of their premises, and of keeping it in repair.

The appearance of a town is greatly improved by the number and elegance of its public buildings, and it

suffers in an equal proportion from a deficiency in this respect. Kelso has nothing of the kind to boast of, with the exception of the Town-house. The church, especially, instead of being an ornament, is rather the reverse; and it is much to be regretted that the heritors of the parish, when they agreed to the repairs lately made on this building, did not accede to the wishes of the late Duke of Roxburghe, who, at this time, generously offered to contribute a large sum, either to build a new church, or to add an elegant spire to the present edifice, in place of the "lantern," (as Hutchinson appropriately terms it,) which, instead of adding to the beauty, only gives additional deformity, to this humble structure, which, as it at present remains, reflects little credit on the public spirit of the town.

The general aspect of the town would be greatly improved, if any of the places of worship, which now stand in remote situations, were removed, and built on a neat plan in some of the principal streets, thus giving a relief to their present humble and naked appearance.

Kelso, although possessed of many advantages, can boast of no commercial business, and the want of some public works tends to make trade in general dull.

It is certainly surprising that the public spirit of the town and neighbourhood of Kelso is so frigid in regard to enterprize: No place is better calculated for manufactories of any kind, and few better supplied with water, and every convenience necessary for such purposes. In this speculative age, and when Kelso has

become such a thoroughfare of communication between the two kingdoms, it is wonderful that none have thought of establishing some commercial factory in this place, for which it is so well adapted. The benefits which such an establishment would derive from every local advantage, are too obvious to cause the smallest doubt as to ultimate success. And as undertakings of this nature are not only the means of affording employment to numerous classes of labourers, but also hold forth to the capitalist a sure and certain return for the money vested, it would, at the same time, give a stamp to the celebrity of the town ; and the beneficial effects of such an undertaking would be felt by a great proportion of the inhabitants.

We anticipate the hope, that some enterprising individual, profiting by these remarks, will make the experiment, and we have no doubt our expectations will be realized.

ROXBURGH.

THE history of Roxburgh, prior to the twelfth century, is enveloped in obscurity ; and it is not till the time of David I. that it makes any figure in the annals of our country, although it is evident, from the short notices by various historians concerning the town, that long previous to this period it was a place of considerable note.

Early in that century, however, the town and castle are mentioned as appanages belonging to this Prince, at that time Earl of Northumberland ; and the town appears to have been so flourishing, that it was not sufficiently large to contain the inhabitants, and, in consequence, a new town was built, but whether by him, or before his time, is quite uncertain.*

The Old Town, or city of Roxburgh, was situated over against Kelso, on a rising ground, at the west end of a fertile plain, which was formed into a peninsula by the confluence of the rivers Tweed and Teviot. The New Town was built a little to the eastward of the Old, and hence in history is called the Easter Roxburgh.†

In the time of King David, the town was fortified by a wall and ditch, and was even then famous for its

* *Ridpath*, p. 76. *Chalmers*, Vol. II. pp. 104, 106, 107.

† *Retours*, Vol. II. (267.)

schools, which were under the superintendance of the Abbot of Kelso. It was also one of the first royal burghs erected by that celebrated monarch, and was governed by a provost or alderman, and bailies ; and had a burgh or city seal. Here there was likewise a mint, for coins are still to be seen of William the Lion, struck there ; and also some of James II., which are supposed to have been executed at the time he laid siege to the Castle, in 1460.*

Near Old Roxburgh, on the Teviot side, there was a convent for monks of the Franciscan order, of which no remains are now to be seen ; but on its site stands a hamlet, which is called Friars. There was also in the neighbourhood Maison-Dieu, or hospital, for the reception of pilgrims, the diseased and indigent, to which King David was a liberal benefactor.

Roxburgh, it appears, enjoyed the privilege of a weekly market so early as the reign of King William, who granted to the servants of the monks of Kelso licence to sell fuel, victual, and other matters in that town (*i. e.* Kelso) on any day in the week except the day of the King's statute fair in Roxburgh.† It had

* In this year Roxburgh, in consequence of its Magistrates having sworn fealty to Edward III., was erased from the list of Scots burghs.—*See Ancient History.*

† Confirmation of King William to the church and monks of Kelso, viz.—

“ I also grant to the said church of St Mary of Kelso, and to the monks of the same place, that their vassals dwelling in Kelso, shall have liberty of selling every day of the week, the day appointed for

also the privilege of an annual fair at a very early period ; but when this was granted we are unable to ascertain. This fair was called St James's Fair, who appears to have been the patron saint of Roxburgh, to whom the church was dedicated in 1134 ; and, at present, this fair is held on the site of the Old Town, or, as some authors say, on the site of the church.

That Roxburgh was considered as a royal burgh of Scotland by the English kings, is evident from a charter of Edward III. granted in 1368, confirming to the burgesses of Roxburgh all the privileges bestowed upon them by the kings of Scotland ; and, in the year following, we find the same monarch directing the chamberlain of Berwick to pay, as a gift from him, 40 merks, towards the expense of repairing the bridge of Roxburgh.

Authors are by no means agreed as to the origin or etymology of the different names by which it has been

my fair or market at Roxburgh excepted, in that town, fuel, building materials, and corn ; and strangers shall have the same liberty of selling the same things to them. Also their vassals shall have liberty to expose for sale in their windows bread, ale, and meat ; and if they have brought fish in their own carts, or on horses, and wish to sell it, it shall also be lawful for them to expose the same for sale in their windows ; but a cart coming from another place, and passing in like manner, shall neither unload nor sell there, but they must come to my market ; and, on the day appointed for my fair or market at Roxburgh, it shall not be lawful for them to buy anything in that town, but they must come to my market or fair, and there, in common with my other burgesses, buy whatever they please."—*Chartulary of Kelso*, MS. p. 16.

known at different periods. Camden calls it Rosburgh, but mentions, that it had been called at a preceding period Marchidun, (a town on the Marches, or, as a learned author of modern date explains it, "the towering fortress.") Fordun designates it Marchmont, and Boethius, Marchmond,* the "Mount on the Marches." Holinshed calls it Marchen; and, in Baxter's Glossary of British Antiquities, we find the name of Marco Saxon, or Marcotaxon, given to it. Froissart writes it Roseburg; but the most ancient name by which it is known in public records, is Rokesburgh; for so it is called in the charter granted by David, when Earl of Northumberland, to Selkirk; and, in later charters granted by the same Prince, it is written Rokesbure.

ROXBURGH CASTLE.

A FEW fragments of the wall, which seems to have formed the exterior defence, are all that remain of this celebrated fortress. The extent of the interior cannot now be ascertained with precision, from the number of tall trees with which it is overgrown, whose wide-spreading roots are completely intermixed with the ruins. It was built on a lofty eminence rising about 40 feet perpendicular from the level of the plain, of an ob-

* A vestige of this name is still preserved in the "Marchmont Herald."

long figure, between the beautiful rivers Tweed and Teviot; the latter running with a rapid current on the south, immediately at the foot of the mount.

The elevation on which this Castle stood, was surrounded on the north and west sides by an outward rampart of earth, and a deep fosse or moat, (the remains of which are still visible,) which was filled with water from a dam formed in an oblique direction across the Tweed, and which again was discharged into the river upon the east. Some years ago the remains of a draw-bridge, which extended over this fosse, were removed. The Castle is said to have communicated with both rivers by means of subterraneous passages, at the extremity of which light bridges were thrown over them; and it is also thought, that there was a like communication with the Abbey, but this has never been properly ascertained.

History affords no data whereby to ascertain the period when this fortress was first erected; but it is conjectured, (and with much probability,) that it was built by the Saxons while they held the sovereignty of the Northumbrian kingdom, of which Roxburgh was at that time a province.

This Castle, during the reign of Alexander I., was the residence of his brother David, then Earl of Northumberland, who, upon his accession to the throne, constituted it a royal palace, which it continued to be during the reigns of several successive monarchs. Like the

other castles of the kingdom, Roxburgh had a constable, an office of great trust and importance.

The situation of the Castle of Roxburgh upon the borders of the two kingdoms, rendered the possession of it of the first importance to each of the contending parties during the continued warfare, which for so many centuries devastated both countries. It therefore in general formed the first place of attack on the breaking out of hostilities, and thereby often changed masters, being at one time in possession of the Scots, and at another in possession of the English.

HISTORY.

Roxburgh Castle was at this time (1125) the residence of King David; and in that year he received a visit from Cardinal Crima, the Papal legate in England, commissioned by the Pope to settle a dispute that had long existed, respecting the supremacy which the Archbishop of York (Thurstin) claimed over the Scottish churches, which the bishops in Scotland refused to acknowledge. He brought letters from the Pope (Honorius II.) to King David, recommending a Council of the Bishops to be called, wherein the question should be debated; but anticipating, perhaps, from their former resistance to this claim, that their determination would still be unfavourable, he reserved to the Papal See the

power of finally deciding the question. No decision seems to have been given by this council; but it is mentioned, that, in consequence of this controversy, the consecration of Robert, who had been elected in the preceding year to the See of St Andrews, had been deferred; and that, in the year following, he submitted to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York, without, however, acknowledging subjection to that See. That the question did not come before the Pope at this time, or that he did not pronounce any decision, is evident, as we find, at a future period, when the same claim was renewed by the same See, that Pope Clement III. declared the Scottish churches independent of all supremacy, the Roman See excepted.*

King David, who, about the close of the year 1126, had gone to England in order to swear fealty to the Empress Maud,† daughter to Henry I., (who, previous to his decease, declared her heir to the throne, and required all his vassals and chief barons to render her their oaths of allegiance,) and to do homage for his lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, returned the following year (1127) to Roxburgh

* Chron. Mail. p. 165; Wilkin's Con. Vol. 1. p. 407. Ridpath, p. 74-5. Chalmers, Vol. II. p. 108. Hailes, Vol. I. p. 75.

† 1127.—Henry's only son William having been lost in a storm at sea, he resolved on settling the succession to the kingdom on Maud, his only remaining legitimate child. She having been married to the Emperor Henry V. obtained the title of Empress; and having children to the Emperor, she, after his death, returned to her father's court.—RIDPATH, p. 78.

Castle, accompanied by Thurstin, Archbishop of York, Ralph, Bishop of Durham, and Algar, Prior of St Cuthbert's Priory in Durham, when Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, at the request of the King and the two Prelates above-mentioned, and also of the Bishop of Glasgow, in their presence, at the door of the Church of St John the Evangelist in Roxburgh, presented a charter to the church of Coldinghame, and to all the churches and chapels that should henceforth belong to the church of St Cuthbert.*

Although the kingdom, at the accession of King David, (and during the reigns of his two immediate predecessors, Edgar and Alexander,) enjoyed peace with England, yet it was not free from internal commotions, which kept it in a state of ferment and turmoil; and scarcely was David seated on the throne, when an open and daring attempt was made to deprive him of his power and sovereignty. About the year 1126,† Angus,

* Ridpath, p. 75. Grose, Vol. I. p. 116.

† Hailes places the rebellion of the Earl of Angus and his death in 1130; and Ridpath, on the authority of the Chronicle of Melrose, says it took place two years after the foundation of the Abbey of Kelso, which, if it refers to his placing the monks there, brings this occurrence to the same date; but if he calculates from the year in which the building of the Monastery was commenced, this calculation will bring it to the year 1126 or 1127, an opinion which is supported by the authority of Maitland and Abercromby, the former stating distinctly that it happened in 1126; and the latter, that it occurred two years after the accession of David to the throne.—HAILES, Vol. I. p. 76; RIDPATH, p. 77. MAITLAND, Vol. I. p. 349; ABERCROMBY, Vol. I. 397.

Earl of Murray, was the chief promoter of a rebellion, which threatened the most serious consequences; but by the prompt measures of the King it was soon reduced, and the Earl, with many of his adherents, fell victims to their own rash and iniquitous design, in a conflict at Strickathrow, in the county of Forfar. The embers of this rebellious spirit, though stifled, were not extinguished, for, in the year 1134, Malcolm M'Heth, or M'Beth,* a pretended son of the above-mentioned Earl, stirred up the people to new commotions, and harassed the country with rapine and plunder, but being at length taken prisoner, he was conveyed to Roxburgh, where he was confined in the tower of the Castle; and tranquillity was again restored to the kingdom.†

On the demise of Henry I., in the year 1135, his daughter, the Empress Maud, became heir to the crown; but Stephen, Count of Boulogne, nephew to the late King, (who had also sworn fealty to the Empress,) taking advantage of her absence, seized upon the throne, and summoned all his nobles to take the oath of allegiance to him. To David, King of Scotland, he sent a herald, charging him to appear before him and give his oath of fidelity, and do homage for the lands of Cum-

* 1134.—This M'Heth, or M'Beth, is designated by Lord Hailes "Wimind," an English monk of obscure birth, but possessed of considerable talent. The particulars of this strange occurrence are given from his *Annals*; see Appendix, No. I.

† Chron. Mail. p. 165. Buchanan, Lib. VII. p. 120. Maitland, Vol. I. p. 349. Fordun, Vol. I. p. 448. Ridpath, p. 77. Chalmers, Vol. II. p. 168.

berland, Northumberland, and Huntington ; and, in case of refusal, to threaten an immediate invasion of his kingdom. To this message and threat King David replied, that he would meet the forces of the English, rather than violate his oath to the Empress Matilda, or Maud. Stephen, incensed at this answer, immediately dispatched the Duke of Gloucester with a powerful army into Northumberland, which he laid waste, most cruelly slaughtering the inhabitants. To revenge this unprovoked assault, the Earls of Angus, March, and Menteith, were instantly sent, with a very large force, into England, and encountering the enemy at Allarton, a most desperate battle ensued, in which the Scots came off victorious. The slaughter was immense, and the commander of the English army, with many of the nobility, were made prisoners. These, King Stephen shortly after ransomed, and likewise agreed to cede all pretensions to the counties in dispute ; but no sooner had the nobles been released, than he repented of the terms he had acceded to, and again prepared for war. David did the same, and taking advantage of his proximity to the borders, and before Stephen could reach them, he, early in the year 1136, attacked and took Carlisle, Wark, Alnwick, Norham, and Newcastle, but was prevented from penetrating farther by the approach of the English army. Stephen having established his head-quarters at Durham, while David occupied Newcastle, a treaty was concluded between them, by which Cumberland was ceded to the Scottish King, and North-

umberland was retained by Stephen ; and as David remained firm to the oath he had taken to the Empress Maud, as the rightful Queen of England, it was agreed that his son, Prince Henry, should take the oath of allegiance to King Stephen, for the Earldom of Huntingdon, to which, as appendages, the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster were added ; with an express understanding, that, if ever Stephen should think proper to create an Earl of Northumberland, then Prince Henry's claims by his mother's side,* should be taken into consideration, and decided by King Stephen's judges.

These terms, although submitted to by David, did not by any means satisfy him ; he regarding this concession of King Stephen as merely an evasion of what he considered his son's just and undoubted right. This treaty was accordingly of very short duration, for in the course of the ensuing year, 1137, Stephen being in Normandy, David levied a powerful army to take possession of Northumberland. The English nobles at the same time collected their forces at Newcastle, to defend the frontiers ; but Thurstin, Archbishop of York, though now extremely old, hastened to Roxburgh,† to

* 1136.—Maltida, or Maude, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror, given in marriage, by Henry I. of England, to David before his accession to the throne of Scotland, with whom he received as a dowry, Northumberland and Huntingdon.—RIDPATH, p. 79.

† 1137.—Considerable discrepancy appears in regard to the date of this transaction, both in the older and more recent authors. Holinshed, and from him Pennant and Hutchinson, place it in 1132 ;

hold a conference with David and his son Henry, when he prevailed upon him to agree to a truce until the King of England should return from the continent. A truce was accordingly concluded for four months, upon condition that Northumberland should be delivered up to Prince Henry. Immediately on the arrival of Stephen in his kingdom, King David demanded the fulfilment of this contract, which he altogether refused; accordingly, early in the ensuing year, 1138, King David advanced into England, and laid siege to the Castle of Wark, which was so gallantly defended, that he was obliged to abandon it. He then sent part of his army, under the command of his nephew, William, into Northumberland, and shortly thereafter followed himself with the remainder; but learning the approach of Stephen, (who, on receiving intelligence of this incursion, hastily collected a large force, with which he proceeded to the scene of action,) he retreated into Scotland in order to protect his own territories. Stephen followed him as far as Roxburgh, from whence David withdrew his army, and took a strong position in the neighbourhood, having previously given orders to the governor to surrender the castle and town to him on his first summons, hoping thereby to draw Stephen into a snare, his intention being to attack him while shut up there, and

Lord Hailes, and from him Chalmers, in 1136. The true date, as appears from several ancient authors of indubitable authority, is as above stated. See HAGUSTALD, p. 259. Chron. Mail. p. 165. Sir J. BALFOUR's Annals, Vol. I. p. 11.

by the co-operation of the inhabitants, together with that of some of Stephen's nobles, with whom he is said to have been in correspondence, he fully expected to get him into his power. Stephen, apparently aware of his design, did not set down his army before the place, but contented himself with pillaging and laying waste the adjacent country ; and when his provisions failed, he retired into England, crossing the Tweed by another passage. Shortly after, a peace was concluded between them, through the influence of the Papal Legate, and the Queen of Stephen, (David's niece,) which continued during the remainder of the reign of David.*

In the year 1152, David and the kingdom sustained a severe loss in the premature death of his only son, Prince Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and heir-apparent to the throne. He was a prince remarkable for his virtues ; and, possessing the most amiable and endearing qualities, he was beloved and esteemed by both nations. On this occasion, the nobles of the kingdom came to the aged King, at his palace in Roxburgh, to condole with him in his affliction ; when, having partaken of a royal entertainment the King had provided for them, he, assuming a serene and placid countenance, addressed them in a speech of the following tenor, full of piety and resignation to the will of Providence—He said :

* Major, p. 109-110. Boetius, v. II. p. 302. Twysden, p. 1188. Abercromby, v. I. p. 282-4. Maitland, v. I. p. 351. Ridpath, p. 78-85. Hailes, v. I. p. 79-80.

“That no new thing had happened to him or his son; that he had long since learned from the conversation and sermons of good and learned men, and more particularly from the examples of his father and mother, that the world was governed by the providence of Almighty God: That Providence was not to be resisted, and that he ever observed a ray of it in the darkest night of his afflictions. That, convinced (as he ever was) that the powerful worker of all things does nothing but for a good end, though hidden from the weakness of our conceptions, he could not grieve for ought that could happen, but that he rather found joy in the midst of sorrow, and comfort in troubles: That Heaven had been pleased to bless him with many afflictions of the same kind; for, continued he, my father, when I was but an infant, paid his last tribute to nature. He was the father of his people, especially of the poor, as well as mine; and could tears have preserved him, he had never been cut off. Death, to execute the decrees of its sovereign, did also seize my mother. I speak nothing of her virtue; the world knows it. My brothers, who loved me with a peculiar tenderness, were snatched from me, one after another. My wife, whom I honoured and cherished above all things on earth, was likewise taken from me by death. The son has now followed his mother, and no wonder, since he, as they, was born on no other terms, but that he behoved to die, and by dying, pay that debt to God and Nature, which he contracted before he was born. This is our case, and 'twas his, and if we are, as we ought to be, always ready to pay our debts when craved, 'tis no matter how soon our creditor, God Almighty, shall call on us for it. If only wicked men were subject to death, then we might justly grieve at the loss of our kindred; but we see that good men die as well as the bad, and often sooner, because sooner

ripe for these joys laid up for them in Heaven. All Christians ought, therefore, to be thoroughly settled in this persuasion, *That no evil can happen to the good, whether dead or alive.* As for my son, if he has been called upon before us, that so he might the sooner visit and enjoy the fellowship of my parents and brethren, those precious souls the world was not worthy of, why should I regret or envy his happiness? since I cannot do it but out of a principle of self-love; and should I mourn for him, it might be thought that I grudge at nothing but the loss I myself have sustained. To conclude, I have more reason to rejoice that God gave me a son, who (in your judgment, and consequently in that of all my people,) deserved to be loved while alive, and is now lamented when dead. Since 'tis so, (as ye, by your many good offices of respect, both to me and him, have abundantly shown,) I ought not, cannot regret the loss of a treasure, which I have possessed so short a time, nor so many fair hopes that are now evanished, nor that dear part of my heart torn from me: Neither can I complain of injustice; God has re-demanded what I held of his goodness: I think to follow him, and hope to be quickly delivered from the miseries, anguishes, and disgraces, that are inseparably mingled amongst the greatest pleasures of the world, to begin an eternity of pleasure in Heaven."

Notwithstanding the pious resignation of David, the loss of a son so deservedly dear to him, preyed much upon his mind, and in a great measure weaned him from earthly pursuits. He did not, however, neglect to provide for the future government of the kingdom, which he took the earliest opportunity of securing to his grandson Malcolm, (Henry's eldest son,) by requiring

his nobles to give him their fealty, and causing him (after the example of David with Solomon, as Fordun alleges) to make a tour through the realm, under the direction of the Earl of Fife, a nobleman in whom he reposed the most entire confidence, and to whose care he intrusted him. Having thus, as it were, solemnly closed his business with the world, and feeling sensibly the approach of the last enemy, he retired to Carlisle, patiently to await the hour of his departure. This took place on the 24th of May, 1153, when he resigned his crown and earthly honours into the hands of that God whom he had so studiously and zealously served, with these words:—"Jesus, my Saviour, I render thee the kingdom wherewith thou didst intrust me; put me in possession of that, whereof all the inhabitants are kings." *

Scarcely was Malcolm seated on the throne, when Sumerled, Thane or Earl of Argyle, with his grandchildren, the sons of Malcolm M'Heth, (5th Nov. 1153,) who still remained prisoner in Roxburgh Castle, where he was confined by King David in 1134, broke out in open rebellion, and by their predatory incursions greatly distressed the country. Soon after, viz. in the year 1154, Donald, one of these grandchildren, was taken at Whithorn, in Galloway, and conveyed to Roxburgh Castle, where he was confined in the same tower with

* See Appendix, No. II. Abercromby, vol. I. p. 402. Maitland, vol. I. p. 357. Ridpath, p. 89.

his father. Sumerled still continued to infest the western parts of Scotland, and, refusing to submit, the king was in the end obliged to come to terms of accommodation with him.*

William, surnamed the Lion, ascended the Scottish throne on the death of Malcolm, in the year 1165, and for several years made fruitless application to Henry II. of England for the restoration of the county of Northumberland, of which he had been deprived. Tired of thus soliciting what he considered his undoubted right, he took the opportunity of the unnatural war which King Henry's son had entered into against his father, and joined him, under promise of having this county restored. Accordingly he levied an army, with which he invaded England in the month of April 1174. He first laid siege to Carlisle; but that fortress holding out much longer than he expected, he left a part of his army to carry on the siege, and employed the remainder in laying waste the neighbouring lands of the English king and his barons. Having attacked the Castle of Prudhoe, belonging to O'Donel of Umfraville, he met with a gallant resistance; and an army

* 1154.—Sommerled after this engaged in another rebellion, and in the year 1164 invaded Scotland, and landed at Renfrew with a large force. The inhabitants rose in a body, and defeated this army with great slaughter. Sommerled and his son Gillicolane fell in the battle.—HAILES, vol. I. p. 126.

Chron. Mail. p. 167. Chr. S. Crucis. vol. I. p. 161. Fordun, vol. I. p. 448. Ridpath, p. 90. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 109. Hailes, vol. I. p. 126.

being collected to oppose his future operations, he raised the siege, and retired towards Scotland; but stopping to lay siege to Alnwick, he was, early one morning, while attended by about only 60 horse, surprised by a party of 400 English cavalry, sent expressly for the purpose of way-laying him, by the English commander at Newcastle, who had been made acquainted with the unguarded manner in which the Scottish King exposed his person. William, mistaking them at first for some of his own parties returning with plunder, rather advanced; but when he discovered his error, instead of attempting to escape, he boldly gave them battle, when, after a short but desperate conflict, he was taken prisoner with the whole of his attendants. He was carried to Newcastle that same night, and afterwards conveyed to Northampton, where he was delivered up to King Henry. The English King shortly after going over to Normandy, and not judging it safe to leave William a prisoner in England, carried him thither, and confined him first at Caen, and afterwards at Falaise; at which place, in the end of the year, a treaty was concluded between them, whereby William regained his liberty, but at the expense of the sovereignty of his kingdom. By this treaty, William was to do homage to King Henry for his kingdom, in the same manner as all King Henry's other subjects did, and to oblige his nobles to do the same: his bishops were to acknowledge the supremacy of the English church; and he was likewise to pay, as a ransom, the sum

of L.100,000 Sterling, one-half down; for the payment of the other half, and to insure the fulfilment of the treaty, the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were to be delivered up to him, to be maintained by the King of Scotland, according to the pleasure of King Henry; and, for further security, David, the king's brother, with twenty earls or barons, were to be given as hostages. It was also agreed, that if King William should swerve from his fealty, then the nobles of Scotland were to join King Henry, or his heirs, to force him to return to it. Such were the humiliating terms to which William, at the earnest solicitations of his subjects, and by the consent of his nobles and clergy, submitted, to obtain his enlargement; and, the treaty being signed, he was immediately set at liberty.*

In the year 1177, King Henry changed the governors of the castles in Scotland, and gave the keeping of the castle of Roxburgh to William de Stuteville.†

Henry II. of England having died in the month of July, 1189, his son Richard, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, succeeded to the throne, and immediately began to make preparations for an expedition to the Holy Land; but finding his finances insufficient to defray the expense, he had recourse to the expedient of restoring

* Rymer, tom. I. p. 39. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 189. Fordun, vol. I. p. 473. Wynton, vol. I. p. 326. Major, p. 135. Buchanan, lib. VII. Baker, p. 55. Abercromby, vol. I. p. 261. Maitland, vol. I. p. 363. Ridpath, p. 97. Hailes, vol. I. p. 123.

† Tyrrell, vol. II. p. 410. Ridpath, p. 100.

estates, and other immunities forfeited to the crown, to their former possessors, on the payment of certain sums of money. He accordingly invited King William to his court at Canterbury, when, by a deed bearing date the 5th of December, he restored Scotland to its independence—gave up to him the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, (the castle of Edinburgh having formerly been given to him by King Henry, as part of the portion of Ermengarde,* a relation of his, whom King William had married in 1186)—restored to him his own fealty for the kingdom, and the fealty of his subjects; and likewise granted him an acquittance of all obligations which his father had *extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity*. He also bound himself to put William in full possession of the county of Huntington, and his other lands, to the same extent as they had been enjoyed by his predecessors, and to exact only the same homage which they had paid to the Kings of England for these possessions.† And to evince his sincerity in this act, he delivered up such of the evidences of the homage

* 1189.—Ermengarde, whom King William married at Woodstock on the 5th of September, 1186, was daughter to Richard, Viscount of Beaumont, whose grandmother was a natural daughter of Henry I., and who, in the language of those times, was called the King's cousin. Her dower was the castle of Edinburgh, the feudal services of forty knights, and an yearly revenue of L.100 Sterling.—HALLAM, vol. I. p. 153.

† 1189.—Præterea quietavimus et omnes pactiones quas bonus pater noster Henricus, Rex Anglia, *per novas cartas, et per captio-*

done to his father by the barons and clergy of Scotland, as were in his possession; and he declared, that all evidences of that homage, whether delivered or not, should be considered as cancelled. The remuneration which Richard required for this act was 10,000 merks Sterling; which William, with assistance from his subjects, and especially from the clergy, was enabled to pay.*

The generous conduct of King Richard in the above-mentioned transaction, produced a friendship between the two monarchs that preserved the nations in peace during the remainder of their reigns. Scotland, however, was not free from internal commotions, which kept the kingdom in a continual state of alarm, and required the utmost power and ability of the monarch to repress. In the year 1196, Harold, Earl of Caithness, had taken up arms against his sovereign, (from what cause is not known,) with a force sufficient to overawe the king; who nevertheless raised an army, and went in person to that county in order to subdue him. He did not, however, at this time prove successful; but in the following year, 1197, he had the good fortune to take him prisoner, when he carried him to Roxburgh Castle, and put him in close confinement till he should

nam suam, extorsit; ita, videlicet, ut nobis faciat integre et plenarie quicquid Rex Scotiæ Malcolmus frater ejus antecessoribus nostris de jure fecit, et de jure facere debuit.—RYMER, vol. I. p. 64.

* Rymer, tom. I. p. 64. Stow, p. 111. Neubrig, p. 443. Ridpath, p. 106. Hailes, vol. I. p. 155.

make his peace with the king; which he having effected, and on obtaining his liberty he delivered up his son Torphin, as surety for his future loyalty. He, in consequence of the subsequent perfidy of his father, became a sacrifice to the wrath of the king, who ordered that his eyes should be put out, and inflicted on him other excruciating tortures.*

History records a very serious calamity which befel the town of Roxburgh in the year 1207, when about one-half of it was destroyed by a fire that took place by accident.†

Richard I. being killed at the siege of the castle of Limoges, in France, in the year 1199, and his brother John having, with some difficulty, obtained possession of the throne, he summoned William, King of Scotland, to take the oath of fidelity, and to do homage for his lands in England, which, notwithstanding his treaty with Richard, had not yet been delivered up to him. This, William, on account of the unsettled state of England, evaded, but at the same time demanded possession of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. To this demand John replied, that, being engaged with the wars in Normandy, he could not devote time to examine into William's right; but being anxious to obtain the King of Scotland's fealty, he prevailed upon him to meet him at Lincoln, (Dec. 22,

* Chron. Mail. p. 181, 182. Fordun, vol. I. p. 512. Ridpath, p. 110. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 108.

