The Banner of St. Andrew
The National Flag of Scotland

The Banner of St. George
The National Flag of England

The Banner of St. Patrick
The National Flag of Ireland

23410

SCOTLAND'S WORK AND WORTH

G. B. Scotland

An Epitome of Scotland's Story from Early Times to the Twentieth Century, with a Survey of the Contributions of Scotsmen in Peace and in War to the Growth of the British Empire and the Progress of the World

BY

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VOLUME I

ROYAL ARMS AS USED IN SCOTLAND

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PREFACE

The chapters composing this book have gradually been evolved from a lecture on "Scotland's Place in the World's History," delivered by the author to the Scottish Patriotic Association at Glasgow in February 1902. The first part of the lecture was expanded into a series of twenty-seven articles which appeared in the *Scottish Patriot* from November 1903 to January 1906. These have now been carefully revised and enlarged to form the bulk of Volume I. The rest of the lecture has, as the result of considerable research, been similarly expanded to form Volume II.

As practically the whole of the second volume deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in their various Scottish interests, it is necessary to explain that, in apportioning space to the several periods dealt with, the principle applied has been that of mental perspective, the view-point being that of Scotland's importance not only to her own children but to the British Empire and to the modern world of thought and energy in general. Hence more attention has been devoted to historically recent events than to earlier occurrences of equal intrinsic interest or importance. Thus, in the earlier periods, the picturesque elements treated once for all by the master hand of Scott have been for the most part omitted. For similar reasons, the work of Scotsmen in the continental countries of Europe (so fully dealt

with by Hill Burton, Fischer, and Michel) is only incidentally touched upon, while the part played by Scotsmen in British colonial enterprise, in view of its greater perspective value to modern thought, receives probably fuller notice than has hitherto been accorded to it in any single publication.

A constant endeavour has been made to place facts before the reader in a fair and truthful light, but at the same time the author, by writing admittedly from the standpoint of a keen sympathiser with the general trend of Scottish history, believes that he has been able to offer a more faithful presentation of the unity of purpose running through the whole course of the life-story of the Scottish people than if he had attempted the practically impossible task of writing uniformly with the cold "aloofness" of abstract justice. The ultimate purpose of the book is to aid patriotic Scots in offering reasons for the faith that is in them, and to add some impetus to those recent movements which make for a revival of the better features of Scottish life and character.

The usual historical authorities and books of reference have been freely consulted, but the author feels bound to express his special indebtedness for constant suggestions to John Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, and to Rev. Thomas Thomson's *History of the Scottish People*. So far as more recent publications have been borrowed from, acknowledgment is generally made in the text, but more explicit recognition is due to Mr. (now Professor) J. H. Millar's *Scottish Literature*, to Mr. W. D. M'Kay's *Scottish School of Painting*, and to *The Highland Brigade: Its Battles and Its Heroes*, by Messrs. James and David L. Cromb.

For valuable help in revising particular chapters, the author has to express his warm thanks to the

following gentlemen, whose special knowledge and advice have enabled him to ensure a degree of accuracy otherwise unattainable :—

Rev. Dr. Robert Laws of Livingstonia (chapter on Africa); Prof. Magnus Maclean, D.Sc., F.R.S.E. (chapters on Science and Invention); Henry Dyer, Esq., D.Sc., C.E., ex-Principal of the Imperial College, Tokio (chapter on the East); Hon. T. D. Wanliss, late member of the Parliament of Victoria (colonial chapters); A. M'Farlane Shannan, Esq., A.R.S.A. (chapters on Painting and Sculpture); John Bell, Esq., Doctor of Music (chapter on Music and Song); Dr. W. S. Findlay, M.A., Bellshill (chapter on Medical Science); Rev. James Dewar, Motherwell (Chapter XXXV.); and Mr. Alfred Davidson, B.Sc. (chapter on Science). In the work of proof-reading his colleague, Mr. Wm. M'Pheat, M.A., has rendered valuable assistance.

CHAS. W. THOMSON.

LARKHALL, *November* 1909.

CONTENTS

Vol. I

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Early Caledonia	5
II.	Early Scottish Kings	14
III.	Edward I. and Sir William Wallace	25
IV.	King Robert the Bruce	37
V.	English Enmity and French Friendship	50
VI.	The Five Jameses	64
VII.	The Reformation in Scotland	84
VIII.	John Knox and Queen Mary	99
IX.	Last Years of Queen Mary	113
X.	Union of the Crowns	128
XI.	Scottish Literature before the Union of the Crowns	147
XII.	The Scottish National Covenant	169
XIII.	The Solemn League and Covenant	183
XIV.	The Commonwealth and the Restoration	197
XV.	The Merry Monarch and his Times	211
XVI.	The Killing Time	223
XVII.	The Revolution and the Presbyterian Triumph	236
XVIII.	Killiecrankie, Glencoe, and Darien	249
XIX.	The Union Negotiations	261
XX.	Treaty of Union—Articles I. and III.—Britain, not England	277
XXI.	Treaty of Union—Remaining Articles	300

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
XXII.	Hanoverian Succession and First Jacobite Rising	314
XXIII.	The Porteous Riot and the Forty-Five	327
XXIV.	The Downfall of Jacobitism	339
XXV.	Scotland in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century	354
XXVI.	Scottish Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	372
XXVII.	Scottish Philosophy	390
XXVIII.	Scottish Music and Song	404
XXIX.	Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott	426

ERRATA IN VOL. I

Page 133, line 10, *for* "Buccleugh" *read* "Buccleuch."

Page 160, line 12, *for* "new century" *read* "next century."

Page 227, line 14, *for* "seems" *read* "seem."

Page 313, line 3 of note, *for* "adjective" *read* "adjectives."

Page 341, line 3 from foot, *for* "Aberbeen" *read* "Aberdeen."

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Vol. I

Banners of St. Andrew, St. George, and St. Patrick *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Mission of St. Columba to the Picts, by W. Hole, R.S.A. . 12

Landing of Queen Margaret at Queensferry, by W. Hole, R.S.A. 14

An Errand of Mercy (Inchcolm Monastery), by Sir W. Fettes Douglas, *P*.R.S.A. 17

Good Deeds of King David I., by W. Hole, R.S.A. . . 18

Battle of Largs, by W. Hole, R.S.A. 22

Wallace Monument, Robroyston 30

Statue of King Robert the Bruce, Stirling : A. Currie, Sculp. 50

[The hero king is represented in full armour, looking towards the field of Bannockburn.]

Marriage of James IV. and Margaret, by W. Hole, R.S.A. . 72

John Knox admonishing Mary Queen of Scots, after Sir Wm. Allan, *P*.R.S.A., R.A. 102

John Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation, by Sir David Wilkie, R.A. 104

[The lady in the foreground is the Countess of Argyll. At the table sit Moray and Morton, and behind them Glencairn and Argyll. The Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow stand on the left of the picture. Among the figures dimly visible in the gallery is George Buchanan.]

Mary Queen of Scots signing her Abdication, after Sir Wm. Allan, *P*.R.S.A., R.A. 108

Statue of John Knox, New College, Edinburgh : John Hutchison, R.S.A., Sculp. 119

Scottish Regalia : Edinburgh Castle . . . 128

George Buchanan 166

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

SIGNING THE NATIONAL COVENANT IN GREYFRIARS' CHURCHYARD, by W. Hole, R.S.A. 176

[Beginning at the left hand is Johnston of Warriston showing a letter to the Earl of Argyll, while Lord Eglinton is in the rear. Two ladies come next—the Marchioness of Hamilton, in widow's weeds, seated, with Lady Kenmure standing beside her. The group around the tombstone includes Lord Rothes in the act of signing the document, Lord Loudoun, Lord Lothian, and the Earl of Sutherland; while Montrose is on the near side. Then there are Hope of Craighall, with the Rev. Samuel Rutherford, and in the foreground, standing on a tombstone, is the Rev. Alexander Henderson.]

BATTLE OF DRUMCLOG, by Sir George Harvey, *P*.R.S.A. . . . 218

MONUMENT TO COVENANTERS AT BOTHWELL BRIDGE . . . 220

GLENCOE, by Horatio Macculloch, R.S.A. 254

ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN 268

THE PORTEOUS MOB, by James Drummond, R.S.A. . . . 328

BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE, by John Pettie, R.A. 336

CAIRN, CULLODEN MOOR 342

FLORA MACDONALD, after Allan Ramsay 344

STUART TOMB, ST. PETER'S, ROME: Canova, Sculp. . . . 348

UNION FLAGS OF 1606 AND 1801 363

THOMAS CARLYLE 400

NEIL GOW, by Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. 406

CAROLINA, BARONESS NAIRNE, AND HER SON, by Sir John Watson Gordon, *P*.R.S.A., R.A. 418

BURNS' STATUE, IRVINE: J. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, R.S.A., Sculp. 426

MEETING OF BURNS AND SCOTT, by Charles Martin Hardie, R.S.A. 434

[This historic meeting took place at the house of Professor Adam Ferguson during Burns's stay in Edinburgh. Burns was much affected by a picture on the wall (now in the Chambers Institute, Peebles), and inquired who was the author of the touching lines printed underneath it. Scott, then a lad in his teens, was able to inform him that they were by Langhorne, and the commendation bestowed on him by Burns remained through life one of Scott's proudest memories.]

STATUE, SIR WALTER SCOTT'S MONUMENT, EDINBURGH: Sir John Steell, R.S.A., Sculp. 436

SCOTLAND'S WORK AND WORTH

CHAPTER I

EARLY CALEDONIA.

"Land where Freedom's throne is set!
Harried oft, unconquered yet!
Sword o' English, Roman, Dane,
Beat her bossy targe in vain—
Priest and prelate wrocht their worst—
Socht her skaith wi' wiles accurst—
Still she triumphed, still she stands,
Freedom's ain, the wale o' lands,—
Scotland!"

D. M. Henderson (of Baltimore).

The English historian Froude has recorded his opinion that "if we except the Athenians and the Jews, no people so few in number have scored so deep a mark in the world's history as the Scots have done. No people have a juster right to be proud of their blood." It is easy to say why he should have singled out the two first-mentioned nations. It was the heroic stand for freedom made by the Greeks against the apparently overwhelming might of Persia that saved Europe from becoming a prey to Asiatic despotism, and rendered possible the European civilisation of the past two thousand years. From Judea issued two of the world's religions, humanly speaking the two purest and noblest of all, Monotheism and Christianity.

Why Scotland, however, should be ranked with countries so distinguished in the world's roll is not to be explained in so few words. It would be hard to sum up in one or two episodes the claim of our little sea-girt home to be regarded as bulking largely in the history of mankind. Rather must its career be looked upon as a whole, as the continuous effort of a thousand years to embody in a nation's life those principles of liberty and honesty, that pride of intellect and of worth, and that independence in thought and action, with which our very hills and plains seem to be instinct. We might sum up our claim in the words of Professor Veitch: "The history of Scotland has been a perpetual protest against despotism. Its lesson is first the power of individualism; and latterly that of the rights of conscience. It was well not only for Britain, but for Europe, that there was one people at least who, from the first, could not brook and had the spirit to withstand government by unqualified prerogative, and the arrogance of feudal domination."

This at least we may assert in support of Froude's remark, that wherever education has penetrated, bearing with it our national history, whether on the European Continent, in America, or in our numerous colonies, the name of Scotsman secures a more cordial welcome and a heartier handshake from the intelligent citizen than almost any other national name on earth.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher once remarked, while addressing a meeting in Glasgow City Hall, that "the land to which he had come, though small, was as full of memories as the heaven is of stars." To revive some of these memories, and to endeavour to trace their effect on the wider history of Britain, the empire, and the civilised world in general, is the aim of the present book.

Now, the history of Scotland, by the very necessities of geographical conditions, has been closely bound up, for better or worse, for war or peace, with that of England, and at the present day our relationship to the British Empire conditions our relationship to the world. Hence, while a rapid survey of Scottish history in general is necessary to a proper understanding of Scotland's place in the gallery of nations, that history will be here treated only in its barest outlines, in the earlier periods at least, except at those points where it closely touches the cognate story of England, and where, therefore, it emerges into a position of British, and at times of European or even world-wide importance.

It would obviously be foreign to our purpose to seek to penetrate into the geological changes through which our country passed in remote ages, or even to peer into the prehistoric traces of the early inhabitants. No doubt they waged a rude struggle with wild animals and with natural forces, a struggle that hardened the sinews and sharpened the wits as man progressed onwards and upwards through the successive ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. By the time of the Roman occupation the Caledonians, like the South Britons, had advanced far beyond the stage of savagery.

The ancient sculptured stones of Scotland deal with a wide variety of interests,—war, the chase, and seemingly religious ceremonies, in fact with all the varied life of an active, semi-civilised, yet withal pure-minded people. The Celtic crosses reveal quite a school of art of their own, increasing in richness from north-eastern Scotland towards the parts nearer to Ireland. They exhibit plant and floral forms of great variety and beauty, together with graceful ribbon-like

designs. Without postulating too great an antiquity for these, we may more safely rely upon the numerous hill-forts and brochs (round fortified buildings with central courtyards), as implying some advance in the art of warfare, while the massive standing stones so widely distributed over the country involve, apart from the question of quarrying, considerable mechanical skill in the transportation and erection of heavy masses. When, alongside of all this, it is remembered that the intelligence of a primitive race is often far ahead of its practical application of that intelligence through the poverty of the means at its command, we may safely dismiss the accounts of naked barbarians left us by Roman writers as mere travellers' tales, which are, in fact, inconsistent with the stage of mental development credited by these same writers to the priests and bards of Druidism.

If some of our ancient legends could be believed, our origin as a nation would be romantic enough, and would imply connections lofty enough to satisfy the most aristocratic. According to one account, a Greek prince, Gathelus, emigrated to Egypt, and there married Pharaoh's daughter Scota, the protectress of Moses in his tender years. The royal couple left Egypt and settled in Spain, and afterwards in Ireland. Still later they planted a colony in the country which received its name of "Scotia" from the Egyptian princess.

Leaving the region of fairy tales, we find that the authentic history of Scotland begins with the Roman invasion. Julius Cæsar invaded South Britain in the century preceding the birth of Christ, and various Roman generals followed, subduing the island as far northwards as the line of the present Forth and Clyde Canal; but not till after the year 80 A.D. did the Romans, under Agricola, venture northwards into

those mountain fastnesses, which have once and again enabled Scotland to maintain her hardy individuality, when the softer plain-dwellers were subdued by Roman or Dane or Norman. In or about 86 A.D., Agricola advanced to the Mons Graupius (some undefined position near the Grampian range), and there a battle was fought in which the Romans ultimately came off victorious. But it was sternly and obstinately contested; and Tacitus the historian, Agricola's son-in-law, describes the engagement as a "grand and terrible sight." The native leader, Galgacus, is the first Caledonian whose name has found a place in the pages of reliable history, and the speech attributed to him by Tacitus on this occasion is just such as Wallace might have used: "We, the noblest sons of Britain, and therefore placed in its furthest recesses, far from the view of servile shores, have preserved even our eyes unpolluted by contact with subjection." He exhorts his followers to fight on behalf of their children, wives, sisters, and kindred in general, and ends with the command, "March, then, to battle, and think of your ancestors and of your posterity."

Agricola built a chain of forts from Clyde to Forth, but Hadrian, in 120 A.D., drew back the frontier to the line between Tweed and Solway; and although the boundary was at one time advanced, as in Antoninus' Wall from Forth to Clyde, 139–150 A.D., and at another drawn back, the Caledonians never left the Romans much peace in their possession of southern Scotland. Much light is still expected, regarding the Roman occupation, from the systematic investigations which are being carried on in our own generation at such places as Ardoch (Perthshire), Camelon (Falkirk), and Newstead (near Melrose). Already the conclusion can almost certainly be drawn that the Romans had

abandoned their forts in southern Scotland and vacated that district before 200 A.D. Nor do their settlements, even in lowland Scotland, appear to have ever got beyond the stage of mere military outposts. In a century or two the stern Romans felt their empire, founded as it was purely on military force, slipping from their grasp, and about the year 410 they evacuated even England.

And so the curtain falls again, and the next few centuries witnessed many changes in our island, the results of which we know, while we can but dimly trace the general course of events. To that period are to be assigned the marvellous legends that cluster around such names as King Arthur, Fingal, and Finn M'Coull, the poetry of which it has been left for later ages to select and crystallise.

In North Britain the Picts and Scots waged fierce warfare for supremacy. These Scots were a Celtic race who had invaded Great Britain from Ireland at intervals from 360 A.D. onwards. Their permanent settlement in Scotland probably dates from about 500. The district first occupied by them was known as Dalriada, and corresponded roughly to modern Argyllshire. The origin of the Picts is uncertain, some authorities holding that they, too, were of Celtic race, while others maintain that their origin was Gothic, and others again Iberian. In any case, their history ultimately became merged in that of the Scots, probably by alliance rather than by conquest. When the Romans left South Britain, the native Britons, who had become unwarlike under Roman rule, were attacked by the hardy Picts and Scots. Feeling unable to defend his country, their king, Vortigern, called in the help of the Saxon pirate brothers, Hengist and Horsa, with the result that from about 450 to 650 A.D. horde after

horde of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, sea-rovers and colonists from Germany, settled in the eastern parts of Great Britain, especially to the south of the Forth. While assisting the poor South Britons to repel the northern tribes, they gradually but surely possessed themselves of their land, and ere long they drove the Britons westwards into Wales, Cornwall, and Strathclyde, and named South Britain "Angle-land" or "England."

Meanwhile in North Britain the Dalriad Scots had established a kingdom, and the older names "Caledonia" and "Albyn" gave way by degrees to the newer "Scotia," which for centuries was applied indifferently to south-western Scotland and to northern Ireland.

Thus it was that one tribe of roving Celtic warriors—the Scots—imposed their name on the northern part of our island, while one branch of the German or Teutonic invaders were equally successful in extending their tribal name to the southern part. There is no excuse, from this standpoint more than from any other, for the modern carelessness or arrogance which would proceed to extend this southern tribal name, not only to the whole of our island home, but to the mighty empire built up by the joint energy of every race within our bounds. Scotland has been Scotland as long as England has been England, but before either name was used, Britain as a whole was known both in geography and history; and our united land ought, in common sense and common justice, to remain "Britain" to the end of time.

With the introduction of Christianity into Scotland various names are prominently associated. The earliest of these is that of St. Regulus or Rule, an Eastern monk, who, according to tradition, travelled to Scot-

land in 369, bringing with him the bones of St. Andrew, and who spent the rest of his life in converting the Picts of eastern Scotland. The task of St. Ninian or Ringan was the conversion of the Southern Picts. He had his headquarters at Whithorn in Galloway, dying in 432. His chapel of white stone, known as the Casa Candida, or White House, is said to have been the first stone church of any kind in Britain.

The name of Kentigern or St. Mungo (who died in 601) is inseparably connected with the early story of Glasgow, where he founded his wooden chapel on the banks of the Molendinar about thirteen and a half centuries ago. According to tradition, he was a pupil of St. Serf, although, as the latter saint is credited with founding Culross Abbey about the year 700, too implicit credence need not be given to the assertion!

A few years after the founding of St. Mungo's Chapel, a little boat touched the shores of Iona; and from it there landed a dozen excommunicated outlaws from Ireland. Their leader was that wonderful religious administrator Columba, a descendant of the kings of Ulster. Thus worthily did Ireland repay Scotland for sending her at an earlier date her faithful missionary St. Patrick. From 563 till his death, thirty-four years later, Columba laboured to make Iona a missionary centre for the spread of the gospel throughout Scotland. Among his converts is said to have been numbered Brude, King of the Picts. It may be noted that the date of Columba's death (597) coincides with the landing of Augustine with a view to the conversion of South Britain. Columba's followers were really medical and industrial missionaries as well as evangelisers, and their sturdy independence of thought and action has been mirrored

THE MISSION OF ST COLUMBA TO THE PICTS, A.D. 563-597.
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P. 12.

by the Scottish Church all down the ages. Whether the Culdees were the later disciples of Columba or not, they showed a like virility of temperament, and were certainly regarded from the Romish point of view as irregular in their ideas, though we are not entitled to go beyond that point and to claim them as practically Protestant missionaries. Aidan was sent from Iona to convert Northumbria, and chose Lindisfarne (Holy Isle) as his headquarters. He is also said to have founded Melrose. A *Life of Columba*, by Adamnan (born 624), is the earliest written work of any considerable length relating to Scotland. St. Cuthbert (died 687) is credited with having evangelised the Tweed district and the Lothians, founding upon the earlier work of St. Aidan in the same district. By the ninth century the ecclesiastical centre of life had shifted from Iona to Dunkeld.

CHAPTER II

EARLY SCOTTISH KINGS.

> "The good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."
>
> Wordsworth.

Principal Robertson aptly remarks that "the first ages of Scottish history are dark and fabulous. Nations, as well as men, arrive at maturity by degrees, and the events which happened during their infancy or early youth cannot be recollected, and deserve not to be remembered."

Brushing aside, therefore, such fabulous lists as that of the forty Scottish kings, reaching back three hundred years or so before the birth of Christ, we find that the first name definitely worthy of mention among Scottish monarchs is that of Kenneth M'Alpine, who in 844 A.D., having succeeded in uniting the Picts and Scots, ruled as king over Scotland from Caithness to the Forth.[1] The south-western part of Scotland was meanwhile held by the Britons of Strathclyde, with Alcluyd, or Dunbarton (the fort of the Britons), as their stronghold, while the south-east of the country formed part of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria.

[1] It is traditionally said that Kenneth's father was a Scot, and his mother a Pict. His task of fusing the two races into one was doubtless rendered easier by the previous missionary work of Columba.

The Landing of Queen Margaret at Queensferry.

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P. 14.

Kenneth's achievement was not a lasting one, for Scotland was again plunged into race conflicts and clan struggles for other two hundred years. During this period our country endured numerous inroads from the Danes and Norwegians; and while the Danes are reported to have suffered a defeat at Luncarty near Perth in 973, their Norse kinsmen became masters of many of the Scottish isles. In 945, Strathclyde, or Cumbria, came more or less under the sway of the King of the Scots, Malcolm I., and thirty years later the district between Tweed and Forth was joined to the Scottish kingdom under Kenneth II. The possession of these districts was rendered definite and lasting in 1018 by the battle of Carham (on the Tweed), where Malcolm II., King of Scots, defeated the Angles, who had continued to claim the whole district between the Tweed and the Tees. Professor Hume Brown holds that this battle "may be fairly regarded as the most decisive fact in the national history," and at least it brings us within measurable distance of a united Scotland, with Celt and Teuton becoming gradually welded into one conscious nationality.

Towards the end of this long period of turmoil was enacted, in 1040, the slaughter of King Duncan and the seizure of his throne by Macbeth (the Mormaer or Lord of Moray). We may remark in passing that it is unfortunate that England's greatest dramatist should have painted this—the most prominent Scotsman on his vivid canvas—as a monster of vice and cruelty, whereas the real Macbeth seems to have been, on the whole, a beneficent ruler. As Burton points out, he is "the first whose name appears in the ecclesiastical records both as a king of Scotland and as a benefactor of the Church." As a matter of fact the death of Duncan at the hands of Macbeth did not take place in

his bed, but on the battlefield, in an engagement near Elgin, traditionally known as the battle of Bothgowan (or Bothgouanan).

In any case, the interruption of the natural succession to the throne was not of long duration. Malcolm Canmore ("Great Head"), the son of Duncan, marched against Macbeth, and, on the defeat and death of the latter at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire, became king of united Scotland from Maidenkirk to John o' Groats, being crowned at Scone in April 1057 as Malcolm III.

Malcolm's chief task was to consolidate into one nation the motley fragments of Scots and Picts, Britons, Danes, and Anglo-Saxons, which now formed the population of Scotland. The state of affairs in England left him a fairly free hand to accomplish this great work. The Norman Conquest of England took place in 1066, and many Anglo-Saxons, suffering from Norman tyranny, found a refuge and a home in southern Scotland. In the same year, 1066, the Norwegian king, Harald, conquered Orkney, Shetland, and some of the Hebridean Isles, and Norwegian blood became definitely mingled with the original Celtic strain of the Western Highlanders.

Among the refugees from England was Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon kings, with his mother and two sisters, one of whom, Margaret, won Malcolm's affections and became his bride.

In the work of civilising and refining his somewhat rugged subjects, Malcolm was ably assisted by his English queen, whose name as St. Margaret or Queen Margaret, though chiefly associated with Dunfermline, is still to be found in many connections and in many districts of Scotland. His idyllic love for her forms one of the prettiest features in our early history.

Sir William Fettes Douglas, P.R.S.A. *Photo by Drummond, Young & Watson.*

INCHCOLM MONASTERY: FOUNDED BY ALEXANDER I., 1123.

"AN ERRAND OF MERCY."

P. 17.

Largely on her behalf Malcolm made no fewer than five inroads upon the Norman conquerors of England, and in the last of these he was slain at Alnwick (November 1093). His beloved queen died three days later at Edinburgh Castle.

From this reign we may date the influence of England upon Scotland both for good and evil. While refining influences were introduced by Margaret, and by such Saxons and Normans as migrated northwards, there was introduced also a new idea of the kingship as a sort of semi-divine institution, and it was likewise now that the English kings began the habit of endeavouring to exact some degree of homage from the northern kings.

At Malcolm's death the kingdom was at first seized, in accordance with the Celtic law of succession, by his brother Donalbane, who had the support of those northern sections of the population who objected to Malcolm's innovations. The next four years witnessed a series of conflicts and divisions which bring out more clearly the strength shown by Malcolm in holding the country together. The crown was seized and held for six months by Duncan, Malcolm's son by his first wife. He was, however, defeated and killed by Donalbane, who again reigned for three years, sharing his kingdom for part of the time with Edmund, one of Margaret's four sons.

The kingdom then passed in succession to Edgar, Alexander, and David, three sons of Malcolm and Margaret.

Edgar (1097–1107) continued the tendency, inherited from his mother, to introduce ideas and methods from England.

Alexander I. (1107–24) deserves to be remembered for having stoutly and successfully maintained the

independence of the Scottish Church against the claims of the Sees of Canterbury and York. During Alexander's reign the lowlands were in charge of his brother David, who now succeeded him.

The reign of David I. (1124–53) is memorable for various reasons. Firstly, David, as Earl of Northampton, had sworn along with the English lords to maintain the rightful claim of his niece Matilda or Maud (daughter of Henry I.) to the English throne. On the death of Henry I. in 1135, the throne was immediately usurped by Stephen. David, true to his promise, invaded England at the head of a large force in 1136, and again in 1138. On the latter occasion he was defeated at the Battle of the Standard, near Northallerton, where the undisciplined valour of the wild Galloway men in the Scottish van was foiled by the mail-clad Norman knights and by the English archers. The battle received its name from the elaborately decorated banner, with the consecrated host at the head of its staff, which was carried by the Norman-English. The English claim to have slain 10,000 Scots in this engagement; but if so the Scots must have sold their lives dearly, as the terms of peace included the cession of part of northern England to King David.

The second momentous fact in regard to David's reign is that Scotland now for the first time became definitely Roman Catholic. The king erected five or six new bishoprics, and founded numerous abbeys and other religious houses, among them being those of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Jedburgh, Holyrood, and Cambuskenneth. So lavishly did he squander the royal funds and lands on such purposes, that three hundred years later, when his descendant, King James I., was shown the tomb of "St. David" at Dunfermline, he ruefully

THE GOOD DEEDS OF KING DAVID THE FIRST.
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P. 18.

remarked, "Ay, he was a sair saint for the crown!" He explained his remark by pointing out that his ancestor had "left the kirk ouir riche and the crown ouir puir."

It may be added that in David's reign great numbers of Norman nobles crossed the border from England, and were warmly welcomed by the Scottish king. It was now, therefore, that an aristocracy of Norman blood—including the Bruces and Baliols—grew up in our land, and through their influence the feudal system of government and of land tenure steadily supplanted the older patriarchal or tribal arrangements of the country. As the feudal nobles had to take measures for their personal safety, the building of strong stone castles had its rise in this period.

David's grandson, Malcolm IV. ("The Maiden"), a boy of twelve, succeeded him, and his reign of a dozen years is chiefly notable for the fact that he renounced the old Scottish claim to possession of the north of England. The mistaken policy of Henry II., in 1155, of expelling aliens from England, drove into Scotland numerous Flemings and other foreigners, who were welcomed on account of their skill in various arts and crafts. In this reign occurred a series of revolts by Somerled of the Isles, who reigned as a king over Argyll. In 1135, Somerled had obtained from David I. a grant of Arran and Bute. After rising against Malcolm's authority in 1153, and seizing the Isle of Man in 1158, Somerled landed in Renfrewshire in 1164, but was slain along with his son.

The next episode in our relationship to England is one of the most discreditable in our history. William the Lion (1165–1214), brother of Malcolm IV., entered into alliance with the French king against the King of England. He laid claim to Northumberland, and

invaded England in 1174, but was captured in a petty skirmish at Alnwick, and removed as a prisoner to the castle of Falaise in Normandy. In return for his freedom he basely agreed by the Treaty of Falaise to perform homage to King Henry II., not only for his lands in England, but for his Scottish kingdom as well. He further agreed to hand over, as securities, the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling to the English. Thus did one selfish king barter his country's honour for his own personal convenience. Thanks to Bishop Jocelyn of Glasgow, the Scottish Church escaped the national degradation, and in 1188 her absolute independence was formally announced by Pope Clement III.

Happily for Scotland, the English king was succeeded by a man of more generous spirit and of keener foresight, the gallant Richard of the Lion Heart. In December 1189, Richard, who was about to set forth upon a crusading expedition, and who realised that it would be better to leave Scotland behind him as a peaceful neighbour than as a discontented and unruly subject, absolved Scotland from its allegiance for the sum of 10,000 merks, and declared that all evidence of homage done by William the Lion to Henry II. should be held as cancelled. Richard's generous policy brought its own reward four years later, when William helped to ransom Richard from captivity in an Austrian prison. The second half of William's reign—the longest reign of any Scottish monarch prior to the Union—was spent in undoing the follies and mistakes of the first; and the relations between England and Scotland, which were at peace for practically a hundred years after King Richard's bargain, gave foretaste of that better time for both countries which was not finally to arrive till many centuries later.

Scotland was thus left free to settle accounts with another foe. The Norwegians, as we have seen, had taken possession of most of the Scottish isles, and after the peaceful and somewhat uneventful reign of Alexander II. (1214–49), in which the main occurrence was the more complete incorporation of Dalriada or Argyll into the Scottish kingdom, the reign of Alexander III. (1249–86) witnessed the solution of the question whether these isles were to be reconquered by Scotland or to remain as a thorn in her side. A Scottish expedition succeeded in expelling many of the Norse chieftains, and the veteran King Haco (Haakon V.) of Norway was prevailed upon to make one desperate effort to retain and extend the Norse Conquest. In July 1263 the Norse raven-flag pursued a more or less victorious course down the western isles, reaching the Firth of Clyde by the autumn. It was now that the Norsemen sailed up Loch Long, dragged their galleys across to Tarbet on Loch Lomond, and harried the Buchanan and Colquhoun country. The young King Alexander, knowing that time was on his side, outwitted Haco by prolonged negotiations, until the October storms forced the Norsemen to venture all on a desperate land engagement. The struggle took place at Largs, and after a brave fight the foreigners had to take to their ships and make off homewards. The winter was upon them, and it was but a shattered remnant of their brave armada of a hundred ships that ever reached Norway. Their gallant king himself never saw his land again, as he died at Orkney in December on the homeward journey, declaring that "the arm of God, and not the strength of man, had repulsed him." All honour to those hardy Norsemen whose blood runs free in many a Scottish vein, and whose brave Scandinavian spirit,

infused into our national life, has done much to enable Britannia to rule the waves!

The battle of Largs, and the subsequent treaty of 1266 with the new King of Norway, freed the western isles, though Orkney and Shetland remained Norse for some time longer; and from this date we may regard the nationality of the population of Scotland as fixed almost in its present state. It consisted then of a somewhat mixed Celtic population in the north and west, with a fair infusion of Norwegian blood in the isles and on the shores of Clyde. The south and east were chiefly peopled by the same Germanic race as had subdued England before the Norman Conquest, but with a considerable Danish and Norwegian element on the eastern coasts from Caithness to Berwick.

At this point in our narrative we may call attention to the fact that even at this early date Scottish carpenters were noted for their skill in shipbuilding, and received orders from the Continent. This is worth remembering in view of the common erroneous opinion that the British Navy of to-day is the lineal descendant of the English Navy alone. In this respect, as in so many others, modern British institutions can trace their lineage up two lines of ancestry.

In the reigns of Alexander II. and of Alexander III., but especially in the latter period, Scotland was prosperous, well ruled, and on the whole peaceful, freed as it was from foreign invasion, and apparently also from English aggression. As Fordun expresses it, "The Church flourished, its ministers were treated with reverence, vice was openly discouraged, cunning and treachery were trampled underfoot, injury ceased, and the reign of virtue, truth, and justice was maintained throughout the land." Not less striking is the more modern testimony of Cosmo Innes: "We do not know

The Battle of Largs.

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(Underneath is seen a portion of the remarkable frieze by the same artist, depicting a procession of nearly 200 characters from Scottish History).

P. 22.

much of the intellectual state of the population in that age, but regarding it only in a material point of view, it may safely be affirmed that Scotland at the death of King Alexander III. was more civilised and more prosperous than at any period of her existence down to the time when she ceased to be a separate kingdom in 1707." Professor Hume Brown, perhaps even more emphatically, states that "at the death of Alexander III. Scotland was, relatively to her resources, the most prosperous country in Europe."

Alas! it was the calm before the storm, for Scotland's sorest days of trial were just at hand. Riding along the Fife coast one night in March 1286, King Alexander fell over the cliffs at Kinghorn and was killed.

His last surviving son had died childless two years before. His daughter, Margaret, had married King Eric III. of Norway, and she too had died, leaving a little girl, Margaret, known as the Maid of Norway. Little Margaret was now heir to the Scottish throne; but the frail child died at Orkney on her voyage to her kingdom, and Scotland was left without a ruler.

Even yet Scotland might have remained peaceful and prosperous, had it not been that there now sat on the throne of England a man of iron will and of boundless ambition, Edward I., who had subdued Wales and strengthened the English hold on Ireland, and who wished to round off his conquests by adding to them the little "land of brown heath and shaggy wood, land of the mountain and the flood," that still remained independent of his sway. What might have been the ultimate history of Scotland had she been left at this time to develop along her own lines, we cannot say. But this at least we know, that but for the cupidity of Edward, and the gallant and successful efforts to repel it, the world's history would

have been the poorer by the absence from its annals of one of the noblest stands that ever a little nation made against unprovoked lust of conquest on the part of a greater,—a page of European history paralleled only by the stand made against Persia by Greece, against Austria by Switzerland, or against Spain by the Netherlands.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD I. AND SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.

> "At Wallace' name, what Scottish blood
> But boils up in a spring-tide flood?
> Oft have our fearless fathers strode
> By Wallace' side,
> Still pressing onward, red-wat-shod,
> Or glorious died."
>
> Burns.

We have now reached the commencement of that desperate struggle for independence to which we owe so much of the irrepressible passion for liberty which runs through all Scottish history, political or religious, and some slight recapitulation is necessary in order to place in its proper light Edward I.'s claim to the suzerainty of Scotland.

As we have seen, William the Lion, in order to regain his freedom from a Norman prison, submitted in 1174 to declare himself the vassal of King Henry II. of England. A certain school of English historians in modern times, headed by Professor E. A. Freeman, would have us believe that Scotland all through its earlier history owed feudal allegiance to the English kings. Burton very cleverly remarks in connection with the terms exacted from William the Lion, "It is odd that these pedantic reasoners should have overlooked how strongly this transaction bears against them. If the Scots people really were under feudal subjection to the Norman kings of England, what

need to create that condition by a hard bargain with a prisoner?"

In any case, William's foolish bargain was soon cancelled. In 1189 Richard the Lion-Hearted, in return for 10,000 merks and the prospect of Scottish friendship, resigned all claim of sovereignty over Scotland, and absolved William from his miserable submission of fifteen years before.

Let us now come to Edward I. himself. In July 1290, shortly before the death of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, Edward arranged by the Treaty of Brigham for the marriage of the little Queen of Scotland with his youthful son Prince Edward. In that treaty it was provided that "the laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland should remain inviolate for ever, and that the realm should remain separate from, and entirely independent of England." No treaty could well have been more explicit, and in so far as the way was thus paved for an honourable union between the two countries, no project could have been more admirable.

But man proposes, and God disposes. Margaret died in September of the same year, and with Scotland's difficulty came Edward's opportunity. A dozen claimants for the Scottish throne appeared, the chief among them, in right and in influence, being John Baliol (or Balliol) and Robert Bruce (grandfather of the future King Robert the Bruce).

These claimants, being unable to come to an agreement among themselves, and being already vassals of King Edward for lands held in England, agreed to refer their case to the arbitration of the English king. The responsibility for making this suggestion rests with Bishop Fraser of St. Andrews. On hearing of their proposed reference to himself, Edward is said to have

exclaimed, "The fit time has come at last to reduce Scotland and its kinglings under my rule!" Edward therefore summoned the Scots nobles and clergy interested to a conference at Norham on the Tweed in May 1291, and in violation of the agreements of 1189 and 1290 the crafty monarch demanded that, as a condition of acting as arbiter, he must be recognised as the suzerain master of the candidates, and as Lord Paramount of Scotland. When the Scots demurred to this, Edward allowed them three weeks to produce evidence against his claim, thus throwing all the onus of proof on the negative side. The "community" of Scotland (which may mean some consultative council, or more probably simply a section of the commons) lodged an answer in writing, but Edward airily put it aside as irrelevant. The competitors, who were practically all of Norman descent, and who cared more for Edward's favour and their own gain than for Scotland's honour, basely consented to acknowledge the English king's claim.

By November 1292, Edward decided in favour of Baliol; and so far as the ordinary laws of heritage are concerned, his decision was the only possible and fair one, as Baliol was grandson of the eldest daughter of David, brother of William the Lion, while Bruce was son of the second daughter. But old Scottish custom usually placed masculinity and proximity of descent before priority, and as Baliol's claim was through his mother Devorgoil (who founded Balliol College, Oxford), it may be regarded as an open question whether Edward's decision was as inevitable as it would at first appear. It is worth noting that, like the false mother in Solomon's day, the other competitors were willing to have the kingdom divided!

At any rate Baliol had won the prize, and he

readily swore fidelity to Edward, and was crowned at Scone in November 1292. But it soon became apparent that Edward meant to treat him as a mere puppet.[1] Edward summoned him to London to answer to any petty complaint that might be brought forward by any of his subjects; and after three years of insult and degradation, Baliol lost patience with Edward.

The climax came in this fashion. Edward had quarrelled with Philip IV. of France, who claimed him as a vassal, and when Edward summoned Baliol to assist him against France, the latter, in October 1295, made alliance with France, and threw off his allegiance to the English king. Early in 1296 Edward invaded Scotland, and after taking Berwick and massacring its inhabitants wholesale, he advanced to Dunbar in April, and defeated the Scots with heavy slaughter. Edward now pushed on by Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth to Brechin, near which, in July 1296, Baliol abjectly submitted, and handed over his sceptre to the Bishop of Durham. Edward removed it to London along with the famous Stone of Destiny, on which the Irish and Scottish kings had been crowned, and which still forms part of the British Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey. It is believed that Edward at this time destroyed various charters and other documents found at Scone and elsewhere, which combated his claim of suzerainty.

Baliol, along with his son Edward, was kept a prisoner for three years in the Tower of London, after which he was allowed to drag out an unhonoured existence till 1315, one year after Bannockburn had undone the mischief which he and his fellow-competitors had

[1] The Scots nicknamed Baliol "Toom Tabard," as being possessed of the robes and trappings of royalty without the reality of kingly dignity and power.

committed. In his dying ears, as in those of Moses under very different conditions, might have rung the words, "I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither." On Baliol's ignominious surrender the priests, nobles, and barons submitted, and signed the oath of allegiance to Edward, the grim humour of the Scottish peasantry giving to this ignoble list the name of the "Ragman's Roll."

Scotland's king of straw was a prisoner in the Tower, her regalia were in the land of the southron, her nobles fawned upon the conquering stranger. English officials were set over Scotland, John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, being made Governor. Her castles were garrisoned with English soldiers, and Edward, lulled into fancied security, no doubt felt that he had made good his boast to break the power of Scotland.

But he had reckoned without the Scottish people, and had not thought fit to heed their protests when the would-be kings swore away their country's rights. The aristocracy were under his heel, and what cared he for the wretched commons? Little did he surmise that among the commons and the smaller gentry there smouldered fires that needed but little to fan them into flame, and that from out that smouldering mass itself a mighty conflagration was to arise, which should end only when the last vestige of English supremacy had shrivelled from Scottish soil.

Here and there throughout the country the people, smarting under the oppression of their new governors, rose and attacked the English garrisons. One of these attacks, which took place in the town of Lanark, is memorable as the first important exploit of a youthful Scot, little past his twentieth year, who was soon to be the saviour of his distressed country, and whose name was to be passed down the ages as the noblest of

Scotland's many heroes. The son of a gentleman of Elderslie in Renfrewshire, William Wallace is said to have early learnt the great lesson of the value of liberty. His uncle, the good priest of Dunipace, instilled into Wallace's youthful mind the lines now inscribed on his monument at Robroyston :

> "Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum :
> Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili."

"I tell thee a truth, the noblest of all things is liberty. Never live, my son, under the bond of slavery." In May 1297, then, we find Wallace, goaded to vengeance by bitter personal insult and by the murder of his wife (or sweetheart), leading an attack on the Lanark garrison, and slaying the English Sheriff Haselrig. The fame of this exploit soon spread over the length and breadth of the land. The nation was writhing under a sense of shame and panting for a leader, and here he was ready to its hand. His physical prowess is well indicated in Campbell's lines :

> "The sword that was fit for archangel to wield
> Was light in his terrible hand" :

while his power of command and genius for strategy at once manifested themselves.

Proceeding from one act to another of successful guerilla warfare, Wallace soon won the people's confidence. Even some of the nobles, including Bruce, joined him for a time, although they soon deserted him through scorn of his lowly birth. Castle after castle fell into the hands of the Scots, until Dundee was the only important stronghold north of the Tay that remained in the possession of the English. Finding matters in this critical state, less than a year after Scotland was considered to have been subdued, John Warenne, Earl

Photo by Annan & Sons.

Wallace Memorial, Robroyston.

P. 30.

of Surrey, together with Hugh Cressingham, Treasurer of Scotland, gathered an army of 50,000 men and marched northwards to meet the insurgents.

Wallace hurried from Dundee and took up an admirably chosen position on the lower slopes of the Abbey Craig near Stirling, with a loop of the Forth encircling his front. His force was considerably smaller than Surrey's, the highest estimate placing it at 40,000 men. Two friars were sent across the river to arrange terms, but Wallace proudly replied, "Return to your friends, and tell them that we came here with no peaceful intent, but ready for battle, and determined to avenge our own wrongs and set our country free. Let your masters come and attack us, we are ready to meet them beard to beard." The battle was fought on 11th September. Wallace's strategy was brilliantly appropriate to his position. Half the English army were allowed to defile across the narrow bridge. Seeing the Scots remain unmoved, this part of the English force prepared for conflict. A small Scots force now sufficed to prevent any further advance across the bridge, and an impetuous downhill charge of the main Scottish army threw the English into confusion and compassed their entire destruction, the river claiming those who escaped the Scots. The victorious Scots then made a detour in order to cross the river, and proceeded to demolish the other half of the English army. Surrey fled to England, while half his force, with Cressingham the Lord Treasurer, lay dead by the stream of Forth.

From this victory the Scots learned a confidence in themselves which affected all their subsequent history. Kings and nobles might prove false or helpless, but, as so often has happened in our national history, the great heart of Scotland beat true, and her honour was saved by the common people.

"High praise, ye gallant band,
Who in the face of day
With daring hearts and fearless hands
Have cast your chains away!
The foemen fell on every side,
In crimson hues the Forth was dyed,
Bedewed with blood the heather;
While cries triumphant shook the air,
'Thus shall we do, thus shall we dare,
Wherever Scotsmen gather.'"

The history of the world presents no more dramatic figure than that of the stalwart young hero (aged somewhere between twenty-two and twenty-seven), who thus at one blow shattered the house of cards which Edward had built for himself, and now stood forth as the guardian of his country's honour and liberties.

Lord Rosebery, at the Stirling Sexcentenary Celebration in 1897, fitly said: "There are junctures in the affairs of men when what is wanted is a man—not treasures, not fleets, not legions, but a man—the man of the moment, the man of destiny, whose spirit attracts and unites and inspires, whose powers are equal to the convulsion—the child and the outcome of the storm. We recognise in Wallace one of these men—a man of fate given to Scotland in the storms of the thirteenth century. It is this fact, the fact of his destiny and his fatefulness, that succeeding generations have instinctively recognised."

The victory of Stirling had the effect of inducing most of the English garrisons still in Scotland to relinquish the Scottish strongholds, and in little more than a month Wallace was able to organise a three months' raid on the north of England at the head of 20,000 men. Wallace is known to have extended protection to religious houses during this incursion. Returning home laden with booty he was by national acclamation appointed Guardian of Scotland, nominally

in the interests of Scotland's imprisoned king, John Baliol.

Wallace's enlightened foreign policy was triumphantly illustrated in 1829, when a German author found, among the city records of Lübeck, a missive dated October 1297, from Sir William Wallace and Andrew de Moray to the Hanseatic League of North Germany, announcing that Scotland was now delivered from its oppressors, and offering the German merchants "safe access to all the ports of the realm." Thus did Wallace up to his lights anticipate by nearly five hundred years the great principle of Free Trade which has been the guiding star of Britain's commercial greatness, and which it remained for another Scotsman, Adam Smith, to rediscover and to propagate.

Wallace, well aware that one victory was not sufficient to secure his country against invasion, instituted a sort of national conscription, and called upon the barons to furnish men-at-arms when required. This apparently wise plan of national defence really led to Wallace's downfall, as it impinged on the feudal rights of the nobles; and however much the Guardian of Scotland might be acclaimed by the commons, those haughty barons, with their proud Norman blood, could ill brook to see an upstart at the head of affairs. During the past two centuries the Scottish kings had frequently dispossessed small holders of land to give it to Norman barons and other favourites, who were allowed great power over the populace within their domains. Hence the determined opposition of these potentates to the national aspirations of Wallace.

Thus we are brought to the fatal field of Falkirk on 22nd July 1298, when Wallace once more faced an English army thrice as numerous as his own, and

might have added another laurel to Scotland's chaplet, but for the base desertion of the nobles. The English force, consisting of 7000 cavalry and 80,000 infantry, was led by the king himself. Wallace arranged his infantry in four "schiltrons," or circular squadrons of spearmen, a device for meeting cavalry attacks which foreshadowed the British bayonet square. The scanty cavalry of the Scots quitted the field without engaging in the fight, and the infantry were left to endure the onslaughts of the English cavalry and the deadly rain of arrows from the best archers in the world. Ere the English won the day, there lay on the field the bodies of some 10,000 Scottish patriots, and among them the brave Sir John the Graeme, Wallace's "fidus Achates." Edward made little capital out of his victory, for the Scots burned or otherwise destroyed all shelter and food at his approach, and in less than a month he led his army home to England by way of Ayr and Carlisle.

One fact in English constitutional history is worth noting here. Before Edward marched northwards prior to the battle of Falkirk he had been engaged in dissension with his barons regarding their rights; and his nobles, when asked to join his standard, agreed to do so only on condition that the king should submit to their constitutional claims in regard to taxation and other matters. This was probably the first, but certainly not the last occasion, on which a northern rising enabled the subjects of the English kings to extort fair terms from their tyrannical masters.

Wallace's subsequent career was short and sad. Feeling that his leadership was a stumbling-block to the nobles, he resigned the Guardianship, in the hope of reuniting the various classes of the nation. He is believed to have visited France, and perhaps Rome, returning

home about the year 1300. It may have been through his influence that a Bull from Pope Boniface VIII. was handed to King Edward in the autumn of that year at Caerlaverock Castle, remonstrating with his interference in Scottish affairs, and reminding him that the independence of Scotland had been acknowledged not only by his predecessors but by himself, the so-called homage done by Scottish kings or nobles being for lands in England only.

One by one the Scottish castles were regained by Edward, the most important of them all, Stirling, surrendering after a three months' siege in 1303. With the exception of the defeat sustained by a large English force at Roslin in February 1303, Edward's career in Scotland was one of almost unbroken success. Early in 1304 he received the submission of most of the nobles, and any who had not submitted were offered generous pardon. The Bruces and Comyns all went over to the English allegiance, and the one prominent Scot who stood aloof was Sir William Wallace, the one man in Scotland to whom no terms were offered but absolute humiliation.

Edward used every effort, human and inhuman, to get Wallace into his power, and offered a price of 300 merks for his head. At last, in August 1305, Sir John Menteith treacherously betrayed him to the English. He was taken prisoner at Robroyston, and brought to London for trial. He repudiated the name of "traitor" on the simple ground that he had never owed nor owned allegiance to Edward or to England. The trial was of course a farce, and its result a foregone conclusion. Ere the month was out the brave hero was hanged, beheaded, and disembowelled, every detail of his execution being dictated by the most savage vindictiveness. His head was set up on London

bridge, and his limbs distributed to Stirling, Perth, Berwick, and Newcastle.

Burton says of Wallace's execution, "The death of Wallace stands forth among the violent ends which have had a memorable place in history. Proverbially such acts belong to a policy that outwits itself. But the retribution has seldom come so quickly, and so utterly in defiance of all human preparation and calculation, as here. Of the bloody trophies sent to frighten a broken people into abject subjection, the bones had not yet been bared ere they became tokens to deepen the wrath and strengthen the courage of a people arising to try the strength of the bands by which they were bound, and if possible to break them once and for ever."

Wallace was dead, but his life had given the Scots new faith in their destiny, and his death stirred them to renewed activity. Six months after Wallace's execution seemed to have crushed Scotland for ever, "the banner of freedom waved defiance from the towers of Lochmaben, and in the Chapel-Royal of Scone the Bruce was crowned King of Scotland."

John Richard Green declares that "the instinct of the Scottish people has guided it aright in choosing Wallace for its national hero." Mazzini penned the following message at the time of the inauguration of the Wallace Monument on Abbey Craig (1869): "Wallace stands forth from the dim twilight of the past as one of the high prophets of nationality to us all. Honour him, worship his memory, teach his name and deeds to your children." His fellow-patriot Garibaldi no less eloquently wrote: "William Wallace sheds as bright a glory upon his valorous nation as ever was shed upon their country by the greatest men of Greece or Rome."

CHAPTER IV

KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.

"See what a grace was seated on this brow;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command,
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."
Shakspeare, *Hamlet.*

While Wallace was living and dying for Scotland's rights and liberties, Robert Bruce was to-day a sycophant at King Edward's court, and to-morrow engaged in a conspiracy to gain the Scottish crown for himself.

His excuse must be that he was by descent and training only half a Scot, and that even the genuine Scottish nobility of that day were swayed much more by self-interest and cupidity than by any feeling of patriotism. Besides, it must be remembered that Wallace, throughout his career, conceived himself as acting on behalf of John Baliol, and Bruce could scarcely be expected to display any enthusiasm in that cause.

In the end, however, whatever motive may have prompted him, he stood forth the fearless defender of our national independence; and if ever a man atoned for a youth spent in indecision and double-dealing by a manhood of noble devotion and kingly prowess, that man was Robert the Bruce, one of the few truly fascinating figures that have adorned the thrones of either Scotland or England.

Bruce's chief rival in his hopes for the throne of Scotland was John Comyn, nephew of Baliol. The two at last came to an agreement by which Bruce was to have the crown, while Comyn was to be second in the kingdom, with possession of Bruce's estates and his own. Comyn betrayed the agreement to Edward, and matters were thus brought to a head. Bruce escaped to Scotland in February 1306, and finding his false friend at Dumfries, stabbed him at the altar of the Greyfriars Church, an act of sacrilege which led to Bruce's excommunication.

Bruce, now in his thirty-second year, was crowned king at Scone, in March 1306, by the aged Countess of Buchan; but for some years he was king only in name. The Earl of Pembroke was sent north in the late spring of 1306, and in June defeated Bruce in a night attack at Methven. After enduring severe privations among the mountains of Perth, Aberdeen, and Argyll, Bruce spent the winter in the island of Rathlin. It is here that he is said to have drawn a lesson of resolution from the persevering exertions of a spider. His wife and daughter were captured and imprisoned in England, and three of his brothers, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, were executed. The Countess of Buchan was placed in close confinement at Berwick. Such a series of misfortunes, added to the ban of the Church, might well have daunted the boldest spirit, but Bruce gradually rose superior to all his trials.

In the spring of 1307, Sir James Douglas took Brodick, and Bruce surprised and defeated the English at Turnberry. In May he won his first field over Pembroke at Loudoun Hill. Galloway was next cleared by the king's brother, Edward Bruce, while Sir James Douglas ranged the districts of Clyde and Tweed, and the king himself pushed forward his

interests in the more northerly districts. Bruce's nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph, was prevailed upon by Douglas to throw in his fortunes with his uncle's venture. By February 1310 his cause was so far in the ascendant that the Scottish Estates and clergy formally accepted Bruce as their king, and resolved to defend their country's independence to the utmost. This support from the Scots clergy compensated in great measure for the ban of excommunication under which Bruce lay. Three more years of hard fighting freed Scotland almost entirely from the grasp of the alien, Edinburgh Castle being gained in 1312 ; and even the north of England learned to dread the approach of Scottish fire and sword.

Of the many traditional tales recounting hairbreadth escapes and prodigies of valour and endurance on the part of Bruce it is not easy to assess the trustworthiness, but, as in the case of Wallace, the solid achievement of working steadily up to a great and decisive victory carries with it sufficient corroboration of the general fact of Bruce's great endurance and undaunted courage. He appears to have been a man of magnetic personality, noble in appearance, strong and sinewy in body, good-humoured and courteous in nature,—in fact, "every inch a king."

As for his great enemy, Edward I., whom it is fashionable with a certain school of historians to represent as a great statesman baffled by the short-sighted objections of the Scots to absorption by England, the real truth has been well summarised by Professor Veitch : "He was no better than his time in thought or feeling. He was simply the highest type in England of an arrogant feudal lord, who could not bear resistance to his will, who was exasperated by the very appearance of opposition, who was dominated,

besides, by a restless lust of power, and who had a spontaneous delight in revenging himself in the blood of any man who stood pre-eminently in the way of his imperious temper."

By 1313 every fortress but Stirling had been wrested from the English, and Sir Philip de Mowbray, the governor of that castle, agreed to surrender to Edward Bruce unless relieved by June of the following year.

Old King Edward—the Hammer of the Scots—had died in June 1307, on the Solway coast, while on his way to invade Scotland, and his son, Edward II., who, at that time, had failed to carry out his father's plans, was now at last placed upon his mettle, and determined to subdue Scotland once and for all. He therefore marched northwards to relieve Stirling with an army estimated at some 100,000 men, the flower of English chivalry, together with recruits from recently conquered Wales and from Ireland. An unusually large proportion of these consisted of cavalry, so that this part of his army alone is said to have numbered as many as Bruce's whole force of 30,000, which was composed almost entirely of infantry. On the side of the English, then, were overwhelming numbers and vast superiority of arms and accoutrements; but on the Scottish side, to atone for their deficiency in other respects, there were burning patriotism and determined love of liberty; there were brave generals, the "Good Lord James" of Douglas, young Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Edward Bruce; and above all there was a Scottish king, fitted by reason of valour and of hard-won military skill to head the nation at such a crisis, and to bring the life-and-death struggle of all these years to a glorious conclusion.

Bruce chose his ground with care and judgment.

His right flank was protected by the Bannock Burn and his left was secured by trenches, while the more level ground in front was honeycombed with pits, intended as a trap for the enemy's cavalry. The Scottish right was commanded by Edward Bruce, the centre by the King's nephew, Randolph Moray, and the left by Sir James Douglas and the Steward of Scotland. The king himself commanded the reserve on the higher ground beside the Borestone.

On Sunday, 23rd June, the English host arrived from the direction of Falkirk, and the day was marked by two episodes. King Robert, while riding on a palfrey in front of his lines, was charged by Sir Henry de Bohun, but with his usual strength and coolness he dispatched the rash knight. Sir Robert Clifford, passing round by the low ground to the east of the Scots position, endeavoured to rush his force of 800 cavalry towards the castle, but the movement was detected in time by Bruce, and frustrated by Randolph's infantry.

It is traditionally reported that the English, confident of victory, spent the night in carousal, while the Scots passed it in religious exercises or in restful slumber. On the following morning the Abbot of Inchaffray passed along the Scottish lines with a crucifix, and King Edward, seeing his foes prostrating themselves, is reported to have exclaimed, "They kneel; they ask for mercy!" "They do," replied one of his staff, "but it is from God, not from us."

The battle was commenced by desperate and repeated cavalry charges against the Scottish right flank, and as the pits had been pretty successfully avoided, the endurance of the spearmen was tested to the utmost. The English archers now began to pour their deadly rain upon the Scottish ranks; but Bruce had husbanded his scanty cavalry to meet this difficulty,

and now dispatched Sir Robert Keith with a force of 500 horse, which attacked the bowmen in flank and effectually dispersed them. The Scottish reserve was at last brought forward to the support of the three front columns, which were now all engaged, and ere long the force of the English attack began to spend itself. With cries of "On them! They fail!" the Scots assumed the offensive, and at this critical moment the English, spying Bruce's camp-followers moving down the slopes of the Gillies' Hill, and mistaking these for further reinforcements, gradually but surely gave way, and Bannockburn was won. In the retreat the pits at last came into deadly operation, and it is said that 30,000 English were left dead on the field, including numerous barons, knights, and squires. The Scottish loss was estimated at 4000. Edward fled headlong to Dunbar, and thence escaped in a fishing-boat to Berwick. There fell into the hands of the victorious army treasure in food, horses, and money to the value of £200,000, equivalent to something like three million pounds at the present day. Bruce was thus enabled to treat his followers with kingly generosity, while he behaved towards the prisoners with chivalrous forbearance.

Stirling Castle of course surrendered, and Sir Philip joined himself to Bruce and his cause. The ancient kingdom was free from Maidenkirk to John o' Groats, and the dream of the Edwards to subdue Scotland, as they and their predecessors had done Wales and Ireland, was dispelled for ever, though it was not till fourteen years later that proud England formally admitted the fact at the end of a thirty-two years' struggle.

Bannockburn stands out clearly among the chief battles in the history of civilised man, not only as an example of triumphant bravery on the part of a smaller

power against a greater, but because it shaped in great measure the destinies of Europe and of modern civilisation. Had Bannockburn gone otherwise, had English aggression succeeded, nothing of that which is best in Scottish character, politics, literature, or religion, would ever have developed; and not only would our Scottish history have been the record of a mere conquered province of England, but England herself could never have evolved an empire with three hostile and discontented peoples to cope with within her borders—the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scots. Instead, she would doubtless have proved herself a hateful tyrant, and as such would have met the tyrant's doom.

Dr. Arnold has truly said, "In Edward II.'s reign, the victory over the Irish at Athunree proved our curse, as our defeat by the Scots turned out a blessing. Had the Irish remained independent, they might afterwards have been united to us as Scotland was; and had Scotland been reduced to subjection, it would have been another curse to us like Ireland."

That Ireland is even tolerably reconciled to British rule, that Wales is a loyal portion of our domains, is in great measure due to the fact that Scotland ultimately entered the British Union as a free and frank partner. Her example of honourable devotion to the empire, and her consistent endeavours to see fair-play done to every part of it, have not been lost on the other portions of these isles; and instead of three sullen, sulky opponents, England has had for three hundred years the priceless co-operation of the bravest and most intelligent part of the British population. Well has Lord Rosebery made the proud boast, "If Scotland were not great, the Empire of all the Britains would not stand where it does."

In the negotiations regarding the exchange and

ransom of prisoners after the battle of Bannockburn, Bruce's queen and daughter were restored to him. Twice in the autumn of that year the Scots overran the northern counties of England, and a desultory warfare was carried on for other thirteen years.

One of the most interesting series of events in Bruce's reign is connected with the efforts of his brother Edward to free Ireland from the English yoke. At the invitation of various Ulster chieftains, Edward Bruce crossed to Ireland with 6000 men in May 1315, and, as retreat formed no part of his plan, he sent home his boats to Scotland. After several successes against the English, Edward was actually crowned King of Ulster in 1316, and in the fall of that year King Robert crossed over to help his brother for a season with military force and with advice. Edward's expedition ended disastrously, and he was himself slain at Dundalk, 1318, fighting bravely but recklessly to the end. It might have been a blessing in disguise to England, and to Britain at large, had Edward Bruce been ultimately successful; for the result would probably have been that in course of time Ireland would have joined freely in alliance with England, as Scotland did, and then we might have had a United Kingdom, united in sentiment and in reality as well as in name, with no ever-present "Irish Question," and with no arrogant assumption of supremacy on the part of the "predominant partner."

Baffled in the field, Edward II. endeavoured to thwart Scotland in international politics. He tried hard, but in vain, to dissuade Flanders and Holland from trading with Scotland. In 1317 envoys from the Pope arrived in Scotland to endeavour to dictate a truce, but Bruce pointed out the evident partiality

shown to England in addressing him as one "carrying himself as King of Scotland," while full dignity was accorded to the English king. The terms were therefore firmly refused.

In 1319 a long and desperate, but unsuccessful siege of Berwick was conducted by Edward in person. The town was ultimately relieved by a counter-blow inflicted by the Scots upon Yorkshire. An English force, headed by the Archbishop of York, was defeated, and the slain included so many of the clergy that the Scots nicknamed the encounter the Chapter of Mytton. In 1322, Edward headed a determined invasion of Scotland with an army as large as that of eight years earlier. He was thwarted by the strategy of the Scots, who avoided a general conflict, and retired before him, leaving only a series of deserted villages behind them. Edward at last turned homewards, pursued by the guerilla tactics of Moray and Douglas, through which, together with the ravages of famine and disease, he is believed to have lost 16,000 men. (See Note, p. 49.)

The lofty ideals, religious sincerity, and pure patriotism of the Scots under Bruce's rule can nowhere be more clearly seen than in a letter which a Scottish Parliament or Assembly (meeting at Arbroath in April 1320) addressed in name of the barons, free tenants, and whole community of Scotland, to the Pope, who had excommunicated Bruce long before Bannockburn, and the whole of Scotland after it. Here are some of its sentences, and the pages of history or literature will be ransacked in vain for any nobler words. After detailing the unendurable oppression of the English, the letter says: "From such countless evils, by the help of Him that woundeth and maketh whole, we have been delivered by the strenuous exertions of our Sovereign King Robert. Him the Divine Providence,

the legal succession, and the due consent of us all, made our Prince and King. To him, as the man that has worked out the salvation of the people, we, in maintenance of our freedom, by reason of his merits as well as of his right, hold and are resolved to adhere in all things. But if he should abandon our cause, with the intention of subjecting us or our realm to the King of England or to the English, we should instantly strain every nerve to expel him as our enemy and the subverter of both his own rights and ours, and choose another for our King, such a one as should suffice for our defence; for so long as a hundred of us remain alive, never will we be reduced to any sort of subjection to the dominion of the English. For it is not for glory, or riches, or honours that we contend, but for freedom alone, which no man worthy of the name loses but with his life."

Here is no mealy-mouthed doctrine of the divine right of kings to act as they please, but the very essence of patriotic fervour. To the writers of such a document, in reference to such a king, the command, "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee," would have been no mere allegory, but the very breath of life. And that Scotland, even at this early date, was Protestant at the core, though Catholic in name, is clearly enough evidenced by this straightforward language to the Pope himself: "If your Holiness, yielding too credulous an ear to the reports of our English enemies, do not give sincere credit to what we now say, or do not cease from showing them favour to our confusion, it is on you, we believe, that in the sight of the Most High, must be charged the loss of lives, the perdition of souls, and all the other miseries that they will inflict on us and we on them." These words were written nigh six hundred years ago, and

the world has moved far in the interval, yet is there a Catholic nation in the world to-day that would dare address such a letter as that to the Pope?

The letter proceeds: "We commit the defence of our cause to Him who is the Sovereign King and Judge: we cast the burden of our cares upon Him; and hope for such an issue as may give strength and courage to us, and bring our enemies to nothing." It is from this noble faith in a Power above the Crown and above the Church, and from the willingness to make that Power the judge of all earthly action and motives, that Scotland's greatness has sprung. And in the light of this fact we can clearly see how truly the War of Independence, the Reformation, the Covenanting struggle, and the Reform Movement, have all been the outcome of one ever-present spirit, making the history of our little nation perhaps the most consistent within the records of humankind.

This gallant remonstrance of the Scottish people did not bear immediate fruit, although it was not without its effect on the attitude of the Church; but in 1326, after a visit of Randolph Moray to the Pope at Avignon, Bruce was at last recognised by the Church as King of Scotland. Randolph further succeeded in securing an offensive and defensive alliance between Scotland and France.

Edward II. was dethroned in January 1327, and murdered in September, his son succeeding as Edward III. in the fifteenth year of his age.

In that year a Scots army of over 20,000 under Randolph and Douglas executed a daring raid for three weeks in the north of England in face of an English army three times as large, which had been raised for the invasion of Scotland. In a night attack Douglas almost succeeded in capturing the young

king; and latterly, having avoided a general conflict, the army slipped off to Scotland unscathed.

Next year, after a devastating invasion conducted by Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas, England was fain to come to terms, and so we are brought to the Treaty of Northampton, arranged in March 1328. The principal terms contained a triumphant vindication of Scotland's claim of independence, the English king thus explicitly relinquishing the claims of himself and his ancestors: "Whereas we, and others of our predecessors, Kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and have thereby been the cause of long and atrocious wars between the kingdoms, we hereby renounce and convey to the King of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatsoever right we or our ancestors in times past have laid claim to in any way over the kingdom of Scotland." He disclaims "all obligations, conventions, and covenants whatsoever, that may have been entered into at any time, relative to the subjection of Scotland or its inhabitants, by any of the kings or inhabitants whomsoever, of the said kingdom of Scotland, whether clerical or laical." The kingdom of Scotland is to remain "free, entire and unmolested, separated from the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander, King of Scotland, of good memory, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever." All compromising documents, such as the "Ragman's Roll," were to be handed to the Scots, to meet the doom of destruction which they so richly deserved.

The treaty was ratified by the Scots Parliament in March, and in April by an English Parliament held at York. As a final token of concord and reconcilia-

tion, Bruce's son David (aged five) was betrothed to Edward's sister Joanna (aged seven). The marriage took place at Berwick, and Bruce journeyed to Edinburgh to bless the royal infants.

Having thus set his house in order, the good King Robert had but a year to live, and a period of mingled joy and sorrow his last year must have been. It was spent on the banks of the Clyde at Cardross, and it must have been with deep gratitude to Heaven that Bruce resigned the cares of government into such trustworthy and capable hands as those of Randolph Moray and the Good Lord James of Douglas. Nevertheless he cannot have been unaware of the danger awaiting his country when the sceptre should be passed on to a mere child. A wasting disease was gnawing at King Robert's iron frame, and his queen passed to her account in the course of this fateful year. Yet his great heart must have been consoled by the thought that, dying as he was at the age of fifty-five, his work was in great measure done. His name and memory would remain as an inspiration to future ages of Scotsmen, and whatever might be his country's future, Scotland had, for once at least, aroused the attention of Christendom, and secured itself one page of unfading brilliancy in the world's history.

Note.—In the course of Edward's retreat after his 1322 campaign, the Scots won the notable Battle of Biland, which has been well described as "a second Bannockburn" by reason not only of the completeness of the English rout, but of its effect in ending a great invasion of Scotland. The English had encamped on an eminence at Biland Abbey, near Malton, in Yorkshire, and in order to dislodge them Douglas and Moray forced the only pass, while the men of Argyll scrambled over a rocky ridge and turned the English flank. Edward escaped with difficulty to Bridlington, losing his privy seal as at Bannockburn.

CHAPTER V

ENGLISH ENMITY AND FRENCH FRIENDSHIP.

"The Anglian lion, the terror of France,
Oft prowling, ensanguin'd the Tweed's silver flood;
But, taught by the bright Caledonian lance,
He learned to fear in his own native wood."

Burns.

"We fear the main intendment of the Scot,
Who hath been still a giddy neighbour to us;
For you shall read that my great-grandfather
Never went with his forces into France,
But that the Scot on his unfurnish'd kingdom
Came pouring, like the tide into a breach,
That England, being empty of defence,
Hath shook and trembled at the ill neighbourhood."

Shakspeare, *Henry V.*

The two centuries from the death of Bruce onwards constitute, perhaps, the most barren period of Scottish history. The record of these years is one of intermittent warfare with England, chiefly of a raiding and guerilla nature, varied only by jealousies and wranglings among the Scottish nobles, and between the nobles and their kings. Monarchy never flourished well on Scottish soil, and it has been truly remarked that the wonder is that any self-respecting men could be got to fill the throne of Scotland during the years that separated Bruce's death from the Reformation.

On the death of Bruce in June 1329, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, became regent, and governed the country with strictness and justice.

A. Currie, Sculptor. *Photo by Annan & Sons*

King Robert the Bruce Statue, Stirling.

P. 50.

The good Lord James of Douglas had been killed in battle against the Moors in Spain while in charge of Bruce's heart. It is now an open question whether the heart was destined for Palestine, or simply carried by the Scots as a talisman. It was now brought home, and found a fitting resting-place in Melrose Abbey. Bruce's body had been buried in Dunfermline Abbey, where the skeleton was found in 1821 during some excavations, and reverently reinterred.

In November 1331, Bruce's son, aged eight years, was crowned as David II. along with his child-queen Joanna. Various English nobles known as "The Disinherited" laid claim to lands and possessions in Scotland of which they had been deprived in Bruce's day; and on this pretext Scotland was invaded by a large force under Edward Baliol, the son of Scotland's former king. Moray died suddenly in 1332 and was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Mar. The Scots army was surprised in the night-time at Dupplin Moor, between Perth and Auchterarder, and suffered an ignominious defeat, Mar himself being among the slain.

Edward Baliol was crowned at Scone in September 1332, without any show of resistance. He proved, if possible, a more hopeless sycophant than his predecessor of that ilk. He made a disgraceful agreement with Edward III., which would have rendered him the abject liegeman of the English king, and would have reduced Scotland to the level of a mere dependency of England. Four months after Dupplin, he was repaid in his own coin, as a night attack at Annan, by representatives of the families of Douglas, Fraser, and Moray, drove him a fugitive to England. Edward III., however, was not prepared to allow his puppet to be dethroned without a struggle, so he invaded Scotland in July 1333, and

inflicted a severe defeat on the Scots at Halidon Hill, near Berwick. The two armies were posted on opposite heights, but the Scots descended their hill, and proceeded to traverse a marsh to attack their enemies. They were thus exposed to the full hail of English arrows, and lost 14,000 men, the Regent Archibald Douglas being among the slain. Baliol was thus reinstated for a season. In 1334, Sir Andrew Moray (son of Wallace's fellow-guardian), acting as regent for the Bruce party, considered it advisable to send off young King David and his queen to France for safety.

Until 1337 a desultory warfare was waged both by land and sea, the Scots receiving occasionally some slight help from France. As late as 1338 occurred the famous five months' defence of Dunbar Castle by "Black Agnes," daughter of Randolph, and wife of the Earl of March. Until the arrival of Sir Alexander Ramsay, near the end of the siege, the brave countess conducted the defence in person, animating her retainers, arranging for the destruction of the "sow" (a turreted shelter on wheels by which the English tried to scale the walls), and coolly wiping the dust of battle from the ramparts in full view of the besiegers. By 1339, Sir Andrew Moray had retaken all the important castles, and Baliol finally left Scotland.

Edward now relieved Scotland of his attentions in order to prosecute his unjust claim to the French throne against Philip of Valois,—a claim utterly opposed to the French Salic law of inheritance, but on the strength of which the English kings carried on their iniquitous "Hundred Years' War" with France. By this war the English undoubtedly gained much military glory; but although the victories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt added lustre to the English arms, the gross injustice of the whole war left to the French a

legacy of hatred towards the very name of England which has not entirely died out at the present day, and which forms part of the "burden of empire" which Scotland is called upon to assist in bearing. Well was it for France during these years that Scotland was ever present as a thorn in the flesh to England, preventing her from exerting all her strength against France alone. And equally fortunate was it for England herself that Providence frustrated her attempt to add to her achievements a foreign conquest founded upon an unjust and arrogant claim.

