

The Scottish Historical Review

VOL. VI., No. 23

APRIL 1909

The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745

THE following letters, most of them written from Macclesfield, are interesting as showing how the Jacobite army 'commandeered' supplies on the march to Derby and back to Carlisle, and if the worst that the Highlanders did is recorded here, surely none can say that they were vindictive or oppressive.

The first of these letters, dated September 20th, 1745, the day before the battle of Prestonpans, shows the earliest sign of alarm in the North of England.

The following dates in the Jacobite march will help the reader in following the incidents mentioned in the letters. Prince Charles entered England November 8th; Carlisle was summoned 10th and surrendered 15th. The Prince left Carlisle on the 21st for Penrith, Kendal 23rd, Lancaster 25th, Preston 26th, Wigan 28th. He halted at Manchester the 29th and 30th; reached Macclesfield December 1st and left for Leek December 3rd. He reached Derby on the 4th and the retreat began on the 6th, on which day the Prince reached Ashbourne, Leek 7th, Macclesfield 8th, Manchester 9th, Wigan 10th, Preston 11th and 12th, Lancaster 13th and 14th, Kendal 15th and 16th, Shap 17th, Penrith 18th, reached Carlisle 19th and crossed into Scotland the following day.

I have added some footnotes identifying the Jacobite officers mentioned and a few other items. I know nothing of the writers of the letters or of the local authorities mentioned.

W. B. BLAIKIE.

LETTERS¹

To Mr. Stafford an Attorney at
Macclesfield

20th. Septembr. 1745.

Sr.

Whereas a Rebellion is actually begun and has made a Considerable progress in Scotland a General meeting of the Gentlemen and Clergy of the County of Chester will be held at the Castle at Chester on Wednesday the second day of October next by Eleven o'Clock in the forenoon to consult on such measures as may be thought necessary for the support of the King and Government and for the Immediate Defence of this County at which time and place your Company is desir'd

I am Your Humble Servant

THOS. HALL

To Mr. Stafford Attorney at Law
At Macclesfield
Cheshire

Dr. Cousin,

I got safe Home last Saturday and found the whole town in some confusion about y^e progress of y^e Rebels. I w'd have writ to you by y^e last Post but had nothing material to acquaint you wth but this morning brought me an Acct that Genl. Cope's Army was defeated that he ran away, that Hamilton's Dragoons behaved little better, that Coln. Gardner was kill'd bravely fighting that we had 652 killed & 188 wounded and taken Pris'ners amongst whom are upwards of 63 officers, that the Rebels are on y^e field of Battle and are suppos'd to be between 15 & 20000 in number: We have sent an express into Scotland and expect a return every hour w^{ch} I will communicate to you: 'tis thought the Rebels will take y^e Yorkshire Road I have not seen Mr. Strickland since

¹[For these letters, with reference to the marches of Prince Charles's army through Lancashire, the Editor is indebted to Mr. Walter Jerrold, Hampton-on-Thames. In the *Scottish Historical Review*, v. 285-296, was printed a long letter dated 2nd December, 1745, by Mr. J. Stafford, Attorney, Macclesfield, with a note by Mr. Andrew Lang. The correspondence and documents here printed supplement in many particulars Mr. Stafford's letter.—Ed. S.H.R.]

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my return but I hear y^t he is well at Home. My best complem^{ts} attend y^r good family, Miss Gattons, Cousin Eccles, &c. I am Dr. Cousin,

Your affectionate Kinsman & hble. Serv^t

ALLAN HARRISON

Lanct. Sep: 27th. 1745

Sister Eccles and Cousin Hanah are both here and present their Compliments. to you all and desire their Duty to Cousin Eccles.

To Mr. Stafford

Hond. Sr.

The most certain intelligence that we have had is just now Come to Mr. Chas. Row who says he Set out from Leek at 11 o Clock & abt 300 were then come in there & that the main body was following 'em. He says he passed a small party at Danes Bridge Coming this way but whether they are all the Van Guard or a Reconnoitring party knows not but we rather Judge 'em to be a Scouting party—When anything material happens If possible I'll send a messenger—Mr. Jackson upon the alarm went away but on Enquiry none of the Family or attendants know whither—As to keeping the Doors and Gates made upon this Emergency I really think not advisable as a Great Number of the Inhabitants are fled and left their houses and as Mr. Glover & his Family and Mr. Roydon & his Family all stay I don't see why we sho^d lock up us more than them but as they behave shall be my Guide.

Sally has Sent the Linnen you mentioned by the bearer I think it is quite I'll Concerted for Familys to leave their houses and lock up the Doors so that If they come here the Consequences may be bad upon the rest Especially If the whole body Comes to lye here—I recd. the Inclosed Just now & am

H^d Sr

Yrs &c

J. C.

None are Come in yet We just now hear from Newcastle that an army is Encamped ab^t Coventry

half an hour past three of the Clock.

For Mr. Stafford at Shrigley

Dr. Sir

I am very much obliged to you for the favour of yours—but am almost frightened of my senses for fear of Mischief at parting, my wife had upwards of 20^l by her & I hope she let Mr. Glover have it, if occasion—The Van Guard Came to Stockp^t last night and were all most outrageous for two or 3 of their men being shot at by the Guard Towns Watch the night before, none of 'em were killed but it's reported a Horse was found dead ab^t the Midway yesterday morning Supposed to belong to them, Mr. Osborn's man was one of the Watch but being fled they have taken his Master into Custody along with one Sam: Lees another of the Watch, They have tried the constables . . . for disobeying some of their orders and threatened to shoot him, By order from L^d Cho—the Inhabitants have cut trenches in and ab^t the river to prevent their passing the fords, this I fancy has exasperated, the Van Guard set out this afternoon for Macc^d their main body are coming into Stockp^t where they intend to stay all night and have ordered the Excise to brought on this evening—on the 3 persons passing the watch on Saturday evening a messenger was immediately dispatched to Macc^d the town alarmed by a Fire Bell and it's reported two of them are taken and that they are Macc^d men—I hope to be at Lyme this Evening or tomorrow early & will then consult with you ab^t doing something for the poor Sufferers—All here send their compl^{ts} to you and all at Shrigley. I am Yours faithfully

SAM: COOPER

December 1745

To M^{rs} Stafford at Shrigley

Dear Lucy,

I desire you'll make yourself easy, for I see no reason to apprehend anything from ye' Gentlemen, but very Civil treatment. It was very well that some of y^e Gentlemen of y^e Town stood their ground or y^e whole might have suffered. The p. cam in this morning on horseback close by where I stood & went to his old Quarters. We had nobody last night. I have been drinking &c with two Officers, & have just recv^d a Billet for six more & their Serv^{ts} horses & 30 men.

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A party is just gone tow^{ds} Crostford Bridge But when y^e rest will move is uncertain. The foot are not yet come in: They say y^e Train of artillery is to be at this end of y^e Town.

I'll come to you in y^e evening if possible But if I shl^d not, pray make yourself easy.

I am My D^r y^r affectionate husband &c

JO. STAFFORD.

My Compl^{ts} to all wth you.

Stockp^r half an hour past one aft^m
Nov. 29: 45.

That all the Soldiers were drawn up to-day their Artillery were brought into ye Cannon ffield 14 Pieces of Cannon, and 2 Mortars.

120 of the Highlanders were drafted out, & well arm'd & sent off, but whither no one cou'd tell, before they went, they paid off their Quarters very justly.

Sr.

the Above 120 were Horse and came to Cheedle wich way they went when over we canot Tell but will let you know &c. an half an hour past 6 o'clock.

Macc^{fd} 1st Dec^r 1745.

Rec'vd by me as having power from the Secretary to his Royal Highness Cha^s Prince of Wales &c from James Nixon the Sum of One pound Seven Shillings & Seven pence as the Duty of Excise on ale due by him at & preceding the 15th Instant.

ANDREW LUMSDEN.¹

¹ Andrew Lumisden (or Lumsden). He became Private Secretary to Prince Charles at Edinburgh in 1745 and accompanied him throughout the whole campaign, of the battles of which he wrote an account. The MS., now in my possession, has never been printed. He was attainted, escaped to France; became Under Secretary to the Old Chevalier in 1757 and Secretary on the death of James Edgar in 1762. Returned to England in 1773; received a full pardon in 1778 and died in 1801.

Macclesfield } In the County of Chester To the Constables of
 Burrough } the Township of Bollington in the said County
 To Wit

You are hereby Comanded imediately to Seize and press within your Township nine good and able Carriage horses with Cart Saddles and Geers and to bring the same to where the Train of Artillery & Wagons now are within the Said Burrough by foure of the Clock to Morrow Morning Herein fail not Given under my Hand and Seal at Macclesfield aforesaid the first Day of December 1745

SAM^{LL} COOPER

You are also to press three Carriages to be produced at the same time

Macclesfield, 1st Dec^r 1745.

These are ordering you to Issue out pper Orders to your Serjeants Petty Constables & others within your district to bring in by 6 o'clock to-morrow morning to where the Train of Artillery and Waggons now lye to the number of 150 horses with proper Carriages such as Carts &c for at least sixty of those for Carrying the above Train & other Carriages belonging to the Army under his Royal Highness from this to the next pper Stage—make out a list of the District from whome you Demand these horses & Carriages with Certification of Military Execution imediately to be done against Recusants.

PAT: GRIEME.¹

To Sam^l Cooper Esq^r Mayor of Macc^{fd}

S^r

Please to put the Bell round to pay the Excise due to the Secretary's Office at the Princes Quarters this night by 6 & bring their last Receipts with 'em.

ff: P:

Maccles^{fd}. 1st Dec^r 1745.

¹ Patrick (or Peter) Graeme or Graham, a cousin of Graeme of Gorthy, Perthshire, was a lieutenant in the Perthshire squadron of horse. He also served as a commissary in the army.

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To the Mayor of Maccnd

Macclesfield 1st Decem^r 1745.

These are ordering you to send Instantly to the Artillery Yard Six Carts loaded with Hay & 10 Sacks or Loads of Oats. This you'll Instantly cause to be executed for wch this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

M. BROWNE.

Macclesfield 2nd. December 1745.

Allow the Bearer John Stafford Esq^{re} to pass from this with his wife and three Sisters to Shrigley without let or molestation—by his Highnesses Command

J. MURRAY.¹

To all his Majestys

Civil or Military.

To the Honble the L^d Mayor of Maccnd

Maccnd. Dec. 2nd 1745.

These are ordering that you pay and replace Each person who had just claims in furnishing fforrage for the Princes Army out of the Warrants drawn by me of this Date as they are particularly Condeschended upon by a list herewith delivered to you

WILL: COMRIE Comp^r.²

	Hay	Oats	Straw
Messrs. Leah Stonier & Morris ffarmers			
all of Sutton - - - - -	600	100	3
ffarmers in Park Lane - - - - -	500	100	4
S ^r W ^m Meredith & M ^r Rowbotham -	2000	400	6
Esq ^{rs} Ward & Copesthorne - - - - -	500	150	2
Hugh Gorman of Broken Cross - - -	500	100	2
Clayton Shaw Randal & Oldham			
Tythernigton - - - - -	400	100	2
M ^r Rich ^d Calrow Beetley - - - - -	2000	300	6
Cha ^s Lee Esq ^r , Adlington - - - - -	1000	200	4
M ^r John Lucas Dr ^r . - - - - -	1000	300	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8500	1750	33

¹ John Murray, of Broughton. The well-known Secretary to Prince Charles who turned traitor after the campaign. Fifth son of Sir David Murray of Stanhope. Became baronet on the death of his nephew in 1770 and died 1777.

² William Comrie before the campaign was steward to the Earl of Moray at Donibristle, Fife. He joined the Prince at Perth in September, 1745. This mention of him as comptroller is the only indication I know of showing the position he held in the Jacobite army.

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To the Mayor of Macc^{fd}

By His Royal Highness the Prince.

You are required & ordered to have a Quantity of Bread furnished out of every house in Town for the Use of the Army & ready to be delivered to them this night. This Order all persons Concerned are to obey under the Pain of Military Execution to be done agst their persons & effects this 2^d Day of December 1745

By the Secretarys Order

CHA^s. STEUART.¹

These are Ordering & requiring you to send to the Artillery Park at 4 to-morrow morning three understanding Guides with fifty pioneers who must have all either Spades Pick Axes or hatchets they are to be delivered to the Captain of the Artillery Park. Given at Macclesfield this 2^d Dec^r 1745

M. BROWNE.²

Macclesfield 2^d Dec^r 1745.

To the Constable of Macc^{fd}

You are hereby required to cause all the Bakers here bake as much bread as they possibly Can with^t loss of time upon Pain of burning their houses.

By His Highnes's command

J: MURRAY.

To the Bakers in the Neighbourhood of
Macc^{fd}

Macc^{fd} 2^d Dec^r 1745.