† Sir James Balfour, vol. I. p. 24. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 109.

1200,) where he consented to do this service, upon King John's promise that he would settle everything to his mind. John having so far obtained his object, thought no more of performing his promise, but adopted measures for surprising Berwick, and securing to himself a passage into Scotland, by erecting a fort at Tweedmouth. This work William twice interrupted, and razed it from the foundation. An interview, therefore, took place between the two kings at Norham, in the year 1204, in which King William urgently renewed his demands, and defended his conduct in destroying the fort. From this interview John departed not well satisfied; but his foreign and domestic troubles prevented him from taking any active measures at that time against Scotland. These being so far settled, he, in the year 1209, renewed his contention with William, by charging him with affording protection and assistance to the subjects of England who had escaped from justice; and under this vague accusation he levied an army, and proceeded as far as Norham, on his way to invade Scotland. In the meantime King William assembled his forces at Roxburgh; but through the mediation of the nobles on either side, the armies were disbanded, and the two kings held another conference at Norham, (or, as some say, at York,) in which, from William being taken suddenly ill, nothing decisive was effected. A truce, however, was agreed to till his recovery, which soon taking place, he called a parliament of his estates to meet at Perth,

who strenuously advised him against engaging in war with John, to whom ambassadors were sent to prevent a rupture. To their representations John replied by making demands so extravagant, that they were at once rejected; he accordingly advanced towards Scotland with a numerous army. King William, who was in the north part of his kingdom when this intelligence reached him, marched rapidly to Melrose, when, at the instance of the nobles, negotiations again commenced; and at last a peace was concluded on the following terms:—That the Castle of Tweedmouth, which John had erected, should remain in its present state, the Scots paying him L.4000 sterling as a recompense for the expense and disgrace it had cost him; that William should deliver up Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington, to John, in order to their being conferred on his (William's) son Alexander, who should hold them of the crown of England; and, finally, that William's two daughters, Margaret and Isabel, should be married to John's two sons, at the expiration of *nine* years from the date of this contract; and if either of these princes or princesses should die, the surviving princess was to be married to the heir to the crown of England; to whom William was to give a proper dowry.*

This year, 1209, the Bishop of Rochester, who fled

* Chron. Mail. p. 183. Fordun, vol. I. p. 524. Ridpath, p. 116, 117.

from England on account of the interdict under which the kingdom had been laid by the Pope, sought refuge in Roxburgh, where he was munificently treated by King William, as is more particularly noticed under the "Ancient History" relating to Kelso.*

The oppressive and tyrannical measures of King John had created such a spirit of discontent in every class of his subjects, that nothing else than a general revolt seemed to threaten him. In these circumstances, having been reconciled to the Pope, he surrendered to him his kingdoms of England and Ireland, to hold them from the Papal see, on the payment of a certain annual tribute. His nobles, indignant at this conduct, determined to rescue themselves and their country from such degradation, and to provide against the exercise of such tyranny in future; they therefore took up arms, and forced King John to come to their terms, by the signing of Magna Charta, June 15, 1215, the great charter of English liberty; and to secure the fulfilment of this obligation, constrained him to deliver the city of London into their hands. John, however, soon repented of this concession, and made application to the Pope to have this act cancelled. This was readily granted, and a bull was published, disannulling the whole transaction, and requiring the nobles to renounce their claims, on the pain of excommunication. To this fulminatory threat they paid very little attention, but

* Chalmers, vol. II. p. 109.

proceeded to carry the charter into effect, by appointing governors in the different counties to act as justiciaries for the good and safety of the people. In this dilemma, John resorted to the aid of foreign mercenaries, which enabled him not only to fortify the castles in his possession, but to attack and destroy those belonging to his nobles. This he did with the most relentless fury, sparing neither sex nor age; inflicting on his victims the most cruel tortures that could be invented.

In this posture of affairs, the barons in the northern parts of England applied to Alexander, King of Scotland, for protection, to whom they took the oath of fidelity at Felton and at Melrose, in the month of October 1215. Alexander thereafter raised an army, and advancing into England, laid siege to the Castle of Northampton, which, however, he was not able to reduce; and King John pushing forward, in the depth of winter, with a powerful army entered Scotland, carrying destruction along with him. He arrived at Roxburgh on the 17th of February, 1216, and burnt it; he also burnt the towns of Berwick,* Alnwick, Mitford, Dunbar, and Haddington; his soldiers, in all these places, putting the inhabitants to the torture, to force them to discover

* 1215-16.—King John himself is said to have set the example in burning Berwick, having fired with his own hands the house in which he lodged.—HAILLES, vol. I. p. 172.

their valuables. John having thus wreaked his vengeance, returned to England.*

The differences between Alexander II. and Henry III. with regard to the fulfilment of the treaty concluded by William and John, the fathers of these monarchs, having been referred to the final decision of the Pope, he conferred on his legate ample powers to decide the question, after a full hearing of the parties. The legate, in consequence, summoned the parties to appear before him at Norham in the year 1219. At this meeting Alexander appeared in person, Henry by his procurator, Stephen de Segrave; which not being satisfactory to the legate, he did not enter into the business, but ordered the two Kings to meet and adjust their dispute, within three months from that period. It does not appear that any meeting for this purpose took place within the time specified; but in the month of June 1220, they met at York, when, to settle their differences, and to form a closer and more intimate connexion between the two kingdoms, Henry engaged to give his eldest sister, Jane, in marriage to Alexander, so soon as he could recover her from the Counte de la Marche, in whose custody she had remained since she was ten years of age, with the view of his marrying her, but who, in the meantime, had married her mother

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 35. Chron. Mail. p. 190. Maitland, vol. I. p. 378. Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 39. Ridpath, p. 123. Hailes, vol. I. p. 171-2. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 109. Grose, vol. I. p. 118.

the widow of King John. Through the interference of the Pope this was effected, and on her return to England, Alexander married her at York, on St John Baptist's day 1221 ; and in the month of August following brought her to Roxburgh.*

About Whitsuntide, 1227, King Alexander conferred the honour of knighthood on several young noblemen at Roxburgh Castle, among whom were John the Scot, Earl of Huntington, son to his uncle David, Earl of Carrick and Angus.†

Jane, Queen of Scotland, being in a declining state of health, obtained leave to go to England, when, in hopes of a miraculous interposition in her behalf, she undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas a Becket, in which she was accompanied by Eleanor, Queen of England. In this hope she was disappointed, as she died on the 4th of March, 1238 ; and on the 4th of May, in the following year (1239,) Alexander was married at Roxburgh to Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, Earl of Dreux in France, who is said to have been very beautiful. The royal nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and festivity ; and in the 44th year of Alexander's age, and 27th of his reign, viz. on the 4th day of September,‡ 1241, she brought

* Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 42. Ridpath, p. 129.

† Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 45. Ridpath, p. 129, Note.

‡ Chron. Mail. p. 204. Fordun, vol. II. p. 75. Wynton, vol. I. p. 374. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 197. Ridpath, p. 135. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 108. Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 52.

forth a son in Roxburgh Castle, who was named Alexander, and who succeeded his father in the kingdom.*

In the year 1248, the burghs of Roxburgh, Haddington, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Inverness, were almost totally consumed by fire. In some of them it happened by accident; but others are said to have been fired by Alexander Buchanan and John Read, friends and adherents of William Bisset, Lord Aboyne, who, having been accused of being either principal or accessory in the murder of the Earl of Athole, at Haddington,† in the early part of the

* Chron. Mail. p. 206. Hailes, vol. I. p. 188. Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 48.

† 1248.—The occasion of this murder is thus related by Lord Hailes, in his Annals:—“Isabel, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Athole, married Thomas of Galloway, brother of Alan, Lord of Galloway. Patrick, the only child of Isabel, was a youth of distinguished accomplishments, in the opinion of that age. At a tournament on the English borders, he chanced to overthrow W. Bisset. Hence a fatal animosity arose; the Earl of Athole was murdered at Haddington. That the murder might be concealed, the assassins fired the house in which he lodged. The suspicion fell on Bisset. The Scottish nobility flew to arms, and sought his life. Bisset demanded the protection of the king; he urged that he was fifty miles distant from Haddington at the time of the murder, and offered to maintain his innocence by single combat. The young queen offered to make oath, ‘that Bisset had never devised a crime so enormous.’ A trial by jury was allowed, but he rejected it, ‘on account of the malevolence of the people, and the implacable resentment of his enemies.’ All that the king could obtain for him, was, that he should forfeit his estates, and be banished from Scotland. After being three years concealed by the king from the fury of the nobles, who still sought his life, he escaped to England, where he sought to embroil the two nations by

year 1242, was banished Scotland, and his estates forfeited.*

Alexander III. succeeded his father in the year 1249, being then only in the eighth year of his age; and in the year 1251, on the 26th day of December, he was married with great pomp, at York, to the Princess Margaret, daughter to King Henry III. of England. Shortly after the ceremony, he returned with his queen to Scotland, and took up his residence in the castle of Edinburgh. During the first three years of their marriage, the royal pair suffered much from the arbitrary measures of the governors of the kingdom, who kept them as prisoners, and debarred them that social intercourse which their union sanctioned. King Henry, informed of this, sent the Earl of Gloucester, in the year 1255, with an army to Scotland, who, being assisted by the Earl of Dunbar and his vassals, surprised the castle of Edinburgh, where he found the king and queen confined to separate apartments. Having procured their liberty, he forthwith conveyed the royal pair to Roxburgh Castle, under a strong escort, where they remained for some time; and where, in the course of the

means of his own quarrel; and again appealing to his sword in proof of his innocence, he made a vow for the salvation of Athole's soul and his own, *to repair to the Holy Land, and never to return. A singular vow to be made by one whose conscience was clear.*"—HAILES, vol. I. p. 188-90.

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 75. Major, (1244) p. 149. Sir J. Balfour, vol. I. p. 54. Hailes, (1244) vol. I. p. 370.

same year, King Henry, father to the queen, paid them a visit, which lasted fifteen or sixteen days, during which he was treated with princely magnificence. In the course of this visit, an agreement was entered into between the two kings, that the present governors and ministers should be deprived of their offices, and others appointed in their place, at the head of which party was the Earl of March or Dunbar, to whom, on the recommendation of King Henry, was committed the care of the king and queen's persons, as well as the management of the government; and this arrangement was to continue for seven years, or until Alexander had reached the full age of twenty-one years.*

This change, which Henry had effected in the councils of Alexander, was not productive of peace to the country; each party still contending for possession of the king's person, and likewise for the government; but the party in power having incurred the displeasure of the Pope, and refusing to submit to the terms dictated by the Holy See, were, after some fruitless negotiations, excommunicated *nominatim*.† Proposals, with

* Ridpath, p. 145. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 108. Grose, vol. I p. 117.

† 1257.—“ Gamelin, Bishop-elect of St Andrews, and chancellor of the kingdom, and William de Bondington, Bishop of Glasgow, in the change of regents made by the advice of King Henry, had been deprived of their secular offices; and in consequence the new regency prohibited the former being inducted into his see; the Bishop of Glasgow, nevertheless, consecrated him about the latter end of the year 1255; upon which the regents seized and plundered his posses-

a view to reconcile the different parties, and thereby to restore tranquillity, were forwarded to King Henry by Comyn and his party, with a letter from the king, dated at Roxburgh the 4th of February, 1257, requesting a letter of safe conduct to Robert Stuteville, Dean of Dunkeld, and Andrew Morham, the bearers of it, who were sent to know his pleasure on this point; but these proposals not receiving his approbation, this party resolved to seize upon the king's person, and thus to put themselves in possession of the government. They accordingly flew to arms, seized the king and queen while in bed at Kinross, alleging in their defence, the danger of the whole country being laid under an interdiction, from the government being in the hands of persons excommunicated. Immediately on obtaining possession of the king, they conveyed him to Roxburgh, where, early in the year* 1258, he assembled an army to proceed against the excommunicated nobles; but on their promising to appear on a certain day at Forfar to stand trial, he desisted. In this, however, they failed;

sions. Gamelin appealed to the Pope, who tried the cause, and notwithstanding the defence they made, pronounced in favour of the bishop, declaring him innocent of the allegations brought forward against him, and most worthy of his bishoprick. He also excommunicated his accusers, and the invaders of the see of St Andrews. The crime of Gamelin, was his opposition to the measures of the new regents, and his refusing to purchase his bishoprick."—Halles, vol. I. pp. 203, 4.

* Rymer, tom. I. p. 618. Ridpath, p. 149.

but, in the meantime, applied to King Henry for his advice. The consequence was, that the agreement made at Roxburgh in 1255, was thrown aside, and a new regency formed, which included the chief men of both parties, together with the queen dowager.*

In the year 1266, Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I. of England, paid a visit to Alexander and the queen, his sister, at Roxburgh, where he was magnificently treated for some days; but commotions breaking out in England, the prince was ordered home, when he solicited and obtained from his brother-in-law a number of Scottish auxiliaries, to assist in the reduction of the English rebels.†

The King and Queen of Scotland received at Roxburgh, another visit, in the year 1268, from the Princes Edward and Edmund of England, on the occasion of their having taken the Holy Cross, on engaging in an expedition to the Holy Land. King Henry and his queen at this time came to York, where Alexander and his queen went to pay their dutiful respects to them.‡

King Malcolm III., with his eldest son, having being killed at the siege of Alawick, in the year 1093, and his other children being minors, his brother Donald, or Donald Bane, who, during the usurpation of Macbeth,

* Ridpath p. 150. Hailes, vol. I. p. 206.

† Fordun, vol. II. p. 104. Ridpath, p. 105. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 108. Grose, vol. II. p. 117.

‡ Fordun, vol. II. p. 109. Ridpath, p. 155. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 108.

had taken refuge in the Hebrides, (where he appears to have remained during the whole of his brother's reign,) laid claim to the throne; in which he was supported by the inhabitants of those islands, at that time independent of the kingdom of Scotland, and only nominally subject to the King of Norway. Donald, to obtain this aid, is said to have undertaken to confirm to the King of Norway the possession of those islands; and there does not appear to have been any dispute regarding them, till the reign of Alexander II., who entered into a negotiation with the King of Norway, by which it was agreed that they should be redeemed by the King of Scotland; but this arrangement not being completed at the time of his death, his son, Alexander III., on his coming of age in 1263, determined to take them by force; and for this purpose sent a large fleet, with a considerable body of troops, and wasted and destroyed several of the islands. On receiving this intelligence, Acho (or Haco) King of Norway, prepared a large expedition, to maintain what he deemed his right, and appearing on the western coast of Scotland, with a fleet of 160 ships, reduced the Cumbras, and obtained possession of the isle of Bute by treachery. Alexander, on learning this, raised an army, and proceeded to defend his western coast. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Largs, proposals for an accommodation were made, and Alexander agreed to allow the King of Norway to retain the Western Isles, but that Arran, Bute, and the Cumbras, should be attached to the Scottish crown.

To these terms Haco would not listen, and he accordingly detached part of his fleet to lay waste the towns on the coast. But a storm coming on, a number of his vessels were lost, and a great part of his troops who had been landed were killed by the Scots. In order to protect or bring off the remainder, Haco disembarked the following day with the whole of his men at Largs, where a serious conflict took place, which ended in the complete defeat of the Norwegians. Haco himself with difficulty escaped; and having reached Orkney, he fell a prey to grief for the loss and disgrace he had incurred.

Magnus, eldest son of Haco, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, and the destruction of his fleet and army, immediately sent ambassadors to Alexander to treat for peace, which was granted on his renouncing all claim to the Western Islands, receiving 4000 merks, in four different payments, and 100 merks to be paid yearly to the King of Norway for ever; and for the purpose of making this peace more permanent, it was agreed to betroth Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, then an infant of about four years, to Eric, eldest son of Magnus, also an infant.

On the 4th of May, in the year 1281, the contract for this marriage was executed at Roxburgh, and Eric, who at that time was King of Norway, was married by proxy to the Princess Margaret, who shortly after was sent to Norway with a splendid retinue; but she only

survived her marriage about twenty months, leaving issue one daughter, who also died in her infancy.*

The nuptials of Prince Alexander with Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Flanders, were solemnized on the 9th of April, 1283, at Roxburgh, with princely magnificence, in the presence of many of the prelates and nobles of both kingdoms. The festivities continued for fifteen days, during which every kind of amusement was devised for their entertainment. This joy, however, was of short duration, as the prince died in the following year at London, in the 20th year of his age.†

On the death of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse while hunting in the neighbourhood of Kinghorn, in the year 1286, the government of the kingdom was vested in six guardians chosen by Parliament; and the queen being, as was supposed, in a state of pregnancy, no heir was declared to the crown till her delivery should take place. These expectations being disappointed, Margaret, daughter of Eric, King of Norway, by Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., was recognized as heir; but it does not appear that any measures were adopted to bring her to Scotland, till, in the year 1289, Eric himself applied to Edward, King of England, for his assistance in placing his

* Rymer, tom. II. p. 1079. Wyntown, vol. I. p. 395. Maitland, vol. I. pp. 391-3. Ridpath, p. 161.

† Rymer, tom. II. p. 309. Fordun, vol. II. p. 124. Ridpath, p. 161. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 108. Grose, vol. I. p. 117.

daughter on the throne of Scotland, and for his protection of her, during her tender years, against the different factions which existed in this unhappy country; and, about the same time, the Scottish Parliament, sensible of the evils which resulted from the existence of such factions, had recourse to Edward for his advice and aid in reconciling them. The consequence of these applications was the placing in the hands of this ambitious monarch all the immunities of the Scottish nation, who was so well aware of the power thus given to him, and the use he could make of it, that the kingdom, for some centuries, had to repent the proceedings which took place at this time. Edward, with the view of securing the crown of Scotland in his own family, proposed a marriage between the infant Queen Margaret and his son, Prince Henry, which was approved of by the Scottish guardians, who sent ambassadors to notify the same to her father, the King of Norway. He, from the friendship he had experienced on the part of Edward, gave his consent; and, on a proper escort being sent to Norway, committed his daughter to their care. The fleet, on its passage to Scotland, touched at the Orkney Isles, where the queen landing, she fell ill of a fever, which terminated her life in the year 1290. The throne having thus become vacant, a number of competitors laid claim to it, the principal of whom were John Baliol, and Robert Bruce. The King of Norway, as heir to his daughter, and many nobles nearly related to the royal family, ap-

peared in the list of candidates. Such, however, was the intricacy of this case, from the various and diversified pretensions of so many claimants, that the Scottish Parliament was unable to come to a proper decision, and therefore agreed to refer the question to the judgment of King Edward, who, having accepted the office of umpire, required that all the rights belonging to the Scottish crown should be immediately put into his possession, in order, (as he said,) that he might deliver them into the hands of the successful competitor. This being done, he removed all the public records to Roxburgh, where his auditors for Scottish affairs held their sittings; and on deciding, in the year 1292, in favour of John Baliol, many, (but it is generally believed not all,) of the revenue accounts, but none of the public writings and records, were delivered to Alexander Baliol, Chancellor of the Kingdom, for the use of the Scottish king.*

It appears, from the *Rotuli Scotiae*, that Edward I. spent the greater part of the month of December this year, (1292,) at Roxburgh, where he issued a number of official orders, and arrangements.†

John Baliol being crowned king of Scotland in No-

* Maitland, vol. I. p. 429. Ridpath, pp. 165-185. Hailes, vol. I. pp. 258-69.

† The principal of these were orders recommending to the King of Scotland to permit deputies appointed by King Edward to collect rents and dues, with arrearages which fell due in Scotland at the term of Martinmas this year. They all bear date between the 8th and 18th of December.

venber 1292, he, next month, did homage for his kingdom to King Edward, at Newcastle; and, in the following year, was summoned, as his liege-man, to appear before him to answer to a charge preferred by Macduff, Earl of Fife, for the recovery of certain lands which he unjustly withheld from him. To this charge Baliol refused to give any answer without consulting his people; and Edward regarding this as an act of disobedience and contempt, he, according to some writers, seized upon the Castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Jedburgh, till satisfaction for this insult should be given; they also assert, that the English court of King's Bench sat for some time this year in Roxburgh. This, however, does not appear to be correct, for we find that Baliol obtained time from Edward to answer the charge made by Macduff, and that it was not till the year 1295 that he demanded the Castle of Roxburgh and the other two, and this on pretence of security to his own kingdom during the war in which he was engaged with France, and in which the Scots had taken part with his enemies, notwithstanding the fealty sworn to him by King John; and even then he came under a promise to restore them immediately on the conclusion of a peace. He sent at this time the Bishop of Carlisle, as his commissioner, to receive possession of them upon these terms, and appointed Robert Hastings captain of Roxburgh Castle; but, according to Trivet^{us},* the Scots refused to put such pledges in his hands,

* The following is the passage in Trivet^{us}:—"The King of Eng-

and, in the following year,* 1296, agreeably to the treaty entered into with France, Baliol made two different inroads into England, which were attended neither with honour nor advantage.† Edward, in the meantime, advanced with a large and well-disciplined army to Berwick, which he took and sacked, sparing neither age nor sex; and pushing forward, encountered Baliol at Dunbar, whom he completely defeated. Proceeding immediately to Roxburgh, James, Steward of

land, ignorant of their treachery, earnestly requested assistance from the King of Scotland in his wars; and his reply being of a very dubious nature, he suspected what was going on, and therefore desired him, for the sake of security, to put into his possession, during the continuance of the war, three castles, viz., the Castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Berwick, which he would restore on the conclusion of it, provided he found the Scottish nation faithful to him. This the Scots refusing to do, the king, now assured of their treachery, marched with an army towards Scotland, determined to subdue it by force, unless they were able to excuse themselves from the things reported of them, and which now appeared to be going on." —*TAYLOR*. p. 286.

* *Leland*, vol. III. p. 7. *Maitland*, vol. I. p. 483. *Ridpath* p. 192. *Chalmers*, vol. II. p. 109. *Kerr*, vol. I. p. 52. *Hailes*, vol. I. p. 184. *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. I. pp. 21-2.

† The first inroad of the Scots was into Cumberland, where they wasted the country, but laying sieges to Carlisle, they were repulsed by the inhabitants, and forced to make a dishonourable retreat. The next inroad was into Northumberland, where they burnt the Nunnery of Lamelay, and the Monastery of Corebridge; but in an attempt to storm the Castle of Harbottle, they were obliged to retreat in disorder. Previous to this, Baliol, by the advice of his parliament, had solemnly renounced his allegiance and fealty to Edward, but he had not an opportunity of delivering to him the deed of his renunciation, until that monarch had taken possession of Berwick. A copy of that interesting document forms No. III. of the Appendix.

Scotland, who at the time commanded in the castle, delivered it up to him, on condition of safety to the lives and property of himself and the garrison. He also swore allegiance to Edward,* and renounced the treaty entered into with France. The town, at the same time, submitted to the English king, when the magistrates and burgesses took the oath of fidelity; the officers of the crown did the same, and were continued in the performance of their several duties. Edward remained here for some days, when, having finished his arrangements, and made Walter Tonk governor of the town and castle, he departed, and coming to Edinburgh, he took the castle after a slight resistance. He then went to Stirling, and found the castle abandoned, and, proceeding northward, made an easy capture of Perth. By

* The following is an exact copy of the instrument delivered to King Edward, by James, on this occasion:—

“ A touz ceaux qui cestes lettres verront ou orront, James, Seneschal d’Escoce, Saluz. Pour ceo que nous sumes venitz a la foi e a la volonte du tresnoble Prince nostre chier Signeur Sire Edward, par la grace Dieu, Roi d’Engleterre, Signeur d’Irland, e Duca d’Aquitaigne, nous promettons pur nous e pur nos heirs, sur peine de cors e d’avoit, e sur quantque nous peussions encoure, que nous serrons en aide, e li servirons bien e leument contre totes gentz, qui purront vivre et morir, totes les foiz que nous serrons requis ou garnis de par nostre Signeur le Roi d’Engleterre avantdit, ou de par ses heirs; e que nous leur dammage ne scauons que nous vel destorbeons a tot nostre poer, e le leur fasons assavoir, e a cestes choses tenir e garder obligeons nous et nos heirs, e tous nos biens, e outre ces avons jurez sur *seintes Evangelies*. En tesmoignance de que chose nous avons fait faire cestes lettres ouertes seales de nostre seal. Donees a Roxburgh le trezime jour de May; l’an du regne nostre Seigneur le Roy d’Engleterre avantdit vintisme quart.”

this time his army being greatly increased by the arrival of 30,000 foot, and 400 horse, from Ireland, he intended to carry his conquests still farther north ; but, when at Brechin, he received messengers from Baliol suing for peace. Edward, however, would agree to nothing short of his renouncing the kingdom ; and, accordingly, by a deed, bearing date, Kincardine, July 2,* he wholly resigned the crown to him, acknowledging the offences which, through evil counsel, and his own weakness, he had committed against his sovereign lord, the renunciation of his homage, &c. &c., and

* It is said by Fordun, that, on presenting this disgraceful instrument to Edward, Baliol appeared divested of his royal ornaments, with a white rod in his hand. " He confessed, that, by evil and false counsel, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege-lord. He recapitulated his various transgressions in concluding a peace with France, while that kingdom was at war with England ; in contracting his son with the niece of the French king ; in renouncing his fealty ; in attacking the English territories, and in resisting Edward. He acknowledged the justice of the English invasion and conquest ; and therefore he, of his own free consent, resigned Scotland, its people, and their homage, to his liege-lord, Edward." The authenticity of this document, is, however, doubtful ; as the Scottish envoy at Rome, Baldred Bisset, denied that Baliol made any such resignation ; on the contrary, he asserts that Edward forged the instrument, and appended the great seal of Scotland to it. Be this as it may, Baliol's conduct has been defended. His attempt to shake off a foreign yoke, say his advocates, speaks him of a high spirit, impatient of injuries. He erred in enterprising beyond his strength ; in the cause of liberty, it was a meritorious error. He confided in the valour and unanimity of his subjects, and in the assistance of France. The efforts of his subjects were languid and discordant ; and France beheld his ruin with the indifference of an unconcerned spectator.—FORDUN, vol. II. p. 167 ; HAILLÉ, vol. I. pp. 292-4.

rendered up his son a hostage for the fulfilment of this contract. Shortly after, Baliol, with his son, were sent to London by sea, where they were detained more than three years in custody.* Edward, nevertheless, proceeded as far as Elgin, without, however, committing any enormity, receiving the homage of his new subjects as he advanced ; and, on his return south, he ordered the famous stone on which the Kings of Scotland were crowned, to be removed from Scone to Westminster. .

During the interregnum that followed the resignation of John Baliol, the kingdom was in a state of the utmost distraction. The oppressions exercised by the deputies of King Edward, (more studious of their own interest than of the peace and quiet of the country,) became altogether intolerable. At this time, Sir William Wallace, a hero well known in Scottish history, appeared ; and, indignant at the subjection of his country to the mercenary deputies of a foreign despot, he essayed to recover it from this degrading bondage. Having collected a few partisans, he proved so successful in his inroads upon the English border, that a number of the Scottish nobles who professed an equal abhorrence of the English yoke, were induced to join him. In a short time, the force thus collected became very numerous ; but an army composed of so many men attached to different chiefs, without a common head, and where

* Maitland, vol. I. pp. 435-7. Rymer, tom. II. pp. 707-14. Ridpath, pp. 196-199. Hailes, vol. I. p. 292. Kerr, vol. I. p. 51. *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. I. p. 23.

every chief consulted his own interest, could not be supposed to be available, even in the hour of danger, and so it happened in this instance. An expedition to the west was determined on, and their army assembled at Irvine, in very considerable force ; but, owing to the want of union in the commanders, nothing could be attempted, nor would they even consent to fight, retire, or treat by common consent. In this state of confusion, the Earl of Warrenne, with the English army, came upon them, (July, 1297) when most of the nobles, convinced of the impossibility of effecting any good when they were so discordant among themselves, submitted to treat with King Edward, and made their peace. This treaty was negotiated by Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, who, at the same time, along with Sir William Douglas, became security for the younger Bruce, who had taken an oath to Edward, but afterwards joined the Scottish army. In consequence of this conduct of Bruce, they both delivered themselves prisoners to the English, when Sir William was confined in the Castle of Berwick, and the bishop in the Castle of Roxburgh.

Wallace, despising submission, would by no means become a party to this treaty ;* and conceiving it to be

* This remarkable instrument, which is termed a treaty, is of the following tenor :—“ Be it known to all men—Whereas we, with the commons of our country, did rise in arms against our Lord Edward, and against his peace, in his territories of Scotland and Galloway, did burn, slay, and commit divers robberies, (*fait arsons, homicides, et divers roberies ;*) we therefore, in our name, and in the name of all our adherents, agree to make every reparation and atonement that

the effects of treachery or pusillanimity in Wiseheart, he attacked and spoiled his house, and carried his family into captivity.

Having collected the associates of his former exploits, Wallace, along with Sir A. Moray of Bothwell, the only baron who adhered to him, retired to the north, where his army daily increased; and, while laying siege to the Castle of Dundee, being informed that the English drew near to Stirling, he immediately left the siege to be carried on by the citizens, and hastened with all his force to that place, to prevent the enemy from crossing the Forth; and having taken a favourable position, he waited till a considerable part of their army had crossed the narrow wooden bridge over that river, when he attacked and cut them to pieces. The consequence was, the total rout of the English, who fled with precipitancy to Berwick, whither they were pursued by the Scots, who also took possession of that town, the English evacuating it on their appearing.