In 1341, David returned to his kingdom after seven years' absence; but he did not long enjoy possession of it, for in October 1346, during a rash invasion of England, he was defeated and captured at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and the next eleven years of his life were spent in captivity. During 1349 and 1350 there swept over Europe one of those dreadful epidemics which periodically occurred during the Middle Ages. In this case the Black Death is said to have swept away a third of the population of Scotland. In 1351, David was allowed to visit Scotland in order to plead with the Scots to purchase his liberty by a surrender of their national rights to England; but in vain. Edward III. instituted various invasions of Scotland; but the Scots, profiting by the advice left by King Robert, were careful to avoid pitched battles, while they rendered the invasions of no effect by retiring before the English, and leaving them neither man, beast, nor sustenance to prey upon. On one of his invasions, early in 1356, Edward burned houses and churches in such numbers that the name of the "Burnt Candlemas" was given to the period of his destructive progress. In 1357 the Scots, who had refused to barter their independence for their king,

agreed to pay by instalments a ransom of 100,000 merks, a heavy sum to be raised from a country in a state of desperate poverty owing to famine and pestilence and to the desolation caused by repeated invasions. They received in return not only their worthless king, but commercial and other terms of a very fair kind.

In 1363, David had the hardihood to propose to the Scottish Parliament that they should set aside Robert the Steward as his successor, and take as their king Lionel, one of the sons of the English king. His proposal was met by an indignant and unanimous refusal. King David soon afterwards repaired to Westminster, and proceeded to negotiate secretly with Edward for a union of England and Scotland. The English king was to become joint ruler of the two kingdoms if David died without issue. At the same time the liberties of Scotland were to be secured, and various precautions were to be taken to prevent the smaller kingdom from being absorbed by the larger. The name and title of the kingdom of Scotland were to be preserved distinct and entire, and never to be sunk in a union with England. The kings were to be crowned at Scone in virtue of their Scottish kingdom, and the Stone of Destiny was to be sent back to Scotland for this purpose. All Parliaments regarding Scottish affairs were to be held in Scotland, and Scottish subjects were never to be called on to answer any suit except in their own courts and according to their own laws.

The details of the proposed arrangement would have been fairly reasonable had they been spontaneously drawn up by the Parliaments of the two countries ; but, as it was, they were simply part of an attempt by King David to oust the family of his own sister

Marjory and of her husband, the High Steward of Bruce's day. The Scots meanwhile, ignorant of their king's treachery, were making honourable but desperate efforts to clear off his ransom, and therefore willingly renewed the peace from time to time. King David died without issue in February 1371, and it is with a sigh of relief that we turn over the last page of the chronicles of this unworthy son of a mighty father.

David's mother had been Bruce's second wife, Elizabeth. By his first wife, Isabella, Bruce had a daughter Marjory, who married Walter the High Steward of Scotland. Their son Robert now ascended the throne as Robert II. (1371–90), and from the office which he had inherited from his father the royal race of Scotland were henceforth known by the name of Stewart. Robert had been in his youth a bold and intrepid man, but he was fifty-five years of age at the time of his accession to the throne, and from an affection of the eyes he was dubbed by his subjects "King Blearie." In his reign, border forays, invasions, and reprisals were matters of common occurrence.

The alliance with France had been renewed in the beginning of this reign, and in 1385 a body of 2000 French men-at-arms under Admiral Sir John de Vienne were sent over to assist the Scots, and along with 30,000 Scots they invaded the north of England. To the amazement of the Frenchmen the Scots allowed King Richard II. with some 70,000 men to slip past them into Scotland, in full confidence that their countrymen at home would make sure by their usual tactics that the English would do comparatively little harm. On this occasion King Richard, accompanied by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (Chaucer's patron), marched on to Edinburgh, spoil-

ing Melrose and Dryburgh Abbeys on the way. Soon he was fain, through want of provisions, to turn fruitlessly homewards. In the meantime the Scots mercilessly ravaged the north of England, working more havoc than "the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland."

In August 1388 a Scottish invasion of England took place in retaliation for the devastation of three years earlier. The army entered England in two divisions. The larger under the Earl of Fife (afterwards Duke of Albany) ravaged the Carlisle district. The other force, consisting of 300 knights and 2000 foot under the Earl of Douglas, plundered the north-east of England as far as Durham, and then withdrew to Newcastle. Here the Scots were met by the brothers Percy, sons of the Earl of Northumberland, with a force of 8000 Englishmen. Douglas captured the pennon of Lord Harry Percy, "Hotspur," as he was usually called, and in the true spirit of the times challenged him to retake it. The Scots encamped at Otterburn, thirty miles north-west of Newcastle, and in a fiercely contested night engagement the Scots utterly repelled the English attack, slaying 2000 of the enemy, and taking Percy and other noblemen prisoners. The battle was won at the cost of the gallant Douglas's life.

This victory of the Scots over such tremendous odds raised so high the prestige of Scottish arms that a few days later an English force of 10,000, under the Bishop of Durham, declined to attack the small Scottish force, and it is stated that for many a day the English would not tackle a Scottish army unless they had considerable odds on their side. The ransoms of Percy and the other English captives brought Scotland the largest sum of money she had handled since the days

of Bannockburn. Burton points out the significance of this famous engagement at Otterburn as marking the end of the fear of conquest in the mind of the Scots. "The Scots could now afford to play at war with that enemy who had given them so much of its serious business."

Robert III. (1390–1406) was the eldest son of Robert II. His own name was John, but, as that name was considered unlucky owing to its association with Baliol and King John of England, it was altered. He was over fifty years of age when he ascended the throne. His lameness and indolence rendered him an utterly unsuitable king for the fierce period in which he lived, and the power of the kingdom fell more and more into the hands of his able but unscrupulous brother. This brother, named Robert, Earl of Fife, and later Duke of Albany, had acted as governor or guardian of the kingdom during the last two years of his father's reign, and now retained that office. Another brother, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, ruled the northern counties with such savagery as to earn the designation "Wolf of Badenoch." His escapades included an attack on Elgin, during which he wrecked the beautiful cathedral of that town. An eight years' truce with England left room for the manifestation of various internal feuds. One of these, between the Clans Kay and Chattan, had as its outcome the peculiar event usually called the Battle of the North Inch of Perth, October 1396, in which thirty champions chosen from each clan fought out their quarrel in presence of the king and court.

In 1399, Henry IV. deposed Richard II. of England, and in the following January Richard was reported to have died in Pontefract Castle. The story was, however, gravely questioned; and for about twenty years

a person, received as King Richard, lived at the Scottish court, and was treated with great consideration. Henry demanded homage of the Scottish king, and when this was refused he invaded Scotland in 1400. He failed to storm Edinburgh Castle, and ere long his attention was withdrawn from Scotland by Owen Glendower's rebellion in Wales. Henry's was the last invasion of Scotland headed by an English monarch in person.

In September 1402 the Percy family wiped out the defeat of Otterburn by a victory over the new Earl Douglas and 10,000 Scots at Homildon Hill in Northumberland. There was no close fighting; but the Scots, occupying an exposed position within range of the archers, suffered severe loss, and their leader was captured. In the next year, Hotspur fell in battle at Shrewsbury in a rebellion against Henry IV., in which his prisoner, Douglas, had joined him.

In 1399, Albany had been superseded in the governorship of the kingdom by the king's son David, who was created Duke of Rothesay. The two dukedoms of this reign were the first awards of that title in Scotland. David proved himself utterly unfit for and unworthy of his high office, and ere long he was actually placed under the charge of Albany by the spiritless king. In 1402, David died in Falkland Palace, and rumour gave out that he had been starved by his uncle. If so, the fact was thoroughly in accord with the semi-barbarous condition of society evidenced by the Battle of the North Inch. The king, who feared that a similar fate might overtake his remaining son James, decided in March 1406 to send the lad to the French court for safety. Off Flamborough Head, however, a squadron of English ships attacked the vessel in which the young prince sailed, and carried him off a prisoner to the court of

London. That such an act, whether instigated by Albany or not, could be coolly perpetrated in time of truce is a third proof of the peculiar state of civilisation prevailing in Britain at this period. The poor old king died broken-hearted in April of the same year, and Prince James was kept a prisoner in London for eighteen years.

From 1406 till his death in 1420, Albany ruled as regent. During this period the question whether Celt or Saxon was to have the upper hand in Scotland arose in an acute form. Donald, Lord of the Isles, claimed the Earldom of Ross, and with 10,000 islanders he invaded Ross-shire. Easily defeating the small force of the Earl of Buchan, he pressed on through Inverness and Aberdeenshire, threatening to ravage Scotland to the Tay, and gaining additional followers as he marched along. The Earl of Mar, son of the "Wolf of Badenoch," with about a tenth of the numbers of the invading force, marched to meet him. Mar's force consisted largely of the burghers of Aberdeen, headed by their provost. The opposing forces met twenty miles north-west of Aberdeen on 24th July 1411, and the battle was of so sanguinary a nature as to justify the name of the "Red Harlaw." The swarms of Highland caterans, with their swords, claymores, and bucklers, fought hard and bravely against the vastly inferior numbers of mail-clad and disciplined troops who confronted them. By nightfall Mar had lost 500 men (half of his force), and the Highlanders had lost double that number. Although Donald had now a greater proportionate advantage than before, he saw that it was hopeless to proceed farther into the Lowlands, and he therefore retreated. That he had taught the Lowlanders to respect his prowess at the same time as he had learned to respect theirs, is evident from the fact that he was

not pursued. In the following summer Albany sent a successful expedition against the Lord of the Isles, who had to become a vassal of the Scottish Crown. This event was of far-reaching consequence in welding Scotland into a united country, and it may be said that from this date Celt and Saxon, in Scotland at least, buried the hatchet, and only during the Covenanting struggle, and again during the Jacobite wars, did the old antagonism reappear for short periods in an acute form.

In 1413 occurred an event of a much more peaceful character, but perhaps quite as important, the founding of the St. Andrews University. Glasgow obtained her University in 1451, Aberdeen in 1494, and Edinburgh in 1582. The models chiefly followed in the early days of these seats of learning were the universities of Paris and Bologna.

Albany died in September 1420 about the age of eighty, and was succeeded in the regency by his son Murdoch, who was neither eager for the duties of the office nor suited to fulfil them. Negotiations were therefore anxiously pressed forward for the release of the Scottish king.

We may profitably pause here to refer to the Scottish intimacy with France, which reached a head during this period. The beginnings of that intimacy are difficult to trace, but it no doubt owed its existence to a common distrust of England, and a common desire to resist that country's encroachments. We know that by 1313 there were Scotland Streets in Paris, Dieppe, and Orleans. The Scots College in Paris was founded in 1326 by David, Bishop of Moray, an event which must have implied a very considerable degree of friendship. The University of Paris itself has throughout its career had no fewer than eighteen Scottish principals.

At various periods in the Scottish wars with England, small French forces were sent over to assist the Scots. The Frenchmen were usually somewhat disgusted with the Scottish mode of warfare, offering as it did so little scope for their own dashing type of bravery. Still less could they reconcile themselves to the lack of the comforts of life which was the usual lot of the Scot on his warlike expeditions. The Scot, mounted or unmounted, generally carried only a bag of oatmeal, which he moistened with water from the handiest brook, and baked into bannocks on a girdle. The cattle he captured supplied his flesh meat, and their skins had to do service instead of pots or pans. Froissart remarks on the abstemiousness of the Scots on their expeditions: "Their habits of sobriety are such in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half-sodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine." This ill accorded with the taste of the average Frenchman, who then as later was "easy, debonair, and brisk," and always loved "his lass, his fiddle, and his frisk." In fact his fondness for the lass and the frisk caused considerable trouble between the French auxiliaries and their Scottish allies in the reign of Robert II., when they were forced to pay handsomely for their excessive "gallantry" before they were allowed to return home.

During our present period occurred the most notable return visit of a Scottish army to help the French against the English. In 1421, in spite of the vigilance of the English, 7000 Scots succeeded in sailing to France to assist in freeing that country, which had suffered so severely in the campaigns culminating with the battle of Agincourt in 1415. They were commanded by the Earl of Buchan, Albany's second son.

They so signally defeated the Duke of Clarence in

March 1421 at Baugé in Anjou that Buchan was raised to the high office of Constable (or Commander-in-chief) of the Kingdom. But here the tide of fortune turned. The Scots force was augmented by the arrival of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, but at Crevant in 1423, and again at Verneuil in 1424, the Scots were cut to pieces, 3000 being slain in the latter engagement. The French, however, were so struck with the valour of the Scots, which had nearly resulted in a defeat of the English generals, Bedford and Salisbury, that they arranged a reciprocity of citizenship between France and Scotland.

The remnant of the Scottish force was formed into a bodyguard to the French king, the "Scottish Archers," familiar to readers of *Quentin Durward*. For generations this bodyguard constituted the inseparable attendants of the French monarchs, and the name "Garde Ecossaise" was retained long after the corps had ceased to consist of Scotsmen. It is said that down to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the sentries were changed at Versailles, the answer to the challenge was "Hamir" (pronounced Ameer), a word quite unintelligible to the French themselves, but obviously a survival of the homely Scots "A'm here!"

Apart from the help given to each other in war, the Scots and French at various times arranged commercial agreements for their mutual advantage. The Scottish law courts and forms of legal procedure were closely related to those of France, and in general the relations of the two countries were of a very cordial character. We shall see their alliance leading to the disastrous Scottish invasion of England which culminated in Flodden Field, while still later we shall find a Scottish queen ruling for a short season over France. Although Flodden broke up the alliance as

such, and the Reformation still more completely alienated the two peoples, yet the old friendly feeling has never entirely died out, so that the Franco-Scottish Society of the present day, and the numerous French words to be found in our Scottish dialects, are merely symbols and remnants of a cordiality which has doubtless helped on occasion to modify the far from friendly attitude of our English allies and brothers towards the fair land of France and its sprightly inhabitants.

It may here be noted that not only in their dealings with France, but in their readiness to help and to be helped by other nations, the Scots in later times have usually been, as Professor Lodge points out, "more cosmopolitan, and less obtrusively insular than the English." Hence, as he further remarks, "at times when Englishmen have been, whether deservedly or undeservedly, unpopular on the Continent, an exception has been made in favour of the Scottish people."

CHAPTER VI

THE FIVE JAMESES.

> "EACH new morn,
> New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows
> Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds
> As if it felt with Scotland, and yell'd out
> Like syllable of dolour."
>
> SHAKSPEARE, *Macbeth.*

> "IT was suffering that hardened and ennobled the temper of the Scot. It was from those ages of oppression and lawlessness that he drew the rugged fidelity, the dogged endurance, the shrewdness, the caution, the wariness, the rigid thrift, the noble self-dependence, the patience, the daring, that have distinguished him ever since."
>
> J. R. GREEN.

OUR task in the present chapter will be to scan the sad reigns of the five Scottish Jameses—sad because they all ended more or less tragically; sad because they were so fruitless in real benefit to the nation, being occupied chiefly with bickerings and jealousies among the nobles; and sad because the court morals of most of these kings force us to confess that the looseness of so many of the monarchs of Great Britain in this respect was not entirely inherited from their English forerunner, Henry VIII.

Of the five kings, James I. (1424–37) has the most honourable record. We left him a kidnapped prisoner in the hands of the English in London. There he was well educated, and there, too, he fell in love with and married Lady Jane Beaufort,

daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and cousin of Henry IV. After eighteen years of captivity he was restored to his country by the English, under the preposterous condition that £40,000 should be paid for his education and maintenance. He probably regained his kingdom in anything but the best of tempers, and the first decisive act of his reign was the execution of Murdoch, Duke of Albany (son of the old duke), along with his two sons and his father-in-law, the venerable Earl of Lennox (1425).

James carried through a course of courageous legislation, followed by rigorous enforcement of his laws; and although his conduct might often be mistaken either in design or in details, yet he gave such security and peace to his country as it had not perhaps known since the days of the Good King Robert. He had vowed that he would "make the key keep the castle, and the bush keep the cow." He strengthened the position of Scotland by various dealings with foreign powers. He betrothed his daughter to the French Dauphin, and maintained the ancient bond with France. He encouraged commercial intercourse with Holland, and concluded friendly treaties with Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Commerce was, however, crippled, both as to imports and exports, by a number of absurd restrictions copied at this time from England. On the other hand, the king introduced, from his long experience of the southern kingdom, many good laws and practices which leavened the generally French tendency of Scottish legislation. Among other things he tried hard, as did some of the later Jameses, to encourage archery at the expense of football and other games, which even at this early period were encroaching on the more serious interests of Scottish life.

The authentic records of the doings of the Scottish Parliament begin with this reign, the earlier records having been lost. The laws were published in the Scottish tongue, while England still adhered to Latin. The laws passed in this and several of the succeeding reigns to regulate the expenditure of individuals on their own comfort give indications of national prosperity and even of some approach to luxury.

James endeavoured to promote shipbuilding, and was not himself averse to visiting the more remote parts of his domains. In 1427, with a view to restraining the turbulence of the Highlands, he summoned the leading Highland chieftains to Inverness, and promptly threw forty of them into prison. A few of the most irreconcilable of these potentates were executed, the others being liberated on promises of good behaviour. One of the latter was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, who, after a later attempt at revolt, finally made abject submission.

James is credited with having been one of the most sincerely democratic of our Scottish monarchs, and his fearless repression of the turbulent nobles caused much discontent among the aristocracy. Among other causes of trouble was his demand that nobles who held lands of the Crown should produce their charters.

At last, in 1437, a determined conspiracy was formed against him by a body of nobles, including his own uncle, the Earl of Atholl. On the night of the 20th February, Sir Robert Graham, along with the brothers Hall, murdered him with circumstances of great brutality in the Black Friars' Monastery at Perth. The bolts of the king's room had been treacherously removed, with the connivance of Sir Robert Stewart, the king's chamberlain. One of the court ladies, Catherine Douglas, earned the sobriquet

of Kate Bar-lass by her courageous but vain endeavour to bar the door with her arm. On hearing the conspirators approach, the king had taken refuge in a vault beneath the floor, but the murderers discovered his hiding-place, and dispatched him with many wounds.

James was a literary man of no mean merit, and his verses have earned him the titles of the "Poet King" and the "Scottish Chaucer." He was a musician as well as a poet, playing the harp and organ, and being proficient both as a singer and as a composer. Although the fact belongs rather to the chapter on early Scots literature, and will be found more fully treated there (Chap. XI.), it may here be noted that while, during the two centuries from the time of Chaucer to that of Spenser, English poetry was practically dumb, Scotland produced during that interval quite an array of poets—John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*; Blind Harry, who sang the praises of Wallace; William Dunbar, Bishop Gawin Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay.

James II. (1437–60) succeeded to the throne at the age of six, and was crowned at Holyrood. His father's murderers were forthwith put to death with the most revolting savagery. The history of his reign is chiefly a record of intrigues on the part of the families of Crichton, Livingstone, Douglas, Ogilvie, and Lindsay. James was bandied about from castle to castle virtually as a prisoner. In 1440 occurred the event known as the Black Dinner, when young Earl Douglas and his brother were trapped at a banquet in Edinburgh by Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton and led straight to execution, in spite of the pleadings of the young king. Ere his reign was ended, James himself had learned to fear the

power of the Douglases so far as to slay the head of the house of Black Douglas with his own hand within the Castle of Stirling.

This occurred in February 1452. William, Earl of Douglas, having engaged in a "bond" or confederacy with the Earls of Ross and Crawford, was invited to a personal conference with the king at Stirling Castle. Douglas, when appealed to by the king, refused to break up this alliance, whereupon the king drew his dagger, and exclaiming, "Then this shall!" stabbed his turbulent subject. Sir Patrick Gray, whose nephew had been treacherously murdered by Douglas, now dispatched the earl. The body was thrown out into what is now called the "Douglas Garden." There followed for two years a state of things amounting to civil war between James and the Douglas family, two of Earl William's brothers being killed, and two exiled. Large parts of the Douglas estates were in the end forfeited to the Crown, while some were given to the Earl of Angus, the head of the Red Douglas family.

In 1449, James married Mary of Gueldres, and the marriage arrangements included a commercial treaty with Flanders and Holland.

In 1457 golf and football were again discouraged by law, and attendance at "wappenschaws," or competitions in shooting, was inculcated, the Sunday afternoon being specially dedicated to this warlike usage. It is interesting to note that enactments for the destruction of wolves and foxes were still considered necessary.

During most of this reign Scotland and England were at truce, but the Wars of the Roses had now begun in England, and as the exiled Douglas family plotted with the Yorkists, James, owing to an agreement with Henry VI., was at last drawn into the

struggle in the Lancastrian interest, and in August 1460 he laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, a stronghold of the Yorkists. Apart from his friendship for the Lancastrians, James probably wished to wipe out the disgrace of this border castle having remained in English hands for a century. He conducted the siege in person, and having taken his stand in dangerous proximity to what was then a novelty in warfare—a great Flemish cannon—the king, now twenty-nine years old, was killed by a fragment of the ungainly instrument, which burst in firing. His intrepid queen at once set off for Roxburgh with her little son, and so stimulated the enthusiasm of the besiegers that the castle fell on the very day of her arrival. Under the wise guidance of Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, James had proved capable of becoming a good king, but now once more the land was left under the nominal charge of a child.

James III. (1460–88) was crowned at Kelso at the age of nine, and for the first six years of his reign the kingdom remained under the control of Bishop Kennedy. This reign coincided with a period of upheaval and revolution in Europe,—France, Germany, and the Low Countries all having their turn of civil war. During the early years of the reign the Scottish nobles were deeply implicated in intrigues with the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions in England, and from 1461 to 1464, Henry VI. was a refugee in Scotland. On the death of Kennedy in 1465, opportunity was left for powerful families like the Boyds of Kilmarnock to create disturbance in Scotland. One of the Boyds became brother-in-law to the king and was made Earl of Arran.

James married Margaret, daughter of the Danish king, Christian I., in 1469. By the marriage treaty

Orkney and Shetland were formally acknowledged as part of the Scottish territories. In the same year the Boyds were attainted for treason in having seized the king's person three years earlier. Of the three leaders of the Boyd house one suffered death and the other two went into exile.

In 1472 the See of St. Andrews was formally erected by the Pope into an archbishopric, and thus the persistent claims of the See of York to exercise jurisdiction in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs were finally disposed of. Twenty years later, Glasgow also became the See of an archbishop.

The character of the king was such as might have gained him popularity and happiness at a later period of his country's history, but it was ill suited to the unsettled age in which his lot was cast. He was more or less of a recluse, and he gradually lost favour on account of his over-studious temperament and his over-frugal habits. His brothers Albany and Mar were more popular, and the king imprisoned them through jealousy. Albany escaped to France, but Mar died while in custody in Craigmillar Castle, rumour declaring that he was bled to death.

In 1480, on the outbreak of a war with England at the instigation of Louis XI., Albany entered into a treasonable compact with the English king, by which he himself was to seize the Scottish throne and to declare himself the liegeman of England. After various abortive invasions of Scotland—during which Berwick definitely passed into English hands—this plan was finally frustrated by the death of Edward IV. in 1483. The succeeding English kings, Richard III. and Henry VII., found it prudent to keep on friendly terms with Scotland owing to the unsettled state of their own home politics. Scotland was at the same time on friendly

terms with France, Denmark, and Flanders, and might have been prosperous and happy, but the external peace served only to give vent to the smouldering discontent of the nobles.

James, who, like his grandfather, was somewhat democratic in his tendencies, besides being scholarly in his tastes, chose as his chief favourites not nobles or warriors, but musicians, architects, and the like. One of these, Thomas Cochrane, was advanced in the king's favour to such an extent that the nobles determined to take the law into their own hands. Their opportunity came in 1482. Earlier in the year a squadron of English ships had appeared in the Forth, but had been defeated by Sir Andrew Wood, and James now mustered an army to invade England by way of revenge. The army had reached Lauder in Berwickshire when the nobles held a consultation, and, headed by Archibald, Earl of Angus, nicknamed "Bell-the-Cat" for his prominent share in the affair, they seized Cochrane and four others of the king's courtiers, and hanged them at Lauder Bridge. The army was led back to Edinburgh. James did not dare to take open revenge, but he was obviously biding his time.

Years passed by, and finally the lords, feeling that their only hope lay in rebellion, formed a coalition under the Earls of Angus and Argyll, and other nobles. They even won over to their side the heir to the throne, a lad in his teens. The king on his part gained over most of the northern lords, including the Earls of Atholl and Sutherland, and met the rebel forces at Sauchieburn in June 1488. There, within sight of Bannockburn,—Scotland's field of glory,—was enacted the dark tragedy of civil war. The king's forces were inferior in numbers, and the unwarlike monarch fled from the engagement

and was thrown from his horse while crossing the Bannock at Milton. Being carried into a cottage he asked for a priest, explaining that he had been "their king that morning." The goodwife ran out crying, "A priest for the king!" and a supposed priest entered the house and dispatched the king with his dagger. James was in his thirty-seventh year.

James IV., who was crowned at Scone in 1488, presented in many ways a great contrast to his murdered father. He was fond of all kinds of sport, vigorous or gentle. He was frank and hospitable, and was devoted to music and such rude science as the times afforded. He kept on good terms with the nobility, and was one of the best-loved kings that Scotland ever had. He even became reconciled to his father's supporters, largely owing to the courageous bluntness of speech with which one of them, Lord David Lyndsay of the Byres, pointed out to him that those who had remained true to his father were likely to prove stauncher friends than the "lurdanes" who had deposed him. As a constant penance for his share in his father's downfall James wore a girdle of iron, from which circumstance he is often referred to as "James of the Iron Belt." His moral character was as loose as was usual in royal families of the period.

In 1495, Perkin Warbeck, a pretender to the throne of England, who passed himself off as the Duke of York (who had been murdered in the Tower), arrived in Scotland, and was received with great kindness by James, who actually planned an invasion of England in his favour. But the Yorkists did not rise on Warbeck's behalf as the Scottish king had hoped, and the expedition ended in failure. Warbeck left Scotland in 1497, and was executed in 1499.

In June 1496 it was enacted that barons and free-

Marriage of James IV. and Margaret.

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P. 72.

holders must send their sons to school, and must thereafter have them instructed in arts or law. This new-found zeal for enlightenment is further illustrated by the setting up at Edinburgh in 1507 (thirty years later than Caxton's similar venture at Westminster) of the first Scottish printing-press by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar.

In August 1503 occurred an event of far-reaching importance in British history—the marriage of James with Margaret Tudor, daughter of the English king, Henry VII. The ceremony took place at Holyrood, and the bride was officially "given away" by the Earl of Surrey, who, by the very irony of fate, was later to command the English army at Flodden. This alliance of the Thistle and the Rose was to lead, in the person of the royal couple's great-grandson James VI., to the union of the crowns of Scotland and England exactly a century later. The negotiations for the marriage involved a truce, which was intended to be of a permanent nature; but James nevertheless stipulated for the retention of his alliance with France as well. Splendid celebrations were held in honour of the marriage, and James received his fourteen-year-old bride with the greatest manifestations of devoted affection. The peace with England was cordially observed on both sides until Henry VII.'s death and the accession of the hot-headed Henry VIII. in 1509.

The reign of James IV. covers a period of stirring events in the discovery of new countries, although it is to natives of the southern countries of Europe that the greatest achievements must be credited. A Portuguese sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to India, and an Italian in Spanish pay discovered America. But the northern nations too became stirred with the spirit of maritime enterprise, and Scotland was by no

means behind her larger neighbour in the newborn ambition for naval supremacy. The largest ship of the period—the *Great Michael*—was a product of the Fifeshire woods. This vessel was 240 feet long, and its oaken hull is said to have been 10 feet thick, rendering the ship proof against the heaviest artillery of the period. It was ultimately purchased by the French. The Scottish fleet of James's day numbered nearly thirty vessels. James set himself to encourage the Scottish fisheries as a training-ground for the "men behind the guns," and the Scottish sailors of the time were not afraid to make reprisals even on such doughty seamen as the Dutch and Portuguese.

The achievements of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo (1455–1539) and of the two Bartons, Robert and Andrew, gained Scotland no small fame in naval matters. Wood, with his ships the *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel*, gained two great victories in 1489 over English squadrons in the firths of eastern Scotland; and Andrew Barton, although undoubtedly guilty of the prevailing piracy of the times, worthily upheld the fighting reputation of Scotland till his defeat and death at the hands of the English in 1511.

The king encouraged visitors from all lands who were skilled in navigation, as well as settlers, especially from Flanders, who were qualified to help the Scots in the arts and crafts. His eagerness to study the real feelings and ideas of his people made him frequently roam the country in disguise. He likewise showed great energy in paying surprise visits on board ship to distant parts of the country. An insurrection of various isles in 1493 was promptly and thoroughly quelled by his famous naval captains, and the rising was made the occasion of suppressing the Lordship of the Isles as a separate *imperium in imperio*, rebellious clans or

districts being henceforth dealt with in detail. The powers formerly held by the Macdonalds were now largely vested in the Argyll Campbells and the Gordons of Huntly.

The king strove hard to pacify the turbulent Borders, and he showed a keen desire to do justice to all men by holding "ayres" or circuit courts in various parts of his dominions. While thus endeavouring to secure peace within his kingdom, he kept alive the warlike spirit of the nation by frequent tournaments and "wappenschaws," and by carrying on the attempts of the earlier Jameses to encourage archery and to wean the people from football and golf.

That James had not undergone any process of anglification through his wife's influence is thus attested by the Spanish ambassador of the period, Don Pedro de Ayala: "His own Scots language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian. The king speaks, besides, the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands." Don Pedro further credits the king with a knowledge of French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish, and a very good acquaintance with Latin. His characterisation of the king as a soldier is almost prophetic of James's fate. "He is courageous, even more so than a king should be. He is not a good captain, because he begins to fight before he has given his orders."

James energetically defended the Scottish Church against papal interference. He used heavy threats against Churchmen who went to Rome to purchase benefices, and he set his face against the practice of appealing litigations to the papal court. When the Pope sent an ambassador to induce James to break off the old Franco-Scottish alliance, the king with his usual chivalry indignantly refused, although ere long

this alliance was to prove hurtful to Scottish prestige and fatal to her king. Henry VIII. had joined a league against the French, and James was personally appealed to by the French queen to help his old allies by "marching three paces into English ground." His gallantry, joined to the desire to pay off some old grudges against Henry, made refusal impossible. Among other causes of offence, Henry had refused to part with various jewels belonging to his sister, James's queen. James both sent off a fleet to help the French, and himself prepared to invade England. The fleet was commanded by the Earl of Arran; but that traitorous lord gratuitously attacked the unoffending Irish port of Carrickfergus, and made no attempt to carry out the mission assigned to him.

James, in spite of supposed warnings of a supernatural nature, assembled an army of 30,000 men on the Borough Muir of Edinburgh late in August 1513. We have David Lyndsay's authority for the reported appearance in the church of Linlithgow of a venerable man in flowing blue gown who warned the king against the enterprise, and vanished as mysteriously as he had come. And on the eve of starting for England a voice was reported to have been heard at midnight proclaiming at the Market Cross of Edinburgh the names of those about to die in the impending conflict.

Throughout this expedition James showed a sad lack of energy and initiative. He lost about a fortnight in besieging unimportant strongholds, and at a critical juncture he spent days at Ford Castle in the company of the lady of the house. He thus allowed the Earl of Surrey time to march northwards with an army equal to his own; and when that army did arrive, James, who had occupied a strong position on Flodden Hill, overlooking the little river Till, not only allowed

the English to defile across the narrow bridge and to interpose themselves between the Scottish army and Scotland, but actually abandoned his position of vantage, and descended to meet his foes on the level. The conditions of the battle throw into all the brighter relief Wallace's masterly tactics at the Abbey Craig.

The battle raged from four in the afternoon of 9th September 1513. The English archers as usual worked deadly havoc with the Scottish ranks, and the English proved superior in artillery; but when night fell the Scots were still fighting on three fronts, and the issue was undecided. At last the king fell mortally wounded, and around him lay the flower of his nobles, true unto death. The Scots lost upwards of eight thousand men, including the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and twelve earls (among them Argyll, Montrose, Atholl, Lennox, and Huntly), together with thirteen lords of Parliament. There was scarcely a prominent Scottish family which had not lost a representative. The English loss was likewise heavy, being somewhere about five thousand.

Out of this dread calamity came good at last, for it broke up the alliance with France. That alliance, though it had lasted for two hundred years, and had been faithfully kept, had brought Scotland but little good, and had helped to keep England and Scotland constantly embroiled in warfare, owing to causes which did not always directly concern their mutual relations. Flodden opened the eyes of the Scots to the real facts of the case, and pointed the way to that more natural alliance with England which, further fostered by the Reformation, has now subsisted for upwards of three hundred years.

Once again Scotland fell a prey to the evils of a minority, James v. (1513–42) being crowned at Stirling a fortnight after Flodden at the tender age

of eighteen months. The queen-mother (the sister of Henry VIII.) acted for a time as regent, but within a year she married the Earl of Angus. (A grandson of this marriage was Henry, Lord Darnley.) Parliament invited the Duke of Albany to accept the regency. Albany, who held the office of Admiral of France, was by sentiments and training practically a Frenchman, and it was with difficulty that he was induced to remain in Scotland for various periods till 1524, when he finally quitted the country in disgust.

Twice at least he had found it impossible to make effective incursions into England owing to divisions and jealousies among the Scottish nobles. A serious devastation of the Borders in 1523 by the English remained practically unavenged. In April 1520 there had occurred in Edinburgh an episode to which the phrase "Clear the Causeway" was applied. A body of Douglases, headed by the Earl of Angus, met and defeated in the main street of Edinburgh a superior number of Hamiltons under the Earl of Arran.

James was now (in 1524) twelve years of age, and thought himself fit to rule in person, so he rode in state from Stirling to Edinburgh in August, and his "erection" as king was confirmed by Parliament in November. Sir David Lyndsay protested against this step—

> "Imprudentlie, lyk wytles fuilis,
> Thay tuke that young prince frome the scuilis,
> Quhare he, under obedience,
> Was lernand vertew and science."

The boy was unfortunate in having no man or woman of ability and integrity to guide him. His mother proved a traitress to one faction after another, and the nobles were already showing that cleavage into two parties, one favouring the old alliance with France, the

other desiring friendship with England, which reached its fullest extent in the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots. Many of the nobles were in the pay of these two countries. Angus, gaining almost supreme power, ruled tyrannically and unjustly, and, along with the Red Douglas family in general, he kept the young king practically a prisoner at Falkland Palace. In May 1528, however, James seized an opportunity of escaping from the too close attention of this powerful race to Stirling and freedom. In July he took up his quarters in Edinburgh, and henceforth he consistently strove to humble the Douglases. Like his ancestor James I., the king proved himself fearless in endeavouring to suppress the ambitions of the aristocracy, and his exertions on behalf of his humbler subjects gained him the title of "King of the Commons." The College of Justice, or Court of Session, was established in 1532, as the supreme court of justice for Scotland, taking the place of earlier courts known as the Session and the Daily Council. Like his predecessors, James tried to maintain order in the Highlands and the Border country. Through jealousy and fear of Argyll's power, he had the earl imprisoned for a season. In 1530, James paid a visit of inspection to the Border counties. A noted freebooter, John Armstrong, rode out with a train of twenty-eight mounted men, and coolly approached the king to offer his homage. The king, irritated at this stately display on the part of the raider, exclaimed, "What lacks yon knave that a king should have?" and ordered Armstrong with his brother to be immediately hanged.

The king had had as tutor, in his early days, the renowned Sir David Lyndsay, one of the boldest of Scotsmen in denouncing the abuses of the Church of Rome. James must at least have learnt from his

tutor a certain tolerance towards the freer expression of ideas, and, relying on the king's friendship, Lyndsay lashed the vices of the clergy most unmercifully. James probably belonged to the large and growing class of Catholics who, while hesitating to break with Rome, eagerly desired to see drastic reforms in the lives and qualifications of the priesthood. At any rate a great and momentous choice was now presented to James. On the one hand was the religion of his fathers, supported by a clergy who possessed half the wealth of Scotland; on the other were the new doctrines, introduced from Germany and other continental countries, and encouraged at last by Henry VIII. in England. It was a hard choice, but James held to the old faith, and commenced a persecution of the reformers.

We cannot help reflecting what might have been the subsequent career of his race had James decided for Protestantism. Probably we should not have had to read of Mary's sad career, of the wheedling policy of James VI. and Charles I., or the persecution carried on by their successors, ending only with the expulsion of the Stuart monarchs from the British throne; and possibly the union with England might have occurred sooner and with greater cordiality. But after all it was probably best that Scotland should work out her change of religion in her own democratic way; and the Reformation was all the more thorough, broad-based as it was upon the nation's will, and not resting, as in England, on the favour of king or prelate.

In the hope of weaning Scotland from the French alliance, Cardinal Wolsey and other English statesmen had proposed a match between James and Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. This idea was thwarted chiefly by the influence of the Beatons, and on New

Year's Day, 1537, James, during a nine months' visit to France, married Magdalen, only daughter of Francis I. She was a beautiful maiden, and on her arrival in May was welcomed in Scotland with the most exuberant signs of goodwill; but hers was the beauty of consumption, and in six weeks she passed away. Within a year James again married a French princess, Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise. Cardinal David Beaton, who became Archbishop of St. Andrews on the death of his uncle James in 1539, renewed the persecution of heretics.

In 1540 a Scottish prince was born, and in the same year James, with a well-equipped squadron of a dozen vessels, made a tour of the coasts from Leith round by Caithness, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, to Dumbarton, bringing home to Edinburgh many of the island chiefs as hostages. He ordered the Scottish coasts to be surveyed and mapped, and, like most of these Stewart kings, he fostered the fisheries by every means in his power. Another son was born in the following year, but both sons died in infancy.

In this reign the commercial treaty with the Netherlands, which had now existed for one hundred years, was renewed at Brussels for another century.

Henry VIII. had been anxious for many reasons to keep on good terms with James. By divorcing his first wife, Catherine, he had not only defied the Pope, but mortally offended her nephew the Emperor Charles V.; so he was in no need of further enemies, and above all he was afraid lest James should join the confederacy of the Pope, Francis, and Charles, against England and Protestantism. Henry and James had entered into a peace in 1534, which was meant to last till the death of one or other of them; but this agreement was in course of time to be rudely broken. Towards the end of his

reign the Irish offered James their homage, and desired him to free them from the power of the English. But James had other irons in the fire. In 1541, James had made an appointment to meet Henry in conference at York, but had been induced by priestly influence to break his tryst. This breach of faith may have been justified by an invasion of the Scottish Borders which took place while the negotiations were pending, or James may have had other reasons for hesitating to advance too far within Henry's domains, as the English king was capable of practising the vilest treachery; and having claimed Scotland on the usual apocryphal grounds, he was not likely to scruple at any course that might further his chances of pressing that claim.

In any case the inevitable rupture between the two countries followed in the next year. The Duke of Norfolk, son of that Earl of Surrey who had won at Flodden, entered Scotland with 30,000 men; but being beaten in a skirmish, and totally destitute of provisions, he prepared to retreat. James's army, which lay encamped at Fala Moor, fully a dozen miles south-east of Edinburgh, had a splendid opportunity to harass their retreating enemies by an invasion of the north of England. But the nobles refused to proceed. They had come out to defend their country, not to invade England. James "had been a better priests' king than nobles' king," and now their opportunity for revenge had come, and the army melted away homewards. The Church now summoned out its vassals to Lochmaben, and an advance was made towards the English border by 10,000 men. The king, who was not present in person, sent a proclamation to the army appointing his favourite, Sir Oliver Sinclair, commander of his forces. The result was general indignation and uproar. Amid the confusion an advance party of

English horsemen under Lord Dacre approached, and grasping the state of affairs boldly attacked the Scots. The latter, practically leaderless as they were, scattered like sheep, many perishing in the Solway Moss, while about a thousand were taken prisoners, Sinclair among the rest.

The wretched king, on hearing of this disgraceful rout, retired from Lochmaben to Falkland and became delirious through grief and shame. Amid his sorrows he was informed that his queen had given birth to a girl. He received the news with an imprecation, and ere long breathed his last in the second week of December at the early age of thirty. Never was the phrase "died of a broken heart" more literally true. That poor baby girl, orphaned when seven days old, is known to the world as Mary, Queen of Scots.

The reign of James v. practically marks the end of the feudal period. Professor Veitch has well said, "Lauder Bridge, Sauchieburn, and Solway Moss show how the Scottish kings were obliged to bow their heads, sometimes in the utter agony of broken-hearted men, before the domination of the powerful feudal lords, whom the royal fiat had created." In the reigns that follow we shall find the monarchs bearded rather by the commons and by men sprung from the commons.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side.
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right;
And the choice goes by for ever 'twixt that darkness and that light."
J. Russell Lowell.

We come now to speak of a period and of a series of events in and through which Scotland helped, in perhaps a greater degree than at any other period of her history, to sway the destinies and adjust the balance of power of the civilised world. That series of events is known as the Protestant Reformation.

From about 800 A.D. the Papacy had come to be regarded as the very centre of European affairs, and the Church of Rome wielded a vast political power throughout the world. The people were kept in ignorance, and the priesthood claimed and exercised almost absolute authority over their minds. The practice of the confessional, and the supernatural terrors by which its influence was backed, stunted the human intelligence, while the doctrine of Purgatory, with the supposed control of the Church over the progress of the individual through that intermediate state, directed a constant stream of revenue into the Romish exchequer. It is asserted, for instance, that in Scotland the Church possessed

half the wealth of the country at the period immediately before the Reformation.

Even this all-powerful system, however, was not exempt from vicissitude. The Great Schism (1378–1417), when two and even three popes laid claim at once to supreme authority, and fulminated curses at each other, brought the Church into disrepute, and undermined the popular belief in its infallibility and its inviolable unity. The inconsistent and immoral lives of a large proportion of the Romish clergy lent impetus to the spirit of inquiry, and in various countries of Europe pioneers of reform arose, whose ideas, though stifled for a time by persecution, bore fruit in ample measure, and hastened the inevitable advent of the Reformation.

In England, John Wyclif (1324–84) translated the Bible, and questioned the honesty of the Church in regard to penance and indulgences. He also denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. His influence fired the zeal of John Huss (1369–1415), who spread similar ideas in Bohemia until his career ended at the stake. In Italy, Savonarola (1452–98) met his death largely for exposing the corrupt morals of the Romish Church. How ample scope he and others had for so doing is attested by Stubbs in his *Constitutional History of England*: "The records of the spiritual courts of the Middle Ages remain in such quantity and in such concord of testimony as to leave no doubt of the facts; among the laity, as well as among the clergy, of the towns and clerical centres there existed an amount of coarse vice which had no secrecy to screen it or prevent it from spreading." Even archbishops lived in unblushing concubinage, and their offspring was legitimised and raised into comfortable social positions. In spite of such noble examples of churchmen as Bishop

Kennedy and Gavin Douglas, and the saintly Bishop William Elphinstone of Aberdeen (1431–1514), the founder of King's College, it is undeniable that the Scottish Church shared in the general corruption.

Erasmus (1467–1536), while not breaking with the Church, did much to help on the exposure of Romish errors, his motive being to reform the Church from within. The Romish authorities found their power slipping from them, and acted on the principle of hushing up inquiry. Hence arose the hideous series of persecutions associated with the Inquisition, which, in Spain especially, was set afoot towards the end of the fifteenth century.

The sixteenth century was a period of intense activity in Europe. Printing had been invented, and gave an incalculable impetus to the revival of learning. Universities were founded, and classical studies were eagerly pursued. The discovery of America, and the work of explorers in other regions of the earth, released men's minds from the narrow grooves within which they had hitherto been confined. All this awakening of thought and energy reacted on the attitude of people towards religion, and ere long matters came to a head.

When Martin Luther, in 1517, made his famous protest against the sale of indulgences, and followed this by burning the Pope's Bull three years later, the weaning of the greater part of Germany from Rome became only a matter of time, and in due course Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Holland threw off the yoke of Romanism. In most cases the revolt from Rome was accompanied by a revival of nationalism, as was only natural when we remember how the Church had made its spiritual powers a basis for political sway over the European countries. In the case of England, the breach with Rome in King Henry VIII.'s reign was

primarily political, originating as it did in Henry's quarrel with the Pope on the subject of his desire for a divorce from his first queen. And though, in the subsequent reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, a more genuine measure of religious reform was secured, yet the Church of England remained in its development, as it was in its origin, a political entity quite as much as an ecclesiastical body.

Directing our thoughts now to the case of Scotland, we may recall the fact that Scotland's early Christianity, as introduced by Columba, was, to say the least, distinctly unorthodox as judged from a Romish standpoint; and the further fact that the Scots, as they clearly showed in Bruce's day, were no slavish subjects of the Pope even when they bore the Catholic name. It was inevitable that on such soil the reformed doctrines should take root and flourish, and flourish they did, but only after a convulsion which drove a monarch from the throne.

Lecky gives it as his opinion that "the Catholic religion is exceedingly unfavourable to independence of character and to independence of intellect, which are the first conditions of national progress." As the rugged history of Scotland through its long wars with England had already in no small degree developed such independence of character and intellect, the Reformation found in Scotland a soil inevitably congenial to its thorough success, and in return it fostered the national characteristics to such a degree that Scotland may well claim to have become, not only in religion, but in its intellectual and political leanings, the most thoroughly Protestant country on earth.

The period of religious persecution in Scotland was brief, and the martyrs few in comparison with those of most other European lands. The first

recorded martyr of reform in Scotland was John Resby, a Wyclifite preacher from England, who was burned at Perth as a heretic in 1408. The next victim of persecution was Paul Craw, or Crawar, a Bohemian, who suffered at St. Andrews in 1433. Regulations were passed at various times in the fifteenth century against the "Lollards" or heretics, and in 1494 thirty Lollards from Kyle were arraigned before James IV. at the instance of Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow; but it is noteworthy, as indicating some early glimmerings of the spirit of toleration, that they were dismissed unpunished. The first of the really prominent and distinctively Protestant martyrs in Scotland was Patrick Hamilton, who had become imbued in Germany with the doctrines of Luther and Melanchthon, and had returned home to spread them in his native land. He was burned at the stake in St. Andrews in 1528 by order of Archbishop James Beaton; but his death did more than his life could have done to excite inquiry and to spread the reformed faith. A friend wisely said to the Archbishop, "My lord, if ye will burn any more, let them be burned in cellars, for the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."

We have already referred to Sir David Lyndsay's fearless attacks on the abuses of the Church and the priests, and among the other pioneers of the reformed religion mention must be made of John Major or Mair, who, as professor at Glasgow and St. Andrews, numbered among his students John Knox, Patrick Hamilton, and George Buchanan. Mair himself stopped midway between the two faiths, but his more fearless pupils were not slow to improve upon his teaching. After Hamilton's death various isolated cases of persecution occurred until 1534, when David

Straiton, a landed gentleman, and Norman Gourlay, a priest, were burned as heretics. After that date a lull of five years took place; but on the accession of David Beaton to the See of St. Andrews in 1539, the persecution was renewed, and in that year five persons suffered death at Edinburgh for their religion, and two at Glasgow, one of these a youth of eighteen years of age. These deaths had the usual result of arresting attention and adding to the harvest of reform.

The death of James v. in 1542 let loose the two opposing forces of Catholicism and Protestantism in Scotland, and in the very next year Parliament, with consent of the Regent Arran, declared it legal for each man to read the Scriptures in his own tongue. The Protestant party in the State (some of them, the "assured Scots," being in league with Henry VIII.) favoured a treaty of marriage between their infant queen and Edward, the boy Prince of Wales. But the Catholic party, headed by Cardinal Beaton and the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, was as yet too strong to allow of this, and Henry VIII., who was anxious to hurry on the marriage treaty, sent a fleet of 200 vessels to the Forth, and the district around Edinburgh was ravaged by 11,000 men under the command of Lord Hertford.

The spirit in which this invasion of Scotland in 1544 was conceived may be gathered from Henry's instructions to his general: "Put all to fire and sword, burn Edinburgh town, raze and destroy when you have sacked and gotten what you can out of it. . . . Sack Holyrood House and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can. Sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword without exception, where any resistance shall be made

against you." Hertford again invaded Scotland in the following year in order to complete the programme assigned him by the king; and although his army of 5000 men was severely defeated by the Scots at Ancrum Moor near Jedburgh in the early spring of 1545, he succeeded in the autumn in wantonly wrecking the famous and beautiful abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Dryburgh, and in repeating generally the ruthless tactics of the first three Edwards and of Richard II.

Thus harried by a foreign invader, Scotland was at the same time in the throes of religious strife. Beaton had resumed the persecution, but his zeal was soon to lead to his own ruin. George Wishart had earned the Cardinal's hatred by his fearless advocacy of the reformed doctrines, which he preached on the fields of Ayrshire, and later at the gates of Dundee amid the ravages of a plague. He was arrested and tried at St. Andrews on the last day of February 1546, and was burned in the following month. Beaton is alleged to have looked on in triumph from a convenient window. Less than three months later, on 29th May, the Cardinal was murdered in his own castle by a band of conspirators, headed by Norman Leslie, who were soon joined by other Protestants to the number of 150, and who now held out in St. Andrews Castle against all comers.

In April of the following year they were joined by John Knox; and it was from this strange congregation that Knox received his first call to the pastorate as assistant to John Rough. The remarkable man who thus strangely entered upon his stirring public career was born at Haddington, the date usually assigned for his birth being 1505, though good reasons have been adduced for believing that he was not born till ten

years later. Though trained for Romish orders, Knox had imbibed the new doctrines, and had been closely associated with Wishart, whose fate he had run some risk of sharing.

Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. of France both died in 1547 ; but the intrigues of the two opposing Scottish factions with their French and English friends respectively continued unabated, and it was to a French fleet of twenty ships that the Protestant garrison in St. Andrews ultimately capitulated in July. The honourable terms of surrender were broken by the French, and Knox among others was sent to toil at the oar in the French galleys. His nineteen months' experience of this exacting work permanently injured his health, but rendered his loyalty to the reformed cause keener than before.

In September 1547, Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, once more invaded Scotland with a view to forcing upon the Scots the marriage between the royal children. Marching northwards with over 15,000 men he met the Scots at Pinkie, near Musselburgh. The Scots rashly deserted a strong position above the Esk river in order to attack the English ; and this ill-considered action, together with their deficiency in horse and artillery, compassed their ruin, and made "Black Saturday" a day to be long remembered. Their defeat was one of the most crushing in the history of the country, 10,000 men being said to have fallen. Beyond devastating Holyrood, the English general failed to follow up his success, and in a few days he retired to England. Once more English rashness had defeated its own ends in regard to the proposed marriage of Mary and Edward, and the Earl of Huntly voiced the opinion of thousands of his countrymen when he said he had no

objection to the match, "but liked not the manner of the wooing."

In August of the following year, after nearly a year's residence on an island in the Lake of Menteith, the youthful queen was sent for safety to the court of Henry II. of France as the betrothed bride of his son and heir; and some care had to be exercised on the way to prevent her being kidnapped by the English fleet.

By 1550 the Scots, with some help from France, had entirely cleared their country of the English, and by the Treaty of Norham peace ensued upon a state of almost constant warfare which had lasted for nine years.

In the same year another brave reformer, Adam Wallace, suffered death. By this time Knox, after sturdily maintaining his principles even in captivity, had been liberated, and had at once crossed the Channel to England. Here he gained the favour of young King Edward VI. and became one of his chaplains, but declined a bishopric which the king offered him. In 1553, Edward died and was succeeded by Mary, whose persecution of the reformers entitled her to the epithet "Bloody," which has clung to her name through all succeeding ages. Knox, whose bravery was not of the nature of recklessness, retired to the Continent, and for the next six years, with the exception of a ten months' visit to Scotland in 1555–56, the sphere of his labours was at Frankfurt, and later at Geneva. In this latter town he was the close friend of Calvin and other continental reformers.

In 1554, Mary of Guise, the mother of young Queen Mary of Scots, became Regent of Scotland through French influence and with consent of the Scottish Estates, and the struggle between the two religions began in grim earnest. In 1558 the persecution of

individual reformers by the "spiritual authorities" ended with the martyrdom of Walter Mill or Milne, a converted priest who was over eighty years of age when he suffered death. In April of the same year the marriage of Mary of Scots (who was now in her sixteenth year) to the Dauphin of France was celebrated with great pomp and splendour in Nôtre Dame Cathedral. According to the marriage treaty the kingdoms of Scotland and France were to be united in the persons of their descendants, but the independence, laws, and liberties of Scotland were to be preserved. In the event of Mary's death without issue, the Scottish crown was to go to the Hamiltons. Mary was induced by the Catholic League (between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain) to assume the title Queen of England, and by a secret agreement Mary signed over the crown to the French king in the event of her dying childless. A glowing prospect was now opened up to the Catholic potentates of Europe. Mary would ere long be queen of three kingdoms,—Scotland, England, and France,—and would rule entirely under their directions. In accordance with this plan, the queen-regent of Scotland resumed a persecuting attitude; but the great body of the nation was awakening to the call of the Reformation, and in 1557 was signed the first of those many covenants which distinguish the course of Scottish Protestantism. This covenant consisted of a "band," or agreement, among various Scottish noblemen, notably the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Morton, Lord Lorne and John Erskine of Dun, who henceforth came to be styled the Lords of the Congregation, and who bound themselves to protect the Protestant faith to the uttermost.

In May 1559, at a most critical juncture in the relations between the queen-regent and the Protestant

lords and clergy, John Knox arrived in Scotland after a chequered absence of twelve years from his country (broken only by his visit three years before), and his presence at once revived the somewhat wavering courage of the Protestant party. The queen-regent had proved more than a match in diplomacy for the Protestant lords, and had committed a breach of faith by outlawing various Protestant preachers in spite of a promise she had made to Erskine of Dun to give their case reasonable consideration. The people were ripe for a revolution both in religion and in politics, and at last the necessary leader was at hand.

A tumult in a Perth church after an address by Knox became the signal for a general uprising against Popery, and the populace, in various instances, proceeded to dismantle the monasteries and other edifices consecrated to its use. The extent of the destruction perpetrated by the reformers or their followers at this period has been grossly exaggerated, and it was long the fashion for historians to lay to their charge the wrecking of practically every building whose ruinous condition could make appeal tó artistic or devotional sympathy. But, as we have already seen, most of the noblest monuments of Catholic piety had but recently fallen a prey to the English invaders, and even the work of Hertford was simply the climax to a series of wanton devastations lasting throughout centuries of warfare. The reformers usually restricted their zeal to the removal of the symbols of idolatry, the images, crosses, pictures, and relics so dear to the Catholic heart; but they had enough Scottish "canniness" in most cases to reserve the buildings for what they believed to be a better use, and much of the ruin attributed to them is really chargeable to the dissolving hand of time. As for the charges of folly and wanton-

ness so often levelled at the Protestant party for such destruction as can fairly be attributed to them, it must be remembered that the country was practically in a state of civil war brought on by the treacherous dealings of the queen-regent; and if in a good cause life may be destroyed, surely much empty lamentation has been expended on fabrics whose continued existence in the land was only calculated to hinder the aspirations of the people by harbouring sedition and Popery.

Queen Mary of England died in October 1558, and the realm of Elizabeth forthwith became the object of papal plots.

In July 1559 the Dauphin became King of France, and Mary of Scots its Queen. The Guises, her mother's family, intended that the Catholic conquest of Britain was to commence in Scotland, and at this juncture the tone of the French towards their ancient allies became for the first time so dictatorial as to startle the Scots into an attitude of caution and apprehension.

In September, Mary of Guise fortified Leith and garrisoned it with French troops. Undaunted by the tremendous odds against them, and sustained by the indomitable moral courage of Knox, the Lords of the Congregation, who had occupied Edinburgh in anticipation of the queen-regent's action, formally deposed her in October and appealed to England for help.

Scotland now became the turning-point of the fate of Europe. Italy, Spain, and France, with their dependencies, were bent for the next few years on the utter extinction of Protestantism; and that aim involved the humbling of England. If Scotland declared for Catholicism, the joint Catholic Powers would have a landing-place on British soil which, with Scottish sympathy and support, would render the overthrow of England the matter of a few months, and the See of

Rome could dictate terms to the world. It was this knowledge alone that induced Elizabeth to send troops to the aid of the Protestant party in Scotland in spite of her strong personal dislike to Knox, whose *Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment* (*Rule*) *of Women* had mortally offended her, although it was levelled not at her, but at her Catholic predecessor the "Bloody" Mary.

As it was, Elizabeth's help arrived almost too late to be required. In April 1560 she sent 6000 English troops, who helped to carry on the siege of Leith; but in June, Mary of Guise died at Edinburgh Castle in a somewhat penitent frame of mind, having sent for some of the Protestant lords, and requested them to effect a compromise with her partisans. In July, therefore, it was arranged by the Treaty of Leith that both parties should disarm, and that the French and English troops should return home. The Government was to be conducted meanwhile by twelve commissioners, seven to be appointed by Queen Mary, and five by the Estates.

A Scottish Parliament, the first for many years, and the most momentous in the national history, met in August 1560. At its request John Knox, with five other Reformed preachers, all of them "Johns," produced in the marvellously short space of four days a Confession of Faith, which was at once accepted as the basis of the Scottish Reformed Faith. The Pope's jurisdiction and the authority of the Romish Church were discarded, and the Bible was accepted as the standard of belief. The Confession of the Scottish Reformers is perhaps unique in its frank recognition of its own fallibility. In the preface its authors promise that "if any man will note in our Confession any article or sentence repugning to God's Holy Word,"

they will either accord him "satisfaction from the Holy Scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove amiss."

The Reformers next drew up a Book of Discipline, and the proposals of Knox to Parliament gave evidence of an enlightenment and liberality of mind far in advance of his time. Not only were churches to be provided, with suitably trained pastors, but every parish was to have a school, and the interests of the poor were to be properly attended to. These proposals were not accepted by Parliament with the same cordiality as the Confession of Faith, yet they received a grudging assent in January 1561; and only the avarice of certain noblemen, who seized Church revenues and refused to give them up, together with the astounding leniency of the Protestant party towards the adherents of the ancient Church in matters of finance, prevented the complete fulfilment of Knox's admirable scheme. To Knox, therefore, we chiefly owe the fact that our country was blessed with the beginnings of a national system of education three hundred years earlier than England, and that to-day Scotland ranks among the best educated countries of Europe, along with Prussia and Switzerland, which owed their enlightened educational policy to those other giants of the Reformation, Luther and Calvin.

In December 1560 was held the First General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland. In two respects it was typically Scottish. It met without asking any authority from the queen or nobles; and the number of laymen was fully thirty as against six ministers. The Scottish Reformation was thus the people's work, and most thoroughly was it performed. The old Bannockburn spirit was aflame once more, and Scotland stood forth as the fearless champion of

honesty in religion, and of freedom in thought and conscience.

Her day of decision had come to Scotland, but with it had come the man to see it through, although the day should be long and the work almost superhuman.

When an ambassador was sent to inform Mary in France of the doings of the Scottish Parliament, she exclaimed, "I am their Sovereign, but they treat me not so; they must be taught to know their duties." These words boded no peace to the Reformed cause in Scotland, and the unfolding of their meaning will be our study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

JOHN KNOX AND QUEEN MARY.

"Good reason has Scotland to be proud of Knox. He only, in this wild crisis, saved the Kirk which he had founded, and saved with it Scottish and English freedom." J. A. Froude.

Few lives in history have been more discussed, or are more open to discussion, than that of Mary, Queen of Scots. On the one hand, she is held up to scorn and reprobation as a murderess, an adulteress, and a traitress, in short an incarnate fiend; on the other hand, her partisans would picture her as an ideal of womanly grace and piety, ending a life of patient endurance by the death of a martyr and a saint. As is usual in such cases, the truth must be sought in a combination of these opposite views, modified by the cold light of historical truth.

Certain points in her character and life-story may remain for ever obscure, but the main outlines are clearly defined. Sent as a child to the French court for safety, she had there become thoroughly acclimatised to the atmosphere of what was at that time the gayest—and the most immoral—court in Europe. Elevated for a short period to the throne of France, and idolised by her subjects, she committed the unpardonable political blunder of assuming the title and arms of Queen of England, thus converting her cousin Elizabeth into her lifelong and implacable foe. Widowed at the

early age of eighteen by the death of Francis II. in December 1560, she was summoned home from the scene of her former popularity and light-hearted happiness, to rule over a nation of stern and austere but earnest people who were just emerging successfully from a grim life-and-death struggle for reform in religion, a struggle which had thrown together in genuine unity of purpose, almost for the first time in Scottish history, the common people and the aristocracy, the former eager to assure the triumph of Protestantism, the latter ready to fill their coffers from the revenues and possessions of the tottering Church.

No wonder is it that Mary hesitated to undertake such a task, wooed in marriage as she was by the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and by princes of France and Spain. She consented at last, and, being refused a safe conduct by Elizabeth, she embarked for the land of her birth with no pleasant forebodings, and escaped capture at the hands of an English fleet only owing to a fog which to her superstitious mind seemed a presage of worse days in store. She landed at Leith in August 1561, and, to do the Scots justice, the hearty welcome which they accorded to their young queen must secure for them the credit of desiring to give her a fair chance as their sovereign ; but between her and them there was a great gulf fixed which no cordiality could bridge in an age when neither Catholic nor Protestant had learned the sweet spirit of toleration.

Mary chose as her first advisers her half-brother Lord James Stewart and William Maitland of Lethington. On her first Sunday in Scotland the queen had Mass celebrated at Holyrood, and the consequent tumult showed from the first the utter impossibility of her position. The popular indignation was voiced in

the words of Knox: "One Mass is more fearful to me than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm." For these words Knox was summoned before the queen, who demanded, "Think you that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" Sharp and sure came the ominous answer, "If princes, madam, exceed their bounds, and do against that for which they should be obeyed, it is no doubt that they may be resisted even by power." At this terrible denial of the divine right of sovereigns Mary is said to have remained dumb for the space of a quarter of an hour. She, however, firmly professed her adherence to the old faith; and Knox, after the interview, summed her up thus: "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an obdurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me."

Knox's interviews with Mary were four in number, three occurring at Holyrood, and one at Loch Leven. Fearless, stern, and relentless, he laid before her her duty as he interpreted it; and had she seen her way to adopt the reformed faith of her subjects, her whole reign and life might easily have been happy and prosperous. Yet can we withhold our pity at her isolation amid that people with whom she was so hopelessly out of sympathy, or some meed of admiration for her very stubbornness and honesty in adhering to the creed of her fathers?

Knox in these interviews has been charged with harshness and intolerance; but Knox saw things in their true proportions, and realised that two courses alone were open to him, either to give way to his natural sympathy for the queen's unfortunate position, and by a weak compromise to allow the work of his lifetime, and the past twenty years of his country's history, to be undone by a woman's tears, or to stand

forth, at imminent peril to his own life, as the unflinching representative of the Scottish people and of their desires. It has to be remembered, moreover, that on each occasion Knox attended by the queen's command, not by his own choice, and his attitude was primarily defensive. There was no true spirit of conciliation manifested on either side; and of the two extreme views represented by Knox and Mary one or the other had to win, and win absolutely.

In the light of modern events we can realise that Knox was right. The Churches of Scotland are to-day Protestant in all essentials, because the reform came from the people, and carried public opinion along with it. And such, too, would have been the history of the English Church had its forms and doctrines been moulded in fuller degree by the great English Reformers. If Knox denounced the Mass as "the most abominable idolatry that ever was used since the beginning of the world," he was not alone in so doing, for Tyndale, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and Cranmer spoke quite as strongly. The Romeward tendencies of so vast a proportion of the Episcopal "priesthood" in England to-day is the natural consequence of the English Reformation having been moulded by royal power, and it is not unconnected with the tolerance shown by the English Church for those forms which some people delight to call "the fair humanities of the old religion," but which Calvin with keener insight described as "tolerable fooleries." Elizabeth, as Knox truly said, was "neither good Protestant nor yet resolute Papist," and that is one reason why such Protestantism as exists in England to-day is chiefly to be found outside of the orthodox Church.

In the twentieth century, as in the sixteenth, the Episcopal Church might well profit by Knox's words in

After Sir Wm. Allan, P.R.S.A., R.A. *From the Collection of Augustin Rischgitz.*

JOHN KNOX ADMONISHING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

P. 102.

his *Exhortation to England* (1559): "The glistering beauty of vain ceremonies, the keeping of things pertaining nothing to edification, by whomsoever they were invented, justified, or maintained, ought at once to be removed."

Knox's second summons to Queen Mary's presence was due to a rebuke publicly administered to her levity on learning that the persecution of the Huguenots had been resumed in France. As he left her presence, some of the courtiers remarked, "He is not afraid!" Knox, overhearing their words, exclaimed, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure."

In the autumn of 1562, Mary, with Lord James, set out on a progress through some of the northern counties. The Earl of Huntly showed signs of rebellion; but his rising was easily suppressed, and he himself died when leaving the field after being defeated in a skirmish at Corrichie in Aberdeenshire, in October. A certain mystery surrounds this feud between Mary and Huntly, from the fact that Huntly was the chief Roman Catholic nobleman in the country.

In June 1563, Knox preached an impassioned sermon denouncing the proposed marriage of Mary with a Catholic prince. He was once more summoned to Holyrood, and Mary angrily asked, "What have you to do with my marriage, or what are you within this Commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, madam," was the reply; "and although I am neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me, however abject I be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." When Mary burst into tears and remonstrated with him for his harshness, he calmly replied, "I must sustain your Majesty's tears rather

than I dare hurt my conscience or betray the Commonwealth by my silence."

Knox's boldness of speech lost him for a considerable period the friendship of Mary's half-brother Lord James Stewart, afterwards the Regent Moray, and of William Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary of State; and it is obvious that his life must have been in continual danger from his opposition to the queen; but his hold on the people would have made it difficult to proceed to extreme measures against him. The English ambassador wrote of him: "The voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life in us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears."

In this connection Froude remarks: "I know nothing finer in Scottish history than the way in which the commons of the Lowlands took their places by the side of Knox in the great convulsion which followed. If all others forsook him, they at least would never forsake him while tongue remained to speak and hand remained to strike. . . . Passing over knight and noble, he had touched the farmer, the peasant, the petty tradesman, and the artisan, and turned the men of clay into men of steel."

In December 1563, Knox was arraigned before the Privy Council on a charge of treason for inciting his countrymen against the queen's religion. The members of council unanimously decided that he had committed no offence against the queen; and although the queen was brought into the hall to overawe them, and the vote was again taken, yet they reaffirmed their verdict; and the General Assembly, which met soon after, avowed Knox's actions as agreeable to their wills. Thus did Knox stand up and prevail on behalf of those principles of popular control which were not

Sir David Wilkie, R.A. *Photo by Drummond, Young & Watson.*

JOHN KNOX PREACHING BEFORE THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION AT ST ANDREWS (1559).

P. 164.

clearly embodied in the constitutional practice of these realms until the Revolution of 1689.

If Mary's religion made her unpopular with the people, her general conduct and policy made matters speedily worse. She proved herself gay and frivolous, and plunged into reckless extravagance, thus manifesting qualities entirely alien to the Scottish character. She lavished most indiscreet confidence and favour on an Italian musician and adventurer, David Rizzio. The question of her marriage had formed the subject of much discussion between herself and Elizabeth, and at last she fixed her choice on Lord Henry Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, who till now had been a courtier at Westminster, and who, as Mary's cousin, ranked next to her as heir to the English throne, though the Hamilton family stood before him as heirs to the crown of Scotland. So far as royal lineage and social status were concerned, the choice seemed reasonable; but it proved most unfortunate for Mary, for Darnley, although tall and handsome, was but a youth of nineteen, and had manifested no qualities fitting him for so lofty and so difficult a position. The marriage took place in July 1565, with the approval of the Catholic Church and of a majority of the nobles, but without the consent of the Scottish Estates. When Mary declared her intention to proclaim her husband King of the Scots, it was seen that not only the Protestantism of the country was in jeopardy, but with it political liberty and constitutional control of the monarchy. As Darnley was a Catholic, Moray and other Lords of the Congregation took up arms, but were met near Dumfries by the forces of Mary and Darnley, and retreated across the border. This episode, which occurred in October 1565, is known as the "Chaseabout Raid." Darnley's success seems to have added unduly

to his natural vanity and rashness. Nothing would satisfy him short of equal throne rights with his consort; and his profligacy was such as to alienate even Mary's affection, and to bring about a renewal of her fatal infatuation for Rizzio's company.

The queen had by this time joined a secret alliance with the sovereigns of France, Spain, and Austria for the overthrow of Protestantism, including a design for "chasing away the Queen of England," and placing Mary on her throne. France and Spain, Italy and the Catholic States of Germany, had for a time laid aside their old enmities and jealousies in a united effort to preserve Catholicism. In her claims upon England, Mary had not only the support of these Powers, but the goodwill of large numbers of Elizabeth's subjects, who, especially in the north of England, were restively inclined towards a Catholic reaction. In full reliance upon these circumstances, Mary now began to threaten the reformed religion and its adherents; and as several of the Protestant lords regarded Rizzio as an emissary of the Pope, they joined their religious suspicions to Darnley's jealousy, and a conspiracy was formed to compass the foreigner's downfall.

On a Saturday night in March 1566, Darnley admitted Earl Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and George Douglas, with other conspirators, to Mary's presence as she sat in the society of Rizzio and others in her chamber at Holyrood. The unfortunate Italian was dragged from her presence and savagely murdered in an adjoining apartment. This violent act naturally lost Darnley the last remnants of Mary's esteem. The actual perpetrators of this deed were outlawed; but Moray, Glencairn, and others who had left Scotland in 1565 were restored to favour, although some of them were suspected of being implicated in the plot against Rizzio.

A child, the future James VI., was born to Mary at Edinburgh Castle in June of this year. At the baptism at Stirling in December, Darnley was not even allowed to be present, and the ceremonial arrangements were in the hands of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, for whose society Mary had lately begun to manifest a most decided preference. Bothwell was at this time perhaps the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, with the exception of Lord James Stewart, Earl of Moray. He held the offices of Lord High Admiral of Scotland and of Warden of the Scots Marches, the latter of which posts was usually shared by three lords.

In January of the following year (1567), while Darnley lay sick of smallpox in Glasgow, he was visited by Mary, who so far seemed reconciled to her husband that she had him brought to Edinburgh, where they were met by Bothwell. Strange to say, however, he was not taken to Holyrood, but to a lonely house called Kirk of Field, which stood on the site now occupied by Edinburgh University. There a diabolical tragedy was enacted on 9th February. Mary had spent the two previous nights in Darnley's company, but on this evening she left to take part in a masked ball at Holyrood, and in the early hours of the morning the house was blown up. The appearance of Darnley's body, when found next morning, indicated that he had been strangled and carried into the garden before the explosion took place.

A month passed ere Mary showed any intention of inquiring into her husband's murder, and popular suspicion fell on Bothwell and herself. Owing to general clamour she was forced at last, for appearance' sake, to summon Bothwell for trial; but meanwhile she had placed Edinburgh Castle under Bothwell's command, and by sheer bluster, backed by the presence

of an armed force of 4000 men, the accused man terrified his accusers into silence. At the trial in the Tolbooth on 12th April, Lennox, the father of Darnley, and chief accuser, was not present, and the case went by default. If the indignation of the people at this miscarriage of justice was great, it was raised to fever-pitch when Bothwell, having been divorced by his wife on the ground of adultery on 3rd May, and having obtained a counter-divorce on the plea of consanguinity on 7th May, married Queen Mary on 15th May.

There is no doubt whatever of Bothwell's guilt in regard to Darnley's murder, but the question of Mary's complicity in the plot is one of those points over which hot discussion has raged. The evidence of her guilt consists in the so-called Casket Letters, alleged to have been found in a silver enamelled box which Mary had brought from France and had given to Bothwell, and which was afterwards seized and produced as evidence of Mary's guilt. If the letters were genuine her guilt must be admitted beyond question, but serious doubt has once and again been cast upon their authenticity. Be that as it may, Mary, by marrying her husband's murderer, had morally condoned the offence, and the Scottish people, knowing as yet nothing of Mary's letters to Bothwell—genuine or otherwise—considered that proof of her guilt sufficient. And even now, after all the wordy conflict that has raged over these documents, most people will, like J. Hill Burton, "be inclined not so much to press technical points of evidence as to look to the general tone and character of the whole story."