The Bakers in Town having been already advertized you are hereby ordered to Bake & p[']vide what bread you possibly Can

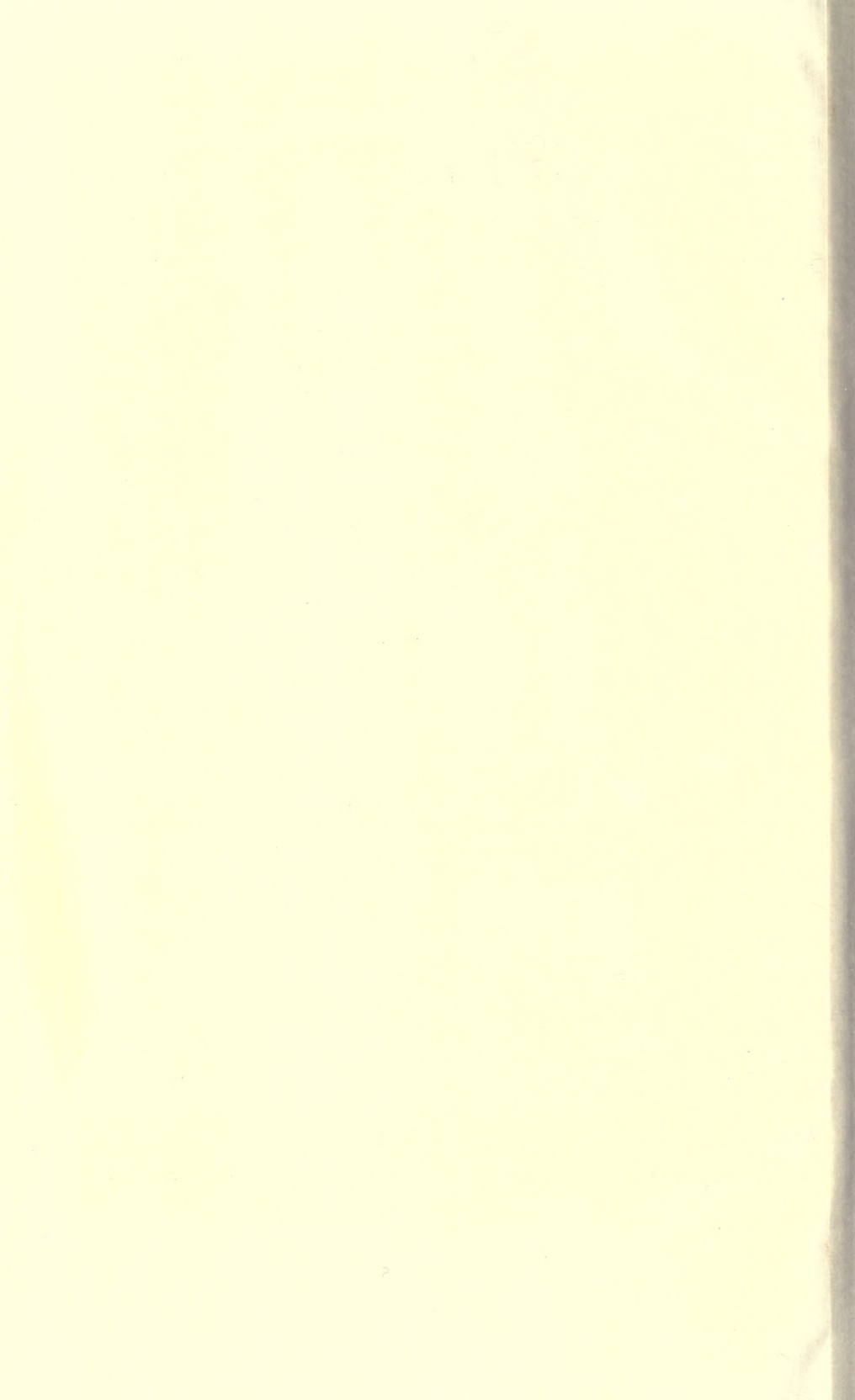
¹ Charles Steuart (or Stewart): a member of the Appin family; originally a lawyer at Maryburgh (Fort William), was an assistant in the office of John Murray of Broughton. Many of the receipts for payments to the Jacobite administration are in his handwriting and bear his signature.

² M. Browne: a Franco-Irishman, captain in Lally's regiment. Came over to Scotland with the French envoy (Marquis d'Éguilles) in October, 1745, and was made colonel and A.D.C. to Prince Charles. He was sent to France in January, 1746, with despatches after the Battle of Falkirk. He returned to Scotland in the celebrated ship 'Hazard,' which was driven ashore at Tongue, in Sutherland, on March 25th, on which occasion Browne was made prisoner of war along with 126 others of various ranks.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART.

By B. Gannari. In the Collection of Sir James Hamlyn Williams-Drummond, Bart.



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and bring it into Town, either to such places as you Comonly use for Sale or to the Town Hall and you shall be assured of your mony with Certification If you fail of Military Execution against you.

PAT: GRIEME.

These are requiring you to get a Chaise with 2 horses to carry a Sick Gent^l. One Stage only wch then shall be returned to you. It must be ready at 5 °Clock to morrow morning, this you'll punctually obey as you shall be answerable. Given at Macclesfield this 2^d Dec^r 1745.

M. BROWNE.

Macc^{ad} 3^d Dec^r 1745. These do order you the Constable in this place to send two Baggage horses for Captⁿ ffairquison's¹ Company in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment on your Peril w^{ch} is your Warrant.

DAVID OGILVY.²

Maccles^d in the } To the Constables of the Township of
County of Chester } Bollington in the said County

You are hereby Order^d and commanded imediately to send to this Town ten — bushel of Oats One hundred stone of Hay for the use and service of his royal Highness Troops now in this Town. Herein you are not fail on pain of military Execution.

Given under my hand this 7th. Decr 1745

G. BROCKLEHURST

H. Constable

¹ Captain ffairquison: William Farquharson of Broughdurg, Forfarshire, who was a captain in Lord Ogilvy's regiment.

² David Ogilvy: Probably David Ogilvy of Coull, in the parish of Tannadice, Forfarshire. He was a captain in Lord Ogilvy's regiment, and after Culloden escaped to Norway, where, however, he was made prisoner at Bergen.

There were two other Forfarshire gentlemen of the same name—David Ogilvy—officers in the Jacobite army: (1) the laird of Pool in Lintrathen parish, who served in the Prince's Life Guards; and (2) the son of the laird of Shannaly in the same parish, a lieutenant in Ogilvy's regiment; but it seems most likely that it was the laird of Coull who wrote the above letter.

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To Mr. Stafford

Hon^d Sr.

11 o Clock

Mr. Glover has this moment been with me to Inform me that an Order is Just now delivered to the High Constable to levy the Subscription money that was Subscribed at Chester at the Association and begs you'll on the receipt of this Come here to Consult with the Inhabitants ab^t it. I am Concerned to send you this Account but a Delay may be of bad Consequence to the Town I am

Yrs &c

J. COOKE

Macclesfield, 9th. Decr. 1745.

Rec^d by me as having power from the Secretary of his R.H^s Charles Prince of Wales from John Stafford ten pounds as his subscription money in the Association here.

ANDREW LUMISDEN.

To Mr. Stafford

10 ° Clock Morn.

Hond. Sir—

I had yours by Broad & am very sorry to hear you are Indisposed—The Gentlemen of the Town desir'd a Composition which was refused and every person was to pay his own Share—I paid the 20^l to Mr. Glover who has since given me a Receipt from the Se'retary for 10 your Share the other ten he has disposed on in somebody's Else's behalf and says he'll give me that Receipt which I Conveive is to be rep^d you again by the person for whose use it was paid—A Great many had no money at all by 'em so that we were obliged to assist them—I find Sev^l have not p^d and some have sworn it off & some of 'em who have p^d now begin to repent—They are now near all marched but the Rear Guard & talk of Coming again in a Fortnights time—It is Reported Legoniers army will be here in a day or two. I am Your Obt. Servt.
J. C.

The Gentlemen who lay in Miss Fanny's Room have broke her looking Glass—I don't as yet hear of any other Destruction (save Meat and Drink) in the house.

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To M^r Stafford, Macclesfield.

Dear Sr.

Monday Evening, 9 Dec^r.

We have been extremely sorry for you and poor M^{rs} Stafford on account of the frequent visits you have lately rec^d. On Wednesday and ffriday last I wrote to you, on the former of those days my messenger went to a place called Neubourne which he says is within a mile and half of Macclesfield, and then return'd greatly terrified with the approach of the Rebels, on the second day he did not stir at all. I then putt my Mercury into the post office and about 8 on Saturday night read an account of the Highlanders having renewed their acquaintance with you for which reason I thought it advisable to remand my letter from Brereton Green. pray let us know how you all do, and how you have kept up your spirits, for upon my word we are in great concern about you. I should acknowledge my obligations to your family and Mr. Tatton for the civility shewn to my son, but that and what remains shall be the subject of another opportunity—pray what is become of our heir? We are in no great pain about him being well assured he is in good hands, but it would be proper to know where he is, or where he may be heard of—I have been laid up for some days with a violent cold, and I cannott quitt the Clod the Kings forces being expected here to morrow, but we are at no certainty about them—Our compliments waite on M^{rs} Stafford, and the family and I am D^r Sr,

Yours very sincerely

W. S.

D^r Sr.

Midlewich 12 Dec^r 1745.

I am very glad to hear that you are all in health and have escaped the resentment of those merciless miscraents who appear in no better Colours than a Banditti of Robbers. this is an awkward way mthinks of setting their prince on the throne, but t'is my daily petition that they may be overtaken and meet with the fate they so richly deserve. A pack of villains! to rob and plunder a Corporation so distinguished for zeal and loyalty in opposing the measures of their principal enemy, and to make no distinction betwixt Magistrates and Common persons is monstrous. Without doubt this uncommon rage, fury and ill treatment must be owing to the address presented at the late Association, and the error of making too free

with Lives and fortunes appears now too glaring. I must march towards the memorable manor of Buglawton to morrow if my health will permitt, and if I can hobble thither I will endeavour to scramble 7 or 8 miles further on Saturday morning. The poor lady at Daisybank I hear, has once more parted with a Son and heir—some hurly burly or another always happens to nip the growth of these tender Infants which never yet exceeded in Stature the size of a bumble bee. The Coach team I hear, has been in danger and the Squire's arms and ammunion which supply the family with provisions three fourths of the year—poor Squire Howells Equipage suffer'd greatly in the late Wars—pray have they done him no mischief? How did the Deer escape:—The Carrier stays—Adieu,
W. S.

'Tis the opinion of most people that you measure a full inch & half more since you entertained a prince of the blood—I presume I must have stuck to my sword or not be received—pray what may be the price current for a view of the [Royal] Bed. I presume you are to receive the title of Duke of B . . . m.

To Mr. John Stafford Attorney at Law In
Macclesfield

Congleton 14th Dec: 1745

Sr I wrote to you upon Satterday Last about a Cart Left by the Rebels y^e Mannor of Boglawton and carried or Taken away in to Congleton Liberty and had no Les than 4 laid claim to it I Told em the had nothing to do with it or to moof it out of y^r liberty with out y^r Leave and took 2 mares & feched it to my premises in y^r name til oned in a proper manor where one Clark seem^d to claim it I told him he should leave a pledge in my hand of 21s. until I had y^r letter y^t you were satisfied with his claim the Brought a Letter with y^r name to it but no thing to y^r being Sattisfied. Y^r answer to this & I will return the pledg from your Servent