Shortly after this Sir William Wallace made inroads into the northern counties of England, with the view of

shall be required by our sovereign Lord; reserving always what is contained in a writing which we have procured from Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, commanders of the English forces; *At Irvine, 9th July, 1297.* To this instrument these words are subjoined: *Escrit a Sire Willaume.* The meaning is, as I should presume, that the barons had notified to Wallace that they had made terms of accommodation for themselves and their party."—HAILES, vol. I. p. 302.

obtaining provisions, (Scotland being at that time threatened with famine,) and obtained a considerable supply, besides a good deal of booty ; and, on his return, he laid siege to the Castle of Roxburgh,* in order, as some say, to release the Bishop of Glasgow ; but hearing of the approach of the English in great force, under the command of the Prince, the Earl of Surrey, and other noblemen, he abandoned the siege and retired, without being pursued by the enemy. The arrival of this army was fortunate for the garrison, who, in consequence of the siege, had been reduced to great distress. Edward himself was in Flanders at this time, and had transmitted orders to his son to procure the assistance of his nobles to drive the Scots from the Borders, but not to enter their country until he himself should assume the command of the army. Having concluded a truce with the King of France, he returned to England with all possible haste, where he arrived in the month of March 1298 ; and having collected his army at Rox-

* “ William Wallace had for several days besieged the Castle of Roxburgh, but hearing of the approach of the English, fled in great confusion. The Earl of Warenne, (at that time governor of Scotland for the King of England,) with other English nobles, having come to Roxburgh, relieved the Castle, and encouraged the besieged, advanced as far as Kelso, and from thence returned to Berwick, which they found deserted by the Scots. Whilst they remained here the king ordered them to be silent concerning the truces concluded, and his return ; commanding them also not to attempt anything whereby danger might be incurred previous to his arrival, the taking of Berwick excepted. Therefore, dismissing the greater part of the army, and retaining what would be necessary for the guarding of the town, they waited the king's arrival.”—*TRIVETUS*, p. 311.

burgh, amounting to 3000 horse, or men-at-arms, 4000 light horse, and about 80,000 foot; he, after leaving a sufficient garrison in Berwick, rapidly advanced to the west of Scotland, trusting there to put an end to the war; and also expecting to receive a plentiful supply of provisions by a fleet he had ordered to the Clyde with necessaries of every kind for the army. Disappointed in this, the fleet having been delayed or dispersed by storms, he returned eastward; but when in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, hearing that the Scottish army was assembled near to Falkirk, he instantly marched to attack them; and although the Scots possessed every advantage of ground, as well as of numbers, yet, from the want of union in their leaders, and the rash and misguided impetuosity of the troops, the English obtained a complete and decisive victory.*

King Edward assembled a very numerous army at Roxburgh in May 1303, with which he proceeded to the north of Scotland as far as Brechin; where, after twenty days' siege, he took the castle, at that time commanded by Thomas Maule, who defended it with the most determined bravery, but being killed by a stone thrown from an engine, it was next day surrendered. Edward pursued his conquests as far north as Caithness, and returning south, he wintered at Dunfermling.†

* Ridpath, pp. 206-211. Hailes, vol. I. pp. 308-17. Hemingford, vol. I. p. 145. Trivetus, p. 310.

† Maitland, vol. I. p. 463. Ridpath, p. 220. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. p. 52.

Edward having now, as he conceived, effected the complete conquest of Scotland, proceeded to devise some plan for its future government. He accordingly summoned a parliament to meet at Perth in the year 1305, which was to choose *ten* commissioners, to be invested with full parliamentary powers, who were to repair to London, there to meet with *twenty* English commissioners, to establish regulations for the government of Scotland, and the administration of justice to the people. These commissioners agreed that the ancient *forms* were to be preserved so far as consistent with the dependent state of the nation ; “ that sheriffs should be appointed in the different districts of Scotland, of either nation, at the will of the Guardian and the Chamberlain ; that four pairs of justices be established, a pair for each quarter of the kingdom, viz. two for Lodonia, (the Lothians,) two for Galloway, two for the district between the Frith of Forth and the mountains north of it, and two for the district north of the mountains. The Castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh to be committed to the care of the Guardian, John de Bretagne ; Edinburgh, to Peter Luband of Linlithgow ; Stirling Castle, to William Bisset ; and Dunbarton Castle, to Sir John Menteith.”*

Robert Bruce was crowned King of Scotland at Scone, March 25, 1306 ; and, on intelligence of this event, Edward sent Aymer de Valence with a large

* Ridpath, p. 225. Hailes, vol. I. p. 349.

force into Scotland, who, surprising Robert at Methven, in the neighbourhood of Perth, obtained a complete victory over him. After this battle, the friends and relations of King Robert, who fell into the hands of the English, were treated in a most cruel manner, with the exception of his Queen, who, on account of being daughter to the Earl of Ulster, was merely confined to the manor of Brustewick, having a suitable establishment provided for her, and allowed the liberty of walking and hunting in the parks. His daughter was immured in a nunnery; and his sister, Lady Mary Bruce, shut up in an iron cage at Roxburgh Castle. The same punishment was inflicted on the Countess of Buchan in Berwick Castle, for assisting at his coronation.* His brothers met with a more severe fate, being cruelly tortured and murdered.†

Edward II. ascended the throne of England in the year 1307, his father having died on the 7th of July, at a small town on the shore of the Solway Frith. Being at Carlisle when this happened, after giving directions concerning the funeral of his father, he came to Dumfries and Roxburgh to receive the fealty of the Scottish chiefs and nobles.‡

The adverse fortune which attended the arms of Robert Bruce during the first two years of his reign, had

* Appendix, No. IV.

† Maitland, vol. I. p. 476. Rymer, tom. II. p. 1004. Ridpath, p. 229-30. Kerr, vol. I. p. 242.

‡ Ridpath, p. 232. Kerr, vol. I. p. 331.

never induced him to despair of ultimate success ; and his policy in a steady perseverance to avoid general actions, and at the same time his vigilance and activity in seizing every opportunity of cutting off the enemy in detail, now became manifest in the establishment of his government, and the dread with which his adversary was inspired of losing his kingdom of Scotland, which at best he held by a most precarious tenure. He therefore prepared to invade the country with an overwhelming force ; and, in order to distract the Scottish king, he intended to send one part of his army to reconquer the north, while with the other he should subdue the south and west. Accordingly, he summoned his nobles to assemble at Berwick with their men, and also the levies he had made at an early period in the year 1310 ; but his nobles, averse to the war, or rather (as is said) discontented with his government, did not appear with that alacrity or willingness he anticipated ; and the season being far advanced before any considerable force had assembled, he was obliged to abandon the idea of sending any troops to the north ; but he himself proceeded from Roxburgh through the forest of Selkirk towards Biggar, and from thence as far as Renfrew, without achieving anything worthy of notice ; and making no stay in those parts, he returned by the way of Linlithgow to Berwick, where he passed the winter.*

This same year, on the 13th of March, King Edward.

* Hailes, vol. II. p. 44.

agreed to exchange Lady Mary Bruce for Walter Comyn, then a prisoner in Scotland.* She was accordingly released from her barbarous confinement in Roxburgh Castle.†

Edward II. ordered Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, to collect all his forces at Roxburgh on the nativity of St John Baptist, in the year 1311, which order was enlarged till Lammas, when all his barons in the north of England were summoned to appear with their followers, in order to proceed against Robert Bruce; but he does not seem to have attempted anything of consequence with all this force. On the contrary, King Robert entered England by the Solway Frith, and, after laying waste the northern counties, the inhabitants of Northumberland purchased a truce till the ensuing Candlemas for L.2000 sterling, which they paid him down.‡

The opening of the campaign 1313, was glorious to the Scottish arms. Sir James Douglas having been commanded to lay siege to the Castle of Roxburgh, set down before it; but aware of its capability of a protracted defence, he determined to attempt by stratagem what he could not expect to obtain for a long time by the regular method of attack.

Aware of the festivity in which the English indulge

* Appendix, No. V.

† Rymer, tom. III. p. 206. Maitland, vol. I. p. 483.

‡ Rymer, tom. III. p. 271. Ridpath, p. 239. Hailes, vol. II. p. 44. Rotuli Scotie, vol. I. p. 104.

on certain holidays, he fixed upon Shrove Tuesday, or Fasten's Eve,* for carrying his design into execution, when he expected the garrison would be drowned in revelry and mirth.

Having selected sixty of his most resolute followers, he disguised them with black frocks, that the glitter of their armour might not betray them, and desired them cautiously to draw near to the Castle. Having himself advanced sufficiently near to ascertain that all was quiet, he ordered his men to fall flat on the ground, and on their hands and feet approach the walls. This could

* That the English were not singular in celebrating this day with mirth and festivity, appears by the following paragraph, copied from an Edinburgh newspaper of an early date, which mentions the sports of Shrove-Tuesday as being at that time revived :—

“*Edinburgh, Shrove-Tuesday, Feb. 26, 1661.*—Our old Carnival sports in some measure revived, for, according to the ancient custom, the work was carried on by cock-fighting in the schools, and in the streets among the vulgar sort, tilting at cocks with faggot-sticks. In the evening, the learned *Virtuosi* of the Pallat, recreate themselves with lusty candels, powerfull cock-broath, and natural crammed pullets, a divertisement not much inferiour to our neighbour nations; fritters and pancakes. This is one of the five *Eves* that's so famous among femals. And at the last parliament of *Utopia*, it was debated, Whether the number of *Eves* was meant sterling account or no, viz. five score. But some prudential husbands got the business suspended till the first general assembly of mankind; and here it is to be disputed, Whether it be either Discretion, or *Jure Humano* ?

“The same day the Lord Commissioner was highly entertained by our noble Lord Chancellour, where there was a banquet contrived with admirable curiosities and enigmatical figures, representing the royal cognizances of the kingdom, and honors of Scotland.”—*Mercurius Caledonius*.

not be effected without being observed by those who kept watch upon the battlements ; but the night being dark, they from their disguise were mistaken for cattle. Ladders of rope having been prepared, one of the company, Simon of the Lead-House, was the first who ventured to scale the wall. The sentinel perceived a man ascending ; but as he had no idea that what he had looked upon as cattle was a band of warriors, and seeing no one following, he gave no alarm, but waited quietly till he should reach the top, when he would thrust him over the wall. Simon, however, by his intrepidity and agility, had no sooner gained the summit, than he sprung upon the sentinel, stabbed him, and threw him over the wall among his comrades. This served as a signal for them to follow, but before any of them had time to ascend, Simon was attacked by another of the watch, who also fell beneath his sword. At this instant his companions having joined him, they rushed towards the interior of the Castle, and presented themselves in the hall before the English, who were thunderstruck with terror and amazement. A dreadful carnage ensued ; the English being without arms, the greater part of them were slain. A few, however, escaped in the midst of the confusion, and with the governor, Gilleminge de Fenigges, a brave Burgundian knight, retreated into the great tower, where they made a desperate resistance for nearly two days. The governor, who had been mortally wounded in the face by an arrow, now surrendered, entreating that their

lives might be spared, and their persons safely conducted into England. With these entreaties Sir James complied ; but the governor only survived a few days. The Castle was shortly afterwards demolished by order of the Scottish King.*

Edward II., notwithstanding the severe chastisements he had received at the hand of Robert Bruce, whose government was now fully and completely established, still refused to acknowledge him King of Scotland ; he nevertheless applied to the Pope to use his authority in bringing about a peace between the two countries. His Holiness accordingly sent two legates into England in July 1317, with full powers to this effect ; but these legates not choosing to proceed to Scotland until assured of a safe conduct and protection, sent messengers to King Robert to obtain this, and intrusted them with letters from the Pope, and also from themselves to the King, stating the conditions on which they were to make the peace. These messengers, with considerable difficulty and danger, reached Roxburgh, where Robert at the time resided ; he received them very graciously ; but the letters from the cardinals being sealed, and addressed to Robert Bruce, *Governor of Scotland*, he would not suffer them to be opened ; the letters from the Pope, and other letters from the cardinals, being

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 245. Buchanan, lib. VIII. Major. p. 190. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 206. Leland, vol. II. p. 554. Godscroft, p. 31. Maitland, vol. I. p. 484. Ridpath, p. 241. Kerr, vol. I. p. 408.

open, he gave permission for these to be read, but refused any answer till he had consulted his barons. Having done this, a notice was sent to the cardinal legates, that on no account would they be suffered to enter Scotland, till they, or their master the Pope, acknowledged (as all other kings and princes had done) his title to the crown of Scotland. This resolute denial to receive them, enraged the legates, who immediately sent a friar with the Pope's bulls, to read them before the Scottish King, and, at the same time, on his authority to declare a truce between the two nations ; which having been done, King Robert said that he would pay no attention to any mandatory or bull of the Pope, so long as he refused to acknowledge him King of Scotland ; and having dismissed the friar without a letter of safe conduct, he was waylaid and robbed of all his papers and clothes.*

War having broken out between the two kingdoms in the beginning of the year 1322, the King of England invaded Scotland, without, however, doing much damage ; and, on his retreat, the King of Scotland (Robert I.) invaded England, and coming up with the retreating army at the abbey of Byeland, obtained a great victory. The King fled from the field of battle and took refuge in the City of York, whither he was pursued by the Scots. A truce was afterwards concluded, during which the King of Scotland held his court at

* Ridpath, p. 255.

Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Berwick, and the different cities and burghs in the kingdom as necessity required.*

On the death of Robert Bruce in the year 1329, his son, David II. ascended the throne, then in the eighth year of his age. Immediately on his accession, Edward, son of John Baliol, came forward to claim the crown, and with the assistance of Edward III. of England invaded Scotland, and in the year 1332 obtained a complete victory over the Earl of Mar, governor of the kingdom for David II., at Duplin, in the neighbourhood of Perth. After this he immediately proceeded to Scone, where he caused himself to be crowned by the Earl of Fife, taken prisoner at Duplin, and the Bishop of Dunkeld. From thence he went to the Borders, and having encamped in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, he took and burnt a castle commanded by Robert de Colville, and made preparations for the siege of Berwick, which it does not appear he undertook; for having obtained possession of Roxburgh, he by his letters patent, dated on the 23d November, at this place, acknowledges the supremacy of Edward III., who, "as rightful King of Scotland and the Isles, had bestowed them on his father John Baliol; but the said John having been deprived of them on account of some excesses committed by him, and Edward I. being unable, in consequence of Robert Bruce having seized upon them, to obtain possession of them again; and he (Edward

* Abercromby, vol. II. p. 150.

Baliol) having, with the assistance of Edward III., King of England, his sovereign, been put in possession of his inheritance, and crowned King of Scotland and the Isles, declares his having paid homage to the King of England in these words :—‘ I Edward, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, and the Isles thereunto belonging, become your liege-man for the said kingdom and isles, against all persons whatsoever.’” And by the same letters patent he agreed, in order to reimburse the King of England for the services and assistance he had received from him, to grant to him the sum of L.2000 yearly revenue in lands ; and also obliged himself to accompany King Edward in person, into the province of Gascony and elsewhere, at the head of 200 men, and his heirs and successors at the head of 100 men, at their own expense, as often as this might be required. He also agreed to take Joan, sister to Edward, in marriage, provided her marriage with David Bruce were not consummated ; and to provide her a jointure of L.500 Sterling per annum ; or in case of non-performance, to pay to him the sum of L.1000 Sterling towards the marriage or entertainment of his said sister ; and also to provide a maintenance for King David, as an amends for the loss of his crown and consort ; and in case of failure as to the supply of the men above specified, he bound himself and his heirs to pay to the King of England L.2000 Sterling when required ; and again in failure of this payment, he empowered the King of England to take possession of

the Castle of Roxburgh, and all the other fortresses in the kingdom, till by the profits arising from them, this sum should be liquidated. And further, in consequence of Edward having bound himself and his heirs to preserve Baliol and his heirs in possession of the throne of Scotland and the Isles, he, by another deed, bound himself and his heirs to assist King Edward with the whole force of Scotland, in any part of England, Wales, or Ireland, as often as required.*

The Governor of Scotland, Sir Andrew Murray, having learnt that Baliol was at Roxburgh, or in the neighbourhood, sent Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, with 1000 horse, who surprised Baliol and his men while asleep, at the village of Annan, whither he had gone to spend his Christmas, (or, as some say, to receive the fealty of the nobles, &c. in that quarter,) on the night of the 24th of December; and after a severe struggle, in which many fell on both sides, Baliol's force was discomfited, and he himself, in a state of nudity, fled to Roxburgh, on a horse without either saddle or bridle. He immediately passed over to Carlisle, and from thence to Westmoreland.† Early, however, in the following year, 1333, he returned to Roxburgh to await the arrival of the King of England; and shortly after, the guardian, Sir A. Murray, in an attempt to take the town and castle by assault, was, in crossing

* Maitland, vol. I. p. 512. Ridpath, pp. 299, 300. Hailes, vol. II. p. 191.

† Lesley, p. 239. Maitland, vol. I. p. 509.

over the narrow bridge which led to the town, in the act of rescuing one of his squires (Randolphus Golding) who was overpowered by the enemy, himself surrounded and made prisoner. He would not, however, surrender himself as such, till he was brought to King Edward at Durham, where he acknowledged himself *his* prisoner.*

Edward, as appears from Maitland, left Roxburgh in the month of February, 1334, to meet Baliol at Edinburgh, where his parliament was at that time sitting. This parliament, it would seem, ratified the agreement previously entered into between Baliol and him; for we find that, on the 12th of June following, Baliol attended Edward at Newcastle, where he again did homage for his kingdom, and delivered him a letter, specifying this ratification, together with the ceding to him the town and Castle of Roxburgh, and fortifications, &c. as mentioned in that letter.† Immediately on receiving this letter, Edward took the regular legal measures to put himself in complete possession of those places, and issued orders for their future government, by appointing officers over them.‡ He also gave orders to repair the

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 309. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 231. Godscroft, p. 56. Ridpath, p. 303.

† See Appendix, No. VI.

‡ 1334.—On the cession of the county of Roxburgh, and various other counties in Scotland, by Edward Baliol to King Edward, (see Appendix, No. VI.) Galfrid de Moubray made application to have the office of Sheriff of that county, and Keeper of the Forest of Selkirk bestowed upon him in right of Isabella, Countess of Mar, his

Castle of Roxburgh, and appointed William de Felton governor. And in consequence of the Earl of Dunbar and March (who, on the surrender of Berwick in the preceding year, had renounced his allegiance to King David, and transferred it to Edward) having deserted his standard, which inspired him with fears of new disturbances, he came to Roxburgh in the month of November, and having made an excursion as far as Glasgow without doing anything of importance, he returned and passed the winter in the castle.*

By a letter, bearing date Newcastle, 26th December, 1335, King Edward delivered to Edward Baliol all his possessions, which belonged to him by patrimonial right in the county of Roxburgh or elsewhere,† and which had been included in the concessions formerly made, and ratified by parliament.‡

This same year the young Earl of Namur, with 100 men-at-arms, and a number of volunteers, landed

wife, whose ancestors had long possessed both. King Edward accordingly caused examination to be made into the validity of this claim, which being fully established, these offices were conferred upon him; and we find from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, that, in the year 1347, William Carsewell, husband of Isabella, Countess of Mar, is made Governor of Roxburgh, also in her right.—Rymer, vol. IV. p. 692. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. I. p. 693.

* Rymer, tom. IV. pp. 615, 616, 617, 618, 622. Maitland, vol. I. pp. 519, 523. Fordun, vol. II. p. 323. Major, pp. 231-2. Ridpath, p. 314. Chalmers, vol. II. pp. 109, 110. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. I. pp. 297—321.

† See Appendix, No. VII.

‡ Rymer, tom. IV. p. 681.

in England to assist Edward in his re-conquest of Scotland. The governor, the Earl of Murray, apprized of their having left Berwick for the purpose of joining the King at Perth, determined to prevent this junction. Accordingly, he encountered them on the Burrow-moor, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, (their force being much increased by the English that had joined them,) and after a short but severe conflict forced them to retreat, which they did in an orderly manner to Edinburgh, where they took post on the Castle Hill; but being destitute of necessaries, they surrendered next day at discretion.* The Earl of Murray, desirous of

* 1335.—Of this battle, Abercromby, in his “*Martial Atchievements*,” gives the following account: “The onset made by the Scots was sudden and fierce, and the resistance made by the Namurois was resolute and strong. They stood their ground with undaunted bravery, and it was hard to tell for whose side victory would declare, till, by the arrival of Sir William Douglas, who hastened from the Pentland Hills to the assistance of his countrymen, she fixed on that of the Scots; yet not so fully, but that the foreigners made an orderly retreat to Edinburgh;—they faced about several times as occasion offered, or necessity required, particularly as they entered St Mary’s Wynd; and here a Scots knight, Sir David Annand, a man of incredible strength, and no less courage; having received a wound from one of the enemy, was thereby so much exasperated, that at once exerting all the vigour of his unwearied arms, he gave his adversary such a blow with an axe he had in his hand, that the sharp and ponderous weapon clove both man and horse, and falling with irresistible force to the ground, made a lasting impression upon the very stones of the street.” He allows that this story may appear incredible; but being given upon the authority of Fordun, an annalist of great respectability, who flourished in the year 1360, he had no reason to doubt its truth.—*ABERCROMBY*, vol. II. p. 47.

showing favour to the young Earl, because of his affinity to the King of France, restored him and his followers to liberty without ransom ; and in order to ensure his safety, undertook to convey him to the borders. Having effected this, he, on his return, fell into an ambush laid for him by the garrison of Roxburgh, and was taken prisoner and carried to England, where he remained for about two years.*

Anthony de Lucy, this same year, was appointed Keeper of the English Marches, of Roxburgh, and the neighbouring places on the borders, by King Edward.†

In the following year, 1336, the troubles in Scotland breaking out with redoubled fury, Edward, who had summoned a convention of his nobles to meet at Northampton, to take into consideration this new war, judged his presence so necessary in the north, that, leaving his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, to superintend their deliberations, he hastened to join the army at Perth ; and proceeding northwards, he raised the siege of the Castle of Lochindores, in which the Countess of Athole (sister to Lord Henry Beaumont, Earl of Buchan) was confined ; and having liberated her, he continued his route to Murrayshire, where he laid waste the possessions of the Guardian, and burnt the town of Elgin, sparing only the church, the bishop's seat, and the house of the canons. On his return south he laid Aber-

* Abercromby, vol. II. p. 47. Ridpath, p. 317.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. p. 398.

deen in ashes, and, arriving at Perth, he rebuilt the fortifications of that town at the expense of the Abbeys of St Andrews, Dunfermling, Lindores, Balmerino, Arbroath, and Cupar ; and also gave orders for putting in a complete state of repair and defence, the Castles of Stirling, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, in the latter of which he placed a strong garrison.*

This year (1338), King Edward gave orders to William de Felton, governor of Roxburgh Castle, to keep 40 men-at-arms instead of 40 light horsemen, to defend the Castle.†

In the year 1339, the adherents of King David II. had been so successful in their measures and operations, that the power of Edward Baliol was nearly annihilated, for of all the fortresses or places which had been either conquered by King Edward, or given up to him, none remained, with the exception of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, and some other inconsiderable forts; and Baliol, intimidated by such unexpected successes, again took refuge in England. Edward, though principally engaged with the war in France, did not lose sight of the state of matters in Scotland ; and, consequently, early in the following year (1340), he made such arrangements for the defence of the strong places still in his possession, as would ensure their safety, and at the same time enable him to carry on active offensive

* Wyntoun, vol. II. p. 206. Camden, vol. III. p. 298. Major, p. 231. Ridpath, p. 324.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. p. 561.

operations. For these purposes the governors of the castles, and his nobles, were to raise certain quotas of men. For instance, the governor of Roxburgh Castle was to furnish, besides what he had for the defence of that fortress, sixty men-at-arms, fifty halberdiers, and as many archers, of which he was to have the command, to attend the lords appointed to defend the marches. A truce, however, concluded on the 25th September, between England and France, in which Scotland was included, put an end to all hostilities till Midsummer next.*

Edward being again, in the ensuing year, 1341, involved in war with France, in consequence of a dispute respecting the succession of the Duke of Brittany, the Scots took up arms against him in terms of their league with the French King, and collected an army on the Borders ; but hearing of the approach of Edward with

* 1340.—Gordon, in his *Memoirs of the Sutherland family*, records the following occurrence at Roxburgh in the year 1340, which we do not find mentioned by any other historian :—“ While Edward III. was carrying on the siege of Tourrin in France, William, Earl of Sutherland, made an inroad into England, where he did much damage, but on his return he fell into an ambush near Roxburgh, which the Lord Gray the elder, Robert Muniers, and John Copeland, and the English garrison of Roxburgh, had laid for him. After a desperate battle he was put at first to the worst, but having rallied his men and encouraged them, he returned to the attack, and not only beat his enemies, but after this skirmish assaulted the Castle of Roxburgh, which he took after a furious conflict, killing most of the garrison ; and, having placed a Scottish garrison in it, returned home with his booty. This happened on Easter-day.”—GORDON, p. 48.

Fordun, vol. II. p. 332. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 76. Ridpath, pp. 329-31.

a much more powerful force, they were intimidated, and sent commissioners to him at Newcastle to solicit a truce for six months. He granted their request, on condition, that if King David (who had taken refuge in France in the year 1333) should not return within that time, and personally assert his claim to the crown, then the nobles should transfer their allegiance to him. In consequence of this truce, Edward celebrated the ensuing Christmas at Melrose, and his Lieutenant-General the Earl of Derby at Roxburgh. On this occasion Sir William Douglas, and three other knights, paid the Earl a visit, and joined with him in the festivities and martial amusements customary at that season, in a most cordial and friendly manner.*

On the 30th of March 1342, the Castle of Roxburgh was surprised and taken by the brave and courageous Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. Having waited till the darkness of the evening should prevent the garrison from observing his manœuvres, and being provided with rope-ladders, he scaled the walls, overpowered the guards, and got possession of the Castle. For this act of distinguished bravery, King David, on his arrival from France, rewarded him, by the appointment of Governor of the Castle, and Sheriff of Teviotdale.

The conferring of these appointments, so justly and deservedly, on Sir Alexander Ramsay, gave great of-

* Tyrell, vol. III. p. 485. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 76. Maitland, vol. I. p. 532. Ridpath, p. 332. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 110.

fence to Lord William Douglas, who had previously held the office of Sheriff; and he was determined to seize the first opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon him. Unfortunately, such an opportunity too soon presented itself. While Ramsay was holding a court in the church at Hawick, Douglas entered with an armed retinue, dragged him from the bench, and after having wounded him, and killed some of his servants, he carried him to Hermitage Castle, where he was starved to death.*

The knowledge of this barbarous transaction being communicated to the king, he was justly fired with indignation, and determined to punish the perpetrator of such an atrocious deed. Douglas, aware of this, fled to the mountains, where he concealed himself for a considerable time, until, through the intercession of the Steward, the king's resentment was assuaged, and Douglas recalled, and again received into favour, and reinstated in his former office.†

* "It is related, that above the place of Ramsay's confinement, there lay a heap of corn, and that with some grains which dropped down through the crevices of the floor, he supported a miserable life for *seventeen* days. Thus perished one of the bravest and worthiest, and most fortunate leaders of the Scottish nation, to the everlasting infamy of him who perpetrated the murder, and to the disgrace of that feeble government which durst not avenge it."—HAILES, vol. II. pp. 253-4.

† Fordun, vol. II. p. 334. Major, p. 243. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.), p. 239. Wyntoun, vol. II. pp. 251-2. Buchanan, Lib. IX. Godscroft, p. 73. Ridpath, p. 332. Hailes, vol. II. p. 253. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 110.

The distressed state of the country, through the ambitious designs and repeated invasions of the King of England, being fully made known to King David on his arrival in Scotland, (June 2, 1342,) he speedily raised an army, with the intent of avenging its wrongs upon the enemy; and having advanced considerably into their territory, and acquired a great deal of booty, on his return, a sortee was made upon his rear by the garrison of Wark Castle, who took a large portion of it. Incensed at this, he determined to lay siege to the castle, which, on the approach of a superior English army, he abandoned, and retired to the Forest of Jedburgh, followed by the English. Here, however, as they could not attack him, a truce was concluded for two years, which was afterwards prolonged for a year more; and nothing material occurred between the two kingdoms till the year 1346, when the arms of Edward being completely victorious in France, the King of Scotland was prevailed upon by the French monarch to declare war against England, who promised to send him 15,000 Genoese troops to his assistance.

Edward was employed in the siege of Calais when he was apprized of David's intention to invade England, and sent messengers to him, earnestly requesting that he would not enter his territories in a hostile manner; at the same time offering to restore the Castle of Berwick, and even to deliver up Edward Baliol, who had been the cause of all the late wars, to him, as the price of his forbearance. In order to deliberate on this

offer, a parliament was summoned to meet at Perth, which, through the influence of David, determined on the continuance of the war, and the invasion of England. David being thus sanctioned, levied a great army, which he ordered to rendezvous at Perth. This army was considerably reinforced on its arrival at Edinburgh, and amounted to 3000 armed men, 80,000 horsemen, and 5000 Genoese cross-bow-men, besides French auxiliaries. From Edinburgh they marched to Roxburgh Castle, and arrived on the borders. The whole was divided into three divisions; the first was commanded by Lord Robert Stewart, and the Earl of March; the second, by the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas; and the third was under the command of the king himself.

The army, thus arranged, entered Cumberland, and took the Castle of Liddel by storm. They continued their march to Lanercost, and having destroyed the abbey, entered Northumberland, laying waste the country as they went along. David, however, preserved the Towers of Hexham, Corbridge, Durham, and Darlington, conceiving they might be of service to him as depôts.

To oppose this invasion, the English regency, at the head of which was the queen (Philippa), summoned all that were fit for service to appear in arms for the defence of their country. This army amounted in all to about 16,000 men, and was put under the command of

• Lord Percy, William, Archbishop of York, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, and Edward Baliol.