To the lasting credit of the Scottish Church, although Knox for the time was absent from Scotland, John Craig, one of the chief ministers, refused to publish the banns of marriage until he had asked an

After Sir William Allan, P.R.S.A., R.A. *From the Collection of Augustin Rischgitz.*

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS SIGNING HER ABDICATION.

P. 108.

audience of the Privy Council, and protested against the union in Bothwell's presence. Next Sunday, in his pulpit, he thus unburdened himself: "I take heaven and earth to witness that I abhor and detest this marriage as odious and scandalous to the world."

The queen and Bothwell left Edinburgh in June, and a confederacy of lords, including Morton, Glencairn, and Lindsay, took the opportunity to seize the capital and raise an army against the royal profligates. Mary and Bothwell marched towards Edinburgh with a force of two or three thousand men, and met their opponents at Carberry Hill, near the scene of the Battle of Pinkie. The royal force, however, began to melt away, as if unwilling to fight in such a cause, and after taking an affectionate farewell of Bothwell, who fled from the field, and whom she never saw again, Mary surrendered to the Protestant lords. (Bothwell turned pirate, and died fitly in a Danish prison ten years later, acknowledging his own guilt, but declaring Mary to have been free of any share in her husband's murder.)

Mary was now made a prisoner in Loch Leven Castle and was compelled to sign away her crown to her infant son (now a year old), who was proclaimed as James VI. in July in spite of Elizabeth's protest against this violation of the divine right of monarchs. The baby-king was crowned at Stirling, Knox preaching the coronation sermon.

James Stewart, Earl of Moray, was appointed regent, and returned in August from France. In December he summoned a Parliament, which ratified the queen's deposition. A notable speech was delivered by Maitland of Lethington: "Note it, I pray you, as a singular testimony of God's favour, and a peculiar benefit granted only to the realm of Scotland, that the true religion has obtained a free

course universally throughout the whole realm, and yet not a Scotsman's blood shed in the forthsetting of the whole quarrel. With what nation in the earth has God dealt so mercifully? Consider Germany, Denmark, England, France, Flanders, or where you please. You shall find the lives of many thousands spent before they could purchase the tenth part of that liberty whereunto we have attained, as it were sleeping upon down beds."

These words truly provide material for much grateful reflection; and if Scotland was thus highly favoured, the Scottish people at this time proved not altogether unworthy of such a merciful dispensation of Providence. For while the law at this period harshly fixed death as the penalty for persistent attendance at Mass, the practice of the Scottish Protestants was better than their precept. Catholic writers admit that they cannot find in Scotland one instance of a Catholic judicially put to death for his religious opinions in the time of Knox, while they claim that 124 priests and 57 laymen were put to death for their religion during Elizabeth's reign in England.

Only in the reign of James VI., under the ascendancy of Episcopacy, is there even one case in Scotland of the infliction of the death penalty for Popery. The one case is that of a Jesuit named Ogilvie, who in 1615 was put to death by order of the Privy Council on the joint charge of Jesuitry and of inciting to rebellion.

Burton remarks on this contrast between the intolerant law and the merciful conduct of the Scots: "When it came to actual deeds the Scots nation shrank from enforcing the rules of faith and action which they had received from the sanguinary Huguenots." Professor Hume Brown, in reference to this same circumstance,

declares: "It is precisely the combination of a fervid temper with logical thinking and temperate action that has distinguished the Scottish people in all the great crises of their history."

In one direction the Scottish ministers were merciless, namely, in regard to the morals of their own number. The slightest defection from uprightness of conduct was visited with severe censure and punishment, and in no respect did the reformed clergy offer a more utter contrast to their predecessors than in this inexorable attitude towards clerical vice. They thus succeeded in establishing Puritanism on an honest and enduring basis, and the Scottish Reformation involved a moral as well as an intellectual and religious revolution.

Mary did not long remain a prisoner in Loch Leven Castle. After a baffled attempt in March, she escaped in May 1568, and, proceeding to Hamilton, soon got together an army of 6000 men. Her supporters included Argyll, who had disapproved of her imprisonment. Moray, who was then in Glasgow, showed remarkable energy in this emergency. He hurriedly collected 4000 men and met his sister's forces at Langside, where he inflicted one of the oddest defeats in history, if we are to believe that Mary's army was dispersed with the loss of 300 men, while Moray lost only one man! The explanation of the disproportion in casualties is that the battle was decided by Moray's spearmen, by sheer dint of strength, pushing their mailed opponents before them, after which a cavalry charge by Kirkaldy of Grange turned the defeat of Mary's force into a rout. The regent forbade any slaughter of the fugitives; and perhaps never were issues so momentous to a nation decided with so little bloodshed.

One aspect of the battle of Langside is noted by Professor Veitch, namely, the part now played in history by the burghal corporations, which had been slowly growing since the reign of David I.: "The crucial fight of Langside, where the blanket-banner of the guilds of Glasgow was more than a match for all the chivalry of the Hamiltons, with the unfortunate Mary at its head, is perhaps the most emphatic illustration of the power of the burghal element in Scottish history."

Mary fled from the field, and scarce drew rein till she reached Dundrennan Abbey, by the Solway shore. After "spending three nights with the owls" in sore hesitation, she decided to cast herself on the mercy of Elizabeth, and crossed accordingly in a fishing boat to the English shore. She surrendered herself to the governor of Carlisle Castle, and wrote to Elizabeth, begging in the first instance for a change of dress. In reply she received a parcel of clothing which when opened was found to contain "two torn shifts, two pieces of black velvet, two pairs of shoes, and nothing else."

Alas, in great things as in small, Queen Mary had, as we shall see, estimated her cousin's friendship and generosity too high!

CHAPTER IX

LAST YEARS OF QUEEN MARY.

"Now blooms the lily by the bank,
  The primrose doon the brae;
The hawthorn's budding in the glen,
  And milk-white is the slae;
The meanest hind in fair Scotland
  May rove thae sweets amang;
But I, the Queen of a' Scotland,
  Maun lie in prison strang."

BURNS.

THE arrival of Mary in England placed Elizabeth in a position of very great difficulty. Was she, in the interests of royalty, to help to replace Mary on her throne? If so, she might reckon on Mary's allying herself with the Catholic Powers of Europe with a view to uprooting Protestantism. Was she to grant her hospitality for a time, and then to send her away to live in seclusion in Scotland or in France? Too well she knew that Mary, in either country, would be engaged in constant endeavours to regain her sovereignty, if not also to overthrow that of Elizabeth. Regardless, therefore, of Mary's claims upon her consideration as a fugitive, a near relative, and a queen, Elizabeth decided to retain her practically as a prisoner, doubtless with the secret hope that an opportunity would in the end occur of freeing herself from so dangerous a rival.

In October 1568 a conference was held at York between commissioners appointed by Queen Elizabeth

and Queen Mary, and by Moray in name of King James. Technically, Mary was the accuser of her subjects on the charge of rebellion; but in the course of the investigation, the scene of which after November was Hampton Court, the Scots lords laid against Mary the charge of complicity in her husband's murder. Queen Elizabeth's verdict as arbitress in January 1569 amounted to one of "Not Proven" on both sides; but she agreed to recognise James as king, and to support Moray in the regency.

For the next nineteen years we find Mary kept in close custody, and removed from castle to castle at the whim of her haughty relative. Bolton, Tutbury, Chatsworth, Sheffield (for the long period of fourteen years), Chartley, and Tixall, served as her royal prison-homes until the final scene at Fotheringhay. If the force of circumstances be accepted as Elizabeth's justification for thus dealing with Mary, the treatment accorded her must in like manner serve as some excuse for Mary's conduct in engaging, as she certainly did, in more than one determined plot to regain her liberty even at the most desperate price. Ere she had been a year in England, the Duke of Norfolk gained her fickle affections and attempted a rising in her favour. Although warned by Elizabeth to "beware on what pillow he leant his head," and pardoned under a solemn promise not to repeat his treason, the infatuated nobleman entered, three years later, into a deeper conspiracy, which involved the invasion of England by the Catholic Powers, and the proclamation of Mary as queen, with himself as her consort. He paid with his life the natural penalty of his renewed offence (1572).

Meanwhile events were moving rapidly in Scotland. Under the Regent Moray the country was prosperous,

and the queen's party scarcely ventured to raise its head. Moray possessed the confidence of the people, and was supported by the clergy and a fair proportion of the nobility. In 1569, Moray managed to effect an arrangement with Argyll and Huntly, who had taken up arms on the queen's behalf. The Duke of Chatelherault, however, the head of the Hamiltons, was imprisoned for a time in Edinburgh Castle.

Moray ruled energetically, and pacified the Borders. His court was simple and pure, in entire contrast to that of Mary; and his bravery and energy, together with the highest degree of honesty consistent with the diplomacy of the times, earned him the name of the "Good Regent," which has clung to his memory all down the ages. If his policy had a fault, it was that his friendship for England sometimes overweighed his sense of his own country's dignity, so that he incurred the blame of being "more a Protestant than a Scotsman." He it was above all others who turned Scottish politics into the groove that made for an early union with England. To his country's lasting loss, personal feud together with religious animosity on the part of the Hamiltons plotted his downfall, and in January 1570, while riding through the streets of Linlithgow, he was shot at from a window and mortally wounded by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh.

It is now generally held that this crime had primarily a political motive,—to remove the man whom the Hamiltons felt to be the chief obstacle to their power. Until the birth of James VI., the Hamiltons stood next to Mary as heirs to the Scottish throne, and the acknowledgment of James as king apparently cut them out for all time coming from the reversion of the throne rights of Scotland.

For the next three years Scotland was practically in a state of civil war. The "king's men," or Protestant party, appointed Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, as regent, while the queen's supporters were headed by the Duke of Chatelherault, head of the Hamilton family, and formerly known to us as the Regent Arran. Parliaments were held by both parties, at which they each condemned their opponents as traitors.

In May 1570 the palace and town of Hamilton were wrecked by the Earl of Morton with the help of an English force sent by Elizabeth. Dumbarton Castle was taken from the queen's party in April 1571, and among the prisoners was Archbishop John Hamilton of St. Andrews, who had already been placed under the ban of Parliament, and who was now hanged for his alleged complicity in the murders of Darnley and Moray. He was the last Roman Catholic who took his title from St. Andrews.

The Regent Lennox was shot in a raid on Stirling, planned by Kirkaldy of Grange while a Convention Parliament was sitting in that town in September 1571; but his place was immediately filled by the Earl of Mar. Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, who had charge of Edinburgh Castle, had gone over to the queen's side, along with Maitland of Lethington, who had been Secretary of State during Queen Mary's minority, and who had acted a somewhat unsteady part during her troubled reign. The king's party, from their headquarters at Leith, laid siege to Edinburgh in October 1571, but the queen's men in the castle held out for nearly two years.

In August 1572 occurred in France the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, when tens of thousands of Protestants were massacred in cold blood with full cognisance of the king. The news struck

consternation throughout England and Scotland, and it is to the abiding glory of our national reformer that almost his last public appearance was in denunciation of this appalling crime. Knox had preached Moray's funeral sermon, and had soon after had a stroke of apoplexy, which rendered the performance of duty both difficult and dangerous; but he now once more made his laborious way to the pulpit, where all his old energy and prophetic fervour returned, as he thundered forth the vengeance of heaven against "that cruel murderer and false traitor, the King of France." The French ambassador requested the regent to silence the preacher, but to Scotland's credit her ruler approved of all that Knox had said, and the ambassador accordingly quitted Scotland in indignation. The General Assembly decreed a week's prayer and fasting, and the extent to which the old friendship for France had disappeared is evidenced by the Assembly's appeal for a confederacy with England and other reformed countries.

The Regent Mar died in October of the same year, being succeeded by James Douglas, Earl of Morton; and on 24th November, worn out with his herculean lifework, John Knox passed away. His had been a mighty task, the remodelling of a whole nation, but he died fully aware of its fulfilment. In no spirit of boastfulness, but in a just consciousness of the value of his work, he had said, "What I have been to my country, although this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth."

It was easy for the opponents of Knox's ideas to present him in an unlovely light, simply because his work had been so largely negative and destructive. But the negation and the destruction were of that which

stood in the way of progress, and thus his lifework was in the highest degree purificatory. That he was a profound statesman as well is now obvious, and only the conservatism of lesser minds and the cupidity of the upper classes interposed a delay, in some cases of centuries, in the carrying out of the social and educational reforms advocated by Knox. Froude pronounces him "the grandest figure in the entire history of the British Reformation," and thus estimates his influence on his country's ideas: "Scotch Protestantism was shaped by Knox into a creed for the people, a creed in which the Ten Commandments were of more importance than science, and the Bible than all the literature in the world — narrow, fierce, defiant, but hard and strong as steel."

The political bearing of his work is well summed up by Carlyle: "Knox's message in its true compass was, 'Let men know that they are men, created by God, responsible to God; who work in any meanest moment of time what will last through eternity, . . . born slaves neither of their fellow-men, nor of their appetites, but men!' This great message Knox did deliver with a man's voice and strength, and found a people to believe him." He proceeds to emphasise the permanence of such a message: "Thought, in such a country, may change its form, but cannot go out; the country has *attained majority*; thought, and a certain spiritual manhood, ready for all work that man can do, endures there."

One secret of Knox's transcendent power over his countrymen was well expressed over his grave by the newly appointed Regent Morton: "Here lies he who neither feared nor flattered any flesh."

The famous epitaph, "If you would see my monument, look around you," might well be applied to

John Hutchison, R.S.A.

STATUE OF JOHN KNOX IN QUADRANGLE OF NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH.

P. 119.

Knox; for so long as Scotland stands ahead of the rest of the kingdom in education and intelligence, so long as unflinching liberty of conscience and independence of thought prevail in Scottish religion and politics, even so long must our nation's indebtedness to John Knox remain one of the most obvious and proudest elements in her character and her success.

The Regent Morton now bestirred himself to stamp out the smouldering opposition of the queen's party. In May 1573 the "Castilians," as the Edinburgh Castle group were nicknamed, surrendered, and the death of Lethington in prison, from disease or by suicide, followed in August by the execution of Kirkaldy of Grange, destroyed all hopes of Mary's restoration at the hands of the Scots. The turmoils of civil strife which thus came to an end are often referred to as the "Douglas Wars," from Morton's family name.

The unhappy queen now directed her hopes to Spain, and offered her hand to Philip II. She further wrote: "If my son lives in heresy, I yield and transfer all my rights in England and elsewhere to the Catholic king or any of his relations whom he may please, with the advice and consent of His Holiness." With schemes like these Queen Mary whiled away the weary years of her sojourn in England.

After Knox's death, the Protestant clergy did not forget his interest in the cause of the poor, and the first really serious attempt in our history to wrestle with this ever-present social problem was the Act of Parliament of 1574, providing for the support of the poor, aged, and helpless, but enacting severe measures against sturdy beggars between the ages of fourteen and seventy.

The religious struggle in Scotland was not yet at an end, for now that Protestantism had supplanted

Catholicism, it was to cost the country another hundred years of anxiety before Presbyterianism could emerge triumphant from the attempts of its rulers to force Episcopacy upon it. Morton proved himself as avaricious and unscrupulous as he was talented. He it was who first endeavoured to re-establish the bishops' power, and that with a most sordid object. He and other nobles appointed as bishops worthless minions of their own, who were content with part of the revenue of their office, the rest going to enrich their patrons. With their usual dry humour, the Scottish people gave these unworthy clerics the name of "Tulchan Bishops," a "tulchan" being a stuffed calf-skin used to induce a cow to yield its milk for the service of its owner. Here was such work to hand as would have stirred the energies of Knox; but although he was gone his mantle had descended on worthy shoulders, and for the next fifty years Andrew Melville, a man with all Knox's bravery and prudence, added to a wealth of learning to which Knox could have laid no claim, spent his time and energies and risked his life in preserving Scotland from Prelacy.

Born at Montrose in 1545, and educated in Scotland and at Paris, Melville first taught at Poitiers, and became Professor of Latin in Geneva at the age of twenty-three, being recognised as one of the foremost classical scholars of the day. Returning to his native land, he became, in 1574, Principal of Glasgow University, where he taught Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics, besides philosophy and theology. In 1580 he became Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. No man in high office ever showed less of the usual official tendency to develop into a dumb dog that fears to bark lest its fat living be withdrawn.

There was no public press in those days, but in

Scotland the pulpit served as an excellent vent for popular opinion. When Morton, in allusion to this freedom of speech, said to Melville on one occasion, "There will never be quietness in the country till half a dozen of you be hanged or banished," Melville replied, "Tush, sir, threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground!"

Morton deserves much credit for his energy in pacifying the Borders, for which purpose he arranged for a permanent force. Morton's unpopularity with the other nobles led to his resignation in 1578, and in 1581 he was executed on a charge of complicity in the murder of Darnley fourteen years before. Young King James had now come under the influence of two favourites, Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, a kinsman of his own, and Captain James Stewart, brother of John Knox's second wife, and hitherto a soldier in the Swedish service. These he created Earls of Lennox and Arran respectively, and he already began to show that preference for Episcopacy which was to become so marked in his later years.

Several of the nobles decided in 1582 to unite against the influence of Lennox, who was known to be in league with the Guises and the Pope; so in August they invited the king to Ruthven Castle, near Perth, and practically held him prisoner, while they declared he must rid himself of Lennox. The king wept and tried to leave the room, but the master of Glammis, blocking the door, inexorably remarked, "Better that bairns should greet than bearded men!" This so-called "Raid of Ruthven" was successful in ridding the country of Lennox; but the king soon handed himself over again to the guidance of Arran, who in May 1584 secured the execution of the Earl of Gowrie, one of

the "Ruthven Raid" leaders. The other chiefs of that intrigue took refuge for a time in England.

In May 1584 a secret Parliament proclaimed Episcopacy and forbade freedom of speech to the clergy. The enactments of this Parliament were popularly known as the "Black Acts." Andrew Melville was chief of a deputation of ministers appointed to wait upon the king at Perth with a series of complaints, including one to this effect: "Your Majesty, by advice of some counsellors, is caused to take upon you a spiritual power and authority which properly belongeth unto Christ as only King and Head of the Church, so that in your Highness's person some men press to erect a new Popedom." The Earl of Arran, looking fiercely around, exclaimed, "Who dare subscribe these treasonable articles?" "We dare," calmly replied Melville, "and to give our lives for the cause."

It is a favourite task of the small body of advanced ritualists among present-day Scottish Presbyterians, who advocate a "rapprochement" with Episcopacy, to attempt to justify their plan of campaign by endeavouring to prove that Knox was not opposed to the forms of the English Church: and they adduce his Book of Common Order in support of their ideas. But if all they claimed were proved, very little would be gained in support of Scottish Prelacy. Knox's work, as we have seen, was purificatory, and he had no intention that it should end in stagnation. The very essence of Protestantism is advance, and whatever Knox left undone or doubtfully done in the work of Reformation was completed by Melville, who carried out Knox's principles to their logical conclusion. The Assembly of 1580 had unanimously declared that "the office of ane bishop, as it is now used and commonly

taken within this realm, has no sure warrant, authority, or good ground out of the Scripture of God, but is brought in by folly and corruption to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God." The Second Book of Discipline, which was largely the work of Melville, compiled in 1578 and adopted in 1581, was the natural outcome of Knox's Reformation, and its Presbyterianism has been accepted and cherished by Scotland from Melville's day to that of the latest descendants of the Covenanters. When Scotsmen, hankering after Prelacy, claim Knox as an ally, they can only do so by setting up their own little rushlights in opposition to the full daylight of Scottish history.

Even James VI., as King of Scotland alone, had to be content with spasmodic advances and retreats in his prelatic policy; and the work of 1584 was reversed in the following year, when the confederacy of lords who had engaged in the "Ruthven Raid," joined by the Hamiltons, marched with an army to Stirling, insisted on the deposition of the king's favourite Arran, and extorted fair terms for the ministers, and promises of political reform from the monarch.

Meanwhile the position of England was becoming serious. Diplomatic relations had been broken off with Spain owing to the discovery of King Philip's intention to crush the power of England by invasion. He had determined, as a preliminary, to subdue the Netherlands, in order to have a suitable base from which to attack England. What would he not have given at such a juncture to secure Scotland as a landing-place! But King James, under the influence of the Protestant lords, was so far from desiring at this particular time to see England humbled that he actually made proposals to Elizabeth for a Protestant League, and in July 1586 a

treaty was signed in accordance with which the reformed religion was to be maintained in both countries, and each country was to defend the other in case of invasion.

It is significant that in this treaty no mention was made of the unfortunate Queen of Scots, whose dramatic career was fast drawing to its tragic close. The recently founded Society of Jesuits interested itself on her behalf, and one of their number, John Ballard, crossed to England, where, with an English Catholic, John Savage, he devised a plot for Elizabeth's assassination. They induced Anthony Babington, a Derbyshire gentleman, to head the conspiracy, and secret communication was opened with Mary. All these movements were carefully watched by spies of Walsingham, the shrewd Secretary of State. When Mary found herself betrayed, she exclaimed, "There are two things the Queen of England can never take from me: the blood royal which gives me a right to the succession of England, and the attachment which makes my heart beat for the religion of my fathers." Babington and thirteen others, having pleaded guilty, were executed in September 1586, and in October a trial was ordered against Mary under a statute of the previous year, by which any person claiming the crown of England, or attempting to take it from the queen by foreign aid or by a conspiracy against her life, might be condemned to death. A High Court of Justice was summoned at Fotheringhay Castle. Mary at first, as queen of an independent nation, refused to submit to trial, but yielded owing to a professedly friendly letter from Elizabeth, containing the advice, "Act candidly, and you may meet with more favour." The trial was a hollow mockery. No witnesses were called, and Mary pointed out that the letters produced against her were

only copies. A confession had been forced from her two secretaries by torture, but her request to be confronted with them was refused. Nor was she allowed an advocate, although she declared, "I claim the right of having an advocate to plead my cause, or, being a queen, that I may be believed upon the word of a queen." She admitted having tried to regain her liberty, but denied the charge of plotting against Elizabeth's life.

The so-called trial lasted two days, and was then adjourned till 25th October at Westminster. This time the secretaries were produced as witnesses, but the accused queen was not present. She was nevertheless unanimously condemned to death as guilty of plotting for the invasion of the country and for the queen's assassination. On receiving news of her sentence, Mary wrote to Elizabeth a letter full of dignity, making small requests, such as that she should be buried in France, and that the safety of her domestics should be assured. No reply was vouchsafed to these modest demands.

Mary's condemnation caused general consternation among the crowned heads of Europe. Henry III. of France sent two ambassadors across to England, but all their persuasions and threats proved futile. Philip, as we shall see, decided to protest by deeds rather than by words. James VI. sent only a half-hearted remonstrance, and even that had to be extorted from him by his lords, one of whom declared, "If your Majesty suffers the process to proceed, I think, my liege, you should be hanged yourself the day after." The reason for his unfilial indifference is to be sought mainly in his treaty of alliance with Elizabeth, with whom he wished to keep on the best possible terms with a view to succeeding her on the throne. After all, he reigned by his mother's degradation, and he had little

cause to be grateful for any maternal cares on her part, especially if he was convinced of her complicity in his father's murder.

Elizabeth, out of real or affected hesitancy, refused to sign the death-warrant till 1st February in the following year, and even then professed to yield only to the advice of her lords and to popular clamour. That she really wished for Mary's death, without incurring the odium of her execution, is evident from the sordid attempt to have her secretly made away with. Elizabeth's secretaries wrote to Sir Amias Paulet, who had proved himself a harsh and almost brutal governor to Mary, asking him to put her to death secretly. When Elizabeth learned of his indignant refusal, she sneered at "those dainty, nice, precise fellows, who promise much but perform nothing."

On 7th February the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent informed Mary that she was to die on the morrow. Her request for a Catholic clergyman was refused, and she was offered the services of a Protestant dean! On the fatal morning her demeanour among her domestics was beautiful in the extreme, and she herself carried through those devotional services which the intolerance of her keepers had denied her. The grim conflict between the two religions was continued to the very scaffold, lending colour to Mary's claim that she died a Catholic martyr. Referring to her crucifix, Kent said, "Madam, it is of little use for you to have that image of Christ in your hand if you have not got him engraved in your heart." Calmly the queen replied, "It is difficult to hold it in the hand without the heart being touched by it, and nothing suits the dying Christian better than the image of his Saviour."

If Mary had greatly sinned, her suffering too had been terrible, and she whom Scott has described as

"without any exception the most beautiful and accomplished woman of her time" came to the scaffold not only broken and chastened in spirit, but distorted and pained in body by the harsh treatment of those nineteen years. Froude most graphically describes how, when the fatal blow descended, "a metamorphosis was witnessed strange as was ever wrought by wand of fabled enchanter. The coif fell off and the false plaits. The laboured illusion vanished. The lady who had knelt before the block was in the maturity of grace and loveliness. The executioner, when he raised the head as usual to show it to the crowd, exposed the withered features of a grizzled, wrinkled old woman."

It is with no thrill of pride we learn that bonfires were lit and bells rung at the news of her execution, to denote the triumph of Protestantism.

Mary was buried at Peterborough; but when James VI. succeeded to the English throne he had his mother's remains removed to Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, and placed near those of Queen Elizabeth. It would be hard to imagine a more touching sight on earth than the tombs, side by side under the same roof, of those two queens, so near by blood, yet so far apart in sympathies and ideals.

> "No further seek their merits to disclose,
> Nor draw their frailties from their dread abode,
> There they alike in trembling hope repose,
> The bosom of their Father and their God."

CHAPTER X

UNION OF THE CROWNS.

"BEHOLD, how good a thing it is,
And how becoming well,
Together such as brethren are
In unity to dwell."

Ps. cxxxiii. 1.

FROM among the rulers of Europe, Philip II. of Spain alone made any serious attempt to avenge the death of Mary, Queen of Scots. His desire for conquest, his religious antagonism to England, and his natural resentment at the marauding attacks of English seamen upon Spanish vessels, acted as strong motives in inducing him to attack these islands, and accordingly he proceeded to fit out his Invincible Armada, which consisted not only of Spanish vessels, but of ships borrowed from Portugal and Italy as well. The Pope, Sixtus V., was fully aware of all the preparations for Philip's great naval and military attack on England, and promised to aid the enterprise with funds. To emphasise the crusading nature of the undertaking, there sailed with the Armada a vicar-general of the Holy Inquisition.

The attitude of Scotland in face of such a crisis in England was of the utmost importance, and the voice of Scotland was by no means uncertain. In February of the fateful year 1588 a meeting of the General Assembly was held for the express purpose

Photo by Valentine & Sons.

SCOTTISH REGALIA, EDINBURGH CASTLE.

P. 128.

of arousing the nation to a sense of the impending danger. King James marched in person to the Borders to put down a rising of Scottish Catholics headed by the Earl of Morton, and Elizabeth sent a special messenger to congratulate him on his energy in the Protestant cause. England was thus freed from anxiety in regard to her land frontier, and was able to prepare with all her might to resist the invasion by sea.

The story of the providential defeat of the Armada by the winds and waves rather than by the power of man is usually regarded as belonging purely to English history ; but this Romish invasion was no less a menace to Scotland than to England, and the sense of common danger must have done incalculable service in throwing the two countries more closely together in sentiment, and in thus preparing them for the union of fifteen years later. It is not unworthy of remark that news of the approach of the Armada was first brought to Plymouth by a Scottish privateer, Thomas Fleming, who was thus able to give the English thirty hours' warning before the fleet was actually sighted.

James had chosen as his bride the Princess Anne of Denmark, and in 1589 he sailed to the Continent to escort her to her new kingdom. The marriage was celebrated in November, and the royal couple reached Scotland in May.

At the end of 1592 much consternation was caused by the matter of the "Spanish Blanks." Various letters were intercepted in the island of Cumbrae on the person of an agent of the Earls of Huntly and Errol and other Scottish nobles. Some of these contained an appeal to Philip of Spain to send troops to Scotland. Along with them were found eight blank papers bearing the signatures of these Scottish lords. The natural

conclusion was that a dangerous conspiracy had thus been unveiled in time. In this instance, however, as in other cases of conspiracy or suspected conspiracy on the part of Catholic nobles, James acted with such inexplicable leniency that many of his subjects suspected him of secret leanings towards Romanism.

The fact is that in religious matters the king at this period may be regarded as "manœuvring for position." He occasionally, as we have seen, showed some little energy in endeavouring to suppress Romanism, but the real bent of his desires lay in the direction of moulding the Presbyterian Church into conformity with the Episcopal model, and his conflicts with the General Assembly were a foretaste of those quarrels which were later to arise in England owing to his assumption of "divine right" in the political sphere.

In 1592 the Church scored a surface triumph by an Act of Parliament which formally abolished Episcopacy and established Presbyterianism. Four years later, in March 1596, we find the king enduring the censure of the General Assembly for indulging in profane swearing and for conversing in church during the time of sermon. In the same year Andrew Melville took occasion thus frankly to address the king: "Sir, there are two kings in Scotland. There is King James, the head of the Commonwealth, and Christ the King of the Church, whose subject James is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member."

It must be admitted that the elements of religious struggle in Scotland meanwhile lay not between king and people, but between James and the Church; and only in so far as it opposed the principle of absolutism was the Church fighting the people's battle. Its aim was theocratic rather than democratic, and it was

perhaps the knowledge of this that led James to declare later that "Scottish Presbytery as well agreeth with a monarchy as God with the devil." Yet the words of Melville and his fellows inculcated a lesson as to the limitations of monarchy, which, had it been taken to heart by James and his successors, would have spared the Stuart race the fate of seeing Church and people united in revolt against a tyranny which invaded alike the political and the religious domain.

Nor was the lesson entirely new to James, for it had been clearly set forth by his tutor, George Buchanan, whose linguistic powers were only equalled by his fearless and advanced political ideas. He was a relentless opponent of Divine Right, and in his *De Jure Regni* he boldly asserts that kings exist by the will, and for the good, of the people. When remonstrated with by his cousin for his plain speaking and writing regarding Mary, Queen of Scots, and warned that King James might resent it, he asked, "Tell me if I have told the truth." "Yes, I think so." "Then I will abide his feud and all his kin's."

But while, as might have been expected from his tuition at the hands of such a scholar as Buchanan, the king was wise so far as mere instruction could avail to make him so, he had failed to learn the deeper lessons, and to acquire the insight into human nature and into the spirit of the age which his high position required of him. Macaulay cleverly, though with some exaggeration, says, "He was indeed made up of two men —a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed, and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot who acted," and hence he persisted in sowing the seeds of future trouble and bloodshed.

Under the specious pretence of having the Church fairly represented in Parliament, the king in 1598

prepared to set up bishops, and at a General Assembly in March 1600 a modified form of Episcopacy was actually put in force.

In 1598 he printed his *True Law of Free Monarchies*, a treatise which set the king above the law, and pointed out that if subjects were not satisfied with the king's conduct of affairs, they could go elsewhere!

In the following year he composed a work entitled *Basilicon Doron* (or the Royal Gift), which was intended as a guide-book for his eldest son, Prince Henry, in the true methods of government. A few copies only were printed; but a servant of the king surreptitiously made known certain passages, which fully revealed the Episcopal tendencies of King James. Here are some choice selections from this royal manual: "No man is more to be hated of a king than a proud Puritan." "Puritans are pests in the Commonweal and Kirk of Scotland." "For a preservative against their poison there must be bishops." "They that preach against bishops should be punished with the rigour of the law."

As we have here noted King James as an author, it may not be inappropriate to cite his later work on *Demonology* as a reminder that the Protestant Reformation failed to uproot the belief in witchcraft, and rather for a time fostered the fulfilment of the Biblical command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." In 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. had declared witchcraft to be punishable by death, and there followed throughout Christendom a cruel persecution lasting for two centuries. The Scottish Act of 1563 was in keeping with this general movement, and it has been calculated that from first to last some four thousand hapless people — in large proportion old women — fell victims in Scotland to this gloomy superstition. As late as 1722 an old woman was put to death as a witch at Dornoch;

and not until the reign of that monarch in whose "hinmost year but ane" our national bard was born, was the cruel and antiquated law against this supposed crime abrogated either in England or in Scotland.

In April 1596 occurred one of the last picturesque episodes of Border prowess—the daring rescue of Kinmont Willie. William Armstrong of Kinmont, a noted moss-trooper, was arrested by the English on a day of truce, and imprisoned in Carlisle Castle. Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, the Warden of the Scottish Marches, having failed to secure the freedom of the marauder by negotiation, put himself at the head of 200 horsemen, and set out for Carlisle at nightfall. A postern in the wall of the castle was undermined, the sentinels were secured, and Willie was rescued and carried off shoulder high under the very windows of the room occupied by Lord Scrope, the governor.

In August 1600 occurred the mysterious event known as the Gowrie Conspiracy. According to the king's version, while he was hunting at Falkland, Alex. Ruthven, younger brother of the Earl of Gowrie (son of the Lord Ruthven who had been concerned in the Ruthven Raid), invited James to Gowrie House, Perth, to examine a suspicious man who had been seen carrying a pot of gold, and had been arrested by Ruthven. The king went with a few attendants, and after dinner Ruthven took him up a winding staircase, locking each apartment as they passed through, and at last led him into a study where an armed man was stationed. Ruthven then presented the armed man's dagger to James's breast, and threatened to slay him in revenge for the death of his father after the Raid of Ruthven in 1582. James attempted to come to terms, and Ruthven went off to fetch his brother, after extorting a promise that James would not alarm his followers.

James, unhindered either by the armed man on the one hand, or by his promise on the other, promptly shouted out of the window for help, and in the subsequent scuffles both Gowrie and Ruthven were slain by James's followers. Such was the king's story, but it was not generally believed, and is still usually regarded as open to grave doubt. Nevertheless, the king ordered the clergy to proclaim his version as true; and for refusing to do so without due evidence, various ministers were banished from Edinburgh, while one prominent clergyman, Robert Bruce, proving contumacious even after four interviews with the king himself, was exiled from Scotland. It is probable that the Gowrie Conspiracy had for its object the seizure of the king's person by a confederacy of nobles, and it is beyond doubt that serious feuds would have ensued from the jealousies of various lords at this period, had these not been stayed by the knowledge of the approaching union with England.

During the last year of King James's stay in Scotland occurred the Battle of Glen Fruin, or the "Field of Lennox," in which the Macgregors overpowered and massacred a body of about one hundred and fifty Colquhouns. This action, joined to the bad reputation of the Macgregors for robbery in general, occasioned the passing of a measure in 1603 which confiscated their lands and banned their very name. This harsh Act was not repealed till 1775. In 1604 the chief of the Macgregors was executed, along with over thirty of his clan.

Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond on 24th March 1603, having previously acknowledged James as her rightful heir and successor, and three days later Sir Robert Carey reached Edinburgh with the news. In a few days confirmation came from the English Privy

Council, and the heralds announced at the Cross of Edinburgh the union of the crowns of Scotland and England. The king did not linger in his ancestral kingdom. On 3rd April he made a speech in St. Giles' Church. Its sentiments were admirable. "As God has joined the right of both the kingdoms in my person, so may ye be joined in wealth, in religion, in hearts, and affections." He promised to visit Scotland once every three years, or oftener, and concluded with these words, "I have no more to say but—pray for me"

Two days later he set out for London, accompanied by his leading nobles. He spent a month upon the journey, and, as the English were longing for a male sovereign, he was everywhere received with an enthusiasm which contrasted so thoroughly with the coldness of his former subjects as to run the risk of turning a better-balanced head than that of the "British Solomon." The city of London received him with exactly such fulsome flattery as defaces the preface to our Authorised Version of the Bible. His coronation took place on 25th July; and thus, curiously enough, was fulfilled the ancient "prophecy," that wherever the Stone of Destiny found a home (and Edward I., it will be remembered, had carried it to Westminster) there a Scottish monarch should hold sway.

And now, having seen safely bestowed in London one of the least creditable products ever sent from Scotland to England, we may fitly pause to cast a glance backward and forward on the position of the country which was now to form one of the units in the Kingdom of Great Britain. Some supercilious people profess to see in our Scottish history up to this point nothing but a record of meaningless feuds and conflicts, murders and intrigues, in short, the ragged records of

a semi-barbarous people. Blemishes, truly, there are on our earlier as on our later history, but what Scotsman can read our records for the three centuries that separate Wallace from Melville without a thrill of pride at the noble consistency of the bulk of the nation in upholding the sacred cause of liberty? Profitless struggles there had been among rival nobles, profitless kings had found their place in Scotland's annals as in those of every land, but amid it all the march of the nation, and especially of the commonalty, had been onwards in the paths of political progress, religious liberty, and educational enlightenment.

It will be remembered that the Scottish universities (except that of Edinburgh) had been founded in the fifteenth century, and by the latter half of that century Scotland was sending teachers to many of the continental colleges. The Reformation, followed by the founding of Edinburgh University, was eminently calculated to help forward the educational movement. The reformers were no ignorant iconoclasts. The educational renown of Andrew Melville, as Principal of Glasgow University, and later of St. Andrews, was supremely safe above the wranglings of religious controversy, while George Buchanan is universally acknowledged as one of the foremost scholars of any land and of any age. Universal education, a favourite "devout aspiration" of Knox, was inculcated by Acts of Parliament from 1583 onwards, three centuries before a similar state of things took place in England. Sir Henry Craik, in his *Century of Scottish History*, pays a warm tribute to the ultimate results of this aspect of national energy. "One of the most important elements in the making of Scottish history had been the parish schools. The schoolmaster entered into the very heart of Scottish life, and formed an inseparable part of it.

It was the influence of the parish school that solved the problem of bringing all classes together, and accustomed the children of the laird to receive their earliest instruction on the same bench with the tenant's son. It was the parish school that fitted the young Scotsman with that adaptable equipment that enabled him to take his place with credit in foreign enterprise, and gave him that rough intelligence that marked him as strongly as his national idiosyncrasy. It impressed itself powerfully, not on Scottish history only, but on the national character." Referring to the gradual effect of this same "parish school" system on the Highlands, he says: "It was a part of a wide-spreading missionary effort, which brought the various parts of the country closer together, and did more than any other agency to redeem from almost savage ignorance, and to bring within the pale of civilisation and of loyalty the vast tracts of the Highlands, whose inhabitants had for centuries lived an alien life, divided by every diversity of law and custom."

In religious matters the Reformation had introduced thought instead of mere ceremony, and we are not surprised to learn that the people had in their hands psalters *with music*. Sabbath observance, with its lavish accompaniment of preaching, although at times carried to extremes which to our modern ideas would appear ridiculous, certainly helped to develop the national intellect, and we find from various regulations that the national conscience was already touched in regard to the drinking habit.

The truth is, that to trace the general trend and meaning of Scottish history prior to 1603, as compared with that of England, is as easy as it is to point the moral of the Scottish War of Independence as compared with that of the Wars of the Roses.

Admitting the element of truth contained in such a statement regarding Scottish history as R. L. Stevenson's that "Poverty, ill-luck, enterprise, and constant revolution are the fibres of its legend," we do well to remember that it was mainly in the industrial sphere that our country had so far suffered. The frequent broils of the centuries prior to the Reformation had a most unsettling effect on commercial life, while the frequent raids and reprisals on the English and Highland borders stunted the growth of steady enterprise. Yet coal was sold as early as the fifteenth century, while by the sixteenth mining for lead, and even for gold and silver, was engaged in with such success as the country's resources and the undeveloped appliances of the period permitted. The Scots Parliament at various times had shown its sympathy with the social and industrial interests of the people by encouraging Flemish weavers and other foreign tradesmen and artisans to settle in the country, and by passing laws to protect them in the pursuit of their pioneer work as commercial educators.

And now that Scottish history, as an entirely separate entity, was drawing to an end, what were the immediate effects of the Union of the Crowns so far as Scotland was concerned, and how was the new arrangement viewed by the people? The first and most natural feeling was one of relief at the apparent end of that national insecurity which had existed for centuries owing to hostility with the neighbouring Power. And with that there was joined some feeling of pride on the part of the smaller country in handing over its king as joint monarch of the united realms.

But there was another side to the picture, and for a time Scotland suffered in more than one respect from the union.

In the first place, the nobility, and numbers of the wealthier class in general, withdrew to London and spent their money there. If, in return, many Scots of a more industrious type flocked to London, and enriched themselves by finding there a wider scope for their enterprise, we must remember in regard to them, as in regard to the constant stream which still sets from Scotland to London, that their native country was the poorer by the removal of their talent, while the city which gave them wealth received full measure in return. As J. H. Burton remarks: "It is the immigrant who remains a pauper that is a burden to the country of his adoption, not he who prospers."

In the second place, Scotland lost the preferential treatment hitherto accorded by the French to Scotch goods.

In the third place, and worst of all, Scotland now began to incur the danger—which has ever since been constantly present—of losing the better distinctive features of her nationality; yet it stands to her credit as a consistent nation that to-day, after three centuries of union, Scotland retains her individuality in a way that no other small nation but the Jews has proved capable of doing alongside of influences so potent. Naturally, the Scottish people have in many respects assimilated themselves more or less to the English, but apart from a small minority of aristocrats and would-be aristocrats they remain distinct in religion, education, dialect, and national character, from the great neighbour with whom they have so loyally kept their bargains, often in the face of sore temptation.

The immediate danger to Scotland was that she should be forced to surrender her Presbyterianism. Had Scotland remained a distinct country, she would have successfully baffled the attempts of her kings to

introduce Episcopacy; but with the Prelatic forces of England behind them four successive kings did their utmost, for nigh a hundred years, to subdue the indomitable spirit of the Scots.

Before James had been many months in London, he was able to boast, "Here I sit and govern Scotland with my pen. I write and it is done; and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword."

From the Union of the Crowns until the Revolution of 1689 the Scots Estates in general had little or no power, and the kings ruled mainly through the Privy Council, whose members were chosen by the king, and held office at his caprice.

Froude thus sums up the situation: "Scotland sent a king at last of the Scotch blood to England, and a new dynasty; and it never knew peace or quiet after. The Kirk had stood between James Stuart and his kingcraft. He hated it as heartily as did his mother; and when he got to England he found people there who told him it would be easy to destroy it, and he found the strength of a fresh empire to back him in trying to do it. . . . The political freedom of the country was now wrapped up in the Kirk, and the Stuarts were perfectly well aware of that; and for that very reason began their crusade against it."

But while it is thus clear that the persecution of the Covenanters largely arose out of the union with England, there remains the consoling thought that Scotland became, through that very struggle, the instrument under Providence in arousing and encouraging England to resist the so-called divine right of kings, and ultimately in helping to rid both countries of an intolerable despotism, and to introduce in both the era of genuinely constitutional government.

In England, speculation was naturally rife regarding James's probable action in respect to religion. The Puritans, who had met with no encouragement from Elizabeth, hoped at first that he might be inclined, from his Scottish upbringing, to favour their views, especially as he had been known to describe the English service as "an ill-said Mass." The Catholics hoped he might revert to the religion of his mother. But all conjectures were set at rest by the Conference held at the king's instance in Hampton Court Palace in January 1604 between various representatives of Puritanism and Episcopacy. James constituted himself umpire between the rival parties, and in declaring his verdict in favour of Episcopacy he clearly indicated that he had judged that form of religion to be most favourable to his own dignity and power. He realised that the logical outcome of Presbyterianism in the political sphere was republicanism, and his maxim, "No bishop, no king!" was the principal argument in his mind not only for supporting Episcopacy in England, but for foisting it, if possible, on Scotland. When the report of the Conference was read in the Edinburgh Presbytery it was listened to in apprehensive silence.

It is generally asserted that the idea of issuing an Authorised Version of the Scriptures had its origin at the Hampton Court Conference, but the proposal had been urged upon the king by the Scottish clergy before he migrated to London. In any case the publication of the completed translation in 1611 was one of the most momentous events in his reign. (A Scottish version of the Geneva Bible had been printed at Edinburgh in 1579 by Arbuthnot and Bassandyne.)

In 1606 a Parliament at Perth passed a measure for the setting up of Episcopacy. In the same year, for

attending a General Assembly summoned in defiance of the royal commands, six ministers were condemned on a charge of high treason, and exiled for life. For the six years prior to 1616, James refused to allow a General Assembly to meet.

It would be tedious to relate the various devices adopted by James and his commissioners to establish bishops under the name of "constant moderators," and to undermine the influence of Melville and the other leading defenders of Presbyterianism. In April 1607, Melville, who had been summoned to London in the previous year to confer on religious difficulties, was imprisoned by the Privy Council in England for composing an epigram on what he considered an idolatrous service taken part in by the king and queen in the Chapel Royal on St. Michael's Day. Turning to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, who were present at his condemnation, Melville exclaimed, "My lords, I am a Scotsman, and a true Scotsman, and if you are such take heed that they do not end with you as they have begun with me." He was kept in the Tower till 1611, when his penalty was commuted to banishment. His scholarship gained him a professorship at Sedan, where he remained till his death in 1622. Melville's importance to history is that he almost entirely bridges the period of comparative submissiveness on the part of Scottish Puritanism between the glorious days of Knox and the successful struggles of the Covenanters.

> "Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Perhaps the lowest ebb of Scotland's honour was reached in 1610, when James summoned the Archbishop

of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway, to England to receive consecration from three English bishops, after which they returned to consecrate their fellow-clerics in Scotland. In the same year the king instituted in Scotland two Courts of High Commission to try religious offences, each court being presided over by an archbishop.

In spite of his promise to visit Scotland regularly, James only once after 1603 found time or inclination to make a stay in his northern kingdom. His visit lasted from May till August 1617, and its object was the unwelcome one of fostering Episcopacy. In August 1618 a General Assembly, under the influence of royal bribery and royal threats, assented, by a two-thirds majority, to the famous Five Articles of Perth, which inculcated, among other things, kneeling at the Sacrament and the observance of holy days. For the next three years the people ignored these Articles, until by various dishonourable means their ratification by Parliament was procured; whereupon James wrote an exultant letter to the bishops that "henceforth that rebellious, disobedient, and seditious crew must either obey or resist both God, their natural king, and the laws of the country." It was not in his day, however, that the resisting power of the Scottish people was to be tested to its utmost. That was left as an inheritance to his less timid or more rash successors.

Meanwhile in England the king's quarrels with his Parliaments on the score of funds were likewise sowing a troublesome crop for posterity to reap.

It must be placed to the credit of King James that he was sincerely desirous of promoting friendship between his two kingdoms—even his ill-advised interference with Scottish religion being essentially a mistaken step taken with that good end in view. In 1607

the Parliaments of both countries repealed all acts of international hostility, and agreed on inter-citizenship. James wished to go further, and to promote an incorporating union of the two countries. He remained Scottish enough at heart to insist that the union should not be attained by the absorption of the smaller nation; and even when the union project was dropped as by common consent, he issued his commands that in describing the joint realms the correct joint-name of "Great Britain" should be used.

In 1609, James instituted Justices of the Peace in Scotland on the model of English custom. Their powers were much greater than those enjoyed by the J.P.'s of the present day, combining, in fact, most of the duties now performed by magistrates and by sheriffs.

The emigration of the Pilgrim Fathers to America in 1620 with a view to practising the Puritan form of religion in greater liberty, calls to mind the fact that only now, at the Union of the Crowns, did British colonisation begin. Singly neither country could spare the necessary energy, but now that the international strife had ceased as between England and Scotland, the foundations were laid of their joint world-wide empire. The first permanent colony was founded under the name of Virginia in 1607 by Sir Walter Raleigh, who had previously failed to establish a settlement in Elizabeth's reign.

The attempt made by Sir Wm. Alexander to colonise Nova Scotia is referred to in Chapter XLIV.

Prior to the Union large numbers of Scots had found in the north of Ireland a home which offered greater scope for agriculture than the churlish soil of their own land. When, therefore, James offered facilities for the "planting" of settlers from Great

Britain in Ulster, thousands of Scots availed themselves of the chance, and helped by their energy to transform that district into the garden of Ireland. At the present day there may still be heard in Down and Armagh Scots words and idioms that are now rarely if ever heard in the land from which they came, and the frequent designation of Belfast as a "second Glasgow" only voices the well-known fact of the extent to which that city has owed its prosperity to its Scottish settlers and to its close association with south-western Scotland.

While James's purpose of improving the condition and loyalising the population of northern Ireland has thus so far succeeded, it is a matter for sincere regret that the alien Scottish and English element in that district, and the alien English element farther south, should have kept itself so much aloof from the native strain, so that to-day, instead of an Ireland leavened throughout by Scottish industry and English loyalty, we are left with two violently contrasted elements of population, giving rise to that persistent "Irish Question" which has so long been the despair of politicians.

This being so, it is perhaps well that James's plan for settling the Highlands, especially Lewis, with a Lowland Scots population was frustrated through lack of offerers, and that in consequence the Highlands, with the help of the schools, and later of the Presbyterian Church, were left to work out their own development. James succeeded, however, in securing, not only in the Highlands, but in the Orkneys and on the Borders, a more peaceful state of things than had formerly prevailed. By judicious arrangements for extradition between the two kingdoms, he ensured that Border raids should become a thing of the past.

10

Manufactures were wisely fostered throughout the reign.

James VI. of Scotland and I. of England died in March 1625, and was succeeded by his second son Charles, his eldest son, Prince Henry, having died in 1612.

CHAPTER XI

SCOTTISH LITERATURE BEFORE THE UNION OF THE CROWNS.

> "Ev'n then a wish (I mind its power),
> A wish that to my latest hour
> Shall strongly heave my breast;
> That I for poor auld Scotland's sake,
> Some usefu' plan or beuk could make,
> Or sing a sang at least."
>
> BURNS.

IN a remarkable speech delivered at Edinburgh on 19th October 1905, Mr. A. J. Balfour, waxing eloquent upon the "sudden blossoming out which followed the Revolution Settlement and the Union with our sister kingdom," declared that "it is not merely in literature, it is in every department of activity that Scotland, *which had done nothing up to the eighteenth century*, seemed, when the eighteenth century began, to do almost everything." "It was as if some Alpine upland, when the snows have disappeared, burst out into a group of wild and brilliant blossom—so sudden and so immediate and so great was the change that took place." He certainly gave some appearance of plausibility to his remarks by comparing the brilliant literary and scientific work of eighteenth-century Scotsmen with the comparative barrenness of the seventeenth century in that kind of work. But, in the first place, any one who is familiar with the arduous, prolonged, and successful struggle of Scotland in the Covenanting century

against kingly and episcopal domination will realise that no more need be asked of our country in that age than her contribution to Britain's and the world's annals of one of the brightest stories of bravery and self-sacrifice in defence of the rights of conscience and of democracy that history has to offer. And, secondly, if the snows of Divine Right and priestly persecution laid for a time their chilling mantle over the fair field of literature, the rich outburst of the next century did not spring from barren Alpine rocks of ignorance and darkness, but from a rich soil of literary genius, the deposit of centuries prior to the seventeenth, centuries which Mr. Balfour conveniently ignores. Out of a total of fourteen poets, living prior to Shakspeare's birth, who are considered worthy of a place of honour in Ward's *English Poets* no fewer than five are Scots. In fact, during the long period of well-nigh two hundred years separating Chaucer's work from that of Spenser, the light of literary genius was kept burning almost in Scotland alone. Hence Thos. Arnold, while reminding us that his *English Literature* "does not pretend to trace the history of Scottish poetry," nevertheless finds that "in the dearth of genius in England during this period, the rise of several admirable poets in the sister country demands our attention."

In place of attributing to the Union of 1707, as Mr. Balfour seems to do, the work of such native-born geniuses as James Thomson, Adam Smith, or Robert Burns, one might much more feasibly lay to the charge of the Union of 1603 the sudden extinction of the brilliant native work represented by such names as Barbour, Dunbar, Lyndsay, and Knox. Until that Union the wars and enmity of centuries had kept the two countries separate in sympathy and in development, and the Scots language, which Professor Free-

man admits even now to be "the purest surviving form of English," had maintained a sturdy and healthy existence alongside of its southern rival, which in course of time, through the closer intercourse instituted by the Reformation and the Unions, was destined to become the daily speech of the smaller nation, even as it now bids fair to become the international language of the world.

The real fact, however, is that the Unions had very little to do with the question. If there are no comets in the Scottish literature of the seventeenth century, we are not to consider that the period was one of stagnation any more than, say, the later Victorian period. In Scotland and England alike it was largely one of those periods when there is a general levelling up of intellect. This at least the Reformation and the Puritan movement, with their appeal to the intellect rather than to the emotions, were bound to do, and the remarkable philosophic development in eighteenth-century Scotland was far more closely connected with the preaching of the previous two centuries than with the Union of the Parliaments.

Meanwhile, leaving the thorny paths of literary causality, let us pass in rapid review some of the actual work done in Scotland before the Union of the Crowns.

The oldest authentic fragment of Scots verse fittingly deals with the sorry plight of Scotland on the death of her beloved King Alexander III.

> "Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede
> That Scotland led in luve and le,[1]
> Away wes sons[2] of ale and brede,
> Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle.
> Oure gold wes changyd into lede;
> Chryst, born in to Virginyte,
> Succour Scotland, and remede,
> That stad is in perplexyte."

[1] Law, peace. [2] Abundance.

The earliest Scottish poet whose name has descended to us is Thomas the Rhymer of Ercildoune, or Earlston, who lived in the thirteenth century. As in the case of many other poets of an early age, his name became associated in the popular mind with fairy tales and myths of various descriptions, and his supposed communion with the spirit-world made him a sort of hero of romance, until his star paled before that of those national heroes of real life—Wallace and Bruce. In reference to the poem of *Sir Tristrem*, attributed to Thomas the Rhymer, Scott mentions, as worthy of remark, that "the first classical English romance was written in part of what is now called Scotland."

It would be foreign to the purpose of this sketch to enter upon the question as to the identity of "Huchown of the Awle Ryale," to whom are attributed three or four metrical romances, and who is believed to have written about the middle of the fourteenth century. Suffice it to say that his work is commended by Wyntoun, and that he is supposed by some to be identical with the Schir Hew of Eglintoun mentioned by Dunbar.

The first great Scottish poem is the *Brus* of John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who lived from about 1316 to 1395, and was therefore a contemporary of Chaucer. It is not surprising that the achievements of Bruce should have formed the theme of a great national epic poem; and it is also significant of the less intense or more diffused patriotism of England that to this day she has no nearer approach to a national epic than the legends of Arthur strung into some sort of connection by Tennyson. The *Bruce*, finished about 1375, is in twenty books, and extends to over 12,000 lines. It consists of a series of vivid and graphic descriptions of the exploits of the hero

king. The best passage (extending over three books) is that dealing with the Battle of Bannockburn. The poem is instinct with the burning patriotism natural to its subject, yet is admittedly moderate and chivalrous in tone towards the "auld enemies" of the realm, as befits its reverend author. The noble outburst in praise of freedom is well known :

> "A ! fredome is a noble thing
> Fredome mayss[1] man to haiff[2] liking;
> Fredome all solace to man giffis :
> He levys[3] at ess[4] that frely levys!"

As Barbour's boyhood was passed while Bruce still lived, it is questionable whether the literature of the world presents another epic written so soon after the events described, and therefore with so little artificiality or mock chivalry, or with such a refreshing freedom from anachronism.

It was not till a century later, about 1470, that the deeds of the other leading Scottish hero were strung into verse. The author in this case was a wandering minstrel, popularly called "Blind Harry," who in his peregrinations had imbibed all the current stories regarding the warrior and his achievements. The gist of the poem may probably have already existed either in prose or in stray ballads, the former supposition being rendered probable by the fact that Harry's narratives, though coloured by obvious exaggerations in many of the exploits attributed to the hero, are now recognised as worthy of being accorded more belief than it was at one time fashionable to extend to them. His *Wallace* consists of about 11,000 lines, and its vigour is attested by the fact that after a lapse of three centuries the abridged version of the poem by William

[1] Makes. [2] Have. [3] Lives. [4] Ease.

Hamilton of Gilbertfield (published 1722) first awoke to intense life the national sentiments of Robert Burns, who declared, "The story of Wallace poured a tide of Scottish prejudice into my veins, which will boil along there till the floodgates of life shut in eternal rest."

The poem, as was natural from its more lowly origin, is much less charitable to the English than is Barbour's epic. It furnishes proof of the extent to which the feeling between the two nations had become embittered in the two centuries which separated Wallace from Harry.

It is a far cry from the wanderer's hovel to the king's palace, but genius acknowledges no bounds, and in the palace we must seek our next poet, no less a personage than King James I. (1394–1437). One of the minor poets of that day, Andrew Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf's monastery on Loch Leven, wrote an *Orygynalle Chronykil* of Scotland, half of which is taken up with matters ranging from the Creation to the mythical arrival of Brutus in Britain. His story, however, is continued down to 1406, and for the period after Bruce till that date it is the most reliable history available. Andrew, in a mood of what he doubtless regarded as righteous indignation, thus seriously arraigns the English people:

> "It is off Inglis natioune
> The commone kend conditioune
> Off trewis[1] the wertew[2] to foryete[3]
> Quhen thai will thaim for wynnyng set,
> And rekles of gud faith to be,
> Quhare thai can thare advantage se;
> Thair may na band be maid sa ferm,
> Than thai can mak thare will thare term."

Without according a general agreement to this sweep-

[1] Truce. [2] Virtue, value. [3] Forget.

ing condemnation, we must admit that it well describes the moral aspect of England's treatment of James I. Kidnapped in time of peace off Flamborough Head, while on his way to the French court, he was kept a prisoner in England for eighteen or nineteen years, being ultimately released on payment of an extortionate sum. Nevertheless, he not only married an Englishwoman, Lady Jane Beaufort, before returning to his native kingdom, but exerted his talents in producing, in her honour, one of the finest love poems in British literature, the *Kingis Quair*, or King's Book. The subject-matter of his poem is original, and is largely the outpouring of his own passionate affection. He relates the sorrows of his imprisonment, and the return of hope and of the desire for liberty through the fair vision of his future bride walking in the garden. His triumphant wooing is then referred to. The royal poet shows himself to be possessed of a loving observation and a keen appreciation of the beauties of Nature, whether in the free or cultivated state. In style he is avowedly influenced by Chaucer, and of all the poets north or south of the Tweed who carried on Chaucer's particular work, James is best entitled to rank next to the master poet.

The two boisterously humorous poems, *Peblis to the Play*, and *Chrystis Kirk on the Green*, are traditionally attributed to James I., although ingenious attempts have been made to refer them to the next century, some critics even assigning them to James V., who likewise is reported to have dabbled in verse. Together with such burlesques as *Rauf Coilyear* (Ralph the Collier) and *Colkelbie's Sow*, these poems at least show that during the constant wars with England our Scottish forefathers were far from being devoid of humour.

Robert Henryson (ab. 1430–98), schoolmaster of Dunfermline, is designated by W. E. Henley "an accomplished man, a good and genuine poet," "a true artist," and "a born dramatist." He was the writer of the first genuine British pastoral poem, *Robene and Makyne*, which relates a love tale not unlike that of *Duncan Gray*, but with the order of the love-attacks reversed, and without the satisfactory ending of the later story. Henryson also made an admirable rendering into Scots verse of thirteen of Æsop's "Moral Fables." Mr. Henley regards one of these as being, "outside La Fontaine, one of the high-water marks of the modern apologue." Like La Fontaine, Henryson adds a fulness of incident to the bare fables, and he is also a master of descriptive imagery to a degree that the French fabulist does not rival. In his excellent description of landscape he is truly Scottish, escaping from any adherence to French, Italian, or English models, and attaining to a high degree of that realism which figures so prominently in the literature and art of Scotland. His language is crisp and concise.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century we reach the golden age of early Scottish literature, and that at a period when no English authors of any account were writing.

In the opinion of Sir Walter Scott and of most other competent critics, the greatest Scottish poet before the Union of 1707 was William Dunbar (ab. 1460–1520), a native of the Lothians. After travelling through England and part of France as a begging friar, Dunbar was received into court favour, and was probably one of the envoys who arranged the marriage between James IV. and Margaret Tudor. At any rate his best known work, *The Thistle and the Rose* (1503), was

written in honour of that marriage and of the shortlived Anglo-Scottish Alliance which it involved. Professor Nichol claims that the poem is "perhaps the happiest political allegory in our tongue." Five years later several of his poems, including *The Golden Targe* and the *Lament for the Makars* (a touching lament on the death of various poets and on the universality of death, with the refrain "Timor mortis conturbat me") had the honour of being issued in type by Chepman as the first Scottish printed works.

Dunbar is less aggressively Scottish than some of his predecessors, or even of his successors, and he frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He calls Chaucer the "rose of rethoris (orators, poets), all, that raise in *Britane* ewir." It is worthy of note that Dunbar thus early uses the correct name for the joint countries, while at the same time he calls Chaucer "of oure *Inglisch* (language) all the lycht," thus showing an example to those numerous people in the present day who cannot, or will not, realise that the name of the language is not necessarily identical with the name of the country or the nation. In this connection we may note that only about Dunbar's time did the term "Scots" come to be used in reference to the Lowland language of Scotland, the term having at first referred to the Celtic language of the Highlands.

Dunbar's poems run over every note in the gamut from religious enthusiasm down to burlesque, and in every "genre" he shows himself at home as a practised writer. At the one extremity he illustrates the "aureate" or highly adorned style so much in vogue during the sixteenth century; at the other, as in his *Flyting* with Walter Kennedy of Carrick, a brother poet, he proves himself a master of the most approved

style of stairhead abuse. His humour is frequently licentious, though, like Chaucer, he tamed his muse in this regard in his later works. His favourite subject is man, and he is most successful when in a humorous or a satirical vein. His works constitute a vivid picture-gallery of the men and women of his time.

Perhaps his most typically Scottish work is the *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins*, which, in its fearless observation of life and rather grim humour, is in the direct ancestral line which runs onwards to *Tam o' Shanter* and the *Holy Fair*. As regards natural scenery, his descriptions are merely conventional.

The date of Dunbar's death is uncertain, and he is believed by some authorities to have perished at Flodden in 1513.

Gawin Douglas (1474–1522) was the third son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, known to Scottish history as "Bell-the-Cat." Old Angus is made in *Marmion* to boast—

> "Thanks to Saint Bothan, son of mine,
> Save Gawin, ne'er could pen a line."

If so, Gawin quite made amends for the rest of the family, as he not only rose through various grades in the Church till he became a bishop, but showed himself to be—

> "More pleased that in a barbarous age
> He gave fair Scotland Virgil's page,
> Than that beneath his sway he held
> The bishopric of fair Dunkeld."

Finished in the year of Flodden Field, his translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, which is not only complete, but provides a more or less appropriate prologue to each book, is the first metrical version of any Latin classic

author's work in any British tongue. The metre is heroic couplet. Douglas frequently diverges considerably from the text of the original, especially in expanding similes. His keen love for nature-painting finds an outlet in this way, and still more in his prologues, which are generally regarded as his best work. The vocabulary of Douglas diverges further from southern English than that of almost any of his predecessors, because he not only keeps closer to the spoken dialect of Scotland, but, like a true Douglas, eschews any attempt to copy from English models, and borrows words direct from Latin or French to help out any poverty in his language. He is perhaps the first poet to call his own language "Scots."

Apart from his translation of Virgil, Douglas wrote two main poems. One of these is an allegory of the heart of man, and its temptations, under the name of *King Hart*. The other, the *Palace of Honour*, is the narrative of a supposed dream in which, through the power of Venus, and under guidance of the muse Calliope, the poet is brought into relation with the most diverse personages of all times and nations, who leap from scripture, history, or classic lore across his pages with a sublime inconsequence worthy of Dante himself. The moral of this allegory is that virtue, not wealth or noble birth, is the true vestibule to Honour. Douglas so far remembers his clerical calling as to keep his work free of the too prevalent ribaldry of the time.

No poet before the time of Burns took such a hold of the common people as Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount (1490–1555). The obvious reason for this is that Sir David was one of the leading apostles of the Reformation, and that all his work was of such a direct and slashing kind that it appealed at once to the

intelligence of the populace. Sir Walter Scott represents his countenance as bearing upon it—

> "The flash of that satiric rage
> Which, bursting on the early stage,
> Branded the vices of the age,
> And broke the keys of Rome."

Sir David acted as half-tutor, half-flunkey, to the young King James v., and he reminds his royal master how his first uttered syllables were "Pa, Da Lyn" (Play, Davie Lyndsay), an invitation to play upon the lute. Later, as Lord Lion (or Lyon) King-at-Arms, he was occasionally dispatched on embassies to foreign lands. Secure in the king's favour, he used his privileges, not, as most men in his position would have done, to gain advancement for himself, but to lash with unmerciful strokes the corruption of the Romish system in Scotland, and to administer, when necessary, admonition and even rebuke to the monarch himself. That Lyndsay was quite qualified to shine in the affected style of fulsome language so dear to Elizabeth and her successors, is clear from such a couplet as this:

> "O potent prince of pulchritude preclair,
> God Cupido preserve your celsitude."

But we hear the truer tone of the *real* Lyndsay when, after crediting his young master with a few good qualities, he scathingly adds, "Amang the rest, schir, lerne to be ane kyng." To Lyndsay, as well as to Knox and Buchanan, it is due that, as Professor Walker puts it, "in the course of a generation the battle was won, and all the weight of learning and talent changed sides."

The first of his allegorical and satirical poems was

the *Dreme* (1528), in which, after detailing the evils in the commonwealth, particularly the corruption and greed of the Church, and the arrogance of the nobles, he indicates the remedy in a more energetic execution of the national laws by the king and his advisers. Though writing in the year of Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom, Lyndsay makes bold in his vision of Hell to represent "bings" of popes, bishops, and minor churchmen as having found their way there. The whole spirit of the poem, with its impassioned appeal to the king for justice to his poorer subjects, has been well characterised as "the very heroism of patriotic morality." The same theme serves for the *Complaynt of Schir David Lyndsay*, and the *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*." In the latter poem he thus counsels the king:

> "Chuse thy counsale of the most sapient,
> Without regarde to blude, ryches, or rent."

The Tragedy of the Cardinal reminds us that Lyndsay was one of those who associated with Beaton's assassins after the murder, and that he had a share in calling Knox to the spiritual charge of the garrison in St. Andrews.

The poem which best illustrates his special genius is the *Satyre of the Three Estates*, a "morality" play of over 5000 lines. He shows how the Lords Spiritual ("Spiritualitie") are corrupted by covetousness and sensuality, the Lords Temporal ("Temporalitie") by the tendency to oppression and extortion, and the Burgesses ("Merchand") by deceit and falsehood, and above all he laments the want of moral backbone in the young and pliant king. In the end all, except the first, show themselves able and willing to make some attempt at reform. The con-

cubinage of priests, and the endowment of their illegitimate offspring, are scathingly condemned. As in other plays of the kind, virtues and vices personified (such as Chastitie, Sensualitie, Veritie, Dissait, and Falset) mingle with real personages and with types of character, such as the tailor and the soutar, and Lyndsay's "Satire" is admitted to take first rank in this particular kind of composition, out of which in England the drama sprang. But the promise of Scottish dramatic literature in Lyndsay was never fulfilled, as the Reformation in Scotland, like the Puritanism of the new century in England, showed no favour to the lighter forms of literature, and from that day to this Scotland still awaits the growth of her national drama. We need only name his other main poems, *Squire Meldrum*, a long narrative of exploits against the English, and the *Dialog concerning the Monarchie*, a poem of 6000 lines, sketching the course of the world from the Creation, and culminating as usual in exposure of the abuses of Rome. His work is best summarised in the words of Professor Nichol: "His mission was to amuse and arouse the people of his time, to affront them with a reflection of their vices, and to set to rough music the thunder and the whirlwind of sixteenth-century iconoclasm." Lyndsay's grasp of vernacular Scots is so thorough and natural that for generations the genuineness of Scots words or phrases was settled by reference to his works.

The century from James I. to James V. was unquestionably the most prolific in early Scottish literature, and it was to remain unchallenged in its supremacy until the advent of the brilliant hundred years' work from Ramsay to Scott. The poets from Barbour to Lyndsay had filled the dreary gap in English literature since Chaucer's day, but now the

torch was to be handed back to England, and the brilliant Elizabethan period was to be inaugurated by Spenser, and carried to its brightest gleam in Shakspeare's dramatic works. Only a pale glimmer of genius was kept alight in Scotland through Sir Richard Maitland, Alexander Montgomerie, Alexander Scott, and Alexander Hume, minister of Logie (1560–1609).

Sir Richard Maitland, Lord Lethington, was a Scottish judge, and father of "Secretary Maitland," the statesman of Queen Mary's day. He survived his son by thirteen years, dying in 1586 at the advanced age of ninety. His importance to Scottish literature lies less in his own compositions than in the fact that he collected old Scottish manuscripts, and so preserved many old gems from oblivion. A similar service was performed by George Bannatyne, who in 1568 compiled a manuscript collection from which Ramsay afterwards obtained the materials for his *Evergreen.*

Alexander Montgomerie was for a period one of James VI.'s court favourites. He and Alexander Scott are less notable by reason of poetic genius than for their command of the art of versification. Contrasting Scott's excellence in this respect with the poverty of English verse at the same period, Mr. T. F. Henderson declares: "We have only to compare his finished and musical versification with the jolting doggerel of even Wyatt, to recognise how far the Scots 'makaris' were in advance of the English, until Surrey; and as regards correctness of accent, management of the pause, and purity and exactness of rhyme, he is hardly to be regarded as Surrey's inferior."

The circulation of Wyclif's New Testament (of which Murdoch Nisbet had issued a Scots version about 1520), and the general use of the Authorised

Version of the Bible after 1611, brought about an approximation of the current Scottish tongue to that of England. The closer intimacy with England due to Protestantism and the Union helped towards the same end, even Knox being accused by his countrymen of a too great fondness for "knapping southron." Above all, the absorption of mental effort by the intense religious fervour of the hundred years after Lyndsay discouraged any attempts at a native literature, such as might have preserved the Scots language in vigorous life, and to that extent Scotland had to suffer for the otherwise obvious benefits of the Reformation. "To break with art for the sake of worship," says Professor Veitch, "is a mistake hurtful to the interests of both"; but it was a mistake which the Scottish Covenanter shared with the English Puritan. The intense element of personal religion crushed out the finer artistic delight in nature and poetry, and Principal Arbuthnot of Aberdeen ruefully laments:

> "But gif I mell with meter or with ryme,
> With rascal rymours I sall recknit be."

Even during the period of greatest barrenness in Scottish poetry, however, the ballad contrived to maintain a fairly robust existence. The age of the original form of any particular ballad is always difficult, and generally impossible, to determine, but it is quite possible that the ballad of *Sir Patrick Spens* and those relating to Thomas the Rhymer, take us back 600 years. The next series, including the Scottish version of *Chevy Chase*, relate to the Battle of Otterburn, in 1388. By the sixteenth century the ballads had become quite formidable in number. The Scots ballads in general, whether dealing with warfare, border raiding, fairy tales, or love

episodes, are remarkable both for their number and for their excellence. Mr. J. H. Millar claims that "the fact of the superiority of the Scots ballads is incontestable and uncontested; and in truth they hold their own with the corresponding class of literature in any country." Mr. Andrew Lang says that "the ballads of the Lowland Scotch, recovered from oral tradition, have the fire which we miss in English popular poems"; and Professor Walker similarly holds that "few of the English ballads, particularly those of the south, can be ranked for poetic merit with the Scottish ballads," which constitute "a popular poetry as genuine as that recognised by the learned, and often higher in tone." It is not surprising that, after poetry had languished in Scotland for over a century, and had in England ceased to deal with nature or with the human heart, it was the collecting and publishing of such native poems by James Watson of Edinburgh, from 1706–11, and later by Allan Ramsay, in his *Evergreen* and other collections, that brought new life and vigour into literature, and led on through Thomson and Burns to Scott, and the other great writers of the romantic school in Britain and on the Continent.

A curious collection of poems, entitled *Godlie Psalms and Spirituall Sangs*, and usually referred to as the *Dundee Psalms* or *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, was published about the time of Lyndsay's death, by the three brothers Wedderburn of Dundee. These are hardly ballads in the proper sense, being rather a series of religious adaptations of popular poems, such as Sankey or the Salvation Army have made in modern times. They were strongly Protestant in tone, and carried so far the Scottish tendency to familiar language in dealing with sacred matters as to

describe God as "our gude man." To modern ideas there is much that is ludicrous in such adaptations, as when the refrain of the old duet, "Haud awa', bide awa', haud awa' frae me, Donald," reappears as a religious song with "Deilie" in place of "Donald." It is remarkable how universally hymn-writing has been associated with Protestant movements, and these "ballads," rough as they were, doubtless helped forward the Reformation as a popular impulse, acting in this way as forerunners of the later Wesleyan and other revivalist hymns.