J. WHITEHURST

I think on shilling as Littel as can be Thought for my Troubel

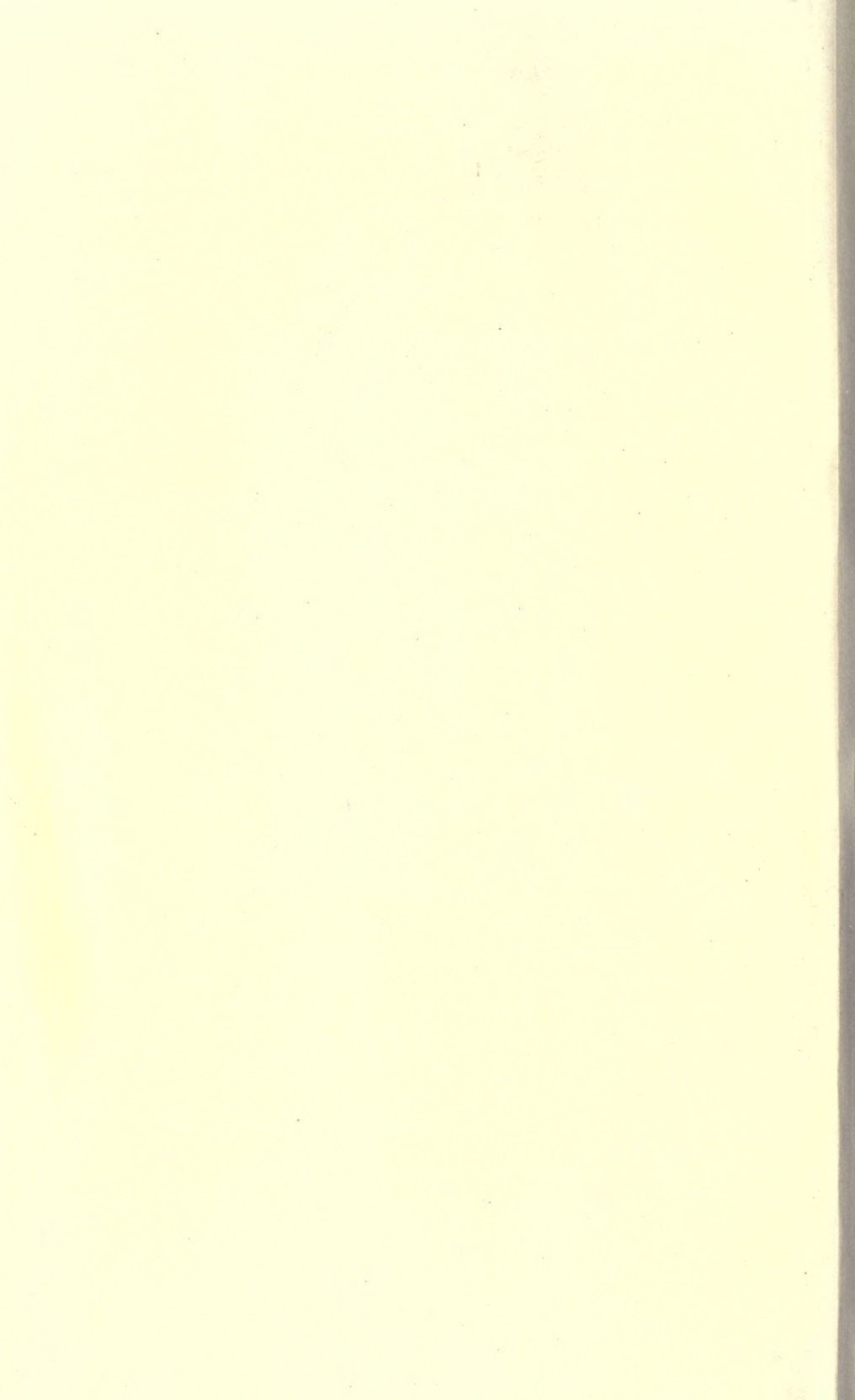
Sr if you or any frend of yrs is at want of Hay I can fit you or them with 6 or 8 Tunns very good upon Reasnobel Rates



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART.

From Coloured Engraving by Cooper, Edinburgh 1745.

In the Collection of W. B. Blaikie, Esq.



Dr. Sr

14 Dec^r 1745

I had answer^d y^r last Letter sooner but that from the 1st. of this month 'till this very day we have been in Continual hurry The Rebels Stayd two days in their march and 2 Nights in their Return The Officers for ye most part behaved pretty well but ye Comon men like Devills especially in their retreat for they not only lived upon free Quarter in every house but pilfered and plundered people of their money Bedding Cloths and every thing they co^d carry off. But on Tuesday last we were Joyfully relieved by ye arrival of ye Kings forces, and his Royal highness ye Duke of Cumberland did me ye honour of taking up his Quarters at my house wherein he lay 3 nights & yesterday morning went for Wigan. I followed ye Camp as far as the River Mersey w^{ch} ye Duke forded ab^t 11 O'clock at a place called Hollin Ferry (all ye bridges on ye River being Broke down & ye Boats sunk). He showed his officer the way over the River w^{ch} was very Deep but ye bottom proved good. The General Rendezvous was to be at Wigan last night And I fancy this day their army will march tow^{ds} Preston where ye Rebels were yesterday morning But greatly Dispirited & Quarelling among 'emselves so that according to my Notion the Kings forces (I mean ye horses) having nothing to do but to Get up with 'em and trample 'em under foot for I think they'l not fight

Lancaster—Wednesday 11 o'clock forenoon.

(18th December 1745.)

Sr.

A messenger is just arrived from Kendal who brings advice that the Rebels are at Shap, and that Gen^l Oglethorpe with the advanced Party is got beyond them and joined by a detachm^t from Marshall Wade's Army The Duke of Cumberland set out from Kendall at 6 o'clock this morning and said he would not stop till he came up with 'em which we hope he has done it being only 12 miles from Kendal.

The Bellman is now going through this Town to order the Inhabitants to get Dinners for the Foot directly who are Hourly expected. 1500 Horses are already got ready here to carry the Foot forwards for Kendal this night.

I am &c.

Kendal, the 18th Dec^r 1745.
7 in the Morn^g.

Sir.

I received here this morning your letter of yesterday, all I can say about the bread is, that it must be sold for what it will fetch, & whatever that may be, will be so much saved to the Government, but if it cant be sold at all, care must be had it is not lost, and it may be distributed to the poor of the Town, & the neighbourhood. if you would be so good as to furnish Money for the Person who came with the bread, Mr. Crawford, I will take care that it shall be repaid you in what manner you may best like—it must be such a sum as may be necessary for his Expenses, or for a clearing with his Waggons if that should be necessary. I have paid the Express £2. 2. on acco^t—I am

Sir your most humble Servant

EVERARD FAWKENER.¹

J. Stafford Esq^r
Macclesfield.

Be pleased, Sir, to forward the enclosed by the Post, or by Express of any going, but not to send one on purpose—

Sir— Lancst. Dec^r 20 at 5 o'Clock in the morning—

By an Express from Penrith that the Duke fell in with the Rear of the Rebels & cut off 100 of them with the loss of 10 of his Majesty's Soldiers, they expected the Foot up the next Day, had they been present with the Duke would have finished the Affair the Main Body of the Rebels are at Carlisle.

An Express is this moment come from Gen^l Wade who went to him by the Duke of Cumberland's Directions with orders for Wade to march his army immediately to intercept the Passage of the Rebels into Scotland the Messenger said the whole Army was in full march on Tuesday last and would be time enough to stop them

¹ Sir Everard Fawkener: Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland. Originally a London mercer and silk merchant; was the friend and host of Voltaire when in England, 1726-29. Fawkener abandoned commerce for diplomacy; was knighted 1735 and sent as ambassador to Constantinople. Became secretary to the Duke of Cumberland; for his services in Flanders was made joint Postmaster-General (May, 1745). Accompanied the Duke throughout his campaign in Scotland: died 1758.

Dear Br^o.

Yours I rec^d this evening by Serjeant Kilnor & am glad to hear you are all well as we are at present; the vanguard (as they call them) of the Rebels being about 120 came to Kendall this day sennight and an express coming from Kirby Lonsdale (y^t the main body of Rebell army was cut off) about 20 minutes before they came into town; the townsmen having not their arms ready (being hid hearing the Rebels were at Burton the evening before) the alarm bell being rung fell on them sticks and stones being the only weapons they had till they had taken 2 horses and 2 men prisoners & unhorsed some more which made their escape & was supposed killed some of the Rebels being seen to fall from their horses with the firearms they took from the prisoners, the Rebels killed 3 of the Mob having fired about 30 shot amongst them & threatened to Burn the Town but in an hours time went their way doing some damage to a house or 2 as they went & carried their wounded men with them. The next day the remainder of the Rebels came to town the foremost of them about 1 a'clock & 4 horses belonging to Lord Murray¹ being ordered to a stable at the far end of the town some country people being under arms seized the horses and made off. Word was brought to the Pretender (who was at Dinner at Mr. Shepherds with severall other of their gentlemen) Col^l Stuart² rose in a passion from the table and going to meet some more of their horsemen that were coming in, went up to the hills on the west side of the town & drove in all the country people they came att, and have carried about 40 of them prisoners to Carlisle beside severall that made their escape that night & the next and obliged the town to pay 130^{''} & give bill for 200['] more & next morning were very rude and plundered the town in severall places & stript shoes of most they came att, & wearing apparell from severall and threatning to burn the town & sett fire to one house but was soon got out & quitted twixt 10 & 11 a'clock in the forenoon & plundered all the houses in the roads—the Yorkshire hunters & some Company's of Dragoons came

¹ Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Jacobite army.

² John Roy Stewart: a highlander from Speyside; a poet and a soldier, formerly a quartermaster in the Scots Greys: subsequently in the French army and held a commission as captain in Lord John Drummond's regiment, the 'Scots Royal,' in the French service. Joined Prince Charles at Perth, and commanded a regiment raised partly in Edinburgh. Died in France 1752.

to town tuesday forenoon & went forward about noon. an other party came in about 2 & scarce halted & twixt 3 and 4 came in his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland with about 3000 more & tarried all night going out next morning about 6—Wednesday night came to town about 2000 foot, mostly brought that day by Country horses from Preston and next day carried by other horses to Penrith On Wednesday evening the Duke with a party of his horse had a skirmish with some of the Rebels at Clifton 2 miles of Penrith where they kill'd 10 Dragoons & severall horses shooting out of the houses gardens & from behind the fences.¹ how many of the Rebels was kill'd is uncertain they in the night time throwing them into bye-places severall were taken prisoners. Another part came up with the Rebels at Lowther Hall & killd & took prisoners about 60. My man came from Penrith yesterday twixt 2 & 3 in the afternoon & says the Duke was to sett out for Carlisle to-day & that an Officer told him they had taken above 100 prisoners in all about Penrith & that the Rebels were gott to Carlisle on Thursday & should have gone Northward yesterday, but the rivers were so swell'd with the late rains were obliged to return. 3 of the Rebels came to Bro. Gibson's to seek for horses as they came southward but finding none worth while came no further.

Kendall 21st December, 1745.

To M^r Gervas Cartwright, in Macclesfield, Cheshire, This—
Turn at Boarshead—

Sr.

Near Carlisle, Dec^r 22nd.

The Duke's Servants hav^e orders to return, Pray be so good to assist them with what money they may want to bear their Expences upon the road, and I will pay it to your Order

¹ This letter refers to the skirmish on Clifton Moor, between Lowther Hall and Penrith, celebrated in Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*. On the evening of Dec. 18th Lord George Murray with the Jacobite rear-guard, contrary to orders, engaged the advance-guard of the Duke of Cumberland, then in hot pursuit. The skirmish was technically a victory for both sides. Cumberland drove the Jacobites off the field, but was unable to follow up this advantage the following day. Lord George on his part secured his object, the safe retreat of the Jacobite army to Carlisle and subsequently to Scotland.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART'S PISTOLS.

This pair of Pistols is now in the collection of His Majesty King Edward.



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in London, or as you shall please to direct—Excuse this trouble from

S^r. Your most obed^t Servant,

W^m WINDHAM.

Pray my Service to M^{rs} Stafford & the rest of your family
The Rebels are all in Scotland except 300 left in the Castle at
Carlisle, which we shall be masters off to-morrow, or next day.

To M^r Stafford at Macclesfield.

D^r S^r.

Knutsford, 22 Dec^r 1745.

M^r Aldercroft of Chester brought from Jo. Flintt & delivered to me a parcell with 20^l in cash which I now send you having given no Receipt for it you'll mention it to him when you write. We have settled a correspondence at Lancaster but have had no Letter from Home since Friday Of our two last Letters I have here sent you copies but notwithstanding what is said in em I am apt to believe that the Rebells will get into Scotland without much Loss. The Duke having no cannon, & but few ffoot and the Country being not very proper for his Horse to act to advantage. It may be presumed that he will not care to attack the main Body of the Rebells and there is no assurance of Gen^l Wade's Army being advanced so far as to intercept them, on the Contrary from a Paragraph in the Preston Paper, giving an acc^t of the motions of Gen^l Wade, it seems impossible he should come up to 'em, sooner than at or near Edenborough—which in my humble opinion seems to be the Place where we are to expect any thing extraordinary to happen. Pray are you a Master Ext^r in Chancery—I want to swear to my Proven acct^s and shall be glad to slip out some Day to see you & the Ladies after such vicissitudes as have lately happened with you. We all join in the compliments of the Season & I am,

S^r, Your affectionate humble serv^t

JA. WRIGHT.

For Mr. Stafford of Macclesfield.

Sir

Penrith, Dec^r 27th. [1745]

Yesterday morning early the Rebels let down a person of figure over the walls of Carlisle wch some Country people observing shot 3 Balls into him and stript him of 60 odd Guineas & a Gold Watch, the Batteries will be compleat this Evening: To Morrow his Highness will begin to storm and it is said will begin at the little Tower wch is a Brick Tower and thought weak. Just now we are sending from those parts 500 persons with picks and Spades to make Trenches, the Duke's determin'd not a man shall Escape.—Gen^l Hawley now commands all the Foot, but under Gen^l Wade. they are march'd for Scotland We expect the Duke back after the Reduction of Carlisle, Just now we are told the poor Inhabitants cry out hunger over the Walls to Country people within their hearing.