The English arrived much sooner than the Scotch expected, and made an attack upon some cavalry sent out to forage, under the command of Douglas, whom they defeated and put to flight. The Scotch, in return, attacked the English, but made no impression on them. These unfortunate circumstances did not, however, discourage the king, who commanded a charge to be sounded, when the English archers were attacked by the broad-swords and battle-axes of the Scotch, with such fury and success, that, had not Baliol advanced with his cavalry to their assistance, in all probability the battle would have terminated in David's favour. Although the English had now evidently the advantage, yet King David made every effort to recover the fortune of the day, and fought with the utmost bravery till most of the nobles and others around him were slain ; when, unwilling to survive so fatal a loss, he rushed forward into the heat of the battle, and being overpowered, was taken prisoner (not without a most gallant resistance) by Copeland, a Northumbrian gentleman ; and by him conveyed to the strong castle of Ogle, in Northumberland, of which he was governor.

The consequences of this disastrous battle, were truly distressing to Scotland. The castles of Roxburgh and Hermitage immediately surrendered ; and the counties of Teviotdale, March, Liddisdale, and Lauderdale, were

delivered up. The counties of Annandale and Liddisdale suffered greatly from Baliol, who destroyed all the country round about, and also laid waste the county of Lothian.

The castle of Roxburgh, on this occasion, appears to have surrendered by capitulation ; as an order of King Edward and council, dated February 1, 1346-7, directs, that the terms made with those who gave up the castle of Roxburgh, should be strictly observed in every particular.*

Copeland, who had the honour to take the King of Scotland prisoner, having refused to deliver him to Queen Philippa, was summoned to Calais to answer to Edward for this act of disobedience to the King's regency ; when he gave to the King such satisfactory reasons for his conduct, that he created him a *knight banneret*, with a grant of land to the value of L.500 sterling per annum, and sent him home with orders to deliver his prisoner to the Queen, who had him conveyed to the Tower of London.† Copeland was also made Governor of Roxburgh Castle, where in the following year,‡ 1348, having collected a considerable force to oppose William, Lord Douglas, who had over-run Teviotdale, Ettrick Forrest, and Tweeddale, and driven the English out of them ; the men of Teviotdale joined

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 342. Major, p. 244. Buchanan, lib. IX. Boetius, vol. II. p. 443. Maitland, vol. I. pp. 537-40. Ridpath, pp. 336-9. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 110. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. p. 686.

† See Appendix, No. VIII.

‡ Rymer, tom. V. pp. 551-557. Ridpath, p. 338.

Douglas, which obliged Copeland to retreat to the castle, after having suffered the loss of a great many of his men.*

Edward, from many ordinances bearing date at Roxburgh Castle, appears to have resided there the greater part of the month of January, 1355.†

This same year, war breaking out between England and France, Edward hastened to that country to secure and protect his conquests; and the Scots, instigated by the French King, having refused to prolong the treaty, which expired on June 24, immediately invaded England. They took the town of Norham and burnt it, and on their return, surprised Berwick in the night, which they also took. Edward, informed of these events, left his army in France, and came with the utmost haste to direct the operations in Scotland. He arrived at Durham on the 23d of November, and having summoned his nobles to assemble with their forces, at Newcastle, by the 1st of January 1356, he advanced to Berwick. The Scots, informed of his approach, and aware they could not defend the town against the immense force he was bringing against them, abandoned it, after having burnt the town, destroyed the walls, and plundered it of every valuable they could carry off. Edward, after taking possession, ordered the fortifications to be repaired, and while his orders were in

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 346. Boetius, vol. II. p. 444. Wyntoun, vol. II. p. 269. Godscroft, p. 82.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. pp. 787-9.

execution, he went to Roxburgh Castle, accompanied by his vassal Edward Baliol ; who, on the 20th of January, again made him a formal surrender of all his right and title to the throne of Scotland, by presenting to him the golden crown, with earth and stones of the kingdom, (the usual tokens of infesting a person, or putting him in full and complete possession of any property,) at the same time praying him “ to deliver him from his enemies, the Scots, the most iniquitous of all nations, who had thrust him out that he might not reign over them.” He also, by a separate deed, made over to him all his patrimonial estates, and in return received from Edward the grant of an yearly pension of L.2000 sterling, which, however, does not appear ever to have been paid, at least not regularly, or to that amount. During Edward’s stay at Roxburgh, he was for some time amused by a proposal of the Earl of Douglas, and some others of the Scottish nobles, to submit to his authority ; which allowed them time to convey their valuables out of his reach. On finding himself thus duped, he advanced rapidly into Scotland, and laid waste the whole country as far as Haddington ; and expecting there to meet his fleet, which he had ordered to the Forth with a supply of provisions, (the country through which he had passed being completely destitute, grain of every sort having either been carried off or destroyed by the inhabitants,) but which had been completely dispersed, and many of the vessels destroyed by a violent storm, he returned in disgust to

England. Soon after his arrival in his capital, sensible that he was needlessly wasting men and money in attempting to subdue Scotland, he had recourse to conciliatory measures; and therefore issued a proclamation, bearing date March 15, addressed to the Chancellor and superior officers of Berwick and Roxburgh, and to all his commanders in Scotland,* ordering them to publish the same in the usual way, setting forth that Scotland was to be governed by the same laws and customs as hitherto; and also declaring that he had no intention of ever making any change or alteration in any of them.†

A treaty was, in the year 1357, concluded at the church of the Friars Minor at Roxburgh, by which the lands on the borders were to continue in the hands of the present possessors.‡ In the year 1359, Edward issued orders for repairing the Castle of Roxburgh, which do not appear to have been carried into effect; for in the next year, 1360,§ another order was issued, causing strict examination to be made into the defects in the walls and buildings of the Castle, which by a future order, in the year 1361, were put into a complete state of repair.||

* Appendix, No. IX.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 846. Wyntoun, vol. II. p. 274. Fordun, vol. II. p. 353. Leland, vol. II. p. 566. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 242. Godscroft, p. 83. Maitland, vol. I. p. 545. Ridpath, pp. 342-343. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 110.

‡ Chalmers, vol. II. p. 106. § Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. p. 842.

|| Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. pp. 849-861.

The captivity of David II. had produced the series of wars with England since the year 1346; and although many attempts by negotiation had been made to procure his liberty, Edward would agree to no accommodation, till, after having received the complete renunciation of the kingdom by Baliol, he found there was scarcely a possibility of reducing, either by force or concession, the nobles of Scotland to subjection. Desirous, however, of preserving the appearance of liberality, he consented, in the year 1347, to the appointment of commissioners to treat on this point, who met annually, (notwithstanding hostilities were still carrying on,) till the year 1351, without coming to any arrangement, except as to the sum to be paid for his ransom; the other stipulations being so humiliating, that the Scottish Parliament would not assent to them. In the year 1351, however, Edward conceded so far, that he should be permitted, on delivering a certain number of hostages, to go to Scotland, to endeavour, by his personal presence, to raise the sum stipulated, and prevail on his nobles to consent to the other terms. This being agreed to, David (having left a great many of his principal nobility as security for his again returning to England as a prisoner at Easter, next year, should he not be able to effect his purpose) proceeded to his capital; but, after finding that all his influence could not induce his nobles to listen to the terms proposed, he returned to England at the time appointed, and was again imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the

same farce of meetings of commissioners continued yearly, till 1354, when it was definitively settled that the sum of 90,000 merks should be given for his liberation, payable by yearly instalments of 10,000 merks for nine years. David, on this agreement being concluded, was conveyed to Newcastle, where Edward had summoned all the nobility in that quarter to assemble, in order to witness the delivery of the Scottish King; but the government of Scotland refusing to ratify this arrangement, he was again remanded to his old lodging in the Tower, and the war between England and France breaking out, and Baliol having renounced the Crown of Scotland in favour of Edward, caused his imprisonment to be more rigorous than it had yet been. In the year 1357, however, it was finally settled that David should be released, (Edward finding the Scottish nobles inflexible with regard to the other stipulations on which he had so pertinaciously insisted,) simply on the payment of a ransom, which was now raised to 100,000 merks sterling, payable in ten years. A truce between the two kingdoms was accordingly concluded for that term; and twenty hostages delivered to the English for the due fulfilment of this contract. David being thus set at liberty, was received by his subjects with every demonstration of joy and affection. The immense sum, however, demanded, and agreed to, for his ransom, it was found impossible, in the present impoverished state of Scotland, to pay; and accordingly, after one or two yearly instalments had been made, it

was found necessary to make application to the court of England to reduce the yearly payments, and to extend the final period of the balance. To this Edward consented ; but this application led to the consideration of a measure for the union of the two kingdoms, proposed in the course of the year 1363, by King Edward to David, and agreed to by him, but which the Scottish Parliament instantly rejected. The agreement between the two monarchs was, that in case King David should die without heirs of his own body, then Edward, King of England, or his heirs, should succeed to the crown of Scotland. This being ratified by the Scottish Parliament, the balance of David's ransom would be remitted ; he would be put into immediate possession of all his property in England, as also of the towns and castles of Roxburgh and Berwick-upon-Tweed, with the surrounding country ; that the governments of Scotland and England should be still preserved separate, with a number of minor arrangements unnecessary to be here inserted. This, as noticed above, was unanimously rejected by the Scottish parliament ; and although the Scots were still unable to pay the ransom of their King, no war took place between the countries on this account ;* for we find that, in the year 1367, commissioners were appointed to meet at Roxburgh, to treat for the continuation of the truce entered into at the time of David's

* Goddard, p. 84. Mitford, vol. I. p. 550. Abercromby, vol. II. pp. 130-1. Bidpath, pp. 345-6.

release, now on the point of expiring, and the same repeated in the year 1368,* because, from inundations and other obstacles, the Scots commissioners had been prevented from proceeding to England to have the former agreement ratified by the King.†

In 1369, war again broke out between England and France; and apprehensive, lest, through French influence, the Scots might again be induced to assist his enemy, Edward took the precaution of sending a number of troops to the borders, to withstand any invasion that might be attempted; and at the same time, strongly reinforced the garrisons of Roxburgh, Berwick, and the other fortresses in that quarter. In the same year, he granted liberty to the burgesses, &c. of Roxburgh and Berwick to carry on their trades, in the same manner, and with the same privileges, as when under the Kings of Scotland. This year, also, a truce was agreed upon between the kingdoms for *fourteen* years; one of the conditions of which was, that the Scottish subjects who had possessions in the county of Roxburgh, but which at this time were occupied by the English, were to receive one-half of the profits derived from these possessions.‡

Although the terms of the above-mentioned treaty were calculated to promote conciliation between the inhabitants of the borders, still such a degree of animosity

* Rymer, tom. VI. p. 473.

† Ibid. tom. VI. p. 585.

‡ Ibid. tom. VI. pp. 620, 632. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 199. Ridpath, pp. 346, 347.

existed, that often produced quarrels destructive of the peace of both countries. One, in particular, occurred in the year 1371, which led to very serious and disastrous consequences. At the annual fair of Roxburgh, in the month of August, which the Scottish inhabitants in that quarter were accustomed to attend, an affray took place, in which a domestic (or, as some authors say, a chamberlain) of the Earl of March, was killed by the English. The grossest insult had thus been offered to the earl; and as he was impatient for redress, he immediately sent a herald to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the Borders, requiring him to give up the murderers, that the injury done by them might not pass unpunished; but Henry, notwithstanding the earl's importunity, treated his demand with derision. The Earl of March took no farther notice of the matter at the time, but, stifling his resentment, he waited for the return of the same fair in the following year, when, a great number of English being present with their merchandise, he, in conjunction with his brother, the Earl of Murray, came suddenly upon the town, slew every male, carried off their goods, and reduced the town to ashes. The borderers, glad of any pretext for commencing hostilities against the Scots, (a pretext, as some writers say, which was courted by the English—the inhabitants of the borders being so much accustomed to live by plunder, that a state of peace reduced them to indigence,) immediately mustered all their strength; and determined, as they avowed, to obtain redress by the destruction of the

Earl of March's property, advanced into Scotland. In their route, however, they regarded *no* property, neither did they spare the innocent inhabitants; but with relentless fury put all to the sword, male and female, old and young. With distinguished barbarity, they ravaged the property of Sir John Gordon, which happened to lie contiguous to that of the Earl of March, spoiling his estate, and carrying away a number of prisoners. Sir John, burning to revenge the injuries thus inhumanly committed, advanced into England at the head of a numerous body of men, killing many, and taking a number of prisoners, besides seizing a large quantity of booty. On his return he was attacked near Carham, by Sir John Lilburn, with a very superior force. The battle which ensued was fought with the utmost obstinacy and determined courage. Five times were the Scots that day on the point of being vanquished, and as often did they return to the contest, and were victorious. At length the English were completely discomfited, and Sir John Lilburn, their commander, with his brother, and a number of his followers, made prisoners, and brought to Scotland. Sir John Gordon likewise preserved all his booty.*

During the remaining years of Edward III., who paid the debt of nature on the 21st day of June, 1377, nothing occurred at Roxburgh requiring notice; but

* Boetius, vol. II. p. 453. Buchanan, lib. IX. c. 40, 41. Major, p. 262. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 171. Maitland, vol. I. p. 558.

immediately on the accession of his grandson, Richard II., new disturbances occurred on the borders. At the fair of Roxburgh this year, another quarrel took place between the Scots and English, which ended in the Scots again setting fire to the town. To avenge this, the Earl of Northumberland, still bearing in mind the former occurrence, advanced into Scotland at the head of 10,000 men, to obtain satisfaction of the Earl of March, whose lands he ravaged during the space of three days; and, having thus accomplished his purpose, returned into England.*

At a conference held in the year 1388, between John, Duke of Gaunt, (Earl of Lancaster,) and the Earl of Carrick, it was agreed, if possible, to bring about a lasting peace between the two kingdoms; and having submitted the terms to both monarchs, it was fixed, that when they had duly considered them, the King of Scotland should signify his pleasure on this point to the King of England, at Roxburgh; and that the King of England should do the same to the King of Scotland, at Melrose.†

It does not appear, however, that this negotiation proceeded farther at this time, and that a truce merely for twelve months was concluded; for hostilities again broke out the next year between the two kingdoms. The Scots were successful in taking the Castle of Loch-

* Stow, p. 229. Maitland, vol. I. p. 559. Ridpath, p. 349.

† Abercromby, vol. II. p. 184. Rymer, tom. VII. p. 403.

men, which surrendered from want of provisions; and the King of England, fearing lest the Castle of Roxburgh might also fall into their hands, committed the custody of this fortress to Lord Graystock, a noble and wealthy person, much famed for his military skill, who immediately set out to assume the command of it; carrying with him immense supplies of provisions, besides his own household goods, conceiving they could be nowhere more secure from the enemy. The Earl of March, informed by his spies of his day of setting out, and the route of his army, laid an ambush for him, and suddenly attacking his long train of equipage, consisting of soldiers, waggons, and a promiscuous multitude, captured the whole without any resistance. Lord Graystock he carried to the Castle of Dunbar, where, that same evening, he had the mortification to be served at supper out of his own drinking-cups. At the same time, the Earl of Lancaster invaded Scotland, and took Edinburgh, which he spared, on account of the kind treatment he had experienced there on a former visit. He then returned to England by the borders, and having committed the command of this district to the Earl of Northumberland, he allowed him the sum of L.4000 for the maintenance of Roxburgh, Berwick, &c. for the space of six weeks.*

* Rymer, tom. VII. p. 425. Boetius, vol. II. p. 457. Fordun, vol. II. p. 397. Major, p. 264. Godscroft, pp. 90-95. Buchanan, lib. IX. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 247. Maitland, vol. I. p. 564. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 185.

The war between the two countries still continuing, France, in the following year, (1385,) sent assistance to Scotland, both in men and money. An army was accordingly raised, which proceeded to the borders; but the English, under the personal command of the king, so greatly outstripped the Scots and French in numbers,* that they prudently declined giving them battle, and retreated before them, taking care to cause the inhabitants to withdraw, and carry with them everything which could be of service to the enemy. In consequence of this wise precaution, Robert soon found it necessary to retrace his steps, after losing by starvation, and the sudden attacks of flying parties of the Scots, a great number of his men. At the same time, another army of Scots, under the Earls of Fife and March, had invaded England, and devastated the country as far as Newcastle, carrying off much booty, with which they got safe home.†

The season not being far advanced when the English retreated, the Scots were intent on recovering the Castle of Roxburgh, and pressed this measure upon their allies the French, expecting to derive much benefit from their superior skill in conducting sieges; but the French commander, making it a stipulation that the town, if taken, should be given up to his master, in remuneration for the ample assistance he had afforded,

* 1385.—On this occasion King Edward ordered the garrison of Roxburgh to join the army. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. II. p. 80.

† Buchanan, lib. IX. Godscroft, p. 94. Ridpath, p. 355.

the idea of laying siege to it was abandoned by the Scots; and the French soon afterwards returned to their own country. Abercromby states, that the French did not leave Scotland this year, and that another attempt was made to take Roxburgh next year, which did not succeed.*

By a truce concluded in the year 1397, it was agreed, in order to afford time for arranging a lasting peace between the two nations, that commissioners should meet for this purpose on the 11th of next March, at some town on the borders that should be fixed upon; and that a strict peace by sea and land should be observed till that time, and forty days thereafter, under the penalty of instant repayment of double the damage done; and that in this case the complaints of the Scots should be sent to the castle of Roxburgh, and those of the English to Kelso.† Agreeably to this arrangement, at a meeting of the commissioners of both kingdoms, in the ensuing year, 1398, a bill of complaint was presented against the son of the Earl of Douglas, who, with Sir William Stewart and others, had broken down the bridge of Roxburgh, burnt and plundered the town, made a breach in the wall, and burnt the hay and fuel, to the damage of L.2000 sterling, contrary to the terms of the truce. To this charge Sir William Stewart, who was present, answered, that as to the breaking of the

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 401. Buchanan, lib. IX. Major, p. 265. Godscroft, p. 95. Ridpath, p. 356. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 190.

† Rymer, tom. VIII. p. 18.

bridge, and the burning the hay and fuel, he did it by order of his lord, although he was not ready to assert that it was justifiable ; but as to the burning and spoiling the town, this was done contrary to his orders, and for that he was willing to make restitution. The commissioners, however, did not take upon themselves to decide in this matter, leaving it to the judgment of their masters ; or, as some say, the commissioners who should succeed them. Of this decision, however, there is no record in history.*

The bridge of Roxburgh was again broken down, and the town burnt, in the year 1411, by Gavin, a son of the Earl of March, and William Douglas of Drumlanrig, but whether in revenge for any decision given in the above-mentioned affair, we are unable to ascertain.†

James I. of Scotland, having been captured by the English, on his voyage to France, in the year 1406, was detained prisoner by King Henry V., and even forced to accompany him in his expeditions to that country. During his captivity, the kingdom still continued at war with England ; and, in the year 1417, the Scots having refused to enter into a treaty, although urged thereto by King Henry, as soon as he was passed over

* Rymer, tom. VII. p. 58. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 204. Ridpath, p. 365.

† Fordun, vol. II. p. 447. Buchanan, lib. X. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 257. Ridpath, p. 380. Henry, vol. V. p. 231. Godscroft, p. 124.

to France, raised an army, and, according to some accounts, invested Roxburgh. This, however, is doubtful ; but it is evident that they encamped in the neighbourhood, and there beat a very considerable English force. A short time after they invaded England ; but on learning that an army, at least 100,000 strong, was on its march to oppose them, they retreated ; nor were they pursued by the English, who judged it better to maintain a defensive, than carry on an offensive war.*

Roxburgh Castle having fallen into decay, King Henry V., in the year 1419, ordered it to be completely repaired, and put into a defensible state.†

Henry V. of England died in the year 1422, in France, and on the accession of his son, Henry VI., to the throne, being an infant, his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, became Regent of France, and the Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England. The war between England and France still continuing, the Scots, in order to make a diversion in favour of the latter power, raised two armies, with one of which the governor of the kingdom (King James being still a prisoner) invested Berwick ; while the other, under the command of the Earl of Douglas, laid siege to Roxburgh. Both of these enterprizes failed ; and the Scots, who had always been accustomed, in one way or other, to derive some benefit

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 449. Ridpath, p. 385. Henry, vol. V. p. 231.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. II. p. 224.

from their expeditions, denominated them, in ridicule, "the Dirtin Raid."*

The release of James I. from his detention in England, by a treaty concluded on the 10th of September, 1423, was fixed for the month of March in the following year, on the condition of L.40,000 sterling being paid in the course of six years, as a remuneration for his maintenance, and the expense of his education; and a truce between the two countries, to last for seven years, being twelve months beyond the time of payment, was agreed to at the same time; and also, a treaty of marriage between him and Jane, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, a cousin of King Henry VI., for whose portion the last payment of 10,000 merks of the above sum was to be remitted. The marriage accordingly took place in the month of February, and early in April following, he arrived with his queen in Scotland, attended by an immense retinue of Scots and English nobles, whom he treated with princely magnificence. But by this expense, and the sum to be paid for his ransom, (although it did not receive that name,) he laid such a debt upon the country, that all classes of his subjects were filled with discontent. The peace, however, which the kingdom enjoyed for twelve years after his return, (the first truce, for seven years, being prolonged for five more,) enabled him to attend, without

* Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 259. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 258. Ridpath, p. 388.

distraction, to the internal government of the country, which it was his constant study to amend and to improve; for during that period many wise and salutary laws were enacted, and many useful arts introduced and encouraged; justice was administered in a strict, regular, and impartial manner; his proud and haughty barons were reduced to a proper subjection to their sovereign, and the ferocious Highlanders and Islanders brought to yield obedience to the laws of the realm. Thus he regained the affection and regard of his subjects; and the dissatisfaction so general in the beginning of his reign, gradually changed into veneration and esteem.

The tranquillity which had so long been preserved, and under which the kingdom had so greatly prospered, drew near to a close, as did the life of this valuable monarch. A contract of marriage had been concluded in the year 1428, between the Dauphin of France and the eldest daughter of King James, to whom he was to give, as her dowry, 6000 men, to be sent along with her to France in ships provided by the French government. In the year 1436, an embassy arrived to claim the fulfilment of this contract; when the English government, aware that so close a connexion between these two powers would be exceedingly detrimental to its interests on the continent, especially as the dowry of the princess was to be paid in men instead of money, sent Lord Scroop ambassador to Scotland, with proposals for the marriage of the princess with the King of England, making the most tempting offers to induce

the king and parliament to agree to this match. The offers were—"a perpetual peace between the two countries; the restitution of Roxburgh and Berwick; and all that the Scots anciently possessed in England, as far as the Re-cross in Yorkshire." These offers the Scottish parliament rejected; and, in revenge, an English army, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, invaded Scotland. This force was met by a Scottish army equally strong, commanded by the Earl of Angus and Sir Adam Hepburn, at Popperden, in Northumberland, when a desperate battle, which was fought with the most determined bravery on both sides, ensued. Victory at last declared for the Scots. The loss of the English amounted to 1500 killed, among whom were 40 knights, while the Scots lost only about 200 men. Elated with this success, the king determined to lay siege to Roxburgh; and collecting a very great army of all his seculars, (shepherds, and those exempted by law, excepted,) to the amount of 200,000 men, besides carriages, he marched thither, and sat down before it about the beginning of August. The king prosecuted the siege with great vigour, and the castle, though bravely defended, could not have held out much longer. It is even said, that the governor, Sir Ralph Gray, had come to the resolution to offer terms of surrender, when the Queen of Scotland suddenly arriving in the camp, gave information to the king of a conspiracy formed against his life. In consequence of this intelligence, he immediately raised the

siege, disbanded his army, and went to the convent of the Dominicans at Perth, to investigate into the conspiracy; and there he was murdered, on the 21st day of February, 1437.*

In the course of the year 1438, a truce was entered into between the two kingdoms, which lasted for nine years. By the terms of this truce, the soldiers, and others residing in the town and castle of Roxburgh, and the English repairing thither, were to have the free use of the commons in their neighbourhood, for grass, hay, fuel, &c.; and this truce had nearly lasted the full time, when, on the marriage of James II. with Mary of Guelders, in 1447,† the English broke it, and invaded Scotland at two different points. One army, under the Earl of Salisbury, burned the town of Dumfries; the other, under the Earl of Northumberland, the town of Dunbar. But this war was of short duration;

* Fordun, vol. II. p. 498. 500. 502. Boetius, vol. II. p. 505. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 266. Buchanan, lib. X. Maitland, vol. I. p. 612. Abercromby, vol. II. p. 296. Ridpath, pp. 399—401. Henry, vol. V. p. 231.

1437.—It is necessary here to notice some disagreement between different authors respecting the transactions under this date. Some, as Leslie and Boethius, place them in 1432, while others, with more probability, assign to them the date we have given; and Abercromby, calculating upon the change of the year, which, from being formerly reckoned from the 25th of March, was now changed to the 1st of January:—this, by his calculation, places the siege of Roxburgh by King James in 1437, and his murder in 1438.—**ABERCROMBY**, vol. II. p. 298.

† Rymer, tom. X. p. 688.

the Scots having obtained a great victory over the English on the banks of the Solway Frith, the latter agreed to conclude a truce on the same terms, which was accordingly done in the month of July, 1449.*

This truce, which was at first only concluded for forty days, was afterwards extended to the 15th of November, when another was entered into, (insuring, however, the same privileges to the garrison and town of Roxburgh,) to continue for no definite time, but only so long as either king might choose to observe it; with this stipulation, that the party wishing to put an end to it was to give 180 days' notice to the other party, before his subjects should commence hostilities.

The Earl of Douglas, in the year 1452, having been discovered carrying on a correspondence with the English court, for assistance in a projected rebellion against his sovereign, the king required his presence at Stirling, where he refused to appear, unless a safe conduct and protection were granted to him under the great seal; which being complied with, he repaired thither with a numerous retinue. The king, after entertaining him most magnificently at supper, took him aside into a private chamber, and remonstrated with him respecting his traitorous conduct, which he requested him to discontinue. The earl, conscious perhaps of the influence he possessed in the kingdom,

* Rymer, tom. XI. p. 244. Buchanan, lib. XI. Abercromby, vol. II. pp. 342, 343.

(which, in fact, the king himself dreaded,) replied in very irritating language, which so provoked the king, that, drawing his dagger, he plunged it into his heart, and killed him on the spot. The commission of this deed gave great and general offence; and the immediate consequence was, that the earl's brother, his successor, with his adherents, took to arms. This rebellion, however, was soon crushed; and pardon being granted by the king, the present earl was received into favour, and early in the following year was sent ambassador into England, to negotiate the prolongation of the existing truce; which he accomplished, obtaining the same privileges for Roxburgh and Berwick as had been granted in it.

Although Douglas had been restored to the favour of his sovereign, yet he meditated another rebellion, which he commenced in the same year, 1453; but being unsuccessful, he made his retreat into England, where he remained till the year 1455, when he received from King Henry a pension of L.500 per annum, until he should recover the whole or the greater part of his possessions, which had been confiscated by the King of Scotland, and this for services *to be rendered by him*. In this year he had also made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Scotland by the Western Borders, but being totally defeated by the Earl of Angus, he with difficulty escaped to the territories of Donald, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, whom he enticed to become a party with him against the king, and retired again into Eng-

land. On this occasion a new method was devised for giving alarm to the country when an invasion took place. This was by placing watches at the passages and fords between Roxburgh and Berwick, who were to light up fires upon the highest eminences in the neighbourhood, which were to be repeated from other heights in view of these, that so in a very short time the whole country might be advertised of the approach of an enemy, and ready to oppose their progress. The issue of this rebellion was the voluntary exile of the Earl of Douglas, who remained in England, and the submission of the Earl of Ross, who was pardoned, and afterwards became a firm adherent to the King. They, however, had done considerable damage, the former in the southern, the latter in the northern parts of the kingdom.*

In this year an act was passed by the Scottish Parliament, prohibiting all Scotsmen from supplying Roxburgh or Berwick with victual, fuel, or other *supportacion*, on pain of treason; † and, in the following year, (1456,) another act was passed, prohibiting the exportation of grain to Roxburgh, Berwick, and England, under pain of such punishment as might be awarded by the judges.‡

On the 10th of June, 1457, another truce was concluded, containing the same privileges to Roxburgh as

* Godscroft, p. 191. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) pp. 277-9. Abercromby, vol. II. pp. 363-5.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. II. p. 44. ‡ Ibid. vol. II. p. 47.

the former. It was to have effect from the 6th of the ensuing month of July, and to continue for two years.*

The civil war, which, in the year 1459, commenced in England, between Henry VI. and the Duke of York, (commonly known by the name of the Wars of the Houses of Lancaster and York,) who laid claim to the throne, prevented, it would appear, the confirmation of the renewal of the foregoing truce, which had in fact been agreed to, and both parties seem to have applied to the King of Scotland for his assistance.† To neither did he return a positive answer ; but considering, that in the

* Rymer, tom. II. p. 460.