The prose writers in the early Scottish period are chiefly historians. The first of these is John Fordun, a canon of Aberdeen, who died about 1385. He wrote, in Latin, a history of Scotland down to 1153, but left notes carrying the events down to his own time. His *Scotichronicon* is regarded as the best source for the early history of his country. A "continuation" of it to the death of James I. was written by Walter Bower (1385–1449), Abbot of Inchcolm.

Hector Boece, or Boyes (ab. 1465–1536), Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, wrote a Latin history of Scotland, which was translated, or rather paraphrased, into the Scots tongue by John Bellenden in 1533. A sequel to this history, entitled the *Chronicle of Scotland*, was written by Robert Lyndsay of Pitscottie, who is noted for his graphic style, although his details are not always reliable.

One of the earliest pieces of Scots prose is *The Complaynt of Scotland*, by an unknown Catholic author of the first half of the sixteenth century. Dame Scotia complains of various faults in her three sons, who represent people, nobles, and clergy. Labour is first scolded for general "thowlessness." Then the nobles are taken to task, and the hereditary idea is

scouted. "In the past all conspiracies have been originated and fomented by the great, as treason is impossible among the poor." In a truly modern spirit Scotia informs the nobles that "the sone of ane prince, beand destitut of vertu, is no gentil man; ande in opposit ane sone of ane mechanye plebien, beand verteous, he is ane gentil man." The clergy are leniently dealt with, but the burning of heretics is denounced, and reforms are inculcated. Throughout all her harangues, Dame Scotia is clearly of opinion that England is the arch-enemy. The work is of great antiquarian value, as it introduces a list of the tales, songs, dances, and ballads current at that time among the populace.

John Major, Mayor, or Mair (ab. 1470–1550), was one of the most learned men of his time in Europe in scholastic philosophy, and taught in the universities of Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Paris. He may be regarded as the Erasmus of Scotland, because, while he did not break with the Church of Rome, he sought to reform its life from within. His teaching kindled the reforming spirit of George Buchanan, and perhaps of John Knox. He wrote a *Historia Majoris Britanniae*, and a *Historia Gentis Scotorum*.

No British scholar of the time was so universally or so justly celebrated for his scholarship as George Buchanan (1506–82). He is a prime example of the cosmopolitan Scot of the period. Born at Killearn, and educated at St. Andrews and Paris, he taught at Paris, at Bordeaux, and at Coimbra in Portugal, almost half his life in all being spent abroad. At Bordeaux the famous Montaigne was among his pupils. Ultimately he became tutor to young King James VI. While abroad he wrote a Latin metrical version of the Psalms, and it is generally admitted that he handles

Latin in verse or in prose with a surer touch than any other scholar of the modern world. He proved himself as, outspoken a tutor as Lyndsay had been, and his treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, might have uprooted any ideas of divine right in James's brain, if that monarch's common sense had been equal to his scholarship. The treatise is said to have carried much weight with the English parliamentary party during the civil war in the next century. His *Detectio*, published in 1572, contains the sum of the charges against Queen Mary, while the *Chameleon* satirises Maitland. Buchanan, in his later years, wrote a Latin history of Scotland in twenty books, which is generally recognised as being blemished by prejudice. His chief value to his country consisted in the fact so clearly stated by Professor Walker: "In Lyndsay and the Wedderburns we hear the voice of literature appealing to the people against the corruptions of the Church of Rome; in Buchanan the appeal is addressed to the world of scholarship."

During his unusually busy life, John Knox (1505 or 1515–72) contrived to write enough matter to fill six large volumes. This consists partly of such polemical pamphlets as the *Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England*, and the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment* (*Rule*) *of Women.* These pamphlets bore the impress of the hour and of the man. They were intolerant and bigoted at a time when tolerance and broad-mindedness were unknown, and under circumstances which would at any time have rendered the exercise of these virtues impossible. They are the work of a man whom Carlyle declares to have had more of the Hebrew prophet about him than any other of the moderns. The Knox of literature must rather

George Buchanan.
August 1577.

P. 166.

be sought in the *Historie of the Reformation of Religion within the Realme of Scotland.* This book, as the authentic picture of a stirring period by the chief actor in the events of the time, stands in a class apart from ordinary literature, with no fellow except the *Commentaries* of Julius Cæsar. Knox, in spite of a slightly Anglicised style, reveals his inner nature as a real Scot, perfervid in his desire for his country's welfare, keen and inexorable in his schemes of reform, rugged often, and at times even coarse, but with a fund of humour, more frequently dry or grim than boisterous, such as prevents his work from palling upon the reader's taste. Knox is, of course, a keen partisan, but "the term fanatic is hardly applicable to one who combined in such degree the shrewdest worldly sense with ever-ready wit and native humour."

Not far behind Buchanan in his reputation as a scholar came Andrew Melville, Knox's successor in the work of Reformation, who taught not only at Glasgow and St. Andrews, but at Poitiers, Geneva, and Sedan.

As a final testimony to the advanced state of learning and literature in Scotland, it is worthy of note that in 1637 there was published at Amsterdam a collection called *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, containing compositions by thirty-seven Scottish scholars, —a collection which, as Professor Walker says, "represents a world of forgotten lore and buried power. Of the items in this monument of Scottish classical learning, Dr. M'Crie writes: "They are, of course, possessed of very different degrees of merit, but of the collection in general we may say that it is equal to any of the collections of the same kind which appeared in other countries, except that which contains the Latin poems composed by natives of Italy. At no subsequent

period of our history have the languages of Greece and Rome been so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly imitated." The moving spirits in the compilation of this work seem to have been Arthur Johnston, who held the posts of physician to Charles I. and rector of King's College, Aberdeen, and Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, a Scottish judge, who founded the Humanity Chair at St. Andrews.

Surely even from the very meagre sketch given in this chapter of the wealth of Scottish learning and literature, up till the Union of the Crowns, it is abundantly evident how utterly untrue is the very prevalent idea of Scotland as a sort of ragged callant picked out of the gutter by England, and thereafter educated, cared for, clad, and made respectable by the same philanthropic power.

Moreover, the stage of culture attained by Scottish scholars both at home and abroad in the latter part of the period under review makes it distinctly questionable whether Mr. Balfour, in the speech already referred to, did full justice to his country in declaring that after the Reformation, "when other countries, more happily situated than ours, were obtaining from that great change and from the humanistic discoveries, the humanistic developments which accompanied it, all that gives grace and strength and power to modern civilisation, we were, as we cannot, I think, truly deny, left behind in the race."

CHAPTER XII

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL COVENANT.

> "Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
> A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws.
> They stood prepared to die, a people doom'd
> To death,—old men, and youths, and simple maids."
>
> Grahame.

On the death of James vi., in 1625, the thrones of England and Scotland fell to his son Charles, who was born at Dunfermline in 1600.

Charles i. was a monarch who, under happier conditions, might have occupied one of the most enviable positions in the world's annals. His court was seemly and of good repute, and in place of his father's love of buffoonery he manifested a sense of dignity worthy of a king. Unfortunately, however, he had absorbed his father's ridiculous ideas of royal power; and while James had been able by sheer good-natured shuffling and trifling to tide over the difficulties that such ideas gave rise to, the stubborn courage, which was one of Charles's outstanding qualities, led him to force on a settlement of those difficulties, and thereby gradually to alienate the respect and affection of both his kingdoms.

His English troubles were not long in appearing. His first Parliament protested against the practice of Popery in the king's own household, his queen, Henrietta Maria, having brought with her a whole

train of priests from France. The anxiety of his subjects was not allayed when Charles and his favourite, Buckingham, treacherously sent part of the navy of Protestant England to help France to subjugate its Protestant subjects, the Huguenots of La Rochelle. In 1626, Charles dismissed his wife's French priests, and when want of money pressed upon him he filled his coffers by fining his Catholic subjects for exercising their religion. He thus early showed himself the true son of his father in his inconsistency of attitude towards religion and in his utter unreliability, qualities which went far towards precipitating the political and religious quarrels which were even now preparing.

In 1628, in sore need of money, he reluctantly called a Parliament, and having ratified the Petition of Right, whose terms he had no intention of observing, he received such subsidies as satisfied his immediate wants, and dissolved Parliament in the following year. For the next eleven years no Parliament was summoned, and England was ruled by a triumvirate of despots—Charles himself, Wentworth, and Laud.

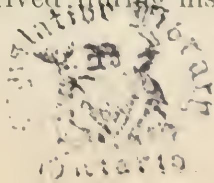
Sir Thomas Wentworth was at first a leader of the parliamentary party who sought to limit the royal power, but after Buckingham's death he espoused the king's cause, and rose steadily in his master's favour. Being appointed to govern Ireland, he ruled with a despotism which seemed justified partly through the state of anarchy in which he found the country, and partly through its apparent success in bringing order out of chaos, but which, while it gained him the title of Earl of Strafford, sowed a terrible crop of insurrection for the near future.

William Laud, who had early in the reign risen into a foremost place in the king's favour, became, in 1628, Bishop of London, and, in 1633, Archbishop of

Canterbury. A man of considerable learning and of undoubted earnestness of purpose, he utterly mistook the temper of the nation, and strove to impose forms and ceremonies obnoxious to the great body of his countrymen by means hateful to any freedom-loving people.

During those eleven years England lay prostrate at the feet of her three tyrannical masters. The money which Parliament alone should have had the right to raise was extorted from unwilling subjects in the form of fines and forced loans. In the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, those who differed in politics or religion from Laud and His Majesty were subjected to ridiculously unfair fines, and to the worse punishment of cruel mutilation. The courageous protest of John Hampden against the illegal tax of "ship-money" was, during this period of tyranny, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Meanwhile, how did it fare with Scotland? Charles first ratified the Five Articles of Perth, and forbade the election of magistrates who refused to subscribe to them. From the Parliament of 1625 he craved funds for foreign wars, and received the handsome grant of £400,000. He next proceeded by the Act of Revocation to despoil the nobles of various titles and benefices. Robbing them, as he did, of grants of land made since the date of Solway Moss, he withdrew from their possession the very prizes with which his father had purchased their support. By so doing he threw those proverbially selfish personages into the arms of the Presbyterian common people. In June 1633 the king visited Scotland for the first time since his accession, for the purpose of being crowned. His coronation took place at Holyrood. Although at first loyally welcomed, he contrived, during his month's stay in the



country to alienate the nobility by his arrogant bearing and conversation, and to disgust the people by the display of Laud's popish or semi-popish mummeries. The bishops had in like manner sorely tried the temper of the nobles by their assumption of superiority. The nation was becoming united in a sullen discontent with the state of matters, and the storm-cloud that threatened the whole island lowered most heavily over the northern kingdom.

Meanwhile, however, a servile session of the Estates ratified, during the king's visit, all the Acts of James VI. regarding religious matters, and assented to the Act of Revocation. It also accorded Charles a welcome grant of money.

The king and Laud were far from satisfied with the position of apparent triumph over Presbyterianism bequeathed to them by James VI. Accordingly, in 1636, a Book of Canons (*Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical*) was formulated by royal warrant for the government of the Scottish Church, abolishing presbyteries, kirk sessions, and even the office of elder, and placing entire power in the hands of the bishops. In the following year, in order to bring even the forms and ritual of the Church into conformity with those of England, a new Church Service Book, based on the Book of Common Prayer, but altered by Laud into greater conformity with Romish forms, was published, and orders were issued on the king's sole authority that the book should be introduced in all the Scottish churches on Sabbath, 23rd July 1637. The attempt of Dean Hanna to obey this order in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, in presence of the Archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, and the Lords of the Privy Council and Court of Session, led to the famous riot initiated by a woman of the trading class, to whom tradition has

assigned the name of Jenny Geddes. The rioters interrupted the service, and, after being expelled from the church, continued the tumult in the street. According to the report of the Privy Council to the king, this rising affected only the lower orders of the people, but the irritation of which it was the outcome was general throughout the country, and it acted as the signal for similar disturbances in other parts.

To the Scottish hatred of display in religious forms was now added a natural feeling of resentment at the attempt to force upon the country a ritual imported from the southern kingdom. The great mines of suppressed indignation throughout the land were fired at last, and from every district of the Lowlands people came trooping into Edinburgh—nobles, ministers, and commons—inspired with the old Bannockburn spirit of "no surrender."

Their purpose was to make a united protest against the action of the king, and to await his answer. The answer came on 18th October, and consisted of a command that all strangers should leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. Thereupon a protest against the foisting of Episcopacy upon the nation was drawn up and signed by twenty-four noblemen and hundreds of gentlemen. It could no longer be said that only the lower classes were concerned in the quarrel; and when the common people, after mauling one of the bishops in the street, laid siege to the town council, the latter body at once joined the popular cause. In order to allay the general excitement, an arrangement was arrived at between the people and the Privy Council whereby the multitudes dispersed to their homes, leaving four committees of four each, drawn respectively from the nobles, the gentry, the clergy, and the citizens, to look after their interests. This

body of sixteen men, who went by the name of "The Tables," demanded the withdrawal of the liturgy and of the Book of Canons.

In February 1638 the king issued a proclamation supporting all the proceedings of the bishops, and condemning petitions as acts of conspiracy. When the proclamation was made at Stirling, it was formally protested against by Lords Lindsay ànd Home, and a similar protest was made in the capital and other towns where it was read. The king had now set himself above the laws by despotically altering the constitution of the Church, and by denying the right of petitioning; so "The Tables," finding strong measures necessary, recalled the people to Edinburgh, and on the suggestion of a young lawyer, Archibald Johnston of Warriston, it was determined to draw up a Scottish National Covenant.

This momentous document, which gave its name to the Covenanters and to the Covenanting movement, was not the first of those agreements which have entitled Scotland to be called a "land of covenants." The practice of formulating such bonds arose in Stuart times out of the occasional alliances of various nobles for political purposes.

The first Covenant of a religious character was that entered into by a small body of Scottish nobles (Argyll, Glencairn, Lorn, Morton, and Erskine of Dun) in December 1557 at a most important juncture in our country's history, when Mary of Guise was doing her utmost to bolster up the falling Catholic Church in Scotland, and to render our land a mere appanage of France. These lords promised "to apply their whole power, substance, and very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God."

In 1581, through fear of Jesuit influence in the

country, a similar document was drawn up by John Craig, one of the king's chaplains, and formerly a colleague of Knox. As this covenant was signed by James VI. himself, it is frequently called the King's Confession or the King's Covenant. It is also known as the Negative Confession, from its denial of Romish doctrine.

The National Covenant of 1638 was formulated by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, and by Archibald Johnston of Warriston, and revised by Loudoun and other lords. Its first part was founded on the King's Covenant, abjuring the doctrines of Rome, and professing the Reformed Faith. The second part consisted of a summary of all the Scottish Acts of Parliament directed against Popery and in favour of Presbyterianism. In the third part, the subscribers swore to continue in their profession of faith against all errors and corruptions, and to support the religion, liberties, and laws of the realm.

What was essentially new in this Covenant as compared with any of its predecessors was its national and popular character, which was so pronounced that it has come to be known *par excellence* as "The Covenant."

On Wednesday, 28th February 1638, the Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh was thronged with an enthusiastic and unanimous band of Scottish Presbyterians. After a prayer by Henderson, Johnston read aloud that Covenant for which he was one day to die, and among the speeches delivered was one by the Earl of Loudoun : "We know no other bands between a king and his subjects than those of religion and of the laws ; and if these are broken, men's lives are no longer dear to them. Threatened we shall not be : such fears are past with us."

Among the first to sign were Lords Home, Lindsay, and Loudoun, and, from their later career, the names of Montrose, Rothes, and Grierson of Lag call for notice.

After all in the church had signed, the document was taken out and laid upon one of the flat tombstones in the churchyard, where thousands of signatures were eagerly added. Never since the days of the War of Independence had such a wave of enthusiasm swept over Scotland. Written and printed copies of the Covenant were carried throughout the length and breadth of the land, and no persuasion was needed to secure signatures. Aberdeen was the only important town in which the Covenanters were in a minority.

Archbishop Spottiswoode exclaimed in despair, "They have thrown down in a day what we have been thirty years in building." He and most of his Episcopal colleagues fled to England. Thus was heralded that fifty years' struggle of the Covenanters which ended only with the Revolution of 1689, and the establishment of British constitutional liberty.

The Lord Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, when appealed to by the king with a view to the prosecution of the Covenanters for treason, unflinchingly declared the Covenant to be legal, and in no wise a treasonable document.

The boldness of the Covenanters increased with their strength, and they now demanded the abolition of the High Commission Court, the withdrawal of the Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination, and the Service Book, the summoning of a free Parliament, and the restoration of the General Assembly. Charles sent the Marquess of Hamilton to Scotland as his High Commissioner. His instructions were to gain time by making such terms as might wheedle the Scots

W. Hole, R.S.A.

SIGNING THE NATIONAL COVENANT IN GREYFRIARS' CHURCHYARD.

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P. 176.

into departing from their adherence to the Covenant, the king declaring that "so long as this damnable Covenant continued he should have no more power than a duke of Venice." Hamilton was further commanded to treat as rebels all those who held to the Covenant, although his royal master significantly added the caution, "I do not expect that you should declare the adherers to the Covenant traitors until you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland."

After various negotiations, involving two journeys to London, during which he convinced Charles that "the adherers to the Covenant" were practically the whole of the Scottish nation, Hamilton returned in September 1638 with the king's consent to the holding of a General Assembly, and with the promise of a free Parliament and the abolition of the High Commission Court.

When the Assembly, consisting of 140 clergymen and 100 laymen, met in Glasgow Cathedral on 21st November, with Henderson as Moderator and Johnston as Clerk, it was at once apparent that its members were not prepared for any half measures. On the seventh day of the meeting the question was discussed "whether the Assembly were competent judges of the bishops," whereupon the Royal Commissioner declared that they were exceeding their powers; and having formally dissolved the Assembly on 29th November he left the meeting, followed by the Privy Council, with the exception of Argyll. Undeterred by this discouragement the Assembly continued its deliberations, and proceeded to declare Episcopacy to be abolished and Presbyterianism re-established. The Liturgy, the Book of Canons, and the Five Articles of Perth were condemned. The bishops were

formally deposed for Popery, and eight of them excommunicated for alleged offences in private life. Not till 20th December did the Assembly dissolve itself. From a strictly legal point of view the validity of its judgments were open to serious question, but nevertheless the Assembly voiced the sentiments of the whole Scottish nation, and set an example of courageous resistance to tyranny which the English Puritans were quick to follow.

In the following year Charles determined to reduce the Scots to subjection by force of arms. Richelieu, the French Cardinal, offered to help him; and when Charles disdainfully refused his assistance the crafty Frenchman, in the hope of causing trouble to Charles, sent a contribution of 100,000 crowns to the Scots.

But the Scottish people had assets more valuable than French silver or gold to rely upon. They had confidence in the justice of their cause, and they had soldiers fit to see their quarrel through. After the Union of the Crowns many adventurous Scots, finding no outlet at home for their energies, crossed to the Continent and enlisted in various foreign armies, where large numbers of them rose to distinction. The service of Gustavus Adolphus, the patriot king of Sweden and champion of Protestantism, was specially attractive to those soldiers of fortune, and at one time there were nearly a hundred Scottish colonels and lieutenant-colonels in the Swedish army, while no fewer than 10,000 Scots served in the rank and file. A Scot, Alexander Erskine, rose to be War Minister to Gustavus. The most famous of those Scottish soldiers was Alexander Leslie, who had risen from the ranks to the dignity of field-marshal, and had specially distinguished himself in the defence of Stralsund against Wallenstein. Leslie returned home late in

1638 in the hour of his country's need, and "old, little, crooked soldier" as he now was, he showed, by his energy in importing munitions of war from Holland and Sweden and in summoning home Scottish officers from various lands, besides occupying Edinburgh Castle and other strongholds, that he had lost none of his genius for organisation.

When Charles, then, advanced towards the Tweed in May 1639, the Scots, under Alexander Leslie, to the number of 22,000 foot and 500 horse, confidently marched to meet him, and took up a strong position on Duns Law in Berwickshire. Above the encampment of each company floated the blue St. Andrew's banner of Scotland, bearing in golden letters the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Twenty noblemen were in the Scottish lines and forty cannons threatened the royal forces. Finding himself completely checkmated, the king came to terms; and on receiving an assurance that a free Assembly and a free Parliament would be summoned the Scots disbanded, but retained their officers on half pay. This arrangement, made in June, was known as the Pacification of Berwick. Montrose had meanwhile cowed Huntly and his adherents in the north. So ended the "First Bishops' War."

The General Assembly, which met in August, once more abolished Episcopacy; but when the Parliament, in June 1640, was proceeding to confirm this action it was prorogued by the king's command, and Charles once more determined to use force. In order to raise money, he had called together an English Parliament in April 1640, the first for eleven years; but, as it proved unwilling to submit to his demands without some corresponding return, he dismissed it in little more than a month. Strafford, however, extorted

a quarter of a million pounds from the Irish, and with this, added to such money as the Church could raise for him, Charles had to be content. In August 1640 the royal cavalry advanced to Newcastle; but the Scots, to the number of over 20,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, met them on English soil, about five miles from Newcastle, and inflicted a defeat which Clarendon called "that infamous irreparable rout at Newburn." Newcastle, Shields, and Durham fell one after another into the hands of the Scots, and at last they mastered the four northern counties. From this position of vantage the Scots presented their demands to the king. Charles in despair applied to Strafford for 20,000 Irish to subdue his Scottish subjects; but as these were not forthcoming, he was compelled once more to summon an English Parliament in the hope of quelling the Scots. When Parliament met in November they had other ends in view than the granting of money, for there were the myriad oppressions and tyrannies of Charles and his minions during the past eleven years to call to account. It was the presence of that Scottish army in the north of England that enabled the English Parliament and people to "get to their feet" in the struggle with the king, and that shaped the destinies of the country for the next twenty years. One of the earliest actions of this Parliament (which is known to history as the famous "Long Parliament") was to condemn and execute Strafford (May 1641); and as the king now began to realise that the temper of England was aroused, he made such concessions and promises to the Scots by the Treaty of Ripon that they returned home in June, and disbanded in August. To this rising the name of the "Second Bishops' War" is often applied.

During a three months' visit of the king to Scotland in the latter part of this year, there occurred the Irish Rising. The strong hand of Strafford being removed, the Irish Catholics rose in rebellion in October and perpetrated an appalling massacre of Protestants. Ere the tumult subsided 50,000 Protestants, according to J. R. Green, fell as victims to religious hatred and revenge.

While Charles was in Edinburgh there occurred, on 11th October, an episode known as "The Incident." Alexander Leslie warned Argyll, Hamilton, and Lanark, the brother of the latter, that he had received information of a plot to seize them and carry them on board a royal frigate at Leith. These lords accordingly withdrew to Kinneil House, near Bo'ness, and refused to meet the king. It is not clear whether Charles was really involved in this concern.

The duty of ruling his three kingdoms was fast becoming too heavy for the unfortunate and misguided monarch. On 1st December the English Parliament presented to him a Remonstrance containing over 200 clauses, and detailing all the abuses of his reign. Early in January 1642 the attempt of the king to arrest five members of Parliament aroused the indignation of the House of Commons and of the metropolis. In February, on receiving information that Charles was intriguing with foreign Powers against his own subjects, the Parliament demanded control of the army, which Charles refused to surrender even for an hour. Soon afterwards Charles and his escort were refused admission to Hull by a Parliamentary general, and the king's remonstrance to Parliament was thus answered: "This mistaken idea of kings, that kingdoms were their own and that they might rule them as they pleased, is the root of all tyranny."

The Scots Commissioners, seeing that the quarrel between king and Parliament was becoming serious, offered to mediate in the dispute; but, while the English Parliament thanked them for their kind offices, the king indignantly repudiated their interference, and by 22nd August 1642 he had unfurled his banner at Nottingham. The great Civil War had begun.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

> "The Solemn League and Covenant
> Now brings a smile, now brings a tear:
> But Sacred Freedom, too, was theirs:
> If thou'rt a slave, indulge thy sneer!"
>
> Burns.

When the Civil War in England was seen to be inevitable, both sides — king and Parliament — sent messages to the Scots asking for their sympathy and support. A war within the borders of Britain could not in any case be a matter of indifference to the Scottish people, and their interest was naturally all the greater in a struggle involving principles which had so often formed subjects of dispute within their own borders. It was accordingly decided to hold Scotland in a state of preparation, ready for any emergency that might arise; and when the war broke out in earnest the Scots at first stood by as interested spectators, fully conscious of their power to act as arbiters in the strife by throwing their influence into whichever scale they should choose.

Their recent history gave a very obvious direction to their prejudices and sympathies in the contest, and when commissioners arrived in the Scottish Convention of Estates from the English Parliament, asking for speedy help, their appeal fell on no unwilling ears. The help rendered to Scottish Protestantism by

England eighty years before had not been forgotten, and the Convention, in spite of the adverse influence of the Privy Council, heartily agreed to send a Scottish army to the help of the English Puritans. An alliance between the Parliaments of the two kingdoms was accordingly entered into, and its religious character was emphasised in the name of the "Solemn League and Covenant."

According to this agreement both countries were to strive for the uprooting of Prelacy and Popery, and to "labour for the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and of Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and polity, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches." The liberty of Parliament and people was the chief political principle to be aimed at. This alliance was ratified on 17th August 1643 by the Scottish Convention and General Assembly, and soon after received the sanction of the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster, as well as that of both the English Houses of Parliament.

In reference to the relative parts played by the two parties to this compact, J. H. Burton appositely remarks: "Of the two states thus united, the small state had ardour and strength sufficient to drag the larger state along with it; for Scotland began the contest which, after becoming so memorable in British history, influenced the fate of the whole civilised world."

As reference has been made to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the constitution and career of that body may be here briefly outlined. It was selected by the English Parliament in June 1643, and consisted of ten peers, twenty commoners, and one hundred and twenty-one clergymen. The few Scots Commissioners included Johnston of Warriston, along

with such famous divines as Henderson, Baillie, and Samuel Rutherford. Numbering only seven amid so large a body of Englishmen, the Scottish delegates chose to give advice without voting, in order that the decisions of the Assembly might not be binding on Scotland. In view of this, it is somewhat odd that only in Scotland, and in districts where Scottish influence prevails, as in Ulster and in parts of our Colonies, is the work of the Assembly now considered as of much importance, and that there the documents drawn up by that body are still regarded with a sort of semi-superstitious reverence. These documents included the Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, together with a Directory for Public Worship. Having produced these formulæ, the Assembly was closed in 1648. The Confession of Faith was adopted by the Scottish General Assembly in 1647, and the Catechisms in the following year. The assent of the Scots Estates followed. The popular metrical version of the Psalms dates from the same period.

To return to the state of affairs in 1643, the prospect of establishing Presbyterianism in England proved so acceptable to the Scots that by the end of 1643 a Scottish army of 18,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry had been got together under the command of the veteran Alexander Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven, and his equally famous nephew David, afterwards Lord Newark. The English agreed to pay £30,000 per month for the services of this force, and the navy of England was, if required, to guard the Scottish coasts. In January 1644 the Scots advanced across the border, and ere many months had passed they engaged in a determined siege of York, one of the chief Royalist strongholds. Up till this juncture any

engagements between the opposing English forces had been of a very indecisive character, but now one of the turning-points of the struggle had been reached.

The Scots were joined by Lord Fairfax, and later by Cromwell, while on the Royalist side Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Newcastle marched to the help of the besieged city. The opposing armies, each numbering about 25,000, met at Marston Moor, some five miles from York, on 2nd July, when a desperate engagement took place. The early part of the battle was a drawn contest, one wing of each army defeating its opponents. Later in the day the Royalists were utterly defeated, with a loss of three to four thousand men ; and it is generally recognised that the victory of the Parliamentary forces was mainly due to Cromwell with his Ironsides and to the Scottish cavalry under David Leslie. In estimating the relative credit due to these two sections of the Puritan forces, it is to be remembered that Cromwell commanded only 300 horsemen. "With unpardonable mendacity," however, as Dr. J. King Hewison points out, "Cromwell accepted all the credit of the victory accorded to him by the Independent party, and concealed the splendid feats of the Scots, who undoubtedly rescued both Cromwell and the English army from destruction." Six days after the battle York surrendered.

While the Scots were thus assisting to dislodge the royal forces from their strongholds in the north of England, a new hope for the king's cause sprang up in the most unexpected of all quarters, namely in Scotland itself. The Marquess of Montrose, who had formerly been a leading Covenanter, but who had not favoured the alliance with England, raised the king's standard in the spring of 1644, and by the autumn he had under his command a force of 3000 men, chiefly

Highlanders and Irishmen. Gaining a victory over the Covenanters at Tippermuir near Perth in September, he allowed his rough followers to harry the Fair City at will, and soon afterwards Aberdeen met with a similar fate. It is strange to reflect that it was Montrose who, in 1639, had reduced Aberdeen to a state of apparent conformity with the Covenanting movement.

He next turned his attention to Argyll's country of Glenorchy, and thereafter entering Lochaber he inflicted a sharp defeat on Argyll himself at Inverlochy (February 1645). In April he reduced the town of Dundee.

The meteor-like course of the marquess throughout Scotland so brightened the king's prospects that when Parliament offered him reasonable terms of accommodation early in 1645 he rejected them with contempt. That same year, however, was to witness the utter demolition of his hopes of success both in England and Scotland.

On 14th June, Charles himself suffered a complete and irretrievable defeat at Naseby in Northamptonshire. Besides the loss of 600 killed, 5000 of his men were taken prisoners; and the fact that his private papers fell into his enemies' hands, exposing much of his intriguing conduct, rendered hopes of a fair settlement much less bright than formerly.

Montrose's career of success was not yet at an end, and he won brilliant victories on fields so far apart as Auldearn in Nairnshire (May 1645), Alford on the Don in Aberdeenshire (July), and Kilsyth in Stirlingshire (15th August). In the latter engagement Montrose, with a much inferior force, inflicted a bloody and total defeat on 7000 Covenanters. Dr. Hewison characterises this battle as a "sordid massacre of chicken-hearted

rustics impressed into war." But the Scots leaders in England had now leisure to direct their attention to him, and in September, David Leslie, marching northwards, encountered the gallant marquess's forces at Philiphaugh, on the banks of the Ettrick, near Selkirk, where, with the advantage of superior numbers, he fell upon Montrose in the early morning of the 13th, and won a complete and decisive victory. The Highlanders gradually wandered back to their mountains, and the king's cause in Scotland was lost as hopelessly as in the southern kingdom. Montrose took refuge on the Continent early in the following year. One episode blots the fame of Leslie's victory—the shooting of more than a hundred Irish prisoners after the battle. Among them were some female camp-followers! Ever since the Irish massacre of 1641 the natives of that "distressful country" had been regarded by the extreme Protestant party as almost outwith the pale of civilisation. While Leslie's action may be partly excused on the ground of the atrocities committed by these Irish followers of Montrose in their own hour of triumph, he would probably have sought no such excuse himself, as he acted simply in the spirit which had induced the English Parliament to decree in 1644 that "no quarter shall be given hereafter to any Irishman, nor to any Papist whatever born in Ireland, who shall be taken in hostility against the Parliament."

Charles was now reduced to desperate straits. Having failed to bribe stout Alexander Leslie to desert with the Scots to his side, and having intrigued in vain for the services of 10,000 kernes from Ireland, he resolved to surrender to the Scots in the hope of gaining them over by concessions, and of playing them and the English Presbyterians off against the more extreme

party which, with Republican principles, and under the name of "Independents," was gradually gaining the ascendancy amongst the English Puritans.

In May 1646, accordingly, he gave himself up to the Scots at Newark-on-Trent, and, after a futile attempt to corrupt the younger Leslie, he endeavoured to come to terms. On most points the Scots proved willing to meet him half-way: on one point they were inexorable,—he must sign or agree to the Solemn League and Covenant,—and on this point the king was as stubborn as they. In July the English Commissioners offered their terms to the king, and the Scots advised him to accept these. The Earl of Loudoun, in urging him to adopt this course, thus warned him, "If you lose England by your wilfulness, you will not be permitted to come and reign in Scotland." But as the Scots had from the first no desire to dethrone the king, being solely determined to reduce his powers within constitutional and reasonable limits, Loudoun declared that if the king accepted the Parliament's terms, the Scots were "willing to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for establishing his throne and just right." The king received similar advice from his queen, the French court, and various Scottish cities, but his proud infatuation rendered him proof against all argument.

As the English Puritan army gained in strength, their gratitude to the Scots for their invaluable help had steadily waned; and now that the war was at an end, complaints were made against the occupation by the Scots of various English cities such as Newcastle. The Scottish leaders accordingly offered to withdraw their forces, but stipulated that some attempt should be made to meet the debt so long overdue to their army on the part of the Parliament. The demand was

not made in a purely mercenary tone, for they reminded the English that their services were mainly a matter of principle. "Upon the invitation of both Houses the kingdom of Scotland did cheerfully undertake, and hath faithfully managed, their assistance to this kingdom in pursuance of the ends expressed in the Covenant; and the forces of the common enemy being, by the blessing of God upon the joint endeavours of both kingdoms, now broken and subdued, a foundation is laid and some good progress made in the reformation of religion, which we trust the honourable houses will, according to the Covenant, sincerely, really, and constantly prosecute till it be perfected." As a result of these negotiations the Scottish army received the thanks of Parliament, and were forthwith paid £100,000, due since 1643. The balance of over a million pounds due to the Scots was compounded for £400,000, one half of which was to be paid at once.

A discussion was next entered into with regard to the king's person, the point in dispute being "not who should have the king, but who should not have him." The Scots once more tried to induce Charles to sign the Covenant, and solemnly pointed out the consequences of refusal. "If your Majesty shall either deny or delay your assent to the propositions, we are in that case to represent to your Majesty the resolution of the Parliament in England." All attempts at settlement having once more failed, the Scottish Parliament decided in January 1647 to hand over the king to the English Parliament on very definite terms, for example that "no peace nor agreement be made by either kingdom with the king without the other, according to the late treaty between the kingdoms." In regard to the king himself, it was stipulated that "there shall no harm, prejudice, injury, or violence be done to the

royal person." On such express understandings as these the Scottish army on 30th January handed over the king, evacuated Newcastle, and set out upon its homeward journey. It is necessary to go thus fully into the details of this arrangement in order to show the complete absence of either justice or good taste in the well-known English taunt:

"Dirty Scot,
Sold his king for a groat!"

Professor Hume Brown says: "That the coincidence of the payment of arrears and the handing over of Charles should be malevolently construed by party feeling was in the nature of things: calmly viewed in the light of actual facts, the conduct of the Scots bears no such construction." The withdrawal of the Scottish army may be regarded as ending the formal alliance between the Parliaments of the two countries; and even had the story of the struggles between the Stuarts and their subjects ended here, we should have had no cause to be ashamed of Scotland's share in the contest. She it was who first showed the necessary mettle to defy the tyrant and to arm in defence of her liberty. She it was who intervened to turn the swaying balance to the popular side; and if guilt attaches to the subsequent English treatment of the king, Scotland's hands are free of it.

Charles had not been long in English keeping ere the new "Independent" or Republican party, which was headed by Cromwell, and which comprised most of the army leaders, got the upper hand of the Presbyterian Parliament, and resolved upon the king's death. Charles, having some inkling of his probable fate at their hands, contrived to escape to the Isle of Wight, and to set on foot negotiations with the Duke of

Hamilton, the Earls of Loudoun and Lauderdale, and others. The king promised to give the Covenant and Presbyterianism three years' trial, and the Scottish Parliament which met in March 1648 presented various demands to the English; for example, that the king (who had been recaptured) should be allowed to reside in safety and freedom in London, and that the Covenant and Presbyterianism should be adopted in England in terms of the agreement of 1643. The Scottish General Assembly, as well as Argyll and other nobles, objected to these demands as impracticable. Nevertheless, when the terms were refused by Cromwell's party, the majority of the Scottish Parliament, seeing that the king's life was in serious danger, resolved to send an army into England on his behalf. Those who favoured this movement were known as the "Engagers."

The command of this force was refused by David Leslie, who held to Argyll's party, and the army was therefore entrusted to the Duke of Hamilton. Under this incapable leader, and having no great sympathy with their errand, the Scots, along with some English and Irish allies, fell an easy prey to the disciplined troops of Cromwell and Lambert, and were totally defeated in Preston and its neighbourhood in August 1648. (Hamilton was executed in the following March.)

While the Scottish army was absent in England the General Assembly again condemned the purpose of the expedition. David Leslie and Argyll raised some six thousand men, and contrived by a "Whigamores' Raid" to expel the Committee of Estates, who had engineered the invasion of England contrary to public wishes.

Meanwhile Charles seemed on the eve of coming to some agreement with the English Presbyterians, when Cromwell in December 1648 resolved on desperate measures. He cleared out the Presbyterian members

of Parliament by military force, and a month later, on 19th January 1649, the king, who by Cromwell's orders had been forcibly removed some time previously from parliamentary control, was placed on trial for treason before a "High Court of Justice," consisting entirely of Independents who had resolved upon his doom beforehand. On 27th January, Bradshaw, as Lord President of the court, pronounced sentence of death against him as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation," and three days later Charles was led out to be publicly executed in front of Whitehall Palace. Like his grandmother, Mary of Scots, Charles appears at his best in the final hours of his life. He was attended on the scaffold by Bishop Juxon, and at the bishop's request the king declared his unwavering devotion to his religion: "I die a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father." His courage at the last was as that of a martyr, and the details of his hurried trial and execution read like the scenes of some horrid nightmare. Yet there was a dramatic fitness in the illegality and brutal coolness of his condemnation. "He had drawn the sword, and by the sword he perished, for it was the army, not Parliament, that stood at the back of his judges."

The Scottish Commissioners sent to London by the Estates had done their best to avert the grim catastrophe, and now that the king had perished, the division of opinion in Scotland largely disappeared. The long-rooted loyalty to their ancient royal house—however unworthy the individuals of that house had proved—rose supreme above all other considerations, and within a week the Scots proclaimed the king's son as Charles II., with the stipulation that the Covenant

should be observed, and the Scottish form of religion protected. The Scottish Parliament twice sent their conditions and offers to Charles, first at The Hague, and then at Breda; but Charles purposely delayed coming to definite terms, for Montrose, who had withdrawn to the Continent after his defeat at Philiphaugh, promised to gain him his kingdom by conquest instead of by stipulation. He endeavoured to rouse the Highlands on his prince's behalf, but was defeated in Ross-shire, and falling into his enemies' hands was executed at Edinburgh in May 1650, four of his officers meeting a similar fate.

Charles now sailed for Scotland, and arrived in July at the mouth of the Spey. Before landing he signed both Covenants. The newcomer and his people proved utterly unsuited to each other. Even now, at the age of twenty, he had entered on his long career of dissipation and profligacy, and the round of sermons and prayers that greeted his arrival were to him a veritable weariness of the flesh. For his covenanted word he cared but little indeed, and he regarded Scotland simply as the ladder which was to help him to climb to his English throne, and which was thereafter to be spurned aside at will.

The news of Charles's arrival brought northwards in hot haste the ever tireless Cromwell, fresh from his irresistible career of conquest throughout Ireland. Marching upon Edinburgh he found Arthur's Seat, the Castle, and Calton Hill so strongly guarded by Leslie that in the end of August, after being held at bay for nearly a month, and losing thousands of men through the hardships of the campaign, he retired towards his ships at Dunbar. There, besides inflicting a night defeat on the English, Leslie hemmed him in so completely between the hills and the sea that Cromwell

seemed face to face with the first disaster in his military career. He himself wrote that he could not escape "without almost a miracle." The miracle came, but it came from the stupidity of man. The clergy, those leaders of the Scottish Church to whom Cromwell had recently written, "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken," were present in some numbers in Leslie's camp. Their advice, it is said, overruled the Scottish general's practical skill and knowledge, and to Cromwell's utter amazement the Scots descended from their strong hill position to the plain. Well might he exclaim, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hand!"

Although the Scots were twice as numerous as their opponents, they suffered a rout so thorough as to earn for this battle the name of "Dunbar Drove" (3rd September 1650). The slain numbered 3000, while 5000 prisoners were taken, many of whom were sent off as slaves to the plantations. Cromwell now entered Edinburgh, while Leslie contented himself with fortifying Stirling, and so staying the advance of the invader.

Undismayed even by this crushing blow, the Scots proceeded formally to crown their new king at Scone on New Year's Day, 1651. The Scots may be regarded at this time as falling into three main groups. Those Covenanters who for any reason objected to the coronation of Charles were known as Protesters or Remonstrants, from a Remonstrance presented by them to the Estates in October 1650. Those who supported the king on the ground of his agreeing to the Covenant were called Resolutioners, from a Resolution passed by the Estates in November condemning the Remonstrance. Lastly, the Episcopal or Divine Right party were called Malignants by the supporters of the

Covenant. It was a temporary alliance between the second and third of these groups that made possible the coronation of Charles. After the terms on which he was to receive the crown had been read to him, Charles replied, "I do esteem the affections of my good people more than the crowns of many kingdoms; and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness." This outburst was followed by a solemn oath and promise to uphold the Covenants and Presbyterianism. When the king had thus perjured his false soul for the sake of his crown, he was addressed by Robert Douglas, who had been chaplain to the Scots forces of Gustavus Adolphus, in words to which the king's subsequent career lends almost the inspiration of prophecy: "Your throne is the Lord's throne: beware of making it a throne of iniquity. There is such a throne, which frameth mischief by a law. God will not own such a throne: it hath no fellowship with Him. Sir, there is already too much iniquity upon the throne by your predecessors, who framed such laws as have been destructive to religion and grievous to the Lord's people."

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE RESTORATION.

"Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd."
Milton.

In the year after his victory at Dunbar, Cromwell overran Fife, and even advanced to Perth. Charles took advantage of this movement, and slipping southwards, against the advice of Argyll and Loudoun, engaged in a bold but foolish invasion of England. The English showed no inclination to join the cause of the youthful monarch, and Cromwell, hurrying after the Scots army, overtook it at Worcester. It was exactly a year from the date of Dunbar, and once more Cromwell defeated the Scots on his "lucky day," 3rd September; but he described the battle as "a stiff business—as stiff a contest for four or five hours as I have ever seen." This victory Cromwell properly regarded as his "crowning mercy," and there was now no hope left for the king but in flight. After forty-five days of wandering, amid various hair-breadth escapes, Charles succeeded in embarking in a vessel bound for France. The "honours" of Scotland (crown, sceptre, and sword of state) after being stored for a time in Dunnottar Castle, were hidden by reverent hands under a parish pulpit in Kincardineshire to await the restoration of

monarchy. General Monk, acting under Cromwell's orders, subdued Stirling and sacked Dundee. Scotland became "incorporated" with the English Commonwealth, thirty Scottish members being provided for in the Parliaments at Westminster in 1654 and 1656, and the Scottish and English arms being quartered as those of the Commonwealth.

The next eight years are by many regarded as the most humbling period in Scotland's annals, and the dispersion of the General Assembly in July 1653 by an armed force, together with the general acquiescence of the people in Cromwell's government, certainly lends some colour to this idea. But it is a mistake to represent the position of Scotland as that of a conquered country. The whole island was emerging from a state of civil war, in which the question at issue had been at first Tyranny and Divine Right against Constitutionalism. In that phase of the contest, from 1643 to 1647, Cromwell and the Scots had fought side by side and triumphed. From 1648 onwards the combat lay between Constitutional Monarchy and Republicanism based on military power. In that struggle Cromwell, as military dictator, imposed his power for a brief period upon both England and Scotland; and, as we have mentioned, he admitted Scotsmen to assist in his futile attempts at parliamentary government. The war was not one of nation against nation, but of party against party. In his foreign achievements Cromwell received valuable help from Scotsmen, the captor of Dunkirk, for example, being a Scot, Sir William Lockhart.

In Scotland itself justice was fairly administered; free trade with England was established, and lasted till the Navigation Act was passed at the Restoration. The country was peaceful and religious, the synods and

presbyteries being freely allowed to meet. In fact, under Cromwell's rule Scotland was less "subdued" than England, as she was ruled by men of her own calibre, grave and God-fearing. The state of matters at this period is thus described by Kirkton, a Presbyterian writer of the time: "Every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea, in most of the country, all the children of age could read the Scriptures. . . . Nobody complained more of our Church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was—their trade was broke, people were become so sober." Thus was Scotland gradually but surely prepared for the genuine ordeal of attempted subjugation which she was so soon to endure, and throughout which her populace stood forth as almost the sole defenders in these islands of liberty of conscience, the sole opponents of absolutism in Church and State, fighting the battle they had already helped England to fight against Charles I., and seeing it through to a successful issue thirty years after Cromwell's short interlude of military despotism was at an end.

During the Commonwealth period, with its inculcation of tolerant principles, various sects, such as the Quakers, got their heads above water in both countries. Thus was inaugurated a characteristic of British religion which to foreigners sometimes presents a humorous aspect,—the numerous bodies into which Protestantism has subdivided itself. But while these bodies, of which the Plymouth Brethren and the Salvation Army are excellent modern examples, may often divide themselves off by very frail partitions from other sections of the Church, they undoubtedly serve to keep alive religious fervour to an extent which could not be experienced under the guise of a surface union.

Cromwell died in September 1658, and, his son having failed to carry on the government, the country lay at the mercy of its own army. Ultimately General Monk marched from Scotland to London in November 1659, and decided to call a free Parliament—the first that had met for seven years. It was resolved to recall Charles as king; and having by the Declaration of Breda agreed to accept the throne on definite terms, which included a general pardon and a promise of religious toleration to all, Charles entered Whitehall in triumph in May 1660, being received with such general acclamations of welcome that he humorously apologised for having been so long in coming.

Scarcely had the Restoration been thus simply accomplished when Charles issued orders for the arrest of three of the leading Scottish Presbyterians, while the Marquess of Argyll, being decoyed to London by an apparently friendly letter, was treacherously seized in Whitehall itself and imprisoned in the Tower. In the same year James Sharp, minister of Crail, who had been sent to London to safeguard the interests of the Presbyterian Church, sent his countrymen a letter from the king in which he assured them of his determination to preserve the government of their Church "as settled by law."

The Earl of Lauderdale, a renegade Covenanter, was chosen by the king as Secretary of the Privy Council. Early in 1661 a Scottish Parliament met, with Earl Middleton, another ex-Covenanter, as Royal Commissioner, and it soon proved to be as servile and reactionary in its character as the Parliament then sitting in England. It declared that to the king belonged the right of deciding on war and peace, of appointing State officials, and of summoning or dismissing Parliament. We can readily believe the assertion

that the majority were in a state of drunkenness when they passed the Rescissory Act, which annulled at one stroke every law passed since 1638, condemned both Covenants, and declared the government of the Church to be a privilege of the king!

The Marquess of Argyll was brought to Edinburgh in February of the following year, and in May was condemned to death on the preposterous charge of having acquiesced in Cromwell's government, as every British subject had been compelled to do! After his sentence Argyll declared, "I could die as a Roman, but choose rather to die as a Christian." His speech on the scaffold acquires a dramatic appropriateness in the light of the next thirty years' events: "There is a sad dilemma in this business—*sin* or *suffer*; and surely he that will choose the better part will choose to suffer." He added, "I had the honour to set the crown on the king's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own!"

A few days later, on 1st June, James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, was executed, after eight months' imprisonment, nominally for writing a book on the *Causes of God's Wrath upon the Nation*. In a speech of about an hour's duration, delivered on the scaffold, he declared that the Covenants were still binding on both kingdoms, and finally he exclaimed in triumph: "The Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving." With Guthrie died, at the age of thirty-eight, William Govan, a Covenanter who had sided with Cromwell during the Commonwealth period. He ascended the scaffold with the stinging taunt against Middleton: "The commissioner and I went out to the fields together for one cause. I have now the cord about my neck, and he is promoted to be His Majesty's commissioner: yet for a thousand worlds I would not change lots with him."

The king frequently expressed the opinion that "Presbyterianism is no fit religion for a gentleman," and in accordance with this view he sent a mandate to Scotland, ordering the renunciation of that religion. And now he made the astounding declaration that owing to the Rescissory Act his promise to support Scottish religion, "as established by law," meant the government by bishops as during the reign of his father and grandfather of blessed memory! The fawning Privy Council agreed to this villainous deception, forbade all meetings of Synod, and declared the restoration of Episcopacy. Thus at one stroke were the achievements of the past thirty years to be annulled; but once more those soulless courtiers had reckoned without the people, and thirty years more of conflict and suffering were to brand advanced Protestantism into the very bone and marrow of Scottish life for ever. As Mackintosh remarks: "It was a comparatively easy matter to turn the English Church into her original groove. But the task which the Government of Charles II. undertook in Scotland was more difficult: it was an attempt to change the current of religious thought and sentiment which had sprung from the Reformation of 1560."

In 1662 the king was declared to be head of the Church, and an abjuration of the Covenants was required of all persons having "public charge, office, or trust within the kingdom."

Two archbishops and two bishops were appointed, and proceeded to England for consecration, the chief of these being James Sharp, who, by accepting this post, fully earned his title of the "Judas of the Scottish Church." His treason admits of no defence, and cannot be explained away by any supposed change of conviction. In June 1660 he had written home: "I

hear they talk of bringing in Episcopacy in Scotland, which I trust they shall never be able to effect." In January 1661 he wrote, as if in a tone of injured innocence: "I have been formerly represented as if I had engaged, while I was in London, to introduce Episcopacy into this Church, and now I am reputed to be an apostate Covenanter." By the end of the year his apostasy was complete. He made a pretence of offering the post of archbishop to Robert Douglas, who had preached at the king's coronation twelve years before; but Douglas, who could read Sharp through and through, exclaimed, "James, I see you will be Archbishop of St. Andrews. Take it, then, and the curse of God with it!"

Charles ruled Scotland by means of a Privy Council, chosen by himself, and managed by the Earl of Lauderdale, who resided in London.

On 1st October 1662 was enacted a measure which usually goes by the name of the Drunken Act of Glasgow, whereby the Privy Council ordained that all ministers entered since 1649 must obtain presentation from a patron, and receive ordination from a bishop within a month, or be ejected from their homes and churches. This rash Act had been engineered by Archbishop Fairfoul of Glasgow, who had assured the Earl of Middleton that not ten ministers in his diocese would risk the loss of their stipends by refusing to obey. To the consternation of the Council themselves, however, nearly four hundred ministers left, or were expelled from, their homes and churches in the heart of winter; and when their pulpits were filled by a set of worthless "curates," hastily summoned from the Highlands and elsewhere, the people refused to attend, and preferred to listen to their expelled ministers in fields or barns. Thus originated the field-meetings or

"conventicles" of which so much is heard during those troublous times. By December it was a punishable offence to be absent from church; and when, in the next year, through Lauderdale's influence, Earl Middleton was supplanted as High Commissioner by Lord Rothes, a severer Act was devised, nicknamed the "Bishops' Drag-net," condemning conventicles, and ordering the people to attend the ministrations of the curates under ridiculously severe penalties. The curates acted as informers against those who absented themselves from church, and the soldiery were set upon the track of the offenders. Meanwhile, by Sharp's influence, the Privy Council passed severe measures against the Covenanting ministers, and by October 1663 the persecution of the Covenanters had definitely begun.

Johnston of Warriston had escaped to the Continent at the Restoration, and had been condemned to death while thus absent from his country. He was at last apprehended in France, and conveyed to Edinburgh, where, though prematurely infirm and broken in health, he was executed in July 1663.

The Scottish aristocracy had already begun to ape the ways of the English nobles, and to enjoy the profligacy of the court of Charles II., and there is perhaps no period in our history when the nobles, as a body, better deserved the scathing condemnation pronounced by Carlyle: "It is noteworthy that the nobles of the country have maintained a quite despicable behaviour from the days of Wallace downwards—a selfish, ferocious, famishing, unprincipled set of hyenas, from whom at no time, and in no way, has the country derived any benefit whatever."

In the first Parliament of the reign they had voted £40,000 a year towards the support of the king,—a

ruinous drain on a far from wealthy country,—and now they calmly looked on while a Court of High Commission, similar to that which had provided Laud with an outlet for his tyranny in England, was set up under Sharp in January 1664 to deal with ecclesiastical offences. (Through the jealousy of the Privy Council this tribunal held power only for two years.)

In December 1665 the Privy Council gave power to the soldiery to punish, by royal authority, those who attended conventicles; and it was now that full scope was given to the brutality of agents such as Sir James Turner, who rendered himself conspicuous amid a host of persecutors by his exactions and cruelties in Dumfries and Galloway.

The patience and endurance of the peasantry under their oppressors was marvellous; but even the worm will turn at last. In November 1666, at Dalry in Galloway, four Covenanters rescued an old man from the maltreatment of some brutal soldiers; and being joined by various sympathisers, they made bold to enter Dumfries and take Turner himself prisoner, one soldier losing his life before the countrymen reached this point of success. Knowing that they had proceeded too far to expect any mercy at the hands of government, the insurgents remained under arms, and marching to Lanark were joined by further numbers, until their force amounted to over two thousand men. General Sir Thomas Dalziel was commissioned by the Privy Council to deal with the rising, and from his long experience and training in the barbarous armies of Russia he was well fitted for the task. The Covenanters marched upon Edinburgh, under Colonel James Wallace; but finding the city strongly defended and its inhabitants unsympathetic, they fell back to the Pentlands, where their poorly armed and undisciplined force

gradually dwindled down to 900 men. On 28th November, Dalziel, with 3000 men, met them at Rullion Green. In the beginning of the conflict, Wallace's men secured a temporary success against Dalziel's right wing, but a fierce attack on their flank by the royal cavalry ensured the inevitable rout of the insurgents, about fifty of them dying on the field. Among the bravest fighters on the Covenanting side was the famous Captain John Paton, who had gained experience in continental warfare. Severe measures were taken in revenge for this ill-considered expedition. In spite of the fact that various prisoners had surrendered under promise of quarter, they were told that while they had been spared as *soldiers* they were not pardoned as *subjects*. Ten of them were accordingly hanged at Edinburgh on 7th December, and other five a week later.

The authorities tried to represent the rising as part of a deep-laid scheme of insurrection, and applied the torture of the "boot" to several prisoners to extort a confession to this effect. The "boot" was an implement of diabolical ingenuity, consisting of a wooden case for the leg, wide enough simply to leave room for one or more wedges which could be driven in by strokes from a mallet, causing exquisite torture, and in the end often splintering the bone. Among others subjected to this torture was Hugh M'Kail, a preacher of twenty-six years of age. He bore his suffering with incredible fortitude, but maintained to the last that the rising was unpremeditated, and he was accordingly condemned to death. On the scaffold in Edinburgh he behaved with the same firmness, and addressed the people in a speech so rapturous in its faith, and so moving in its effect on the spectators, that thereafter it became customary at the execution of Covenanters to sound

drums and trumpets in order to drown their dying words. Other executions followed in various towns, especially in the west, forty persons in all being executed for complicity in the Pentland Rising.

In all cases the victims protested against the charge of rebellion. They acknowledged the king, but justly claimed freedom of religion. As one of them declared on the scaffold : "Let Prelacy be removed and the work of reformation restored, and I dare say in dying that His Majesty shall not have in all his dominions more loving, loyal, and peaceable subjects than those who, for their non-compliance with Prelacy, are loaded with reproaches of fanaticism and rebellion." Little did they know the full depth of treason in the soul of that "crowned reprobate," who was prepared, as the paid tool of Louis of France, to plunge the whole kingdom back into Catholicism, that he might have money to lavish on his mistresses and his spaniels !

Meanwhile, after Dalziel had fully avenged the insurrection, a temporary lull in the persecution took place, to which the Scots themselves gave the name of "The Blink." Sir James Turner was dismissed, partly for his cruelty, but still more for his extortions and embezzlement.

In 1669 the Earl of Lauderdale became Lord High Commissioner, and in the same year there was issued a Declaration of Indulgence, by which the ejected ministers could return to their churches on certain conditions. Only forty-two accepted the terms, and the name of the "King's Curates," applied to them by the people, showed how far they were from meeting with general approbation. The Indulgence had the effect of cleaving the Presbyterians into two parties, and the fact that so few had accepted the Government's terms served as an excuse for severer measures. To

attend a religious meeting at all apart from the Church was now punishable by a fine, while any minister who held a field-conventicle was liable to death. It was this last proclamation that caused the Covenanters from about 1670 to come in some cases armed to the field-meetings. If their beloved pastors were to be at the mercy of every godless dragoon, or subject to the betrayal of each lurking spy, they must not be riven from their midst without some attempt at defence.

It was no small risk that was run by these attenders at the field-preachings—the minister with the threat of death upon his head, and his hearers exposed to ruthless and unprovoked attack. These were not the men to flinch in the day of danger, and whatever their own fate might be, their principles were bound to triumph in the end. They had risen to the conception of the God "who sitteth upon the circle of the earth" and "who stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain"; and their religion bore the same contrast to that of their persecutors as the breath of spring on the hillside does to the dust-begrimed niche of the musty aisle. Here is the gist of the Covenanting spirit, from the words of one of those persecuted ministers: "Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria—that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings or material temples." Was ever the central truth of Protestantism better expressed? Surely these men were the true successors of Knox, who as a slave in the French galleys refused to kiss a wooden image of the Virgin, but threw it overboard as a "painted brod." They moved not in a dreamy atmosphere of

incense and ritual, but in the open light of day under God's sky; and their appeals and teachings came not from the altar-steps and stifled by the frills and trappings of "a little brief authority," but rang straight from heart to heart, and their people received their words as from man to man.

Bishop Burnet, among others, was commissioned by the saintly Archbishop Leighton to preach to and reason with the people on behalf of Episcopacy, and here is Burnet's admission regarding these unpolished peasants: "We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable of arguing upon points of government and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers and their servants."

Evidently, if Presbyterianism did not suit "gentlemen" of King Charles's mould, it was capable of making *men*, and there is a masculinity about the whole Covenanting movement that raises its smallest disputes above the region of triviality. As Professor W. P. Paterson of Edinburgh has aptly said: "It was a characteristic of the older piety of the Scottish people that men had an intensely realistic sense of the presence of an all-seeing, never-slumbering, nothing-forgetting God, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the effect that that realisation produced in the form of a virile type of moral character, and the investing of life with a habitual earnestness and solemnity."

Principal Rainy has well summed up the central features of the Presbyterian system in Scotland: "Presbyterianism meant a system in which every man

—first of all the common man—had his recognised place, his defined position, his ascertained and guarded privileges, his responsibilities inculcated and enforced, —felt himself a part of the great unity, with a right to care for its welfare and to guard its integrity. From the broad basis of the believing people, the sap rose through sessions, presbyteries, synods, to the Assembly, and thence descending diffused knowledge, influence, organisation, unity, through the whole system. Our fathers felt instinctively that the changes thrust upon them threatened to suppress great elements of good—not mere forms alone, but the life which these forms nourished and expressed. When Episcopacy shall have trained the common people to care, as those of Scotland have cared, for the public interests of Christ's Church, and to connect that care with their own religious life as a part and a fruit of it, then it may afford to smile at the zealous self-defence of Scottish Presbyterianism."

To quote from our field-preacher once more: "It was pleasant, as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congregation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms." Inevitably our minds revert to the words of Burns :—

> "Compared with this, how poor Religion's pride,
> In all the pomp of method, and of art,
> When men display to congregations wide
> Devotion's every grace, except the heart!
> The Power, incensed, the pageant will desert,
> The pompous strain, the sacerdotal stole;
> But haply in some cottage far apart,
> May hear, well pleased, the language of the soul,
> And in His Book of Life the inmates poor enrol."

CHAPTER XV

THE MERRY MONARCH AND HIS TIMES.

"HERE lies our Sovereign Lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one."

EARL OF ROCHESTER.

As if in deliberate preparation for the more violent persecution of his Scottish subjects, King Charles II. purchased the Bass Rock in 1671, and soon had it converted into a State prison.

In 1672 an attempt was made to secure mouth-loyalty by Act of Parliament, all men being enjoined to celebrate 29th May, "Restoration Day," and to give thanks to God "for this so signal goodness to these kingdoms." Punishment was threatened for non-compliance with this order.

At the meetings of Parliament in November 1673, several of the Scottish nobles, including the Duke of Hamilton, made bold to beard Lauderdale in his den by reproaching him with the gift of monopolies and with other illegal actions. After the prorogation of Parliament a deputation even went to London to complain to the king of Lauderdale's maladministration and extortionate taxation, and received a promise from Charles that the discussion of their national grievances would be freely allowed when the Estates reassembled. In the new session, however, Lauderdale

(who had recently been created a duke) at once dissolved the Parliament in direct violation of the Constitution, yet with the king's full knowledge and sanction ; no other Parliament was called during the rest of Lauderdale's administration. Having thus silenced all authoritative opposition, he now proceeded to offer prices as high as £400 for the heads of various Presbyterian ministers; and in 1675 he issued Letters of Intercommuning, by which over a hundred individuals, including ministers and persons of rank, were declared rebels for having held, attended, or encouraged conventicles. The severest penalties, ranging from fines to death itself, were imposed on any persons who dared to furnish these outlaws with "meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, or any other thing useful or comfortable to them, or to have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way." Gradually this heartless statute became extended in its sphere of operation, until latterly it applied to some fifteen thousand men and women. Thus it came about that faithful Covenanters had to leave house, brethren, parents, and lands for the sake of their religion, wandering over the moors by day, and hiding in caves by night. Many left their native land, finding a refuge in Holland or other Protestant countries on the Continent.

The infatuated Government seemed to be courting rebellion ; and this became even more apparent when, in 1677, a demand was made upon the gentry of the west of Scotland that they should bind themselves as securities to preserve order and enforce conformity, while householders were called upon to guarantee that neither they nor any of their dependants should attend conventicles. The gentry naturally refused to give any such impossible bond, while only twenty householders out of three thousand in Lanarkshire signed

the promise required of them. The whole western district (Renfrew, Ayr, and Lanark) was therefore declared to be in a state of rebellion. A host of from six to eight thousand Highlanders was now enlisted from various clans, and set loose early in 1678 upon the defenceless Lowlands with such full and irresponsible powers to punish and fine the people as would have been dangerous in the hands of well-disciplined troops, but were simply outrageous in the case of those half-civilised clansmen, trained from their youth to reiving and bloodshed, and now encouraged by Government to wreak their hereditary enmity—embittered by religious hatred — upon a populace unprepared for resistance. A deputation of a dozen Scottish noblemen and fifty gentlemen, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, proceeded to London to protest to the king in person against this intolerable state of matters, but the king refused to see them. Nevertheless, after the wild Highland Host had been allowed to carry on its licensed course of oppression and rapine for three months, it was determined to disband the mountaineers, and add instead 5000 men to the regular soldiery quartered on the country.

What the Lowlands suffered in these three months can be best imagined from the royal commission, which freed the Highlanders from "all pursuits, civil and criminal, which may at any time hereafter be intended against them, for anything they shall do in our service by killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as shall make opposition to our authority, or by seizing *such as they have reason to suspect*, the same being always done by order of the Privy Council, their committee, or the superior officer." They had so liberally interpreted their license to "seize on horses, ammunition, and other

provisions," that when they at last turned homewards "you would have seen them with loads of bedclothes, carpets, men and women's wearing clothes, pots, pans, gridirons, shoes, and other furniture whereof they had pillaged the country." Shall we blame those Highlanders for their action? As well blame the greyhound for running down the hare. Not only was it "their nature so," as the Highlands were still at a very backward stage of civilisation, not only were they acting up to their lights, but they were under royal commands. The whole "Highland Host" episode must simply go to deepen the condemnation and to darken the iniquity of the king, who with the help of counsellors so worthy of himself was hastening the inevitable downfall of the "Bloody House," as the Stuarts came to be fitly called in the land that had presented them as rulers to England.

In June 1678 the Convention of Estates authorised the exaction of over a million pounds Scots within the next five years to maintain forces for the king, and the levying of this assessment naturally led to more direct persecution than ever.

England itself was at this time thrown into a ferment of excitement through the stories of supposed Popish plots invented by villains such as Titus Oates. Severe laws were passed to enforce conformity to the Church of England, and many Catholics suffered unjust persecution before the lies of Oates were exposed and punished. This baiting of the Catholics seemed to act as a fillip to the Episcopalians in their persecution of the Scots, and accordingly in 1679 the Privy Council renewed its efforts to crush the conventicles out of existence. Special powers and privileges were given to the soldiery; and bodies of dragoons scoured the country to disperse the field-meetings. On

30th March a body of soldiers were about to attack a meeting at Lesmahagow, but finding some of the Covenanters armed and ready for resistance, they contented themselves with robbing some women of their Bibles and cloaks. The Covenanters, however, knowing that these would be used against their possessors as evidence of having attended the meeting, pursued the soldiers and forced them to restore the articles. On 20th April two soldiers were found murdered in a house near Loudoun Hill, and although it was not known who had perpetrated the deed, the circumstance was used by the Council as a pretext for issuing still more stringent threats against the field-meetings, exempting the soldiery from being called in question for any deaths inflicted in the attempt to apprehend Covenanters. This practically amounted to a declaration of war against the Scottish peasantry, and events were soon to make it such in practice as well as in theory.

The persecution and extortions practised throughout the Lowlands were felt with special severity in Fife, which came under the more direct notice of Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews, who so far manifested a relish for the persecution as to be a frequent attender at the inquisitorial meetings of the Council. On 3rd May 1679 a band of nine men, goaded almost to madness by the conduct of Carmichael, one of Sharp's minions, determined to waylay him near Cupar, and punish him severely—perhaps to the extent of death. Carmichael received warning of their movements; and, baffled in their purpose, the band were about to separate, when they learned from a boy that the archbishop was in the vicinity. Their excited fanaticism led them to believe that Heaven had purposely placed this arch-persecutor in their hands, so when Sharp's carriage arrived at

lonely Magus Moor they dragged him out, and regardless of his grey hairs, his entreaties, or his promises of money, they murdered him with circumstances of clumsy cruelty before his daughter's eyes. One of the nine, David Hackston of Rathillet, stood sullenly by, refusing to share in the deed, because a private quarrel of his with Sharp rendered him unfit to be a pure instrument of justice, yet refusing also to interfere on Sharp's behalf. The person usually regarded as the instigator and prime actor in the murder is John Balfour of Kinloch (frequently called Balfour of Burley), a fanatic who had already been denied Communion with his fellow-Presbyterians.

No action could better have suited the Privy Council as an excuse for renewed severity. To the numerous test questions formally applied to suspected persons a new query was added: "Was the archbishop's death murder?" At this distance of time we have no difficulty in answering in the affirmative; but it is not surprising that many Covenanters, who would have shrunk from instigating or sharing in such a deed, refused utterly to condemn it when accomplished. Sharp, as Professor Blackie forcibly remarks, "sits to all eternity in a special niche of the Scottish historical gallery as the manifest type of a traitor"; and men who had been placed under the outlaw's ban for simple adherence to conscience, and whose country had already suffered almost twenty years' unbroken persecution, were not well fitted to pass impartial judgment on the fate of such a man.

Froude thus writes regarding the Covenanters: "For more than half the seventeenth century the battle had to be fought out in Scotland which, in reality, was the battle between liberty and despotism; and where, except in an intense, burning conviction that they were

maintaining God's cause against the devil, could the poor Scotch people have found the strength for the unequal struggle which was forced on them? Toleration is a good thing in its place; but you cannot tolerate what will not tolerate you, and is trying to cut your throat."

At any rate the extreme party of the Covenanters, including such ministers as Donald Cargill and Thomas Douglas, realised that the time for passive resistance was now over. The only choice lay between utter extinction and open warfare. The Covenanters were utterly unprepared for the latter, but their country's interest forbade their accepting the former. Accordingly, on Restoration Day (29th May) a body of eighty armed men appeared at Rutherglen Cross, burned the obnoxious acts of persecution, extinguished the Royalist bonfire, and affixed to the Cross a protest against the celebration of Restoration Day. On the last day of the month Captain John Graham of Claverhouse appeared at Rutherglen with a commission to seize or kill any accomplices in this act of treason, but the birds had flown. On this same day he apprehended about fifteen people at a conventicle held near Hamilton.

Next day, Sabbath, 1st June, he rode at the head of his dragoons towards Loudoun Hill, near which a large field-meeting was to be held. The dragoons reached Drumclog (on the borders of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire) shortly after the service had been commenced by the officiating minister, Thomas Douglas. On their approach the fighting force of the Covenanters detached themselves from the unarmed portion of the meeting, and formed in line of defence with a marsh between them and the dragoons. The preacher admonished them, "You have got the theory, now for the practice." In numbers they exceeded the soldiers to some extent,

and although few of them were armed with anything better than hayforks or sickles, they had at their head various men of desperate courage and of some military skill, such as Balfour, Hackston, and Robert Hamilton, who had headed the Rutherglen demonstration. After a skirmishing fire on both sides the troopers charged, but became confused in the morass; and ere long the Covenanters made bold to take the offensive, and the dragoons were pursued uphill by the peasantry, who had a few horsemen among their number. Claverhouse, in his dispatch, confesses they "pursued us so hotly that we got no time to rally. . . . I made the best retreat the confusion of our people would suffer." The dragoons lost between thirty and forty men and the Covenanters six. Claverhouse's horse was so severely wounded that he himself narrowly escaped with his life. His report of the battle ends thus: "What the rogues will do yet, I know not; but the country was flocking to them from all hands. This may be counted the beginning of the rebellion, in my opinion." Next day the Covenanters pushed on to Glasgow, whose citizens were friendly to their cause, but finding the soldiers safe behind barricades, they were forced to retire with some loss.

The Duke of Monmouth, one of the king's illegitimate sons, was hastily dispatched to Scotland to put down the rising. The victory of Drumclog caused numbers to join the Covenanting force, which soon rose to about four thousand men. But, as was natural in a totally unexpected insurrection, the Scottish force had next to no arms or ammunition, and was absolutely without artillery. To add to their helplessness they were now divided amongst themselves in religion and in politics. Some were for accepting the Indulgence as a basis for negotiations with the king, others demanded

ir George Harvey, P.R.S.A. *From the Collection of Augustin Rischgit.*

BATTLE OF DRUMCLOG.

P. 218.

full rights for Presbyterianism. Most were still willing to remain loyal to the king if fair terms were obtained, others were determined to own no further allegiance to the forsworn tyrant.

On 22nd June the king's forces reached Bothwell Bridge, and yet the quarrelling and wrangling among the Scottish ranks on Hamilton Moss went on actually in sight of the opposing forces and artillery. Realising their hopeless position, with a well-appointed army of ten to fifteen thousand men opposed to them, two of the Covenanting leaders crossed the Clyde to see what terms the Royalists would grant to avoid a conflict; but Monmouth refused to treat unless the Scots agreed at once to lay down their arms. Within half an hour more the royal artillery commenced to thunder on the ranks of the insurgents, and troops were thrown forward to force a passage across Bothwell Bridge. For more than an hour Hackston gallantly defended the bridge with some three hundred men; but by that time his ammunition was exhausted, and he was forced to fall back. Robert Hamilton proved himself to have no capacity as a leader, and nothing short of supreme genius could have availed to lead such a divided and ill-appointed host to victory. So little preparation had the Covenanters made for battle that "there were few or none that had both powder and ball in all the army to shoot twice." The issue of the conflict was no longer doubtful.

> "They stell'd their cannons on the height,
> And shower'd their shot down in the howe,
> An' beat our Scots lads even down:
> Thick they lay slain on every knowe."

The royal troops poured over the bridge, and a general rout ensued. The defeat was pushed home with ruthless severity, and Claverhouse, with his horsemen,

fully avenged his defeat of three weeks before. Four hundred of the Scots were slain, and twelve hundred were made prisoners.

The wretched captives were marched to Edinburgh and interned in the Greyfriars Churchyard, where, forty-one years before, the Covenant had been signed. There they remained, exposed to wind and weather, for five weary months, at the end of which time the majority were liberated after signing a bond not to take up arms again. Of those who refused, a detachment, numbering two hundred and fifty-seven, was shipped for the West Indies; but off the Orkneys the ship was wrecked, and all perished except about forty. Five of those who had been present at Bothwell Bridge were publicly executed on Magus Moor in revenge for Sharp's death, although none of them had been concerned in the murder.

Two ministers, King and Kidd, were executed at Edinburgh in August. In their dying speeches they readily admitted having taken part in conventicles, but absolutely denied the charge of rebellion or disloyalty. They believed in a constitutional monarchy, but neither Britain nor its rulers had yet acquired the political wisdom necessary for the adoption of that form of government.