Sir

Dec. 29th

A Gentl. came to Preston this night and has given the following account to M^r Mayor that 4000 Rebels were counted passing Annon Bridge¹ on Saturday last & did 500^l Damages there, and at Newby one mile further did 100^l damage, particularly to this persons ffather & three other Inhabitants wch is the whole number there, they ffirst found out the Ale and poured it out & fill'd the Bottles with Wine and after found a pipe of Brandy & then pour'd the Wine away & fill'd the bottles with Brandy wch was a whole pipe drank & carried away, & march'd on Saturday last to Dumfries & that one man who was going out of Dumfries to see some horses and demanded 2000^l & 100 horses & 1000 pair of shoes & of wch 1100^l was paid & horses & shoes & for the nine hundred they took the late Provost and the present Provost as hostages & march'd on Sunday last to Glasgow, the Duke hang'd 4 Deserters near Carlisle wch caused the Rebels to hang 4 Inhabitants at Carlisle hang'd 'em over the Walls, this person set out on Thursday last from Annon & further says that there were only 8 persons drowned 5 Women and 3 Men. the late

¹ Prince Charles, leaving a garrison behind him, left Carlisle on Dec. 20th (his 25th birthday) and with the main body of his army spent the night at Annan; next day marched to Dumfries and thence by Drumlanrig, Douglas, and Hamilton to Glasgow, which he reached on December 26th.

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Provost's name is Bell, the present Provost Crosby, he further says that the Pretender & all his chiefs are there & that they have no Cannon with 'em but 12 Carriage Carts—

Preston, Dec^r 31st

By an Express just now arrived at our house gives an acc^t that on Saturday last the Duke with his Army & Artillery began to Batter Carlisle & makes no Doubt but can take it very soon, the Duke has hang'd 5 Rebels over against the Castle that they may see their fate. our Men ly out all this while, but the Country people are very kind to 'em the Duke fir'd the ffirst himself ab^t 8 o'clock on Saturday morning.

To M^r John Stafford, Attorney in Macclesfield.—

Stockport 2nd Jan^y 1745/6

Good S^r.

I rec^{ed} your oblidging Letter and ere long hope to give you a Detail of my Highland March. . . .

This minute we have news y^t Carlisle¹ has surrendred at Discretion, y^t there are about 800 prisoners English, Scotch & Ffrench, That ye Duke had but one Man kill'd and y^c Town not much damaged, and that ye best of the Inhabitants had got away before the Rebels return^d thither. I greet you thereupon—

ALEX. ELCOCK.

To M^r Stafford, Attorney at Law

Dear Cos. Stafford,

I thank you for y^{rs} wth y^r Directions. As I am not intimate with M^r Wilbraham of Dartfold I desire you will be so good as to write to him. I sh^d have bin glad to have seen y^r Rev^d Kinsman, Stafford, his Directions are not exceeding clear, as I know not where Lady Tankerville lives. I am glad y^c

¹ Cumberland reached Carlisle on Dec. 21st. Thence he sent for siege guns to Whitehaven. The Jacobite garrison surrendered on Dec. 30th. The actual number of prisoners captured was:—English, 21 officers, 93 N.C.O. rank and file; Scottish, 18 officers, 256 N.C.O. rank and file; French, 3 officers, 5 N.C.O. rank and file. Total, 42 officers, 354 N.C.O. rank and file.

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Information agst y^e Orator¹ gave you some Satisfaction. He is a Jewel & a shining Light to y^e Jacobite Party. L^d Radnor writes me word y^t when Lord Lovat was brought before y^e L^{ds}. he answered his Character as an Arch, Artfull Fellow, and gave a Sample of w^t they were to expect at his Tryal. Our complim^{ts} of y^e Season attend you all, I am,

Y^r very Faithfull F^d & Hum^{ble} Serv^t

C. LEGH.

23 Dec^r 1746.

¹The Orator: Rev. John Henley, known as 'Orator Henley,' a Cambridge man, a scholar, a wit, and a poet, but eccentric and ribald. He set up what he called an 'Oratory' in London for secular lectures on week days and sensational sermons on Sundays. Having preached pro-Jacobite sermons in November, 1746, he was committed to custody on Dec. 2nd, but released on bail on the 20th, and further proceedings against him were abandoned. He died 1756.

'A New-Year's Gift for the Whigs'

THE original of the ballad which follows is in Lord Crawford's collection, and I am much indebted to his kindness for allowing me to copy it. The ballad is the production of some London writer, and its interest lies in the illustrations it affords of the connection supposed to exist between the English and the Scottish Whigs. The author, like many of those who assailed the English opposition, endeavours to utilise the acts of the Scottish rebels as an argument against them. In the first three verses he attacks London politicians of the period; in the last three relates an incident in order to show what would happen in England if they ever obtained power. The allusion to the exiled Huguenots in verse two is curious. Tory fanatics regarded them as recruits for the Whig party and gave them a very unfriendly welcome in England. In his prologue to the 'Duke of Guise' Dryden sneers at them as 'godly beggars,' and in the epilogue to 'The Loyal Brother' there is a similar reference.

The assassination of the two troopers recorded in the last verses is told by Fountainhall, and quoted from him in Napier's *Memorials of Dundee*, ii. 423.

'20th November, 1684: The news came this morning to Edinburgh, that some of the desperate fanatics had last night fallen in upon two of the King's Life Guards, viz., Thomas Kennoway and Duncan Stewart, who were lying at Swyne Abbey, beyond Blackburn in Linlithgowshire, and murdered them most barbarously. Whereupon the Privy Council ordained them to be searched for and pursued, if it were possible to apprehend them; and called for Carmichael, landlord of the house, and examined him and others. This was to execute what they had threatened in their declaration of war.'—Fountainhall, *Historical Notices and Decisions*.

C. H. FIRTH.

A NEW-YEAR'S GIFT FOR THE WHIGS :

Or, a True Relation of Threescore Presbyters (Foot and Horse) that surprized Two of the Kings Guards in their beds, at an Inn seaven Miles from Edenborough, Cutting all the Flesh off their bones till they were Dead, and carried the pieces to their Respective Friends, and there burned them in Contempt of God and their King.

Tune of, 'Then, then to the Duke let's fill up the Glass.'

[A printed tune given.]

Great Souls that are free from Faction, rejoyce,
and stand on y'r guard for y'r Country & King
Observe the success of Papillion, Duboice,¹
of Bethel and Cornish,² and Tony's black Sting:³
Walcot⁴ and Colledge,⁵ and Young Horned Dotage,
see how some are hang'd, and the rest run away;
Let this be a warning, to Whigs rigid scorning
who choose to be Damn'd rather than to Obey.

Yet still with the Scotch they dare to Conspire,
the Dutch are not idle the French to send o'er;
The Scum of the Country from France do retire,
to support the Old-Cause, come to breed on our Shore;
To joyn with the Dutch or the Whigs of our Nation,
must be the Design of those Presbyter Saints;
To th' ruine of our trade they have made an invasion,
pretence of Religion protects their false Cants.

Whigs constant to nothing, but treason and change,
o'er-charging their Noddles with notions of State;
With Trimming reflections on loyal L'Estrange,
more profligate Villains ne'r peept thru' a Grate;
Let Oats be remember'd, ten thousand times perjur'd,
and keep the Beast chained, until the next Term;
And then through a Casement, to th' Whigs great amazement,
and next Sessions after he'l Tyburn adorn.

The Scotch-Covenanters to rouse up our Knaves,
hath given us a Signet, as they did before;
When the Bishop's brains against the Coach-Naves
they dash'd out, to shew what a God they adore:

¹ Whig candidates for the post of Sheriffs of London and Middlesex in 1684.

² Slingsby Bethell, immortalised as Shimei in Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel,' was sheriff of London in 1680 with Henry Cornish for his colleague.

³ Tony, *i.e.* Anthony Ashley Cowper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

⁴ Captain Thomas Walcot, executed in 1683 on the charge of complicity in the Rye House Plot.

⁵ Stephen College, executed for high treason, August 31, 1681.

By th’ light of the Spirit, some sixty in number,
surpriz’d in their beds two of the King’s Guards;
Alive legg and limb they cut ’um asunder,
By Yea and Nay, Brother, they merit reward.

With the flesh on the points of their swords they retir’d
in Triumph, cry’d, This is the work of the Leard;
For this holy Murther by th’ Saints we were Hir’d,
Geud faith the next time let ’um stand on their guard.
Had they been the King and the Duke, we had glory’d,
and a Thanksgiving-day had been hum’d in our Kirk,
For their blood we do thirst, but their name we abhor it,
for we worship no King but the De’el and the Turk.

And thus they disperc’d with the blood of their prey,
in hopes of a better next time they do meet;
This is the Religion our Saints hopes to sway,
in murder and plunder thinks nothing more sweet.
But God bless the King, the Duke and the Dutchess,
for the Royal line let’s Fight to maintain
’Gainst all that upon the Prerogative touches,
conclude with this Health, let Charles ever Reign.

Printed for J. Deane, Bookseller, in Cranborn-street, near Newport-
house, in Leicester-fields.

A Northern Baronial House

'And Delgaty baith stout an' keen.'—*Old Ballad.*

IN the character of Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket Sir Walter Scott has sketched a marked type of the seventeenth century in Scotland. We can trace in actual soldiers of the time one or two of the features. The novelist acknowledges his obligations to Munro and Turner, Colonel Strachan perhaps suggested the county of the Lairdship as well as the surname of the 'Elias' who had acquired it, and Sir John Hurry—'a robust tall stately fellow with a long cut in his cheek'—the impartiality with which at a moment's notice Sir Dugald was ready to adopt either side, and his undoubted courage. The name, however, must have been taken from the real Dalgetty (so Saint Serf writes Delgaty) who was also a 'renowned Colonel,' had been 'bred at the warres,' and was 'a gentleman of invincible resolution.' There the similarity ends, and to carry it further would be unjust to the real historical figure and to Sir Walter, who, in the *Legend*, makes Montrose speak of 'my gallant friend Colonel Hay.' Sir William Hay of Delgaty was no impoverished owner of a miserable lairdship in a barren Kincardine moor, but the lord of a stately baronial castle, of broad acres, and a following to suit; he was no rough soldier of fortune, but the constant companion, the devoted friend, and the heroic fellow-sufferer of the cultured and chivalrous Montrose. Sprung from one of the most high-spirited of Scottish houses, 'the gallant Hays,' he was near of succession to his chief, the Lord High Constable of Scotland, and during the Earl of Erroll's minority it was to him that the duty fell of summoning their vassals to the field, and apparently of deciding the policy of at least the northern Hays during the momentous period of 'The Troubles.'

The history of the house of Delgaty, so far as it can now be traced, is illustrative of the times and of a phase of Scottish sentiment that has perhaps received less attention than it

merits. It discloses a back eddy of the great conflict that the Reformation initiated over northern Europe, and indicates some of the hidden forces that helped to mould events during the Civil Wars. It was long before the Highlands as a whole became Protestant, and a thick veil enshrouds the process by which districts that were practically outside the Presbyterian pale at the Revolution were imbued a century and a half later, even more thoroughly than the Lowlands, with the highest form of Presbyterian ecclesiastical tradition. The process, that must have been gradual in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, had also been a gradual one in the north-eastern Lowlands in the seventeenth, and we have considerable insight into its features from the old Presbytery and Synod books. It combined conviction with compulsion. For long after the establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk by statute, the old faith had powerful adherents in the north-east, and the Catholic lords were strong enough to try a fall with their opponents. On the field of Corrichie the Regent Moray broke for the time the power of the House of Huntly, but thirty-two years later the combined forces of Lord Huntly and Lord Erroll, on the braes of Glenlivet, defeated the large army of Argyll, and in King James's words 'sent him hame some like a subject.' The old ballad of the battle of Balrinnes opens with the reflection :

'The ministers I fear
A bluidy browst hae brewn,'

and records how amid the array of the northern cavaliers

'Andrew Gray upon ane horse
Betwixt the battles rade,
Making the sign of halie cross,
In manus tuas he said.'

The Earl of Erroll who fought at Glenlivet survived till 1631, and is described by Spalding as 'a truly noble man, of a great and courageous spirit, who had great troubles in his time, which he stoutly and honourably still carried, and now in favour died in peace with God and man, and a loyal subject to the king, to the great grief of his kin and friends.' His son only survived him for five years, having 'lived in so splendid a manner that he was obliged to dispose of his paternal estate of Erroll granted to his family by William the Lyon.' His heir was a minor when the Civil War broke out, and his age, the diminution of the estates, and the concentration of the family

interests in the north probably account for the facts that the great name of Erroll scarcely appears in the records of the Troubles, and that the leadership of the Erroll following was assigned to Hay of Delgaty in Aberdeenshire, rather than to Hay of Leys, the oldest cadet, or Hay of Dronlaw the immediate younger branch of Erroll, from which the Hays of Delgaty had in their turn sprung.

The Hays of Delgaty had followed their chief in continued adherence to the old faith for long after the Reformation, and were intimately allied with another outstanding Catholic family, the Leslies of Balquhain. Their seat was the grand old castle of Delgaty, near Turriff, which remains one of the finest specimens yet inhabited of the baronial mansion. The notices of the family are scattered and disconnected, but it is possible to trace the generations.