† 1460.—Abercromby states it as his opinion, that there was a perfect good understanding between King Henry and King James ; and that an embassy, sent in the month of June for the avowed purpose of confirming the truce, was in fact to make arrangements as to the mode in which James could employ the assistance to be furnished, to the best advantage ; and that it was by the advice of King Henry he undertook the siege of Roxburgh, which was then in the possession of his (King Henry's) opponents. On the contrary, Pitscottie says, that ambassadors were sent to King James from the Duke of York's party, with offers to restore to him all the possessions formerly held by the kings of Scotland in Northumberland, Berwick, &c. and a perpetual amity and friendship between the two kingdoms, if he would lend his assistance towards wresting the Crown from King Henry ; and to this offer, King James, after stating that he had sufficient cause of war with England, replied, " that if the Duke of York, with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, with the nobles of their faction, will keep promise, they shall be assured that my whole strength and forces shall be ready to invade your King's favourers with fire and sword, wherever I come ; and shall do my utter diligence to expel King Henry, and to restore the Duke of York to his own place."—ABERCROMBY, vol. II. pp. 381-2. PITSCOTTIE, pp. 61-2.

present situation of affairs in England, he was warranted in the attempt to recover those places within the kingdom, which the English had so long held ; and so calling upon all his subjects from the age of 16 to 60, assembled a numerous army, and laid siege to Roxburgh, in the month of July, 1460. The town, which was incapable of defence, he took and destroyed ; but the castle being in a condition to hold out, and withstand an assault, he laid regular siege to. The Earl of Ross, who had so lately been in rebellion against him, soon joined the army with a very considerable reinforcement of West Highlanders, and men from the Isles ; but, instead of employing this force in the siege, the king sent the greater part upon incursions into England, retaining only the Earl, and a few of his followers, about his own person. Not many days after, the Earl of Huntley arrived with his quota of troops, when the king, who was particularly attached to this nobleman, desirous of exhibiting in his presence the vast power of the artillery he had brought into the field,* took him to witness the effects of a single discharge from it upon the walls of the castle. Unfortunately (or, as some historians say, “ unbecoming his majesty,” or, “ more cu-

* 1460.—One of the pieces of artillery, from its immense size, was called the “ Lion,”—cast in Flanders by order of King James I. in 1430, and was the first cannon of any size brought to Scotland. It was 3000 weight, and was made of brass, with the following inscription upon it :—

“ *Illustri Jacobo Scottorum, principe digno,
Regi Magnifico, dum fulmine Castra reduco,
Factus sum sub eo, nuncuper ergo Leo.*”

rious than became him,") his majesty approached too near the guns, when one of them bursting, a splinter from it cut his thigh in two, and otherwise severely wounded him. Of these wounds he died in a very short space ; but previously, he gave strict orders that no notice should be given of the misfortune that had befallen him, lest the army should be discouraged, and the siege abandoned. The Earl of Angus, who stood close by his majesty, was severely wounded, with some others.

The queen, on receiving the melancholy intelligence of the king's death, fearful lest his dying apprehensions might be realized, with that undaunted courage and decision of mind for which she was so justly celebrated, immediately took her infant son, scarcely seven years of age, who happened to be with her in the camp, and presenting him to the nobles, addressed them nearly as follows :—" Lose not with shame the time and labours you have bestowed on this siege, neither let the loss of one man bereave you all of your courage ; and, seeing this chance is not known to the rest, bear ye a good countenance, so that no more may know the same. Forward, therefore, my lords, and put an end to this honourable enterprize, sacrificing rather the lives of your enemies, than your own tears to the ghost of your prince."* The effect of such an address from the

* Some writers have imputed the behaviour of the queen on this occasion to a decrease, or rather a want, of affection for her royal spouse ; but although there certainly was a difference in their tem-

lips of a woman to a band of Scottish nobles, may easily be anticipated. The siege was more rigorously pressed, and the castle so fiercely assaulted, that the besieged, despairing of relief,* surrendered this great bone of contention between the two kingdoms for upwards of 300 years, to the arms of the infant King James III.; on condition of the garrison being allowed to depart with arms and baggage; and, to prevent the English from ever again making it a strong-hold, it was entirely demolished; and, according to Lesley, the Scots advanced and destroyed the Castle of Wark.†

per and dispositions, approaching almost to an extreme, the king being generally represented as a credulous, yet benign and beneficent monarch, and the queen, like her progenitors, of a bold, determinate, and discerning mind, there does not appear sufficient ground for this imputation. We are therefore disposed to believe, that the queen's conduct, so far from being influenced by hostility to her husband, and a desire to see her son upon the throne, was, on the contrary, the natural effect of her own bold and intrepid spirit, which could not brook discomfiture. The circumstance of her being with her son in the camp, shows that she was acquainted with the operations to be undertaken; and, in presenting him to the nobles after his father had been killed, she certainly adopted the best mode of stimulating them to a vigorous prosecution of the siege, instead of abandoning it, as most likely would have been the consequence of the king's death, had she not done this.

* 1460.—At this time, the Earl of Sarum was appointed commander-in-chief in the North of England, and was ordered to raise an army out of the different counties under his power, to rescue Roxburgh and Berwick from the siege with which the former was pressed, and the other was threatened.

† Fordun, vol. II. p. 516. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 278. Buchanan, lib. XI. Major, p. 325. Lesley, pp. 298-9. Godscroft, p. 204. Maitland, vol. II. p. 651. Abercromby, vol. II. pp. 381-2. Ridpath, p. 422. Henry, vol. V. p. 276. Chalmers, vol. V. p. 110.

James IV., by a charter, dated at Stirling, the 20th of February, 1499, granted to Walter Kerr of Cessfurd, and to his heirs, the Castle of Roxburgh, and the site thereof, called the Castell-stede, with the site and capital messuage of Roxburgh, together with the right of patronage of the hospital called "Le Masson Dew" of Roxburgh, and whatever was annexed to the said hospital, castle, and messuage. Likewise the right of patronage of the hospital called "Le Masson Dew" of Jedburgh, rendering, if demanded, one red rose on the feast of St John Baptist, in summer, at the said castle, in name of blench-holding.*

From the demolition of the castle and town of Roxburgh, in the year 1460, notwithstanding the frequent wars between Scotland and England, there does not appear on record any attempt, on the part of either kingdom, to restore or rebuild this fortress, till, in the year 1547, during the reign of Edward VI. of England, and Mary Queen of Scotland, a new war between these countries (which King Henry VIII., on his death-bed, had strongly recommended to his son,) broke out,† when the Duke of Somerset, protector of the kingdom,

* *Diplomata Regia*, vol. IV. lib. 13, No. 372. Appendix, No. X.

† 1547.—The occasion of this war was the vacillating conduct of the Scottish Regent and his counsellors, in regard to the marriage of the then infant Queen of Scotland, with the infant King of England, Edward VI. ; a contract which, though imposed upon them by Henry VIII., they had agreed to fulfil ; and when required to do so, always gave evasive answers to the application, and at last, in direct

during the King's minority, invaded Scotland; and having obtained possession of Leith, burnt a great part of it; but finding his attempts on the Castle of Edinburgh foiled, by the bravery of the commander and the garrison, he proceeded to the Borders on his return to England. He, at that time, took the Castle of Hume, and encamping his army on the peninsula where the town and castle of Roxburgh formerly stood, he was so much struck with the importance of the place as a military station, that he determined to fortify it; and according to some authors, he built a fort within the ruins of the old castle, and according to others entirely rebuilt it. Perhaps neither of these accounts is strictly true; and we are inclined to believe that, agreeably to another historian, he only repaired such a portion of the castle as could in a short time be made fit for the reception of a garrison. An extensive trench, or ditch, was accordingly cut, and a strong wall built, which extended from one side of the exterior defence to the other. These works were traversed by others of a similar nature. The exterior defence, in which large breaches appeared, was patched up with turf and other like materials. Small apertures were made in the walls, which were so constructed as to enable the besieged to maintain the defence of the fortress with tolerable success. The Duke of Somerset is said to have

breach of their agreement, concluded a marriage between her and the Dauphin of France.

accelerated these repairs by his own example, which was followed by all the officers in his army ; so that the repairs were completed, and the castle put in a proper state of defence in the short space of *six days*. During the time the English encamped here, a considerable number of the Scottish chiefs appeared before the Duke, and took the oaths of allegiance to the King of England ; here also, many of the English received from the protector the honour of knighthood. The Duke then retired with his army, having bestowed the government of the castle on Sir Ralph Bulmer, leaving in it a garrison of 500 men, 300 of whom were soldiers, the other 200 pioneers.*

The English being in possession of several places in the neighbourhood of the capital, and of the principal strong-holds on the Borders, thus maintained a firm footing in Scotland, whence it was very desirable to expel them ; and a body of French troops, to the amount of 5000, arriving early in the following year, 1548, under the command of M. D'Esse, they, in conjunction with the Scottish army, made an unsuccessful attack upon Haddington. After this failure, however, they proceeded to the Borders with the view of driving the enemy completely out of that part of the king-

* Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) pp. 343-4. Lesley, pp. 474-7. Ridpath, p. 563. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 510. Grose, vol. I. p. 119. For a minute and curious account of the repairs done to Roxburgh Castle, and the other transactions of the Duke of Somerset while there, see Appendix, No. 11.

dom. Their success even here was very partial; they recovered the castles of Hume, and Fast Castle, and also the castle of Fernihurst; but the English, early in 1549, assembling an army of 8000 men at Roxburgh, prevented any attack being made upon that fortress. The Scots and French, nevertheless, made repeated inroads upon the English borders, doing considerable mischief, and bringing off much booty. The castle of Cornhill was taken and plundered, and the castle of Ford had been besieged, and partly demolished, when the English army approaching, prevented its complete destruction; they burnt, however, several villages in its vicinity. In revenge for this, the English plundered and destroyed Jedburgh and all the neighbourhood, where the Scots and French had been quartered for some short time, but from whence they had retired on being apprised of the assembling of the English at Roxburgh.*

At this time, in consequence of some measures of the government, which had for their end the relief of the poor, by the laying open inclosures, England was distracted by civil commotions, which it required all the means they possessed to suppress.† The war in Scot-

* Spotiswood, p. 89. Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 350. Maitland, vol. II. p. 883. Ridpath, p. 567. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 110. Lesley, p. 478.

† The commotions which are here alluded to, were occasioned by a proclamation issued by the regency for laying open inclosures, the multitude of which had become a great grievance to the poor. The common people thus encouraged to put forth their hand to redress

land was therefore suffered to languish, and the French, taking advantage of these intestine broils, considered it a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, the only place, except Calais, retained by the English in France. In this, however, they were unsuccessful ; for after spending much time, and losing many men in the siege, they were obliged to retire from before it. They were aware, too, that the English government was using every means to conciliate the friendship of the Emperor of Germany, whose influence and power were at that time very formidable, and whose assistance in this case they would obtain. The English also found the expense of defending Boulogne so very heavy, that they were anxiously desirous of peace, and the French were not less so. The French, however, having stipulated that Scotland should be included in the treaty, this was reluctantly consented to by the English, who, on account of their league with the Emperor, pretended they could not make peace with that kingdom without his consent. The negotiations, nevertheless, commenced, and a peace was concluded on the 24th of March, 1550, by which France obtained possession of Boulogne, upon the payment of 400,000 crowns. In that part of the treaty which referred to Scotland, it

the injuries they sustained in temporal matters, were easily instigated to oppose the innovations in matters of religion, which led to open rebellion, particularly in Devonshire and Norfolk ; and it was to quell these the forces intended to reinforce the English army in Scotland were employed.

was agreed, that the King of England should deliver up the forts of Lauder and Dunglas to the Scots, the garrisons being allowed to retire with their baggage, and the artillery they had carried to them from Haddington; but if these forts were not in possession of the English at the time of this treaty being concluded, then, in *lieu* of this, the King of England became bound to demolish the castles of Roxburgh and Eyemouth, which it should not be lawful for the Queen of Scotland, or the French or English king, to rebuild; and farther, if the King of England did restore the castles of Dunglas and Lauder, still he should be bound to destroy the castles of Roxburgh and Eyemouth, if the Queen of Scotland required this of him, and, on her part, had demolished the castles of Dunglas and Lauder. It was also agreed that the King of England should commit no further hostilities against the Scots, unless new cause should be given by the Scots themselves. This treaty being ratified and sworn to, the castles of Roxburgh, Eyemouth, Dunglas, and Lauder, were demolished. A separate treaty was next year, 1551, concluded between the Scots and English, for arranging and settling all points of difference, or which might give occasion of dispute, and for definitively fixing the boundaries between the two kingdoms, wherein it was agreed that they should be the same, as before the war between James V. and Henry VIII.*

* Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 352. Maitland, vol. II. p. 883. Ridpath, p. 570. Chalmers, vol. II. p. 110.

Peace continued between the two nations until the year 1557, when England being again engaged in war with France, (in consequence of Queen Mary's fond attachment to her husband, Philip, King of Spain, who, at the instigation of Pope Julius III., had broken the truce then existing between Spain and France,) Scotland was urgently solicited to afford assistance to its old ally, by breaking peace with England; for doing which, the French suggested to the queen-regent many specious pretexts. The queen-regent was exceedingly desirous to accede to the wishes of the French government, but the nobles were equally averse to engage in any war with England at this time, especially as commissioners were then sitting at Carlisle for adjusting any difference that still existed between the two countries; and besides, because they conceived it to be undertaken solely for the purpose of serving the French, and without any just cause on the part of the English. The queen-regent, however, gave authority to the French general, D'Oysel, to rebuild the fort at Eyemouth, contrary to the stipulations in the treaty of 1550, and thereby provoked a rupture. War having thus taken place, the nobles consented to raise an army for the protection of the borders; some petty marauding incursions were made by both parties; but in a very short time the nobles, quite disgusted with the war, disbanded the army; and the King of France having taken into his pay some of the Scottish soldiery who had been discharged, they with the French troops

were stationed in the neighbourhood, and along the borders. During this and the following year, the war was carried on in a predatory manner, with various success; but the death of Mary, Queen of England, and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, brought about a peace, in which Scotland was included, early in the year 1559. By an article in the treaty, it was stipulated, that the fort built at Eyemouth, and whatever else had been erected by the Queen of Scotland, in breach of the treaty of Boulogne, should be demolished and razed to the ground within sixty days from the ratification of the present treaty, and if the English had made any acquisition in Scotland, or fortified any place near the border, contrary to the same treaty, they should in like manner destroy and raze it, and that no place should be rebuilt or fortified anew by them, in violation of that treaty.*

From the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England, in 1558, to the death of Mary of Scotland, in 1587, the wars between the two countries arose from the internal disorders in Scotland, occasioned by the rapid progress of the principles of the reformed religion, by which the kingdom was divided into two parties, each of them struggling for the superiority. Elizabeth being decidedly in favour of the protestant profession, lent every assistance in her power to those in Scotland who had openly embraced it; while the opposite party

* Holinshed, vol. I. (Scot.) p. 361. Ridpath, p. 538.

were supported by the French, whose influence in Scotland had always been productive of hostilities between the two kingdoms. But after James had attained the age which entitled him to assume the reins of government, when he made a profession of the protestant reformed religion, and bound himself by his oath to support it as the established religion of the realm, we hear no more of wars or contentions between them, although still excesses were committed on the borders ; but these being merely the result of private quarrels, did not endanger the general peace of the country, although attended with melancholy consequences to the inhabitants on the spot.

The accession of James to the throne of England, upon the demise of Elizabeth in 1603, placed both kingdoms under one supreme head ; and, of course, put an end to all those unnatural wars which had wasted both countries for so many centuries ; yet being anxious to extinguish that ideal mark which separated the two kingdoms, and gave to each a distinct name, he assumed the title of King of Great Britain ; and although Scotland still retained its own government and laws, he recommended, and procured, an act to be passed, by a parliament which he summoned to meet at Perth in the year 1607, by which it was enacted, that in all times coming, all laws, customs, and treaties, concerning the borders between Scotland and England, should be abolished ; and that the inhabitants of the late wardenries should be governed by the com-

mon laws of the kingdom ; and that all offences committed in England, since the beginning of his majesty's reign over that kingdom, by any of his majesty's subjects returning within the same, were to be tried at his majesty's justice aires of the Sherifdoms of Roxburgh, Berwick, Selkirk, Peebles, and Dumfries, before the Lord Justice General and his deputies.*

The impression left upon the mind by the perusal of the foregoing details, is at once solemn and affecting. The change which has taken place, from grandeur and magnificence to ruin and extinction, portrays in most striking colours the vicissitude and instability of earthly excellence, and in never-fading characters stamps vanity on every sublunary object.

Who can view the venerable ruins of this once famed and "towering Castle ;" or endeavour to trace out the site of the city of Roxburgh, in former times the metropolis of the kingdom, without feeling in all its force the justness of the foregoing remark, and acknowledging the uncertainty of all human greatness ?

The very thought, that here, for many centuries, was the residence of our best and most beneficent princes, surrounded by all the noble and illustrious of the land ;

* Acts of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 367.

that here was first laid the foundation of that celebrity for Arts, Sciences, and Learning, for which Scotland now stands so conspicuously pre-eminent, awakens in the mind reflections of a gloomy and melancholy cast. Nor can our footsteps trace this hallowed spot, where the noisy mirth of revelry, and the direful clang of war, so often resounded in former days, without being appalled at the awful change ; where the gentle bleating of the lamb, and the swelling notes of the winged chorister, have succeeded to the bacchanalian carols of its former inhabitants ; and the peaceful toils of husbandry to the martial exercises and military achievements of our forefathers.

We cannot close our remarks on this celebrated place with better effect, than with the following lines by an elegant and much-admired poet, a native of this quarter.

“ Roxburgh ! how fallen, since first, in Gothic pride,
 Thy frowning battlements the war defied,
 Called the bold chief to grace thy blazoned halls,
 And bade the rivers gird thy solid walls !
 Fallen are thy towers, and, where the palace stood,
 In gloomy grandeur waves yon hanging wood ;
 Crushed are thy halls, save where the peasant sees
 One moss-clad ruin rise between the trees ;
 The still green trees, whose mournful branches wave
 In solemn cadence o'er the hapless brave.
 Proud Castle ! Fancy still beholds thee stand,
 The curb, the guardian, of this Border land,
 As when the signal flame, that blazed afar,
 And bloody flag, proclaimed impending war,
 While, in the lion's place, the leopard frowned,
 And marshalled armies hemmed thy bulwarks round.”

LEYDEN'S *Scenes of Infancy*, p. 107.

EMINENT MEN AND LITERARY CHARACTERS.

THE following short notices of eminent and literary characters, natives of the county of Roxburgh, we trust will not be unacceptable to our readers.

WILLIAM CRAWFORD, Minister of a small country parish in the Merse, at the commencement of the 18th century, was born at Kelso in the year 1676. He was one of the first and most determined opposers to the settling of ministers by presentation, instead of election by the congregation, and in 1734 he openly professed the general sentiments of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, on this and other points in the government of the church, but did not proceed with them the length of seceding from the establishment. He died 1742, aged sixty-six years.

JAMES THOMSON, the celebrated author of "The Seasons," was born at the village of Ednam, about two miles distant from Kelso, on the 7th September, 1700. His father was the Minister of that parish; who, designing him for the same profession, after going through the usual course of school education at Jedburgh, sent him to the university of Edinburgh to complete his

studies, which were first interrupted by his father's death, and afterwards finally closed by the following circumstance. During the first session that he attended the Theological Class, a psalm, in which the power and Majesty of God are conspicuously dwelt upon, was assigned to him as an exercise, when he produced a paraphrase and illustration of it in a style so highly poetical, that although he was complimented by the Professor (Mr Hamilton) for the elegance of the composition, yet he admonished him to express himself, in future, in language more suitable to an ordinary congregation. This gentle rebuke, however, it would appear, turned Thomson's thoughts completely away from the ministry, and he now devoted his whole attention to the study of that branch which had been his earliest delight, and which was to give to his name that lustre which it now so eminently possesses.

The metropolis of Scotland was at this time ill suited to reward the efforts of his genius; he therefore repaired to London, where, although for a short time he struggled with the difficulties attendant on poverty and want of friends, his merit did not remain long concealed. The publication of his "Winter," in 1726, soon brought him into notice, and that of "Summer" and "Spring," in the two following years, established his fame. "Autumn" first appeared in the year 1730, in a 4to edition of his works. In the interval Thomson went, as companion to the son of Lord Chancellor Talbot, the usual tour on the Continent, for which he was rewarded by the appointment of Secretary of the Briefs, a situa-

tion of no great emolument, and which he only enjoyed for a short time, the Chancellor dying in 1737; and with his death this appointment fell into the gift of his successor, who, it is said, would willingly have continued him in it had such a favour been solicited.

Thomson, however, from delicacy, or some other motive, did not present his suit, and thus became once more solely dependent on his writings. This reverse he bore with much fortitude for some time; but being shortly after introduced to his Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, he obtained his patronage, and received from him an annual pension of one hundred pounds. In the year 1746-7, he was appointed, through the friendship of Lord Lyttleton, Surveyor General of the Leeward Islands, a situation which, after paying his deputy, yielded him about three hundred pounds a-year. This, however, he only enjoyed for two years. He died on the 27th August, 1748, from a fever, the effect of taking cold on the water between London and Kew. His remains were deposited in the Church of Richmond, in Surrey, under a plain stone; and in 1762 a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. His memory has also been perpetuated by a similar erection in a field near his birth-place, which, however, reflects little credit on the taste either of the architect or contributors.

Sir JOHN PRINGLE, Bart., and M.D., was born at Stichel-house, in this county, April 10, 1707. The elementary part of his education he received at home;

and, at a proper age, was sent to the University of St. Andrews, where he remained for some years, and then went to Edinburgh to study medicine. Here, however, he only staid one year, when, anxious to receive the best instruction in a profession of which he afterwards became so bright an ornament, he removed to Leyden, in order to have the benefit of the lectures of the celebrated Boerhaave, at that time the head of the medical school in Europe, and there, on the 29th of July, 1730, he received his degree of M.D.

Immediately thereafter, Dr Pringle returned to his native country, and commenced practice in the metropolis, where he so soon ingratiated himself with the Magistrates and Professors of the College, that in 1734 he was appointed joint Professor of Pneumatics and Moral Philosophy, with the then Professor, Mr Scott, and his successor in that chair. Here he continued till 1742, when he was appointed physician to the Earl of Stair, commander of the British army on the continent, and performed the duties of his office so completely to the satisfaction of this distinguished nobleman, and his successor, the Duke of Cumberland, that he received a commission from his Royal Highness as Physician-General to his Majesty's Forces in the Low Countries, and parts beyond the seas; and shortly after another, constituting him Physician to the Royal Hospitals in the same countries. Upon these preferments, he resigned the professorship in the University of Edinburgh, which hitherto, through the respect the magistrates entertain-

ed for his abilities, and the hope that he would again resume the duties of it, had been retained for him; the teaching of the class, during his absence, being intrusted to two gentlemen, who officiated for him.

In 1745, he was recalled from the Low Countries to attend the Duke of Cumberland on his advance into Scotland, and remained with this army till the rebellion was crushed. He returned to his duty on the continent in 1747, and remained with the army there till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, when he came to England, and from that time chiefly resided in London, still retaining his commission as physician to the army, although he was not called to perform the duty on the continent.

In 1749, he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to the Duke of Cumberland, and in 1753 was chosen one of the Council of the Royal Society. In 1758 he entirely quitted the service of the army, and, being admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians in London, commenced practice, in which he succeeded in a measure proportioned to his already well-earned reputation.

On the accession of his late Majesty, in 1761, Dr Pringle received the appointment of Physician to the Queen's Household; in 1763, that of Physician Extraordinary; in the following year, he was made Physician in Ordinary to the Queen; and in 1768, he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to her Royal Highness

the Princess Dowager of Wales, with a salary of L.100 per annum ; and in 1774, he was further advanced to be Physician Extraordinary to the King.

The extraordinary merit and ability of Dr Pringle had not, however, escaped the notice of that munificent Prince, (George III.,) who, on the 5th of June, 1766, raised him to the dignity of Baronet of Great Britain.

Sir John had been four times honoured by the Royal Society in being elected one of the council of that distinguished body, and on the 20th of November, in the year 1772, in consequence of the death of James West, Esq., he was elected President, the duties of which office he performed with distinguished ability, till the year 1778, when, from his advanced age and increasing infirmities, he voluntarily resigned it ; and, in the year 1780, conceiving that he might derive advantage to his health from an excursion to Scotland, he came to Edinburgh, where he principally resided during that summer, and returned to London in the autumn, with the view of disposing of his effects ; which having done, he returned in April following to Edinburgh, intending there to pass the remainder of his life ; but finding the air too sharp and cold for his exhausted frame, he again returned to London. His health now rapidly declining, left no room for any hope of recovery ; and, while enjoying the company of a society which frequently met, he was, on Monday, January 14, 1782, seized with a fit which baffled all the efforts of medicine or skill. He

died at his apartments in King's Street, James' Square, on the 18th of the same month, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

It is impossible, in this short sketch, to give even an enumeration of the various works of this celebrated author. Suffice it to say, that his numerous productions, inserted in the proceedings of the various societies of which he was a member, show that he was indefatigable in the promotion of science, and of whatever might be instructive or beneficial to society; but his Treatise on the Diseases of the Army, has for ever rendered his name immortal. After going through many editions at home, it was translated into the French, German, and Italian languages; and scarcely, says his biographer, hath any medical writer mentioned it without some tribute of applause.

JAMES BROWN, a great traveller, and an excellent oriental scholar, was born at Kelso in the year 1709. He was the first who established a commercial intercourse between this country and Persia, by the way of Russia. Having accompanied his father (James Brown, M. D.) to Constantinople, in the year 1722, he soon made himself familiar with the different languages spoken in that part of the world; and from his geographical knowledge, the facility of such an intercourse was so strongly impressed upon his mind, that in the year 1741, he entered into an agreement with twenty-

four of the principal merchants in London, members of the Russian Company, as their chief agent for opening and conducting this trade. In consequence, he sailed for Riga in the month of September that same year, and passing through Russia, down the Wolga to Astracan, and along the Caspian Sea to Reshd in Persia, he established a factory, in which he continued nearly four years; and, during his stay, he had the honour of delivering a letter from his Majesty George II. to Nadir Shah, (better known by the name of Kouli Khan,) the reigning monarch of Persia. In 1746 he resigned his charge and returned to England, where he resided privately during the remainder of his life, which terminated, at his house at Stoke Newington, on the 30th of November, 1788, by a stroke of the palsy, which carried him off after four days' illness. He was a man of the strictest integrity, unaffected piety, and exalted but unostentatious benevolence, and died lamented and regretted by all who knew him.

While in Persia, he made himself so proficient in the language, that, on his return home, he compiled a very copious Persian Dictionary and Grammar, with many curious specimens of their writing, but which were never published.

He was the first that projected what is now found so useful, and is so general throughout the kingdom, a "Directory," or list of the principal traders, &c. which was first published in London, about the year 1732, by

Mr Henry Kent, printer, Cornhill, who, continuing the publication from year to year, realised a considerable fortune by it.

WILLIAM BUCHAN, M. D. author of "Domestic Medicine," was born at Ancram in this county, in the year 1729, and was descended from a most respectable family. Although in his early years he took great pleasure in the study of mathematics, yet he eventually made choice of medicine for his profession; and, to qualify him for practice, attended the lectures of the various Professors of the different branches of this department in the University of Edinburgh, where, by intense study and application, he made rapid progress in his knowledge of the science.

The first scene of his professional labours was at Sheffield, in Yorkshire; and, in the course of a short time, he was elected physician to a branch of the Foundling Hospital, then established at Ackworth, where, from his mode of treatment, and the regulations established by him for the preservation of health, the annual number of deaths was reduced from one-half to one in fifteen; and here he derived that intimate knowledge of the complaints of children, which he afterwards published in his "Domestic Medicine," and "Advice to Mothers," which has, without doubt, been of much benefit to mankind at large.

On the dissolution of the establishment at Ackworth, Dr Buchan returned to Edinburgh, and being elected a

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, he began the practice of his profession, in which he was very successful; but considering this sphere too limited, he removed to London about the year 1775, where he died in the year 1805, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

His chief work, the "Domestic Medicine," was first published in 1771, by the late Mr Cadell, to whom he sold the copyright for a very inconsiderable sum; but who, from the increasing popularity and rapid sale of the book, made the Doctor a handsome present on his revising each edition, of which he lived to see *nineteen* published.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELLIOT, Lord Heathfield, famous for his gallant defence of Gibraltar during the war which ended in 1783, was the youngest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs, in this county, and was born about the year 1718. Having received the first rudiments of his education under his paternal roof, he was sent at a very early period of life to the University at Leyden, where he finished his classical studies; and at this time, giving the strongest proofs of his attachment to military pursuits, he was immediately placed in the military school at La Fere in Picardy, then under the superintendance of the celebrated Vauban. Having finished his studies there, he visited the different places on the continent, in order to have an opportunity of witnessing the theory he had learnt, carried in practice,

and returned to his native country in the seventeenth year of his age.

This same year he entered a volunteer into the 28d regiment of foot, and the year following he joined the Engineer corps at Woolwich, where he soon became very proficient in that branch of military science. His first promotion was to the adjutancy of the second troop of Horse Grenadiers, of which Colonel Elliot, his uncle, had the command. With this troop he went to Germany, and was present in all the actions in which it was engaged, and was wounded at the battle of Dettingen. In this regiment, he afterwards became captain and major, by purchase ; and, on arriving at this rank, resigned his commission in the Engineer department.

Shortly after this, he was made aid-de-camp to George the Second ; and in 1759 he quitted the Guards, being appointed to raise and discipline the First regiment of Light Horse, named after himself, *Elliot's*, and long famed as a pattern both for discipline and appointment. With this regiment he served, with distinguished credit to himself and the corps, on the coast of France and in Germany, from whence he was recalled to take part in the expedition against the Havannah, in which he was second in command.

During the peace which followed, he was differently employed, but always actively ; and in the year 1775, being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, he found so many things connected with that

service disagreeable to him, that he solicited to be recalled from it, which was at last granted; and he received immediately the command at Gibraltar, the defence of which placed the top-stone on his character, as a brave, judicious, persevering, and indefatigable general.