Now that the Covenanters had been goaded into civil war, and defeated in the field, the Government had an excellent pretext for making the persecution absolutely relentless. To John Graham of Claverhouse in particular was assigned the duty of hunting down and punishing the rebels in Ayr, Galloway, and Dumfries. This remarkable man, like so many other Scots, had gained his first military training on the Continent, and, returning home in 1677, received a commission in the king's forces. His principal duty from this time onwards was that of a military heresy-

Photo by Annan & Sons.

MONUMENT AT BOTHWELL BRIDGE.

P. 220.

hunter, tracking Covenanters, testing their stubbornness in their principles, and punishing them by fines, imprisonment, or death. The severity with which he executed his commission after Bothwell Bridge, and later when, in January 1682, he became Sheriff of Wigtonshire, earned for him among the peasantry the name of the "Bloody Claver'se," and caused him to be represented as a monster of cruelty, who gloated over his grim work with diabolical glee. But while it is beyond doubt that Graham used his influence at court to defeat Monmouth's desire for milder measures with the Covenanters, we must in justice modify the popular Scottish condemnation of his career by two important considerations. In the first place, he was only one of a regular pack of licensed persecutors, and there are others, such as Sir James Turner and Grierson of Lag, whose cruelty deserved perhaps greater condemnation than his, and some of whose guilt has often been attributed to Graham himself. In the second place, Claverhouse was acting under orders. He said himself, "I never inquired further in the laws than the orders of my superior officers." The officer who "does his duty" is usually an object of admiration. Claverhouse was assigned certain work to do. It was unsavoury, dishonourable work, viewed in the light of modern toleration. He was well paid for it, and he took care, like the rest of the gang of persecutors, to better his pay by embezzlement of fines; but no one can deny that he gave full measure of "duty" to his worthless masters. With entire assurance that his labours among the Covenanters were fully earning his hire, he could report to the Privy Council how he had "rifled so their houses, ruined their goods, and imprisoned their servants; that their wives and children were brought to starving, which forced them to have

recourse to the safe conduct, and made them glad to renounce their principles."

In a better cause his undoubted energy and courage would have rendered him an object of genuine admiration, and while we condemn the details as well as the general course of his career, let us remember that in the worst of his actions he was only *fulfilling the law*! Not on tools such as Graham, but on the "Merry Monarch" and his vile supporters among the Scottish nobility, must fall the curse of all who honour the memory of our Covenanting forefathers. "No part of modern history," says Hallam, "for so long a period, can be compared, in the wickedness of the Government, to the Scots administration of Charles II."

In all the recent persecutions the guiding hand had been that of the Duke of Lauderdale, His Majesty's Commissioner to Scotland. Some of Lauderdale's private enemies, who considered he had gone too far, induced the king to order an inquiry into his conduct. After hearing the facts of the case, the selfish monarch thus characteristically summed up his opinion: "I perceive that Lauderdale has committed many damnable deeds against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find that he has done *anything contrary to my interest!*"

In accordance with this ruling he appointed his brother, the Duke of York, who was already well-known as an avowed and determined Roman Catholic, to look after his "interests" in Scotland (December 1679)!

CHAPTER XVI

THE KILLING TIME.

> "Their blood is shed
> In confirmation of the noblest claim,—
> Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
> To walk with God, to be divinely free.
> . . . .
> They lived unknown,
> Till persecution dragged them into fame,
> And chased them up to heaven."
>
> Cowper.

If Scotland had suffered severely under such renegade Scotsmen as Middleton, Rothes, and Lauderdale, her furnace of affliction was to be heated sevenfold when she was handed over to the charge of the Duke of York. He was already embittered by the attempts made in England to exclude him from the throne on account of his loyalty to Catholicism, and he now came northwards with a firm resolve to extirpate Presbyterianism, which he hated, not only on political grounds, but as rank heresy. From 1680–88, the history of Scotland is chiefly a record of judicial murder and oppression, and the period is appropriately known as the "Killing Time."

The disaster at Bothwell Bridge had crushed organised resistance; but there remained a remnant of brave men, headed by Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, who still kept the field, and were known under many names, complimentary or otherwise, as the

Hillmen, Society People, Wanderers, Wild Whigs, Cameronians, Faithful Remnant, or Reformed Presbyterians. Prominent among these followers of Cameron were Alexander Peden, John Semple, and John Wellwood.

On 22nd June 1680, the first anniversary of Bothwell Brig, twenty armed men, under Cameron and Cargill, entered Sanquhar and affixed to the Cross a declaration, in which they professed to adhere to the principles of settled government, provided the ruler proved worthy. But the document proceeded to "disown Charles Stuart, that has been reigning—or rather tyrannising—on the throne of Britain these years bygone, as having any right, title to, or interest in the crown of Scotland. We do declare war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ and His cause and covenants, and against all such as have strengthened him, sided with, or anywise acknowledged him in his tyranny, civil or ecclesiastic."

In consequence of this declaration, Cameron, Cargill, and ten others were declared to be traitors, and a price of 5000 merks was set on their heads. The Government tried to cast the blame of this act and declaration on the whole body of Presbyterians, and in order to discredit the Covenanting cause they circulated the offending document in England. The result, however, was far other than they had intended. Many an Englishman who read it to curse it felt constrained to bless it, as the declaration simply expressed what so many had long felt, and in eight years more England herself was to become filled with the same gloriously rebellious spirit. Defoe in this connection remarks: "What shame it is to us, and how much to the honour of these persecuted people, that they could thus see the

treachery and tyranny of those reigns, when we saw it not!"

Cameron, although scarcely more than thirty years of age, was not destined long to uphold his declaration. On 22nd July of the same year his small band of sixty or seventy hillmen was attacked at Aird's Moss (or Ayrsmoss) in Ayrshire by a body of troopers of more than double its number. After a gallant resistance the Presbyterians were overwhelmed. Cameron and his brother were among the slain, and by a refinement of cruelty Cameron's hands and head were carried to Edinburgh, to be shown to his father in jail, and thereafter to be exposed to public view, mockingly arranged in the attitude of prayer. Among the prisoners was the brave Hackston, who was executed with deliberate cruelty, along with several others, at Edinburgh. It was noted that Hackston was the first Covenanter who refused to own the king's authority when under examination.

In September, during a field-preaching at the Torwood, near Stirling, Cargill pronounced sentence of excommunication against the king, the Duke of York, Monmouth, Rothes, Lauderdale, Dalziel, and the King's Advocate, Mackenzie. It was an act of almost reckless audacity, and yet at least one of the parties included in Cargill's list felt the sentence weigh upon his conscience. When Rothes lay dying in the following year, he sent for a Presbyterian minister, a fact which wrung from the Duke of York the taunt: "All Scotsmen are either Presbyterians through their life or at their death, profess what they may." The Duke of Hamilton, with truer insight into the lessons of the times, remarked, "We banish these men from us, and yet, when dying, we call for them: this is melancholy work!"

In order to render more certain the condemnation of suspected persons, York now adopted the habit of presiding in person at the torture of the "boot." The Grassmarket of Edinburgh became the scene of untold cruelties, such as the heartless execution of two young women, Isabel Alison of Perth, and Marion Harvie of Bo'ness (aged twenty), in January 1681. To enumerate such actions would be foreign to the purpose of the present work, but no Scotsman or Scotswoman who would value our civil and religious privileges aright should fail to become acquainted with the loss of life and the suffering entailed upon our little kingdom before these priceless boons could be purchased.

Cargill was at last apprehended, and the frankness of his answers seems to have so disarmed the Council that it was only the casting vote of the Earl of Argyll which decided for death as against imprisonment for life on the Bass Rock. The sentence was carried out in July 1681.

In the same month the first Scots Parliament for eight years met, and proceeded to affirm the Duke of York's right to the throne in spite of his religion. It was declared by an Act of Succession that "no difference of religion, nor no Act of Parliament made or to be made, can alter or divert the right of succession or lineal descent of the crown to the nearest and lawful heirs." A Test Act was likewise passed, owning the king as "only supreme governor of this realm over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil." Even the Episcopal clergy so demurred to this servile measure that eighty of them left their livings and became objects of persecution along with the Presbyterians.

Argyll would only take this new oath of allegiance "so far as it is consistent with itself and the Protes-

tant religion." For insisting on this qualification he was convicted of "treason, leasing-making, and leasing-telling," and committed to Edinburgh Castle to await his sentence; but he contrived to escape, and fled to Holland.

As a protest against the general trend of government, the Edinburgh students burned the effigy of the Pope at Christmas in 1680 and 1681; and by way of punishment for the former act and for damage done to property in connection with it, the university was closed for a season.

The gross injustice, enormous extortions, and insensate savagery perpetrated by Government agents during these years seems so incredible that they have led in recent years to eager attempts by the apologists of Episcopacy to reduce the whole story to a fabric of invention. The repeated failure of such attempts has only strengthened public belief in the general reliability of Covenanting historians, and revealed documents of the most incriminating kind as to the character of the persecutors. The judges of circuit courts in Glasgow, Ayr, Dumfries, and Galloway were entrusted with absolute power to "test" and to inquire into the most trivial details that misguided zeal and gloomy suspicion could magnify into treasonable offences or disloyal intentions. No person was allowed to travel from one county to another without a permit from a Government official. The mere refusal to take the odious "tests" meant punishment at home or banishment to the plantations; and all ship-captains had to make oath regarding their passengers, lest any should escape to a land of liberty. Only at rare intervals is there a ray of light amid the darkness of this persecuting period, as when a body of Covenanters, in July 1684, rescued their minister and nine other

prisoners from a band of soldiers in the Enterkin Pass in Dumfriesshire.

In 1684, James Renwick, a young preacher, who had returned from his continental studies in the previous year, stepped into the place left vacant by Cargill as leader of the more desperate and determined hillmen, and in November he published on the market crosses of the chief towns an "Apologetic Declaration," threatening to retaliate on those who drove him and his fellows like wolves up and down the country. The document declares that while "we utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment and persuasion from us," yet those who have practised this principle "will be punished, according to our power and the degree of their offence." The numerous spies, informers, and shedders of blood are warned that "the sinless necessity of self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished, not because we are actuated by a sinful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries, but because by our fall reformation suffers damage." Surely this was rebellion at last; but such rebellion as only good men were capable of, noble and straightforward rebellion such as Knox had sanctioned: "If princes exceed their bounds, and do against that for which they should be obeyed, it is no doubt that they may be resisted even by power."

The Government retaliated by authorising "military execution without trial" against those who would not abjure the Declaration. In this year the cruel device came into vogue of torturing prisoners by the "thumbkins," in the hope of extorting confessions or information regarding other offenders. Among

those put to death in 1684 was Captain John Paton, who was executed in May.

England itself was now feeling that the limit of endurance was being reached, and a Whig plot was formed by Russell and Sidney to shut out York from the succession and to give the throne to Monmouth, the "Protestant Duke." Their plans were purely political; but the Government purposely confused their objects with those of the Rye House Plot, an entirely separate conspiracy, which aimed at the murder of the king and the Duke of York. Russell and Sidney were executed in 1683, and in December 1684 a true Scottish patriot, Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, was placed on trial for complicity in their designs. He was already at death's door through illness, and was brought to the bar in his nightgown. On the second day of the trial he was condemned, and the sentence was carried out within three hours, lest the hand of nature should first snatch him from the vengeance of his persecutors.

While Renwick's declaration struck terror for the moment to the hearts of judges, spies, and soldiers alike, it only added fuel to the fires of persecution, for within a fortnight there was passed the "Bloody Act," which enjoined upon noblemen, gentry, and officers the duty of convoking all the inhabitants in certain parishes, and inflicting death on all above fourteen years who would not denounce and abjure the Declaration. Permission to preach was henceforth withdrawn from the "indulged" ministers.

What had all this persecution meant so far? It was carried on by a nominally Protestant king against his Protestant subjects, because they chose to hold to what they considered, and what Scotsmen still consider, a more logical and spiritual form of religion

than the semi-Protestantism of the Church of England. And now in February 1685 this king lay dying. Professedly a Protestant, he had sold the interests of his country to Louis, the champion of Catholicism, and now he fitly ended his days by being received into the Catholic Church by a priest smuggled into his room. From the date of his Restoration he had never set foot in Scotland. Was there any sweet mercifulness in his last moments towards those northern subjects of his who had endured so much for conscience' sake? No, his last thoughts wandered more naturally to the material interests of one of his numerous prostitutes: "Do not let poor Nelly starve!"

On his brother's death, the Duke of York ascended the throne as James II. of England and VII. of Scotland. He promised the Council that he would imitate the late king's example in clemency and tenderness to the people! On 10th February he was proclaimed at Edinburgh, the authorities swearing to obey him as "holding his imperial crown from God alone." When the Scots Parliament met in April the Duke of Queensberry characterised the Presbyterians as "desperate, fanatical, and irreconcilable wretches, of such monstrous principles and practices as past ages never heard, nor those to come will hardly believe." The Parliament vowed submission to "the king's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority, which none can participate of any manner of way or upon any pretext but in dependence on him and by commission from him"; and in the same Parliament Lord Chancellor Rothes enlarged on the king's virtues, including "temperance and sobriety," and "unwearied clemency towards the most obstinate and malicious offenders." Add to all this grovelling submission the fact that the king declined to take the Scottish Coronation

Oath as being disrespectful to His Supreme Majesty, and it may readily be imagined that the Covenanters were now indeed in evil case. All attendance at conventicles or house-meetings was to be punished with death or confiscation. The Test was to be imposed on all heritors, life-renters, and tenants. It was significant of the king's purpose of re-converting the country to Popery that in all the new royal proclamations against Dissenters the Roman Catholics were excepted and excused.

Thus there became legalised that whole nightmare system of extortion and savagery which found such fitting agents in Graham of Claverhouse, Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, Captain Andrew Bruce of Earlshall, and numerous others of the same type. The month of May 1685 witnessed a series of judicial murders which have become notorious in history, and which fitly ushered in the diabolical horrors of this unspeakable reign of terror.

The first of these was the death of John Brown of Priesthill, the "Christian Carrier," at the hands of Claverhouse and his dragoons. The details of the story differ in the various traditional versions, and interested defenders of Claverhouse, such as Professor Aytoun, were not slow to deny the whole story as a myth; but Claverhouse's own dispatch to Lord Queensberry places beyond the reach of denial the fact of Brown's death before the eyes of his wife and children. No account of details could better reveal the perpetrator of the deed than his own bald and soldier-like report: "I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly." Burton remarks that "much critical investigation into this incident has shown it to be, in all essentials, as bad a business as Walker and Wodrow make it, and yet only a natural

result of the orders of the Council." It is the real Claverhouse of history, not the polished cavalier invented by "poetical Jacobitism," that speaks in the saying attributed to him in reply to Brown's widow when she asked "how he would answer for that day's work"—"To man I can be answerable, and as for God, I will take Him into my own hand!" Brown's nephew, captured at the same time, was hanged soon afterwards.

On the 11th of the same month (or the 2nd, according to Dr. Hewison) occurred a second episode, which has likewise been denied, but which is authentic beyond any shadow of doubt, the drowning of the Wigton Martyrs. Margaret Wilson, a girl of eighteen, and Margaret M'Lachlan or Lauchlison, a widow of over sixty years, were fastened to stakes and drowned in the rising tide of the Solway for their adherence to Renwick's principles, while a younger sister of the girl Wilson, aged thirteen, had to be bought off by her father for £100, though he himself was either an Episcopalian or an Indulged Presbyterian. The ignominy of this deed lies at the door of Grierson of Lag; but whether Grierson or Graham might be the actual agent of cruelty on each several occasion, the ominous fact cannot be got rid of that they were simply carrying out the king's laws and commands. On the same day as the Wigton martyrdom occurred, a lad named Andrew Hislop was shot by Claverhouse's dragoons for receiving in sickness, and burying in death, one of the persecuted hillmen. So far did the persecution go that even the "Bloody Mackenzie," who had been King's Advocate in the preceding reign, resigned office rather than steep his hands further in the blood of his countrymen.

The Earl of Argyll, as will be remembered, had

escaped to Holland in 1681. There, along with the Duke of Monmouth, he now organised an invasion of Britain in the Protestant interest. He landed in Scotland in May 1685, and gathered perhaps a thousand Highlanders in the isles and in his own Campbell country. The Covenanters held aloof from him, partly because they had not forgotten his vote against Cargill. Everywhere confronted by superior numbers, Argyll ordered his followers to disperse. Being himself captured at Inchinnan ford, in Renfrewshire, he was condemned to death without further trial on the charge of four years before. His standard had borne the words: "Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism." In the three days between his sentence and his execution he showed the same exaltation of character as was manifested by his father under similar circumstances. On the 30th June he died on the scaffold after declaring, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatever." Thus did he atone for his former vacillation of purpose, and add another patriot-martyr to that House of Argyll which has done more perhaps than any other to redeem the Scottish nobility from universal condemnation for self-seeking and neglect of fatherland.

Monmouth, who should have landed at the same time as Argyll, dallied on the Continent till June. He was accompanied to England by Robert Fergusson, "the Plotter," a Scotsman who had been an English Independent minister, and who had been deeply involved in the Rye House Plot.

On 6th July, Monmouth was defeated at Sedgemoor, and being taken prisoner two days later he was allowed an interview with the king, his uncle. He begged for his life, and grovelled on the floor; but James was

relentless, and Monmouth was executed on the 15th. This interview places James in a most unfavourable light, and justifies the taunt of one of Argyll's associates, who had not shown the same abject submission as Monmouth. "You know, sir," said the king, "that it is in my power to pardon you." "It is in your power," was the stinging response, "but not in your nature." Monmouth's followers were punished in the "Bloody Assize" of Judge Jeffreys, while in Scotland the Campbells were harried by their hereditary enemies, especially by the Atholls.

In this same year occurred the Scottish equivalent of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Over a hundred Covenanters, men and women together, were shut into a noisome vault in Dunnottar Castle, with only one small window, and were kept there for two months, many of them dying during that time. Their place of confinement is still shown as the "Whigs' Vault." Most of the survivors were later shipped to the West Indies as slaves.

James VII. and II. soon over-reached himself in his efforts to lead Great Britain back under the yoke of Rome. In the Scottish Parliament of April 1686 the members—Episcopalians included—refused to remove the disabilities under which the Papists suffered. James, therefore, like his brother in his last years, decided to rule without a Parliament. He moulded the Privy Council more to his will by removing Protestant members and substituting Roman Catholics. In the following February the king sent a mandate to the Privy Council granting full liberty to Roman Catholics to hold any office, and assigning them Holyrood Chapel to worship in, while the conventicles were condemned as before. This "indulgence" was followed by another, and in July by a third, which seemed calculated to

give full liberty of worship to all. Most of the Presbyterians gladly accepted the truce thus extended to them, although they questioned the king's right to grant or withhold his toleration at will, and there were few of his subjects who believed in his sincerity. The Cameronians held sternly aloof, continuing to endure persecution rather than have any further dealings with Stuart mercy.

James Renwick, their young leader, had been for three years under a special ban, with a reward offered for his head; and now, after many narrow escapes and continual privation, he was captured and condemned to death. He was only in his twenty-sixth year. Strenuous efforts were made to secure his pardon, and many even of the persecuting party recoiled from the idea of executing one so young and so talented. Renwick himself seemed indifferent to the prospect of a possible reprieve, declaring that "his Master's time was the best." He suffered execution on 17th February 1688, the last public martyr of the Covenanting cause in Scotland. Had Renwick known how soon a change in public affairs was to come about, he might not have been so indifferent to life, for the year that witnessed his execution brought the end of the persecution and re-introduced the reign of liberty.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REVOLUTION AND THE PRESBYTERIAN TRIUMPH.

"God's ways seem dark, but, soon or late,
They touch the shining hills of day;
The evil cannot brook delay,
The good can well afford to wait.
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime:
Ye have the future, grand and great,—
The safe appeal of Truth to Time."

J. G. Whittier.

While the persecution in Scotland was dragging out towards its close, events in England were moving rapidly towards another rupture between king and people. James, under a pretence of toleration, was bent on re-introducing Catholicism, and at the same time establishing himself as an arbitrary monarch.

He ruled without a Parliament, his chief advisers being a Jesuit, Father Petre, and five Popish lords. He was, like his predecessor, in the pay of Louis XIV., and he kept an army in the neighbourhood of London to overawe the metropolis. He claimed to be above all laws, and proceeded, in defiance of the Constitution, to put Catholics into the highest civil and military posts in England.

In course of time he even began to tamper with the English universities, placing Papists in high positions in those hitherto exclusively Episcopal corporations; but his "Declarations of Indulgence" were now

thoroughly understood by the English Nonconformists, on whose help he had reckoned in attempting to overthrow Episcopacy. These English Puritans, therefore, determined to support what they considered the bigotry of the Church of England rather than help James to introduce that of Rome, and he had now to face the united opposition of the whole Protestant community of England. In April he ordered the clergy to read a new declaration from their pulpits; but seven bishops petitioned against this command on the ground that it assumed a power above the laws and contrary to Parliament. James therefore committed them to the Tower, and prosecuted them for treason. They were pronounced not guilty, and their acquittal was regarded as a national triumph.

James was now fifty-five years of age, and his only legitimate children were two daughters, Mary and Anne, both of whom had married Protestants. The general feeling was, therefore, that the king's remaining years might be endured in the prospect of better times to follow. In June, however, it was announced that a son had been born to him; and while many questioned the truth of the story, declaring the child to be supposititious, all could realise that the existence of such an heir, genuine or spurious in birth, meant a continuance of despotism in future reigns. Accordingly, a majority of leading politicians and nobles sent an invitation to William, Prince of Orange, who had married James's daughter Mary, to come over and take possession of the crown. The Presbyterians as a body were enthusiastically in favour of this step, but the Scottish Episcopalians held to James.

By August, William had collected 15,000 soldiers, and after being delayed by storms, he set sail from Holland on 1st November, and landed at Torbay on

the 5th of the same month. Without striking a blow he advanced cautiously but safely to London; and when James learned how utterly his cause had collapsed, and that even his daughter Anne and her husband had acknowledged the invader, he exclaimed, "God help me! my very children have forsaken me." The queen fled on 10th December to France, and the king started next day, but was driven ashore on the coast of Kent and brought back to London. On 24th December he left England in a fishing-smack for France. Nothing in William's career is more creditable than his magnanimity in allowing James thus easily to escape.

In Scotland, meanwhile, the popular indignation against the deposed king's proceedings led to some strange events. The Edinburgh mob, reinforced by a large influx of supporters of William from other parts, declared their intention to dismantle Holyrood Chapel of its Popish ornaments; but as soldiers were promptly sent to defend the Chapel, it was only after the loss of forty citizens and fourteen soldiers that the populace achieved their object.

And now the hour had come when the Covenanters, and especially the Cameronians, were to have their revenge for the thirty years of unbroken persecution which they had suffered at the hands of the Episcopalians. If Scotland had emerged almost without bloodshed through the brave struggle of the Reformation, she had paid the full penalty in blood and treasure during those dire days from the Restoration onwards. If we are to accept John Howie's figures, 18,000 Scotsmen had endured death or the "utmost hardship and privation" in the Covenanting cause, including 680 slain in skirmishes, 360 executed, 500 slain without trial, and 200 lost by shipwreck on the

way to the plantations. When all things are considered, Howie is probably not very wide of the mark; and Defoe cautiously but fervently sums up the matter thus: "It has not been possible to come at the certain number, there being no record kept of their persecution in any court of justice, nor could any roll of their names be preserved in those times of confusion. But under the altar, and about the throne of the Lamb, where their heads are crowned and their white robes are seen, an exact account will at last be found."

And now that the survivors of those "desperate, fanatical, and irreconcilable wretches" had got the upper hand, what deeds of vengeance did they perpetrate? Exactly such as the victorious Protestants of Scotland had enacted towards the Papists at the Reformation. No massacre stains Scotland's fair fame, no torture was applied to the overthrown persecutors, and as an illustration of Scottish "bigotry" no deed can be adduced except the so-called "rabbling of the curates." This took place over various parts of Scotland, especially where the persecution had been most sorely felt, and consisted in applying to the Episcopalian clergy such a meed of more or less energetic horseplay as might pass muster in an aristocratic regiment to-day as a piece of "ragging." The "curates" were brought out, upbraided for their share in the late persecutions, despoiled, perhaps, of their priestly robes, in some extreme cases beaten or rolled in the mud, and then allowed to depart. The people seemed to realise that these men were but the tools and puppets of a tyrannical system, and they contented themselves with ejecting between two and three hundred of them from the churches and manses which they should never have occupied.

At this period numerous Huguenots, who had fled from France at intervals from 1685 onwards owing to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., and the consequent persecution of Protestants, found a home in Scotland, bringing with them the talents and industry which were lost to their country by the suicidal policy of the king.

The English Convention Parliament met in January 1689, and on 12th February decided to proclaim William III. and Mary II. as King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland.

Scotland cordially fell into line with the new arrangement. In January 1689 the leading Presbyterian ministers met at Edinburgh, and sent William an address on behalf of their religion. In the same month William interviewed over a hundred Scottish nobles and gentlemen in London; and by their advice he resolved to call a Scottish Convention of Estates, which met at Edinburgh in March. The Convention seemed in some danger of interruption, as the Duke of Gordon held the Castle for King James, while Claverhouse (now Viscount Dundee) was approaching the capital with a force of dragoons. The Duke of Hamilton, however, who presided over the Convention, had foreseen the danger, and had sufficient Whigs and Cameronians on the spot to secure peace.

Letters were read from both James and William, and it was agreed to leave the former unanswered. The abuses of James's reign were then condemned, how he "had assumed the royal power and acted as king without ever taking the oath required by law," and "had invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power, exercising the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the

violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom." It was therefore declared almost unanimously that James "had forfaulted his right to the crown, and that his throne had become vacant." The crown was accordingly offered to William and Mary on very definite terms, which were expressed in the Claim of Right. This document, formulated on 11th April, constituted a "fundamental assertion of the rights of Scotsmen, that must be binding on whoever may at any time become a King of Scots." Its demands were sufficiently drastic. No Papist was ever to ascend the throne. Prelacy as a State religion was to be abolished. The king must not put himself above the law, nor exact money without the authority of Parliament. It was declared illegal to grant judicial power to army officers, or to inflict death without trial, to employ torture in order to exact evidence, to treat persons as guilty of treason for refusing to state their private sentiments regarding the alleged treasonable doctrines or actions of others. The rights of petition and of appeal to Parliament were asserted. In short, the abuses of the past reigns were to be henceforth impossible, and the rights of man were to be respected.

The cordial acceptance of these principles by William, and the general observance of them by succeeding monarchs, doubtless saved Great Britain from bloodshed and revolution during the great European upheavals of a hundred and a hundred and fifty years later.

William and Mary, having accepted the Claim of Right as the basis of government, were forthwith proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland. The Convention was then erected into a formal Parliament, and the Revolution was technically complete. It should be noted that William's title as King of

Scotland was William II., the only previous Scottish king of that name being William the Lion, whereas two Williams had previously reigned in England. The correct designation of the king is still retained on the Bank of Scotland notes.

The reign opened in a conciliatory spirit, the only statesman prosecuted for his acts in former reigns being the Chancellor Drummond, Earl of Perth, who was banished.

With William there came from the Continent James Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, who is recognised as one of the greatest authorities on Scots law, and who politically was a veritable "Vicar of Bray," holding office under Cromwell and Charles II., but living in exile during the reign of James VII. His son will claim our attention later as the "villain" of the drama of Glencoe.

Much of the reasonableness of the Revolution settlement must be placed to the credit of William Carstares (1649–1715). In the previous reigns Carstares had spent some six years in prison, and had endured the torture of the thumbscrews. Escaping to Holland, he became chaplain to the Prince of Orange, and now, as confidential adviser of the king, he contrived by thorough integrity and upright dealing, combined with moderation of opinion, to keep the monarch and the Church on friendly terms. On one occasion he prevented a rupture by audaciously seizing a royal message on its way to Scotland, returning with it to London, and so convincing the monarch of the folly of the message as to there and then secure its revocation. Carstares later became Principal of Edinburgh University, and at the period of the Union his conciliatory powers were again called into play.

Nearly two hundred of the Episcopal clergy refused to acknowledge the new monarchs, and were in 1689

deposed from their livings on that ground alone. The leniency extended to the Episcopalians in the religious sphere may be gathered from the fact that as late as 1710 there were still one hundred and thirteen Episcopal ministers enjoying the livings of parish churches.

In April 1690 the Act of Supremacy was repealed, by which the Stuart kings had tyrannised over Presbyterianism. In June the Presbyterian church government was ratified by law, and in July patronage was abolished. Of the four hundred ministers who had been ejected in 1662, only sixty survived, and these faithful pastors were now restored to their livings. A General Assembly met in October—the first for twenty years—and constituted a great reunion of all branches of the lately persecuted Presbyterians. Even the majority of the Cameronians were included; and their presence alongside of the reinstated ministers and of those who had consented to act as indulged clergy during the last two reigns, gave the Assembly a truly national character as representing all the shades of Scotland's native creed. No wonder tears of gratitude wet many a cheek in that Assembly whose meeting now signalised the victory of that simple but intellectual form of Christianity which years of persecution had branded indelibly into Scottish life and character.

Knox's "devout aspiration" regarding education was now likewise fulfilled, as an Act was passed in 1690 appointing a committee of noblemen and others to visit universities, colleges, and schools, and to guarantee the fitness of professors and teachers for their important duties, while ere long another Act (1696) provided for the appointment of a schoolmaster in every parish which was not yet so equipped.

The salary of a teacher was not to be under 100 merks, nor over 200, together with a house. Such a

salary (£6 to £11) must have meant "plain living" in the most rigorous sense; but the "high thinking" combined with it was such as to make, in Lecky's words, "the average level of Scotch intelligence superior to that of any other part of the empire."

In the general outlines of the Revolution Settlement from a political point of view, both in England and Scotland, the principle of constitutional monarchy, for which the Scots had consistently contended all through the struggle, found a triumphant embodiment. There remained many details to settle as occasion offered, but the real starting-point of British constitutional government may be dated from 1689, when the ugly spectre of divine right was laid for ever to rest. In the attainment of that end the Scottish Covenanters had proved themselves worthy descendants of the Scots of Bruce's day, who feared not to beard the Pope when necessity demanded, and of the Scots of Knox's day, who allowed not even royalty to bar their way to religious freedom. Civil liberty and religious liberty in our country have ever gone hand in hand; and as the fidelity and self-sacrifice of Scotland had once more saved Protestantism in its true sense, so had Scotland's example rendered possible the continued existence of the great body of Nonconformist opinion in England, which is to-day such a power in British political life, and pointed forward to the great Puritan churches of modern America and of our own colonies.

Scotland has not even yet realised to the full what she owes to her Covenanters, and of late several influences have tended to detract from the full meed of praise due to these humble heroes.

Many people profess to regard as trivial some of the principles for which the Covenanters contended; and we must admit that from a superficial point of view

they do seem to have stickled at trifles; but the subsequent career of Charles II. and James VII. is their justification. With these kings to gain an inch was to seize an ell; and if the Scots had given way on those trifling points of doctrine or of liberty, where would have been the Protestantism of either England or Scotland to-day? It is not regarded as detracting from the fame of John Hampden as a patriot that his quarrel with the king was a matter of a few shillings. And it is as true of the Covenanting struggle, that at every turn the principles of civil and religious liberty were involved. The opposition of the Covenanters to a succession of monarchs on matters apparently small rendered tyranny on greater matters impossible, and tided over the nation's liberties until the dawn of a happier day.

It is necessary to add that, as in Reformation days, the popular cause represented in overwhelming degree the cause of social morality and political cleanness. Dr. Hewison has well said: "The struggle was not for a form of Church government merely, for the maintenance of the nostrums of illiterate fanatics, or for the justification of obstinate demagogues. The fight was for freedom, morality, virtue, and religion. . . . The purists of the Covenant, at least, do not figure in the records of scandal. Yet because the incorruptible ministers manfully denounced those Royalist scapegraces, and maintained a high standard of morality and religion, they have been frequently discredited by those who are ignorant of the vicious environments in which they contended. . . . The Presbyterian ministers, by their honest ministries, pure lives, and creditable writings, form a contrast to other leaders of this epoch, and these attainments rightly gained for them the esteem in which the populace generally held them."

On the other hand, "an impartial account of the lives of the persecutors will always form a sufficiently black framework wherein to set the picture of many saintly lives offered for Christ's kingdom, crown, and covenants."

The Covenanters are often accused of bigotry; and assuredly men who were hunted from hill to bog, and from cave to tree, did not always express their views in the choicest phrases that calm deliberation could have suggested. But their bigotry and intolerance figure more prominently in the pages of Sir Walter Scott and others than the reality of things justifies. No better illustration of the fact that "unsympathetic record is always untrue" could have been given than when Scott's Episcopalian bias led him to create some of the gross caricatures of Covenanters to be found in the pages of *Old Mortality*. In the notes to that novel Scott himself pleads guilty to presenting a distorted view of one type of Covenanter, and the confession might have been extended to several others of his types: "The author does not, by any means, desire that Poundtext should be regarded as a just representation of the moderate Presbyterians, among whom were many ministers whose courage was equal to their good sense and sound views of religion. Were he to write the tale anew, he would probably endeavour to give the character a higher turn."

That the Covenanters at their best moved in a region far above the wranglings of sectarian bigotry is instanced by many noble passages, such as this one from Alexander Peden: "Where is the Church of God in Scotland at this day? It is not amongst the great clergy. I will tell you where the Church is. It is wherever a praying young man or woman is at a dyke-side in Scotland: that's where the Church is." Men

who spoke and wrote thus were not pure and simple fanatics. They kept alive the torch of enlightenment and truth, and in freedom from bigotry and superstition they were centuries in advance of the High Church party of the Church of England in the twentieth century, which places in the hands of children such statements as this: "Protestant Dissenters are in schism, and their ministers, not being in the Apostolic succession, have no authority to teach, and cannot administer the Sacraments," and which publishes "A List of Some False Religions, about which our Blessed Lord says, 'Beware of false prophets,'" including "Lutherans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, Plymouth Brethren, and Salvation Army." (Extracts from Catechism dedicated to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Provinces of Canterbury and York.)

Yet while these Covenanters were doing the world's work in struggling for political and religious freedom, they were at the same time men who breathed the purest spirit of patriotism,—men who were proud of their country as a land where the Spirit of God had entered into the motives of the common people. In this spirit Renwick declared: "I think that if the Lord could be tied to any place, it is to the moors and mosses in Scotland."

If they were too frequently argumentative in their discourses, they were the means, through that very fact, of developing that mental acumen which is generally credited to the Scot even by his keenest critics. If they made much of small points of doctrine, it was not to the exclusion of the weightier matters of the law. Nay, rather, they were so much in earnest, religion was so much a reality, that every detail had its value in their conception of the divine economy.

Bishop Burnet paid this high tribute to the Presby-

terian clergy of his day: "They had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore; they had a comprehension of matters of religion greater than I have seen among people of that sort anywhere"; and if we would desire to estimate the mental effect of three hundred years of Presbyterian influences, we need only compare the intellectual state of our peasantry with that of any other country in the world. That mental vigour is only one of the debts we owe to those sturdy, stubborn Covenanters who, to use Professor Blackie's words, "have left us the noblest inheritance that fathers can leave to their sons—a retrospect of courage, consistency, and unspotted honour."

CHAPTER XVIII

KILLIECRANKIE, GLENCOE, AND DARIEN.

> "And ever, by the winter hearth,
> Old tales I heard of woe or mirth,—
> . . . .
> Of later fields of feud and fight,
> When, pouring from their Highland height,
> The Scottish clans, in headlong sway,
> Had swept the scarlet ranks away."
>
> Scott.

The great political Revolution of 1689 had thus far been accomplished without any effective opposition. It was scarcely to be expected, however, that William would be left to enjoy his bloodless conquest in peace, although one cause of anxiety was removed on 14th June when Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the Duke of Gordon.

John Graham of Claverhouse had been created Viscount Dundee by King James, and was now entrusted by that monarch with the honour of acting on his behalf as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief in Scotland. Finding the Lowlands, in general, contented with the new régime, Dundee turned his attention to the Highlands, and proceeding stage by stage northwards as far as Inverness, he succeeded in collecting a strong force, drawn from various Highland clans. Of the Highland chiefs in his force, the most prominent was Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, who is remembered as having killed the last wolf in Scotland.

General Hugh Mackay, himself a native of Sutherlandshire, was dispatched with 3000 men to meet the Highlanders, and, on emerging from the Pass of Killiecrankie, on 27th July 1689, Mackay found Dundee confronting him on well-chosen ground, with a body of over 2000 Highlanders and Irishmen. For some hours the opposing forces surveyed each other with that "stern joy which warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel"; but at last, as evening fell, Dundee ordered his Highlanders to charge down the slope, and in a short but bloody conflict the wild fury of the clansmen carried havoc through the Lowland ranks, and the claymore prevailed over the bayonet. Mackay lost 2000 men, and his whole force might have been exterminated in the Pass had not Dundee been shot in the hour of victory. We have known Graham hitherto as a persecutor and little more, but the final scene of his life is such as heroes envy. Faithful to his exiled monarch, and entrusted by him with a high commission, rousing the clans by his own persuasive powers to champion that monarch's cause, scouring the country with a price of £20,000 offered for his head, he fell at last with brave words on his lips: "It is the less matter for me, seeing the day goes well for my master." Servant as he was so long of a most unworthy pair of kings, need his countrymen blush to own that John Graham, after all, was a Scot?

There is an element of irony in the fact that, fifteen years before, Graham had saved the life of the Prince of Orange, in opposing whom he had now lost his own.

The Highlanders had lost some 900 men. The news of their success, however, not only replenished, but ere long doubled their numbers; and under an Irishman, Colonel Cannon, they pushed southwards, and on 21st August attacked the town of Dunkeld. The town

was garrisoned by a regiment of seven or eight hundred Cameronians, who had been enlisted by the Earl of Angus in King William's interest, and who served under most unusual conditions, selecting their own officers, and regarding themselves as a religious congregation with its own elders. General Mackay had in vain protested against the folly of leaving so small a force, isolated from all help, in the midst of a hostile population, and exposed to almost certain destruction by a victorious horde of at least four times its own numbers. The Cameronians were commanded by Colonel William Cleland, who, as a lad in his teens, had fought at Drumclog ten years before, and who now so imbued his small band of men with his own intrepid courage that, after four hours' continuous fighting, victory crowned their efforts. The contest was of a most desperate character. The outposts of the defenders were driven in, and most of the fighting took place in the streets of the town. The bullets of the smaller force were soon exhausted, and slugs had to be made from lead stripped off the roofs. Cleland was shot dead, but was at once succeeded by Major Henderson, who also fell immediately. Captain Munro stepped into command, and the Covenanters battled on until their powder began to give out. At last the endurance of the Highlanders gave way, and they drew off with the loss of 300 men.

This victory checked the southward march of the clansmen, and extinguished for the time all hopes for James's cause in Scotland. Macaulay remarks: "The Cameronians had good reason to be joyful and thankful, for they had finished the war!"

Meanwhile King James had landed in the south of Ireland. Proceeding northwards by way of Dublin he laid siege to Londonderry, which was chiefly peopled by

Englishmen and by Scottish Presbyterians or their descendants. Under the Rev. George Walker the townsmen gallantly endured a siege of one hundred and five days' duration—from April to August 1689—before relief finally came, some 3000 of the garrison having perished of hunger or fallen in conflict. In June 1690, William himself landed in Ireland, and on 1st July the two rival kings headed their armies in person at the battle of the Boyne. William's personal skill and bravery contributed, in no small degree, to the complete victory won by the Protestants, and henceforth he was free from the necessity of asserting his supremacy by force of arms. A small garrison of some twenty men, however, held out for King James on the Bass Rock, with ridiculous bravery, until early in 1694, when they surrendered on terms.

On 1st May 1690 had occurred the skirmish of the Haughs of Cromdale, on Speyside, where a body of Highlanders under Cannon and Buchan were surprised and routed with a loss of 300 men.

The Highlands were easily kept in subjection by small forces of cavalry. The Highlanders were unused to the powerful war horses of the Lowlands, and regarded them with an almost superstitious awe, believing that in war the horses bit, kicked, and stamped upon their opponents. General Mackay wrote in this regard: "Horse is the great fear of the Highlanders. The same forces which beat my 3000 men formerly, I kept in their hills with the matter of 400 horse and dragoons, mostly new levies, the enemy being recruited with other Highlanders who were not present in the action." Fort William was built at this time, and named after the king.

William showed, in general, a conciliatory spirit towards the Highland clans, and endeavoured to secure

the support of the chieftains by offering rewards for timely submission, and by holding out threats of punishment for refusal. The Earl of Breadalbane had been allowed a sum of £20,000 in 1690 with which to bribe various Highland chiefs into submission, and this money had in general been profitably, if not too honourably, expended.

The 1st of January 1692 was fixed as the final date for receiving the allegiance of the chiefs, and by that date all had complied but one. Macdonald of Glencoe had hesitated to submit to the new monarch, but, finding himself isolated in his opposition, he at last set off to Fort William in December 1691. He was informed, to his dismay, that his oath could not be received there, and was directed to Inveraray, where he arrived after the appointed day. The sheriff accepted his oath, though with some hesitation, on 6th January. Macdonald, however (or M'Ian, as he was usually called), had enemies at court. The Earl of Breadalbane bore him personal enmity, owing to the Macdonalds' having used part of his land for grazing their cattle. The Secretary of State for Scotland was Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, a close friend of Breadalbane. By concealing the fact of Macdonald's ultimate submission, Stair procured an order, doubly signed by the king, to "extirpate that set of thieves." The extirpation was to be carried out with a cool treachery worthy of Stair's previous record in the case. A company of 120 men of Argyll's regiment, under Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, appeared in Glencoe towards the end of January.

The Macdonalds, it must be admitted, were among the most incorrigible freebooters in the Highlands, otherwise a livelihood could scarcely have been afforded by their desolate glen. The Campbells had previously

suffered from the cattle-lifting propensities of the Macdonalds, but as their captain was related to M'Ian by marriage, the Macdonalds were easily persuaded that the visit was one of friendship, and they welcomed the strangers with such cordiality as Highland honour dictated. After a fortnight had been spent by the Campbells in pretended friendship, the grim work of massacre was begun at four o'clock on the morning of 13th February. Stair had calculated on an utter annihilation of the clan. "In the winter," he wrote, "they cannot carry their wives, children, and cattle to the mountains. This is the proper season to maul them—in the long dark nights." It had been arranged that a stronger force should arrive in time to stop the exit from the glen, but Nature had been more merciful than man, and a storm had delayed the coming of this further band of licensed murderers. The consequence was that, while old M'Ian was slain, and his wife died from the cruel treatment accorded to her, his two sons escaped. Thirty-eight persons in all were massacred, but 150 succeeded in escaping from the glen. The houses of the clan were burned down, and their horses and cattle were led away.

As the revolting story found its way throughout the country, the heart of Scotland was stirred with indignation. In the Highlands particularly it was no longer possible for the chiefs to trust implicitly the Government of William. The good effects of his wholesome policy were thus in great measure obliterated, and seeds of discontent were sown, which were later to spring to life in the Jacobite Wars. The attempts to free William from the censure of posterity—on the ground that he was ignorant of the contents of the document signed by him—have not met with any wide approval. He must bear his share of the blame, while the names of Bread-

Horatio Macculloch, R.S.A. *Photo by Annan & Sons.*

GLENCOE.

P. 254.

albane and Stair stink in the nostrils of Scotsmen, with those of the traitor Sharp and the false Menteith. In January 1695, after investigations by a Royal Commission, Sir John Dalrymple was censured by Parliament, and Breadalbane was charged with high treason; but no agent, great or small, was really punished for his share in the massacre.

If the Highlands had been so far alienated by the Massacre of Glencoe from cordial acquiescence in William's government, a series of events soon followed which roused the indignation of Lowland Scotland almost to the pitch of revolt.

Scotland has now been so long famous as a nursing-ground of enterprising and successful business men, that we are apt to forget her pioneers in a field which she has made so peculiarly her own. Pre-eminent among these stands forth William Paterson (1658–1719), a native of Dumfriesshire, to whose genius we owe the origin of an institution which continues to advance in undiminished vigour after the lapse of more than two centuries, namely, the Bank of England, founded in 1694. Paterson had visited America, and had spent some years in the West Indies, and with prophetic instinct he realised that the Isthmus of Panama or Darien was destined to become a great entrepôt of trade between the east and west coasts of America, and between Europe and Asia. He therefore formed the bold scheme of founding a great commercial colony on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, with liberal laws and free trade principles, and with its ports open to the ships of all nations on payment of moderate Customs duties.

In June 1695 the scheme was discussed in the Scottish Parliament, and a resolution was passed in its favour, the members regarding the proposed colony as a probable breeding-ground of international friendship.

Thus was founded the "Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies." Half the shareholders were to be Scots, and the other half not resident in Scotland. The capital desired was £600,000; and the scheme so appealed to the imagination of England and the Continent that the whole sum was offered by subscribers in London, Hamburg, and Holland. It is difficult to say what might have been the upshot of the scheme had it been allowed to proceed on the lines approved by the Scottish Parliament. Paterson's record in other matters certainly clears him of the suspicion of being a crack-brained speculator, and now, after the lapse of more than two centuries, the present generation has witnessed the initiation of a great scheme of American enterprise, to be carried out, with the necessary modern modifications, on the scene of Paterson's proposed colony. But when all this is granted, it remains probable that even if no opposition had been offered in Paterson's time, the scheme would have proved a failure simply because the world was not ready for it.

While, however, at the safe distance of two centuries we can realise the prematureness and perhaps even the absurdity of the scheme, these were not so apparent to the men of Paterson's day, and, as we have seen, the proposal met with approval in three countries outside of Scotland.

All this we must remember in estimating the justice of the feeling of resentment soon to be aroused in Scotland by the deliberate thwarting of the scheme by the English Parliament and the British king. The two Houses of Parliament in England presented a joint protest to the king against the privileges granted to the "Scots India Company." They complained that "Scotland might be made a free port for all East India

commodities, and consequently those several places in Europe which were supplied from England would be furnished from Scotland much cheaper than could be done by the English"; and they further insinuated that the Scots would smuggle commodities into England "by stealth, both by sea and land, to the great prejudice of the English trade and navigation, and to the great detriment of His Majesty in his Customs." By this sordid and selfish appeal they not only succeeded, by July 1696, in alienating their countrymen from the scheme, but, by inducing the king to set his face against it, and to warn the Senate of Hamburg, among other bodies, of his royal displeasure if it continued to support the scheme, they ensured that the Dutch and Germans would likewise back out of their promised assistance.

As these unpleasant truths became known in Scotland, the indignation of Parliament and people was intense; and when the subscription books were opened the national honour was felt to be at stake, and shares were eagerly bought up in the Lowland counties, the Duchess of Hamilton setting an example by investing £3000. The Highlands took practically no part in the scheme, although Argyll was concerned in it.

In July 1698 three ships set sail from Leith with 1200 colonists on board, reaching the New World three months later. They found there only natives ("Indians" as they were erroneously called); and having purchased rights of settlement they founded the colony of New Caledonia, with two small towns, New Edinburgh and New St. Andrews. Paterson sailed as a private member of the expedition. It was not long before their difficulties began to grow upon the colonists. The land was claimed by the Spaniards, who made representations to William on the

subject, having not unnaturally confused the new Scottish settlement with the filibustering expeditions so familiar in the past relations of Spain and England.

The English and Dutch East India Companies followed the example of the English Parliament by protesting to the king against these dangerous rivals. They prevailed upon him to issue proclamations in Jamaica and the other British West Indian settlements, forbidding all dealings with the ill-starred colony.

Thus isolated on all hands, and attacked by disease, the colonists set sail from their new settlement in June 1699, two of their ships reaching New York, and the other Jamaica. Later on, other ships arrived from Scotland, to find the colony deserted; and of the 1600 who sailed in them, what with disease, shipwreck, and the hostility of the Spaniards, only a few dozen ever reached home. Altogether this disastrous expedition cost Scotland some 2700 lives, while the whole of the paid-up capital of £220,000—an enormous sum for a country with the slender resources of Scotland at that time—was irretrievably lost.

When the Scottish Parliament met in May 1700, a resolution was put forward declaring the colony a right and lawful settlement; but the Duke of Queensberry, as Lord Commissioner, repeatedly adjourned Parliament to prevent its being passed.

The pent-up indignation of the people at this muzzling of their representatives seemed to threaten the outbreak of another civil war; and William so resented the freedom of speech indulged in by the Scots, that he expressed the wish "that Scotland were a thousand miles from England, and that he were never the king of it." By the following year, however, public feeling had become somewhat calmer, and the

Scottish Estates, after carrying an address to the king in January regarding the Darien Scheme, condemning the interference of the English Parliament, and the hostility of governors of colonies, gradually became so tractable that some of the leading members were suspected of having been bribed into quietness. But while the Scottish people settled doggedly down to repair their losses as best they could, they did not for many a day forget the part played by their "auld enemies" across the border in helping to wreck what had been regarded as a pet national scheme.

One or two details of events remain to be gathered up before closing the story of William's reign. His consort, Queen Mary, had died in 1694. James VII. and II. died in 1701, at St. Germain, and Louis XIV. promptly proclaimed the son of the exiled king as King James VIII. and III.

William had sturdily maintained his Protestant principles, and had frequently crossed to the Continent to engage in the perpetual struggles proceeding there. In March 1702, owing to his horse stumbling over a molehill, he sustained injuries, which, in his enfeebled state of health, proved fatal. His death occurred at a critical period, as he left a legacy of war against Louis XIV. in defence of European Protestantism.

The reign of William was signalised not only by the beginning of constitutional monarchy in Britain, but by the definite recognition of various other important principles, notably the liberty of the press and the parliamentary control of the army. His last official act was to send a message to the English House of Commons earnestly recommending that a Treaty of Union should be entered into between England and Scotland.

During William's reign there began the stirring of

the bones of the Russian nation under Peter the Great, who ascended the throne in 1682 at the age of ten. During the early years of his reign, he suffered from numerous intrigues, in which the "Strelitzes," or militia, were involved. It was not until 1698 that he was freed from this difficulty, and that through the good offices of a Scot in his service. Patrick Gordon was born in Aberdeenshire in 1635, and is an outstanding example of a Scot who, beginning purely as a soldier of fortune, rose to be distinctly a man of public spirit. In 1655 he entered the service of Sweden, and in 1661 that of Muscovy. By 1688 he had risen steadily to the full rank of general. In 1689, Gordon and other foreign officers gained for "Czar Peter" the ascendancy over conspirators in his own household. Henceforth Gordon was the most powerful subject in Russia, and the Czar's most trusted adviser. In 1698, while Peter was travelling over Europe in search of ideas for the betterment of Russia, the "Strelitzes" once more rebelled ; but this time they were decisively and finally crushed by Gordon. Gordon only lived till the following year. The Czar, who stood by his deathbed during his last hours, accorded him a magnificent public funeral in honour of his services in the cause of Russian reform.

CHAPTER XIX

THE UNION NEGOTIATIONS.

"DISEASES, desperate grown,
By desperate appliance are relieved
Or not at all."

SHAKSPEARE, *Hamlet*.

WILLIAM and Mary having died without issue, the crowns of England and Scotland passed, in 1702, to Anne, the younger sister of Mary, and second daughter of James VII. and II. Anne was in her thirty-eighth year, and had married Prince George of Denmark in 1683. Although she had borne seventeen children, all of these had died, and the question of the succession to the throne was sure to arise in an acute form as soon as Anne's reign should come to an end. The new queen applied herself forthwith to the fulfilment of William's desire for a closer union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, and she accordingly summoned, in June 1702, the same Scottish Parliament as had sat all through the late king's reign. The Duke of Hamilton protested against the illegality of retaining this Parliament longer in power, and withdrew, along with about eighty other members. The remaining members, having considered the queen's recommendations for a union, authorised her to appoint commissioners, who duly met, but failed to come to any agreement, chiefly owing to the reluctance of the English to admit Scotsmen to an equality with themselves in matters of trade.

In May 1703 a new Scottish Parliament was summoned, destined to be the last independent Parliament of the northern realm. The chief business laid before it by Lord Queensberry, the High Commissioner, was the queen's request for a subsidy to help in prosecuting the war between Britain and France, that War of the Spanish Succession which was to stamp Marlborough as one of the greatest of the world's generals. The Scottish Parliament, however, had another matter to settle, which it considered of more immediate importance than any foreign affairs. The English Parliament had passed an Act of Settlement in 1701, conferring the crown on Anne, and deciding that it should pass from her to Sophia of Hanover. All this had been done without asking the opinion or requesting the co-operation of Scotland. The Scots very naturally resented this supercilious treatment, in so far as William held both crowns simply in trust from the Parliaments of the respective countries. An Act of Security was accordingly brought forward in the Scottish Parliament in August, declaring that Anne's successor should be of the royal line of Scotland and of the Protestant religion, but should not be the same person as the monarch of England, unless upon a guarantee of free home and colonial trade, and after a separate Coronation Oath to safeguard the crown, Parliament, religion, and liberty of Scotland from any English or foreign interference. The Commissioner announced that this Act would require the queen's further consideration, and again brought forward the question of a subsidy for the war. The House, however, led by Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, refused to discuss any question of money unless the liberties of the country were first protected from English bribery. Fletcher wished all official

appointments to be made by Parliament and not by the Crown, so that "no man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his country, when his countrymen shall have all the bribes—offices, places, pensions—in our own hands." The Commissioner accordingly prorogued Parliament without succeeding in extorting any funds for the war; and the members, before separating, decided that, in view of possible differences with England, the men of the counties and burghs should be armed and drilled.

A new Session of the Scottish Parliament opened in July 1704, with the Marquess of Tweeddale as Commissioner. The queen's request that the Parliament should agree to the English Act of Settlement was the occasion of violent debates.

The members of the Scottish Parliament at this time may be regarded as falling roughly into three parties. The first of these consisted of the Old Whigs, or Court Party, headed by James Douglas, Duke of Queensberry. These were bent upon keeping on good terms with England, and were favourable to union as a measure acceptable to the queen. In violent opposition to these was the Jacobite party, headed by the Duke of Atholl. These posed as the true representatives of Scottish independence, and regarded Queen Anne merely as a warming-pan on the throne on behalf of her exiled brother. The balance of power was really held by a third party, known as the Country Party, or New Whigs, who had parted from the orthodox Whigs owing to the jealousy of England created by the Darien failure and other international difficulties. The members of this party were generally in favour of a union with England, provided proper safeguards were secured for Scotland's interests. As they differed in opinion as to the degree of security

demanded, we find the more extreme patriots, such as the universally admired Fletcher of Saltoun and the self-seeking Duke of Hamilton, acting usually along with the Tory opposition, of which in fact Hamilton was regarded as the virtual leader, with Atholl as his lieutenant. The more tolerant Whigs of the Country Party, ably headed by the Marquess of Tweeddale, were known as the "Squadrone Volante" (Flying Squadron), on account of their unattached position and the ease with which they could sway the fortunes of political warfare. In 1704, by a coalition of the Jacobites and New Whigs against the Court Party, the Act of Security was again passed; and in August, to prevent a worse issue of events, the queen accorded a reluctant consent to this bold measure, whereupon the necessary supplies were at last voted. The Parliament was soon afterwards prorogued.

The English attitude towards union with Scotland had up till now been one of patronising acquiescence. Sir Edward Seymour declared in the House of Commons: "All the advantage we shall have will be no more than what a man gets by marrying a beggar —a louse for a portion!" But now the indignation of England at Scottish presumption was roused to fever-heat; and when the English Parliament met in 1704, it was seriously proposed to censure the Scottish Parliament for their Act of Security. This procedure was dropped as too arrogant; but it was decided to fortify the towns in the north of England, and to station a strong force at Berwick in case of a possible invasion. Moreover, in March 1705 the English Parliament passed an Alien Act, declaring that all Scotsmen should be regarded as aliens unless the succession in Scotland were settled as in England before the year expired.

Parliamentary events seemed rapidly shaping towards war; and as if to render a conflict more certain, one or two ugly occurrences took place such as might have caused serious complications even in less troublous times. The Darien Company's ship *Annandale*, while lying in the Thames to complete her crew for the East Indies, was seized and confiscated at the instance of the English East India Company; and, in return, the Scots seized the English ship *Worcester* in the Forth. Its crew, while under the influence of drink, boasted of having boarded a Scottish vessel on the high seas and murdered its crew; and, as this vessel was known to be missing, Captain Green of the *Worcester* and two of the crew were condemned to death, and, in spite of the queen's remonstrances, were hanged at Leith in April 1705. It was afterwards discovered that the supposed murder was a myth.

In June 1705 the Scottish Parliament met once more, the Duke of Argyll now acting as Commissioner. After much time had been spent in manœuvres by the various parties, a definite proposal to negotiate for a Treaty of Union with England was brought forward in August. It was agreed, after much discussion, to appoint commissioners to treat with those of England regarding terms, and by an unfortunate catch-vote, engineered, strange to say, by the Duke of Hamilton, it was agreed to leave the nomination of the commissioners to Her Majesty. As a preliminary to any negotiations, however, the Scots demanded the repeal of the Alien Act; and this demand was complied with by the English Parliament in October.

The commissioners on each side numbered thirty-one, and, as was to be expected, the Queen's Scottish nominees belonged almost exclusively to the Court Party, only one commissioner, Lockhart of Carnwath,

being a known Jacobite. The Commission sat from April till July 1706, and the draft treaty was completed on 22nd July, and placed in the queen's hands next day. Great was the anxiety of the Scottish people to learn the terms agreed upon by the commissioners, and great was the excitement when the last Scottish Parliament met for its last Session in October 1706, Queensberry, as chief promoter of the union, appropriately appearing once more as High Commissioner. When it leaked out that the union was to be of an incorporating nature instead of a federal, a wave of universal indignation passed over the country. Riots occurred in the streets of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and petitions poured in from almost every burgh in Scotland, and from many of the counties, against this obnoxious element in the treaty. The democratic Cameronians and the Jacobite aristocrats seemed ready to unite in common action to protect the menaced independence of their ancient realm. The Convention of Burghs petitioned the Estates against the Union, alleging that their "religion, church government, claim of right, law, liberties, trades, and all that is dear to us," were "daily in danger of being encroached upon, altered, or wholly subverted by the English in a British Parliament." They also complain that "our poor people are made liable to the English taxes, which is a certain unsupportable burden."

But, after all, the real combat was to be waged within the classic walls of Parliament House. The case for the Union was ably opened in a calmly reasoned speech by Mr. Seton of Pitmedden. His main points were two in number. In the first place, he argued in favour of the incorporating union of the countries, with only one British Parliament, and proved, to his own satisfaction, the impossibility of a federal union, there

being in those days no brilliant example of its success, such as the United States of America, to refute his theory by the unanswerable logic of hard facts. In the second place, he laid great stress on the commercial benefits to be derived from a union with England, drawing a much too gloomy picture of the inability of a small and poor country like Scotland to fight its own economic battle in the world.

On the opposition side the most eloquent and impassioned speech was that delivered by Lord Belhaven on 2nd November. He pictured the folly of the free and independent kingdom of Scotland renouncing the power to manage its own affairs, and drew attention to the danger and the loss of prestige to Church and State. He reminded his colleagues that "None can destroy Scotland, save Scotland's self." He deprecated the extent to which English ideas had prevailed in framing the terms of the treaty. "I see the English Constitution remaining firm: the same two Houses of Parliament, the same taxes, customs, excise; the same trade in companies; the same municipal laws and courts of judicature; and all ours subject to regulations or annihilation. Only we have the honour to pay their old debts, and to have some few persons present for witnesses to the validity of the deed when they are pleased to contract more. Good God! what is this? An entire surrender?"

This outburst of burning indignation was followed by a cold douche from the Earl of Marchmont, who declared that the only reply called for was—"Behold I dreamed; and lo! when I awoke I found it was a dream."

Fletcher of Saltoun, as was inevitable in so stout a patriot and so thorough a democrat, opposed the measure with the most uncompromising hostility.

Hamilton, Atholl, and others protested bitterly against the measure. The majority of the so-called "Squadrone Volante," however, supported the Government, and turned the wavering balance in favour of union. The decisive consideration in their case was that the union, whatever its drawbacks or dangers might be, seemed to be the only possible security against the Catholic succession. The main principle of the incorporating union was passed on 4th November, with a majority in each of the three Estates (peers, barons, and burgh members) of which the Scottish Parliament was composed.

Fletcher, in disgust, declared his intention to quit the country, as being "only fit for the slaves who sold it." This phrase embodied the popular suspicion, which has never quite died out, that English gold had proved one of the strongest arguments in securing votes for the Union. Certain it is that a sum of £20,000 was doled out by the English Treasury to some thirty members, all of whom, except Atholl, voted for the incorporating union; but how far the various sums were mere arrears of salary for divers offices held since the queen's accession, and how far they must be regarded as rewards of venality, is one of those points which, in the absence of full evidence of the truth, are usually settled one way or the other by the prejudices of partisan opinion. In January 1707 occurred the sudden death of the Earl of Stair, who had taken an active part in promoting the Union, apparently from the best of motives, and who thus expiated in some small degree the infamy of the one great blot on his career.

Having approved of the general principle of the Treaty of Union, the Scottish Parliament, after a few days' adjournment, went on to provide various safeguards for national institutions, especially for the

ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN.

P. 268.

Church. It was decided to append to the Treaty of Union an Act of Security stipulating that the Sovereign of Great Britain must, in the Coronation Oath, swear to maintain the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland. With this addition the treaty passed, and was touched with the sceptre in token of royal approval on 16th January 1707.

At last, on the 25th of March 1707, the Session ended, and the Scottish Parliament was no more. Popular opinion had gradually become reconciled to the prospect, the most notable display of adverse feeling having been the burning of the Articles of Union at Dumfries in November by some two hundred Cameronians. Lord Chancellor Seafield, whether in a spirit of flippancy or regret, pronounced the epitaph of the Parliament in the oft-quoted words: "There's the end of an auld sang."

It may here be of interest to consider briefly the nature of the Parliament which was thus, for good or evil, brought to a somewhat hurried end. The first approach to a Scottish Parliament is the "Great Council" which met at Stirling to raise money to buy back the independence bartered away by William the Lion. This body consisted of nobles and burgesses only. In February 1283–84 the prelates and nobles assembled to swear fealty to Margaret, Princess of Norway, in the reign of Alexander III. On the death of Alexander a "Parliament" of some kind was held; but probably, as in the meeting at Brigham during the interregnum, it consisted only of nobles and prelates. The first recorded case of a meeting of all three Estates is in 1292, when Baliol was forced by his subjects to renounce his fealty to Edward.

In the Parliament at Cambuskenneth, summoned by Robert the Bruce in 1326, all Estates of the realm

were represented,—nobles, bishops, burgesses, and free tenants of the kingdom. For nearly thirty years after Bruce's death there is no record of a regular and complete Parliament, but in 1357 all three Estates were convened to find money for the ransom of David II. In this same reign we find for the first time the delegation of parliamentary power to a committee called the Lords of the Articles,—a practice by which the Parliament was shorn of much of its power. Burgesses are not known to have been regularly summoned to the Estates until the middle of the fifteenth century, and even then only royal burghs were represented.

By 1454 there had come into existence that peculiar representative body known as the Convention of Royal Burghs, which developed from the older Court of the Four Burghs (Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh). This council still meets annually at Edinburgh, though denuded in 1833 of any real power beyond that of making representations to executive bodies such as Parliament.

At its best, the constitution of the Scottish Parliament erred in this respect, that, as all three Estates met in one body, the commoners were in the majority of cases outvoted, and the House acted as an aristocratic drag on the democratic tendencies of the nation.

During the reigns of the Scottish Stewarts[1] there was little conflict between the kings and Parliament, partly owing to the large proportion of time during which the kings were minors, partly owing to the common hostility to England. Nor was there much enmity between the nobles and the commons under the Scots feudal system, except on those occasions when the peasantry refused to

[1] The spelling "Stuart" is due to French influence, and was adopted by the royal family from and after Queen Mary's time.

follow their superiors in treasonable practices. From 1603 onwards Scotland was in a very unsatisfactory position. The Union of the Crowns isolated her completely from her old continental friends, yet gained her no very cordial access of friendship on the part of England. Her government was carried on chiefly by subservient Lords of the Articles, and the Estates chiefly met to go through the form of ratifying the actions of such committees. If the Scottish Estates had seldom, if ever, thoroughly represented the Scottish people when their kings lived amongst them, they were truly in evil case with their kings in London, with Presbyterians excluded from the membership of Parliament (as happened in several reigns), and with a governing body which, so far from acting as an effective barrier between the monarch and any possible oppression of his subjects, proved a mere tool, and a willing tool, of tyranny and misgovernment. It was the very irony of fate that the Scottish Estates should have become truly representative, and truly conscious of their power, only at the Revolution, when their span of existence was to be cut short within half a generation.

Yet when all these unsatisfactory particulars are admitted, the fact remains that the Scottish Parliament had, during its precarious existence, passed laws which were in many respects superior to those which the English House of Commons had managed to foist on the unwilling Lords and monarchs. Knox's noble scheme of national education and of provision for the deserving poor had been adopted in great fulness; and while Scottish law was more stringent in tracking the criminal, its penalties were much more mild and humane than those of the southern kingdom, and arrangements were made for securing justice to the poorest subject. Sheriff Sir Archibald Alison claimed

that the old Scottish Parliament was so far ahead of the Liberal party in Great Britain in his own day that "almost the whole objects for the acquisition of which they profess such anxiety in England in the middle of the nineteenth century, were secured for Scotland by her native legislature before the end of the seventeenth. . . . In truth, the early precocity of Scotland in legislative wisdom, and the extraordinary provisions made by its native Parliaments in remote periods, not only for the well-being of the people, but the coercion alike of regal tyranny and aristocratic oppression, and the instruction, relief, and security of the poorer classes, is one of the most remarkable facts in the whole history of modern Europe. When we recollect what was the state of that remote and sterile kingdom in the four centuries preceding the Union, during which these extraordinary monuments of legislative wisdom were erected; when we remember that for the first two centuries of that period it was lacerated by an almost incessant warfare for its national independence, invaded twenty times by immense foreign armies, and plundered and devastated everywhere by foreign bands; . . . when we observe that during the next two centuries, when the English had abandoned their attempts to conquer the kingdom by main force, they had constant recourse to the still more disastrous method of management, which consisted in the corruption and division of the nobles; . . . we are lost in astonishment at the laws which were framed during such periods of anarchy, and the noble principles of legislation adopted by a people too often, to appearance, occupied only with the wretched and distracting objects of individual ambition."

Even Professor Sanford Terry holds that, by 1707, the Scottish Parliament "had brought itself, both as a

chamber of debate and of legislation, to a reasonable level of procedure with the English Parliament of the day."

The last session of the English Parliament lasted from December 1706 till April 1707. The Commons passed the Treaty of Union in February, after little more than a week's discussion. The measure met with more opposition in the Upper House, but in the end it passed there also with a goodly majority. The queen's assent to the treaty was given on 4th March, and its provisions took effect on 1st May 1707.

The immediate effects of the Treaty of Union were far from favourable to Scotland. Doubtless, she had now gained at last that freedom of trade with England which her merchants had so long desired; but, apart from this one material advantage, she was confronted with all the old disadvantages of the Union of 1603 in a new and exaggerated form. Just as Holyrood had then lost its ancient splendour, so now the Parliament House ceased to represent the dignity of the nation. The centre of government was shifted southwards, and was followed to London by a constant stream of Scottish money and Scottish talent, which, having continued to flow during the two centuries which separate the Union from to-day, might well have left any ordinary small country destitute of either material resource or national honour. That Scotland in the twentieth century retains such a store of both is eloquent testimony to the indomitable energy and staying power of the Scottish race.

The one unanswerable argument in favour of a close union of some sort was the geographical necessity of the case. It was painful to think that two nations, more or less closely allied in race and language, should occupy one island, and pass centuries of their history in bloody feuds. Defoe estimates that during those

centuries the Scots and English had fought three hundred and fourteen battles, involving the loss of a million of the bravest men in Europe. Sooner or later such a state of things had to be ended by mutual agreement, or it would have led inevitably to the extinction of both combatants as forces in the affairs of Europe or the world. It is just barely conceivable, no doubt, that the larger kingdom might, in course of time, have subdued the sturdier but smaller realm through the exhaustion of the latter by sheer force of overwhelming numbers, but this could only have been achieved by England under the utterly unlikely condition that France and other naturally hostile powers would have looked calmly on without interference. And even granting the possibility of this, the effort would have so exhausted the resources of England in lives and wealth as to make any hope of her becoming a world power utterly impossible, and it would, moreover, have required the existence of a standing army, which, as a natural tool of tyranny, would have reacted on the southern realm in the stifling of all further efforts towards constitutional liberty.

It was with keen insight into past and future events that Maitland had thus advised the English Government in 1559: "Do not lightly esteem the friendship of Scotland. England is separated from every other nation by the sea; and, if she unites with Scotland, her defences will be complete."

Even while the union negotiations were proceeding, England was already in the throes of European conflict, and for more than a century there was but little cessation of warfare between France and Britain. The Union was thus, even in the time of its occurrence, a providential blessing to the greater partner. To quote Professor Lodge: "That England emerged victorious

in the long duel with France which fills the eighteenth century was due to many causes; but not the least of these causes was the fact that England had been merged in Great Britain. With a hostile or semi-hostile Scotland, requiring constant watchfulness and caution, the victory would not have been won, or would have been won with infinitely greater difficulty."

While, therefore, fully admitting the inestimable advantages derived by Scotland from the union, advantages usually dinned into our heads *ad nauseam* from the days of childhood, we must remember that the overwhelming advantage lay with England. Her Protestantism was rendered secure from any attacks by outsiders, although in its own half-hearted life it contained the elements of internal decay; the possibility of Scottish soil furnishing a landing-place for England's enemies became more remote than ever; and in any question that might arise regarding the succession to the crown, the English no longer had to fear the danger of a Scotland united on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. Defoe exultantly declared in his *History of the Union*, published in 1709: "The interests of Popery, tyranny, French usurpations, and spurious succession received a mortal stab by the Union"; and in a speech delivered in 1905, Mr. A. J. Balfour truly remarked: "Only by the union of England and Scotland could there be a Britain in which both would find a higher realisation than either ever could find separately. What a task the uniting of two such communities! But it is accomplished; and by and through its accomplishment there is at this moment such a thing as a British Empire, and I will add that through its accomplishment there is such a thing as the American Republic. Both depended upon the momentous decision that there should be a Great

Britain; that this island should not be divided, but united, in spite of the memories of blood, in spite of the memories of defeat, in spite of the glories of victory. Their interests, their community of sentiment, their community of language, fore-ordained that they should be one nation."

Taken all in all, the Articles of Union must be admitted to be a triumph of fairness and common sense, except in one very important particular, namely, the ridiculously small representation accorded to Scotland in the two Houses of the British Parliament. As this injustice, however, has been to a large extent remedied in course of time, we are safe in saying that the various arrangements of the treaty were well fitted—if fairly and honourably observed—to lead to a genuine union of heart and of interest between the two nations.

Defoe, who had a share in the negotiations on behalf of England, honestly claims that "the union has been brought to pass, not by gaining from, but by yielding to one another. Mutual condescensions—not mutual encroachments—have brought this work to pass." And if, in considering the various articles, we find some reason to complain of Scotland's loss of prestige since the Union, we shall be bound to admit that this has been due, in most cases, not to unfair provisions in the treaty itself, but to the fact that in many important respects Scotland's treaty rights have been neglected or trampled upon owing to the faulty memory or the complacent ignorance of subsequent generations of Englishmen, or to the sycophancy and supineness of the Scotsmen sent to watch over our interests at Westminster.

CHAPTER XX

TREATY OF UNION—ARTICLES I. AND III.—BRITAIN, NOT ENGLAND.

"If you un-Scotch us, you will find us d——d mischievous Englishmen.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

"He that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him
But leaves me poor indeed."

SHAKSPEARE, *Othello.*

NOTHING could better illustrate both the fairness of the treaty itself and the extent to which our Scottish treaty rights have been subsequently neglected than a consideration of the First and Third Articles of Union.

Article I. provides that the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England shall, upon 1st May 1707, and for ever after, be united into one Kingdom, by the name of Great Britain; and that the ensigns armorial of the said United Kingdom be such as Her Majesty shall appoint; and that the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in such manner as Her Majesty shall think fit, and used in all flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both at sea and land.