Sir Thomas Hay of Erroll, who died in 1406, and was the great-grandfather of the first Earl of Erroll, had married Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord of the Isles, by Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert II. Their second son, Sir Gilbert of Dronlaw, who appears as witness to a charter by his chief in 1436, was the ancestor of the Hays of Dronlaw, Delgaty in Aberdeenshire, and Park in Galloway. In 1470 Elizabeth of Balhelvy, with consent of Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, her husband, gave sasine of the lands of Ardendraught and Auchleuchries to William Hay, son of Alexander Hay of Dronlaw, her brother.¹ These lands are situated not far from Lord Erroll's castle of Slains in the parish of Cruden in the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire, and the superiority of them at least long remained in the hands of the Hays of Delgaty. In 1492 Johnston of Caskieben and others were ordered to pay a heavy fine to William Hay of Ardendraught for burning the house of Ardendraught in Cruden. On 9th June, 1494, there is an indenture between Gilbert Hay of Delgaty and John Cheyne of Essilmont, while on 1st April, 1497, Alexander Waus, prebendary of Turriff, granted a charter of Kakinche to Gilbert Hay of Delgaty, son and apparent heir of William Hay of Ardendrath. There appear to have been money difficulties, for the bond to Essilmont appears in 1501, in 1503, and 1504; there was a reversion, and a redemption of Delgaty, and it was not till 26th April, 1503, that Gilbert Hay

¹ *Auchleuchries Charters* in Appendix to the *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, Spalding Club.

was formally returned as heir to William Hay in the lands of Ardendraught and Auchleuchries. In October, 1501, he was a witness to an indenture between the Earl of Erroll and Keith of Inverugie, and to a perambulation of marches between the lands of Fechil and Tibbertay. His chief was, on the 9th of September, 1513, 'slain with King James IV. and 87 gentlemen of his own family name,' on the fatal field of Flodden. Whether the Laird of Delgaty was among the eighty-seven is not known, but he was not likely to fail his chief and king. His name occurs for the last time in 1512, and in 1522 Alexander Hay appears as superior of Auchleuchries.

In 1540 Alexander Hay of Delgaty received a charter of Ardendraught from Lord Glamis: on 3rd June, 1546, he is named one of Lord Erroll's referees in 'a bond' between Lord Huntly and Lord Erroll 'anent the marriage of John Gordon and Effem Hay,' and in 1548 he was present at the Court of the *Vice comitatus* of Aberdeen. He is named in charters granted to George, sixth Earl of Erroll, in December, 1541, as fourth in succession to the lands of Erroll, and was married to Janet, daughter of the sixth Lord Forbes, and widow of John, Earl of Atholl. She survived him, and married a third husband, William Leslie of Balquhain, who saved the cathedral of Aberdeen from destruction at the Reformation. Alexander Hay's second son, Thomas, was a Knight of St. John, Secretary to Queen Mary, and Abbot of Glenluce. He obtained part of the Abbey lands at the Reformation and founded the family of Park.

In 1556 there is a charter of Ardgeyth to William Hay of Delgaty, in 1579 Alexander Hay of Delgaty paid £1000 as 'caution that his brother, Father John Hay, should go abroad,' and in 1580 a charter of Ardgrain was given to a William Hay of Delgaty. In 1589 there is a sasine to William Hay of Delgaty, grandson and heir of William Hay of Delgaty and Ardendraught, of the superiority of Auchleuchries.

In 1617 Alexander Hay of Delgaty consented to a charter of Auchleuchries, and on 12th April, 1622, he and Dame Isobell Lesley, his spouse, are mentioned in a sasine of the superiority of Auchleuchries. In 1626 Alexander Hay acquired much of the Leslie property that had belonged to his relative the Baron of Balquhain by disposition from him, and in the following year he

parted with Fetternear, which had been for so short a time in his possession, to Balquhain's nephew, Abercromby of Westhall. In 1633 Alexander Hay of Delgaty, knight, is mentioned in the Book of the Annualrentaris and Wadsetteris,¹ and on 9th November, 1634, he granted a charter to his eldest son, William Hay of Delgaty, of Ardendraught, of the fishings of Cruden, and of the superiority of Auchleuchries. This William was the friend and follower of Montrose.

Sir Alexander Hay's name is found in connection with more exciting episodes than are commemorated in charters and sasines. The alliance of his family with the house of Forbes, who were the most zealous of the great Reforming families of the north, had existed prior to the Reformation. The Laird of Delgaty's brother, Father John Hay, for whom caution was given in 1579, was a member of the Society of Jesus, and author of a Latin work published at Antwerp in 1605, under the title *De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruvianis Epistolae recentiores a Io. Hayo Delgatiensi Scoto Soc. Jesu in librum unum conservatae*. On the occasion of the battle of Glenlivet, the Earl of Erroll had mustered his men at Turriff, in the near vicinity of Delgaty, and was doubtless followed to the field by his kinsman. Certain it is that the family, like their relatives the Leslies, adhered to the old church. In 1622 Balfour mentions 'the Laird of Delgatie' as 'one of the most scandalous and irregular of the adversaries of the Truth,' and in 1625 he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh and fined because he would not go to the Protestant meetings.

The first occasion on which William Hay's name appears with his father's is in connection with an event long remembered in the north. They were among the witnesses summoned to Edinburgh in the investigation into the burning of Fren-draught. It was in convoying Fren-draught and his friends home in safety from an attack threatened by Leslie of Pit-caple, that Lord Aboyne and John Gordon of Rothiemay had found their way to the fatal tower, and the cavalcade had passed 'without sight of Pitcaple by the way.' It would seem that it was thought desirable to account for the proceedings of the Leslies that night, and 'the Laird of Delgatie and William apparent heir' deponed that that afternoon they supped at Pitcaple, rode on afterwards to Balquhain, slept there, left at nine o'clock next morning, and came to Pitcaple about twelve

¹ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. iii.

o'clock. The widow of the unfortunate Aboyne was their kinswoman—

'O Sophia Hay, Sophia Hay,
Bonnie Sophia was her name.'

The burning of Frendraught happened in 1630: on 13th November, 1634, Alexander Hay of Delgaty was summoned by the Privy Council to give evidence about the disorders in the north. It was just before that he had granted the charter of the estates in Cruden to his son, who either before or after that date must have gained the experience of Continental campaigns indicated in the statement that he was 'bred at the warres.' When he succeeded to Delgaty is uncertain, but he married Dorothy Bruce of Pittarthy, and was probably in possession before the Civil Wars began.

When muskets began to be looked to and swords to be sharpened in the year 1639, the Earl of Erroll was a minor, but his people rose in the Covenanting interest 'under conduct of the Laird Delgatie.' They assembled at Kintore, marched into Aberdeen, and met the well-appointed army which 'the Tables' had sent north under the Earl of Montrose 'in kindlie manner.' Delgaty was present at a meeting at Turriff on 26th April, and along with the Laird of Towie Barclay plundered muskets from the young Laird of Cromarty, the famous Sir Thomas Urquhart. More serious work was in store. On the 13th of May, for the first time, swords were crossed and blood drawn in 'the Trot of Turriff.' In the early dawn of a spring morning the volley and charge of the Cavalier Gordons swept the associated Covenanters before them out of the village, but Delgaty seems to have done his best to stem the ebbing tide of battle. 'Albeit,' says the Parson of Rothiemay,¹ 'Sir William Keith of Ludquharn, a resolute gentleman, and Sir William Hay of Delgatie, a gentleman bred at the warres, called to the most resolute of their side, and did all that in them lay for to breathe courage in their comrades and keep off the Gordons, who were pressing hard to enter, yet all was in vain.' The author of *Britane's Distemper*² indicates that Delgaty did his duty well, though not without misgivings. 'Delgatie,' he says, 'being their leader, drew them up in order of battel, albeit he was there against his will, being in his heart Royalist.' He singles him out along with Ludquharn and his son as retaining their presence of mind in the panic

¹ James Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, ii. p. 258.

² Patrick Gordon's *Britane's Distemper*, p. 20.

which ensued. 'All these three strive to encourage them, first by fair persuasions and then by threttings to rally them, but all in vaine.' Hay and Keith seem to have lost no time in endeavouring to repair the disaster, for a fortnight later they took 'the place of Foveran,' and on 25th May Delgaty was present with other Covenanters in Aberdeen.

Sir William Hay is next found under different auspices and amid other companions. 'The Barons' war' was past; the Pacification of Berwick had come and gone; the King had paid his visit to his northern kingdom; the defensive National Covenant had been succeeded by the aggressive Solemn League and Covenant; Cavaliers and Roundheads were fighting hard in England; and Montrose, with whom Delgaty had been previously associated, had raised the Royal Standard on Scottish soil. Like many northern Cavaliers, Sir William had attached himself to the Royal forces in the north of England. He accompanied Montrose in his first abortive effort to penetrate into Scotland. On 11th February, 1645, a Decreet of Forfaultor passed in the Scots Estates against the Earls of Montrose, Nithsdale, and others 'for the Invasion in the South.' Among the others was Hay of Delgaty, and the charges set out no inconsiderable military activity. It was matter of accusation

1. That they joined with the Marquis of Newcastle in England, against the Scottish army sent out of this country, and took Dumfries in April last.
2. That they joined with Colonel Clavering, an avowed and notorious enemy of the Parliament of England, and took Morpeth, garrisoned by Colonel Somerville.
3. That they took the fort on the Tyne at South Shields garrisoned by Captain T. Rutherford.
4. That they had persisted in arms with the popish, prelatial, and malignant partie in England.

They were cited at the Market Cross of Edinburgh and Pier and Shore of Leith on 11th June, 1644. Eleven days after the forfeiture a *signator* was ordered to be passed in favour of James Hay of Moirefauld of the lands and barony of Delgatie upon the resignation of William Hay of Delgatie. His name does not appear in the decree of forfeiture of the same date for 'the Invasion in the North,' the reason being that Montrose had not then been joined by the companions of his campaign with the English Cavaliers. Spalding records that on the 11th of April the Laird of Delgatie's arms, along with those of Lord

Gordon and others, 'wes revin at the Cross of Edinburgh, thaimselfis declairit traitouris to their countrie, and thair landis foirfaultit for following the King. Strange to sie!'

The victories of Montrose had, however, fired the blood of the Scottish Cavaliers in England, and inspired them to one of the most daring enterprises recorded in the history of the Civil War. Before long he was joined by the Laird of Delgaty, Lord Aboyne, the Master of Napier, and the Laird of Keir younger, 'who with the Earl of Niddisdail and Lord Herries had broken out of Carlisle with about 28 horse throw David Leslie's army desperatlie, yet happillie saif and sound.' 'Thus,' adds Spalding, 'Aboyne, Naper, Delgatie and Keir came into Montrose's beyond Dee, who was all joyful of others.'¹ Patrick Gordon describes the exploit with more detail. 'Aboyne,' he writes, 'takes with him 16 gentlemen who did there attend upon him, and issued out of the town about the shooting in of the night: he passes by the court of gard, charges through the strong watch, and being all well mounted makes himself away through their inner and outer sentries at full gallop. You may imagine how this charge coming at unawares bred divers apprehensions amongst them, and that with such confusion that he was passed their reach before they knew what he was resolved upon. Efter him they sent forth a partie, but followed not far, being glaid they saw no hopes of his returne, and thereby was rid of such mad and desperate adventurers.'²

From that time forward Delgaty seems to have accompanied Montrose, his valour and experience being of great service. He was wounded in the triumphant strife of Alford, and when Middleton was pressing close upon the retreating Royalists, Delgaty was among the 70 or 80 of 'Montrose's bravest men' who were left to dispute the passage of the river near Inverness 'with invincible resolution.' He, or perhaps his son, remained in Scotland when Montrose left the country, for 'William Hay of Delgatie and his mother' are found on 25th January, 1647, in the 'Roll of those to whom the Major-General (Middleton) has given remissions and assurances upon their enacting themselves betwixt and the 1st of November, 1646.' His lands were among those which authority was given to stent on 16th March, 1649.

Sir William Hay was with Montrose in his last campaign in the north of Scotland. Along with Lord Frendraught, Colonel Hurry, and others he was taken prisoner after the rout at Inver-

¹ Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles*, ii. 469.

² *Britane's Distemper*, 119.

carron, and brought to Edinburgh to meet his doom. He had in April, with Sophia and Anne Hay, his daughters, been excommunicated 'for poperie' by the Synod of Aberdeen. The Records of Parliament of 14th May, 1650, contain the entry: 'The dec^{et} of forfaulter aganis the Laird Delgatie redd, and the Estaitts declares that the s^d dec^t w^t executione to follow there-upon shall not prejudge the Earl of Erroll of his right to poⁿ of his estait, and orders this to be extendit in form of ane act.' On the 23rd of May 'the House' notes Balfour 'ordained the prisoners taken at Harbister, as the Viscount of Fren draught, Mr. James Hay, brother to the Laird of Naughton, Major St. Claire, Sir W^m. Hay of Delgatie, etc., that are as yet not come to Edinburgh to be written for to be sent thither, with this especial provision that if such as has them in custody lets them escape, the keepers to be answerable on their peril for them.' On the 31st the 'report anent Sir W^m. Hay of Delgaty Baronet, who was forefaulted by the Parliament in St. Andrews *anno* 1645, and excommunicated thereafter for popery was ratified'; and it is recorded that Delgaty, on being asked if he had anything to say in bar of sentence, said nothing but that he had gone to the King for a pass, and was by him 'commanded to attend James Graham to this country.' The procedure was summary in respect of the previous forfeiture, and a precedent for that followed years after in the case of the second Argyll, and he was sentenced to be beheaded on the 4th of June. On that day 'the Estaitts of Parl^t continued the executione of the L. Dalgetie till fryday next.'