The circumstances of this memorable siege are so well known, that it would be superfluous even to give a sketch of it; suffice it to say, that his conduct during this prolonged and arduous contest, drew forth not only the gratitude of his sovereign and his country, but the astonishment and admiration of every nation in Europe. On his return he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; the honour of Knight of the Bath was conferred on him by the King, with a pension during his own, and a second life of his own appointment; and in the year 1787, he was advanced to the peerage, by the title of Lord Heathfield, Baron Gibraltar.

His lordship died at his chateau at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 6th July 1790, in the 73d year of his age, of a second stroke of the palsy, and just two days before he meant to set out for Leghorn on his route to Gibraltar, from an anxiety to end his days on the spot where he had acquired his fame; or, as another account says, to assume the command of and defence of this fortress, in the view of an approaching war. His remains were brought to England, and deposited in a vault at Heathfield, in Sussex, over which a handsome monument is erected.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, M. D. author of the "Art of Preserving Health," and other Poems and Miscellaneous Pieces, was born at Castleton, in the county of Roxburgh, and took his degree in physic at the university of Edinburgh in the year 1732. He afterwards went to London, where his fortune was various for several years. At length he was appointed one of the Physicians to the Hospital for Lame and Sick Soldiers, behind Buckingham House, in the year 1746, which situation he enjoyed till 1760, when he was made Physician to the Army in Germany. After the peace, in 1768, he resided principally in London, where he obtained a limited, but very respectable practice, and enjoyed the friendship of many of the leading characters for literature and genius of the day. He died at his house, Russell Street, Covent Garden, September 7, 1779, leaving behind him a very inconsiderable fortune, which, however, it is said, he had saved out of a very small income, derived chiefly from his half-pay.

As a poet, his "Art of Preserving Health" is his *chef d'œuvre*, and ranks him among the best of our minor English poets, but his other published pieces, with the exception of "Benevolence," which appeared in 1751, either from the choice of his subject, or the careless execution, rather detracted from, than added to his fame. His biographers speak variously of his other writings, either professional or miscellaneous, but in general agree, that his style was "deformed by a perpetual flow of affectation, a struggle to say smart

things, and, above all, a most disgusting repetition of vulgar oaths and exclamations," a practice which is also said to have predominated in his common conversation. He was, however, esteemed a man of letters and genius, of considerable ability in his profession, generous and good-hearted, but of an indolent habit, which was a great bar to his advancement in his profession, and totally unfitted him for contending with the host of competitors at this time candidates for medical fame.

JOHN HOME, author of the celebrated tragedy of "Douglas" and other Dramatic Pieces, and of the "History of the Rebellion 1745-6," was a native of this county, and born in the vicinity of Ancrum in the year 1724. His views being directed towards the church, he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, after going through the usual course at the parish school of Ancrum; and having nearly completed his studies, the rebellion breaking out interrupted them for some time, Mr Home having joined an association formed by the citizens of Edinburgh for the support of the royal cause; and having accompanied the king's army to Falkirk, he was taken prisoner in the battle fought in that neighbourhood, and was for some time confined in the prison of Doune, from whence, however, he made his escape, about the time of the total overthrow of the Prince's army on the plains of Culloden. He then resumed his studies, and was licensed to preach in the

year 1747. In 1750, he was presented to the living of Athelstaneford, in the county of East Lothian, vacant by the death of the Rev. Robert Blair, author of the "Grave;" but the particular bent of his genius leading him to seek for fame in a different species of literature from that connected with his clerical duties, he never appears to have relished his situation. He devoted his talents to dramatic productions; and although his first tragedy, "Agis," was refused by the London managers, and his next, "Douglas," was peremptorily rejected by Garrick, yet he was not discouraged; but from his acquaintance with the leading characters in Scotland, he succeeded in bringing it out in Edinburgh, where it was performed at the theatre in the Canongate, in the year 1756, in the presence of himself and several of his clerical brethren.

The circumstance of Mr Home, and those who accompanied him, giving their sanction to theatrical performances, gave great offence both to the clergy and people of Scotland; and being threatened with the highest ecclesiastical censures, he, in the year following, resigned his living, and with it all connexion with the church.

From an high eulogium of the celebrated David Hume, on the style of the author, in which he complimented him with possessing "the true theatric genius of Shakspeare and Otway, refined from the unhappy barbarism of the one, and licentiousness of the other," the managers of Covent-Garden consented to receive

“ Douglas,” and it was performed in that theatre the first time, on March 14, 1757, with very moderate applause. Each succeeding representation, however, displayed more and more its excellence, and it is now ranked among the best stock-pieces of the British stage.* He afterwards produced four other tragedies, none of which had even a temporary success, which induced him for ever to relinquish dramatic writing.

Shortly after this, through the influence of the Earl of Bute, he obtained a pension from his Majesty, and in 1763 was appointed a Commissioner for Sick and Wounded Seamen, and for the Exchange of Prisoners, and the same year was made Conservator of the Scotch Privileges at Campvere, in Zealand.

He had now retired to Scotland, where he passed the remainder of his days; and in 1778, when the Duke of Buccleugh raised his regiment of fencibles, he accepted of a captain's commission, which he held till the peace in 1783.

For a considerable time before his death, his mental faculties were much impaired; and he died of a gradual decay of nature, at Merchiston House, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, on the 4th September, 1808, at the advanced age of eighty-five.

* It is said that Mr Home was present in the Edinburgh Theatre, when Mr Betty (better known under the appellation of the young Roscius) first appeared in the character of Young Norval, and was so highly pleased with his personification of it, that he sent for him next day, and presented him with a purse containing twenty guineas.

The Right Honourable Sir GILBERT ELLIOT, MURRAY, KYNNYNMOUND, Baron and Earl Minto, Viscount Melgund, was son to Sir Gilbert Elliot, third Baronet of Minto, for many years a distinguished member of Parliament, who generally leaned to the measures of the court ; but his son, the subject of the present sketch, on taking his seat in the House of Commons in 1774, took a decided part with the opposition ; and continued to support the measures of that party with high reputation, till the breaking out of the French Revolution, when the wild and chimerical doctrines broached, and in some measure countenanced by this party, induced him, with many others, to join the ministry. Sir Gilbert was made a privy councillor in 1793, and the year following was sent to Corsica, to negotiate the accession of that island to the sovereignty of Great Britain. He accepted, for his Majesty, the royal title of Corsica, and continued there as Viceroy till the prevalence of the French party obliged him to quit it. On his return he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Minto, in the county of Roxburgh ; and by the King's particular command, had the distinction granted to him, of bearing, with his family armorial bearings, *in chief*, the arms of the island of Corsica. In 1799 he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to the Court at Vienna ; and in 1806, was appointed President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India. In 1807-8 he succeeded the Marquis Wellesley as Governor-General of India, where, in the year 1811, he accompanied

the expedition for reducing the island of Java. Returning from India early in 1812, he received the unanimous thanks of both Houses of Parliament, for the wisdom and ability with which the military resources of the British empire in India, under his lordship's government, had been applied in the reduction of the power of the enemy in the eastern seas; and, in remuneration for such distinguished services, he was, February 2, 1813, further advanced to the dignities of Earl of Minto and Viscount Melgund. His lordship was not, however, destined long to survive this additional mark of his country's favour. His health began to decline gradually, and he died on the 21st day of June, 1814, at the seat of Lord Malmesbury, in Kent, in the 61st year of his age, being born on the 22d of April 1754.

JOHN LEYDEN, M.D. an elegant poet, and able linguist, was born at the village of Denholm, in this county, on the 8th September, 1775. From the circumscribed means of his parents, his education was at first much retarded, as he had reached his tenth year before he was put even to the reading school, where, however, his natural abilities soon made up for this loss; and his parents, designing him for the ministry, shortly after placed him under the tuition of Mr Duncan, a Cameronian minister in the village, by whose instructions he profited so rapidly, that before he had attained his fifteenth year, he was considered sufficiently proficient

in the Latin language to be sent to the University. He accordingly entered the College of Edinburgh, in the year 1790, and soon became distinguished for his knowledge in that and the Greek, and also in all the other branches of education connected with the profession for which he was intended. At the same time, he devoted his leisure hours to the attainment of the French, Italian, Spanish, and German languages, as also the ancient Islandic, the Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian.

In the year 1800, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, and preached in several of the churches of Edinburgh and the vicinity. His manner of delivery is said to have been rather awkward and uncouth, but the substance of his discourses sufficiently overbalanced this defect.

Some time previous to this, his attention had been excited by the expedition of his early friend and college companion, Mr Mungo Park ; he therefore set himself to study the history of Africa ; and in the year 1799, he published the fruit of his researches in a small volume, entitled, *A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa, at the close of the eighteenth century*, a work which was favourably received by the public.

Leyden's thirst for knowledge being thus increased, he made an offer of his services to the African Society in 1802, to undertake a journey of discovery through that continent, which, however, was not accepted ; and

no prospect appearing of any settlement for him in the ministry, his friends, becoming anxious that his remarkable abilities should not lie dormant, they represented him to the Right Honourable W. Dundas, at that time a member of the Board of Control, as a person eminently calculated for investigating the languages and literature of India. Mr Dundas instantly embraced this proposal, but signified, at the same time, that he had no appointment at his disposal except that of an assistant-surgeon, for which it would be necessary that Mr Leyden should qualify himself. Such an appointment, especially when he was assured that his employment would entirely be confined to literary researches, was eagerly accepted by him, and he immediately commenced the necessary studies. In the short space of six months, he obtained a diploma from the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and the degree of M.D. from the University of St Andrews.

Early in December the same year, he went to London; and having gone through the proper examinations, he received his appointment, with orders to sail in the Hindostan, then on the eve of departure; but, owing to sickness, he was fortunately prevented from going in that ship, (which was lost in going down the Thames,) and through the kind interference of his friends, he obtained permission to take his passage in the *Hugh Inglis*, in which ship he left England in the month of April 1803.

On his arrival at Madras, he was appointed surgeon

to the commissioners for surveying the ceded districts, with directions to devote his attention to the natural history, manners, and languages of the Mysore; but the effects of the climate, and his unwearied exertions to acquire the languages of the country, upon his health, soon rendered it necessary for him to leave the presidency of Madras, and to go to Prince of Wales Island. Previously, however, he had acquired a general knowledge of the Arabic, Persian, Hindostani, Mahratta, Tamul, Telinga, Canara, Sanscrit, Malayalam, Malay, and Armenian languages, and had succeeded in translating the famous Jewish tablets of brass, preserved in the synagogue of Cochin, and likewise deciphered several inscriptions in the ancient Canara and Tamul dialects, which had baffled the attempts of all preceding orientalists.

During his stay at Prince of Wales Island, he visited Achi, and some other places on the coast of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula, pursuing with unabated ardour, and with considerable success, the objects of his mission.

In 1806, he left Prince of Wales Island, and arrived at Calcutta, where he was most kindly received by the Governor-general, Earl Minto; and received the appointment of a Professor in the College of Bengal, which, however, was soon exchanged for that of a Judge of the twenty-four Pergunnahs of Calcutta, an office of considerable emolument.

On the expedition against the island of Java, in 1811,

he accompanied Lord Minto, in order to act as interpreter with the native princes in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements, and also to pursue his researches respecting the language, &c., of the different tribes of that island, and to assist in settling the government of the country. But on the surrender of Batavia, in his eagerness to examine a library in that city, where many valuable Indian MSS. were supposed to be deposited, he incautiously went into an apartment without its being aired, (although it had been shut up for some time,) and on his coming out was seized with a shivering and fever, which cut him off in three days, in the 36th year of his age, and on the very day when the island of Java surrendered to the British arms. Lord Minto and Mr Raffles saw the last sad offices done to his mortal remains—" Thus," says Mr Morton, " Leyden closed his 'bright and brief career,' when his hopes were highest, and his fortune seemed most auspicious; when he was advancing rapidly to that fame and distinction of which he was nobly ambitious, and when his merits had become sufficiently known to cause him to be deeply and universally regretted." And Lord Minto, in a speech delivered at a visitation of the College of Fort William, speaking of Dr Leyden, bears this honourable testimony to the disinterestedness of his character:—" No man, whatever his condition might be, ever possessed a mind so entirely exempt from every sordid passion, so negligent of fortune, and all its grovelling pursuits—in a word, so entirely disinterested—nor ever owned

a spirit more firmly and nobly independent. I speak of these things with some knowledge, and wish to record a competent testimony to the fact, that within my experience, Dr Leyden never, in any instance, solicited an object of personal interest ; nor, as I believe, ever interrupted his higher pursuits, to waste a moment's thought on these minor cares. Whatever trust or advancement may at some periods have improved his personal situation, have been, without exception, tendered, and in a manner thrust upon his acceptance, unsolicited, uncontemplated, and unexpected. To this exemption from cupidity, was allied every generous virtue worthy of those smiles of fortune which he disdained to court, and amongst many estimable features of his character, an ardent love of justice, and a vehement abhorrence of oppression, were not less prominent than the other high qualities I have already described.*

In addition to the foregoing, we subjoin the following list of literary characters born in this county, of whom little remains on record, that we can find, except their names :—

PETER FENTON, a monk of Melrose, who wrote "The Bruce," in metre, about the year 1369. CHALMERS.

* Life of Leyden, p. lxxi.—lxxiv.

JOHN RUTHERFORD, minister of Cults, and provost of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, was born at Jedburgh, about 1572. He published a Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics, and a work, entitled *Commentariorum de Arte Disserendi*, in four books. In 1564, he was appointed, along with George Buchanan, John Knox, and others, to confer about the causes appertaining to the jurisdiction of the kirk, and to report their judgment to the next Convention. Dr IRVING.

JANE ELLIOT, authoress of that elegant border ballad, "The Flowers of the Forest," was born at Minto, in 1726. CHALMERS.

GEORGE BARRY, D.D. author of the History of the Orkney Islands, was a native of Roxburghshire.

IN connexion with the eminent men which the county of Roxburgh has produced, it would be unjust to pass without notice the name of WILLIAM DAWSON, Esq. who, although a native of the neighbouring shire (Berwick), was the first to introduce the new mode of husbandry, so successfully practised by himself, and so beneficially followed by the agriculturists in Roxburghshire. If it is to be regarded as a benefit conferred on

the community to increase the national resources of this country by augmenting the productiveness of the soil, Mr Dawson must be allowed to be a proper object of public gratitude. It is now universally acknowledged, that this gentleman first introduced, and first set the example, in his native district, of the perfect system of farming, now prevalent in this and the adjoining counties, where, it is believed, the true principles of good farming are more thoroughly understood as a science, and more efficiently carried into practice, than perhaps in any other part of the kingdom. The most striking feature of Mr Dawson's improvement upon the former practice, was the introduction of the drilled turnip husbandry. Previous to his time, the advantages of a proper rotation of crops was understood; it was also known that land ought to be fallowed, in order that it might be cleaned and restored; but the growth and extension of any proper system founded on these principles, was much obstructed by the expenses incurred in the vacant and unproductive year of fallowing. It was with the view of providing a remedy for this evil, that Mr Dawson commenced his speculations; and, after much observation of the practice in various parts of England, where farming was then best understood, matured and assisted by the vigorous powers of his own mind, he succeeded in at once establishing, in its highest perfection, the cultivation of the turnip in drills, a system which was found to be the most effectual mode of cleaning and restoring vigour to the land, while, at

the same time, the crop produced at least repaid the expense of raising it. The introduction of this system has, it is well known, been followed by the most important and beneficial alteration upon the whole practice of agriculture. Mr Dawson was also the author of a small tract, entitled, "Thoughts on Public Trusts," published about 1810, which was favourably noticed in the *Edinburgh Review*; and also of a "Treatise on the Poverty of Nations," in which he anticipates later political economists in some of their most important conclusions, particularly regarding the benefits of a free corn trade. As an author, Mr Dawson was original and ingenious. His style, however, is rude and unpolished.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LESSER BARONS,

Or Commissioners for the Shire of Roxburgh, from the year 1607, to 1706, the last of the Scottish Parliaments.

18th March, 1607—Sir John Ker.

12th October, 1612—William Douglas, younger of Cavers.

27th May, 1617—William Douglas, younger of Cavers, and the Laird of Liddell.

1st June, 1621—The Laird of Liddell, and William Douglas of Cavers.

15th September, 1628, and 18th June, 1633—William Douglas of Cavers, and Sir Walter Riddell of that ilk.

Second Parliament of King Charles I., 1641—Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Third Parliament of King Charles I., 1644—Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers; John Ker of Lochetoure.

First Triennial Parliament of King Charles I., 1645—Laird of Cavers; Laird of Stobs.

Second Triennial Parliament, 1649—Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers.

Ditto, Ditto, 1650-1—Laird of Cavers; Laird of Stobs.

First Session first Parliament of King Charles II., 1st January, 1661—Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Second Session of the first Parliament of King Charles II., 8th May, 1662—Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Third Session of King Charles II., 18th June, 1663—Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Second Parliament of King Charles II., 19th October, 1669—Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Second Session of second Parliament of King Charles II., 22d July, 1670—Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Third Session of second Parliament of King Charles II., 12th June, 1672—Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Fourth Session of second Parliament of King Charles II., 12th November, 1673—Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, and Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.

Third Parliament of King Charles II., 28th July, 1681—Henry M'Dougall of Makerstoune, and Robert Pringle of Stitchell.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LESSER BARONS. 315

- First Parliament of King James VII., 23d April, 1685—Sir William Ker of Greenhead, and Sir Patrick Scott of Langnewton.
- Second Session of King James VII., 29th April, 1686—Sir William Ker of Greenhead, and Sir Patrick Scott of Langnewton.
- Convention of Estates—14th March, 1689—Sir William Elliot of Stobs, and Sir Patrick Scott of Ancrum.
- First Parliament of William and Mary, 1st June, 1689—Sir Patrick Scott of Ancrum.
- Second session of William and Mary, 15th April, 1690—Sir Patrick Scott of Ancrum.
- Third Session of William and Mary, 3d September, 1690—Sir John Riddell of that ilk.
- Fourth Session of William and Mary, 15th April, 1693—Sir William Douglas of Cavers; Sir John Riddell of that ilk; William Bennett, younger of Grubbet; and John Scott of Wells.
- Fifth Session of first Parliament of William, 9th May, 1695—Sir John Riddell of that ilk; William Bennett, younger of Grubbet; and John Scott of Wells.
- Sixth Session of first Parliament of King William, 8th September, 1696—Sir John Riddell of that ilk; Sir William Douglas of Cavers; William Bennett, younger of Grubbet, and John Scott of Wells.
- Seventh session of first Parliament of William and Mary, 19th July, 1698—Sir John Riddell of that ilk; William Bennet, younger of Grubbet; John Scott of Wells; and James Scott of Gala.
- Eighth Session of first Parliament of William, 21st May, 1700—William Bennet, younger of Grubbet; John Scott of Wells; James Scott of Gala; and Archibald Douglas of Cavers.

Ninth Session of first Parliament of William, 29th October, 1700.—William Bennet, younger of Grubbet; John Scot of Wells; James Scot of Gala; and Archibald Douglas of Cavers.

Parliament of Queen Anne, 9th June, 1702.—John Scott of Wells; Archibald Douglas of Cavers.

6th May, 1703.—Sir William Ker of Greenhead; Sir Gilbert Elliot of Headshaw; Archibald Douglas of Cavers; William Bennet of Grubbet.

Second Session of the first Parliament of Queen Anne, 6th July, 1704.—Sir William Ker of Greenhead; Sir Gilbert Elliot of Headshaw; Archibald Douglas of Cavers; and William Bennet of Grubbet.

Third Session of first Parliament of Queen Anne, 28th June, 1705.—Sir William Ker of Greenhead; Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto; Archibald Douglas of Cavers; William Bennet of Grubbet.

3d October, 1706.—Sir William Ker of Greenhead; Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto; Archibald Douglas of Cavers; and William Bennet of Grubbet.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

KELSO.

Copy of the Act of the Parliament of Scotland, for erecting the Town of Kelso into a Barony.

ERECTIOUN OF KELSO IN FAVOR OF LORD ROXBURGH.

OURE Souerane Lord, and Estaittis of this present Parliament, calling to remembrance the gude, trew, and memorable seruice done to his Ma^{tie} and lieges be his trest cousing Robert Lord Roxburgh, and his predecessouris, in all tymes, and at all necessar occasionis bigane, Assweill in tyme of peax as in tyme of weir : And als the great cair, earnest zeall and redines of the said lord to vndirly all gude offices and seruices tending to his hienes honor, weill and proffett of the realme, not onlie in the discharging of the office of the wardanrie in the Middill Marches of this realme befoir the happie vnioun of baith the realmes in his hienes persone, bot lykwayes in the executioun of diuerse vtheris comissionis for quieting of the lait bordouris, and repressing of all insolencie and disordour withiñ the samin, at all occasionis bigane, vpoun his great charges and expensis. In the quhilk gude offices, the said Robert Lord of Roxburgh hes discharged his duetie maist faithfullie, as is notourlie knawin to his Ma^{tie} and estaittis of this present Parliament, quhairvpoun sufficient tryell hes bene tane befoire thame ; and being of gude deliberat mynd, that the saidis gude offices and seruices done be the said Robert Lord of Roxburgh, with the great charges sustenit be him, sall be in sum measure recompensit ; and finding na better meane for the present than that the haill temporall landis and rentis, quhilkis pertenis of befoir to the Abbacie of Kelso and

Cell of Lesmehago, quhilk is ane pendicle of the said Abbacie, with the abbey places, closteris, yairdis, orchardis, and all aimentis and comoditeis within the precinctis of the samin, with all and hail that part of the towne landis and manours of Sproustoun, mylnis, mynlandis, multuris, suckin, and hail pairtis and pendiclis thairof, quhilkis pertent of befor to the prioris of Charterhouse, as ane pairt of the patrimonie thairof, and now pertenis to his Ma^{tie} be the act of anexation of the kirk landis, within this realme, to the Crowne, with all and sindrie the teyndschewes, vtheris teyndis, fruitis, rentis, proventis, emolumentis, and dueties, alsweill personages as vicarages of all and sindrie the paroch kirkis of the samin benefices, sall be grantit and disponit to the said Robert Lord Roxburgh, his airis maill and assignais heretable, as followis :—As also considering that William, Commendator of Kelso, for mony gude and reasonable causis, with consent of his yconimus, hes resignit, renuncit, and dimittit in his heines hands, all and hail the said benefice of Kelso and Cell of Lesmehago, quhilk is ane pendicle thairof, as said is, hail teyndis, fruittis, and rentis of the kirkis of the samin, (except heireftir exceptit,) with the abbay places of Kelso and Lesmehago, closteris, housis, biggingis, yairdis, orchardis, and all landis within the precinctis thereof, to the effect the samyn may be disponit be his Ma^{tie} to the said Robert Lord Roxburgh, and his foraidis, in maner and to the effect following :—As the said dimisioun beiris, THAIRFOIR his heines, with advyse of the saidis Estaittis of Parliament, eftir sufficient tryell tane thairin be thame of the hail premisses, and that the samyn ar sene reasonable and profitable causes for the weill of his Ma^{tie} crowne and realme, hes dissolvit, and be thir presentis dissoluis, all and sindrie temporall landis and rentis, pertening of befor to the said Abbacie of Kelso and Cell of Lesmehago, with that pairt foiraidd, of all and hail the saidis landis, manours, and towne of Sproustoun, mylnis, mynlandis, multuris, suckin, and hail pairtis and pendiclis thairof, frae the said act of anexatioun of the samin to the Crowne, and fra' all vtheris sois of anexatioun quhatsumevir ; EXCEPTAND alwayes furth and fra' the present dissolutioun all and hail the landis of Bothill, with the myln of the samin ; the landis of Tolclough ; the landis of Hairheid, with the toure, fertillice, and maner place of the samin ; and the landis of Bowschellhill, with houses, biggingis, yairdis, toftis, croftis, pairtis, pendiclis, annexis, connexis, tennentes, tenandres, service of frie tennentis of the saidis hail landis, with thair pertinentis lyand within the constabularie of Hadingtoun and fredome of Edinburgh, to Sir Johne Cokburne of Ormestoun Knight, Justice Clerk, to be haldin of our soverane lord, in all tyme cuming, for the siclike payment of tuentie twa pundis, tuelf pennis, conforme to his infestment of the samin, the saidis Lord of Ormestoun, his airis and successouris in the saidis lands ; RELIEVAND the said Lord of Roxburgh and his successouris in the lordship of Kelso, of the fewferme duetic yeirlis of tuentie twa pundis pennis, at our soverane lordis, and his heines collectors handis ; and sic-

lyk hes dissoluit, and be thir presentis dissoluis all and sindrie the teyndscheves and vtheris teyndis, fruitis, rentis, proventis, and emolumentis, alswell personage as vicarage of all and sindrie the paroch kirkis of the saidis benefices of Kelso and Lesmehago, fra the saidis benefices and fundationis thairof, quhairvpoun the samin procedit, except the teyndis, parsonage, and vicarage of the kirkis of Home, Gordoun, and Fogo, possessit be Alexander, Erle of Home, Lord Jedburgh and Douglas, &c., and the teyndis of the landis and baronis of Brockfield, lyand within the parochin of Kelso, also pertening to the said Erle, being the auld kyndlis possessionis of the houses of Home; and lykwayes exceptand the kirk of Grenelaw, and teyndis thairof, the patronage quhairof pertenis to George, Erle of Dunbar, Lord Berwick, be his hienes gift and dispositioun, quhilkis kirkis and teyndis respectiue foirsaidis sall nawayes be comprehendit vnder this present dissoluitioun, bot is and sall be specialie exceptit thairfra, and furth of the infestment following: And lykwayes hes dissoluit, and be thir presentis dissoluis, the saidis abbay, places, closteris, yairdis, orchardis, and all aimentis and commoditeis within the precinctis of the samin, fra the saidis benefices; and hes suppressit, and be thir presentis suppressis, the names and memoreis of the same benefices for now and euir. To the effect the same haill temporall laudis and rentis of the saidis benefices, (except befor exceptit) and that pairt of the saidis haill towne landis and manours of Sproustoun, with thair foirsaidis, quhilkis perteinat of befor to the said priorie of Charterhouse, with all and sindrie the teyndscheves, vtheris teyndis, fruitis, rentis, proventis, emolumentis, and dueteis, alswell personages as vicarages, of all and sindrie the paroch kirkis of the samin benefices, (except befor exceptit;) togidder alsua with the saidis abbay places, closteris, yairdis, and all boundis within the precinctis of the samin, may be grantit and disponit be his Ma^{tie} to the said Robert, Lord of Roxburgh, his airis maill and assignais foirsaidis, and may be erectit to thame be his hienes in ane haill and frie lordschip and baronie, with all privileges, immunitis, and jurisdictionis pertaining to ane frie lordschip and baronie, haldin of his hienes and his successouris in frie blenche, ffor yeirlis payment of four hundreth markis, money of this realme, in name of blenche ferme. As for payment to the ministres serving the cure at the saidis kirkis, to be nominat and presentit and electit be his Ma^{tie}, and his successouris, of thair yeirlis stipendis, to be made-fet be the commissionaris appointit to that effect; and thairfoir, to be frie of payment of all monkis portionis, first fruites, fyft pennie, thrid, and all vtheris dueteis quhairvnto his hienes, his predecessouris or successouris had, hes, or ony wayes may haue or pretend right in ony tyme cuming, be vertue of quhatsumeuir law, statute, actis of parliament, counsaill, or conventioun, quhatsumeuir maid, or to be maid, in the contrair; quhilkis his hienis, and estaittis foirsaidis, for the causes abone

specifit, renouces and discharges for eur, be thir presentis, ordaning the said lordschip to be callit in all tyme cuming the lordschip and baronie of Halidene. And that sufficient heretable infestment may be grantit be his Ma^{ty} thairyon, in favour of the said Robert, Lord of Roxburgh, and his foirsaidis, in sic dew and competent forme, as efteris; for making of the quhilk infestment this act sall be ane sufficient warrand. Quhilk infestment, lykwayes, our said souerane lord, with advyse of his saidis estaittis, now as gif the samin were perfytit and maid, and than, as now, for his hienes, and his successouris, ratefeis and appreis for eur, be thir presentis: Reserueand alwayes and exceptand furth of this present act, and erectioun foirsaid, all regalitie and all privileges thairof, gif ony be possessit be the abbottis and titularis of Kelso of befuir, to remane with our souerane lord, and his hienes successouris, and thair crowne, inseparable in all tyme heirctur.—*Acts of Parl.* vol. IV. p. 399-400.

A Record of the Rentals of the Monastery of Kelso, as well as of their Temporalities, viz. The ancient Establishments of their Lands within and without the Burghs, and of the ancient Issues of their Granges and Dominical Lands, as of their Spiritualities, namely, the Pensions due in their Churches; and the ancient Grant of their Tenths, wherever made, under abstract.—From the Original MS.

OF THEIR TEMPORALITIES.