Article III. provides that the United Kingdom of Great Britain shall be represented by one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of Great Britain.

These two Articles really contain the very essence

of the Union, and are of prime importance as showing the equality of status of the two countries. Here is no question of either party filching the other's honour, but an honourable undertaking to merge the national identity of England and of Scotland in a new and in every sense "united" kingdom. That such was the interpretation put upon the treaty at the time is clear from the words of Defoe: "The queen herself lays down her separate titles, and *is no more Queen of England*, Scotland, etc., but Queen of Great Britain, and is called in missives and foreign accounts, 'Her Britannic Majesty'; her *troops are no more English and Scots*, but British forces; and the arms of the Island are now incorporated and quartered together." He further remarks how "England suffered the same alterations as Scotland, such as dissolving her Parliament, *her name as a kingdom*, her Council, great offices, and title of her sovereign; and all things began *de novo* in both kingdoms under the single denomination of Britain and British." At the time of the later union with Ireland in 1801 the name of the United Kingdom was extended to "Great Britain and Ireland," or more shortly "Britain," while the word "British" reached its full and true meaning as referring to the whole of the British Isles.

Now it does seem strange that after the lapse of two hundred years it should be necessary to insist on the very first article of the Treaty of Union and to plead for its observance; but "'tis true, 'tis pity; pity 'tis, 'tis true," that our national names are so constantly misused by people south of the Border, and even by some north of it, as to prove the existence of gross ignorance or carelessness, or deliberate dishonesty, in quarters where such ought to be least expected. British monarchs, princes, viceroys, Cabinet ministers,

and members of parliament, historians, novelists, poets, newspaper editors, and others in positions of great trust and influence, ought surely to be possessed of at least a rudimentary knowledge of the steps by which the British nation and the British Empire came to be built up; yet we find them repeatedly using the terms "England" and "English" when referring to the country and the empire as a whole, and when speaking of our army, navy, parliament, and monarchy itself.

The late queen and the present king may both be numbered among the regular transgressors in this respect, and the Prince of Wales has been known to speak of "my principality of Scotland!" Lord Curzon, as Viceroy of India, proclaimed the present monarch as "Edward VII., King of England and Emperor of India." Lords Milner and Cromer, fresh from their services to the empire in Africa, have frequently used the incorrect terms, although in the case of the former there has been noticeable a gradual tendency towards correctness. Among authors, Lord Morley and Mr. Herbert Paul are two of the most incorrigible, although, as we shall see, the former as Mr. John Morley, M.P., could be studiedly correct in his speeches to his Scottish constituents. Mr. W. T. Stead, and numerous other editors, while fair on most other points, doggedly nurse their erroneous use of our national names. Many persons of influence not only make this mistake on occasion, which in itself would be scarcely pardonable, but deliberately avoid ever using the correct terms. Some of the leading publishing firms perpetuate the error by classing Burns, Scott, Hume, Goldsmith, Carlyle, and others among "English Men of Letters," or by including Colin Campbell, Lord Dundonald, David Livingstone, and the like under the designation "English Men of Action." The almost hopeless

corruption of school histories in this respect will call for attention in a later chapter.

The natural result of all this is to represent England not as the "predominant partner" in the empire, but as the sole proprietor, not as a fellow-worker with other parts of these islands in carrying on British history, but as the one and only actor in it all, and as the sole recipient of whatever glory accrues to any part of these isles. Ireland, Wales, and, above all, Scotland, are deliberately bereft of whatever credit is due to them, and are reduced to the level of mere provinces of England. In view of this, is it surprising that the compiler of one of the best French dictionaries, constantly reading of "England" and its achievements, should fall into the mistake of telling us that "Scotland was politically united to England in 1707 by decision of Parliament," and should proceed to say that Scotland now seems desirous of "following the example of Ireland in striving to obtain its independence"?

Now, there are three conclusive reasons why the proper terms "Britain" and "British," should be undeviatingly used in all matters referring to the United Kingdom or to the empire as a whole.

Firstly, Scotland demanded this at the Union, and she demands it to-day. Throughout her history she refused to consider any negotiations for union on any other terms than the adoption of a joint name, and England realised the hopelessness of any union without this concession on her part. In the time of Edward VI. and Pinkie the English offered to drop the name of England entirely for the sake of union, and to use "the *indifferent* old name of Britain," *i.e.*, the name applicable to both countries. Later—in the time of Elizabeth—Maitland, when proposing terms of union on behalf of the Lords of the Congregation, made it a

condition that the name Great Britain should replace both England and Scotland. The attempts at a parliamentary union in the reign of James VI. and I. were based on the same condition. Even Cromwell recognised the various constituent parts of the realm by having himself proclaimed "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." It may cause surprise to many people, in these days when Scotsmen are so earnestly striving to have the terms "Britain" and "British" properly used, to learn that it was with great hesitation that the Scottish people agreed in 1707 to adopt even the name "British," which many of them considered fit only for "the conquered Welsh." It was only as a compromise that the name was accepted; and not even the greatest Anglophile among the commissioners would have listened for a moment to the suggestion that Scotland should surrender her name without the same sacrifice on the part of England.

That Scotland is as keenly concerned in this question as ever is instanced not only by the petition signed by 100,000 Scottish people regarding the use of our national names, and presented to Queen Victoria at her Diamond Jubilee, but also by the recent foundation of several societies of a non-political complexion whose main object of existence is to insist on our national rights in this and other allied matters.

Secondly, England agreed to the demand, and cannot honestly back out of her agreement. It was doubtless with as great hesitancy as that manifested by the Scots that the English agreed to drop their national name when referring to the joint country; but here again it was a case of compromise in return for the inestimable benefits of union. The main point is that *the agreement was made* in the Treaty of Union.

and any man who breaks that promise now has to reckon with two questions of conscience—(1) was the promise of 1707 *genuine*? (2) if so, *when* did it *lapse*?

When an Englishman blandly tells us that by England "he means to include Scotland," he is only adding insult to injury. It is as if a man, speaking on behalf of a committee, were to insist on saying "I" instead of "we," and to give the excuse, "Oh, by '*I*' I mean all of you." It was simply to guard against this arrogant assumption of self-importance that Scotland, as the smaller nation, rightly extorted a fair agreement on this point.

You will often hear one of those Scots who are indifferent on this matter say, "Oh, we must submit to be called English; the *greater* includes the *less*." It need scarcely be pointed out that this statement is a fallacy, founded doubtless on the truth that "the *whole* includes the *part*." If this argument is too abstruse for the class of person referred to, perhaps an actual occurrence, with a strong *commercial bearing*, will carry more conviction. A well-known Glasgow merchant—a thorough Scot and a man of great enterprise—was appointed by an American firm as their agent for Scotland for a class of goods in great demand in this country, but manufactured solely in America. His business increased beyond his fondest hopes, but by and by he found his trade being undermined by a rival. Another person was selling these goods in Scotland, and it turned out that this person had been appointed agent for "England" for these same goods. To the Glasgow man's remonstrance the Englishman replied with the usual argument that as the greater includes the less, so *England included Scotland*! The matter was referred to the American firm by the Scotsman, and with such good success that the firm,

who had no liking for dishonest men, withdrew the agency from the Englishman, and obviated all further dispute by appointing the Scotsman agent for "Great Britain." *Moral*—England and Scotland are alike *parts* of one *whole*, and the question of relative size has nothing to do with the matter. As Lord Reay remarked recently: "After all, England is only a province of the empire."

Thirdly, the proper use of the term "British" in referring to matters concerning the whole kingdom simply brings history and politics into line with geography. As far back as the time of Ptolemy and Pliny—centuries before any "Englishman" had set foot on these shores—the name Britannia Magna was applied to Great Britain, while the fact that Ireland was known as Britannia Parva or Little Britain entirely disposes of the ill-informed objection of Sir Alfred Austin and others that "Britain" excludes Ireland! Any reasonably correct map makes the matter perfectly clear. Add Scotland and Wales to England and you have Great Britain (a term often wrongly used, especially in German newspapers, to mean the whole kingdom or empire). Add to Great Britain Ireland and the various other islands around our coasts, and you have the British Isles or simply Britain. Nothing short of ignorance or injustice can in any case occasion the failure to use the proper terms as thus clearly defined on the map.

In the School Section of the Brussels Exhibition in 1897 the present writer was somewhat amused to find exhibited quite a number of children's maps of Europe from which the British Isles had been inadvertently omitted. Doubtless, in the mental perspective of these Belgian children, Britain loomed so small that its insertion or omission was a mere detail. The

Englishman in his neglect of Scottish sentiment has no such excuse. He knows that England extends only to the Solway and the Cheviots (although Professor Seeley in his *Expansion of England* perpetrates the absurdity of calling England an island!). He could name you, with the greatest of ease, the country beyond the Cheviots and the Tweed. Geographically his knowledge is sound to that extent, but the moment it is a question of national honour, then "England" absorbs all that is due to the whole of these islands.

This subject is too important to be dismissed without some criticism of a few of the arguments which one still hears on the other side. When Banquo's ghost appeared to Macbeth, the latter complained thus:

> "The time hath been,
> That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
> And there an end: but now they rise again,
> With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
> And push us from our stools."

With even greater justice those Scotsmen who value their national good name might complain of the persistent way in which old exploded arguments in favour of the use of "England" for "Britain" keep cropping up in the most unexpected quarters. Those arguments, which were never of a very intellectual character at the best, have been brained and slain times without number; but they refuse a decent burial, and ever and anon keep raising up their ghostly faces in the hope of frightening a few more weak-kneed Scots into acquiescing in their national dishonour. To those who have read and digested—as every true Briton ought to do—the Rev. David Macrae's unassailable answers to the pathetically illogical arguments of Sir Alfred Austin the poet-laureate, it may seem a slaying of the slain to refer to any of these absurd apologies

for a false use of words, but by way of another attempt to lay the ghost, we may profitably quote and comment upon a short passage from an article which appeared in 1905 in the *Glasgow Herald*, a newspaper whose editorials and general articles habitually ring true on this very point. The writer uses the expression that the Scots are the "aristocrats of the English race," and he returns to the phrase to roll it under his tongue as a sweet morsel. He says: "I go back and pick up a phrase, 'the aristocrats of the English race.' I am quite contented to speak the English language and to read and write English literature; to swear fealty to Edward VII., and to call myself a north-country Englishman. The Scot is a north-country Englishman, the strongest, the hardiest, the best of the breed. . . . There is no independent Scotch kingdom and nation: the Crown is one, the peoples are one. Britain? England? I am indifferent. I think I lean to England: it is a finer word and a more pregnant word than Britain: England and English speech and thought. But the Scot is the aristocrat of the race." Here we have the strange phenomenon of a clever Scottish journalist and author who has attained the distinction of a place in *Who's Who*, who has not been banished from his country, but has left it for the old, old reason of bettering himself in the world, and who evidently retains a kindly feeling for and a strong pride in the land of his kindred, but who yet throws his influence, small or great, into the scale that makes for the absorption of his country's name and story in that of her "auld enemy," backing up his action by adopting or implying several of the oldest and most familiar fallacies. In fact, as an epitome of the illogical arguments which alone can be adduced for the use of "England" to denote "Britain," no better text could be found.

Firstly, he glories in the fact that his language is English—so, let us trust, do all true Britons. But the implied argument that *therefore we are English* is entirely fallacious. The Americans of the United States speak English, but they would rightly refuse to accept the conclusion that they are therefore Englishmen. The Austrians speak German, but are not Germans. The Danes and Norwegians speak one language, but would refuse to bear each other's names. The Swiss speak German, French, or Italian, but have maintained their sturdy independence and individuality apart from Germany, France, or Italy. Moreover, theoretically at least, there are Britons whose native language is *not* English, but one or other of the Celtic tongues. And even were this not so, the specious argument from language would have weighed as strongly in 1707 as at the present day; and if it was cast aside then as spurious, what has added weight to it now?

Secondly, the writer of the article quite correctly asserts that "there is no independent Scotch kingdom." But it is equally true that England is in an identical position. The nation, the empire, and the kingdom are British, and British alone.

Thirdly, "the Crown is one," or, as the argument is usually put by foreigners, "Why, you are under the same king!" True, but the Norwegians were till the other year under the same king as Sweden, yet sturdily refused to submit to the dishonest attempts of many Swedes to "throw them in" with the Swedish bundle. If England would study the causes of the constant bickerings of these two gallant little Scandinavian Powers, prior to their separation in 1905, she would learn the lesson that only by the loyal fulfilment of national bargains in the letter and in the spirit can a

cordial union subsist. Consider the parallel case of Germany. Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, etc., are all under one emperor, but any attempt to call the empire "Prussian" instead of "German" has been abandoned by the predominant partner in that union, which has learned that "Honesty is the best policy." Every German is loyal to the empire; but apart from that he is Prussian, Saxon, or Bavarian as the case may be. So, while we are all Britons, no true Scot will submit to be called an Englishman — north-country or any other breed—any more readily than an Englishman will bear to be called an Irishman. Pointless as is the argument that "the Crown is one," it is rendered if possible more absurd by the fact that the union of the monarchies first occurred in the person of a Scottish king.

Fourthly, "the peoples are one." Such a statement may be approximately true as applied to the Lowland Scots, who, in so far as they are of "Anglo-Saxon" race, are allied in blood to their neighbours across the border, although even here the "oneness" of nationality would have to be read in the light of the late Duke of Argyll's dictum that "we are all alike mongrels." But the statement becomes absolutely fallacious when applied to Scotland as a whole, where the Celtic element is no mere "fringe," but a permeating reality. This is equally true of Wales and Ireland; and even in the case of England the name "Anglo-Saxon" is more or less of a misnomer, as it takes no account of the Danish and Norman elements in English blood.

Amid the glorious uncertainty of race referred to by Tennyson in his *Welcome to Alexandra*—

> "Saxon or Dane or Norman we,
> Teuton or Celt, or whatever we be,"

there stand out clearly such ethnical facts as the moulding of Celt and Teuton to form the four races of these islands; such historical facts as the persistence of the independent Scottish kingdom till it chose, not to submit to, but to unite with, its larger neighbour; and, above all, such political facts as the sacred agreements of 1707 and 1801, which no amount of sophistry can explain away. There is, moreover, the geographical fact that these varied races, whose fusion has occupied the space of fifteen centuries, have become welded only within the confines of these islands, so that the "British race"—or, if you must have a more distinctly ethnological term, "Teuto-Celtic race"—is the only name truly and fairly applicable to the inhabitants of the British kingdom and its colonies, or to our cousins in the United States.

Fifthly, our writer "leans to England." This is the venerable old ghost "sentiment" in a new and egotistical dress. But sentiment, which, as Disraeli said, "is nothing, yet rules the world," must not be all on one side. If Brown, Jones, and a few others unite in the partnership of Brown, Jones & Co., it would no doubt be very flattering and soothing to Brown's "sentiments" to paint "John Brown" above the shop; but the sentiments of Jones and the rest have to be considered, and, besides, Brown has made his bargain and *must* abide by it, that is, *unless he is a dishonest man and has the power to bully the others.*

Scotsmen and Welshmen in general, and many Irishmen as well, fully appreciate the glory of England, and esteem the patriotic sentiments of Englishmen as Englishmen; but if their own sentiments are callously ignored, and their own achievements credited to England's ledger, they have some excuse if they splutter and fume a bit.

Sixthly, our author is "indifferent" as between Britain and England. Here we have the usual device of the cornered Englishman, the subterfuge of the poet-laureate when he asks to be left "free to employ now one, now the other, according to convenience." Many Englishmen, who would like to be fair-minded, but cannot overcome their predilection for the narrower name, have now given up half the battle by coming thus far: "Let us use the two names as synonymous." Mr. Herbert Paul, for instance, in his *History of Modern England*, deliberately asserts that "England" and "Britain" are synonyms. But when all is said and done, Scotland has just as much right to use "Scotland" for the United Kingdom; and in seeking her full pound of flesh, and demanding that "England" should *never* be used for "Britain," she is playing no usurer's part, but is simply asking for the loyal fulfilment of a fair and square agreement. If it were admitted that "England" and "Britain" were to be used indifferently as meaning the same thing, then the "Primate of all England" and other purely English officials would be entitled to claim jurisdiction over Scotland. The term "England" is just as necessary as the term "Britain," but it must be restricted to its proper meaning, and not used as coextensive in sense with the wider term.

The writer of the article himself probably knew what he meant by asserting that England is a "finer word and a more pregnant word than Britain"; but surely most fair-minded people will admit that "Britain," including, as it does, "England" and a great deal more, is in the nature of things more pregnant, more full of content and suggestion, except to an ear which has become so accustomed to the erroneous use of "England" as to have allowed its feeling for the correct term to atrophy.

As for the fineness or musical quality of the words, that is largely a matter of opinion, and of previous training of the taste and of the intelligence. Both are words of two syllables, with the accent on the first syllable, with vowels not very dissimilar, and rather cumbered with consonants. There is not much to choose between them in musical quality, and the question is largely one of association. If we feel some harshness in changing "Ye Mariners of England" into "Ye Mariners of Britain," it is simply and solely because we have become used to the former. If we substitute "Our ships were English oak" for "British oak" in "The Death of Nelson," the harshness seems quite as great. In any case a poet is no more entitled, for the sake of supposed or real euphony, to substitute England or Albion for Britain, than another poet would be to use the distinctly euphonious words Erin, Scotia, Caledonia, Cambria, or Mona in the same meaning. Britannia is perhaps the most euphonious of all our national names, and it has the merit of being a correct designation for the United Kingdom, besides being already enshrined in what may well be regarded as our national hymn, "Rule, Britannia."

The fact that Campbell, a Glasgow man, should have written "Ye Mariners of England," and that Sir Walter Scott and other genuine Scotsmen should have occasionally fallen into the same mistake, is often cited as a further argument in favour of using "England." But it may well be doubted whether Campbell and Scott, had they lived now, and realised the importance which this question has assumed as involving the very life of Scotland as a nation, would have on any occasion whatever used the erroneous terms. Robert Burns had a truer appreciation of the bearing of this matter when he wrote as follows in 1790: "Alas, have I

often said to myself, what are all the boasted advantages which my country reaps from the union, that can counterbalance the annihilation of her independence, and even her very name? Nothing can reconcile me to the common terms, 'English Ambassador, English Court,' etc. And I am out of all patience to see that equivocal character, Hastings, impeached by 'the Commons of England.' Tell me, my friend, is this weak prejudice? I believe in my conscience that such ideas as 'my country, her independence, her honour,' etc.,—I believe these, among your men of the world, are looked on as so many modifications of wrong-headedness."

Leaving the discussion of the *Herald* article, we may finally consider two practical difficulties often suggested by persons who sympathise with the desire for correctness, but who see lions in the path.

The first difficulty is to the effect that foreigners, Colonials, and Americans have been so long accustomed to use the term "England" that it would be practically impossible to have it corrected. In the case of Americans and Colonials, as their language is ours, and their intercourse with us so constant, we may consider them under the second difficulty to be referred to shortly. Meanwhile, let us take the case of foreign nations. Probably the greatest sinner of all is France, and that for the obvious reason that the French language is somewhat deficient in words which properly denote the shades of nationality within our kingdom. "Britannique" is felt to be a somewhat pedantic and cumbersome word, though usage would doubtless wear down this feeling in a short time. But the coinage of a new and easy word would be a simple matter for a logical people like the French, who have, besides, the machinery at hand, in the French Academy and other bodies, for giving authority to a new word once its need is felt.

"Britais" would not only serve as an unmistakable adjective for British, being formed from the latter just as "anglais" from Angle-ish, "irlandais" from Ireland-ish, and "gaulois" from Wel-ish, but like these other words it would serve as a substantive as well. As for the name of our country, La Grande Bretagne is frequently used even now, but it errs in meaning properly Great Britain, and therefore it fails to include Ireland. "Bretagne" alone would clash with the French province of Brittany. But what objection could there be either to Britannie (formed from Britannia), or for that matter to "Britain," spelt as by ourselves, but given a French pronunciation? At any rate, the difficulty of language is not really a serious one in an age when we ourselves, within the last few years, have seen the transformation of Czar into Tsar, Haco into Haakon, German Emperor into Kaiser, with numerous similar instances of the power of a journalistic lead in such matters. Germany, Italy, and other nations have the necessary words already in existence, and even use them to a great extent. In fact, a German or Italian newspaper often uses the term for "Britain" correctly, but the English papers deliberately falsify the translation into "England." This is where the shoe really pinches. The difficulty is not with the foreigner, but with the English orator, author, or editor, who sins open-eyed and with full consciousness of his bearings. French biographical dictionaries and encyclopædias naturally borrow their facts regarding British celebrities from books published in England, and this is the real reason why a work like *La Grande Encyclopédie*, while rightly classing Burns, Carlyle, Chalmers, and others as "écossais," describes as "anglais" such thorough Scots as Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Henry Raeburn, Adam Smith, and Sir Walter Scott, and

crowns its performances by referring to David Wilkie as "an English painter, born at Cults (Scotland) in the county of Fife." Countries such as Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium could easily be made to understand the feeling of Scotland on this question, while Germany (with its Prussians, Saxons, and Bavarians), and France (with its Bretons, Normands, Gascons, and the like), are quite in a position to understand politically, as well as geographically, the inclusion of England, Scotland, and other constituent parts under the joint name of Britain. In these days of universal telegraphy and journalism those countries only await the necessary lead from the country concerned to fall into line with correct usage in a very short time. Judging by the newspaper reports at least, foreign monarchs such as the late King Carlos of Portugal and King Alfonso of Spain, when speaking at banquets in this country, are more scrupulously correct than our own king, and one case at least admits of no possible doubt. At the banquet to King Haakon of Norway on 13th November 1906, the British monarch assured the young king that "*England* had always taken a great interest in Norway." King Haakon in reply declared that the gifts received by Norway's queen, "not only from England, but from Scotland, are speaking proofs that the *British* people does not forget she was born in this country," after which absolutely correct speech the young monarch raised his glass "to the prosperity of the British nation."

The fault, then, really rests with the homeland; and this raises the second and final difficulty in the way of reform. As a last despairing argument against insisting on the proper use of our national names we are often told that the error has gone too far, and has existed too long, to be remedied. Those who argue thus must

have failed to note the growing tendency towards correctness displayed by our leading statesmen in this regard—a tendency rendered necessary by the ever-growing intensity of Scottish public feeling on the question. From the speeches of Chamberlain, Rosebery, and Campbell-Bannerman, very few mistakes could be culled in this connection, while Lord Balfour of Burleigh recently went out of his way to administer a well-merited rebuke to the *Spectator* for its errors. The older generation of statesmen, in Gladstone's day, erred repeatedly, and one at least, Lord Salisbury, erred doggedly and deliberately. But in order to appreciate fully the improvement in present-day usage, we must go back a step further still to the days of Palmerston and Aberdeen. In those days even a Glasgow M.P. had to stand a heckling by some of his constituents for the consistent misuse of "England." Lord Palmerston deliberately spoke of "that portion of the people of England north of the Tweed!" When his lordship was written to for persistent errors of this sort, his secretary replied (27th October 1853): "I am to convey to you Lord Palmerston's assurance that, in using the words 'English,' 'Englishmen,' 'England,' his lordship meant no disparagement to Scotland or Ireland or Wales, but only used that form of speech which is *usually and conveniently* adopted in speaking of the United Kingdom and its inhabitants." And of course he went on using these terms! Lord Aberdeen, when written to on the same subject, and requested to use his influence and example to further the employment of the correct terms, in effect replied: "I, as a Scot, am allowed to be Prime Minister, and am not driven from office as Lord Bute was, less than a century ago. Therefore let us not do anything to irritate English feeling." Readers of the public prints of to-day

would be amazed at the wretched sophistries resorted to by the *Times* and other English newspapers of that day in the attempt to make the provincial terms inclusive, or the overbearing and insulting tone adopted towards Scotsmen and Scotland. These must be read to be appreciated, but this much is certain: they are impossible nowadays. We have travelled so far in the meantime that the more usual journalistic attitude is that of the editor of *Black and White*, who in effect says: "We admit the logic of your position: we sympathise with your feeling of irritation; but please don't bother us: it is so much easier for us to keep to our old ways." As for the politicians of to-day, we have at least got thus far now that statesmen, while speaking north of the Border at least, realise that they *must* speak correctly on pain of instant interruption and correction. A few instances culled at random from speeches delivered in recent years by prominent statesmen will illustrate the generally good-humoured way in which speaker and audience come to an agreement on the matter.

In December 1904, at Glasgow, Lord Rosebery let fall the word "Englishmen," and immediately corrected himself to "Britons—I beg your pardon."

Mr. A. J. Balfour (who, as a Scot, ought to have known better) speaking at Glasgow in January 1905, of the Franco-British Agreement, spoke of "what France has given to England." As this was the second mistake of the kind within a few minutes, he was interrupted by some of the audience with cries of "Britain." He accepted the correction, "Yes, Britain," amid cheers, and the mistake was not repeated.

Mr. John Morley, now Lord Morley, speaking to his constituents in the same month, said: "It is not

always very easy in England, and there I mean England, and I don't mean Britain—*if I did you would pull me up*—to kindle interest and earnestness about education."

In October 1907, speaking at Montrose on the difficulty of getting at the truth regarding India, Mr. Morley said: "In England—and I am not sure if I should exclude Scotland, but I said England in order to save your feelings—(laughter)—there is one great difficulty," etc. Yet Lord Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone*, uses the wrong terms more frequently than the correct ones.

Shortly before the General Election of 1906, Sir Edward Clarke, speaking at Edinburgh in defence of Mr. A. J. Balfour's premiership, said: "He had had during the last two and a half years as difficult a position as was ever given to an English Prime Minister—(cries of "British")—to a Scotsman who was a British Prime Minister. He hoped that would pacify them" (laughter).

In November 1906, speaking at Glasgow, Mr. Walter Long asked: "Can we be satisfied while we all know that from time to time English capital, English skill, English—British capital—(laughter and cheers)—I apologise, ladies and gentlemen—(renewed laughter and cheers)—British capital, British skill, British experience, ay and British labour, cross the seas to other lands?" etc.

In December 1907, at Glasgow, General Baden-Powell remarked: "Every Englishman with any grit in him—every Briton—(laughter and applause)—I beg pardon: I am not an Englishman, I am only a poor Welshman."

At the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1907 a New Zealand delegate "was interrupted by

Lord Balfour of Burleigh for the use of the word 'England' for 'United Kingdom.'"

These are straws which show how the wind is blowing. If a statesman, when north of the Tweed, makes an error of this kind through inadvertence, the correction which now almost inevitably comes from the audience is naturally accepted with good humour, and has its due effect. If he makes the error deliberately—a very rare thing now—he *deserves* to be interrupted, as the fact may in this way enter his head that this is a point which *does matter* to Scotland. When English statesmen have thus to submit themselves to a wholesome disciplinary training in the logical use of the national terms when visiting Scotland, they generally carry home with them an added carefulness even after their foot is on their native soil. And in England itself the educative influence is going on. In July 1907, Mr. James Caldwell, M.P., from the Chair of the House of Commons in his capacity as Chairman of Committees, called an English member to order for persistently talking of the "English colonies."

In June 1907, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, after laying a foundation stone at Cambridge, delivered a short address to a large concourse of scholars. Dr. Barber, in the course of moving a vote of thanks to the right honourable gentleman, described him as "Prime Minister of England." Dr. Butler, who followed, remarked: "I second the vote to the Prime Minister of England, as some people unfortunately call him." Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman interposed with an emphatic "Hear, hear." Dr. Butler, continuing, urged that Sir Henry should be addressed as Prime Minister of the British Empire (cheers).

Sir Henry, of course, as all the world knows, was

always a consistent Scot in this as in other respects, and he even had his little fling at the phrase "North Britain," when speaking at Montrose in September 1907, by describing England as "that portion of the island which ought to be called S.B. if Scotland is still to be called N.B."

It may be true, as the Duke of Devonshire remarked in June 1906, that it is doubtful whether "the English people have ever been profoundly influenced by strictly logical conclusions," but yet if the Englishman prides himself on one thing more than another it is on his justice and fair-mindedness, and he only needs to be got at in a fair yet fearless way in order to have such matters remedied as those now under discussion.

As a sample of the view now taken by just-minded Englishmen, we may quote from the speech of the Right Hon. George Wyndham at Perth, in October 1907: "Sometimes he knew that a politician, who, like himself, had been born south of the Tweed, did quite unintentionally and unconsciously supply sport to an audience in Scotland (laughter). But as a rule he thought he avoided the pitfall of calling Scotland England—(laughter)—and that was not because he took special pains to accommodate his diction to his audience; it was because they were really well aware of the fact that Great Britain was not England, and that the United Kingdom was the motherland, and that the empire was the whole State with whose interests they were identified" (cheers).

So far from having cause to despair of the ultimate triumph of truth and justice, we have ample evidence that the Englishman is gradually unlearning the bad old lesson of coolly applying his own local name to our world-wide empire, and his new lesson has pro-

ceeded thus far that the uniform and unvarying use of "Britain" and "British," where the sense demands their employment, may now be regarded as the true shibboleth by which to distinguish not merely a patriotic Scot, but a well-informed, honourable, and fair-minded Englishman.

CHAPTER XXI

TREATY OF UNION—REMAINING ARTICLES.

"STANDS Scotland where it did?"
SHAKSPEARE, *Macbeth.*

"OUR fortunes are now linked together, for good and evil, never more to be divided; but when we examine our several contributions to the common stock, the account is more in your favour than in ours."
J. A. FROUDE, addressing Scottish students.

HAVING fully discussed the bearing of the First and Third Articles of the Treaty of Union of 1707, as constituting a new kingdom of Great Britain in place of the two former kingdoms of England and Scotland, we may now pass in swifter review the other twenty-three articles of which the agreement consisted.

Article II. settled the succession to the British crown — failing direct heirs of Queen Anne — on Princess Sophia, the Electress of Hanover and grand-daughter of James VI. and I., and on her heirs, under the proviso that all Papists, or persons marrying Papists, should be excluded from all right of succession.

Article IV. secured "full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation" to all subjects of the United Kingdom, thus granting to Scotland a long-desired and much-valued privilege.

Article V. arranged that "all ships belonging to Her Majesty's subjects of Scotland" should "be

deemed and pass as ships of the build of Great Britain."

Article VI. provided that trade regulations and duties should be the same throughout the United Kingdom, while Article VII. similarly equalised the excise duties.

Article VIII. consists of various regulations regarding the trade in salt, some of its provisions having regard only to the next seven years.

Article IX. fixes the relative proportions of the Land Tax to be levied respectively in "that part of the United Kingdom now called England" and "that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland."

Article X. exempts Scotland from the Stamp Tax as levied in England.

Article XI. shows England in a very "bad light" as regards hygienic ideas. It provides that "during the continuance of the duties payable in England on windows and lights (to cease in August 1710) Scotland shall not be charged with the same duties."

Article XII. exempts Scotland from various duties on coal, etc.

Article XIII. stipulates that "during the continuance of the duty payable in England on malt (to cease June 1707) Scotland shall not be charged with that duty."

Article XIV. frees Scotland from any taxes levied in England other than those specially fixed by the treaty. It provides that "Scotland shall not be charged with any imposition upon malt during this present war," and concludes by ordaining that "the consideration of any exemptions beyond what are already agreed on in this treaty shall be left to the determination of the Parliament of Great Britain."

Article XV. deserves closer study than most of

the others, and provides interesting reading for those people—and they are not few—who have been bred up in the belief that Scotland before the Union was a poor, shiftless country, and would have remained so till the present day, but for the industrial impetus communicated to it by England. "Whereas by the terms of this treaty the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality of trade throughout the United Kingdom, will be liable to several customs and excises now payable in England which will be *applicable towards payment of the debts of England contracted before the Union*, it is agreed that Scotland shall have an equivalent for what the subjects thereof shall be so charged towards payment of the said debts of England." A sum of £398,085, 10s. is therefore to be paid to Scotland at the time of the Union, and in general, after the date of the Union, "an equivalent shall be answered to Scotland for *such parts of the English debts as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay*, by reason of the Union." That some such provision was necessary is readily apparent from the circumstance that England, at the time of the Union, was burdened with a public debt of twenty millions, while "poor" Scotland was free from any such liability. From this it is obvious how much good taste there was in the gibe that Scotland brought to this wedding match "a louse for a portion," it being evidently more in accord with the ideas of a section of the English aristocracy to approach the altar saddled with a lordly debt of twenty millions than to be poor but solvent.

The article proceeds to allocate this sum of £400,000 or thereby to various objects: (1) to make up the losses due to "reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the coin of England"; (2) to buy out the stock of the African and Indian

Company of Scotland—the company thereafter to be dissolved; while provision is made (3) for the encouragement of the wool and fishing industries in Scotland. What actually became of the money is one of the puzzles of history. The Union Commissioners claimed £30,000, and the Darien Company £250,000, while the popular feeling regarding the whole transaction was such as in later years found expression in the words of Burns:

> "What guile or force could not subdue,
> Through many warlike ages,
> Is wrought now by a coward few,
> For hireling traitors' wages.
> The English steel we could disdain,
> Secure in valour's station,
> But English gold has been our bane,
> Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!"

When the money actually arrived in Edinburgh in twelve waggons, the populace stoned the dragoons who guarded the precious load.

Article XVI. provided that the coinage should be of the same standard throughout the United Kingdom, and that "a Mint shall be continued in Scotland under the same rules as the Mint in England."

The latter provision became a dead letter within three years, and the Mint of London was in 1709 elevated to the dignity of the sole British Mint. On the grounds of convenience this arrangement may perhaps be defensible, and it must be admitted that in general the coins issued from the Mint are in superscription and design practical object-lessons on the reality of the Union, the erroneous term "England" never usurping the place of "Britain," while such emblems as Britannia, or the Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock, are quite in place on our national coinage. But even here England has managed to arrogate to

herself a supremacy not hers by right. Our crown-pieces and gold coins bear the purely English emblem of St. George and the dragon, which ought in fairness to be forthwith removed from our coinage, or suffered to remain only on condition that other coins should bear Scottish or Irish devices. Then again the shilling and florin are so minted as to violate the agreement regarding the quartering of the national arms of the three kingdoms. The English lions (or leopards?) occupy two quarterings and the Scottish lion one, an arrangement quite correct within the borders of England, but out of place in Scotland, where the Scottish lion claims by agreement two quarterings of the British royal arms. The time has surely come when this somewhat anomalous arrangement ought to be remedied by conceding either to "gallant little Wales" or to our great colonies a quartering on the British arms, thus rendering them homogeneous and representative of every element in the British race. Several of the points here referred to are in themselves somewhat trifling, but they are the ripples which show the set of the current; and if the smaller nationalities within the British Kingdom chafe at these petty manifestations of injustice, the fault lies entirely with the aggressor.

Article XVII. prescribes the use of the same weights and measures throughout the United Kingdom.

Article XVIII. safeguards the laws of Scotland. While the laws regulating trade, customs, and excise are to be in general uniform throughout Great Britain, "all other laws in use within the kingdom of Scotland" are to "remain in the same force as before (except such as are contrary to or inconsistent with the terms of this treaty), but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain." This power of alteration is granted to Parliament only in regard to laws dealing with "public

right, policy, and civil government," while those referring to private right must not be altered, "except for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland."

Article XIX. stipulates that the Court of Session "remain in all time coming within Scotland as it is now constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the same authority and privileges as before the Union, subject, nevertheless, to such regulations for the better administration of justice as shall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain." It also provides for the continuance of a Court of Admiralty and a Court of Exchequer in Scotland, and ordains "that all other courts, now in being within the kingdom of Scotland, do remain, but subject to alterations by the Parliament of Great Britain." The Article further contains the highly important provision "that no causes in Scotland be cognoscible by the Court of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, or any other Court in Westminster Hall; and that the said Courts—or any other of a like nature, after the Union—shall have no power to cognosce, review, or alter the Acts or sentences of the judicatures within Scotland, or stop the execution of the same."

The honourable and common-sense meaning of this Article undoubtedly is that the Court of Session remains the Supreme Court of Justice in Scotland, subject to no appeal to any Court in London. This interpretation becomes all the more clear in view of the fact that in 1674, in the reign of Charles II., it had been decided in Scotland that there was no appeal to the Scots Parliament against decisions of the Court of Session. For persisting in an attempted appeal after it had been declared incompetent, the advocates concerned had been suspended, and fifty advocates resigned in protest.

After the Union, however, it was not long before the somewhat ambiguous reference in the Article to the power of the British Parliament was twisted from its purpose, and interpreted as giving a right of appeal from the Court of Session to the House of Lords; and so, in the words of Sir Walter Scott, the Supreme Civil Court of Scotland, which "had spurned at the idea of having its decrees reviewed even in the (Scottish) Parliament" (which represented all branches of the legislature), "was now subjected to appeal to the British House of Peers, in which the Chancellor, who presided, was trained in the jurisprudence of another country."

This abuse of the Treaty of Union was first perpetrated at the instance of an Episcopal clergyman. The Episcopal clergy in Scotland, while enjoying the modified toleration accorded to them at the Revolution Settlement, had avoided the use of the English liturgy; but in 1710 the Rev. Mr. Greenshields, of the Scottish Episcopal body, insisted on using this book in spite of the opposition alike of presbyteries and magistrates. He carried his case to the Court of Session, which decided against him; but, on his appeal to the House of Lords, the Scottish legal decision was reversed in April 1711. The magistrates of Edinburgh were heavily fined for the "wrongous imprisonment" of their refractory citizen, and Greenshields was enabled to pose as a martyr. While, with our modern ideas of toleration, we are bound to sympathise with his efforts to secure full liberty of worship, even in spite of certain unrepealed Scottish laws, we must place to the account of this cleric the setting of the unpatriotic example of carrying appeals from Scotland to London, and the consequent fatal course of degradation to Scottish law which reached its disastrous climax in the legal injustice of August 1904.

Article XX. provides that all hereditary offices, etc., in Scotland are to remain notwithstanding the treaty, and Article XXI. conserves the rights of royal burghs.

Article XXII. constitutes a blot on the whole treaty, and is as notable a model of unfairness even in intention as the other articles are examples of fairness and compromise. The ancient kingdom of Scotland, in surrendering its identity and name as a nation alongside of a similar surrender on England's part, is to be represented in the British House of Lords by 16 peers elected from among the peers of Scotland and by 45 members in the House of Commons!

It has been computed that the population of England at this time was about six millions, and that of Scotland about one and a quarter millions. On the basis of population, Scotland was thus entitled to about a fifth of the number of members representing England. Yet the English proposed to allow 30 Scottish members as against their own 513! Even the number 45, which gave Scotland less than a twelfth of the whole representation, was therefore of the nature of a compromise. This totally inadequate provision for her representation practically reduced her in the British Parliament to the level of an English province. The county of Cornwall alone could boast of 44 members! In the House of Peers matters were, if possible, worse, as will be at once realised when it is stated that as against the 16 Scottish peers there sat in the House of Lords 26 bishops of the Church of England alone! It is not surprising to learn that the Scottish General Assembly sent a solemn representation and petition to the Scottish Parliament, particularly in regard to the overwhelming influence of the bishops, and hence there was appended to the treaty a royal declaration securing the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. This so far

pacified the clergy, but there remained two ominous facts, which time has only served to render more clear. The first was that the treacherous surrender of the Scottish Commissioners on this question of representation reduced their country in the eyes of foreigners to the position of an English dependency; and the English people, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, have been only too prone to encourage this idea. The second danger—inherent in the very nature of the incorporating union—was one which showed itself in the Sessions of the first Union Parliament itself, namely, that even on purely Scottish matters the opinion of Scotland would be overridden and insulted by the weight of sheer numbers on the part of the English representatives.

This twenty-second article, after fixing the representation of Scotland, proceeds to demand that the members of both Houses shall abjure Popery and lend no support to the "hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales."

Article XXIII. provides that, apart from the 16 representative peers elected from time to time, all other Scottish peers shall rank as peers of Great Britain, being equal to those of England in every respect except the right of sitting in the House of Lords, an exception that might well have been dispensed with. They are to "have rank and precedency next and immediately after the peers of the like orders and degrees in England at the time of the Union." This regulation may in itself be fair enough, but it has been left for our present king to add a sting to the order of precedence by issuing his royal commands that *even in Scotland* English peers shall rank above the native peers!

Article XXIV. provides that there shall be "one

Great Seal for the United Kingdom of Great Britain, which shall be different from the Great Seal now used in either kingdom." This seal is to be used for writs referring to Parliament, treaties with foreign states, and other matters affecting the United Kingdom, while a Great Seal is to be retained in Scotland to be made use of in all things relating to Scottish private rights or grants. In order to conciliate the feelings of the common people of Scotland, the ancient "honours three" (the crown, sceptre, and sword of state), together with parliamentary and other records, are to remain in Scotland. As a matter of fact, the "honours" were so securely locked past from the vulgar gaze that not until Sir Walter Scott raised the question in the reign of George IV. had the Scottish people any guarantee that these emblems of sovereignty were really to be found in Edinburgh Castle.

Article XXV. and last formally abrogates all laws or statutes in either kingdom which are inconsistent with the Articles of Union.

With the Treaty of Union there was closely associated an Act of Security by which the queen ratified the Presbyterian church government in Scotland as re-established in the reign of William and Mary, and bound herself and her successors for all time coming to preserve that Church "as a fundamental and essential condition of any Treaty of Union to be concluded between the two kingdoms."

Such, then, were the terms on which the two nations became united. With the outstanding exception of Article XXII. the terms were such as might have early cemented a firm friendship between the two countries; but the good results of the Union in Scotland were postponed for a generation or two, partly by the knowledge of the corruption and underhand

influence which had brought it about, and partly by its immediate effects. We have already referred to the loss of money and prestige due to the transference of the seat of government to London. In return for the prominent Scotsmen who migrated thither, there arrived from England a miscellaneous set of customs and excise officials, whose duties at the best would have been distasteful to Scottish instincts, and whose outlandish ways and overweening arrogance so jarred on the national feeling as to render smuggling a venial offence in public opinion for many years to come, the "gauger" himself being regarded as a living negation of the freedom of the subject.

Meanwhile the Scottish members were faring but indifferently in the united Parliament, which assembled for the first time in October 1707. The first members were not popularly elected, but were chosen from the pre-Union Parliament by its own members, and consisted almost entirely of men selected from among those who had favoured the Union. The Scottish representatives therefore — especially those in the House of Lords—were inclined to work smoothly with their English neighbours; but even in this first Union Parliament (1707–09), Whig as it was, the English members showed their proneness to use their vast majority to overwhelm the joint opinion of the Scottish members. Meanwhile this only took the comparatively harmless shape of the abolition of the Scots Privy Council, and of forcing upon Scotland the English laws regarding high treason.

In the Tory Parliament, which met in 1710, matters speedily became worse. The Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry had been granted English titles, and claimed seats in the House of Lords as peers of the United Kingdom. The House of Lords refused their

claim by a majority; and although this injustice was afterwards righted, it served to throw the Scottish peers and commoners into closer sympathy with each other.

In this same Parliament a measure was brought forward to put an export duty on Scotch linen; and when the Scottish members united to protest against this, Harley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brutally exclaimed, "Have we not *bought the Scots*, and have we not a right to tax them?" Lockhart of Carnwath replied "that he was glad to hear, publicly owned, a truth which he had never doubted, that Scotland *had been sold.* But he admired [wondered] that the equivalent grant should be named as the price. That equivalent was paid because Scotland took upon herself a share of England's debts. It would therefore be interesting to know what price had been paid for Scottish independence, and into whose hands that price had passed." In answer to a taunt that Scotland was now subject to English dominion and laws, Lockhart warmly exclaimed, "Scotland never was, and never will be, subject to English sovereignty!" Yet the obnoxious measure was pressed forward and forced into law.

In April 1712 there was rushed through both Houses—against the protests lodged by commissioners from the Scottish Church sent to London for the purpose—an Act restoring patronage, which had been so happily abolished in 1689, when popular election was guaranteed. Thus early did the English majority tamper with the freedom of the Scottish Church in open violation of the Union Act, and introduce a principle which proved a curse and a cause of division to the Church for a century and a half, and whose evil effects are at the root of the troubles even of present-day Presbyterianism. The real object of this obnoxious measure is readily apparent. The appoint-

ment of ministers was taken from the Presbyterian populace, and placed at the mercy of the landed gentry, who were—as now—largely out of sympathy with the popular religion, and who could be reckoned upon to introduce, as far as possible, clergymen of subservient disposition and of High Church tendencies.

In 1713, on the declaration of the Peace of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, it was proposed to extend the Malt Tax to Scotland. A reference to Article XIV. of the treaty will show that this was quite within the rights of Parliament; but a deputation of four leading Scots—Argyll, Mar, Cockburn of Ormiston, and Lockhart of Carnwath (a Whig and a Tory from each House)—waited personally on Queen Anne to point out the unfairness of taxing the light crop of Scotch barley equally with the richer product of the English fields, and to ask for fair consideration of the question. The queen's answer was so curt as to show that Oxford had prompted her beforehand, and in subsequent discussions in both Houses the haughty and insulting speeches of the English members united the Scottish members to a man in demanding a repeal of the Union. The demand was supported by the Whigs, who had carried the Union, and the Union was defended only by the English Tory party, who had been its chief opponents in 1707. The oddest and most significant fact of all was that it fell to Lord Findlater (who, as Chancellor Seafield, had joked at the abolition of the Scottish Parliament as the "end of an auld sang") to propose in the House of Lords "that since the Union had not produced the good effects expected from it, leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the said Union," with due provision for the Hanoverian Succession and the amity of the two countries. The Duke

of Argyll seconded the proposal, which was lost only by the narrow majority of four votes! Thus unsatisfactory were the early results of the Union of the Kingdoms.

More than a century had to elapse before many Scotsmen would have been found to subscribe Sir Walter Scott's opinion of the Union as "an event which, had I lived in that day, I would have resigned my life to have prevented, but which, being done before my day, I am sensible was a wise scheme."

Note on Use of National Names.—As the form "Scotch" is somewhat in disfavour with many people, a word of explanation is called for as to the use of the adjective "Scottish," "Scotch," and "Scots" throughout the present work. "Scottish" is applied to whatever is national in a dignified sense, or to anything with a moral or intellectual value, good or bad, *e.g.* "Scottish shipbuilding, liberty, poetry, intemperance." "Scotch" is reserved for commercial commodities, and for other matter-of-fact usages, *e.g.* "Scotch linen, barley." This word has scarcely become so far obsolete as to justify such phrases as "Scottish whisky" or "Scottish bun." In quotations which violate these rules, the form used in the original is retained, even the practically obsolete word "Scotchman" appearing on this ground. "Scots" is used in a purely linguistic sense, *e.g.* "Scots dialects."

CHAPTER XXII

HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION AND FIRST JACOBITE RISING.

"Then let your schemes alone, in the state, in the state;
Then let your schemes alone, in the state;
Then let your schemes alone,
Adore the rising sun,
And leave a man undone,
To his fate."

Burns, *Ye Jacobites by Name.*

The reign of Queen Anne (1702–14), which witnessed the momentous union of Scotland and England, had been regarded by the supporters of the Stuart monarchs as a kind of nursing period for future schemes. Anne, as the daughter of James VII. and II., was a pure Stuart, and might therefore be tolerated during her lifetime; but by the Union Settlement the throne was to pass at her death to the aged Sophia, who could in no wise be regarded as other than a German princess. It is scarcely to be wondered at, then, that British politics during Anne's reign were more or less honeycombed with "Jacobite" schemes, with a view to securing the throne, on the queen's demise, to her brother, who was variously known as the Chevalier de St. George, or as James VIII. and III., by those who already recognised him as *de jure* King of Britain. As early as 1703, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, had arrived in Scotland as an agent of James, and placed himself in communication with such Highland chiefs

as might be considered likely to assist in a Stuart Restoration. While intriguing with these simple Highlanders, Lovat was at the same time trying to gain favour with the Government by acting as "queen's evidence" to the Duke of Queensberry. Scotland having become too dangerous for him, he had the effrontery to appear again at St. Germain, and there he posed once more as a loyal subject of King James, until certain discoveries regarding his traitorous conduct gained him for a time a fit lodging in the Bastille, or state-prison of Paris.

In March 1707, Louis XIV. dispatched an Englishman, Colonel Hooke, to test the feelings of the Scottish Jacobites. The latter agreed to raise 30,000 men if the Chevalier de St. George would come over from France with five to eight thousand men, together with supplies of arms and money. A year later the Chevalier (now in his twentieth year) actually set sail from Dunkirk with a fleet carrying 5000 men, and reached the mouth of the Forth. Here, however, he found Sir George Byng with a fleet ready to oppose his landing, and, considering discretion the better part of valour, he withdrew from British waters, and thus simply there was lost the best opportunity ever afforded to the exiled prince of regaining the throne of his fathers. The flower of the British army was abroad with Marlborough, and a bold and determined invasion of England by a joint French and Scottish force would have had no mean prospects of success.

The War of the Spanish Succession was brought to an end by the Treaty of Utrecht early in 1713, and it is generally admitted that Britain secured very poor terms in return for the brilliant victories of Marlborough. The stipulation in the treaty which alone concerns us here was that the French king

recognised the Protestant Hanoverian Succession, promised to help the Stuarts no further, and agreed to dismiss James from his court.

The closing months of Queen Anne's reign were busy with plots for the restoration of the direct Stuart line. The Duke of Hamilton, who had been designated as British Ambassador to France, is understood to have been deeply concerned in these, when a duel cut short his career. Of the queen's Tory ministers, Bolingbroke was certainly involved in Jacobite schemes, as was also Harley, now Lord Oxford; and there is good reason for supposing that the queen herself was not averse to her brother's succession.

Anne had, in fact, been inclined to Toryism and Jacobitism throughout her reign, and it was chiefly owing to Marlborough's influence and to the national enthusiasm for the war against France that she had concealed her true leanings. For the rest, Anne was a somewhat dull and even stupid woman, but was loyally disposed towards her country and her subjects, and her delight at the Union was unfeigned.

Anne died somewhat unexpectedly on 1st August 1714, in her fiftieth year, her end being directly hastened by quarrels among her ministers. Sophia, the heiress to the throne, having died in the same year, her son George, Elector of Hanover, made his leisurely way to his new kingdom, arriving six weeks after Anne's death. The suddenness of Anne's demise seems to have paralysed the energies of the Jacobites, and George succeeded quietly to the throne, while Bolingbroke fled to France, and Oxford was imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained for two years, being in the end liberated for want of accusers.

In the Parliament of 1715 the Scottish members showed a substantial Whig majority in favour of the

new reigning house; and as Louis XIV. died on 1st September of that year, at the ripe age of seventy-seven, it seemed as if fortune had decreed that George I., "wee, wee German lairdie" as he was, should enjoy his new inheritance in peace, and such might have been the case had he been possessed of greater tact. As it was, he speedily made himself unpopular, partly by his disinclination to adopt British manners or the English speech, and partly by his undue and obvious favour towards the Whigs, and his scornful treatment of any advances from other quarters. The Earl of Mar proffered to the king a declaration of loyalty from Cameron of Lochiel, Macleod, Maclean, Macdonnell, and other leading Highland chiefs; but George, whether in ignorance of the power of these clan leaders, or through suspicion of the genuineness of their allegiance, tactlessly refused to have any dealings with them; and Mar, who, although generally admitted to have been a self-seeker, was at any rate a chief of some importance, thenceforth threw all his powerful influence into the scale against King George's cause. He sullenly left England in August 1715, and retiring to his own district of Braemar he summoned a numerous array of chieftains, ostensibly to a great hunting party, but in reality to a Jacobite conference at which some eight hundred gentlemen were present, and on 6th September he raised the standard of revolt on behalf of the Chevalier. The fiery cross was sent round, and soon Mar was able to march on Perth with a force variously estimated at from five to twelve thousand men.

As Mar's army consisted almost exclusively of Highland chiefs and gentlemen with their retainers, we may appropriately pause at this stage to consider briefly the relative characteristics of the Highland and Lowland populations at this period. The Highlanders

had till now remained, throughout Scottish history, quite distinct from the Lowland Scots in customs, dress, and language. In their remote mountains and glens they were not only safe from invasion, but they were likewise isolated from the softening influences of advancing civilisation. The patriarchal clan-system continued to foster the spirit of intense loyalty to a feudal chief, and kept alive also the fiery temperament that finds its fitting outlet in the raid or the vendetta. The Highlanders had retained, as a general rule, the Catholic religion, and their last appearance on the stage of history had been in the guise of licensed persecutors of the Covenanters. The Lowland Scots had no special reason to remember with gratitude the incursions of these practised "reivers" and cattle-lifters, by whom robbery was carried out on the grand scale and was "aggrandised into heroic enterprise." Incidentally, the unsettled state of the country in Jacobite times furnished unrivalled opportunities for plunder, and the feats of Rob Roy (1671–1734) and his Macgregors fall within this period.

But the Highlanders were never mere ordinary robbers, and two considerations must be recollected in their favour. Firstly, if they were robbers in the mass, they were gentlemen as individuals. The highwayman was unknown in the Highlands at a time when he roamed at will in England; and those Lowlanders who took their lives in their hands and visited the rugged mountain-land met with a chivalrous attention which has made "Highland hospitality" proverbial. Secondly, we must remember that in his descents on the Lowlands the Highlander was impelled by dire necessity. His demands were small, but his niggard northern land refused even these, and what could be more natural than to help himself to the

bare necessaries of life from the field or byre of the encroaching Sassenach?

Such were the Celts to whom the call to arms on behalf of the exiled James was addressed. In vain might we ask what the expelled Stuarts had ever done to merit the consideration of these hardy mountaineers. Step-sons in truth the Celts had been under the monarchs of Scotland, and the four British Stuart kings had laid more store by the fat plains of England than by the northern rocks. But the loyal nature of the mountaineers was stirred by the appeals of their chiefs. Like the war-horse they smelt the battle from afar, and with a blind but most admirable allegiance they rushed to support the unlucky and unworthy Stuart race. This unquestioning loyalty to a territorial chieftain seems strange to us, who are accustomed to the unreasonable land-laws of our present system; and it must therefore be borne in mind that the land occupied by a Highland clan was not regarded as the property of the chief. It belonged to the clan as a body, and the chieftain was looked upon as the head of a great family. His relationship to his clan did not therefore rest on the chilling basis of financial transactions, nor was it exercised through agents. He lived among his people, and their regard for him was direct and personal. Hence the unanimity with which large bodies of Highlanders sprang to arms in such a cause as that of the Stuarts.

> "Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die!"

All honour to their devotion! "A mean or selfish people could never have erred with the errors of our forefathers. Such mistakes are possible only to the brave and true."

As for the Lowland Scots, the history of a hundred years had extinguished in them all sympathy with the exiled cause. Of divine right and kingly tyranny over conscience they had had enough and more. They valued their Protestantism not only for its intellectual stimulation but for its guarantees of constitutional government, and the old warlike spirit was settling down before the advance of the new enthusiasm for industry and commercial development. The Scots might have no great admiration for their new German king, who did not even think it worth his while to learn the English language, but their feeling regarding George was such as might well be summed up in Thackeray's words: "The German Protestant was a cheaper and better and kinder king than the Catholic Stuart in whose chair he sat. Cynical and selfish as he was, he was better than a king out of St. Germain's with the French king's orders in his pocket, and a swarm of Jesuits in his train."

The Jacobites strove to the utmost to fan the discontent which the unworthy treatment of Scottish affairs in the united Parliament had kindled; but the Scots knew well how to choose the less malignant of two evils, and, fortunately for Britain's ultimate peace and progress, they threw in their lot with the house of Hanover. If we credit the Highlanders with true hearts in engaging in the Jacobite interest, we must lay to the credit of the Lowland Scots a good share of hard-headed common sense. Not yet had that happy fusion of Celtic heat with Teutonic strength of purpose taken place, which was by and by to evolve the Scottish character of later days, so well delineated by Lecky: "The distinctive beauty and great philosophic interest of that character spring from the very singular combination it displays of a

romantic and chivalrous with a practical and industrial spirit. In no other nation do we find the enthusiasm of loyalty blending so happily with the enthusiasm for liberty, and so strong a vein of poetic sensibility and romantic feeling qualifying a type that is essentially industrial."

It was in full accord with the fitness of things that at a phase in our history during which the supporters of the old and the new ideas were for the last time about to engage in civil conflict, the Protestant command should fall to a scion of the Argyll family. John, second Duke of Argyll (1678–1743), had won great distinction in the Low Countries under Marlborough, and later in Spain, and being now appointed to deal with the Jacobites he marched northwards with 3000 men, many of these being contributed by Glasgow and other keenly Presbyterian towns. Leaving Stirling on 12th November he pushed on in the direction of Dunblane to encounter Mar, who, after a successful career southwards to Perth, had now left the Fair City to try his fortune in the Lowlands. On the following day, a Sunday, the two armies met, Mar having the superiority in numbers, and the strange battle of Sheriffmuir took place. Each general commanded his own right wing in person. In the early part of the battle Argyll's left was routed by the furious onslaught of the half-naked Highlanders. Thereafter Argyll's right routed the enemy's left, but not until the latter had bravely rallied several times in succession. The battle was thus a drawn one, even the losses being about equal (six or seven hundred men on each side), and both sides claimed the victory, or as the old ballad phrases it:

> "There's some say that we wan,
> Some say that they wan,
> Some say that nane wan at a', man:

> But ae thing, I'm sure,
> That at Sheriffmuir,
> A battle there was, which I saw, man;
> And we ran, and they ran,
> And they ran, and we ran,
> And we ran, and they ran awa', man."

The advantage, however, really rested with Argyll, as the contest secured the gate of the Lowlands against the invaders. As often happened after an engagement, the Highland army gradually dwindled away homewards. The victorious duke nobly stayed the desire of the Government to make reprisals on the rebels. He strongly protested against Scottish offenders being tried in England—a device of the Government to make conviction more certain, while decisions of the Court of Session were towards the same end frequently reversed by the House of Lords. It was doubtless owing to Argyll's fearless criticism of these tactics that, instead of being rewarded for his services, he was deprived of his public offices soon after this first Jacobite rebellion came to an end.

Meanwhile another Jacobite force had come to grief almost at the same hour as Mar's army. Mar had detached a body of his troops in October to march on Edinburgh under Brigadier Macintosh. Being forestalled by Argyll, this general marched southwards, and at Kelso joined forces with the north of England and Border Jacobites under Thomas Forster, M.P., and Lord Kenmure. Forster, having stationed himself in Preston, was attacked by General Willis on 12th November, and the latter, being joined next day by General Carpenter, captured the whole Jacobite force in Preston, to the number of some two thousand men. The prisoners included Forster and Macintosh, both of whom subsequently escaped from jail, Lords Kenmure and Derwentwater, who were executed in February,

and Lord Nithsdale, who through his wife's cleverness was enabled to escape in female attire from prison. About two dozen of the minor agents of the rebellion were executed at Preston, Manchester, and Tyburn.

The events at Sheriffmuir and at Preston had practically ended the rising as a serious undertaking by the middle of November, but in the following month the Chevalier, or the "Pretender," as his opponents preferred to call him, landed at Peterhead, having been expelled from France by the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France after Louis's death. James passed his time in an empty display of royalty, and in receiving fulsome addresses from the Episcopal and Popish clergy. Six royal proclamations were issued in the name of James VIII. and III., and the heir of the Stuarts executed an almost pantomimic progress of triumph from Aberdeen to Dundee, and thence to Perth, where he took up his residence in Scone Palace. Had the Chevalier brought with him help for his supporters, or even a plan of campaign to supersede the wavering and aimless counsels of Mar, his presence might have been a source of danger to the Government. As it was, James was the worst enemy of his own cause. His staunch Catholicism opened the eyes of his Episcopal followers, and his personal qualities were of a repellent nature. The poet Gray describes him in later days as a "thin, ill-made man, extremely tall and awkward, of a most unpromising countenance. He has extremely the air and look of an idiot, particularly when he laughs or prays: the first he does not often, the latter continually."

Argyll, who had now received reinforcements of Dutch and British troops, marched into Perth on 1st February 1716, the Jacobites retreating on

his approach. On 4th February the Chevalier and the Earl of Mar unchivalrously gave their followers the slip, and embarked at Montrose for the Continent. Such was the inglorious end of the last visit of the elder "Pretender" to the Scottish realm.

Soon after his return to the Continent, James quarrelled with Bolingbroke, and so lost his most skilful adviser. Mar remained with the Chevalier till 1721, when he too lost his confidence and went into retirement.

The rest of George's reign was comparatively uneventful. In 1716 the passing of the Septennial Act secured a new lease of power to the sitting Whig Parliament,—an unprincipled device which, like so many others of its kind, can only be excused on the ground of its success. The office of Prime Minister first assumed importance in this reign owing to the inability of the king, through his ignorance of the English language, to serve as chairman at meetings of the Cabinet.

In 1719 an armada of Spanish ships set sail to invade Britain on James's behalf, but like its great prototype of Elizabeth's day it was driven back by tempests. Only a small contingent reached the Scottish shore, and the rebels who were collecting to receive them were dispersed by General Wightman in a skirmish at Glen Shiel in June, when over two hundred Spaniards were taken prisoners.

Among the Jacobites who fled to the Continent after this rising was a Scottish Episcopalian, James Keith (b. Peterhead, 1696), who, after serving in the Spanish and Russian armies, enlisted in 1747 under Frederick the Great of Prussia, and was made a field-marshal. Keith won great renown in the early part of the Seven Years' War, but fell at the Battle of

Hochkirch in 1758. He was noted for his humanity in warfare.

His brother, the Earl Marischal, was as indispensable to Frederick in council as James was in war. He served as Prussian Ambassador to France, and later to the Court of Spain. Having in this capacity learned of the secret Family Compact of the Bourbons, he was able to give Pitt timely warning of this important political intrigue. The Earl Marischal died at Potsdam in 1778 in his eighty-sixth year.

The Government, on the advice of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, endeavoured to make an outlet for the warlike Highland spirit by enlisting six Highland companies, with Highland chiefs as officers, for the suppression of robbery and lawlessness. From their dark tartans, in contrast to the red coats of the regular soldiers, these men were known as the "Black Soldiery," a name which soon acquired the world-renowned form of the "Black Watch." To this loyal Highland gentleman, therefore, is due the prime credit, usually assigned to Chatham, of diverting the splendid fighting material of the Highlands into the service of the British Crown.

General Wade, at the end of this reign, began his great work of turning the cattle-tracks of the Highlands into good military roads, thus earning the title of "the Roadmaker." His work is commemorated in the well-known Highland bull:

> "Had you seen these roads *before they were made*,
> You would hold up your hands and bless General Wade."

The districts thus opened up to traffic were gradually planted with schools, and the Highlanders ere long became infected for good or evil with the influences of the Lowlands. The three military stations, Fort

William, Fort Augustus, and Fort George, were used as outposts to overawe the Highlands.

In June 1725 a riot occurred in Glasgow in consequence of the taxation of ale, which was still the national beverage. The soldiery, after firing on the crowd, killing nine people and injuring many more, were eventually stoned out of the town towards Dumbarton. The city was fined £5000, while the captain of the soldiers, though found guilty of firing on the crowd without reading the Riot Act, received a royal pardon. The whole episode reads remarkably like a forecast of the Edinburgh Riot which will claim our attention in the subsequent reign.

In June 1727, King George I. died in his native Hanover at the age of sixty-seven.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PORTEOUS RIOT AND THE FORTY-FIVE.

"WE'LL mak' our maut, and brew our drink,
We'll dance, and sing, and rejoice, man;
And monie thanks to the muckle black Deil
That danc'd awa' wi' the Exciseman."

BURNS.

IN 1727, George II., in his forty-fourth year, succeeded his father on the throne of Britain. Like most of the Hanoverian monarchs, he was notoriously loose in the matter of private morality, and his un-British tastes and sympathies in general rendered him practically useless in the Government. For the first fifteen years of his reign the chief political power was vested in Sir Robert Walpole, and during this period the system of Cabinet Government, with the Prime Minister as virtually supreme ruler of the land, became definitely established in practice, although even now it has no constitutional warrant other than those of convenience and of use and wont. Walpole, whose maxim was that "every man has his price," contrived to keep his Whig Government in power chiefly by means of bribery, but it must at least be laid to his credit that he kept his country free so long from those entanglements with European politics which bulk so largely in her history for a century after his downfall. Walpole's principal Scottish supporters were Lord Islay (brother of the Duke of Argyll) and Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

During Walpole's period of ascendancy only one prominent event emerges in Scottish history—the so-called Porteous Riot. We have already had occasion to remark that, owing to the new excise duties which resulted from the union with England, smuggling was looked upon by the people of Scotland as an offence of a very petty nature, much as poaching or trespass is regarded at the present day. The prevalence of the practice led, in 1736, to the passing of severe measures against smugglers. Two Fife smugglers, Wilson and Robertson, had lost certain contraband goods by confiscation, and to recoup their loss they broke into the house of a collector at Pittenweem and stole a sum of money. They were tried in the Court of Justiciary and condemned to death.

An attempt by Robertson and some other prisoners to escape from jail was bungled owing to Wilson's awkwardness; but on the Sabbath prior to the date fixed for their execution, when the prisoners were taken to service in the Tolbooth Church, each in the custody of two wardens of the peace, Wilson made a desperate and successful attempt to enable Robertson to make off from his guards. As the townspeople expressed much sympathy with Wilson owing to his magnanimous conduct in thus effecting the escape of the other prisoner, it was decided to turn out the town guard of the city to his execution, in case any demonstration should be made in the condemned man's favour.

The execution was duly carried out on 14th April, but after the event some stones were thrown at the guard, who were far from popular with the crowd at any time. The captain of the guard was John Porteous, who, evidently stung to the quick by this display of popular feeling, ordered his men to fire,

James Drummond, R.S.A. *Photo by Annan & Sons.*

THE PORTEOUS MOB.

P. 328

without observing the usual precaution of reading the Riot Act. His men being now hustled by the crowd, the firing was repeated, half a dozen people being killed and a score of others wounded.

Great was the indignation of the Edinburgh magistrates on learning of the action of their over-zealous official, and they at first proposed to deal with him themselves, but ultimately left his case to be tried by the High Court. Porteous was found guilty of murder, and was sentenced to be hanged in September. There the matter might have ended; but in the absence of the king on the Continent, Queen Caroline took upon herself as regent the responsibility of granting Porteous a reprieve, and by this intervention she incurred the general resentment of the citizens of Edinburgh. On the night of 7th September, the eve of the date originally fixed for his execution, Porteous was entertaining a few friends in anticipation of his ultimate release, when one of the strangest episodes in our history took place,—an episode too entirely orderly to be called a riot, carried through with the deliberateness of a legal act of justice, and yet under cover of such absolute secrecy that no investigation ever led to the discovery of the conspirators. A small band of people entered the city by the West Port, and grew as if by magic until it numbered some thousands. The city gates were secured in order to isolate the soldiers stationed in the suburbs, the guard was disarmed, and the mysterious plotters proceeded to attack the jail.

The governor of the castle, and Colonel Moyle, who commanded the military, alike declined to interfere on their own responsibility, and the mob proceeded without molestation in their strange work. Failing to force the great door of the

Tolbooth Jail they burned it open, and so effected an entrance. The other prisoners were deliberately freed, while Porteous was led forth and calmly conducted through the streets for nearly a mile to the Grassmarket, where he was hanged from a dyer's pole. Thereafter the crowd dispersed with as much order and absence of fuss as they had shown in assembling.

The magistrates utterly failed to find any clue to the perpetrators of this deed, and it may not be uncharitable to suspect that they showed no great zeal in the attempt. But in proportion to the apathy of the Edinburgh authorities the indignation of the London Government increased. A reward of £200 having failed to draw out any information, it was proposed in the House of Lords that the whole city of Edinburgh should be held guilty of complicity in the execution of Porteous, that the Provost and bailies should be deposed, the city charter withdrawn, and the walls demolished. To such drastic proposals the Scottish peers, headed by Argyll, offered a sturdy opposition, and popular tradition boasts how, when Queen Caroline in her wrath threatened to "turn Scotland into a hunting-ground," the duke significantly declared his intention to "go home and get ready his hounds" for her reception! The bill for the degradation of Edinburgh actually passed the Lords; but as it was opposed in the Commons by all the Scottish members, including even Lord Advocate Forbes and the Solicitor General, it became necessary to settle the matter in a more prosaic fashion, and the episode ended with the deposition of the Provost and the payment of £2000 by the city to the widow of Porteous. The clergy of the Church of Scotland were enjoined to urge their flocks for the next year to reveal the culprits; but many of them resigned rather than submit to such an

"Erastian" injunction, or to the reading of a proclamation which described the English bishops as "the Lords Spiritual in Parliament assembled."

Walpole retired from public life in 1742, and in this same year Britain experienced the inconvenience of having a foreign monarch by being dragged into the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) on behalf of George's possession of Hanover. In the course of this war occurred the battle of Dettingen in June 1743, where George and his son, the Duke of Cumberland, both distinguished themselves by personal bravery. This was the last battle in which any British monarch took part in person. In the earlier part of the battle George's force was commanded by Marshal Stair (son of Sir John Dalrymple, of Glencoe fame).

Although the battle ended in the complete defeat of the French, it had far-reaching consequences on the home affairs of Britain. The French court, eager to avenge itself by fomenting trouble for Britain, decided to encourage a Stuart rising, to be headed by James's son, Charles Edward, who was at this time living at Rome.

In 1744, Charles arrived in France, and a force of 15,000 men was organised for his service under Marshal Saxe. The squadron escorting the French transport ships was, however, dispersed off Torbay by Admiral Norris, and the transports were quite as severely dealt with by the winds and waves. The French Government were very loth to repeat the attempt to invade Britain, and at length, after another year of fruitless waiting for their assistance, Charles boldly decided to set foot in Scotland without French help, relying solely on the traditional loyalty of the Highland chiefs to his exiled race. His best friends in Scotland frankly warned him that he had no prospect of success unless he brought with him from France at

least 6000 troops, together with a plentiful supply of what were still more scanty in the Highlands, money and arms.

But no warnings sufficed to dissuade the "Young Chevalier" from his project, and at the end of June he set sail from Nantes in a swift brig, the *Doutelle*, attended by one ship of war, which became dislodged during the voyage in an encounter with a British warship off the Lizard Point. The *Doutelle* narrowly evaded another British ship, but Charles reached the western isles in safety with seven followers, landing first at the island of Eriskay, near South Uist. Most of the island chiefs, including Macleod of Macleod and Macdonald of Sleat, held sternly aloof from the enterprise, regarding any rising as utterly hopeless without foreign aid. Landing on the mainland in the district of Moidart, Charles met at first with no better reception, but at last his eloquence prevailed upon Donald Cameron of Lochiel to join his cause, although Lochiel had visited him with the express purpose of dissuading him from the attempt. The adherence of this gallant and highly respected chieftain gave new hope to Charles and carried great weight with other clan leaders. Accordingly, after a small success achieved by a few Highlanders at Spean Bridge over two companies of soldiers, Charles made bold to unfurl his father's standard at Glenfinnan on 19th August.

In those qualities which go to make a born leader of men, Charles Edward, the eldest son of "James VIII. and III." and of Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski of Poland, presented a complete contrast to his somewhat saturnine father. As Burton remarks, "it was the sunshine, instead of the frost, of royalty." He was now in his twenty-fifth year, and was tall, muscular, and athletic. His courage had already been success-

fully tested in Italy and at Dettingen, and throughout the campaign on which he was now embarking he showed those qualities of endurance, and that willingness to share to the full the hardships of his followers, which endear a general to his soldiers. He was of an "agreeable aspect," and possessed a persuasive manner and a magnetic personality. His courtesy and good manners made him a favourite with the fair sex, and their influence was often exerted in his behalf upon their lords and masters. But these numerous advantages of person and training were counterbalanced by equally striking faults. He was but indifferently educated, and his warlike spirit was not tempered by the prudence which alone can rule that spirit aright. His aptitude in winning over adherents was not backed by the tact and ability necessary to balance justly the conflicting claims of the proud chieftains who supported his cause. While these faults of character hindered his command of the Highlanders, the Lowland Scots were distinctly hostile to him, as they had been to his father, owing to their knowledge that his education had consisted largely in the imbibing of that Catholicism which had proved fatal to his father and grandfather, and of the old Stuart folly of the "divine right" of monarchs, a belief which in the young prince's case prevented him from showing any gratitude to those brave men who risked all for him, but who seemed to him to be simply performing their bounden duty to his sacred race.