On the 7th the execution took place. Spottiswoode and Hurry had preceded, and Colonel Sibbald accompanied Delgaty on the scaffold. 'The next couple,' says the biographer of Montrose,¹ 'was Sir Francis (*sic*) Hay of Dalgety and Colonel Sibbald, than whom the nation could not afford two persons more accomplished both in body and mind. The first being a Roman Catholic in his religion, and therefore not coming within the compass of the Ministers' prayers, without speaking a word to any body, but throwing some papers out of his pocket, took off his doublet, kissed the fatal instrument, kneeled down and received the blow. The other with a little more composure smiled, and talked a while to the disorderly rabble about him, then with an undaunted behaviour he marched up to the block, as if he had been to act the part of a gallant in a play.'

¹ Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 322.

The last request of Delgaty, knowing that the mutilated trunk of Montrose had been consigned to the felons' sepulture in the Borough Muir, was that he might be buried in the same grave, and this was given effect. Eleven years later the Records of Parliament again have references to the names of the victims 'most cruelly murdered' in 1650. On 4th January, 1661, 'The king's Matie's Com^r Represented unto the Parliament That it was his Matie's expresse pleasure, that the bodies bones and head of the late Marquesse of Montrose, and Sir W^m. Hay of Delgatie should be gathered and honourably buried at his M's expense, whairwith the Estaits of Parliament being well satisfied, Did by ane unanimous vote appoint the Magistrates of Edinburgh to sie his M's will and pleasure herein punctually observed, and that they take the advice of the present Marquis of Montrose as to the manner of it.' In the 'Relation of the True Funerals of the Great Lord Marquesse of Montrose His Majesty's Lord High Commissioner and Captain-General of his Forces in Scotland, and of the renowned Knight Sir William Hay of Dalgetty,' Saintserf, the Secretary of Montrose, refers to the desire of the deceased cavalier, which was then for the second time being given effect, in these quaint words: 'We shall show the honour done to the memory of that renowned Colonel Sir William Hay of Dalgetty, who suffering martyrdom with him in the same cause, ambitioned his funeral under the same infamous gibbet, prophetically certain that he might participate with him the same honour at his first bodily resurrection.' With all the pomp of heraldry, while the guns of the castle salvoed, and the troops fired 'excellent vollies of shot,' the bodies of the two cavaliers were, on 11th May, 1661, laid in the aisle or chapel of St. Giles' Church, which still bears the name of the Montrose Aisle. Saintserf has preserved the names of the relatives and friends who attended specially to do honour to the Laird of Delgaty. 'The corps of Sir William Hay of Dalgetty followed in this order:—Captain George Hay son to Sir John Hay late Clerk Register carried the Standard of Honour: William Ferguson of Badifurrow the Gampheon: Master John Hay the Pinsel of Honour: Alexander Hay the Spurs and Sword of Honour: Master Harie Hay the Croslet: Master Andrew Hay the Gauntlets.

'Next followed his four branches: Hay—House of Errol carried by Alexander Hay: Lesly—House of Bonwhoyne (Balquhain) by George Lesly of Chapelton: Forbes—of the House of Forbes by Forbes of Lesly: Hay—of Dalgetty by Robert Hay of Park.

‘Two close trumpets in mourning.

‘Then the corpse garnished with scutcheons and epitaphs attended by

‘The Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland ; the Earls of Buchan, Tweedale, Dumfries, Kinghorn : the Viscount of Frendraught : The Lords Rae, Fraser, Forrester : Master Robert Hay of Dronlaw, George Hay of Kininmonth, with a multitude of the name of Hay and other relations.’

Thus were the two comrades laid to rest, near to the hall where they had heard their doom, and the Tolbooth where they had awaited the summons to ‘the great gibbet of thirty feet high’ that stood beyond the church between the Cross and the Tron.

After the erection of the Montrose Memorial in 1888, a mural tablet was placed on the wall of the Montrose aisle, in accordance with the precedent of the Montrose Monument, by the descendants of those present at the ceremony of 1661 in connection with Sir William Hay’s obsequies, by others of his name, and a few otherwise interested. It is placed directly under the large window, the frame being of red sandstone, and the inscription slab of grey marble with gilt lettering. The arms of Sir William Hay and his wife Dorothy Bruce of Pittarthy surmount the tablet, and on either side is carved the ox yoke which was the crest of his branch of the family. The inscription, rendered in Latin by Professor Ramsay, runs :

IN HONOREM
GULIELMI HAY DE DELGATY EQUITIS

QUI AD CRUCEM EDINENSEM
ULTIMUM PERTULIT SUPPLICIUM
A.D. VII. ID. JAN. A.D. 1650.
REGI DEDITUS DUCIQUE
ID SOLUM MORIENS OBSECRAVIT
UT CUM DUCE ILLO DILECTISSIMO
MORTUUS JACERET.
CUJUS COMPOS VOTI
HIC SEPULTUS EST
A.D. XI. ID. MAI A.D. 1661.
A COGNATIS AMICISQUE
QUORUM POSTERI
HOC MONUMENTUM POSUERUNT
A.D. 1888.

Time Deum. Regem honorificate.

Sir William Hay had a son, William, who succeeded him in the estate of Delgaty, and was for a short time (1687) Bishop of Moray. His daughter and heiress married Cuthbert of Castlehill, but during part of the eighteenth century the lands of Delgaty were in possession of the Earls of Erroll. There was a ratification to Lord Erroll of the Lands and Barony of Delgaty in 1701 and in 1722. Mary, Countess of Erroll, with consent of her husband, Mr. Alexander Hay of Delgaty—by birth a Falconer—granted a precept in favour of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, the son of the famous General of Peter the Great. Delgaty passed from the Erroll family about 1762. The standing of the house during its period of power and prosperity is testified by the old distich :

‘There be six great barons of the North,
Fyvie, Findlater and Philorth ;
And if ye wad ken the other three,
Pitsligo, Drum, and Delgatie.’

JAMES FERGUSON.

Saint Maolrubha¹

S. MAOLRUBHA or Sagart Ruadh (both names mean the *Red Priest*) stands out in history as one of the most interesting of the missionaries to the Picts of Alba (Scotland). He was himself a Pict on the mother's side. He laboured in Alba during the latter part of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century.

Both the name and the history of Maolrubha have been greatly confused by historical writers. Either among a non-Pictish branch of the Celts, or owing to popular fancy, the name Sagart Ruadh came to run concurrently with the Pictish name Maolrubha. For example, in the parish of Lairg² the Saint is popularly known as Sagart Ruadh, while the parish Church has always been known as S. Ma-rui's,³ and the island on Loch Shin where the ancient cell stood is 'Innis Ma-rui.'

The two names misled some of the Roman Catholic writers, and even so great an authority as Dr. Reeves,⁴ into supposing that Maolrubha and Sagart Ruadh were different persons. The Roman Catholic writers also confused Maolrubha with S. Rufus of Capua.⁵ Dr. Reeves identified Sagart Ruadh with a certain

¹ *Maol* in old Irish. Also *mael*. Welsh *moil*=bald. This is the spelling in the account of the mothers of Irish saints. Some Irish and modern Gaelic writers spell the name *Maelruadh*. Tighernac's spelling is *Maelruba*. There is evidence that in the Roman Catholic period the *bh* was not aspirated; but sounded, sometimes as a *v* and sometimes as an *f*. Those who used the latter sound assimilated the latter half of the name as nearly as possible to Rufus and took *rubha*, *rúfus*, and *ruadh* as equivalents. Whether the *bh* in *rubha* is due to Latin influence on the Celtic, or represents a development from Indo-European *dh* parallel to *f* in provincial Latin, I leave to specialists.

² Cf. *History of the Parish of Lairg*, by Rev. D. Macrae. p. 10.

³ Cf. Dr. Hew Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*

⁴ Dr. Reeves contributed a paper to the Antiquarian Society on S. Maolrubha in 1862. He had previously dealt with the saint in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* in 1849. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. pp. 258-296.

⁵ Cf. *Breviary of Aberdeen*. S. Rufus' day is August 27.

Gilla-Patrick the Red, a reputed ancestor of certain Ross-shire lairds.¹ These Ross-shire lairds, however, claimed descent not only from Gilla-Patrick the Red, but from Maolrubha or Sagart Ruadh himself. This claim we can quite understand and explain when we remember that those who made it held Maolrubha's lands of Applecross, to which they had to profess some sort of title.²

Dr. Reeves,³ at the outset of his inquiries, prevented himself from recognising that 'Sagart Ruadh' is the later Gaelic-speaking people's variant of the Saint's name, by interpreting 'Maolrubha' as either 'Servant of Patience' or 'Servant of the Promontory.' 'Maolrubha' means, The Tonsured-one with the Red-hair, or with the Ruddy complexion.

There is more in this name 'Maolrubha' than is conveyed to an English ear. One of the secondary meanings of *Maol* refers to the bare forehead.⁴ The Picts applied the name with this sense to the *bald* brow of a mountain, and the name still survives in many districts.

When we recollect that the Celtic tonsure was from ear to ear, we can fully appreciate the appropriateness and historical

¹ I understand that two of the families concerned did not thank Dr. Reeves for his laboured attempt to identify the Sagart Ruadh with Gilla-Patrick the Red. If Dr. Reeves had been correct the origin of these families would have been put about 500 years later than is reputed.

A Sutherland family also claimed descent from Maolrubha. While the Ross-shire lairds claim through a daughter, the Sutherland laird claimed through a son. Needless to add, the Sutherland laird also held land belonging to a church of Maolrubha.

² Both the Rosses and the MacKenzies claim descent from Sagart Ruadh of Applecross. Each family has its own peculiar tradition. The tradition of the MacKenzies, being the later, is the more impossible and fanciful of the two.

Evidently when the Vikings made Applecross untenable as a religious centre the O'Beollans, the ancestors of the Rosses, usurped the rights and powers of the Ab.

³ Cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. 1862, and *Irish Ecc. Journal*, 1849. Dr. Reeves was unintentionally misled by information supplied by Dr. Skene. He was also further misled by some folk-gossip collected and supplied to him by the minister of Lochcarron.

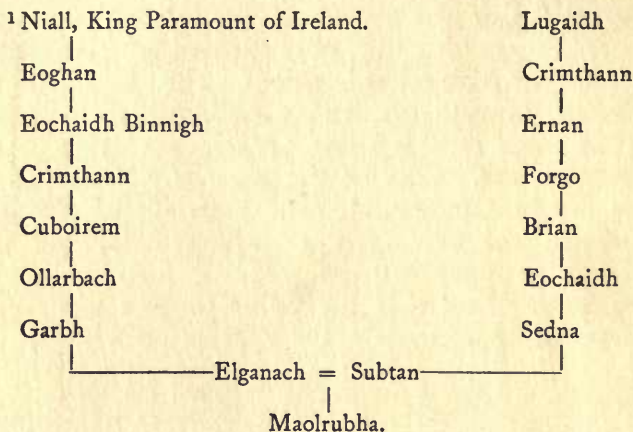
⁴ The early Irish shaved the heads of all captives or slaves. The shaving was a token of servility. Hence *Maol*, apart from the tonsure, would be very appropriate to those who were followers of Him who took upon Himself the 'form of a servant,' and, who rejoiced in being servants of the servants of God.

Cf. Dr. Reeves' interpretation of *Maol*, and MacBain's hypothetical *Mag(u)lo* = servile, short-haired, bald.

value of the name 'Maol-rubha.' It is a name which in no way suggests the hollow tonsure of the Latin Church, and could not be accurately suggested by it.

MAOLRUBHA'S FAMILY AND ORIGIN.

Maolrubha's ancestors on both sides can be traced to about the year 398 A.D. He was of the Irish Royal line, being descended on his father's side from Niall, Sovereign Paramount



of Ireland. Consequently he shared the same blood as Aidan, King of the Scots of Dalriada, and S. Columba.

In all likelihood the popularity of Maolrubha in Argyll was due more to his lineage than to his message. He was attracted to Argyll by the descendants of the conquered Picts; but he appears to have won also the affections of the people of Dalriadic origin.

More influential on Maolrubha than the Royal blood of his father's people was the saintly strain of his mother's family. His mother, Subtan,² was a niece of S. Comgall the Great of Benchar (Bangor).

S. Comgall had been trained with S. Columba under S. Mobhi in the famous religious house of Glasnevin. Ultimately, S. Comgall surpassed S. Mobhi in popular favour and founded

¹ See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. 1862.

² Cf. Feilere of Aengus. The genitive Suaibsech in the tract on the *Mothers of Irish Saints* is a variant, not a scribe's error.

It is interesting to note that colloquially the Gaelic people vary the name Susan into Su'an and Susac to this day.

the College and Retreat of Benchar where S. Columbanus and many other great missionaries were trained.