“ THE Monks of the said Monastery had in the county of Roxburgh, in temporalities the grange of Reveden, with the village in - - - - - , where they had a lordship, in which they possessed five carrucates of land, and where they might keep a flock of about thirty-four ewes, besides pasture for their oxen. They had there eight husband-lands and one bovatc of land, of which the service was as follows: viz. In every week in the summer they performed a journey with one horse to Berwick, and the horse carried three bolls of corn, or two bolls of salt, or one boll and a half of coals; and in winter the same journey, but the horse carried only two bolls of corn, and one and a half bolls salt, or one boll and a firlof of coals. And every week of the year, when they did not go to Berwick, some occupant performed one diet of the work enjoined to him. And when they did not go to Berwick, every husbandman performed two days work; and in autumn when they did not go to Berwick, they performed three days work, and then every husbandman received with his lease-land two oxen, one horse, three chalders of oats,

six bolls of barley, and three bolls of wheat. And afterwards, when Richard, Abbot, had converted this service into money, they again returned their lease, and each one gave for his land annually eighteen shillings. They had there half a carrucate of land which belonged to Hugh of Mededen, which Richard of Delholm possessed. They had there nineteen cottages, eighteen of which paid annually twelve pence and six days work in autumn, they receiving their maintenance; for which they assisted in the washing and shearing of the sheep: and the nineteenth cottage paid eighteen pence and nine days work. They had there two brew-houses, which rented at two merks annually; also a mill, which rented at nine merks. They had at Hawden one carrucate of land, which they always kept in their own possession. They had at Sprouston two carrucates of land, which they were wont to cultivate with two ploughs, with the common pasture of the said village for twelve oxen, four young horses, and three hundred hogs (young sheep). They had there a bovate of land, which Hugh Cay held, which used to pay annually ten shillings. They had there six cottages, one of which, that which was next to the vicar's house, had six acres of land pertaining to it, with a brew-house, which rented annually at six shillings; and other five cottages, which lay in the other extremity of the village of Latham, each of which contained one and a half acres of land, and paid annually three shillings and six days work. At Scottoun they had two acres of land and common pasture for four hundred widders (sheep), together with the liberty of digging as much turf as they pleased in that common. And they were bound to find one man in the mill in that place, and one hogg; and there they were wont to grind their corn of Colpinhope; but afterwards, when they had the liberty of a mill at Colpinhope, and grinding their corn at their own mill, they gave annually to the mill of Scottoun half a merk. They had a tenement at Yetham, near to the mill at Colpinhope, three acres of land, with the common pasture of Yetham, which the miller of Colpinhope used to hold: and there the monks were wont to have and make a receptacle of their goods of Colpinhope, when they saw danger from any other quarter. At Clifton they had seven acres of land, which the superior of the kirk of Mole had given for providing communion elements. They had the grange of Colpinhope, situated beyond the march, which they laboured with two ploughs for the winter season, and had pasture for twenty oxen, twenty cows, the produce of which they disposed of annually, five hundred ewes, and two hundred two-year-olds. At Mole, they had in Altonbura four acres of arable land and meadow, with pasture for three hundred sheep, with free egress and ingress, and ten oxen, and four work horses; and they had in the wood of Scrogges stack and flack for all their possessions, and timber for the reparation of their carts. They had in the same place, and near to

the land of Thomas Palmer, four acres of land, which their shepherd used to hold, with the pasture for his flocks, and there he had a brew-house. They had in the village of Mole fourteen cottages, each of which was wont to pay annually two shillings and six days work ; and they had the common use of the said village, and had likewise the privilege of carrying their cattle to such places of pasture as the abbot's people were accustomed to occupy. They had there one brew-house which paid annually half a merk. They had at Singidyside, in the said tenement, seven acres of land for their shepherd to cultivate, and a pasture at Beanchope for seven hundred wedder-sheep, from which place, for fifteen days before the nativity of St John the Baptist, and for fifteen days subsequent, they were removed ; and during that period the lord of the manor appropriated a portion of his own pasture lands to the use of their cattle. They had at Steplaw four acres of land, which Adam of Rule and Janet his wife had given to them. They had also four acres of land at Lethlado, in which they might place their folds, and shut up their sheep when they were beyond Beanchope. They had a grange in the same place, which was called Keako, which they laboured with two ploughs ; and there they had in pasture twenty oxen, twenty cows, a hundred and a half of ewe-sheep and two hundred widders. They had at Provisit seven acres of land, and a common for three hundred sheep, which were wont to pay to the establishment half a merk. They had in the burgh of Jedwood eightpence of annual cess on the lands which belonged to Mr Richard Tossard in Castlegate. They had in a tenement of Stapilgorboun at Anglenin, one carrucate of land, which used to pay annually five merks. They had, in the tenement in Killobern, forty acres of land belonging to their church of Killobern, with a brew-house and other common privileges, which were wont to pay two merks. They had, at Hopkelcow, three acres of land, which were wont to pay annually three shillings. They had, near the church of Inverlathan, one acre of land, which used to pay annually twelve pence. They had, in a tenement at Selkirk, land, belonging to the King, which was called Bridge-land, and which contained six acres ; and they had a pasture in Minchemor. They had the Barony of Bolden, with the lordships, granges, and husband-lands, mills, and other pertinencies belonging thereto. They had, in the same place, the Grange of Flandoun, with twenty-one cottages, which rented annually at ten pounds. They had one farm at Wittemar, which was usually valued upon assessment to the establishment at ten merks, which they could till with two ploughs. They had, in the village of Wittemar, ten husband-lands, each of which were wont to pay annually six shillings ; and doing the same service as the husband-lands of Bowlden did. They had there seven cottages, each of which had one acre of land ; three of which paid annually six shillings, and the other three paid annually four shillings and sixpence ; and the seventh cottage

paid sixteen pence ; and performing, in like manner, the same service as the cottages of Bowlden did. There was there one cottage, without land, which rented annually at sixpence. They had, in the said barony, one farm at Witelaw, which they were wont to cultivate with three ploughs ; and they had in pasture two flocks of wedders, and twenty-five young horses. They had there one carrucate of land, which William Gudeal held, which was valued annually at fourteen shillings. There were at the same place eighteen cottages ; four of which paid each, annually, two shillings ; and each of the others paid eighteen pence ; and some of which performed six days work. They had there one brew-house, which rented annually at five shillings. They had in the said barony the farm of Hallden, which they used to till with three ploughs, where they could have twenty-four cows, sixty wedders, and two hundred ewes. They had the village of Bowlden, in which there were twenty-eight husband-lands, each of which rented annually at six shillings and eightpence, at the day of Pentecost and St Martin, and doing such services : viz. each husbandman, with his wife and family, reaping in autumn for four days ; and each husbandman performing similar services in autumn, with two men, for five following days ; and each husbandman drove a waggon of peats from Gordon, towards the stable-yard, for one day ; and each drove a waggon-load of peats from the stable-yard as far as to the abbacy, in summer, and no farther ; and each husbandman made a journey, with one horse, from Berwick, at one period in the year, and had his victuals from the monastery when they performed such service ; and each were wont to till every year on the Grange of Newton one acre and a half of land, and harrowed with one horse for one day ; and each was in use to provide one man for the washing of the sheep, and another for the shearing of them, without victuals ; and they were wont to *do suit and service to the abbot's court*, and carried the corn in autumn with one waggon, for one day ; and they carried the abbot's wool from the barrony even to the abbacy ; and they were bound to find carriages for themselves beyond the moor, towards Lessemahagu. Richard, the abbot, changed this service into money, by the assessment of his brother, William of Alincromb, then of his diocese. They had there thirty-six cottages, which contained twelve acres and a half, and half a rood of land, which rented annually at fifty-five shillings and eight pence, more or less ; and each cottage performed in autumn nine days work by one man, and found a man for the washing and shearing of the sheep. They had there four brew-houses, each of which rented annually at ten shillings ; and one *lagen** and a half of ale was given to the

* The *lagen* and half *lagen* were equal to about seven quarts, that the abbot had for his penny ; which had, however, far more power than three of our pennies.—*Chalmers*.

abbot for a penny. The lord abbot could take from each house of the village, before Christmas, one cock for a penny. They had there one mill, which paid annually eight merks. They had also, in the village of Selkirk, which pertained to the abbot, one carrucate and a half of land, which paid annually ten merks. They had there fifteen husband-lands, each of which contained one bovate of land, which rented annually at four shillings, and performing yearly to the superior nine days work in autumn; and two husbandmen provided a waggon to carry peats from the stable-yard to the abbacy; and two of them also provided a horse for making a journey from Berwick to the abbacy, as the husbandmen of Boulden did. They had there sixteen cottages, which contained ten acres of land; fifteen of which paid annually twelve pence, and one two shillings a-year, and performing the same service as the cottages of Boulden did. They had there three brew-houses, each of which rented annually at six shillings and eight pence. They had there also one mill, which paid annually five merks. They had likewise beyond their jurisdiction, apart by itself, thirty acres of land, which rented annually at five shillings. They had also four acres of land, which was called the land of Richard Cate, which rented annually at six shillings. They had, in the same barrony, the village of Middleham. And there were there twenty-nine husband-lands, twenty-seven of which paid annually half a merk, with all the service which the husbandmen were bound to perform; and the other two, which belonged to Bernard, the son of Garvius, were free, by paying annually for the same twelve shillings, and working to the superior for three days in the year, and performing in autumn twelve days work. This service was changed into money by Abbot Richard, in the same manner as the village of Boulden, that is to say, every husbandman was assessed for eleven shillings. They had there eleven cottages, which contained nine acres of land, each of which were wont to pay annually eighteen pence. They had there one brew-house, which used to pay annually half a mark, and performing the same service as the cottages of Boulden did. They had there one mill, which was wont, together with the miln of Boulden, to pay annually twenty-one merks. They had in the same place the farm of Newton, which they used to till with seven ploughs, where they could have twenty-four oxen and six cows in summer, and sixty in winter at forage, 1000 ewes, sixty hogs, and work-horses sufficient for their ploughs, besides carts for hay. They had at Clarylaw twenty-one cottages, each of which had three acres, less one rood, of land, and paid annually two bolls of meal, and wedded all the corn on the Grange of Newton; and they had two cows at pasture, the increase of which they removed at the end of the year. They had at Malcarviston two carrucates of land, and pasture for 300 lambs, and at the end of the year these were removed, and other lambs brought in. They were wont to be valued annually at forty shillings. They had also

at Malcarviston twelve cottages, and each of these had one toft and half an acre of land, and had two cows in common pasture; four of which cottages returned each annually four shillings and nine days work; and each of the others paid annually eighteen pence and nine days work. And there was there one brew-house, which had one acre of land, and rented annually at five shillings. They had at Melokeston one carrucate of land, which returned annually one merk, and possessed every privilege in the woods and tenement of Melokeston. They had also in another part four acres of land, with a brew-house, which rented annually at five shillings. They had at Gordon half a carrucate of land belonging to the church, with pasture for twenty-five young cattle, and 400 wedders, whenever the cattle of the superior were fed beyond the meadow and farm. They had in the same place one carrucate of land, which belonged to Andrew Fraser, which had common liberties with the village, by which means they returned annually to the superior two merks, which stood effectual. They had there also six cottages, each of which had one acre and a half of land, with common privileges in the village, and which paid annually thirty waggon loads of dried peats, and performed nine days work, which they were bound to do. They had there a toft for raising a chapel. They had there two peat bogs for digging peats. They had at Lipulles a scite for a house, and receptacle to receive their fuel. They had at Home one carrucate of land, which had four tofts, and had common privileges with the village, which was wont to be assessed annually at six merks. They had there two bovates of land belonging to the church, with a toft and common privileges. They had there one meadow, which was called Harrestrother, and which contained thirty acres. They had there an annual return from the land of William Boswell of eleven shillings and sixpence, 200 eggs, and four days work. They had at Wedderley seven acres of land, with the toft and common privileges, and with pasture for 300 wedders. They had there the annual return of the land of Galfredus of Home, six shillings, sixpence, and four days work. They had in the land of William Duurigiden, the annual return of waird and relief. They had the farm of Speruldan, which they might cultivate with two ploughs, and had in pasture 1000 sheep and 400 wedders together in the moor, and forty young horses fit for work, and hoggs as they were required. And they had there sixteen or more cottages, for their shepherds and their families; and they had a brew-house, which rented annually at five shillings. They had at Greenlaw half a carrucate of land, which the vicar was wont to hold, and which was valued at two merks annually. They had in the same place another half carrucate of land, which Allan, the son of Mathew, possessed, which used to be valued annually - - - - - They had there two bovates of land, with a toft and croft near the church, and five acres of land in another part, with a toft, which Richard of Grenelaw held, by

paying annually one and a half merks. They had at Lambden an annual return of one pound of pepper from the land of William of Lambden. They had at Hoggie one carrucate of land, with common privileges, which used to pay annually four merks. They had in the same place a chapel, with two carrucates of land and a mill, which used to pay annually ten merks. They had at Langtown one toft to collect its own tenths. They had at Simpring two bovates of land, which used to pay annually one merk. They had at Horriden half a carrucate of land, and pasture for 100 ewes, six oxen, and two cows, and two horses, where the abbot's horses grazed, and one toft. They had there a meadow, which was called Hollanmedu. They had there an hospital, with sixteen acres of land, and also some fishings upon the Tweed, with its pertinents in the tenement of Upsetlinton, by procuring for the same one chaplain of good character, and a chapel there, and the sustenance of two paupers. They had at Bondington, near the church of St Laurence, two carrucates of land, with two tofts, which used to pay annually six merks. They had there a toft near the church of St Mary, and a depository under the church for herbage. They had at Tweedmouth a church with a font, and three acres of land, which used to pay annually twenty shillings. They had there the fishing of Woodborne, which used to pay annually fourteen merks. They had there the fishing of Northrarum, which used to pay annually two merks. They had at Berwick the fishing of Berwick, which used to pay L.20. They had in the tolbooth an annual cess of 40s. They had in the same place a mansion near the Bridge-house, for their own use. They had in the Briggat and Waldegat, and elsewhere, an annual return of L.10, 3s. 6½d. They had in Uddingat one mansion, with three shops, which John of Aula possessed, which used to pay annually ten merks. They had an establishment in the village of St John, beyond the Scotch boundary, an annual cess of 40s. They had, in the village of Strivling, in a certain tenement, twenty pence of annual cess. They had, in the village of Ranfra, in a certain tenement, forty pence of annual cess. They had, in the village of Rotherglen, in a tenement which belonged to David of Loudon, an inn, with free fire and candle. They had, in the city of Edinburgh, a certain tenement, which was wont to pay annually sixteen pence. They had, in Wester Dodington, twenty-four marks of annual cess. They had, in Easter Dodington, ten merks of annual cess. They had the village of Preston, which used to pay annually twenty pounds. They had the village of Hundibiketh, which used to pay annually ten merks. They had, in the village of Haddington, a certain tenement, twelve pence of annual cess. They had, in the valley of Lauder, half the village of Ulkilleston, which used to pay annually twenty merks. They had, in the tenement of Willealade, six shillings of annual cess. They had, in the tenement of Brokesmouth - - - - which was in the possession of Lord

Thomas Ranalph, and used to pay annually forty shillings. They had, in the land of Ede of Brokesmouth, which had, in the foresaid tenement, thirty-one acres of land, eight shillings of annual return. They had, in the village of Roxburgh, belonging to the King, an annual cess of 100s. They had of annual return, in the village of Roxburgh, in different tenements of the same place, L.8, 2s. 9½d. and one-fourth. They had, in the village and burgh of Wester Kelchou of annual return, L.9, 16s. 9½d. They had the village of Easter Kelchou in their own hands; the sum of which establishments was annually - - - - They had, in the same place, in the possession of freeholders - - - - They had there a lordship, which they used to till with seven ploughs, and had in pasture - - - - They had there a mill, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had there a fishing upon the Tweed, from the tenement of Brokesmouth, as far as the water of Eden. They had the church of Sprouston in rectory, which used to be valued annually at forty pounds. They had the church of Molle for their own use, which was used to be valued annually at L.26, 6s. 8d. They had, in the same parish, by a certain annual composition between them and the monastery of Melrose, for the tenth of the tythes of Uggings, L.10, 8s. They had the church of Maxwell in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.11, 16s. 8d. They had, in the church of Rokesburgh, an annual pension of L.12, 6s. 8d. They had the church of Boulden in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.10, 13s. 4d. They had the King's Church at Selkirk in rectory, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had the Abbot's Church at Selkirk in rectory, which used to be valued annually at forty shillings. They had the church of Stapalgorton in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.13, 6s. 8d. They had the church of Dumfries in rectory, which was wont to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had, in the church of Dougray, thirteen shillings and fourpence. They had the church of Traverflat in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.6, 6s. 8d. They had the church of Killorbern for their own use, which was wont to be valued annually at L.26, 6s. 8d. They had the church of Morton, which used to pay annually ten pounds. They had the church of Crawfordejone in rectory, which was used to be valued annually at L.6, 13s. 4d. They had the church of Roberdeston in rectory which used to be valued annually at L.6, 13s. 4d. They had the church of Wiston in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.6, 13s. 4d. They had the church of Tinton in rectory, in which they had an annual pension of forty shillings. They had the church of Lemondeston in rectory, which used to be valued annually at ten pounds. They had the church of Dunsier in rectory, in which they had an annual pension of 106s. 8d. They had the church of Kilmours in rectory, which used to be valued annually at forty pounds. They had the church of In-

nerleithan in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.26, 13s. 4d. And they had an annual pension in vicarage. They had the church of Lyntonvoltheredge in rectory, which used to be valued annually at twenty merks. They had, beyond the Scotch boundary, the church of Caltir in rectory, which used to be valued annually, with the pension of the Templars, at L.18, 13s. 4d. They had the church of Calder in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.26, 13s. 4d. They had the church of Dodingestone in rectory, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had the church of Cranston in rectory, which used to be valued annually at ten pounds. They had the church of Handerbyketh in rectory, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had the church of Gordon for their own use, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had the church of Home for their own use, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had the church of Grenelaw in rectory, which used to be valued annually at L.26, 13s. 4d. They had the church of Malcarston in rectory, which used to be valued annually at twenty merks. They had the church of Langton in rectory, which used to be valued annually at twenty pounds. They had the church of Simpring for their own use, which used to be valued annually at ten pounds. They had the church of Homeden for their own use, which used to be valued annually at ten merks. They had, from the monastery of the Holy-cross of Hedenburg, one merk of annual pension for the tenth of the tythes of Slaperfeld, by a certain composition. They had, from the monastery of Newbottle, 6s. 8d. of annual pension, for the tenth part of the salt of the Cars. The total sum of the ancient assessment of the said churches is L.541, 11s. 4d."

ROXBURGH.

No. I.

WIMUND, OF McHETH, alias McBETH.

"A CERTAIN Englishman of obscure birth, named Wimund, had, in his early youth, attained to some proficiency in penmanship: he earned, for a while, a miserable livelihood by transcribing old writings in monasteries. He afterwards became a monk at the abbey of Forness, situated in a remote corner of Lancashire. He there applied himself to his studies with uncommon diligence. Endowed with the gifts of utterance, of a lively genius, and a memory eminently tenacious, he soon became distinguished above his fellows. He was sent into the Isle of Man, with some brethren of the convent. His persuasive eloquence and comely looks, and, as the historian adds, 'his portly figure, so charmed the barbarians, that they sought him for their bishop.' Not contented with his episcopal dignity, Wimund aimed at higher things, and pretended to be the son of Angus, Earl of Moray, slain at Strickathrow," (*as mentioned in the Works.*) "As he was a stranger, and as the inhabitants of Man had little intercourse with Scotland, there were none to confute the effrontery of his pretences. He declared his resolution to revenge his father's death, and vindicate his own right to the estates of his ancestors. He displayed the glory and advantages which would result from this hardy enterprise. Many bold men of desperate fortunes espoused the cause of Wimund. Collecting together some vessels, he began to make piratical excursions into the neighbouring islands. He obtained for wife a daughter of Somerled, Thane of Argyle. Whether Somerled believed Wimund to be the son of the Earl of Moray, or only from policy favoured an enterprise against Scotland, it is impossible for us to determine. Wimund next invaded the Scottish coasts, slew many of the inhabitants, and pillaged the country. David sent an army to repress these outrages; but Wimund constantly

cluded the Scottish forces. He sometimes concealed himself and his followers amid forests, sometimes he retreated to his ships. As soon as the Scottish army was withdrawn, he came out of his covert and renewed his depredations. His successes began to render him formidable to the Scottish government. Wimund attempted to levy contributions from the territories of a certain bishop. 'I never will establish a precedent,' said the Scottish bishop, 'for one bishop's paying tribute to another.' He assembled his people, and, though with a very unequal force, marched out to oppose Wimund. To animate his followers, he began the onset by throwing a little hatchet. Wimund advancing in the front of his band, received the blow, and was felled to the ground. The Scots, encouraged by this prosperous omen, attacked and routed the enemy with great slaughter. Wimund hardly escaped. He collected, however, more forces, and continued his predatory war. David at length was obliged to enter into terms of accommodation with this daring and crafty adventurer, and bestowed a certain territory on him. The insolence of Wimund excited the people to conspire against him: They surprised him, put out his eyes, and made him a eunuch. It appears that he was delivered into the hands of David, and imprisoned in the Castle of Roxburgh. Having been pardoned after a tedious captivity, he retired to the Abbey of Biland, in Yorkshire, and there spent the remainder of his days in retirement and ease. The spirit of this audacious man was not depressed, nor even humbled by his calamities. He appears to have taken delight in relating his adventures to the friars at Biland. 'He was wont to boast merrily,' says W. Newbr., 'that he was never overcome in battle, except by the faith of a silly bishop.'—At another time, he is reported to have said, 'Had they but left me the smallest glimmering of sight, my enemies should have had no cause to boast of what they did.'

"I have made this ample recital of the adventures and fate of Wimund, because this story is little known. Such is the flagitious impostor who disturbed the tranquillity of a nation, happy and contented under the government of a virtuous prince. The precise period of Wimund's invasions cannot be ascertained. They happened some time between 1141 and 1151, when he was deprived of sight."*—HAILES, vol. I. p. 100—S.

* Fordun places the imprisonment of Wimund, or Malcolm M'Heath, in 1136, the same year in which the church of St James at Roxburgh was dedicated.

No. II.

Character of King David.

To this King, all historians unite in giving the most exalted character, both as a warrior and civil magistrate. As the sovereign of an independent kingdom, he successfully asserted its rights against the ambitious designs of his more powerful neighbour (the King of England) to reduce it to his subjection; and the wars he was constrained to engage in to preserve its independency, were conducted on his part with less cruelty than was customary at that early stage of our history. As a civil magistrate, he viewed with pity the rude, uncivilized, and barbarous state of his countrymen; and the first and chief study of his life was to raise them from this state of degradation. To attain his purpose, he employed every mean to induce foreigners, skilled in husbandry and the arts, to settle in Scotland; but as at this period knowledge of every kind was confined, if not wholly, at least in a great measure, to the cloysters of the monks, he carefully sought out such of the Orders in France who united industry with religion, and at a great expense transferred a portion of them to this country. On these he conferred with a lavish hand immense revenues of land and money, besides erecting for their accommodation most superb and costly edifices. To this part of his character many have objected, that by such profuse grants to a set of men generally addicted to sloth and idleness, he advanced them to a station in the empire to which they were not entitled, and at the same time greatly impoverished the revenues of the Crown,* while he was also supporting a system which he must have

* "The liberality of David to the ecclesiastical order, highly extolled by his contemporaries, has been severely censured in later times. James, the first of that name, King of Scotland, said, 'That he was a sore saint to the crown.' This has been transmitted to posterity as a shrewd and judicious apothegm. We ought to judge of the conduct of men according to the notions of *their* age, not of *ours*. To endow monasteries may *now* be considered as a prodigal superstition; but in the days of David it was esteemed an act of pious beneficence. In monasteries the lamp of knowledge continued to burn, however dimly. In them men of business were formed for the state; the art of writing was cultivated by the monks; they were the only proficient in mechanics, gardening, and architecture. When we examine the sites of ancient monasteries, we are sometimes inclined to say with the vulgar, 'That the clergy, in former times, always chose the best of the land, and the most commodious habitations;' but we do not advert, that religious houses were frequently erected on waste grounds, afterwards improved by the arts and in-

known to be wholly composed of superstition and priestcraft. In answer to this it is only necessary to state, that his sole desire being to civilize his countrymen, and to introduce among them a spirit for industry, and a knowledge of the arts, the order of monks he made choice of for this purpose were most eminently qualified to effect his object (see a particular account of them under the "Ancient History of Kelso"); and although it may not be altogether possible to defend this pious and excellent monarch against the charge of unnecessary profusion in his liberality towards them, still let it be remembered, that, in the age in which he lived, men had not attained (at least in this country, when all the acquaintance they had with the Scripture was through the intervention of monkiah interpretations) that degree of knowledge which enabled them to distinguish between will-worship and the true worship required by the Deity; and when the endowment of monasteries, and the comforts of their religious inhabitants, were in this early age reckoned as propitiatory acts, and acts highly approved by the Divine Majesty.

King David was equally distinguished for his temperance, bravery, justice, clemency, and piety.

"In his habits of life he was strictly temperate in meat and drink, even to abstinence; and was decidedly hostile to every foreign luxury. After the death of his Queen, while yet in her youth, he passed the remaining 23 years of his life in devoted widowhood, nor could any inducement persuade him to enter upon a second marriage; nor was he ever known, by word or action, to trespass against the strictest laws of chastity.

"He kept all the factious nobles of his realm in complete subjection by his bravery. Not satisfied with acting merely on the defensive against an enemy so powerful as the King of England, he often made severe reprisals on his adversary, and by such acquisitions enriched himself.

"To the poor as well as to the rich, he distributed justice with an impartial hand. It is related of him, that one day while mounting his horse to go a-hunting, and with one foot already in the stirrup, a poor peasant approached him begging redress; he commanded his attendants to stop, and he returned to his palace to listen to the cause of the suppliant. In this manner he was accustomed to act towards many poor people, whose causes could not be quickly decided by the judges of the land. To them he generally sent the wealthy and the opulent, while he atten-

dustry of the clergy, who alone had art and industry. That many monasteries did, in process of time, become the seats of sloth, ignorance, and debauchery, I deny not. Candour, however, forbids us to ascribe accidental and unforeseen evils to the virtuous founder. 'It was devotion,' says John Major, 'that produced opulence; but the lewd daughter strangled her parent.'"—HALLS, vol. I. p. 114—116.

tively listened to the disputes of those whose circumstances prevented them from approaching the Courts of Law. In the discharge of this duty he was frequently exposed to the peevish and vulgar incivility of those whose differences he settled ; but being equally distinguished for his prudence and mildness of disposition, this did not drive him from his steadfast love of duty and of justice. Whilst he held the cause of justice between both parties inviolable, it was no uncommon circumstance to find him contributing from his private purse to the party sustaining loss.

“ Preserving the becoming dignity of his royal station among the noble and powerful of the land, he was at the same time accessible to the very poorest of his subjects, and by this happy accommodation of mind he rendered himself at once the object of veneration and of love.

“ He had a strong presentiment of his death a year before it happened ; during which time he redoubled his accustomed charities, which he bestowed with his own hand. On the Sunday preceding his death, he received the Holy Supper ; and when he felt his end approaching, as a traveller setting out upon the road, he earnestly wished a speedy termination of his journey. Being unable to walk to mass, he was carried to church in the arms of his courtiers, and having heard sermon, and observed the sacrament, he requested extreme unction, which he received sitting on the floor, after the manner of St Martin. The priests seeing the King's devotion, wished quickly to anoint him, which he perceiving, desired them to tarry a little, and then applied to some questions as his strength would permit. All things being then finished, folding his arms over his breast in the form of a Cross, his hands raised to heaven, he died in that posture.

“ David was contemporary with many noble and illustrious men. He was the common father of his subjects ; equally religious in his public and private deportment ; and what may appear remarkable, he had a cloister of monks even in his Court. He avoided those remarkable for vicious habits as infectious. His children, both by precept and example, were incited to virtue, and he forced them to associate with the wise and the good.”—FORBUN, et alii.

No. III.

Notorial Copy of the Letter of John, King of Scotland, upon the returning his homage.

“ In the name of God. Amen.

‘This is a copy of a certain Letter of the King of Scotland ; and on the

behalf of that King, presented to our Lord the King of England, at Herwick-upon-Tweed, in the Castle of that Town, in the year of our Lord 1398, Indiction, 9 on the 5th April, by these religious men, Goudianus of the Minor Brethren of Rokesborough, and his Companion, the tenor of which is as follows:—

“ To the Magnificent Prince, Lord Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England ; John, by the same Grace, King of Scotland ;

“ As you and others of your kingdom, of which you are not ignorant, or at least ought not to be ignorant, by your over-bearing power, have brought upon us, and the subjects of our kingdom, severe and insufferable injuries, contempt and losses, and also inexpressible prejudices against our liberties, and the liberties of our kingdom ; as also against God, and against justice ; and by unlawfully harassing us without our kingdom, being incited thereto by any, the slightest suggestion.

“ By unjustly seizing our castles, our lands, and our possessions, and those of our subjects, within our kingdom, without any desert of ours.

“ By capturing of our goods, and of our subjects, as well by land as by sea, and receiving them within your kingdom.

“ By putting to death our merchants and other inhabitants of our kingdom.

“ By violently carrying away our subjects from our kingdom into yours, and detaining and imprisoning them there.

“ For the reforming of which grievances, we have frequently sent our ambassadors to you, which as yet not only continue uncorrected, but even, by you and your subjects, are, from day to day, becoming worse than before.

“ For even now, you, with an innumerable multitude of armed people, having publicly convened your army in a hostile manner, approach to the boundaries of our kingdom, in order to extirpate us, and the inhabitants of our kingdom ; and advancing farther in our kingdom, you have inhumanly committed slaughters and burning, as also insults, and violent invasions, as well by land as sea.

“ We are not able further to endure these said injuries, contempts, losses, and prejudices, as also those hostile attacks ; nor remain in your fealty and homage, extorted from us by your violence and oppression : We are therefore desirous to rise up against you, for our defence, and the defence of our kingdom, for the defence and protection of which we have bound ourselves by the bond of an oath.