The young prince's early movements were conducted with such secrecy that some thousands were pledged to his cause before the Government in London were quite assured that he had really landed. On 6th August, however, a proclamation was issued offering £30,000 for his head.

King George was absent in Hanover, and the total forces in Scotland numbered only some three thousand soldiers, many of whom had but recently enlisted. With this unsatisfactory corps Sir John Cope marched northwards against the Highlanders, but finding them strongly posted near Fort Augustus he declined to attack them, and marched on to Inverness. Charles took advantage of this movement to march southwards unopposed in the direction of Edinburgh. As he approached the capital the two regiments of dragoons stationed in the city fled, and on 17th September Charles entered Edinburgh with appalling ease, and rode in triumph into Holyrood.

Meanwhile Cope had sailed from Aberdeen to Dunbar, where he landed on 18th September. Charles had 2500 men to Cope's 3000, and he decided to risk a battle. Leaving Edinburgh on the 19th he boasted that he had "thrown away his scabbard." The Highlanders met Cope near Prestonpans, and attacked him in the early hours of the morning of 21st September. Cope's guns were first put out of action, and thereafter in a short but sharp encounter the bayonet went down before the wild claymore, the dragoons again showing a clean pair of heels to the Highlanders, while the Lowland infantry were cut to pieces. Among the slain on the Government's side the most notable man was Colonel James Gardiner, a veteran of Marlborough's wars, who commanded the dragoons, and, when deserted by them, remained to animate the infantry, until he fell mortally wounded within sight of his own house.

The honours of the day rested chiefly with the Camerons and Stewarts, who had charged the royal artillery. Cope, with the scanty remnant of his army, which is said to have amounted to only 200 men, rode

in hot speed to Berwick, where he was accorded the doubtful compliment of being the first general who ever carried tidings of his own defeat. The battle cost Charles only a hundred in killed and wounded, and brought him a welcome accession of military stores and money; but, as usually happened after a victory, hundreds of his men deserted homewards with their booty.

After this battle, as throughout his whole campaign, Charles showed the greatest humanity to those of his enemies who fell into his hands. The prince returned to Edinburgh next day, and for the following six weeks remained inactive in a military sense except for a futile attempt to reduce the castle, which still held out against him under General Guest, a veteran of eighty-five years of age. Edinburgh became a scene of Jacobite triumph. King James VIII. was proclaimed, and Charles entered upon a series of court festivities at Holyrood. Glasgow, which sturdily opposed the Stuart cause, was fined £5000. But while Charles during these weeks managed to surround himself with a glamour of romantic popularity, he must have been aware that he was frittering away the chances of succeeding in an undertaking in which suddenness of action was of prime importance. Doubtless he was hoping against hope for the arrival of much-needed help from France. He defended his House from the charge of treason made against it for seeking French and Spanish help by citing the example of his opponents in introducing Dutch, Hanoverians, and Danes. He promised liberty of worship to all his "subjects," but the Scots were in no humour to believe his promises, and the struggle resolved itself chiefly into one of Highlander versus Lowlander, and of Catholic versus Protestant. Even the Highlands were

far from being united in his favour. Duncan Forbes of Culloden is credited with keeping 10,000 men from joining the rising, and he had actually prevailed on Macleod, the Earl of Sutherland, the Mackays, Munros, Grants, and others, to raise Highland forces on behalf of King George, and thus ere long Charles found himself between two fires.

A rapid march on London might have altered the whole course of our subsequent history, but now King George had reached London, and had summoned home his son, the Duke of Cumberland, from the Continent. At last, on 1st November, having assembled 6000 men, Charles left Edinburgh for an invasion of England. Most of his generals were opposed to this course; but Charles realised the danger of allowing the rising to be regarded as a purely Scottish affair, and reckoned on gaining support in England through the sheer glamour of his name and family. He chose the north-western counties as his point of attack, so as to interpose the Pennine Hills between himself and General Wade, who was stationed at Newcastle with about 10,000 men, largely foreign mercenaries. Within a fortnight Carlisle had surrendered, and, after a few days' rest, the Jacobite army proceeded southward by way of Penrith and Lancaster to Preston.

Everywhere on his route the young prince was received with apparent cordiality; but the acclamations accorded him proved to be simply "mouth-honour, breath," as no great numbers joined his ranks, while his Highlanders deserted in proportion as the distance from their homes increased. The news from Scotland was far from encouraging, as the various towns—even Edinburgh—had gladly returned to their allegiance as soon as his back was turned. On 4th December Derby was reached, and the army was now within 130

John Pettie, R.A. — *From the [illegible]*

BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE

(On the Prince's right is Cameron of Lochiel, and on his left Lord Pitsligo.)

P. 336.

miles of London! Never had any expedition by so small a force (numbering now only 5000 men) met with more melodramatic success; but, at the same time, never was success more unreal. This was so apparent to Lord George Murray and other chiefs of the expedition that they insisted on holding a council of war, where they represented the folly of advancing farther. Not only had all hope of assistance from France been abandoned, but the Highland army ran the imminent risk of being gradually invested by three British armies, each superior in numbers to itself,—the first being that of General Wade, the second a force under the Duke of Cumberland, who had arrived from the Continent, while a third force was mustering in London, to be commanded by the king and Marshal Stair. In spite of the Chevalier's violent remonstrances it was decided to retire, and the homeward march began on 6th December, to the intense relief of the citizens of London. Amid the general panic, according to Thackeray, the king "never lost his courage," and "never for a moment allowed his equanimity, or his business, or his pleasures to be disturbed." He now sent the Duke of Cumberland in pursuit of the Jacobites; and on the 18th December the rearguard of that force, under Lord George Murray, engaged in a successful skirmish with the duke's advance guard at Clifton Moor, near Penrith. Cumberland stopped at Carlisle, deputing General Hawley to lead his forces into Scotland.

The Highlanders reached Glasgow by way of Dumfries on the 26th, having marched 600 miles in eight weeks in the face of vast opposing forces, and having kept two kingdoms in a state of the greatest anxiety. Alike in its daring and in its futility the expedition is comparable, on a larger scale, to the

Charge of the Light Brigade, and as for its leader, Sir Henry Craik well claims that "common justice must accord to him the honour due to a man reckless of his own life in a cause he deemed to be a noble and a righteous one."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DOWNFALL OF JACOBITISM.

"ENGLISH bribes were a' in vain,
Tho' puir and puirer we maun be;
Siller canna buy the heart
That beats aye for thine and thee."

BARONESS NAIRNE.

CHARLES's forces, which had become seriously reduced in numbers by desertion in the course of his long marches through England, soon increased again on native soil, until they totalled 9000 men, the largest army he had yet got together. Having fined Dumfries in £2000 for its opposition to his cause, the Chevalier now demanded from Glasgow food, clothing, and other stores to the value of £10,000, and, these being promptly supplied, he was ready ere long to enter upon a new year's campaign. By 10th January 1746 he had laid siege to Stirling Castle, in the romantic hope of accomplishing a warlike feat in the district rendered immortal by his great ancestor King Robert the Bruce, to whom his supporters loved to compare their young prince. General Hawley took up his quarters at Falkirk with a force of 8000 men, which included 800 Argyll Highlanders and a detachment of 600 men sent by the town of Glasgow to oppose Prince Charlie.

The armies met on 17th January, when a clever turning movement by Lord George Murray upset

Hawley's calculations. The battle resolved itself into a race for the top of an eminence, in which the Highlanders won, and from the position thus acquired they inflicted a fairly sharp defeat on their opponents. Hawley lost about 500 men and the Highlanders only a few dozen. Hawley's camp, baggage, and artillery fell into the possession of Prince Charlie. It was in this engagement that James Wolfe, a young English officer now in his twentieth year, first learned something of the tiger-like valour of those mountaineers who were afterwards to immortalise him at Quebec. Hawley retreated towards Edinburgh, halting for a night at Linlithgow, where, by design or accident, his soldiers set fire to the ancient palace and caused its partial destruction. (This damage is, however, attributed by some to the Duke of Cumberland's force on its visit a fortnight later.) Instead of pursuing the defeated general, and once more occupying the capital, Charles wasted his time in the fruitless attempt to reduce the Castle of Stirling. It was doubtless in regard to such cases of sentimental obstinacy that one of Charles's officers wrote: "Had Prince Charles slept during the whole of the expedition, and allowed Lord George Murray to act for him according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the crown of Great Britain on his head when he awoke."

The defeat at Falkirk at last aroused the British Government to a sense of the need for vigorous action. The Duke of Cumberland superseded Hawley in command of King George's forces in Scotland, and arrived at Edinburgh on 30th January. Charles wished to await Cumberland's arrival on the inspiring plains of Bannockburn, but already the failure of his enterprise was clearly foreshadowed by dissensions

among his followers. Since the retreat from Derby he had ceased holding council with his chieftains, and relied mainly on the advice of his secretary, John Murray, and his Irish confidants, Sir Thomas Sheridan and Captain O'Sullivan. Now, however, the Highland chiefs held a council of war on their own responsibility, and compelled the prince to consent to a retreat towards Inverness.

The army accordingly moved northwards, and reaching the vicinity of Inverness by the middle of February, prepared to dislodge Lord Loudoun, who held the Highland capital on behalf of the Government. On the night of 16th February, Charles was staying at Moy Castle, pratically unguarded. Secret information was brought to Lady Mackintosh, his hostess, that Loudoun's men were advancing to capture him, in the hope of gaining the reward offered by Government. The brave lady sent out some half-dozen of her adherents, headed by a blacksmith, to receive the advancing host with the pibroch and slogan of various clans, a device which succeeded so well in the darkness that Loudoun's men took to their heels, leaving the story of the "Rout of Moy" to posterity as evidence of the loyalty and resourcefulness of a Highland matron. Lord Loudoun vacated Inverness without much show of resistance on the approach of the superior Jacobite forces, and Charles, making Inverness his headquarters, proceeded to reduce Fort Augustus and other garrisons of the royal troops.

Meanwhile Cumberland had left Edinburgh for Perth, and replaced the garrisons in that quarter with Hessian troops, throwing the native soldiers free for more active service. He arrived at Aberbeen on 27th February, in time to prevent a detachment of French troops from effecting a junction with the Highland

army. Any further chance of French aid reaching the Highlands was prevented by the patrolling of the northern ports by British warships. On 8th April the duke, having all his preparations completed, left Aberdeen with a strong force of 8000 "seasoned" men, including the Scots Fusiliers and the Campbells. He advanced by way of Banff and Fochabers to Nairn, the fleet meanwhile keeping pace with him by sea, so that all necessary supplies might be constantly at hand.

The Highland army was at this particular juncture in a very disorganised state, consisting as it did of fragments hurriedly recalled from a winter of guerilla warfare waged for very existence. The men who gathered round the prince's standard on Drummossie Moor, five miles to the east of Inverness, were half-starved and had been for long unpaid, and constant desertions were occurring towards the town, where food and shelter could be had for the taking.

The 15th April was the twenty-fifth birthday of the duke, and the day was given over to enjoyment by the army at Nairn, while the day's rations in the Highland force consisted of one biscuit per man. The Highlanders decided to attempt a night attack on the duke's forces, and started at eight o'clock to cover before dawn the twelve miles that lay between them and Nairn. In order to prevent detection it was necessary to avoid the beaten path, and, as the night was dark, progress was slow. The attempt was one "to do ten hours' work in seven, at a season when ten hours' darkness was not obtainable." By 2 a.m., the hour when they had hoped to reach their enemy's camp, they were still four miles short of Nairn. Many had fallen down to sleep upon the way, others had wandered, and all were exhausted. Retreat was inevitable, and the wearied and hungry men started to retrace their steps, reaching their former

Photo by Annan & Sons

CAIRN, CULLODEN MOOR.
(Erected by the late Duncan Forbes of Culloden.)

P. 312.

position on the moor by five o'clock. Whether warned of the attempted surprise or not, the duke's troops were already in motion, and by eight o'clock they were within two miles of Culloden House, where Prince Charles was stationed. Some 2000 of the Highlanders had straggled to Inverness in search of food, leaving only 5000 men, tired, sleepy, and famished, to face the duke's forces. Charles hurriedly prepared for defence, and in an unlucky moment assigned his right wing to the Atholl Stewarts and Lochiel's men, to the disgust of the Macdonalds, who had regarded that position as their due from the days of Bannockburn.

The contest opened shortly after noon, and furnishes the first striking example in history of the helplessness of sheer valour against the modern engines of war—a helplessness aggravated in this case by the inferiority of the Highland army in numbers, and the privations and fatigue so recently endured by its hardy members, while a strong wind, accompanied by rain and hail, buffeted their faces and added to the general discomfiture. No position could have been less suited to the Highlanders than that of the wide treeless moor of Culloden, across which, from a safe distance, the royal artillery thinned the ranks of the Highlanders, who had no cannon fit to retaliate. After they had suffered this nerve-trying experience for an hour, Lord Murray led a wild charge of the Highland right and centre, such as had turned the fortunes of the day at Killiecrankie, Prestonpans, and Falkirk. But the insurgent ranks were exposed to an enfilading fire from a laterally placed battery, and in front the Lowland muskets cut short the career of the claymore, and the Highland ranks reeled backwards in wild confusion. The Macdonalds are usually credited with taking no share in the combat beyond sullenly

meeting death where they stood, but there is likely to be just as much truth in the other theory that their services were never called into requisition by the prince. It is at least certain that the actual contest lasted only half an hour from the time of Murray's charge, and that after the reverse suffered by that chieftain no serious effort was made to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Whether Charles was forced from the field by his Irish friends, or, as Lord Elcho and others of his supporters believed, basely abandoned the fight when it was only half lost, the defeat of Culloden seems to have altered his whole attitude towards the enterprise. He refused Murray's suggestion of a rally at Ruthven, but with a courtesy so grossly absent from his father's conduct thirty years before, he issued commands for his scattered forces to disband and for each man to seek his own safety. The clansmen, defeated but not disgraced, had lost 1500 men in this the last battle on the soil of Great Britain, while the casualties on the royal side were only some 300.

No quarter was allowed to the vanquished, and making all allowance for exaggeration due to panic and to race hatred, there still lies to Cumberland's charge enough of heartless cruelty to justify the term "Butcher" which has clung to his name ever since. The execution and burning of wounded men on the battlefield were only a prelude to a career of systematic barbarity. Houses were burned, men killed, and women insulted, with a ferocity modified only by what humanity might be left in the soldiers themselves; and on till the middle of July the duke issued, from his headquarters at Fort Augustus, savage orders which drew forth unheeded remonstrances even from a staunch supporter of Government like Lord President Forbes

After Allan Ramsay. *From the Collection of Augustin Rischgitz.*

FLORA MACDONALD.

P. 41.

of Culloden. To Forbes more than to any one man had been due the thwarting of the whole expedition. He had held back powerful chiefs from joining the Chevalier, he had enlisted others on the side of Government, and had raised companies at his own expense, and in the end he received neither the thanks of the royal house nor compensation at the hands of Government. The royal duke, however, was comfortably provided for by a pension of £25,000 a year in reward for his services, and it was in his honour that Handel composed "See the Conquering Hero Comes!"

For five months after his defeat Prince Charles lived as a fugitive. He escaped to the "Long Island" of the Outer Hebrides and there lurked for two months under the faithful care of Donald Macleod, a Skye man. By that time he seemed hopelessly hemmed in by Government boats and militia, while General Campbell was hot upon his track. Flora MacDonald (1722–90), a native of South Uist, and stepdaughter of Hugh MacDonald, a supporter of the Government, enabled him to escape to Skye, disguised as her female servant, and bearing the unprincely name of Betty Burke. Charles next escaped to the island of Raasa, and thence, passing again through Skye, he once more sailed to the mainland, where he lived for a time with seven outlaws in Glen Moriston, a few miles from Fort Augustus. Among his many strange abodes, none is more noted than the "cage" constructed for him above Loch Ericht by Macpherson of Cluny early in September. The records of humankind present no more touching example of self-abnegation and simple-minded honour than the conduct of the hundreds of half-fed, ill-housed, tattered Highlanders who from time to time within those five months became aware of the identity of this homeless prince. To any of those men and women the proffered

reward of £30,000 meant wealth beyond the wildest dreams of avarice, but the rejection of the bait has thrown for all eternity a glamour of glory over those western Highlands such as no money could ever purchase and such as any nation might envy.

> "The honest man, tho' e'er sae puir,
> Is king o' men for a' that!"

At last, by 20th September, Charles was found by two French vessels which had been sent to effect his rescue, and along with Lochiel and some hundred followers he embarked at Lochnanuamh, almost at the very place where he had first landed. Thirteen months only had elapsed since he set foot on Scottish soil, and of these he had spent five as a fugitive; but into that short period he had crowded a series of events unsurpassed in their dramatic rapidity. The Jacobite rising has furnished a wealth of material to novelists from Scott to Stevenson, and has created a literature of its own in song and ballad unequalled by that which clusters round any similar episode in the world's history. From the "Welcome, Royal Charlie," and "Wha wadna fecht for Charlie?" which greet his landing, we are launched upon the campaign in the stirring words of "Cam' ye by Atholl?"

> "Down thro' the Lowlands, down wi' the Whigamore,
> Loyal true Highlanders, down wi' them rarely!
> Ronald and Donald, drive on wi' the braid claymore,
> Over the necks of the foes o' Prince Charlie."

The victory of Prestonpans finds its pæan in the "Hey, Johnnie Cope!" of Adam Skirving, a farmer of the district, and with "The Hundred Pipers," we reach English soil. When "the conflict is past, and our name is no more" the note changes to that of chastened melancholy in "Flora Macdonald's Lament" and "A

wee bird cam' tae oor ha' door," while the strains of "Will ye no come back again?" wistfully follow the departing prince.

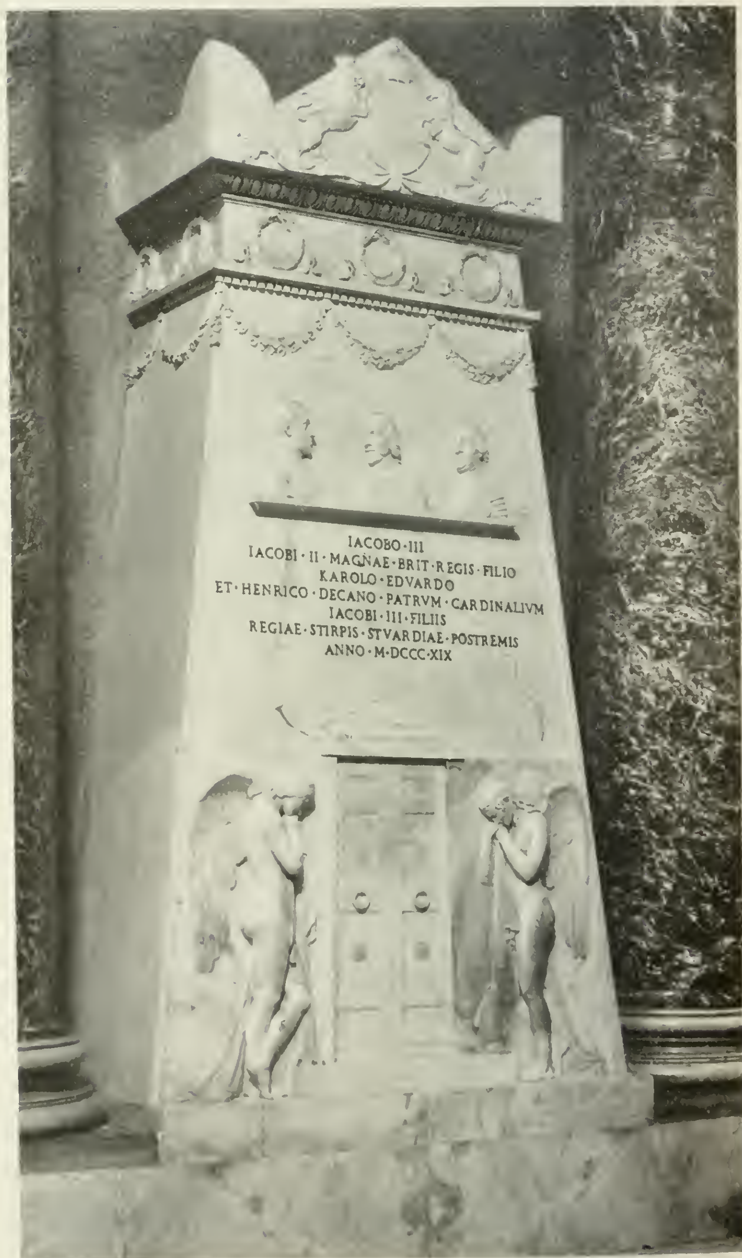
While Lowland Scotland was utterly opposed to the restoration of the Stuart line, there was infused into the character of the Lowland Scots, from the extent to which "poetical Jacobitism" crept into their blood through such popular songs, and likewise from their very pride in their valiant Highland brothers, an element of romance which has done much to modify the somewhat over-stolid temperament developed by their stern Presbyterianism.

Charles reached France at the end of September, and was at first well received at Paris. Next year, however, he was requested to leave the country in order to facilitate the negotiations for peace between France and Britain which ended in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Having refused to do so, he was seized at the opera-house in December 1748, by French guards, and conveyed to the Pope's territory of Avignon. He continued to engage in abortive plots, even visiting London once or twice incognito. His most loyal supporters at home became gradually disgusted at the reports of his increasing drunkenness and profligacy, and made the best peace they could with Government. The uncrowned king—his father—died on New Year's Day 1766, and in January 1788 he who had been "Bonnie Prince Charlie," but who was now physically and morally a ruin of his former self, died of paralysis, leaving no legitimate offspring, and not "even the wreck of a name." His body, after being interred for a time at Frascati, was removed to the crypt of St. Peter's, at Rome, where a striking monument to Charles, his father, and brother, still forms a shrine of Jacobite pilgrimage. "Amid these clouds," says Scott,

"was at length extinguished the torch which once shook itself over Britain with such terrific glare, and at last sank in its own ashes, scarce remembered and scarce noted."

The direct male Stuart line was now represented only by Charles's younger brother Henry, Duke of York, who had entered the Church and become a cardinal in 1747. In 1800, George III., in the magnanimity begotten of security, granted him a pension of £4000 a year; and in gratitude the cardinal, who died in 1807 at the advanced age of eighty-two, bequeathed to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) the crown jewels, which had been carried off by James VII. and II. in his flight from Britain.

Thus harmless was the ending of the headstrong Stuart race; but even at the present day there exists a remnant of so-called "Legitimist Jacobites," who amuse the public by refusing allegiance to the present reigning house, and who, by abstruse calculations involving the royal houses of Sardinia and Austria, declare that the sovereign *de jure* of the British Isles is Mary of Bavaria, whom they even "proclaimed" at the accession of our present king. The utter contempt they meet with, and still more the impunity which they enjoy, are the measure of the value of their cause. A romantic appreciation of the gallant deeds of the "Forty-five" is a permissible and laudable sentiment, but any hankering after a "restoration" of any particular individual on the ground of an infinitesimal percentage of Stuart blood is a form of treason rendered negligible only by its imbecility. Disloyalty to the reigning house may be a small matter in the democratic twentieth century, but disloyalty to the United Kingdom and all that is best in it, the freedom of the subject and the supremacy of the people's Parliament,



Canova. *From the Collection of Augustin Rischgitz.*

THE STUART TOMB, ST PETER'S, ROME.

P. 318.

or disloyalty to the great past and present of Scotland, are folly and treason of the most contemptible type. What would the success of Jacobitism have meant to Britain? Simply a recrudescence of divine right personified in a monarchy restored by arms and maintained by force, while for Scotland it would have involved in addition another determined struggle against Roman Catholicism or Episcopacy. Even the distinction so often drawn by present-day "Jacobites" between the *de jure* and the *de facto* monarchy strikes at the very root of democracy and of parliamentary control, attaching, as it does, more importance to royal "blood" than to a nation's will or intelligence. The Celtic element itself in Scotland has long ceased to lament in sincerity the ultimate downfall of the Stuart cause, and the pity is that any one should ever confuse the question of Scottish rights, as now freely and openly advocated by various national and political societies, with the mediæval ideas of self-styled "Legitimists." When those individuals or journals whose delight it is to thwart the sentiment of Scottish nationality fail, as they generally do, to meet argument with argument, they seek the readier weapon of ridicule, and find their butt ready to hand in that "Jacobite" buffoonery which they choose open-eyed to confound with the absolutely opposite movement of the reawakened feeling of Scottish democracy.

It remains to relate the subsequent fortunes of Charles's chief supporters. Lord George Murray escaped to Holland, where he died sixteen years later. Cameron of Lochiel was placed in command of a French regiment, but died in October 1748. Flora MacDonald was imprisoned for a time in the Tower of London, but was ere long pardoned and released (1747). The Duke of Perth died on board ship while escaping

to France; and the Marquess of Tullibardine, who had been deprived of his title of Duke of Atholl, died of disease in the Tower in July 1746, leaving it as his last advice that no further attempt should ever be made to overturn the ruling house. Charles's secretary, John Murray of Broughton, was arrested at the end of June, and turned king's evidence. He is believed to have died in an English asylum about twenty years later. On 28th July the three chief Jacobite prisoners—the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino—were tried in the House of Lords, and condemned to death. Cromarty was spared, but the other two were executed in August, Balmerino exhibiting the most triumphant coolness on the scaffold. By November about eighty persons had been put to death, mostly Highlanders, who, contrary to the Treaty of Union, were tried in the north of England to render their condemnation more certain. In April of the following year Lord Lovat, now over eighty years of age, ended his long career of two-sided treason. He is said to have been the last person decapitated by legal sentence in Great Britain.

It was necessary that the old clan system, so well suited to a country in a primitive state of constant warfare, should give way to the more democratic forms which befitted a nation so soon to become a force in the world of commerce. It was therefore decreed that all arms should be given up by August 1746, and next year, on the motion of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the hereditary jurisdictions, which had been enjoyed by the Scottish aristocracy since the reign of David I., were abolished, the work being now done by sheriffs-depute, and an end was put to "tenure by wardship," the principle by which land was held on condition of serving a feudal chief in war. A foolish law forbade

the wearing of the Highland garb or of tartans, imposing a penalty of six months' imprisonment for the first offence and banishment for the second. This regulation, like so many subsequent attempts to denationalise our Scottish regiments, had the effect of glorifying into cherished national emblems what were originally mere developments of Celtic taste. The obnoxious law was not fully withdrawn till 1780. Shortly afterwards the descendants of Scottish noblemen who had been degraded had their titles restored.

The Episcopal Church, which had ever been an alien growth in Scotland, had been under suspicion, from the time of the previous rising, as a hotbed of Jacobitism; and now this body had meted out to it by the British Government and its agents some small measure, short of physical suffering, of the persecution which Episcopacy had imposed on the Covenanters. In return, it was not till after the death of Charles Edward that the Episcopal clergy, as a body, agreed to pray for King George.

Meanwhile, the Presbyterian Church had been bestirring itself on behalf of the Highlands. In 1709 the General Assembly set afoot the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. This organisation not only fulfilled its primary object by sending Gaelic-speaking preachers to the remoter Highland districts, and publishing the Scriptures in Gaelic—the complete New Testament appearing in 1769, and the Old Testament in 1802—but during the greater part of the eighteenth century it did most useful work in planting schools and in spreading a knowledge of agriculture and of the industrial arts and crafts.

The closing years of George II.'s reign found Britain and France at war in every possible quarter—on the Continent, in India, and in North America. William

Pitt became First Secretary of State in December 1756, and one of his earliest duties was to look around for good fighting men for the army. The famous Black Watch had already distinguished itself on the Continent, and Pitt, profiting by the advice given to Government thirty years before by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, set himself to encourage the enlistment of Highlanders. During the Seven Years' War (1756–63), 10,000 Highlanders and as many Lowlanders are said to have been enrolled in the British Army. Not only was this an assurance of victory to Britain in the field, but the wise policy of trusting the Highlanders, and yet providing an outlet for their warlike spirit, transformed that gallant race ere long into one of the most law-abiding elements in the British population.

George II. died in 1760 during the course of the war, and in September of the previous year the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe, who died in the hour of victory, wrested Canada from France and made it one of our most valued possessions. The Canadian operations by sea and river were under the able charge of a Scotsman, Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, to whose thorough efficiency much of the success of the whole expedition was due. Saunders had been a lieutenant under Anson in his voyage round the world. On his death, eleven years after Quebec, he was buried in Westminster Abbey. In the daring capture of the citadel of Quebec, as in all the engagements of this stirring period, the Highland forces, especially the Frasers in this case, won great distinction, and one of Wolfe's officers wrote of them: "Those breechless brave fellows are an honour to their country. I cannot do them justice in my description of them." The left wing at the battle of the Plains of Abraham

(Quebec) was commanded by James Murray, son of Lord Elibank. After Wolfe's death Murray took command of the whole force, and next year the last French stronghold at Montreal surrendered to him. He became Governor of Quebec, and was noted for his kindly consideration towards the French inhabitants.

CHAPTER XXV

SCOTLAND IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven."

Wordsworth.

Towards the end of the year 1760 began the remarkable reign of George III., remarkable not only for its length, taking rank in that respect after Queen Victoria's alone, but by reason of the stirring events which occurred during this period in both Old and New Worlds. Such convulsions as the French Revolution, the wars of Napoleon, and the attainment of American independence, are not often experienced in the course of a single generation; and when to these warlike occurrences are added such political events as the Union with Ireland and the early demands for electoral and governmental reforms, we are brought face to face with a reign second to none in British history for its interest and importance.

George was the eldest grandson of the late king, his father Frederick, Prince of Wales, having died in 1751. Unlike the two previous Georges he was born and bred in England, and in his first speech to Parliament he declared that he "gloried in the name of Briton." He was twenty-two years of age at his accession, and having married a German princess in the following year, he

continued throughout his long reign to set an example of domestic virtue and faithfulness sadly lacking in the private lives of most of Britain's monarchs. His simple tastes and his approachableness earned him the name of "Farmer George." Unfortunately, he had a strong will and an exaggerated idea of his kingly rights, and to his stubbornness must largely be attributed the loss of our American colonies. The political story of the time is one of turmoil, and is sullied by self-seeking and corruption. "There were a multitude of Government places," says Thackeray, "and not merely these, but bribes of actual £500 notes, which members of the House took not much shame in receiving. . . . It was the good time for politicians."

In May 1762, John Stuart, Earl of Bute, became the king's principal minister. From the first he was unpopular as "a Scot, a friend of the king, and an honest man." He had been the king's tutor, and proved himself too firm a supporter of the royal prerogative. In April of the following year he was driven from office by the storm of unreasoning popular indignation that greeted the Treaty of Paris, by which the Seven Years' War came to an end. The abuse lavished upon him was extended to his countrymen, and developed for a time into a general and virulent tirade against Scotland, its prominent men, and its national character. Yet, strange to say, Bute had never been a power in Scotland. He was not even one of its representative peers.

After the death of John, Duke of Argyll, in 1743, the main force in Scottish politics, and practically the ruler of Scotland until 1761, was the duke's younger brother Archibald, Earl of Islay, who succeeded to the Argyll title. There being no Secretary for Scotland from 1744 until living memory, it was

well that Scottish business was managed all this time by native politicians, who, whatever their politics, retained a warm interest in their homeland amid the thorny paths of British politics. From 1775 onward to 1801 the chief force in Scottish affairs was the Lord Advocate, Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, who amid many ups and downs of politics contrived to secure the loyalty of Scotland to the reigning power. Among other offices of trust, he held at various times the positions of Home Secretary, Secretary for India, Secretary for War, and Secretary to the Navy. Lord Cockburn says of Dundas: "He was the very man for Scotland at that time, and is a Scotchman of whom his country may be proud. Skilful in Parliament, wise and liberal in council, and with an almost unrivalled power of administration, the usual reproach of his Scotch management is removed by the two facts that he did not make the bad elements he had to work with, and that he did not abuse them; which last is the greatest praise that his station admits of." Naturally, Dundas failed to conciliate his Whig opponents, who gave to his period of ascendancy the name of the "Dundas Despotism." It was largely owing to his influence that the forfeited estates of Jacobites were restored to their owners in 1783, and that the prohibition to wear the Highland garb was withdrawn as a reward for the gallant services of Highlanders on many a hard-fought field in Europe, America, and India. During the wars of this reign as many as 10,000 recruits per annum are said to have been sometimes enlisted from Scotland, chiefly owing to the enlightened policy of the elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham. "I sought only for merit," Chatham declared, "and I found it in the mountains of the north. I there found a hardy race of men, able to do their country service, but labouring under a pro-

scription. I called them forth to her aid, and sent them to fight her battles. They did not disappoint my expectations, for their fidelity could be equalled only by their valour, which signalised their own and their country's renown all over the world." Nevertheless, although in the worst counties of Scotland only two per cent. of the possible fighting force had engaged in Jacobite risings, the Government refused in 1756, and again during the American War, to apply the Militia Bill to Scotland, and not till 1797 was she sufficiently trusted to have its benefits extended to her.

One of the most stirring events in Scotland during the early part of George III.'s reign was the famous "Douglas Cause," which for some years divided Scottish opinion into two opposing camps. The Duke of Douglas having died without issue, the Duke of Hamilton claimed the title and estate as next heir. But a claimant, Archibald Douglas, appeared, who professed to be the son of the late duke's sister. Generally speaking, the upper classes favoured Hamilton, while the common people espoused the cause of Douglas. In 1767 the Court of Session was equally divided on the case, but the Lord President gave his casting vote for Hamilton. Great was the indignation of the populace at what was regarded as a piece of aristocratic favouritism, and general satisfaction was expressed when the House of Lords, two years later, unanimously reversed the decision of the supreme Scottish Law Court. The case is mainly interesting to-day from the entirely opposite light in which the decision of August 1904 has caused Scottish opinion to regard that usurped right of appeal to the House of Lords which is not provided for in the Treaty of Union.

Four brief premierships followed the downfall of

Bute, but, in 1770, Lord North attained to that position, which he held for twelve years, during which time the American colonies successfully rebelled. The British Government not unnaturally held that, as the late war with the French in Canada had been undertaken in defence of the New England States, these states should bear some share of the cost of fighting. They accordingly attempted, first by a Stamp Act, and later by a tea tax, to extort money from the colonists. The latter rebelled, and on 4th July 1776 issued their ever-memorable Declaration of Independence. In vain Chatham exposed the folly of forcing taxes on the Americans in face of a continent in arms. In vain Burke warned the Commons not to break "that tie of kindred blood which, light as air, though strong as iron, bound the colonist to the motherland." The king was stubborn: his people and Government acquiesced in his stubbornness: and the question was allowed to pass to the grim arbitrament of the sword. The genius of George Washington, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," carried through successfully the revolt against the old country, and by 1783 the British were glad to come to terms. Scotland loyally supported Lord North's government, and contributed more than its share of men and money to the war. Glasgow was the only town which, owing to its newly established commerce with America, demurred to the contest. Glasgow and the west have generally been more democratic than Edinburgh and district, and about this same period the two towns were engaged in a hot quarrel regarding the fixing of the price at which grain should be allowed to be imported, Glasgow showing thus early a tendency to favour the reduction or abolition of import duties on food.

During the American War occurred the curious series of episodes connected with the name of Paul Jones (1747–92). John Paul, as his name originally ran, was a native of Kirkcudbright who had settled in Virginia in 1773. He offered his services to the American Government, and these being accepted he became the founder of the American Navy, humble as it then necessarily was. In 1778 he performed some daring feats in the neighbourhood of the Solway Firth, and next year, after entering the Forth with a French squadron in the American service, he succeeded in capturing two British warships off Flamborough Head. For his services Jones received the warmest thanks of the American Congress, and a gold medal was struck in his honour, similar to that presented to Washington. He was the first foreigner to receive the French Grand Cross of the Order of Military Merit. Later in life he took service in the Russian Navy, which, strangely enough, had since 1763 benefited greatly from the services of another Scot, Admiral Sir Samuel Greig of Inverkeithing. Greig (1735–88) was one of the officers selected by the British Government at the request of Russia, to assist in developing the military power of the latter. He served against the Turks and Swedes. Greig practically created the Russian fleet, and as Governor of Kronstadt he built the famous fortifications of that place. His son, Alexis S. Greg (1775–1845), also became a Russian admiral.

Paul Jones died at Paris in 1792, and in July 1905 his body was exhumed, and was conveyed to America by a squadron of the United States Navy.

The indignation and dismay of Jones's fellow-countrymen at his unexpected descent upon their coasts had doubtless much to do with reconciling Scotland to the American War, probably against her

better judgment. For while the loss of America occasioned a severe wrench to the British people, we are bound to admit, in the light of subsequent events, that that great continent has reached a development under the free banner of the Stars and Stripes which could scarcely have been attained under the rule of a distant and unsympathetic government. And Britain herself learned from her American experience the value of a *laissez-faire* policy in dealing with her colonies, a lesson that has not been lost in subsequent ages. The present-day relations between Britain and the United States, while free from entangling alliance, are probably more cordial than they could have become under a policy of absorption, and the Briton of to-day can quite conscientiously approve of the events of the famous 4th of July. Our only prayer need be that in the providence of God these two great kindred nations may never find cause of quarrel, but may advance hand in hand towards that better time when all enmity shall be fused in "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

During the American War, Britain was also in difficulties with France and Spain, and from 1779 to 1783 these two powers made a determined effort to retake Gibraltar from the British. The fortress was besieged by a Spanish force on the land side, and bombarded from the sea by French and Spanish ships with the aid of various ingenious devices by the foremost engineers of the Continent. The defender of the fortress was General Geo. A. Elliott, a native of Stobs in Roxburghshire. Every invention of the enemy was foiled by the defenders, while the sortie in November 1781, under Brigadier Ross, showed that the British were as skilfully led in attack as in defence. For his gallant and successful defence, "one of the most

memorable achievements of British arms," Elliott was created Lord Heathfield, Baron of Gibraltar, and was accorded the thanks of Parliament, with a pension of £1500 a year.

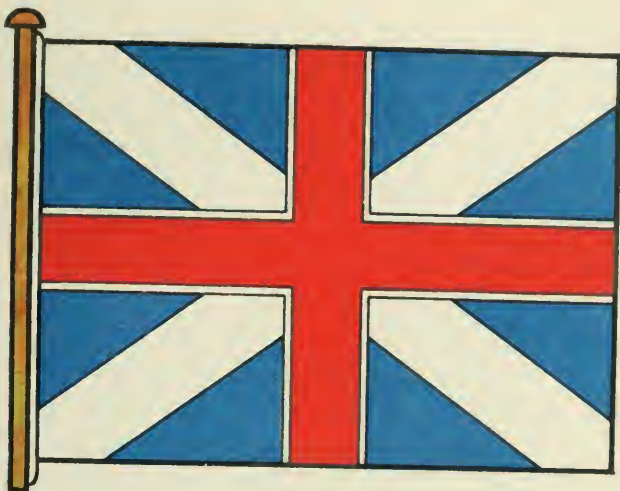
The successful founding of the American Republic reacted on France, a country whose people were groaning under the most oppressive tyranny at the hands of her monarchy and her nobles. The liberal ideas of the Scottish and French philosophers of this period had spread among the common people, who now decided to make a determined effort to attain political freedom. Wordsworth, Coleridge, and other young poets, considered that a new era was about to commence for the world. Alas! they were to suffer a cruel disappointment. They, and the various "Jacobin" or Liberal clubs that sprang up both in England and Scotland, while sympathising with the early proceedings of the Revolution and even the declaration of a Republic, were soon to be shocked by the Reign of Terror of 1793, when the French king and queen, and hundreds of nobles, were ruthlessly beheaded. When the Republic proceeded in the same year to declare war against Britain—a war which was to last for twenty-two years—British sympathy with France naturally disappeared, and the advocates of reform at home, especially when organised into societies such as the "Friends of the People," and the "Society of United Scotsmen," came to be regarded as traitors.

Liberalism became a dead cause during these years, and perhaps only a stern Tory policy could have availed to carry on to a successful issue the grim conflict of a generation. The first victim on behalf of parliamentary reform at this period in Scotland was Thomas Muir, a native of Glasgow and a most promising young advocate. Muir was arrested in 1793, and

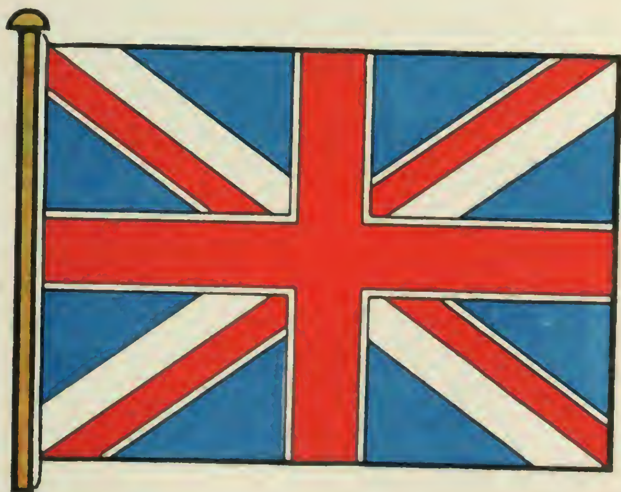
after an unfair trial in August by the notorious Judge Braxfield, he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Robert MacQueen, Lord Braxfield (1722–99), became Lord Justice-Clerk in 1788, and his cruelty gained him the nicknames of "the hanging judge" and the "Scottish Jeffreys." Two of his remarks from the bench are worthy of quotation, as illustrations of the benighted ideas still prevalent a century ago. "The British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better." "The Government in this country is made up of the landed interest, which alone has a right to be represented."

On hearing his sentence Muir declared, amid the sympathetic tears of the audience, "My mind tells me that I have acted agreeably to my conscience; and that I have engaged in a just, good, and a glorious cause, which sooner or later must and will prevail, and by a timely reform save this country from destruction." Muir only survived his sentence for five years. Triumphantly rescued from Botany Bay by an American ship after about three years of his sentence had elapsed, he was shipwrecked among Red Indians, and after many astounding adventures he died at Paris, to the great sorrow of the French Republicans. His condemnation was but the first of a series. The list of reformers transported to Australia included Skirving, Gerald, Palmer, and Margarot, to whom, with Muir, a monument was later erected in Edinburgh. The early attempts of workmen at this same period to associate for their mutual benefit were sternly repressed, and England and Scotland, while eager for reform, had to postpone the fulfilment of their hopes to a more convenient season.

It was natural that Ireland, so long the stepchild



THE UNION FLAG OF 1606
WITH THE CROSSES OF ST ANDREW AND ST. GEORGE
ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT IN 1707 AS THE FLAG OF GREAT BRITAIN



THE UNION FLAG OF 1801
THE NATIONAL FLAG OF BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE
WITH THE CROSSES OF ST. ANDREW, ST GEORGE, AND ST PATRICK

in the British family, should feel the throb of revolution surging from France, and a secret society called the "United Irishmen" was formed with a view to throwing off the British yoke. The French Republican General Lazare Hoche was dispatched in 1796 to help on the revolt in Ireland, but a storm scattered his ships. In June 1798, General Lake met the rebel Irish forces, and inflicted a rout upon them at Vinegar Hill, in County Wexford. A French force which landed in County Mayo was captured, and the rebellion was at an end. It was now decided that the "sort of a" Parliament which had till now sat in Ireland should be superseded. In 1799 a bill passed the British Parliament for legislative union, and a similar bill, by the help of plentiful bribery, passed the Irish legislature in the following year.

On the first day of the new century there was constituted the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The "Union Jack," formed in 1606 by a combination of the English and Scottish flags, now assumed its present character. Its groundwork is the azure of the Scottish flag, on which appears the white St. Andrew's cross (or saltire) side by side (or counterchanged) with the red saltire of St. Patrick, the white taking precedence in the first and third quarters, and the red in the second and fourth. In order to separate the red from the blue ground, a narrow white "fimbriation" is inserted. Above all comes the red cross of St. George, likewise with a white fimbriation. The general opinion of Irishmen on the Union may be gathered from Justin M'Carthy's remark that "we are apt now to think of the Union between England and Ireland as of time-honoured endurance," but to the people of an earlier generation "it appeared simply as a modern innovation which had nothing to be said for

it, except that a majority of Englishmen had by threats and bribery forced it on a majority of Irishmen." Lecky is no less emphatic in his condemnation of the Union of 1801, which, as carried, he describes as "a crime of the deepest turpitude—a crime which, by imposing, with every circumstance of infamy, a new form of government on a reluctant and protesting nation, has vitiated the whole course of Irish opinion."

Common justice demanded that, as Irishmen were now to sit in the British Parliament, the religion of the majority of Irishmen should be recognised as something fit to be endured, and that such ridiculous laws should be repealed as that which ordained that a Catholic must not own a horse of greater value than £5, or if he did, any Protestant could demand it for £5. Proposals for Catholic emancipation had been made as early as 1778, causing riots of disapproval in Glasgow and Edinburgh, which, however, paled into insignificance before Lord George Gordon's London riots of 1780. Pitt, who had been in office since 1783, now renewed the proposal, but was met with determined opposition not only from the people but from the king, on whom the dark shadow of insanity had begun to lower. Pitt accordingly resigned in 1801, only resuming office for a short period from 1804 to 1806.

Meanwhile the war with France went on; and while the rank and file of Scottish soldiers worthily upheld their nation's honour, no mean service was rendered to the United Kingdom by Scottish generals and admirals. It was a Scotsman, Sir David Baird (1757–1829), who in May 1799 commanded the storming party at Seringapatam, and ended the baleful career of Tippoo Sahib. He was presented by the army with Tippoo's sword of state. In October 1797, Adam Duncan (1731–1804), a native of Dundee, gained, as Admiral of the North

Sea fleet, the brilliant victory of Camperdown over the Dutch. During the dangerous naval mutiny of that year, Duncan, alone of British admirals, had managed to keep the men of his own ship loyal to his commands. With only one other vessel he blockaded the Texel, deceiving the Dutch admiral into the belief that a superior force was in the offing, and thus hiding his country's disgrace from the enemy at a time when fuller knowledge would have enabled the Dutch to inflict on Britain a national disaster. For his invaluable services he was made Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, with a pension of £2000 a year. Sir Charles Stuart, son of the Earl of Bute, achieved among other successes the capture of Minorca in 1798. Last but not least. Sir Ralph Abercromby helped to retrieve the Duke of York's disastrous expedition to Holland. Made General of the forces in Ireland, he protested against the misgovernment of the country, and was removed to the Scottish command.

During the whole of the eighteenth century, and especially during its latter half, Scottish commerce advanced by leaps and bounds; and the knowledge that this was largely due to the tranquillity secured by the Union, gradually served to efface the bitterness at first caused by that event. Glasgow especially benefited by its intercourse with the American colonies, and from 1718 onwards a brisk trade with America sprang up. Glasgow before the Union had been fast gaining on Edinburgh in size, and was already noted for salmon-curing, soap manufacture, and paper-milling. The principal import from America was for a time tobacco, and the "tobacco lords" were among the first of Glasgow's long line of merchant princes. By 1770 more than half the tobacco introduced to Britain came

to Glasgow, being largely re-exported to the Continent. The American War entirely ruined this trade. The value of the linen manufactures rose from a little over £100,000 in 1728 to over £400,000 in 1758, and to double that amount thirty years later. Weaving and calico-printing began about the middle of the century, and turkey-red dyeing in 1783. The first cotton mill in Scotland was opened at Rothesay in 1778, but the cotton industry did not attain importance till about 1792. Paisley was already entering on its long career as an industrial town by the introduction of silk-weaving. In the earlier half of the century Mrs. Shaw and her family had begun the manufacture of thread, which has since made Paisley world-famous. The prosperous woollen trade of the Tweed towns, and the Kilmarnock carpet manufacture, were successfully established before the end of the century. The dredging and deepening of the Clyde was begun at the time of the American War. The first regular brewery in Glasgow was opened in 1760, and the year 1786 deserves to be marked with black as the date of the first licensed distillery. Until this century the chief beverage had been a light ale called "twopenny," and whisky had been practically unknown till the seventeenth century. The Scotland of the great past, of Wallace and Bruce, of the Reformation, and of the Covenanting period, had been a sober Scotland; but the introduction of the more potent beverage was soon to sap much of her national vitality, and to rank her among the most drunken nations of Europe. With the bane there came an antidote, however ineffectual, in the gradual introduction of tea at this same period. Mining had been commenced in earnest early in the century, and it is a painful fact that from 1606 till 1775 the colliers were technically slaves, bound to a certain pit

and sold along with it. Salt-workers shared in this shameful degradation. Closely associated with coal-mining was the iron industry, which by the end of the century yielded an output of 18,000 tons. The Carron Works, near Falkirk, were founded in 1760, and soon became the most famous in Britain, doing a brisk business with Government in supplying a type of cannon known as "carronades."

In 1790 the long projected waterway from east to west Scotland was supplied by the Forth and Clyde Canal. It was somewhat unfortunate that both in England and Scotland vast sums were expended on canal-cutting exactly at a time when such slow methods of transit were on the eve of being superseded through the brilliant genius of Watt and Stephenson. The Crinan Canal was opened in 1801 and the Caledonian Canal in 1823.

In agriculture the century witnessed remarkable developments. In 1723 was founded the Society of Improvers of Agriculture, comprising among its members many of the chief landowners. Two members of the aristocracy, the Duchess of Gordon and the Earl of Haddington, did much to encourage improved methods of farming, especially in regard to grass-crops. Considering the importance of turnips and potatoes in the agriculture of to-day, it is difficult to realise that these did not become staple crops in Scotland until after the middle of the eighteenth century. By the end of the century Lowland Scotland had taken its place as the premier agricultural district of Britain, and it is now matter of common knowledge that Scottish farmers can successfully conduct farms, even in the south of England, on which others have failed to make a living. The Highland Agricultural Society was founded in 1784.

By the advice and help of Fletcher of Saltoun and his lady, James Meikle introduced into Scotland the Dutch barley-mill. His son Andrew, as is elsewhere mentioned (Chap. XL.), invented the threshing-machine (1787), and adapted it for water, wind, or horse power.

The revenue of Scotland rose from £100,000 in 1706 to one and three quarter millions in 1800. The population of Glasgow, which at the time of the Union was about 12,000, rose to 20,000 in 1751, and to 83,000 in 1801, the latter figure being practically the same as that for Edinburgh in the same year. Thomas Pennant, a widely travelled Englishman, visited Scotland in 1769, and again in 1772. He was struck by the "neatness and trimness" of the towns, and by the "air of solidity" of the stone houses. Glasgow is "the best built of any modern second-rate city I ever saw: the houses of stone, and in a good taste." The fish and flesh markets receive his special approval. They "have conduits out of several of the pillars; so that they are constantly kept sweet and clean."

In 1764, Gray, the author of the *Elegy*, called Glasgow "an elegant city." Defoe describes it as "one of the cleanliest, most beautiful, and best built cities in Great Britain"; and Captain Burt, one of the earliest of English tourists, calls it "the prettiest and most uniform town that I ever saw, and I believe there is nothing like it in Britain."

Edinburgh had in general less reason to bless the Union. No longer a governmental centre, she was stripped of her ancient glory; but with wonderful adaptivity she transformed herself into a noted home of literary and scholastic life. She was easily the second town in Britain, not only in size and wealth, but in her desirableness as a place of abode. Few

cities have ever contained at one time such a galaxy of talent as our "Modern Athens" could boast in the second half of the eighteenth century. Captain Burt descants on the beauties of the High Street, and is "extremely pleased to find everything look so unlike the descriptions of that town which had been given me by some of my countrymen."

Pennant assures us that "the common complaint of the streets of Edinburgh is now taken away by the vigilance of the magistrates, and their severity against any that offend in any gross degree. The streets are cleaned early every morning." He credits the lofty stone buildings with "a look of magnificence not to be found in any other part of Great Britain." Captain Topham, in 1774, declares that "the finest street in Europe is not to be compared either in length or breadth to the High Street of Edinburgh." In the last part of the eighteenth century the New Town of Edinburgh grew into existence, two million pounds being spent on building within twenty years.

One regrettable result of the commercial prosperity of Scotland's larger towns falls to be noted here. The attempt to encourage the wool industry instituted a system of sheep-farms in the Highlands, which led to the sturdy inhabitants of the glens being dislodged from their ancient abodes. Unfitted as they were for town life, these hardy Celts chose new homes across the sea, and began that stream of emigration to Canada and other colonies which goes on uninterruptedly at the present day. At least one of the Highland lords resisted the glamour of the sheep-farmers' gold. When offered double rent for part of his lands for this purpose, Lord Seaforth replied that he would not "turn out his people upon any consideration, or for any rent that could be offered."

A word on Scottish banking may fittingly conclude this rapid sketch of our country's commercial progress. The Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695, the year after the foundation of the Bank of England. It started operations with a capital of £1,200,000 Scots, or about £100,000 sterling. It did not long enjoy a monopoly, as the Royal Bank was founded in 1727, and the British Linen Company commenced banking transactions shortly after the "Forty-Five." The competition of these banks, and the large production of paper money by all of them, helped to stimulate commerce to no ordinary degree. That there was a danger in this multiplication of paper, unless kept within due bounds, was instanced by the failure of the Ayr Bank in 1772, after some three years of business. Ultimately, however, all the liabilities of this bank were honestly paid up.

In connection with the subject of banking, it will be recalled that the foundation of the Bank of England was due to a Scotsman, William Paterson.

The first Bank of France, founded in 1716, under the Regent Orleans, owed its origin to another Scot, John Law (1671–1729), but it existed only for five years, and France had no permanent national bank till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The great London banking business of Coutts & Co. grew out of a bank founded in Edinburgh by John Coutts, a lord provost of the Scottish capital. The London house was founded in the Strand by his son Thomas Coutts (1735–1822), who became banker to George III., and amassed a fortune of close on a million pounds, much of which descended to his philanthropical granddaughter, the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906).

Scotland's place in the literary world of the

eighteenth century, her philosophical activity, and her religious vicissitudes, are important enough to merit separate treatment, and some account of these will be found in Chapters XXVI., XXVII., and XXXV. respectively.

CHAPTER XXVI

SCOTTISH LITERATURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

"GOD passed in mercy by, and on him breathed,
And bade him live, and put into his hands
A holy harp, into his lips a song,
That rolled its numbers down the tide of time."

R. POLLOCK.

AFTER the Union of 1603 there seems to fall upon Scottish poetry a sort of torpor, lasting for considerably more than a century. This is largely attributable to the political and religious struggles of the times; but a comparison with English literature during the same period indicates that the utter silence of poetic genius in the northern kingdom must be accounted for by some further cause, and it would seem as if that cause consisted, to some extent at least, in the depression of the national barometer which followed on the loss of individuality due to the union with a larger Power.

One poet alone in this epoch is seriously worthy of notice, William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649). Educated at Edinburgh and in France, Drummond spent most of his uneventful life in his ancestral home, the name of which has become indissolubly linked with his own. He passed a life of learned leisure, being a keen reader of French and Italian, as well as of English works; and among his numerous literary visitors were Drayton and Ben

Jonson. As a polished man of letters, he revelled in the sonnet and other difficult metres, betraying strong Italian influence. In only one respect is his work distinctively Scottish, and that is in the fact pointed out by Professor Veitch, that his "lines contain perhaps the first loving imaginative appreciation of mountain, forest, and flood in Scottish poetry." Drummond refers to our

> "Hills, bulwarks of our freedome, giant walls,
> Which never fremdling's sleight [1] nor sword made thralls."

He seems to have been among the first poets in any land to foreshadow that reading of human feeling into Nature's moods which culminates with Wordsworth, and which is, apart from Wordsworth, almost entirely a Lowland Scots growth.

As befitted a loyal subject of James VI. and I., Drummond occasionally, in such a line as

> "Tweed, which no more our kingdoms shall divide,"

gives expression to the new, and not too apparent, Union patriotism of the time.

Less for their merit than for their literal fulfilment in the life and death of their author, we may quote the following lines on Charles I. by the Marquess of Montrose, that "ideal cavalier, hero in the field, statesman in the cabinet, scholar in the library":

> "Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
> My griefs and thy too rigid fate,
> I'd weep the world to such a strain
> As it should once deluge again.
> But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
> More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
> I'll tune thy elegies to trumpet sounds,
> And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds."

The poem of *Habbie Simpson, Piper of Kil-*

[1] Foreigner's cunning.

barchan, written by Robert Sempill of Beltrees, Renfrewshire, about 1640, is noteworthy for the use of the type of Scottish stanza afterwards adopted by Burns.

The Scottish impatience with the laudation of Greece and Rome, which caused Scott later to write:

> "'Behold the Tiber!' the vain Roman cried,
> Viewing the ample Tay from Baiglie's side;
> But where's the Scot that would the vaunt repay,
> And hail the puny Tiber for the Tay!"

inspires the following simple lines by William Cleland (1661–89), who fought as a lad at Drumclog, and led the Cameronians at Dunkeld:

> "For I am very apt to think
> There's as much virtue, sense, and pith
> In Annan or the Water of Nith,
> Which quietly slips by Dumfries,
> As any water in all Greece."

The name of Cleland reminds us that Scotland for the most part, in this century, was engaged in other work than poetical composition. Warfare, persecution, and controversy monopolised her energies, and in the last-named field she produced men of considerable calibre.

Foremost among these for eloquence and learning was Samuel Rutherford (1600–61), who at different times acted as Professor of Latin at Edinburgh, and Professor of Divinity (and later Principal) at St. Andrews, and who had the courage to refuse a retreat from Scotland's troubles in a comfortable professorship in Holland. His letters were for long matter of household reading in Scotland, and he was one of the commissioners at the Westminster Assembly. His *Lex Rex*, a relentless exposure of the absurdities of the "divine right of kings," was burned by the

hangman in 1661 at Edinburgh, and only his death in March rescued the author from royal vengeance in the same year.

Robert Baillie (1599–1662), who was chaplain to Leslie's army at Duns Law, and later a member of the Westminster Assembly, and who ultimately rose to the principalship of Glasgow University, has left in his letters and journals a vivid series of pictures of that stirring time. David Calderwood (1575–1650) wrote a *History of the Kirk of Scotland*; and although they belonged to a later time, mention may here be made of Robert Wodrow (1679–1734), who wrote a graphic *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland 1660–88*, and of John Howie of Lochgoin (1735–93), the author of the *Scots Worthies*, a book which, though strong in Presbyterian prejudice, still merits perusal.

On the Episcopal side, John Spottiswoode (1565–1639), Archbishop of St. Andrews, wrote a *History of the Church and State of Scotland*.

The man whose memory comes down to us now with pleasantest savour from among the Episcopalians of the time is Robert Leighton (1611–84), who held in succession the offices of Principal of Edinburgh University, Bishop of Dunblane, and Archbishop of Glasgow. Leighton was a tolerationist at a time when such a position was understood by neither side, and ten years before his death he withdrew from active life. Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715) was a Scottish minister who migrated to England, becoming chaplain to King William, and Bishop of Salisbury. His *History of the Reformation* and *History of His Own Time* are written from a moderate Episcopal standpoint, without that violence of opinion so common in those who have changed their type of religion.

Apart from religious, historical, and controversial writers, the most notable prose author of the period was the eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. His principal production was a skilful translation of the works of Rabelais. Urquhart was an excellent linguistic student, and his treatise on trigonometry (1645) showed him to be equally proficient in mathematics.

Before leaving the Covenanting period, it may not be uninteresting to refer to a passage quoted by Mr. J. H. Millar from Sir George Mackenzie (1636–91), who has already come under our notice as King's Advocate against the Covenanters. Mackenzie was a man of great literary ability, and founded the famous Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The passage here quoted is on a subject which has as much interest to-day as it had over two hundred years ago, and his claims are as true now as then:

"It may seem a paradox to others, but to me it appears undeniable, that the Scottish idiom of the British tongue is more fit for pleading than either the English idiom or the French tongue; for certainly a pleader must use a brisk, smart, and quick way of speaking, whereas the English, who are a grave nation, use a too slow and grave pronunciation, and the French a too soft and effeminate one. . . . Our pronunciation is like ourselves—fiery, abrupt, sprightly, and bold." It may seem at first a "paradox" indeed to call the English "grave" and "slow" as compared with the Scots, but so far as language is concerned the assertion is true. The southern Englishman (for in this respect we may divide Britain not from Tweed to Solway, but rather from Humber to Mersey) "mouths" his words in such a way that certain syllables are accorded a quite unnecessary emphasis

and duration, while others are quite swallowed. This is not least apparent in the pronunciation of the typical Oxford man. Add to this the time lost on "humming and hawing" and on the oft-repeated "er," and in the net result it will generally be found that the English hare lags behind the Scottish tortoise. This is one of the reasons why Scottish members command so much attention in Parliament as compared with most English speakers. We must add, in favour of the Scottish pronunciation, the fact that we have not only retained the guttural "ch" and the trilled "r" (which is often quite wrongly called a "Scotch burr"), but we have retained the pure vowels, as found say in Italian, whereas the ordinary southern Englishman has lost the power to pronounce these, diphthongs and even triphthongs having taken their place. In other words, while the Scot starts without any natural disability of pronunciation (and here, of course, the "w," "wh," and "th" sounds of the whole of Britain prevent the same being said of the continental peoples), the Englishman has at least two and usually five or more difficulties to face in any foreign language.

To quote Mackenzie again : "The Scots are thought the nation under heaven who do with most ease learn to pronounce best the French, Spanish, and other foreign languages, and all nations acknowledge that they speak the Latin with the most intelligible accent ; for which no other reason can be given but that our accent is natural, and has nothing, at least little, in it that is peculiar." It is satisfactory to know that gradually England is departing from the absurd pronunciation of Latin and Greek that has for centuries prevailed at Oxford and Cambridge and at Westminster, and is adopting the pronunciation prevalent in Scotland and Italy all down the ages.

Scotsmen are ill advised in aping the pronunciation of England, as is only too frequently done in the stylish quarters of our large cities. Like Lord Jeffrey, at Oxford, in losing the "broad Scots" they only acquire a "narrow English," a poor compensation for their native Scottish tongue, which Ruskin, no mean judge, declares to be "the sweetest, richest, subtlest, most musical of all the living dialects of Europe."

The eighteenth century in Scotland witnessed a tremendous awakening of literary and philosophic ability, and the period was remarkably fruitful both in prose and in poetry.

The principal prose authors were the philosophers, —headed by David Hume,—who rendered it possible to speak of a Scottish School of Philosophy. These are separately treated in the next chapter.

In the sphere of history also, Hume attained a foremost position by his *History of England*, which, with its continuation by Smollett, still remains a classical work. The publication of this book marked an epoch in historical writing by reason of Hume's power of estimating evidence and of balancing conflicting ideas.

While Hume was gaining well-earned fame in the spheres of history and philosophy, another Scottish historian arose. This was William Robertson (1721–93), who was born in a Midlothian manse, and whose *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Mary and James VI.* (published in 1759) brought him immediate fame. Ten years later he followed this up with a *History of Charles V.*, which, being translated into French, had an enormous vogue in France, and received the warm appreciation of Voltaire. In 1777 he published a *History of America*. He had been asked by the Government and the king to write a history of

England, but he declined out of deference to David Hume, from whose friendly counsel he had largely profited. Dr. Robertson, who was the recognised leader of the "Moderates" in the Scottish Church, was made Principal of Edinburgh University in 1762, and in the founding of the Royal Society of Edinburgh he had a main share.

In the realm of historical research mention must also be made of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, a Scottish judge whose *Annals of Scotland* and other works furnished a mine for subsequent historical writers. Another Scottish judge, Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), wrote numerous works on law and on metaphysics.

As Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1791) falls within this period, we may here remark on the notable fact that of the three greatest biographies in the English language two are by Scotsmen, Boswell's *Johnson* and J. G. Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (1838).

James Boswell (1740–95) was the son of Sir Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck, a Scottish judge. Boswell had known Johnson intimately for the last twenty years of his life, and his account of the great man's life, character, and peculiarities is still regarded as the best piece of verbal portraiture in any language.

The well-known Cruden's *Concordance of the Old and New Testaments* was the work of an Aberdonian, Alexander Cruden (1701–70). Cruden suffered throughout most of his life from recurring attacks of insanity, and even in his lucid intervals he was pronouncedly eccentric. He wished the king and Council to appoint him censor of public morality, and he chose "Alexander the Corrector" as an appropriate title to add dignity to this coveted post. With such peculiarities he combined a simple-minded loyalty

and benevolence, and an intermittent but enormous capacity for work, which render him one of the most curious figures in the ranks of literature.

While Richardson and Fielding were laying the foundations of the novel in England, their contemporary Tobias George Smollett (1721–71), a native of Dumbartonshire, performed a similar service in his own country. *Roderick Random* was published in 1748, the year before Fielding's masterpiece, *Tom Jones*, and was followed by *Peregrine Pickle* (1751) and *Humphrey Clinker* (1771). Smollett does not fall short of Fielding in coarseness, but his work is enlivened by his native Scottish humour. Thackeray declares: "The novel of *Humphrey Clinker* is, I do think, the most laughable story that has ever been written since the goodly art of novel-writing began. Winifred Jenkins and Tabitha Bramble must keep Englishmen on the grin for ages yet to come; and in their letters and the story of their loves there is a perpetual fount of sparkling laughter." Smollett had served in the navy as a surgeon's mate, and had gained an intimate acquaintance with life on board ship. The publication of *Roderick Random* led to inquiry into the conditions of life in the navy, and various reforms in the service were the result.

Henry Mackenzie (1745–1831) deserves mention not only for his *Man of Feeling*, with its psychological study of over-sensitiveness, but for paving the way for that study of German which later found devotees in Scott and Carlyle.

We now come to speak of a field of literature in which there fell to Scotland's share not only the glory of producing noted men of letters, but the honour of influencing first England, then Europe, in a direction

not only literary, but at the same time powerfully human and religious.

The French critic Diderot asks, "When shall we see great poets arise?" And he answers, "After times of disaster and of great misfortunes, when the harassed nation begins to breathe again. Then the imaginations of men, stirred by dreadful spectacles, will depict things unknown to those who have not lived through them." Scotland had lived through her nightmare of persecution and oppression, and although the Jacobite conflicts were yet to come, the Union of 1707 gave her a breathing space and a freedom from the risk of invasion that rendered the development of literature more of a possibility than in the century that had passed. And so we are now to witness a great poetic revival in Scotland, a revival which was in its ultimate issues to become European in scope. It began with Ramsay, passed onwards through Thomson and Fergusson to Burns and Scott, embraced in its course Coleridge, Wordsworth, and other English poets, and even extended its influence to France in Béranger and Hugo, and to Germany in Goethe and Schiller. If the originators of the movement are eclipsed by greater names, they none the less made the movement possible. Often the man of original genius is forgotten by later generations who see only the greater man standing on his shoulders. So Bruce overshadows Wallace, and so Wordsworth and Goethe perhaps unduly dwarf Ramsay and his immediate Scottish successors.

The movement implied a complete revolution in poetry. For a century a "correct" conventional style had become universal, giving rise to the "classical school" of Pope, Dryden, and the like in England, and of Racine and Corneille in France. Versification had reached a high degree of perfection, rules had been

formulated and strictly adhered to, but the soul of poetry had been buried under an artificiality which was now to be dissipated by a return to Nature.

The first man in Europe to effect this change was Allan Ramsay (1686–1758), a native of Leadhills in Lanarkshire. His first fifteen years were spent in that elevated moorland district, and he then removed to Edinburgh to learn the prosaic trade of wig-making. Ramsay was first influenced in a literary sense by James Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems, both Ancient and Modern,* published between 1706 and 1713, and he himself first found his bent for poetry as a collector. He published in 1719 a collection of *Scots Poems*, followed by the *Tea Table Miscellany*, and by the *Evergreen*, in 1724. As in the case of Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, many of the poems thus published were either by the collector himself or by his friends, or were at least retouched from an older form. Ramsay had become the central spirit of a social and literary coterie known as the "Easy Club," and to this fact we owe much of his industry in collecting old poems. It is noteworthy that a similar service was not done in England till the publication by Percy in 1765 of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.* In passing, we may here mention David Herd's collection of *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, published in 1776. Ramsay, having entered the literary field as a collector and polisher, next came forward as the author of *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725), a genuine pastoral poem, replete with Scottish humour and pawkiness, and manifesting keen observation of human character. No shepherd would have recognised anything akin to himself in the drawing-room "swains" and "nymphs" who figured in "Pastorals" such as Pope's; but Ramsay's poem at once became a favourite with the very class it depicts

so well. To quote Professor Walker, the poem "takes rank amongst those works in which Scotland is rich beyond equal, works which not only treat of, but appeal to and are read by, the peasantry." In associating human love with the scenes and sights of free Nature, Ramsay was the literary parent of Fergusson and Burns. His kindly insight into character not only inspired his literary successors, but influenced artists as well. The work of David Allan, and later that of Wilkie, in Scottish art, is closely allied to that of Ramsay in poetry. This kinship between Ramsay's work and that of the *genre* painters is indicated by Professor Minto: "It is as a painter of manners, with keen, sly, humorous observation, and not as a lyrist, that Ramsay deserves to be remembered. We can well understand Hogarth's admiration for him." Apart from his literary services, it remains to be noted that Ramsay instituted a circulating library in Edinburgh, and made the first attempt to carry on a theatre in that city.

James Thomson (1700–48) was born at the parish manse of Ednam, near Kelso. After an education at Jedburgh and at Edinburgh University, he proceeded to London in 1725, taking with him the rough draft of a poem, published next year under the title of *Winter*. The rest of the *Seasons* followed at intervals till 1730, and met with immediate popularity. Nor was this popularity of a shallow or transient kind. Professor Saintsbury holds that "it would hardly be too much to say that, making allowance for the time over which his influence has extended, no poet has given the special pleasure which poetry is capable of giving to so large a number of persons in so large a measure as Thomson." The reason is that "literal accuracy and poetical truth are blended in Thomson's descriptions in a way rarely to be found.

Every one feels that he has seen what Thomson has put into words for him: every one also feels that Thomson has added a charm for him to the scene when he shall happen to see it again." And hence "no degeneracy of education or of fashion, short of an absolute return to barbarism, can prevent *The Seasons* from attracting admiration as soon as they are read or heard."

Near the end of his life, Thomson published *The Castle of Indolence*, regarded by many as his best work. In adopting the Spenserian stanza for this poem, he illustrates the renewed taste for the works of the great Elizabethans which accompanied the poetic revival of his period.

What was new and entirely original in Thomson, as compared with any of his predecessors in any land, was not merely his singularly acute and correct observation of Nature and of natural phenomena, but the loving insight which regarded Nature as a subject sufficient in itself, worthy of being treated for its own sake, and not merely as a background for story or incident. In this connection Thomson is perhaps the first to regard Nature as a direct revelation of God, and his influence in this most important respect passed onwards through Collins, Gray, Goldsmith, Cowper, and Crabbe, to culminate in Wordsworth, who read God actually in, and not merely through, Nature. His work is typical of many other manifestations of genius which, originating in the northern kingdom, have joined the general British stream, and, so far as approved, are complacently adopted as "English." Yet, although his great poem was chiefly written in England, the fact that his main inspiration came from the scenes of his native land is everywhere apparent throughout the work. And it is remarkable to find his influence

extended and supported in the same century by various minor Scottish poets in the English language whom we can only afford to mention. David Malloch (or Mallet, as he called himself later) co-operated with Thomson in London in some of his minor works. Dr. John Armstrong (1709–79), in his *Art of Preserving Health*, not only showed a keen sympathy for suffering humanity, as befitted a physician, but, to quote Professor Saintsbury, "managed to produce many passages which lovers and students of blank verse cannot afford to disdain." He did much towards reviving a proper appreciation of Shakspeare and the other Elizabethan writers. *The Grave*, written by Robert Blair (1699–1746), a Haddingtonshire minister, although at first refused by publishers on account of its uninviting subject, was given to the public in 1743, and at once caught the popular fancy, especially in Scotland, where the cultivation of the morose side of religion has developed a moral courage which rather rejoices in facing the grim facts connected with our mortality. Michael Bruce, who died of consumption at the age of twenty-one in 1767, and his associate John Logan (1748–88), may be named as adding to the poetry of nature and humanity. A remarkable work is *The Shipwreck* of William Falconer (1732–69), which, published by the author at the age of thirty, vividly relates the poet's personal experience of a catastrophe off Cape Colonna in Greece. Apart from its accurate and intimate knowledge of all that concerns life at sea, the poem is quite Homeric in its dramatic conflict between the wild force of nature and human frailty. Seven years after writing this poem of the sea, Falconer was drowned near Cape Town.