It is worth while for the critical historian to note the relations between S. Columba (Columcille) and the great Pictish teacher S. Comgall, when we remember that one of S. Columba's objects in going to Alba was to help the Dalriads¹ to assert themselves against the Picts, who had very nearly driven them back to Ireland in 560 A.D.² People usually forget that Columcille had a diplomatic as well as a religious mission to Alba.

It is suggestive to find S. Comgall associated with S. Columba while he was a student, and also, journeying with him to Alba and to the Pictish court there, but finally, finding it necessary to return permanently to Ireland; and equally suggestive that we find Maolrubha, his nephew, passing northward on the same coast as Iona and founding a great religious centre of his own, close to localities worked from Iona.

Maolrubha was born in the district to the north-west of Loch Neagh,³ in the territory of the Cinel Eoghain, his father's clan. Some remains of an early settlement still survive in the traditional locality.

Under the influence of his mother, whom he greatly loved, he went to the religious house of Benchar to be trained under one of the successors of the venerable S. Comgall.

In consequence of the slip of an annotator in the *Kalendar of Marian Gorman*,⁴ Maolrubha has been represented as Ab of Benchar.⁵ This was not the case; but Maolrubha, on quitting Benchar, left as missionary-Ab in a *muinntir* of his own.

Maolrubha was twenty-nine years of age when he left Ireland for Scotland, at the head of the usual *muinntir*, or college of workers. For two years he moved about, mostly in Argyll; became acquainted with his new country; planted certain churches; and, at the end of this period, established his *muinntir* at Abercrossan⁶ in the western territory of the Picts.

¹ Cf. S. Berchan's prophecy.

² Gabhran of Dalriada, grandson of Fergus Mhor, was slain, and the Dalriads were driven into Kintyre by one of the Brudes; see *Chronicles Picts and Scots* 67, and Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 79.

³ In Derry.

⁴ The tradition and note misled several of the annalists.

⁵ Dr. Reeves points out that in the list of Abbots recited in the *Antiphony of Benchar* Maolrubha's name does not exist.

⁶ Applecross in the west of Ross. Why should this name not be changed to its proper form?

Like S. Donnan he passed the gates of Iona as the leader of an independent religious community. He made his headquarters in a district where no Dalriad would be welcome.

CHURCHES FOUNDED ON THE JOURNEY TO ABERCROSSAN.

S. Maolrubha landed in Scotland on the peninsula of Kintyre. One tradition claims Islay as his first landing place. There was a Perthshire tradition that he passed eastwards from Argyll as far as Strath-Bran and Dunkeld. This tradition is no longer available in any reasonable form.

There is abundant evidence, however, to indicate that he spent the two years between his landing and the founding of Abercrossan in planting certain churches which lie between Kintyre and the mountains which flank Glen-Shiel on the southern border of Ross. These churches, so far as traceable, were at

Kilmarow (spelling 1697), in Killean and Kilchenzie.

Kilarrow in Islay (Kilmolrew, 1500).

Kilmalrew¹ in the peninsula of Craignish.

The old church site in Stra'lachlan,² Loch-Fyne.

'Cill Mha'ru', Eilean-an-t-sagairt, Muckairn.

'Cill Ma'ru', the ancient church of Arisaig.

The dates of the original churches of these places lie between 671 A.D. and 673 A.D.

Muckairn has always been specially associated with S. Maolrubha in the old Lorn traditions. It was here that he had his headquarters when, as is said, he crossed into Perthshire.

Maolrubha's cell was on Eilean-an-t-sagairt in the Lochanan Dubha near the modern farmhouse of 'Kilvaru'. The old people had memories of a small churchyard on this farm.

At the 'iil of Kilmolru,' Campbell of Cawdor³ received the allegiance of the Clan 'Dunlaves'⁴ sworn on the 'Mess buik' and the 'relic callit Arwachyll.'⁵

¹ Spelling in old document.

² Rev. J. Campbell MacGregor says that no remains of this church survive.

³ Cf. *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 129.

⁴ Livingstones, communicated by Rev. G. D. MacIntosh.

⁵ Air a bhacul.

This relic¹ was not the bachul of S. Maolrubha, but the bachul of S. Moluag of Lismore. The Livingstones were its hereditary custodians. The clansman who held it was 'Baron Bhacul,' and it was transmitted from father to son with great care.

S. MAOLRUBHA'S SETTLEMENT IN APPLECROSS.

During his wanderings in the territories to the north of Argyll, S. Maolrubha became acquainted with Abercrossan. He selected the strath of the stream anciently called 'Abhainn Crossan' to be the permanent headquarters of his *muinntir*. Here also he planted his chief Church. There is no record of the motives that dictated his choice, but we can clearly see the wisdom of it.

He would be in the midst of a purely Pictish people. The very name *Abercrossan* is a testimony to the length of time that this territory remained Pictish. The little bay is sheltered from the fury of the greater storms that sweep the Minch; and the land is not opened up by any arm of the sea that would have invited the Frisian Vikings,² who had already visited the northern coasts. Unfriendly tribes in the interior, and hostile Dalriads in the south, were shut out by the mountains that screen the strath of the Crossan from landsmen everywhere.

The Gaelic-speaking people call the present parish of Applecross 'a' Chomraich,³ the Sanctuary. In the case of Abercrossan this name was not interpreted as an asylum for refugees seeking a fair trial merely, but as the territory divided off, to belong to S. Maolrubha, and to be under his jurisdiction.⁴ We see this especially in the claims made by Ross-shire laymen after the destruction of the Celtic Church to the lands known as

¹The late Duke of Argyll long envied the Bachul. He used to address Mr. Livingstone of Lismore, the holder of the relic, as 'my lord.' His Grace told a friend of the writer that Livingstone was the oldest peer in the realm, being a Baron of the kingdom of the Scots of Dalriada. The Bachul is now at Inveraray.

²The people who martyred Maolrubha are called *Danes* in the Scottish documents.

³From a root signifying defence or warding off.

⁴The persistent and peculiar Gaelic idiom for 'in Applecross' testifies to this. It is always 'air a' Chomraich'; see Watson's *Place Names of Ross*, p. 201.

'a' Chomraich Mhaolru.' They supported these claims by professing descent from the great Abbot.

When it is remembered that no Celtic churchman, not even Columcille, has left such a persistent and commanding memory of power and virtue as S. Maolrubha among the Highlanders, Abercrossan deserves to be venerated among the most sacred spots in Scotland. The Vikings made the work of the Celtic missionaries impossible; they checked Celtic civilisation and reduced northern and western Scotland to barbarism; they changed place-names everywhere, and modified the speech of the Celts; but they were unable to obliterate, even where they were most supreme, the memory of the great and earnest man who ministered to half a kingdom from the banks of the Crossan. From his church in the little Strath he carried the Gospel into territories unvisited by other missionaries, or kept the faith alive where it was threatened by new race movements. From Cape Wrath to the Mull of Kintyre, and from the Hebrides to Banffshire the power of his presence and word must have been intensely felt, because they have been intensely remembered.

S. MAOLRUBHA'S JOURNEY TO THE ISLANDS.

Probably S. Maolrubha's journey through Skye and across to Lewis was his first missionary effort from Abercrossan. Skye lies over against Abercrossan, separated by a narrow sound. The Saint left very vivid memories in Skye, and the two ferries from the island to Abercrossan still bear his name.¹

The old settlement at Portree grew up around a church of S. Tarlogan. S. Maolrubha either reorganised this church or planted another. His name is as persistently associated with Portree as S. Tarlogan's.

In the Roman Catholic period S. Maolrubha was still venerated at Portree. The 'Féill Mharui,'² Maolrubha's festival, used to be regularly celebrated on the first Tuesday of September.

¹ Churches had been planted in Skye by Columba, Donnan, and Donnan's disciple, Tarlogan.

² The Féill degenerated into a market latterly. At Portree, as in many other places, the Roman clergy confounded S. Maolrubha with S. Rufus of Capua. The Féill was originally held on S. Rufus day (27th Aug.). The market which took the place of the festival was held for convenience on the first Tuesday of September. Cf. *Aberdeen Prognostication*, 1703.

Another place in Skye connected with S. Maolrubha's landings or leavings is Aiseag, three miles northward from Kyleakin. The older natives called it Aiseag Ma-Rui', Maolrubha's Ferry.¹ Here Maolrubha planted a church. Like the mother-church it had a stretch of 'sacred' territory, only of less extent. The Church² and precincts afforded sanctuary to refugees.

Near the old church-site is Tobar Ma-Rui', frequented of old by sick folk, who, to effect a cure, had to reach the well after sunrise and to leave before sunset, but not without depositing an offering.

In the vicinity is the rock, Creag-na-Leabhair—Rock of the Book. The ancient traditions say that here S. Maolrubha used to read the Gospel. On a tree near by he hung a bell, which, the people said, rang-in the Sabbath, and marked the hours of service without any promptings from man. In the Roman period this bell was removed to the church, Cill-Chriosd, in the same district, where it remained dumb ever after.

Another of the saint's churches was Cill-Ma-rui',³ on the Strath-Aird side of Loch Slapin. Evidently the Vikings found this church flourishing when they settled in the district, because they called the settlement 'Kirkabost.'⁴ Cross-marked stones have been found near this church. At Elgol, on the way to one of Prince Charlie's caves, there is an ancient churchyard where other cross-marked stones were found.

Higher up on the west coast of Skye, at the head of Loch Eynort, is a church ruin still called 'Kilmalrui.' Near it is another church of the Roman period, evidently built to take the place of S. Maolrubha's Church at some time after it had become decayed. From this latter Church there is in the Scottish Antiquarian Museum a sculptured font, with a representation of the Crucifixion.⁵

At Sartle, in Trotternish, near Quiraing, is an ancient churchyard where the natives say a Church, founded by S. Maolrubha, stood. Beside it was a healing well, called Tober-an-Dòmhnach, to which people used to resort for cures.

¹ 'Aiseag Maolrubha, Aite iomallach an domhain'—Maolrubha's Ferry, a place on the brink of the world. Compare a saying of similar import, also originally Gaelic, 'Out of the world, into Kippen.'

² The church has disappeared, but the churchyard is still used by the people of Strath.

³ Kilmaree.

⁴ Kirktown.

⁵ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. viii. p. 230.

S. Columba and S. Donnan both laboured in Skye. Either their work was undone, or Christianity had deteriorated, because S. Maolrubha's Churches form a chain round the entire island.

The only place in Lewis which has retained the name of Maolrubha is the site of an ancient Church on the Harris side of Loch Seaforth.

S. MAOLRUBHA'S EASTWARD JOURNEY.

S. Maolrubha's eastward journey took him along a line approximately represented by the Dingwall and Kyle of Lochalsh railway. He has left no traces about Inverness, so we may assume that he ferried over from the Black Isle to Moray, and pressed eastward as far as Keith. Here is his most easterly Church.

This is nearly as far as S. Donnan travelled on *his* eastward journey. As there was no geographical hindrance to either of these missionary enthusiasts carrying their work as far as the Aberdeenshire coast, we may accept various items of evidence which indicate that there was no religious need for them there. The ancient Celto-Pictish church of Buchan, with its well-established centres at Deer and Turriff, appears to have maintained an organised ministry to the eastward of the Deveron Valley.

The chain of S. Maolrubha's churches stretching eastward from the mother-church is represented by

Lohcarron,
Contin,
Urquhart, on the Cromarty Firth,
Forres,
Rafford,
Keith.

Lohcarron¹ village used to be called Clachan Ma-Rui'. The ancient graveyard is called Cladh a' Clachain. Not far from the manse is Suidhe Ma-Rui'.² Near the village, on the right bank of the Burn of the Waterfall,³ are some ruins that mark a place

¹ At Courthill in this parish, beside Cnoc a' mhòid, was S. Donnan's chapel and burial-ground.

² As in the case of the Suidhe Donnain in Kildonan, S., preaching, reading the Gospel, delivering judgment, and resting have all been associated in tradition with the *seats* of S. Maolrubha.

³ The Tao'udal water.

called Teampull—very likely, originally, a Cell of S. Maolrubha, or of a deputy from his *muinntir*. To the westward somewhat, is Alltan an-t-Sagairt, Priest's rivulet.

The occurrence of the Cell ruins called Teampull, and the name *Sagart* at this spot, are interesting, because we will find the same features exactly reproduced far away in Sutherland, where S. Maolrubha was martyred.

Nothing remains of the church which S. Maolrubha founded at Contin.¹ This place used to be a much more important centre than it is now. Near Jamestown there is a consecrated spot called Praes Ma-Rui'—Maolrubha's grove, a burial-place of the Coul family. Féill Ma-Rui' used to be celebrated at Contin before it was transferred to Dingwall.

In the parish of Urquhart, in the Black Isle, there is the site of a well-known Church planted by S. Maolrubha. It is interesting to note that the name Urquhart is compounded of *air* and *Cardden*,² meaning 'before the wood,' or simply 'woodside.' Let it also be noted that although Urquhart is geographically in Easter Ross, it was from 1476, and very likely for a considerable time previous, reckoned to be in *Nairn* for administrative purposes.³ These two facts, as we shall see, evidently helped to mislead the Aberdeen Breviarist⁴ when he thought that Urquhart was the place where S. Maolrubha was martyred.