“ By these PRESENTS we return to you the FEALTY and HOMAGE made to you by us, and by others, whomsoever, being the inhabitants of our kingdom, and by our faithful subjects, on account of the lands which they held of you, within our kingdom ; as also on account of your possession,

or of your retention, this is done in our name, and in the name of all and severally of our subjects."

" This letter was transcribed and compared in the said year and indication, on the 5th day of the present month of April, at Berwick upon Tweed, in the House of the Brethren of the Carmelites, in the presence of these venerable noblemen,

" JOHN LANGTON, Chamberlain of our said Lord the King.

" WILLIAM HAMILTON, Archdeacon of York, and

" ROBERT GALBUS, Notary Public ;

who, together with myself, to authenticate the said letters, which are sealed with the seal of the before mentioned King, diligently and faithfully compared them."

RYMER, tom. II. pp. 707-708.

No. IV.

Directions for the Treatment of the Queen of Scotland, Wife of Robert Bruce, and for the Iron Cage for the Countess of Buchan, and for Mary, sister to Robert Bruce.

" BE it remembered, that so soon as the wife of the Earl of Carrick be come to the King, she shall be sent to Brustewick, and be there detained, and that maintenance be provided for her, in the following manner ; that is to say,

" That she may have two women of the country with her ; that is to say, a lady and a chambermaid, who must be of a proper age, and not given to gaiety ; and that they have a good and decent character, such as may be appointed to wait upon her.

" And two valets, who must also be of a proper age and character ; of whom one may be a valet belonging to the Earl of Ulvestier (Ulster) ; that is to say, John Bentley, or any other in his stead ; and the other, one from the country, who may be in attendance to wait upon her.

" And also a footman to wait in her chamber, who must be sober and not riotous, to make her bed, and for other necessary purposes within her chamber.

" And it is also ordered that she have a master valet, who must be also of a good and decent character, to carry her keys for her pantry and buttery ; and also a Cook.

" She may also have three greyhounds for her amusement in the warren, and parks, whenever it may please her.

“ She shall also have venison, and fish from the ponds, of whatever kind may be found in them.

“ And she shall possess the most convenient house on the manor, which she may choose.

“ She shall also have the liberty of walking in the parks, and around the manor, at pleasure.

“ And it is also ordered by letters from the king’s private seal, that Richard Oysel, Seneschal of Holderness, shall provide for the said lady, and for her household, proper maintenance, and other necessaries, according to the said order.”

“ It is ordered and commanded, by letters under the private seal, to the Chamberlain of Scotland, or to his Lieutenant in Berwick-upon-Tweed, that in one of the towers within the Castle of that same place, in a situation that may appear to him most suitable and convenient, he cause a cage to be made of very strong lattice work, barred, and well secured with iron, into which cage he shall put the Countess of Baughlan (Buchan).

“ And that she may be so safely and securely kept within this cage, so that she cannot in any manner escape therefrom.

“ And that there be appointed for her an Englishwoman, or two women, if requisite, of the said town of Berwick, who must be free from all suspicion, who are to be at the service of the said Countess, to supply her with victuals, and all other things which shall be provided for her during her imprisonment.

“ And that she be so safely and securely kept in the same cage, that she may not be allowed to speak to any person, neither man nor woman, who may belong to Scotland, nor any one be allowed to speak to her, except the woman or women, who may be appointed to wait on her, and those who may have the charge of her.

“ And that the cage be so made, that the Countess may have conveniently within it, a private chamber ; and that this chamber be so properly and securely constructed, that the keeper of the said Countess can have no access to it.

“ And that whoever shall have the keeping of the said Countess, be answerable for her, body for body ; and that he also provide proper maintenance for her.

“ And it is likewise ordered that Mary, sister of Robert Bruce, formerly Earl of Carrick, be sent to Roxburgh, to be imprisoned in a similar cage in that castle.”

No. V.

Order for exchanging Mary Brus for Walter Comyn, prisoner in Scotland.

“ The King to his faithful and beloved Henry Belmont, Constable of his Castle of Rokesburgh, wisheth health.

“ WHEREAS, at the request of our beloved and faithful Galfrid Mowbray, and some other friends of Walter Comyn, at present confined in a prison of our enemies and rebels, the Scots, we have granted that Mary Brus, prisoner in our said castle in Scotland, shall be exchanged for the said Walter ;

“ We hereby command that you discharge the said Mary from our said castle, in exchange for the before-mentioned Walter.

“ Witnessed by the King at Westminster, 13th March, 1310.”

RYMER, tom. III. p. 204.

No. VI.

Letter of Edward, King of Scotland, upon the Concession of the Towns, Castles, and Counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Etryck, Edinburgh, Haddington, Linliscow, Pebles, and Dumfries.

“ Edward, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Viscounts, (Sheriffs,) Governors, Officers, Baillies, and all his faithful subjects, wisheth health.

“ KNOW ye, that we, considering the purity of the affection and benevolence, which we have known that the most excellent Prince, and most beloved Lord, our cousin, Lord Edward, illustrious King of England, hath lately evidenced for our person ; and also the great assistance, (and that not without great expence and hazardous enterprises,) he hath lately afforded us, by himself and his subjects, in regard to the recovering of our inheritance ; and wishing, by the import of these premises, as far as in our power, to show our regard to this King of England.

“ We have granted and conceded for ourselves and our heirs, to give and assign, and cause to be given over to the said King of England, two thousand *libratæ* of land annually, in suitable places, upon the marches of our kingdom of Scotland, adjoining to the kingdom of England, and agreeable to the said King of England.

“ And in part of the value of the said two thousand *libratæ* of land, we have given, conceded, and assigned, to the said King of England, the Castle, Town, and County of Berwick-upon-Tweed ; and also we further promise, whatever may be deficient of the said two thousand *libratæ* of land annually, we shall cause to be assigned and given up to the said King of England in other competent places, as mentioned ; and these to be held and possessed by the said King of England and his heirs, together with their military tenures, advocations of churches, and all other pertinents dependent on them ; as perpetually separated from the regal dignity and crown of Scotland ; and perpetually annexed to the regal dignity, crown, and kingdom of England.

“ And we, afterwards, from the 12th of February next to come, by the consent of our Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights, and others in our kingdom, in our Parliament at this time assembled at Edinburgh, accepting our said concession and promise, have ratified, approved, and confirmed them, and the condition and possession which the same King of England hath in the said castle, town, and county of Berwick, by virtue of this donation, concession, and assignation of our premises, for us, our heirs and our successors ; promising, that in regard to the remainder of the said two thousand *libratæ* of land, we shall make satisfaction to the said King of England in other places mentioned, according to our said concession and promise, as is more fully contained in our different Letters Patent given for this purpose.

“ We, wishing to fulfil our said concession and promise, so made and accepted, by the said consent, in the same Parliament, as is already premised, we give, concede, render, and assign, and by this our charter we confirm for ourselves, our heirs and successors, to the said King of England, the town, castle, and county of Rokesburgh ; the town, castle, and forest of Jedworth ; the town and county of Selkyrk, and the forests of Selkyrk and Etryk ; the town, castle, and county of Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Hadyngton and Lynliscow ; the town, castle, and county of Pebles ; and the town, castle, and county of Dumfres ; with all their pertinents, and whatever we have, or ought to have, in these counties, in lordship, fief, or servitude, to be held, and to be possessed by the same Lord, King of England, and his heirs, together with military tenures, advocations of churches, chapels, religious houses, and hospitals, together with their garrisons, and all other immunities, which formerly did belong to us, our heirs and successors, in regard to the vacation

of churches within the kingdom of Scotland, with all their lands, tenements, &c. &c.

“ In testimony of this, we have caused our great seal to be put to this charter, by these venerable fathers, as witnesses, viz.

“ WILLIAM, Archbishop of York, Primate of England.

“ RICHARD, of Durham, }
“ JOHN, of Carlisle, } Bishops.

(and others.)

“ Given under Our hand, at Newcastle upon Tyne, 12th of June, 1334, and 2d year of Our reign.’

(Under the Great Seal of Scotland.)

RYMER, tom. IV. pp. 615-16.

Of taking Seisin of the said Towns and Castles.

“ THE King to all to whom these letters may come, wisheth health.

“ Know ye, that as among other lands and tenements, which the most excellent Prince, and our cousin, Lord Edward, King of Scotland, hath given, conceded, and assigned to us, by his charter ;

“ That he hath given, conceded, and assigned to us, the town, castle, and county of Rokesburgh, with its pertinents, to be possessed by us and our heirs, together with all military tenures, advocation of churches, and everything wheresoever and howsoever situated, appertaining to the said town, castle, and county, without any reserve.

“ Fully confiding in the prudent circumspection of our beloved and faithful Galfrid de Mowbray ;

“ We assign, constitute, and depute him to receive in our stead and name, from the said King of Scotland, or his deputies or deputy, full seisin of the town, castle, and county aforesaid, together with all military tenures, advocation of churches, and everything, wheresoever or howsoever situated, appertaining to the said town, castle, and county, as beforementioned.

“ Witnessed by the King himself, in Council, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, June 15, 1334.

RYMER, tom. IV. pp. 617-18.

Instruments of the same tenor as the foregoing, were at the same time issued for taking possession of the different castles, towns, and counties, contained in Edward Baliol's letter of concession, by the persons named in them, instead and in the name of the King of England.

Letters appointing Viscounts, or Sheriffs, for the County of Roxburgh, and the other confiscated Counties in the Kingdom of Scotland.

“ THE King to all to whom these letters may come, wisheth health.

“ Know ye, that we have appointed, or intrusted to our beloved and faithful Galfrid of Mowbray, the office of Viscount (or Sheriff) of Roxburgh, with the pertinents thereof, and the governorship of our castle in the same place, so that he may be answerable to us, by the means of our treasurer of the town of Berwick, for the tenures, (or contracts,) emoluments, and other revenues; and also the assessments, and everything else pertaining to the office of viscount (or sheriff) and governor of our said county and castle; and henceforth he may hold the same authority, as other viscounts (or sheriffs) of that county, and governors of that castle have heretofore held.

“ Also, by the tenor of these presents, we command all, and every one within the said county, in our commissions, that they be complying and obedient to the said Galfrid, as our viscount (or sheriff) of the said county, and as our governor of the said castle, in everything which belongs to the said office and governorship. In testimony of which, &c.

“ Witnessed by the King himself in council, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 15th of June, 1334.”

Similar commissions were signed the same day for the same offices in the other ceded counties.

Of the same date, he appointed John Bourdon, treasurer for all the king's provinces in Scotland; and issued letters to the sheriffs of the different ceded counties to be obedient to him in all things appertaining to his office, as far as might be most conducive to the advantage and honour of the king.

RYMER, tom. IV. pp. 617-18.

No. VII.

Order for delivering up to Edward Baliol the Patrimonial Estates he had ceded to the King of England.

“ THE King to his beloved Clerk, Thomas Burgh, his Treasurer of Berwick-upon-Tweed, wisheth health.

“ Edward, King of Scotland, our beloved Cousin, hath requested us, that as you have received into our possession, different lands and tene-

ments, with their pertinents, in Lowederdale and elsewhere in our counties of Berwick, Rokesburgh, Edinburgh, Pebles, and Dumfries, which by hereditary right belong to Baliol, and of which the same Baliol, as King of Scotland, was lately possessed ;

“ That we should cause our authority over the said counties to be removed,

We, being favourably inclined to this request, command you, that without delay, you remove our authority from all lands and tenements in the said counties, which by the said hereditary right belonged to Baliol ; and that you allow the said King of Scotland, and his officers, to receive and collect the rents, and other emoluments of the said lands and tenements, for the use of the said King of Scotland, and the same to be done in time forthcoming, for his advantage.

“ Witnessed by the King, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 26th of December, 1335.”

RYMER, tom. IV. pp. 681-2.

No. VIII.

Expenses for conducting David Bruys to the Tower of London.

“ THE King to his Treasurer, Barons of Exchequer, and his Chamberlain, wisheth health.

“ As we have lately sent our beloved and faithful John Darcy Le Piere from our city of London, to the castles of Rokesburgh, Wick, and Baumburgh, for David Bruys, Malcolm Flemyng, and other prisoners in Scotland, captured at Durham, to be brought from thence to our Tower of London ;

“ We command you, that for the whole time in which the said John remains in our service, in going to these places, remaining there, and returning from them to our said city ; that you assign and pay to him twenty shillings each day during the said time.

“ Witnessed at Redying, 1st March, 1347.”

RYMER, tom. V. p. 551.

No. IX.

Proclamation for continuing in Use the Ancient Laws of Scotland.

“ THE King to his Chancellor and Chamberlains of our town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and to our Viscounts (Sheriffs) of Berwick, and Rokes-

burgh ; and to all and every of our faithful Constables, Governors of Castles, and other officers, to whom these letters may come, wisheth health.

“ Know ye, that when Edward Baliol, formerly King of Scotland, our well beloved cousin, had, by his charter, given up and resigned the kingdom and crown of Scotland, and all right he had in the same kingdom and crown to us, and to our heirs, as is more fully contained in the said charter ;

“ We, wishing it to be publicly known that it is our intention and will, that the subjects of the said kingdom of Scotland should be ruled and governed by the same laws and customs, by which they were before the said kingdom and crown of Scotland came into our possession ; and that the same laws and customs should not be changed in any respect ; nor do we intend changing them in any manner whatever.

“ We command you, that our said intention and will be publicly proclaimed and maintained in all places within your districts ; and that you cause all the subjects of the said country to be ruled and governed by the same laws and customs.

“ And that you will by no means omit this, under forfeiture of everything that can be forfeited to us.

“ Witnessed by the King at Wertminster, 15th March, 1356.”

RYMER, tom. V. p. 846.

No. X.

Copy of Charter granted to WALTER KERR of Cessford of the Castle of Roxburgh, &c.

“ CARTA Waltero Ker de Cessford et heredibus suis de Castro et Loco castris nuncupa, *le* “ Castellstede,” loco et capitale Messuagio de Roxburgh, cum pertinen. nunc Regi pertinen. jacen. infra vicecomitatum de Roxburgh ; unacum jure patronatus, advocacione et donacione hospitalis dic. ‘ le Masson Dew’ de Roxburgh, quodquid hospitale dictis castro et messuagio annexand. nec non jus patronatus, advocacionem et donacionem hospitalis dic. ‘ le Masson Dew’ de Jedburgh, jacen. in dictum vicecomitatum. tenend. de rege ; Reditendo unam *Rosam rubeam* in festo Sancti Joannis Baptisti, in estate, apud dictum Castrum, nomine albe ferme, si petatur tantum. Testibus ut in alijs. Dat. apud Striviling, 20 die, Februarij, 1499. Dip. Reg. vol. IV. lib. 13. No. 372.

No. XI.

The original account of the matters referred to, is given by *William Patten, Londoner*, in a curious old work entitled "*The Expedition into Scotland.*" This book is very rare, having been printed in black letter at London, anno 1548, only nine months after the events took place. As the original account is exceedingly curious and interesting, and is that from which Holinshed gives his narration of the affair, it must be gratifying to the reader to have it at length.—It is as follows.—

Fryday y^e xxiii of September.

" We reised and cam that mornynge to Rokesborow, and iii myle from Hume; our camp occupied a greate fallowe felde betwene Rokesborowe and Kelsey, stondyng eastward a quarter of a myle of; a prety market toun to, but they wear all goon fourth thear. My lordes grace, with dyvers of the counsell, and Sir Richard Lee, knight, (whose chardge in this expedycon spetially was to appoynt the pioners ech whear in woork as he shoold thynke meet, and then (whear my Lordes Grace assigned) to deuyse the fourme of byldyng for fortificacion; whom suerly the goodnes of his wytt and hys greate experience hath made in that science right excellent,) went straight to Rokesborowe to caste what thear for strengthnyng might be doon. The plot and syte whearof hath bene in tyme paste a castell, and standeth naturally very strong, vpon a hyll east and west of an eyght skore in length, and iii skore in bredth, drawynge to narrownes at the easte ende: the hole grounde whearof, the old walles doo yet enuyron. Besyde the heyth and hardines to cum to, it is strongly fenced on eyther syde with the course of ii great riuers, Tyuet on the north, and Twede on the sowth; both which ioyning sum what nie to gyther at the west ende of it, Tyuet by a large cumpas a bowte the felde wee laye in, at Kelsey dooth fall into this Twede, which with greate deapth and swiftnes runneth from thence eastward into the sea at Berwyk, and is notable and famous for ii commodities, specially salmons and whetstones. Ouer this, betwyxte Kelsey and Rokesborowe hath thear been a great stone bridge, with arches, the which y^e Skottes in time paste haue all to broken, bycaus we shoold not that wei cum to them. Soõ after my lords graces survey of the plot and determinacion to doo asmuch indeede for makynge it defencyble, as shortnes of the tyme and season of y^e yere could suffer; (which was, y^e one great trench of twenty foot brode, with deapth accordyng, and a wall of lyke breadth and heyth, shoold be made a cros w'in the castel from the tone side wall to thooother, and a xl foot from the west ende; and that a like trêch and wall shoold likewise be cast

a trauers within, about a quoyts cast frō theast ende, and hereto that the castell walles on either syde, whear neede was, shoolde be mended with turfe, and made w^t loop-holes as well for shooting directly forward, as for flankyng at hand ; the woork of which deuise did make, that bisyde the sauegard of these trenches and walles, y^e kepers shoold also be much fenced by both the ende walles of the castel,) y^e pioners wear set a woork, and diligently applied in the same.

“ This day the Lard of Cesfoorth and many oother lards and gentlemen of Tyuetdale and their marches thear hauyng cum and communed with my lordes grace, made vs an assurance, (which was a frendship and as it wear a truis,) for that daye till the next day at nyght.

“ This day, in the meane while, theyr assurance lasted, these lardes and gentlemen aforcsayde, beyng the chefeate in the hole Marches and Tyuetdale, cam in agayn, whom my lords grace, with wysdom and pollecie, without any fightyng or bloodahed, dyd wyn then unto the obedience of the King's Maiestie ; for the whyche they dyd wyllnyngly then also receyue an oth, whose names ensue.

LARDS.

The Lard of Cesfoorth.
 The Lard of Fernyherst.
 The Lard of Grenched.
 The Lard of Hunthill.
 The Lard of Hundley.
 The Lard of Markestone by Merside.
 The Lard of Bouniedworth.
 The Lard of Ormeston.
 The Lard of Mellestaynes.
 The Lard of Warmesey.
 The Lard of Lynton.
 The Lard of Egerston.
 The Lard of Marton.
 The Lard of Mowe.
 The Lard of Ryddell.
 The Lard of Reamersyde.

GENTLEMEN.

George Trombull.
 Jhon Hollyburton.
 Robert Car.
 Robert Car of Greyden.
 Adam Kyrton.

Andrew Meyther.
 Saunder Spurnose of Erleston.
 Mark Car of Littleton.
 George Car of Faldenside.
 Alexander Makdowell.
 Charles Rotherford.
 Thomas Car of the Yere.
 Jhon Car of Meynthorn.
 Walter Holyburton.
 Richard Hangansyde.
 Andrew Car.
 James Douglas of Cauers.
 James Car of Merryngtō.
 George Hoppringle.
 William Ormeston of Endmerden.
 Jhon Grymalowe.

“ Many wear thear mo besyde, whose names also, for that they remayne in regester with these, I haue thought the less mister here to wryt.

“ My lords grace did tender so mooch y^e furtheraunce of y^e work in y^e castell, y^t this daie (as euery day els duryng our campyng thear,) his Grace dyd not styk to digge w^t a spade about ii. houres him self: whearby, as his estate sure was no more embased then y^e maiestie of great Alexander,* what time w^t his own hādes he set the poore soldiour in his own chaire of estate to releue him by his fier; so, by y^e example hereof, was euery man so moved, as thear wear but fewe of lordes, knightes, and gentlemen in the feld, but with spade, shoouell, or mattock, did thearin right willyngly and vncompeld their partes.

“ *Sunday, the xxv of September.*

“ This daye began the Skottes to bryng vitayll to our campe, for the whiche they wear so well entreated and padde, that duryng the tyme we laye thear, we wanted none of the commodities their cōtry could minister.

“ *Munday, the xxvi of September.*

“ No notable thyng but the continuance of our work at the castell; for furtheraunce whearof, order was taken that the captayns of footmen, eche after oother, shoold send vp his C. of souldiours thither to worke an houres space.

* Curti. Lib. VIII.

“ Tuesday, the xxviii of September.

“ The larde of Coldehamknowes not hauyng so fully kepte hys appoyntment made at Hume Castell, touchyng his cummyng agayn to my lordes grace at Rokesborowe ; Sir Raufe Vane, with a twoo or iiii C. horses, about iiii. of the clock in this mornynge, was sent for hym to his house, whiche was a vii. myle from vs ; the whyche chardge Master Vane dyd so earnestly applye, as he was thear wyth his number before vi. ; but the larde, whithar he was warned thearof by priuie skout or spie, he was passed by an oother waye, and was soon after vii. with my lordes grace in the campe. Master Vane was welcomed, and hauing no resistaunce made, but al submitted, and proffer of chere, (for so had the larde charged his wyfe to doe,) soon after he retourned to ye campe.

“ This day my lordes grace was certified by letter from my Lorde Clynton and Sir Andrew Dudley, that, on the Wednesday last, beyng ye xxi of this mooth, after certein of their shott discharged against the castell of Browghty Crak, the same was yeldyng vnto them, the whiche Sir Andrew dyd then enter, and after kepe as captain.

“ Wednesday, the xxxiii of September.

“ A Skottysch heraulde, accompanied with certein Frëchmen yt wear perchaunce more desierous to marke our armie then to wit of our welfare, cam and declared from their coucell, yt, within a seuenight after, their commissioners, to whom my lords grace had before graunted his safecundet, shoold cum and commune with our counsel at Berwyk ; whose cūming my lorde lieutenaūt, and master treasurer, and thoother of our commissioners, did so long while there abyde. But these Skottes (as men that ar neuer so iuste, and in nothing so true as in breache of promys, and vsyng vntruth,) neither cam, nor by like meant to cū : And yet sure take I this no fetch of no fine deuise, õles thei mean hereby to wyn, yt thei shal nede neuer after to promys ; vsing the feate of Arnus,* who, wt his all weys sweryng, and his ever lying, at last obtained that his bare woorde was as much in credyt as his solemn oth, but his solemn oth, indeed, no more than an impudent lye. Howbeit, since I am certeyn that sundry of them haue shewed themselues right honest, I would be loth here to be cõuted so vnaduised, as to arret ye fautes of many to ye infamie of al.

“ It was sayde amoong vs, they had in the meane tyme receuyed letters of consolacion, and of many gay offers from the French Kyng ; yet had that been no cause to haue broken promys wt ye coucell of a ream. Howbeit, as these letters wear to thē but an vnprofitable plaster to heale their hurt

* In *Epigrā. Mori.*

then, so ar thei full likly (if thei trust much therin) to fynd thē acorzey that will freate them a nue sore.

“ My lords grace considering that of vertue and welldooyng the proper mede is honour: Aswell, thearfore, for rewarde to them that had afore doon well, as for cause of encoourage to oother then after to doo the lyke, dyd this daye after noon adourne many lordes, knyghtes, and gentlemen, with dignitees, as folowe:—The names and promotiōs of whoō I haue here set in order, as they wear placed in the herauldes book :

BANERETS.

Sir Rafe Sadlier, treasurer.

Sir Fraunces Bryan, capteyne of the light horsemen.

Sir Rafe Vane, lieutenant of all the horsmen.

“ These knyghtes wear made banerettes, a dignitie abooue a knight, and next to a baron, whose acts I haue partly touched in the story before.

KNIGHTES.

The Lord Graie of Wylton, high marshall.

The Lord Edward Seimor, my lordes graces sun.

“ Of these, the reder shal also fynde before—

The Lord Thomas Haward.

The Lord Walldyke.

Sir Thomas Dacres.

Sir Edward Hastyng.

Sir Edmund Brydges.

Sir Jhō Thinne, my lords graces stuard of howshold.

Sir Miles Partrich.

Sir Jhon Conwey.

Sir Giles Poole.

Sir Rafe Bagnolle.

Sir Oliver Laurence.

Sir Henry Gates.

Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the clerks of the Kyngs Maiesties Priuie Coūsel, and in this armie (as I mought call him) chefe secretarie, who with his great peyns, and expedite diligēce in dispatch of things passyng from my lords grace and the coūsel thear, did make y^t his merite, was not with ye meanest.

“ Sir Fraunces Flemmynge, master of thordinaunce thear, a gentlemā, whom long exersise and good obseruance hath made in that feate right

perfit, whear vnto in this viage he ioyned so mooch hede and diligence, as it was well found how much his seruice did stede.

Sir Jhon Gresham.
 Sir William Skipwyth.
 Sir Jhon Buttes.
 Sir George Blaag.
 Sir William Frauncis.
 Sir Fraunces Knolles.
 Sir William Thorborow.
 Sir George Haward.
 Sir James Wylforde.
 Sir Rauf Coppinger.

“ But y^t I haue writte in y^e storie before w^t what forward hardines Sir George Haward did bear y^e Kings Maiesties städerd in y^e battail, and thear also of y^e industrious peyn of Sir James Wilford, and how Sir Rauf Coppinger did aied not smally in saufgard of the standard of our horsmen, I woolde haue bene more diligent to haue rehersed it here.

Sir Thomas Wētwoorth.
 Sir Jhon Maruen.
 Yet knights. Sir Nychäs Straunge.
 Sir Charles Sturton.
 Sir Hugh Askue.
 Sir Frauncis Salmyn.
 Sir Richard Tounley.
 Sir Marmaduke Cūstable.
 Sir George Awdeley.
 Sir Jhon Holcroft.
 Sir Jhon Soutwoorth.
 Sir Thomas Danby.
 Sir Jhon Talbott.
 Sir Rowland Clerk.
 Sir Jhon Horsely.
 Sir Jhon Forster.
 iii Spaniards { Sir Christofer Dies.
 Sir Peter Negroo.
 Sir Alonzo de Vile.
 Sir Henry Hussey.
 Sir James Granado.
 Sir Walter Bouham.
 Sir Robert Brädling, mayr of New Castell, and made knight
 thear at my lordes graces retourne.

“ As it is not be doubted but right many mo in the armie beside these did also well and valiauntly quite them ; although their preferment was rather then differred, then their deserts yet to forgotten : euen so among these wear thear right many, the knowledge of whose actes and demerytes I could not cū by: And yet woold haue no man no more to doubt of the worthines of their aduancemēt, than they ar certein of his circūspectiō and wisdome, who preferd them to it. Whearupon all mē may safely thus far foorth without offence presume, y^t his Grace unworthily bestowed this honour on no man.

“ By this day, as Rokesborowe was sufficiently made tenable and defensible (y^e whiche to see, my lordes grace seemed half to haue vowed before he woold thence departe) his grace and the counsell did first determine, that my Lord Gray shoold remayne vpō the Borders thear as the Kynges Maiesties Lieutenaunt. And then took ordre for the forts, that Sir Andrew Dudley, Captein of Broughty Crak, had leaft with him CC. soldiours of hakbutters and oother, and a sufficient number of pyoners for his works. Sir Edwarde Dudley, Captain of Hume Castell, lx. hakbutters, xl. horsemē, and a C. pioners. Sir Rafe Bulmer, Captain of Rokesborowe CCC. souldyours of hakbutters and oother, and CC. pioners.

“ *Thursday the xxix of September, being Michelmas day.*

“ As things wear thus concluded, and warnyng gyuen ouer night that our cāpe shoold this day dissolue, every man fell to pakkyng a pace: My lordes grace this morening soon after vii. of the clok was passed ouer the Twede here. The best place whearof for gettig ouer (which was ouer against the west ende of our cāp, and not farr from ye brokē arches of y^e brokē bridge) was yet with great stones in y^e bottom so vneuen of grounde, and by reason of rayne that lately fel before, the water so depe, and the streame so swyft, that right many of our horsemen and footmen wear greatly at theyr passage in perell, and one or twoo drowned, and many carriages ouerthrowen, and in greate daunger also of losyng.”

No. XII.

Article in the Treaty of Boulogne, concluded March 24, 1550, respecting the giving up of the Forts or Castles of Douglas and Lander, and the demolishing of them, and of the Castles of Roxburgh and Eyemouth.

“ ITEM, conventum, concordatum et conclusum est, quod si dictæ Arces seu castra de Douglas et Ladre, desierint esse in manu et potestate dicti

Serenissimi Regis Angliæ, nichilominus tamen liber erit ab ea obligatione qua illa ut supradictum est restituere sponderat, et se obstrinerat, pro quibus et veluti recompensæ loco idem Serenissimus Rex Angliæ tenebitur oppida et castra de Roxburgh et Aymonde diruere, et solo æquare infra Quadraginta dies a die Datæ præsentis Tractatus, nec licebit dictis Serenissimo Angliæ Regi, Christianissimoque Regi, Reginae Scotiæ, dicta loca de Roxburgh et Aymonde, restaurare et reædificare: Et ulterius, si dictus Serenissimus Rex Angliæ reddat atque restituat prædictas Arces Douglas et Ladre, prout supra conventum est, tamen dicta oppida et Castra de Roxburgh et Aymonde diruere et solo æquare tenebitur, si modo dicta Regina Scotiæ illud idem voluerit, et fecerit in dictis arcibus et Castris de Douglas et Ladre, quod si accederit, non licebit dictis serenissimo Angliæ Regi, Christianissimoque Regi, Reginae Scotiæ, eorumve Hæredibus, et successoribus posthac restaurare et reædificare dicta oppida et castra Roxburgh et Aymonde." RYMER, tom. XV. p. 214-15.

THE END.