The Minstrel, by James Beattie (1735–1803), schoolmaster and professor, is described by Professor

Veitch as "the history of a poetic imagination nursed in the scenes of his native Kincardineshire, mingled with lights reflected from Spenser and Thomson, and from a classical reading, especially in Virgil and Homer." He regards it as foreshadowing Wordsworth's *Prelude* of thirty years later, and in its strongly subjective thought it certainly marks a stage in the development of British poetry. Professor Saintsbury, while not enthusiastic in praise of the poem, admits that "it gave the impulse in many cases to the production of much better work than itself. In fact, it exactly reflected the vague craving of the age for the dismissal of artificial poetry and for a return to Nature, and at the same time to the romantic style."

Referring to these Scottish poets as a whole, Professor Walker claims that "all of them, even the weakest, brought into English literature some element which was not in it before, and which, but for the Scotch influence, either would not have appeared there or would have been later in development." He further points out that, while this is obviously true of the greater poets, such as Ramsay and Thomson, "it is only when we gather the Scotchmen together that it becomes manifest how far their nationality was from being a mere accident, how far their ideas and tendencies were the product of their early surroundings."

From the time of David Lyndsay, the drama had disappeared in Scotland, but in the period now under review it flickered into a transient flame. Rev. John Home (1722–1808) produced on the Edinburgh stage in 1756 his tragedy of *Douglas*, which, while it led to his resigning his ministerial charge, gained for him, both in Scotland and England, an exaggerated popularity lasting for over a quarter of a century. It was at the production of this play at Drury Lane that

an enthusiastic Scot is reported to have exclaimed, "Whaur's your Wully Shakspeare noo?"

Joanna Baillie (1762–1851), a daughter of the minister of Bothwell, produced among other poems a series of nine *Plays on the Passions*, which in the early years of the nineteenth century were so popular as to mislead even Sir Walter Scott into an estimate now admitted to have been too flattering.

In any survey of the literature of the eighteenth century, mention must be made of the work of James Macpherson (1736–96), a native of Inverness-shire. In 1760 he published *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, translated from the Gaelic, followed in 1762 by *Fingal*, and next year by *Temora*, both of these being epic poems which he professed to have translated from the Gaelic of Ossian. The poems, which had a great influence in arousing the taste for Celtic romance, provoked tremendous controversy; and even to-day the echoes of that controversy have not died away, although the general conclusion is that, while Macpherson founded on some fragmentary Gaelic poems, the great bulk of his so-called translation (in prose) consisted of original work. It is remarkable that the similar pretence by Chatterton in England occurred within the next eight years.

It will be noted that all the Scottish authors we have mentioned since Ramsay wrote in English, and many of them adopted London as their headquarters. They are therefore often alluded to as the "Anglo-Scottish School." As Beattie remarked:

> "Since Allan's death, naebody cared
> For ance to speir how Scotia fared;
> For, frae the cottar to the laird,
> We a' rin south."

But the latter half of the century presents us with

proof that migration to London was not necessary in order to develop the Scottish talent for poetry,—that, in fact, it flourished best on native soil.

Robert Fergusson (1750–74), a native of Edinburgh, who died insane at the age of twenty-three, was rightly regarded by Robert Burns as his own forerunner in Scottish verse. He paved the way for the master-poet, not only in regard to style and versification, but in choice of subjects. Fergusson was essentially a city man, a son of Edinburgh, but he had a keen love for that country life of which he saw so little; and such poems as the *Farmer's Ingle* taught Burns the capabilities for poetic treatment latent in that life which was the latter's own daily lot. Fergusson likewise led the way in directing attention to native scenery and to Scottish patriotism as fitting subjects for literature.

> "The Arno and the Tiber lang
> Hae run fell clear in Roman sang;
> But, save the reverence o' schools,
> They're baith but lifeless, dowie pools.
> Dought they compare wi' bonnie Tweed,
> As clear as ony lammer bead?
> Or are their shores mair sweet and gay
> Than Fortha's haughs or banks o' Tay?
> On Leader haughs and Yarrow braes
> Arcadian herds wad tyne their lays,
> To hear the mair melodious sounds
> That live on our poetic grounds."

Lamenting the lost glory of Edinburgh, he sings:

> "For oh, wae's me! the thistle springs
> In domicile o' ancient kings,
> Without a patriot to regret
> Our palace and our ancient State."

Finally, in his typically Scottish humour, now broad and open, now dry and allusive, but seldom or never bitter, even under sore temptation, and in his talent

for singling out such peculiarities in the national or local life of his time as lent themselves to this treatment, Fergusson proved himself worthy of the homage which prompted Burns, when in Edinburgh, to place a simple monument on his neglected grave in Canongate Churchyard. Burns himself is reserved for special mention (in Chapter XXIX.) along with Sir Walter Scott.

No attempt will be made in these chapters to deal even cursorily with the Gaelic literature of Scotland. It must suffice to mention Robert Mackay (1714–78), a Sutherland peasant, familiarly known as "Rob Donn," who has been called the "Gaelic Burns": and Duncan Ban MacIntyre (1724–1812), perhaps the most famous of Gaelic poets, and one of the purest writers of Gaelic. A native of Glenorchy, Duncan was a gamekeeper, and later a member of the Edinburgh city guard. Those who desire to make an acquaintance with the main features of Gaelic literature must turn to such excellent works as Professor Magnus Maclean's *Highland Literature* and *Literature of the Celts.*

CHAPTER XXVII

SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY.

"Thrice happy they! that enter now the court
Heaven opens in their bosoms.
What hero like the man who stands himself,
Who dares to meet his naked heart alone,
Who hears, intrepid, the full charge it brings,
Resolved to silence future murmurs there?
The coward flies, and flying is undone!"

Young.

The eighteenth century was signalised by a remarkable development of energy in the Scottish universities, such as may well awaken our despair in these days of ours when, so far as the Arts Chairs are concerned, those institutions bid fair to become mere appendages of Oxford and Cambridge. Hitherto the "regenting" system had prevailed in Scotland, under which a class of students was placed for all its subjects under the care and tuition of one and the same professor. Such an arrangement gave a teacher little opportunity of doing special work in any subject, and would scarcely be tolerated in our day even in a secondary school. During the first decade of the eighteenth century, however, separate professors began to be appointed for each subject, and the Scottish universities almost immediately advanced to a position of eminence, their reputation in philosophy especially soon becoming European.

This philosophic impulse began with Professor Gershom Carmichael of Glasgow, though the honour of originating Scottish philosophy is more often accorded to his successor, Francis Hutcheson, a north of Ireland Scot. From 1729 till his death in 1747, Hutcheson at least succeeded in awakening the spirit of philosophic inquiry, as did Professor Stevenson in Edinburgh.

The first really commanding figure, however, in Scottish philosophy is that of David Hume (1711–76), a native of Edinburgh, whose teaching was done outside of the walls of the universities, and that through the agency of books.

At the age of twenty-eight, Hume published his *Treatise on Human Nature*, which, although not enthusiastically taken up by the public, was a work of momentous import in paving the way for the Scottish School of Philosophy, and for the work of Kant and other continental philosophers. He next published *Essays, Moral and Political*, and *Essays concerning the Human Understanding*, containing the famous essay on miracles. His *Political Discourses* (1752) also constituted an epoch-making book, and led directly to Adam Smith's great work. Appointed Advocates' Librarian in that year, Hume turned his attention to history, and from 1754 till 1762 he worked at his *History of England*. In 1763 he went to Paris as Secretary to the British Embassy, and there he met and influenced Diderot, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Voltaire, and other prominent forerunners of the French Revolution. While passing for a "sceptic," philosophically and religiously, the Scotsman had a wholesome good humour which separated him widely in nature from most of his French associates. After two years in London as Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, he spent the last seven years of his life

in Edinburgh, forming one of that remarkable literary coterie which included Adam Smith and Principal Robertson, together with Lord Kames, Lord Hailes, Lord Monboddo, Professor Ferguson, Rev. John Home, and Rev. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk (1722–1805), whose *Autobiography* affords so vivid a picture of this period of intellectual activity.

Hume startled modern philosophy into vigorous life by questioning the reliability of the human understanding. Bishop Berkeley, following upon the work of Locke and Descartes, had resolved matter, as cognoscible by the human mind, into "simple ideas, *plus* the notion of some cause," this notion being but one of a type of relations supplied by the mind itself. Hume went a step further, and held that human knowledge consisted only of "impressions" received by the mind, while the mind's "ideas" were only "images of impressions." The cause of these impressions he held to be a "transcendent" question—beyond the range of the experimental method of philosophy. The very idea of causal connection is, according to Hume, only a growth of experience, being in fact more or less of a mental illusion. Events "seem conjoined, but never connected." Even the supposed identity of the Self, or Ego, on the basis of his philosophy, is merely an "imaginary principle of union," although Professor Seth (Pringle Pattison) points out how far Hume contradicts his own standpoint by referring to the union of the ideas of perception "in the *imagination* when we reflect upon them."

Morality, on Hume's principles, must be based on utility determined by reason.

He likewise shook the established ideas of religion, though Dr. Carlyle assures us that, while "professedly a sceptic," he was "by no means an atheist." He at

least made impossible for thinking men in the future the mere "wonder stage" of religious belief.

Adam Smith (1723–90), a native of Kirkcaldy, became Professor of Logic at Glasgow in 1751, exchanging the Chair next year for that of Moral Philosophy, which he held till 1764. In 1759 he published his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, in which he represents sympathy as the basis of morality. As the fruit of twelve years' study, he published in 1776 one of the most momentous books ever sprung upon the world, the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. He proves that not silver or gold, but Labour, is the real origin of Wealth. With merciless pen he reveals the extortions of landlordism, and in the fourth book he exposes the fallacy of protectionism in trade, and shows the incontestable advantages of a free exchange of commodities. No book has ever more directly influenced the world's politics. To it may in truth be traced not only the Free Trade policy of Britain, but the awakening of Labour to a knowledge of its powers, demanding municipal and parliamentary representation, and now wielding in trades unions a power gradually becoming more commensurate with the interests involved. What the twentieth century may have in store we cannot tell, but in the economical sphere of the relations between labour and capital gentle reform is now realised to be insufficient. The masses, in Carlyle's phrase, have "attained majority," and peaceful revolution is not too strong a name for the inevitable political shaking that awaits the privileged classes.

The first corrective to the destructive or sceptical work of Hume in philosophy was supplied by Thomas Reid (1710–96), a native of Kincardineshire. He began his public career as a minister, and later became Pro-

fessor of Philosophy in Aberdeen, afterwards succeeding Adam Smith at Glasgow. His *Inquiry into the Human Mind* (1764) laid down the much-abused principle of "Common Sense," which, in the Scottish School of Philosophy, is not to be taken in its modern meaning of "mother wit." What Reid and his followers laid stress on was the fact that destructive philosophy such as Hume's fails of its purpose unless it can better explain those "first principles" which, being "common" to all men, are to be regarded as self-evident, or must at least be reckoned with in any system of philosophy. Conscience, for example, Reid regards as one of those original faculties which cannot be brushed aside as a delusion. As Sir William Hamilton says, the philosophy of Common Sense "was no appeal to the undeveloped beliefs of the unreflective many." It was rather "an appeal from the heretical conclusions of particular philosophers to the catholic principles of all philosophy," or, to quote Dr. M'Cosh, "it is one of the peculiar excellences of the Scottish School that they stand up for first truths which cannot be proven on the one hand nor set aside on the other."

Reid inquired closely into the senses and their working, using such help as physiology could give. He drew a clear distinction between Sensation and Perception, and pointed out that even the former had both a subjective and an objective aspect, implying as it did both a recipient mind and the existence of a real world, which the mind further concludes to be permanent. In connection with perception he distinguished between the "primary and secondary qualities" of matter, the former being such qualities as extension, which "are utterly inseparable from the body in what state soever it be," while the latter, such as colour and smell, are only conveyed to us by our senses relatively

and obscurely. He held that the judgment or belief of the existence of an object of sense is "included in the very nature of perception," and thus built up his theory of Natural Realism or Natural Dualism in opposition to the Representative Perception of Locke, Berkeley, and their followers.

In pointing out that the idea of Space is "a necessary concomitant of the objects both of sight and touch," Reid not only prepared the way for Kant's "categories," but at the same time held to a "rational system" of the universe by maintaining that the mind cannot lend to the universe arrangements which are not already there. In this and other directions he laid stress on the "design arguments" for the existence of a wise Creator.

Adam Ferguson, who died in 1816 at the age of ninety-three, was for twenty-one years Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh. He combated the "Social Contract" theory of society, and denied that utility and sympathy were sufficient motives for morality. Laying stress on the idea of progressive improvement in human nature, he declared that "progression is the gift of God to all His intelligent creatures, and is within the competence of the lowest of mankind." At Ferguson's house occurred the only meeting between Robert Burns and Walter Scott, then a lad of fifteen.

His more famous successor, Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), a native of Edinburgh, had studied under Reid at Glasgow. He devoted himself to Psychology, classifying and defining with keen philosophic insight the various powers, phenomena, and energies of the human mind. He gave the name of "fundamental laws of belief" to various principles, such as causality, which Reid had included in the *sensus communis* of humanity. Stewart's class was a centre of attraction for

students from various lands, and among his pupils were Brougham, Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Sir W. Scott, Thomas Chalmers, Francis Jeffrey, James Mill, Thomas Brown, and Sydney Smith. Partly through such men, and partly in a more direct way, Stewart wielded enormous influence on national ideas, serving as a pioneer of a sane Liberalism, and well deserving the pension of £600 a year granted him by a Whig Government.

Thomas Brown (1778–1820), a native of Kirkcudbright, succeeded Stewart, and continued his psychological work, investigating the nature of sense-perception, and drawing attention to the sixth or "muscular" sense. He declared his belief in the existence of an inborn moral sense or faculty, whose pleasurable or unpleasant emotions are the criterion of good and evil conduct.

Although Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856) falls within the next century, he is generally regarded as rounding off the Scottish School properly so called. He was born at the College of Glasgow, where his father was Professor of Anatomy and Natural History, a position formerly held by his grandfather. He was a lineal descendant of Sir Robert Hamilton, who figured as a Covenanting leader at Drumclog and Bothwell Brig. M'Cosh describes Hamilton as "the most learned of all the Scottish metaphysicians." Hamilton's lectures at Edinburgh University were a healthy corrective to much of the arrogant tone at times prevalent in philosophy. He interpreted his task not as "teaching logic and philosophy," but "teaching to reason and philosophise." In other words, he held that man's discoveries in the mental as in the natural sphere should only nerve him, in a spirit of reverence, to greater effort. He further held by the necessity for

Faith or Belief where Reason was baffled. His Philosophy of the Conditioned, proceeding upon the limitation of human thought in regard to such ideas as finiteness and infinity in Time and Space, goes on to show how the conceivable or thinkable "lies always between two inconceivable extremes." Applying this to the everlasting dilemma of free will and necessity, "he admits that speculatively we are unable to understand how moral liberty is possible in man. But practically our consciousness of the moral law gives a decisive preponderance to the doctrine of freedom over the doctrine of fate. We are free to act, if we are accountable for our actions."

Hamilton marks a revolt from the school of Reid by regarding Space, Time, and Causation as laws of thought and not of things, as being, in other words, probably purely subjective. He gave a great impetus to the study of German philosophy in Scotland. Kant's influence appears prominently in his work, and by his theory of an "unknowable substratum" in all reality, he may have led to the Hegelian doctrine of "an eternal self-realising consciousness" in the universe. Hamilton's work in the domain of Logic is of permanent value.

In reference to the Scottish School of Philosophy in general, Dr. M'Cosh points out that to it belongs "the merit of being the first, avowedly and knowingly, to follow the inductive method, and to employ it systematically in psychological investigation."

The influence of the School was widespread and manifold.

It awakened German philosophy. Kant acknowledged that he "was roused from his dogmatic slumbers by the scepticism of David Hume." Emmanuel Kant (1724–1804) was himself of Scottish descent, his

grandfather, a saddler named Cant, having emigrated from the east of Scotland to Germany.

The work of Hume and Reid also stirred into life the philosophical activities of Victor Cousin (1792–1867) and other French thinkers.

Very marked, too, was the influence of the philosophers on Scottish theology. Preachers endeavoured to relate religion to the facts of human nature, and to seek a solid foundation for moral teaching. Hence Scotland became accustomed to thoughtful sermons of which, as M'Cosh says, "English and Irish hearers were wont to complain, as requiring from them too great a strain of thought." And not only in this indirect way did philosophy affect the Scottish people. The humour of Reid, and the rhetoric of Brown, appealed to a wider audience of their countrymen than did in Germany the careful reasoning of Kant or Hegel. They therefore deserve full credit for fostering in the humbler ranks of life that "high thinking" which is not inconsistent with "plain living," and which forms one of the peculiar glories of the Scottish nation.

The value of the Scottish School as a whole is well summed up by Sir H. Craik: "Rarely has such a long succession of men been found, who not only shaped the thought of their country with such consistency, but kept its intellectual aims on so high a level of dignity. From no country of such size, in the face of such adverse fortune, and whose rise from the deepest depression had been so recent and so sudden, has there sprung up a distinct and well-defined school with such a vitality of its own, and which can maintain with such justice its claim to be reckoned with wherever human thought and its phases are objects of curiosity and research."

Although the golden age of Scottish philosophy

had passed, the nineteenth century in general added quite a number of fairly important Scotsmen to the roll of philosophers.

James Mill (1773–1836), a native of Forfarshire, spent over ten years on a *History of India*. Following upon the work of Jeremy Bentham in philosophy, he rejected the theory of innate ideas, and laid stress on utilitarian motives as an element in mental and social progress. He headed a coterie of Philosophic Liberals, prominent among whom was Joseph Hume. His more famous son, John Stuart Mill (1806–73, b. London) was brought up by his father on Bentham's principles, but saw reason to depart considerably from these, realising that direct conscious aims are not generally the mainsprings of human action. Throughout his life an earnest seeker after truth, Mill exercised a powerful influence on the Liberalism of his generation.

James F. Ferrier (1808–64, born near Edinburgh) was a nephew of Miss Ferrier the novelist, and, on his mother's side, of Christopher North. As Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, he devoted himself chiefly to the metaphysical aspects of philosophy. He contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* an *Introduction to the Philosophy of Consciousness*, and his *Lectures on Greek Philosophy* constitute a standard work.

Dr. James M'Cosh, the historian of Scottish Philosophy, is referred to in the chapter on Scotsmen in America (Chap. XLIV.). An interesting work on *Mind and Brain* came from the pen of Henry Calderwood (1829–97), a United Presbyterian minister who became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, and first Chairman of the School Board of that city.

One of the most original of recent Scottish thinkers was George Croom Robertson (1842–92), an Aberdonian who became Professor of Mental Philosophy and Logic

in University College, London. In 1876 he started the periodical *Mind*, which he edited till his death.

Alexander Bain (1818–1903), Professor of Logic at Aberdeen, waived metaphysical studies, and devoted himself more to the physiological side of the study of Mind. He will be remembered chiefly as an authority on English grammar and rhetoric.

Edward Caird (1835 to November 1908, b. Greenock) is to be remembered rather as a teacher than as a writer. As Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow from 1866 till 1893 he exercised enormous influence by his expositions of Hegelianism, and by his application of evolutionary ideas to philosophy and religion.

Alexander Campbell Fraser (b. Argyllshire in 1819) succeeded Sir William Hamilton as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh. He edited Locke and Berkeley, and his monographs on these philosophers show the bent of his mind. He retired in 1891, being succeeded by his old pupil and assistant Andrew Seth (Pringle Pattison), who, among other works, has written an account of Scottish Philosophy.

James Hutchison Stirling (b. Glasgow in 1820) introduced British readers to the intricacies of German philosophy. He was the first Gifford Lecturer at Edinburgh (1888). (He died in March 1909.)

As outstanding examples of the excellent scholars who are allowed to slip through the meshes of the Scottish university net, to find appreciative patrons in Wales, the United States, or the Colonies, mention must be made of two old Glasgow University students who now occupy philosophical chairs in America, and who rank high among modern thinkers. John Watson (b. Glasgow, 1847), professor of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, since 1872, is best known by his acute works on various

Photo by Elliott & Fry.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

P. 400.

aspects of the Philosophy of Kant. Robert M. Wenley (b. Edinburgh, 1861), after a distinguished career as a student and lecturer in Scotland, was appointed in 1896 to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Michigan, U.S.A.

We may fitly end this chapter by some reference to the transcendently great thinker in Scotland's literary roll during the Victorian period. In estimating Thomas Carlyle's importance to modern literature, the American poet, Walt Whitman, tries to picture what nineteenth century literature would be "with Carlyle left out." "It would be like an army with no artillery. The show were still a gay and rich one—Byron, Scott, Tennyson, and many more—horsemen and rapid infantry and banners flying—but the last heavy roar, so dear to the ear of the trained soldier, and that settles fate and victory, would be lacking."

Carlyle belongs to various fields of literature, but as his influence sprang mainly from his philosophy of life, he is here included with the Scottish philosophers. Whether genius be regarded as merely "an infinite capacity for taking pains," or as a faculty of piercing insight into the inwardness of things, we may safely attribute to Thomas Carlyle the possession of genius in an almost unrivalled degree. Born at Ecclefechan of humble parentage in 1795, he aimed successively at entering the Church, teaching, and law; but, none of these proving congenial, he at last found his true vocation in literature, making his first ventures as an essayist and as a translator from the German of Schiller and Goethe. No man has done more to popularise German literature in Britain, and he showed a true appreciation of the life and character of the Germans, which too few of his insular countrymen have shared. In *Sartor Resartus*, 1833, he ventured on philosophy,

and entered on that denunciation of "sham" in all its forms, which henceforth supplied the leading "motif" of his works. In 1834 he removed to London, taking up house at Chelsea. By his lectures on *Heroes and Hero Worship* he gave a new and wider meaning to heroism,—the accomplishment of hard duty in spite of all odds and in whatever sphere of life. He reasserted the supremacy of the human will. He is frequently accused of worshipping force; but the force before which he bows is the moral force of righteousness and of God-given talent, which he holds to be the essentials of real progress.

His *French Revolution* (1837) still remains unique as a history, at once reliable in its main outlines, and filled with graphic impressionist pictures that burn themselves indelibly upon the reader's mind. No language could more befit such a subject than the crisp, dramatic style of Carlyle, with its unfinished sentences, and its ejaculations, which in a word or two embody the meaning of a paragraph. M'Carthy aptly describes this masterpiece as "history read by lightning." In view of such a work, Green's claim for Carlyle must be endorsed by all, that he combines "the care of an antiquarian and the genius of a poet." His *French Revolution* gathers an added interest from the fact that after the completion of the first volume the manuscript was destroyed through the carelessness of J. S. Mill's housekeeper, and the work had to be done over again.

His reputation as a historian was permanently established by his *Frederick the Great*, for which he was awarded the Prussian Order of Merit. It is matter for regret that, with his combination of vivid and impassioned portrayal with illimitable patience, Carlyle did not choose to leave us a history of his

native land. Amid the many respects in which he influenced the thought of modern times, he is due the credit of having set Cromwell and Knox in a truer and more favourable light than they had previously been accorded. At the same time he shares with Burns the credit of having broken off many of the "bristles" of the older type of Scottish religion, and of having widened and rendered more charitable the theological outlook of his countrymen. No man has better voiced the minds of that large class of intellectual men and women who find difficulty in resting upon any of the usually accepted creeds, but whose sympathies and influence are emphatically with the "power in the universe which maketh for righteousness."

On two authors the influence of Carlyle was pronounced. John Ruskin (1819–1900), himself of Scottish ancestry, followed in Carlyle's wake not only as a prose poet, but as an apostle of practical righteousness, and as a pleader for the rights of honest labour. As an art critic and lecturer, Ruskin championed the pre-Raphaelites in so far as their movement implied a return to Nature and to truth. In his *Modern Painters* he pitted the work of Turner against older and more artificial or conventional art. Less obviously, but no less truly, Charles Dickens drank in from Carlyle's works much of the reforming spirit which made his writings of such tremendous effect on political and social life.

True to his creed, Carlyle worked not for reward. Having refused a pension offered him by Disraeli, the "Sage of Chelsea" died, a comparatively poor man, in 1881.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SCOTTISH MUSIC AND SONG.

"Tho' hair grow grey, and limbs grow auld,
Until the day I dee,
I'll bless the Scottish tongue that sings
The auld Scots sangs to me."

Bethune.

To the minds of some people it would appear as if "music in Scotland," like "snakes in Ireland," denoted something which has no existence. Undoubtedly it is true as yet that in the realm of advanced musical composition, Scotland has no name of the first rank to put forward. She has no Handel, Mozart, Wagner, or Chopin,—a want which she shares with the other races within these isles, musical composition having so far flourished mainly in Germany and in the Romance countries of Europe.

But it would be an entire mistake to suppose on this ground that the Scots have been an unmusical nation. There may be no giants among them in this regard, but their general stature is high. There may be no aristocrat in Scotland's musical roll, but her democracy has been, in this as in so many other respects, wide awake and progressive. In fact, there is no country in Europe which can offer a nobler collection of melodies, popular in the fullest sense as being not only known by the people, but sprung from the people, yet not unworthy to be compared with

the sweetest productions of the most accomplished musicians.

Before entering on the question of Scottish song we may say what falls to be said of her musical story in other departments of the art.

The characteristic Scottish instrument of music in olden times was the harp (clarseach, or clarscha). This, however, gradually gave way to the bagpipe and the fiddle. The former of these two instruments, beginning as a simple pipe, reached a form approximating to its present shape by the sixteenth century, though the second and third drones were added much later. With its general development the famous MacCrimmons of Skye are traditionally connected. The MacCrimmons were hereditary pipers to the Macleods of Dunvegan, and students of pipe music resorted to them from all parts of the Highlands, until with the ill-fated rising of 1745 the pipes fell for a time upon evil days. The bagpipe is not by any means peculiar to Scotland, being used in Ireland, Italy, France, Germany, and Russia, but nowhere else has the "pioboreachd" reached so high a development as in the Scottish Highlands. The true pibroch is a composition of an extremely complicated nature, consisting of variations on a simple air, increasing in complexity and difficulty to such an extent that the uninitiated auditor is left in a state of bewilderment, tempered mainly, if he be of sympathetic instinct, by admiration for the dexterity of the performer, while if he be a stubborn Sassenach he will doubtless echo Dr. Johnson's wish when told that a certain performance by a violinist "was extremely difficult,"—"I wish it were *impossible*!" In passing we may mention, as an interesting lapse in Dr. Johnson's foresight, his assertion in 1773, that the bagpipe was falling into oblivion! In no respect is the fusion of

Celt and Saxon in Scotland better illustrated than in the extent to which the bagpipe has been accepted as a national instrument, every Scottish regiment, for instance, being provided with its pipe band since 1881, while even small Lowland towns are not considered complete unless they are similarly provided.

And, the pibroch apart, what a stirring instrument the pipes may become in the hands of a skilful performer! In the wail of the coronach amid the lonely hills one feels reflected the deep melancholy inseparable from the character and history of the Gael, while in the inspiration of warlike ardour the pipes have made their influence felt on every continent in the world. The marching music of the pipes, to a Scottish ear at least, is irresistible, and the hearer who can listen unmoved to such strains as the "Barren Rocks of Aden" is of degenerate blood indeed. We can well believe that most military pipers would echo the fervent wish of one of their class, "Oh that I had three hands—two for the bagpipe and one for the sword!" Dr. Fraser of Falkirk has well said, "At once the saddest and the liveliest of instruments, the bagpipe appeals from a past which has gone for ever, but it is still a living force in the world."

To the Highlands, again, we chiefly owe the best elements of Scottish dance music. The strathspey, with its characteristic "Scotch snap," and its adaptability to such graceful dances as the Highland Fling and the Sword Dance, is a possession in which some pride may justly be felt, while the reel and jig music of Scotland show that Puritanism did not succeed, as so many would have us believe, in extinguishing gaiety in our midst.

The popularisation of the violin in Scotland is inseparably connected with the family of Gows, Neil and his four sons. Neil Gow (1727–1807) was born

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. *Photo by Annan & Sons.*

NEIL GOW.

P. 401.

near Dunkeld, and to the present day his name is a household word as a premier player of reels, strathspeys, and Scottish music in general. He composed close on one hundred airs, his "Farewell to Whisky" being one of the best, and he adapted many others.

Burns gives us a pleasing pen-portrait of him as "a short, stout-built, honest Highland figure, with his greyish hair shed on his honest social brow, an interesting face, marking strong sense, kind open-heartedness, mixed with unmistrusting simplicity." While his skill as a player made him a frequent visitor to the houses of the nobility, Neil never lost his homely, pawky humour; and in a line of life often associated with debauchery and immorality he lived a sober, upright, and indeed strikingly pious life. Of his sons the most famous was Nathaniel (1766–1831), who was even a more fertile composer and industrious compiler of Scottish music than his father. He published about two hundred airs of his own composition, one of the best known being "Caller Herrin'." He also published numerous collections of Scottish tunes both grave and gay; and as a performer, teacher, and leader of bands, he laid his country under a great debt by his services to the national music.

One of the most prolific composers of Scottish melodies was William Marshall (1748–1833), a native of Fochabers, and butler to the Duke of Gordon. Marshall produced hundreds of original airs, mostly reels and strathspeys. A first collection of 170 of these was published in 1822, and was followed later by a "Supplement." Burns called him "the finest composer of his age," and the sweet melody of Burns's "Of a' the Airts" is by Marshall.

As a composer and an authority on Scottish music in general George Farquhar Graham (1789–1867), a

native of Edinburgh, calls for mention, as does the Rev. Dr. John Park (1804–65), a native of Greenock. Among Scottish singers, Mary Anne Paton (1802–64) and John Templeton (1802–86) have left reputations lasting down to the present day. John Wilson (1800–49), an Edinburgh man, acquired a world-wide reputation as an operatic tenor, and gave numerous Scottish song entertainments in Britain and America with such titles as "A Nicht wi' Burns," and "Bonnie Prince Charlie." He died at Quebec. He paved the way for the even more complete success of David Kennedy (1825–86), a native of Perth, who for some forty years (latterly accompanied by his daughters) sang Scottish songs to the public in all English-speaking lands around the world. He died at Ontario.

Among living Scotsmen there are a few who worthily represent Scotland in the musical world. Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (born in Edinburgh in 1847) has been since 1887 Principal of the Royal Academy of Music in London, and received the honour of knighthood in 1895. He stands in the front rank of modern British musicians by reason of his compositions, such as the oratorio *Rose of Sharon*, the operas *Colomba* and *The Troubadour*, the cantatas *Jason* and *Sayid*, together with a prolific production of Scottish rhapsodies and orchestral work in general.

Hamish MacCunn (born at Greenock in 1868) has written several choral works, such as *Bonny Kilmeny* and *Lord Ullin's Daughter*, an opera *Jeanie Deans*, along with concert overtures, such as his *Land of the Mountain and the Flood*, and a large number of songs.

Among the foremost present-day pianoforte artistes is numbered Fred. Lamond (born at Glasgow in 1868), while in violin playing Miss Reena Russell Graham, a

young Motherwell lady, and Miss Bessie Spence, of Glasgow, bid fair to uphold most worthily the national reputation.

In the more "popular" paths of music, mention is merited by Messrs. Andrew Black (b. Glasgow, 1860) and Durward Lely and by Miss Margaret Macintyre as exponents of Scottish song. Carl Volti (A. Milligan) has done veteran service as a compiler and populariser of Scottish music for orchestral purposes, his *Highland Wreath* series being widely known and appreciated. Mr. Mackenzie Murdoch is a clever interpreter of Scottish music on the violin, and Mr. Scott Skinner is well known as a player of Scottish dance music. Mr. Alan Reid of Edinburgh deserves mention for his strenuous efforts to secure for Scottish music and song that appreciation in the homeland which has for a time fallen into abeyance.

Reference must here be made to three noted composers who have had in different ways a close connection with Scotland. William V. Wallace (1814–65), the composer of the favourite opera *Maritana* and of numerous pieces of less reputation, was the son of Scottish parents, though born at Waterford.

The great German composer Mendelssohn (1809–47) found much of his early inspiration in Scotland, his tour in that country in the summer of 1829 being followed by the production of his *Hebrides* overture and his *Scotch Symphony*.

The Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg (b. 1843), whose death in the autumn of 1907 removed one of the foremost twentieth century musicians, was of Scottish descent, and prided himself on the fact. His great-grandfather, Alexander Greig, migrated from Fraserburgh to Bergen during the Jacobite troubles, and is said to have visited Scotland annually at the

Communion season. Edvard's grandfather and father held in succession the post of British Consul at Bergen. The composer himself loved Scottish music, and expressed the hope that it would not be allowed to die.

At the present time everything points to a development of Scottish music in the higher levels of the art. The taste for high-class music has of late been fostered by numerous musical combinations, the most noted being the Scottish Orchestra. The title of this excellent body of musicians has so far been humorously inappropriate, as the conductor is English, and most of the players foreigners, while in the programmes Scottish music is practically ignored; but its service to the country is none the less acceptable, and its concerts are thoroughly appreciated and well patronised in the four principal cities of Scotland. Among the pieces included in the orchestra's répertoire in 1907 was a *Scottish Symphony*, composed by Mr. David Stephen, musical director to the Carnegie Trust. The recent tendency of the greater continental composers to utilise the genius of folk-songs has taught the musical public to expect the advent of some Scottish composer, who will fitly embody in his work the unquestioned wealth of material ready to his hand in the treasury of Scottish song and folk-music, who will, in short, do for Scotland what Grieg has done for Norway, Tschaikowsky for Russia, Liszt for Hungary, and Brahms for Bohemia.

Meanwhile, however, Scotland's claim to a place in the world of music must rest chiefly upon the extent to which her people have been a singing nation, and upon the wealth of popular melody to her credit.

In early Catholic times music in connection with religious services was not neglected in Scotland. In fact, Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh cleric of the twelfth century, is quoted as declaring, in the time of Henry II.:

"It is the opinion of many at this day that Scotland has not only equalled her mistress Ireland in musical skill, but has far excelled her, so that good judges are accustomed to consider that country as the fountain-head of the art."

The Reformation, while discouraging instrumental music in general, and entirely discountenancing it in church services, gave quite an impetus to the national proficiency in vocal music, and Regent Moray made arrangements for having the Psalms harmonised in four parts for congregational singing. In 1564 a Scottish Psalter appeared, containing the Psalms of David in metre.

Two curiously opposed tendencies manifested themselves at this period. On the one hand, many of the old Catholic Church hymns were adopted as popular airs, and their words secularised. Such is said to be the origin of, among other melodies, "John Anderson, my jo," "Auld Lang Syne," and "We're a' Noddin'." On the other hand, as mentioned in Chapter XI., many secular airs were adapted to sacred words, especially by the Wedderburns,—a tendency which has reappeared at intervals in certain more recent developments of popular religion.

At the Reformation period the influence of German music on Scottish music was probably much more potent than the influences, much exaggerated in importance by many writers, which extended to Scotland from the music of Italy and France through Queen Mary and her favourites Rizzio and Chatelar.

The influence of Puritanism on music, while it naturally acted as a check on dance music, was on the whole in the direction of developing the national talent. The constant use of the Psalms, and the heartiness with which the congregations joined in these, main-

tained a high level of vocal ability among the common people. It is not a fanciful touch in Burns to represent the Scottish peasant family as engaged in hearty psalm-singing.

> "They chant their artless notes in simple guise;
> They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim:
> Perhaps Dundee's wild warbling measures rise,
> Or plaintive Martyrs, worthy of the name;
> Or noble Elgin beets[1] the heav'nward flame,
> The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays:
> Compar'd with these, Italian trills are tame;
> The tickl'd ears no heartfelt raptures raise;
> Nae unison hae they with our Creator's praise."

Topham, in 1775, declared: "The degree of attachment which is shown to music in this country exceeds belief. It is not only the principal entertainment, but the constant topic of every conversation."

The introduction of the Paraphrases in the latter half of the eighteenth century (1781) lent more variety to church singing, and this was steadily added to when "human-made" hymns, embodying the leading ideas of Christianity, were permitted to gain a foothold in spite of the semi-idolatrous veneration so long accorded to the Psalms of David. The introduction from England of the Tonic Sol-fa notation of John Curwen (1816–80), from about the Disruption period onwards, rendered the acquisition of a working acquaintance with vocal music a matter of much greater ease than formerly, and the training of church choirs reached a stage of efficiency hitherto undreamt of.

The result was that until very recent days a Scottish crowd was capable of good lusty singing, such as is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The introduction of organs and of paid singers, and in general the striving after a more cultured style of

[1] Adds fuel to.

religious service, while certainly raising the standard of taste in religious music, have at the same time had the regrettable effect of depriving the national life of that spontaneous power of song which so long distinguished it. The improvement in musical talent has not kept pace with the increase in critical power, and for the present we have ceased to be in the old sense a singing nation.

If this is to be lamented in the sphere of the Church, it is no less a calamity that our national song-treasures have, in like manner, suffered a temporary eclipse, which even now, however, begins to show signs of clearing away as one symptom of the general revival of the national spirit in our land.

It has been sad to notice, during the past twenty years or so, the readiness with which our "street-corner" youths, and even many who ought to have known better, have given themselves over to the latest music-hall rubbish from England, to the neglect of our noble storehouse of national melody. Jingo doggerel, "coster" trivialities, rants of doubtful purity or even of doubtless impurity, all have been greedily accepted, heaven knows why! Neither rhyme, nor reason, nor melody, nor rhythm justified their adoption, and the folly was the greater in the case of a people capable of something so much higher.

Lord Provost Bilsland of Glasgow pointed out in December 1907 that the people of that city spend on music-halls £178,000 in a year; and the pity of it is that all that they hear there is of a denationalising tendency, and blunts and degrades their musical taste past the power of appreciating the much less "spicy," but much more worthy, feast offered by their national bards.

Professor Blackie claimed that "Of all the species

of the genus Volkslied [popular song], the most extensively known and the most largely acknowledged is the Scotch." Dr. Nansen has recently "on several occasions expressed his admiration for Scottish songs, which he is inclined to rank as the most beautiful in the world." This opinion is shared by Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and an American writer, Mr. H. N. Casson, wrote not long ago: "There are a few Caledonian institutions for which Americans have never shown any fancy. It is difficult for us to believe, for instance, that haggis is food, that kilts are clothes, and that the noise of the bagpipes is music. But Scottish songs, on the other hand, make the whole world kin. They seem to be almost as much a product of Nature as the ripple and splash of the burns that plunge down the heathery sides of Ben Lomond."

The earliest collection of Scottish popular melodies was that of the Skene MS., compiled in the reign of James VI. This collection is valuable as furnishing proof that many of our extant melodies date back to the sixteenth century at least. The English appreciation of Scottish music in the seventeenth century may be inferred from the words used by Dryden in defending the rhythm of Chaucer's verse: "There is the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect."

Allan Ramsay did much useful service in preserving our older Scottish songs, of which he had a high appreciation. He remarks: "Our Scots tunes have an agreeable gaiety and natural sweetness that makes them acceptable wherever they are known, not only among ourselves but in other countries."

Of the later collectors of Scottish songs, none was more outstanding than George Thomson (1759–1853), a native of Limekilns in Fifeshire, the guide, philo-

sopher, and friend of Robert Burns in his later years. Thomson planned in 1792 a *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice, with select and characteristic verses by the most admired Scottish Poets.* This work ultimately ran out to six volumes, and included pieces by Campbell and Scott. Thomson requested Burns's co-operation, and the Ayrshire bard, who had already contributed to James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, supplied Thomson with 150 pieces in all, half of which were entirely original.

Among Scottish songsters a position of assured pre-eminence belongs to Robert Burns, who is admittedly the foremost national songster of the world. The value of his work in general is dealt with in the next chapter. To speak of his individual songs in any detail would be a task requiring a volume to itself, and with only a few remarks we must hasten over the subject.

In two respects Burns as a song-genius is apt to be over-estimated. Firstly, much of his best work is simply borrowed, though remodelled. For instance he only slightly retouched "Auld Lang Syne," and he himself wrote, "Light be the turf on the heaven-inspired poet who composed this glorious fragment." Perhaps no other song in the world is so infectious in its charm as this simple ballad of Scottish friendship. Secondly, many of Burns's most popular songs owe their principal charm to the exquisite melodies to which they are set, rather than to any deep or lofty poetic feeling. Such is largely the case with "Corn Rigs," "Willie Brew'd a Peck o' Maut," and perhaps even with "My Luve is like a Red, Red Rose."

But deducting all this, a deduction such as no other British song-writer could afford, we are left with

a wealth of glorious songs unequalled either in words or melody by those of any songster in any age or clime. The spirit of purest poetry, in most cases wedded to most appropriate melody, is presented in "Mary Morison," "O wert Thou in the Cauld Blast," "Go, fetch to me a pint o' Wine," "Ye Banks and Braes," "My Nannie's Awa'," "The Lass o' Ballochmyle," and "To Mary in Heaven." The love that has stood the test of years nowhere finds fitter expression than in "John Anderson, my jo," while no nobler lyrics of warfare are to be found than "Scots Wha Hae" and the "Song of Death," the latter of which suffers from a most inexplicable neglect.

Short of this region of elevated poetry, many of Burns's songs owe their principal charm to the artless simplicity and absolute naturalness of their words. Such are "The Lea Rig," "Bonnie Wee Thing," and "Of a' the Airts." Regarding "Ae Fond Kiss," Scott says that the four lines—

> "Had we never loved sae kindly,
> Had we never loved sae blindly,
> Never met—or never parted,
> We had ne'er been broken-hearted,"

"contain the essence of a thousand love-tales." "The Soldier's Return" shows that Burns had a happy knack for ballad-writing had he chosen to develop that side of his genius.

The humorous songs of Burns, such as "Duncan Gray," "Tam Glen," "What can a Young Lassie," and "Last May a Braw Wooer," not to speak of his longer humorous compositions such as *John Barleycorn*, *The Jolly Beggars*, *Death and Dr. Hornbook*, and the inimitable *Tam o' Shanter*, constitute a veritable *reductio ad absurdum* of the hoary theory that Scotsmen are deficient in the sense of fun.

We may meanwhile bid farewell to Burns with the apparently graceless remark that while he is, and will remain, the prince of Scottish songsters, the whole of his writings might be blotted out of existence, and yet leave Scotland far ahead of any other part of our domains in the wealth of her song literature.

A "Burns Concert" has long been a household phrase, but we have at least three other Scottish song-writers who of themselves are each capable of furnishing an admirable evening's concert, namely, Lady Nairne, Robert Tannahill, and Sir Walter Scott.

The Baroness Carolina Nairne (1766–1845) was born at the mansion-house of Gask in Perthshire, the ancestral home of the Jacobite family of the Oliphants. She is *par excellence* the poetess of the lost Jacobite cause. Her songs were chiefly published in Mr. Purdie's *Scottish Minstrel* (which consisted of six volumes of songs completed in 1824), and her contributions appeared over the signature "B. B.," the secret of their authorship being kept until after her death. Her principal motive in writing was to expel the older type of coarse songs from popular favour by substituting songs of a more tuneful and morally higher kind. Of her eighty-seven songs here are a few which are likely to retain their popularity for many a day: "Wha'll be King but Charlie," "Charlie is my Darling," "Will ye no' come back again," "He's ower the Hills," "The Auld Hoose," "The Hundred Pipers," "Caller Herrin'," "The Rowan Tree," "There Grows a Bonnie Brier Bush," "The Laird o' Cockpen," and "The Land o' the Leal." The last named of these, set as it is to the same air as "Scots Wha Hae," bears eloquent testimony to the versatility of Scottish song-genius. As befitted the daughter of a Jacobite laird, Lady

Nairne infused into her work a refinement and delicacy scarcely to be found elsewhere in Scottish song.

Robert Tannahill (1774–1810) was a Paisley weaver, and his songs were often written on an improvised desk attached to his loom. At the early age of thirty-six, a severe disappointment as to the publication of a proposed further edition of his poems, acting on a constitution at all times far from robust, deranged his intellect, and after destroying all his manuscripts, including various unpublished poems, the unfortunate man drowned himself. In his short career he had contrived to put together a song treasury which even now entitles him to his annual concert on Gleniffer Braes. Among his best known songs are "Jessie, the Flower o' Dunblane," "Gloomy Winter's Noo Awa'," "Thou Bonnie Wood o' Craigielea," "Loudoun's Bonnie Woods and Braes," and "The Braes o' Balquhidder."

Sir Walter Scott is declared by Professor Wilson to be "the greatest of all war poets. His poetry might make a very coward fearless." That this faculty revealed itself in song as well as in ordinary verse is instanced by such lyrics as "Pibroch of Donuil Dhu," "Bonnie Dundee," "Blue Bonnets over the Border," "Hail to the Chief," and "Macgregor's Gathering," while "Jock o' Hazeldean" is practically another "Young Lochinvar" set to music.

Against these four giants of song what has the rest of Britain to offer? Shakspeare's songs might be spun out to make a rather thin evening's entertainment, and Moore and Dibdin, each in one kind, could furnish a programme, but for versatility and flow of rhythm the four Scottish songsters above named probably stand unrivalled in British literature as the writers of songs that are really sung. And

Sir John Watson Gordon, P.R.S.A., R.A.

CAROLINE, BARONESS NAIRNE AND HER SON

P. 418

even when that is said we are not at the end of Scotland's tether in the field of song.

There remain James Hogg, with "Cam' Ye by Atholl?" "Flora Macdonald's Lament," and "When the Kye comes Hame"; Hector Macneil (1746–1818), with "Come under my Plaidie," "Jeanie's Black E'e," "My Boy Tammy," and "I Lo'e na a Laddie but Ane," all songs of admirable Scottish pawkiness; and Allan Cunningham (1784–1842) with "Hame, hame, hame," "My Ain Countrie," and "A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea." Cunningham likewise deserves to be remembered for his services in collecting and preserving the tales and songs of an earlier generation. In 1825 he edited, in four volumes, *The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern.*

Allan Ramsay, apart from his services in collecting and preserving old songs, wrote "Lochaber No More," a song so powerful in inducing home-sickness in the Celt abroad that it was at one time forbidden to be played by any of the Highland regiments. Charles Mackay (1814–89) is remembered for "Cheer, Boys, Cheer," a song which enjoyed enormous popularity for many years; he also wrote "Rolling Home to Bonnie Scotland." It may be mentioned in passing that Marie Corelli, the popular novelist, is a stepdaughter of Mackay.

Lady Anne Lindsay or Barnard (1750–1825) wrote "Auld Robin Gray," a song as full of the tragedy of life as *Enoch Arden.* Numerous other writers live in popular esteem chiefly for some one gem. Such are Mrs. Cockburn and Miss Jean Elliot (one of the Elliots of Minto), each remembered for her version of the "Flowers o' the Forest"; Rev. John Skinner (1721–1807), author of "Tullochgorum," written to allay political disputes at a dinner in 1776; Wm.

Glen (1789–1826), author of "Wae's me for Prince Charlie"; Wm. Thom (1799–1848), of "The Mitherless Bairn"; Henry Scott Riddell (1798–1870), of "Scotland Yet"; and Alexander Rodger (1784–1846), of "Robin Tamson's Smiddy." Rodger was imprisoned for Radicalism about 1820, but at the time of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh he was still unrepentant, as the following lines of his will show:

"Sweer he's sober, chaste, and wise,
Praise his noble shape and size,
Roose his virtues to the skies,
Sawney, noo the King's come.

Tell him he is great and guid,
An' come o' Scottish royal blude,
Butter weel his sacred lug,
Sawney, noo the King's come."

Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton (1758–1816), authoress of *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, wrote "My Ain Fireside," and Robert Gilfillan (1798–1850) "Why Left I my Hame?"

Lady Grizel Baillie (1665–1746), the heroic daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Marchmont, who saved her father's life, in the dark days of James VII. after Argyll's Rising, by conveying food to him while he was in hiding in the family burial vault, is the authoress of "Werena my heart licht I wad dee."

It is remarkable that the two most stirring national songs of Britain were written by Scotsmen, "Rule Britannia," by James Thomson, and "Ye Mariners of England," by Thomas Campbell, whose "Battle of the Baltic," and "Exile of Erin," also deserve mention.

There still remain songs enough by minor poets or by unknown authors to illustrate the whole course of human life from the cradle to the grave. Foremost among these, as relating to childhood, may be placed

"Wee Willie Winkie" and the like, by Wm. Miller of Glasgow (1810–72), the "poet of the nursery." In a similar vein is "Castles in the Air," by James Ballantine (1808–77), who also excels in didactic or moral songs, such as "Ilka Blade o' Grass keps its ain drap o' dew," a type of song continued in the present day by such pieces as Joseph Wright's "Aye Work Awa'." James Ballantine was a house-painter who became a glass-stainer and window-decorator, succeeding so well in that art that he designed the decorations for the House of Lords windows.

As love-songs we must mention "Logie o' Buchan," by George Halket, an Aberdeenshire schoolmaster, who died in 1756, and "Annie Laurie," originally written about 1700 by a Mr. Douglas, but altered and set to music by Lady John Scott (*née* Alicia Spottiswoode, 1810–1900). This song was a great favourite with the British soldiers in the Crimea. The fine old Highland ballad of "Huntingtower" is still popular as a duet. In more recent times appears "Mary of Argyle," by C. Jeffreys (1807–65), often attributed to Burns owing to its similarity in sentiment to some of his finer songs. Faithful home life finds expression in "There's nae Luck aboot the Hoose, when our Gudeman's awa'," written either by Jean Adam, a poor Greenock schoolmistress, who died in a Glasgow hospital in 1765, or by Wm. Julius Mickle (1735-88). Owing to its touching simplicity Burns declared this song to be "positively the finest love-ballad in the Scottish, or perhaps in any other language."

The humours of courtship are well expressed in such songs as "There cam' a young man"; "Jenny's Bawbee," by Sir Alex. Boswell; and "Willie's Gane to Melville Castle"; while we are introduced to two stirring females of diverse types in "Maggie Lauder," by

Frances Semple about 1642, and "Kate Dalrymple," by Wm. Watt (1792–1859).

Married life is frequently treated from a humorous point of view, and in almost every case the goodwife has the best of it. "John Grumlie" is said to date from the sixteenth century, and "Tak' Yer Auld Cloak Aboot Ye" is also very old. "The Barrin' o' the Door" is an excellent piece of rollicking fun, and "Oor Gudeman Cam' Hame at E'en" is supposed to be founded on the complications arising from the harbouring of a Jacobite by the gudewife.

Disappointed love is treated humorously in "Roy's Wife," by Mrs. Grant, and pathetically in "O waly, waly" (said to be as old as Queen Mary's day), "The Braes of Yarrow," by Rev. John Logan, and "Kelvin Grove," by Thomas Lyle, a Paisley surgeon who died in 1759.

From the Jacobite period come the stirring ballad of "Sheriffmuir," and that admirable bit of humorous treason, the "Wee, Wee German Lairdie." "Hey, Johnnie Cope," was written by Adam Skirving, a farmer in the Prestonpans district. "The Campbells are Comin'," composed about the Jacobite period, finds a stirring companion in "The March of the Cameron Men," by Mary Campbell.

Sea-life is not so fully represented as might have been expected, Gaelic songs in this sphere being more numerous than those of the Lowlands. Still, we have "The Boatie Rows," by John Ewen (1741–1821), and "The Rover o' Lochryan," by Hew Ainslie (1791–1878). Thos. T. Stoddart is noted for fishing-songs, such as "The Taking of the Salmon."

The patriotic songs of Scotland have been worthily added to by such lyrics as "Draw the Sword, Scotland," A. Park's "Where hath Scotland found her

Fame?" Sillery's "Scottish Blue Bells," and Freeman's "Here's a Health, Bonnie Scotland, to Thee!"

Of battle-songs Wm. Sinclair's "Stirling Bridge" is a prime favourite, while the deeds of Victorian Highlanders are enshrined in Grace Campbell's "Jessie's Dream," and in "Dinna Ye Hear It?" by Alex. Maclagan (1811–79), whose "Thistle" deserves to be more widely known than it is. Local patriotism finds vent in Byron's somewhat pompous "Lochnagar," and in the "Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond," supposed to be of Jacobite origin. Park's "Hurrah for the Highlands," and John Ballantine's "My Heather Hills," are welcome additions to our national minstrelsy. The sorrowful parting of the Scot from his homeland is well expressed in Hume's "Scottish Emigrant's Farewell," while the tender regard due to those in the twilight of life is sweetly inculcated in "Memories Dear," and in Archibald Mackay's "Be Kind tae Auld Granny."

Finally, the love for our songs themselves is fitly voiced in Rev. Dr. Bethune's "Auld Scots Sangs."

Professor J. S. Blackie (1809–95), himself a worthy exponent of Scottish song, declared: "I have a great respect for Latin and Greek, but if the choice were to be made between two alternatives—classical education and Scottish song—I would say at once: burn Homer, burn Aristotle, fling Thucydides into the sea, but let us by all means on our Scottish hills and by our Scottish streams have 'Highland Mary,' 'Auld Lang Syne,' and 'Scots Wha Hae wi' Wallace bled.' Personally, I am not ashamed to say that I have through life got more healthy stimulus to the best part of my nature from half a dozen Scottish popular songs than from all the volumes that I ever spurred my way through of Roman or Hellenic minstrelsy."

It is not creditable to Scotsmen and Scotswomen that in recent years our glorious heritage of song has been so much neglected. The Scottish people might well take a leaf from the book of the Swedes or Germans in the way of using their national songs. German students in their meetings, German soldiers on the march, Swedes in their social gatherings, proudly use the native material to their hand, and the result is good both in music and in nationalism. In contrast to this, what a poor figure is cut by the drawing-room young lady, "trained away," as Blackie says, "from the sweetness and roundness of her native Scottish dialect, and trained into the clippings and the mincings and the sibilations of the unmusical English tongue!" There are signs that the days of this mistaken neglect and contempt of Scottish song are nearly numbered; and surely at a time when the Welsh Eisteddfod and the Gaelic Mod are doing so much to revive Celtic music, it is the duty of Lowland Scots to bestir themselves, and, in music as in other respects, to wipe out Professor Blackie's reproach that "the higher we rise in the [social] scale, the less shall we expect to find anything distinctively Scotch in the equipment of a Scottish gentleman."

In this connection something might be done by the trustees of the great Scottish musical foundations. In 1839, General Reid, himself the composer of the "Garb of Old Gaul," founded a Chair of Music in Edinburgh University, while the Ewing Lectureship, endowed by William Ewing of Patrick in 1866 in connection with Anderson's College, Glasgow, gave a similar stimulus to music teaching in the West of Scotland. In 1882 the Scottish Academy of Music was founded at Edinburgh.

In the general revival of interest in matters Scottish

it might be well to consider whether the only Scottish musical chair could not some day be filled by a native Scot. This may fairly be advocated, not from any narrow "Sinn Feinn" or "ain sea-maws" policy, but in the hope that, given a reasonable measure of encouragement, our native music might be found capable of reaching heights more commensurate than hitherto with the achievements of Germany and Italy.

CHAPTER XXIX

ROBERT BURNS AND SIR WALTER SCOTT.

"PAR nobile fratrum."

HORACE.

To the "man in the street," especially outside of Scotland itself, Scottish literature is so often summed up in Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, that it has been thought advisable to speak of these two transcendent geniuses apart from other literary Scots, and, assuming that their works are universally known, to endeavour to sum up briefly the importance of each.

The outlines of the life of Robert Burns are well known. Born in 1759 near Ayr, the son of a poor but intelligent and pious farmer, he spent his early manhood in a hard struggle with poverty and toil. In 1786, finding himself in legal trouble, he resolved to leave Scotland for Jamaica, but meanwhile published at Kilmarnock a small volume of brilliant poems, written mainly during the preceding year and a half, including *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, *Hallowe'en*, *The Holy Fair*, *Holy Willie's Prayer*, *Address to the Deil*, and addresses to the Mouse and the Daisy. Success attended the publication, and he abandoned the idea of emigration. In November, Burns was invited to Edinburgh, where he was accepted as the "lion" of a season. A second edition of his poems was published at Edinburgh in 1787, and next year,

J. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, R.S.A. *Photo by Annan & Sons.*

BURNS' STATUE, IRVINE.

(Unveiled by A. Austin, Poet-laureate, at Centenary of poet's death.)

P. 126.

after various tours throughout Scotland, Burns married and settled on the farm of Ellisland, near Dumfries. After this date his finest songs were written, and in 1790 he wrote in one day his immortal *Tam o' Shanter*. Farming did not prosper with him, and at first along with it, and latterly instead of it, he engaged in the calling of an exciseman or gauger. At the early age of thirty-seven he died at Dumfries.

Of Burns the man so much has been said and written that we may almost content ourselves with Byron's summary of him : "What an antithetical mind! —tenderness, roughness, delicacy, coarseness, sentiment, sensuality, soaring and grovelling, dirt and Deity, all mixed up in one compound of poor clay!"

When all is said and done, we must remember that the many voluble discussions as to Burns's character have been called into existence only because Burns made no attempt to veil the less glorious side of his nature from the world's eye. In the long-run, in one of his graver faults of character he was not much, if at all, worse than Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, or even than many of the "moderate" clergy of his day, while in the other he can bear favourable comparison with Goethe. We may well claim for Burns the charity which he himself demanded for others :

> "Then at the balance let's be mute ;
> We never can adjust it :
> What's done we partly may compute
> But know not what's *resisted*."

What concerns us here is the mission of the poet and the songster to his country and to the world, and in that regard, as Wordsworth says :

> "Deep in the general heart of man
> His power survives."

His work for Scotland was primarily to revivify and concentrate the national sentiment. He came at a period when the national dialect and the feeling of nationality were in danger of extinction, and he not only saved both, but succeeded in glorifying and idealising them.

Burns, of course, owed much to earlier song-writers, if only in the way of preparing the soil to receive his precious seed. As Goethe says: "Take up Burns. How is he great, except through the circumstance that the songs of his predecessors lived in the mouths of the people, that they were, so to speak, sung at his cradle; that, as a boy, he grew up amongst them, and the high excellence of these models so pervaded him that he had therein a living basis on which he could proceed further? Again, why is he great but from this, that his own songs at once found receptive ears amongst his compatriots, that, sung by reapers and sheaf-binders, they at once greeted him in the field; and that his boon-companions sang them to welcome him at the ale-house?" But a vast proportion of his country's songs were far from being at a high level of excellence, and the effects of the Union were being sufficiently felt to render the permanence of a Scottish song literature somewhat doubtful, when in the fulness of the time Burns seized the tarnished fragments, and by the alchemy of his genius transformed them into lustrous and unfading gold.

In writing his poems—above all his songs—in Lowland Scots, Burns was acting deliberately. When making his arrangements in September 1792 to write for George Thomson's collection, Burns insists: "If you are for English verses, there is, on my part, an end of the matter. Whether in the simplicity of the ballad, or the pathos of the song, I can only hope to please

myself in being allowed at least a sprinkling of our native tongue."

Again he wrote: "These English songs gravel me to death. I have not that command of the language that I have of my native tongue."

And so he continued to pour forth his "native woodnotes wild" in his own melodious Lowland Scots language. As a result of his correct poetic instinct in this regard, not only did Burns secure to his verses a sweeter flow than he could otherwise have attained, but he repaid the debt which he thus owed to his native tongue by preserving the language in renewed vitality at a time when its continued existence would, but for him, have been precarious indeed.

In acceding to Burns's ultimatum above quoted, Thomson lays down the condition that "however gay and sportive the Muse may be, she may always be decent. Let her not write what beauty would blush to speak, nor wound that charming delicacy which forms the most precious dowry of our daughters." In much that Burns wrote on the subjects of love and drinking, he founded on older songs which were fast dying out by reason of their very poverty of expression; and that he profited by Thomson's valuable advice and strict censorship is evident to any one who, remembering Burns's tendencies, compares his sweet love-lilts and humorous convivial songs with the crude and repulsive matter which they served to displace. Regarding these older Scots songs it has been said that "the music had been composed by angels, and the words by devils." This must be remembered to the poet's credit when we call him to account for seeming to encourage one of the least lovable propensities of Scottish character —its fondness for the cup that inebriates more than it cheers.

While Burns thus saved for Scotland her national identity in the field of song, he performed a like service in helping to preserve the national spirit. Here again his aim was deliberate. He wrote to Mrs. Dunlop : "The appellation of a Scottish bard is by far my highest pride : to continue to deserve it is my most exalted ambition. Scottish scenes and Scottish story are the themes I could wish to sing." How well he sang of Scottish scenes is known to the world, but few, even of his countrymen, realise to what an extent he touches and illumines Scottish story. From the Roman and Scandinavian invasions he leads us down to the days when our forefathers, "red-wat-shod," stood by Wallace and Bruce. Of that noblest of national lyrics, "Scots Wha Hae," George Thomson wrote to Burns : "While you are sending me verses that even Shakspeare might be proud to own, you speak of them as if they were ordinary productions. Your heroic ode is to me the noblest composition of the kind in the Scottish language." Posterity has sustained this verdict, and when we further consider Burns's touching references to Queen Mary and to the Covenanters, his fiery indignation at the provisions of the Union, and at the extent to which even these were broken in favour of England, and his chivalrous references to the "injured Stuart race," when we meditate upon the success with which he has caught and interpreted the essential features of Scottish life, we may understand to some degree why his work so appeals to Scotsmen as to make him the darling of the national heart, and why even to-day he forms a bond of brotherhood among all Scots at home or abroad.

But there remains to be explained the fact that he has won his way to the hearts of outsiders as well in a measure that no mere dialect poet, no purely national songster, has ever done. Editions of his works in

French, German, Flemish, and other languages have procured him ardent admirers on the Continent, while Tennyson said of him: "I hold that there never was immortal poet if he be not one." To understand such facts we must think of Burns the teacher, the forerunner of modern ideas upon religion, upon Nature, and upon humanity.

As regards his influence on religion, it seems at first sight strange that the writer of that noblest idyll of home religious life, *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, the very apotheosis of the Covenanting peasantry, should also have been the slayer of the crude Calvinism of his country. His humorous and almost sympathetic presentation of "The Deil" robbed that form of religion once for all of many of its horrors, and his scathing exposure of cant and smug self-conceit in spiritual matters was badly needed in the Scotland of his day, as was the widening of religious belief which had to accompany the beginnings of that marvellous development undergone by scientific thought in the century following Burns's times. Behind all his hatred of cant, and serving perhaps even as its mainspring, lay and worked a deep reverence and awe in presence of the Divine Ruler, to whose mercy, like the prime sinners of Israel, he ever and anon referred his erring life in deepest humility and penitence. Professor Dugald Stewart wrote of Burns: "He had a very strong sense of religion, and expressed deep regret at the levity with which he had heard it treated occasionally in some convivial meetings which he frequented."

How many readers, in enjoying the humour of *Hallowe'en*, remember that the belief in witchcraft therein ridiculed was accounted a part of religion, and that the death penalty was inflicted on supposed witches and wizards by the laws of both Scotland and

England, almost down to the very year of Burns's birth? Catholic, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian had alike grovelled before this ridiculous superstition, and Burns probably did more than we can now estimate to laugh the thing to death. That at least we may count unto Burns for righteousness.

Again, among those poets who looked from and through Nature up to Nature's God, Burns was one of the first and greatest. Such poems as the addresses to the Mouse and the Daisy, in which every epithet is like a caress, could proceed only from a heart touched by the spirit of the first great commandment of the New Testament.

But over and above all this he was perhaps the first, as he remains almost the greatest, inspired pleader for the solidarity of our common humanity. William Watson writes of him:

> "He came when poets had forgot
> How rich and strange the human lot;
> How warm the tints of Life; how hot
> Are Love and Hate;
> And what makes Truth divine, and what
> Makes Manhood great."

In sending to Thomson his song "A Man's a Man for a' that," Burns so far misjudged his work as to declare: "A great critic says that love and wine are the exclusive themes for song-writing. The following is on neither subject, and consequently no song. . . . The piece is not really poetry." Yet to-day no nobler watchword of humanity is demanded by its foremost advocates than the inspired vision, the glorious because credible prophecy:

> "It's comin' yet for a' that
> That man to man the warld o'er
> Shall brithers be for a' that."

This prophecy of the unity of the race is founded on the thoroughly Scottish sentiment, fostered by Scottish history from the days of Wallace till our own times, of the value of man as man, of the dignity of labour, whether physical or mental or moral, as compared with the tinsel shows of privileged indolence. The scorn for the empty "birkie ca'd a lord," and for the king-made dignities unbacked by merit, have persistently remained as Scottish qualities all down the ages, and they are becoming the qualities of men wherever thought has filtered down to the humbler classes, wherever the peasant has learned to venerate himself as man. Not poetry? Then these lines at least contain the embodiment of practical Christianity, the essence of the altruistic theories of our noblest philosophers, and all that is worth founding on in modern Socialism. They constitute the lyric of humanity.

It was fitting that this message should be voiced by a Lowland Scot of peasant origin. Sir A. Conan Doyle, in a recent address on Burns, remarked: "There was neither fortune nor title in this man's pedigree, and yet he sprang from the salt of the earth, for he came from that Lowland Scottish peasant stock, which was one of the finest stocks that the world could show, if one might judge from its results. The limitations of these men might be marked, but there sprang from them every now and again one who could voice the feelings of his fellow-men, and such a man was Robert Burns."

Scotland's sweetest singer had gone to his untimely grave ere the nineteenth century commenced, but as early as 1802 the publication of the *Border Minstrelsy* proclaimed the advent of a genius as great as that of Burns, and much saner in its calm development and in its healthy outlook upon human life. Regarded

as somewhat of a dullard at school, Walter Scott (1771–1832) had early developed a taste for the romantic stories and ballads of his native land, a taste which was to raise him to the first rank as a narrator, whether in verse or in prose, and to enrol him among our half-dozen greatest Scotsmen.

The *Minstrelsy*, which represented the harvest of his work in collecting old ballads, with the addition of several new ballads of his own, was followed in 1805 by the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, in 1808 by *Marmion*, and in 1810 by the *Lady of the Lake*. These grand narrative and descriptive poems at once satisfied and raised the popular taste. In their stirring action they introduced a new element into poetry, and brought home its delights to thousands to whom the usual subjective verse was a mystery. They also contained the first genuine and extensive studies of that "local colour" now so much sought after by poets and novelists. Speaking to Washington Irving, Scott once said, "If I did not see the heather once a year, I think I should die!" This keen love of Nature pervades his poetry, which constitutes the fullest expression of the Scottish mind on that subject. "His feeling for the grander side of Nature," says Professor Veitch, "is a reverential worship—for the gentler side almost a feminine love."

Scott was offered the poet-laureateship, but refused it, and obtained the post for his friend Southey. At last he met with a powerful rival in his own field of poetry, in the person of Lord Byron, who claims in *Don Juan* to be "half a Scot by birth, and bred a whole one." Feeling himself beaten by Byron, Scott turned his attention to another sphere of literature, and in 1814 *Waverley* was published anonymously. Appearing at a time of stirring action in British history,

Charles Martin Hardie, R.S.A. *Photo by Annan & Sons.*

THE MEETING OF BURNS AND SCOTT.

(By kind permission of George J. Napier, Esq., and of Messrs MacLehose & Sons, Publishers of "Homes and Haunts of Scott.")

P. 434

this novel at once met with the enthusiastic approval of the public, and its success encouraged Scott to further effort. From that year till almost the day of his death in 1832, he poured forth from his fluent pen that marvellous series, the "Waverley Novels," containing a picture-gallery of description and incident, and of characters heroic or ludicrous, tender or pawky, which entitles Scott to rank next to Shakspeare, and with no serious competitor but Dickens, in the roll of British creative geniuses.

He used as his main background the stirring history of his native land, and while he profited by the novelist's license to tamper with the dead facts of history, he never rushed to excess in this respect, and his pictures of past times, even when he takes greatest liberty, are usually truer than the ponderous efforts of historical dullards. As Carlyle says, he "taught all men this truth, that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled by living men, not by protocols, state papers, controversies, and abstractions of men. History will henceforth have to take thought of it." That history has profited by Scott's human touch is evident from even a cursory comparison of the works of Froude, Macaulay, Hill Burton, or Green, with the historical works of the previous century.

No greater proof can be had of the enduring nature of Scott's service to literature than the extent to which he is still read in Germany and France. For be it remembered that the foreigner, whether he reads Scott in the original or in a translation, loses much of the personal touch, much of the intimate suggestiveness that Scott's works convey to his own countrymen. "No Scot," says A. Lang, "can doubt that Sir Walter is at his best in the bounds of 'his ain countrie': this was an inevitable limitation of his genius." Even his

masterly command of the Scots dialect counts for much to native readers.

He illumined by his master-genius almost every interesting period of his country's history except that most stirring of all—the period of Wallace and Bruce. It is more than probable that he avoided this series of episodes out of chivalrous courtesy to Jane Porter, whose *Scottish Chiefs* appeared in 1810. If so, we might well have afforded to dispense with that work, stirring as it is, but blemished by palpably grotesque perversions of history, such as the fantastic device of saving Wallace from the disgrace of the block. How well Sir Walter could have left Wallace to his true fate, making the real disgrace recoil on the perpetrators of the deed!

In spite of his lengthy and often irrelevant introductions, Scott remains unrivalled as a story-teller, and the marvel of his output becomes the more astounding in view of the time devoted by him at Abbotsford to entertaining friends and admirers from all quarters, and of all grades of society. With becoming modesty he expressed the hope that his tales had enough interest "to amuse in one corner the pain of the body; in another to relieve anxiety of mind; in a third place to unwrinkle a brow bent with the furrows of daily toil; in another to fill the place of bad thoughts or to suggest better; in yet another to induce an idler to study the history of his country; in all to furnish harmless amusement." He was typically Scottish in his combination of strong common sense, and sanity of thought and of character, with a romantic love for the old and picturesque, especially in the traditions of his country. His work, so catholic in spirit in the best sense, so genial and so removed from bitterness and small-mindedness, did much to weld Highlands and Lowlands in a bond of common sympathy, and has

Sir John Steell, R.S.A.

Statue, Sir Walter Scott's Monument, Edinburgh

P. 436.

had no small influence in later days in imparting to Englishmen a better conception of the ways of the northern inhabitants of these isles.

It is unnecessary to detail his work outside of his novels, yet in his Lives of Napoleon, of Swift, and of Dryden, together with his numerous magazine articles, and his *Tales of a Grandfather*, which once for all crystallised the romantic story of our native land, he achieved an amount of work on which many an author would be proud to rest his reputation. How supremely noble his character shines forth in those last years, after the failure of the Ballantynes and of Constable & Co. in 1826 left him saddled with a debt of £117,000, a catastrophe soon followed by the death of his wife. The arrows of fortune that would have slain most men seemed but to nerve him to renewed effort, and ere his great intellect broke under the strain of work he had the satisfaction of knowing that payment of all his debts was assured, £70,000 being actually cleared off before his death. To the end he was the still, strong man, utterly unlike so many of the bleating neurotics who have followed in his wake as novel-writers.

Mr J. H. Millar makes a high claim for Scott, but probably none too high, when he thus sums up his reputation : "The opinion of competent judges appears to be gradually tending towards the view which regards him as the most conspicuous and important figure in the annals of the *European* literature of the nineteenth century."

Carlyle, in one of his "girny" moments remarks : "One knows not what idea worthy of the name of great, what purpose, instinct, or tendency that could be called great, Scott ever was inspired with. His life was worldly : his ambitions were worldly." And we

are frequently informed by literary wiseacres that Scott had "no message."

Let us hear the answer in the dying advice of the Great Magician to his son-in-law, J. G. Lockhart: "Be a good man, my dear, be virtuous, be religious, be a good man!" No message! No great idea! what other idea, what other message, runs through all Scottish history, or through all that is best in the national character? It is true that Scott never preached, but with all due deference to the street-preacher and his confrères in the literary world, we need too the great, silent-hearted men who prate little of virtue and of "messages," but who live up to them, whose very silence is an inspiration—stilling the grumblers, encouraging the feeble, standing to their post unmoved, like our brave sea-captains in the hour of danger or disaster, and even if going down like them, yet leaving an example that thrills the heart and braces the spirit to imitate their heroism. Such was Scott; and it were well for Scotland if she thought more of him, and imitated him more, even at the expense of her other literary darling, than whom Scott was at bottom far more Scottish, despite his Toryism and despite his Episcopacy.

Let Carlyle speak again, this time more truly: "No sounder piece of British manhood was put together in that eighteenth century of Time." And yet again: "Adieu, Sir Walter, pride of all Scotchmen; take our proud and sad farewell."