¹ Is Tarvie in Contin = 'place of Bulls,' one of the spots where the people in comparatively recent times sacrificed Bulls to 'Mourie'?

There is an old Ross-shire tradition which says that the Islesmen massacred a hundred men and women of Ross who sought sanctuary in S. Maolrubha's church, Contin.

The *Aberdeen Breviary* says that the people massacred were holding the Saint's festival.

² Dr. MacBain and also Mr. Watson.

³ In 1430 the King confirmed certain lands in Urquhart to Donald, Thane of Cawdor.

In 1476 William, Thane of Cawdor, had the former lands and others granted to him, and incorporated into 'unum et integrum thanagium de Culdor,' with all the liberties and privileges of a barony.

⁴ Dr. Reeves says, evidently with the Breviarist in his mind, that it is difficult to avoid believing that he founded on traditions 'comparatively recent and debased.'

It would seem to the writer that more than one hand compiled the part of the *Aberdeen Breviary* which relates to S. Maolrubha.

Internal evidence indicates that one of the scribes had heard the old and accurate traditions about S. Maolrubha's death, but he misinterpreted, misunderstood, and misapplied them.

At Forres S. Maolrubha's Church is forgotten. His festival, however, was celebrated down to recent times under the name of 'Samarive's' fair on the 27th August.¹

There is an old tradition that the original church of Rafford was founded by S. Maolrubha.

The flourishing town of Keith has remembered S. Maolrubha as the founder of its first Church, but has forgotten the half of its own name. It used to be known as Keth of Ma-Rui', just as we have seen that a place in Skye was Aiseag Ma-Rui'. In a charter of the time of Alexander II. the town is called 'Keth-Mal Ruf.' The festival of the Saint became latterly the Keith market. It was held on the first Tuesday¹ of September under the name of 'Samarive's Fair,' as at Forres.

S. MAOLRUBHA'S NORTHERN JOURNEY.

This journey was his last. His churches are :

The chapel on Eilean Ma-rui' in Loch Maree.

An untraceable church about the head of the Easter Carron.

The chapel on Innis Ma-rui' in Loch Shin, Lairg.

The original church of Durness in the north of Sutherland.

The ancient chapel at Farr Parish Church.

The Teampull at Skail in Strathnaver.

Apparently S. Maolrubha first sought to work his way northward by the west coast. His day was kept by Lochbroom people; but no church remains have yet been brought to light in that parish associated with S. Maolrubha. In the parish of Gairloch, on the other hand, he not only had a Church, but was nearly as much venerated as in Abercrossan. Probably the settlements of heathen Vikings on the north-west coast barred S. Maolrubha's way northward.

On his northward journey S. Maolrubha revives the plan which he had adopted in Muckairn. He places two of his churches on islands in inland lakes. This suggests the presence of hostile forces, most likely Vikings who had begun to use the Straths in passing from the east to the west coast.

¹ See the *Aberdeen Prognostication*, 1703. See Dr. Reeves for the date of the Forres festival.

Traces of S. Maolrubha's Gairloch Church on Isle Ma-rui' are still apparent. Near it was a well noted for its virtues. There is also an ancient burial-ground.¹

The people of the three parishes of Loch Carron, Applecross, and Gairloch appear to have tried the patience of the ministers of the Reformed Church rather severely. They refused to forget Maolrubha in spite of the obliterating influences of the devastating Vikings and turbulent clans. Sometimes, alongside the simple tradition of his work as a religious teacher, we find him represented as a god,² sometimes as an undefined hero.

It is interesting and informative that the debasing of Maolrubha's name did not take place at the mother Church of Abercrossan, but at the Church on Isle 'Mourie' in Loch Maree.

In 1656 the Presbytery of Dingwall took proceedings against parishioners of Applecross and Loch Carron for sacrificing bulls³ at the Loch of 'Mourie' (Maree). These sacrifices were for the 'derilans'⁴ of Mourie. 'Derilans'⁵ seems to mean the possessed or the afflicted ones.

Within living memory barbarous cruelties were practised on epileptics, and other ailing folk at Loch Maree, followed by certain unrevealed rites at the church of S. Maolrubha on Isle Ma-rui'.

A reliable account⁶ has been given of an afflicted girl who was made to drink of the waters of S. Maolrubha's well on Isle Ma-rui' and then immersed in the loch and towed through the water. Instead of being cured the poor girl was made insane. It is regrettable that these barbarities should have been associated with one whose name in other parts of the Highlands is always linked with a benevolent and popular ministry.

When S. Maolrubha turned from the west coast track to the north, he struck north by east. Judging from the ecclesiastical remains, he would take the old track eastwards from

¹The name among the coast-living people for Loch Maree was Loch Ew. Possibly this preference was due to Scandinavian influences.

Although Timothy Pont uses the name *Ew* in 1662, the Presbytery of Dingwall about the same time use the name *Loch Mourie*.

²'The god Mourie.'

³For bull sacrifices, cf. *History of Burghead*.

⁴'Mourie his derilans.' See Records of Presbytery of Dingwall, 1656.

⁵Gaelic *dearail*=wretched, feeble; *deàrlan*=brimful.

⁶Contributed to the *Inverness Courier*.

Torrison which joins the Strath-Carron Road at the east of Loch 'Chroisg¹ (Rosque). Two places on this road bore the name Suidhe Ma-Rui'. One was between Torrison and Kinlochewe, the other was close to Loch 'Chroisg. Near the second Suidhe was a cross-marked stone. The general name of the spot is Bad a' Mhanaich—the Monk's Thicket.

From the road between Achnasheen and Dingwall S. Maolrubha probably turned northward at Garve, where there was one of the very old Christian settlements of Ross.²

The next traces of the Saint are said to be on the eastern Carron.³

Though we cannot tell where precisely S. Maolrubha crossed easter Strath Carron, we know that he must have passed the original church which S. Ninian founded about the mouth of the Carron Valley and out of which the later Abbey of Fearn developed.

Northward across the Oykell S. Maolrubha reached Loch Shin. There on Innis Ma-rui' he planted the first Church of the parish of Lairg.⁴

The road along Loch Shin leads away north-westward to Durness, the parish in which is Cape Wrath. The original Church of this parish was founded by S. Maolrubha. It is said to have been at Bal-na-Chille (Kirktown).

On the island of Hoan, to the west of the mouth of Loch Erribol, in this district, there was an ancient Cell the name of which has been forgotten. The burial-ground is still traceable.

Along the north coast to the eastward at the bottom of Strath Naver, formerly known in English as 'Stra' Nawarn,'⁵

¹From the existence of the cross-marked stone here this loch was almost certainly originally Loch of the Cross rather than Loch of the Crasg or Crossing. We may be sure that it had its name before the drovers regarded it as a 'crasg' on their way to the Lowlands.

²Cill-Fhin at the west end of Loch Garve.

³Unless these are about Amad na h-Eglais, now Amat, I cannot discover them.

⁴This is the first place where the writer had his attention drawn to the people speaking of the saint as Ma-rui' or Sagart-ruadh indifferently, while the church has always been S. Ma-rui''s, and the island on Loch Shin, Innis Ma-rui'.

⁵Stra' Nair' or Stra' Na'rⁿ in modern native speech. Strath Nawarne, 1427. Straith Navern, v=w, 1499. Stranavern, 1515, and in Bishop Pococke's *Tour* (1760)—Loch Nevern, Strath Nevern, v=w. Lieutenant Campbell's *Survey* (1794)—Loch Navern.

stands the parish Church of Farr. The chapel that preceded the Church was founded by S. Maolrubha.

In the churchyard stands one of the most interesting and beautiful of the sculptured stones of Scotland.

An island that formerly existed between the Clachan burn and the churchyard has long been known as Eilean tigh an t-Sagairt—*island of the house of the Priest*.

About nine miles up Strath Naver (or Nawarn) from Farr stands the last cell that S. Maolrubha occupied. It is called *Teampull*, and this and the other names strikingly suggest S. Maolrubha's other *Teampull* in Loch Carron. The little eminence close by has been called at various times 'Cnoçkan,' 'Cnocan an t-Sagairt,' and 'Cnocan an t-Sagairt-rhuaidh.' There is a thread of water from a spring called 'Alltan an t-Sagairt.'

There is an unique feature in this *Teampull*. Instead of being a simple bee-hive cell, it is a bee-hive cell against the inside wall of an older Pictish building. It was described to the writer by a skilled archaeologist who saw it over thirty years ago, when the cell was more entire, as 'a bee-hive shaped structure inside a rounded building of Early Pictish type.' Both the exterior building and the cell have been greatly tampered with by people looking for handy stones.¹

In the neighbourhood of the *Teampull* S. Maolrubha was slain by Viking invaders. The old traditions represented the actual spot as being 'at a woodside.' Whether speaking descriptively or using a proper name, this would be represented in Celtic speech by *Uair-Chard*² or *Air-Garaidh*³—in front of the wood or thicket.³ Twice, different Strath-Naver men have pointed out the upper end of the wood below Skail as the traditional place where S. Maolrubha was slain.

The following place-names ought to be carefully noted in view of the old traditions (which appear to have been known to the Aberdeen Breviarist) that S. Maolrubha was slain *before a wood*, and his body dragged into the *thickets*.

¹ A story related to the writer by a crofter in 1906 deserves to be recorded. Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Secretary for Scotland visited Skail. He heard of a crofter who was using the *Teampull* as a quarry. He immediately called the nearest crofters together and under threat of instant proceedings cautioned them against lifting a single stone from the Temple.

² *Uair Chard* would be the older, and *Air-Garaidh* the later Celtic form.

³ A cottage site near *Teampull* still perpetuates the name 'Woodhead.'

The district below Teampull was known colloquially before the 'Clearances' as *Air-Garaidh*, the Wood-front. The whole wood was named from one part of it—*Sron air-garaidh*,¹ the Point on the Wood-front. A piece of land some distance below Skaill is still known as *Ach air-garaidh*, the field of the Woodfront.

S. Maolrubha was buried close by the side of the beautiful river Naver (or Nairⁿ) within a few hundred yards of the Teampull. The grave is marked by a rough cross-marked stone.² The Cross is incised and of a simple early type. It stands in significant contrast to the beautiful Cross at the bottom of the Strath, vindicating to the eye of the archaeologist its right to mark S. Maolrubha's resting-place.

In olden times this sacred spot was surrounded by a low wall which has completely disappeared. The struggling crofter reaps his corn up to the edge of the small plot where the venerated Saint sleeps unheeding. The crofter is only the tenant of the surrounding land, but he protects the little spot reverently. The landlord is the richest Government in the world, represented by the Congested Districts Board for Scotland. Some day, perhaps, the British Treasury will enclose the grave of the brave martyr whose long mission was peace, and who was known to his countrymen as 'Maolrubha naemh,' Maolrubha the holy.

S. MAOLRUBHA'S DEATH AS RELATED IN SCOTTISH WRITINGS.

The account of S. Maolrubha's death in Scottish writings is mistaken and misleading. Yet, judging from internal evidences, one of the authors of the principal account, in the lessons of the *Breviary* of Aberdeen, appears to have had an accurate knowledge of the main part of the ancient oral traditions concerning the Saint's death and burial.

The simple unvarying ancient tradition which survived the Clearances was that Maolrubha or Sagart Ruaidh, when an old man, was attacked and slain by Scandinavians³ in 'Nairⁿ' or 'Nairⁿ,' at a woodside, and buried near where he fell.

¹ *Chard* and *Garaidh* have both the meaning of *thickets*. Cf. Reeves translating the *Aberdeen Breviary* on S. Maolrubha—'dragged his body into the *thickets*.' Cf. Pont's *Stroncherry* in Blaeu's *Atlas*.

² The stone has been very much chipped and broken by natives taking pieces as relics or charms.

The writer has seen several such pieces in various hands far away from *Stra' Nair'*.

³ Or Danes.

The only Roman Catholic writer who correctly understood the locality indicated in that tradition was David Camerarius.¹ Unfortunately, by a slip, he notes the tradition not opposite Maolrubha or Sagart Ruadh, but opposite Dunanis (S. Donnan, whose principal church is in the next valley to where Maolrubha suffered. Donnan's parish extends to within a few miles of Maolrubha's grave). The entry of Camerarius is 'July 19, 670.² Coelo ipsum dedit Strath Navernia³ Scotiae provincia sub Christi annum 670.'⁴ We can easily see that it is S. Maolrubha's entry and not S. Donnan's that Camerarius is making, because in parts of Ross and Sutherland S. Maolrubha was celebrated towards the end of July, as suited local convenience.⁵ The Bollandists, who were advised by a native of Ross, enter the Saint opposite the 27th of July, but notice him under the 27th August for his works.

That the writer already referred to in the *Breviary* of Aberdeen also knew the simple ancient tradition, although his geographical limitations led him astray, is evident, because he fixes on Urquhart⁶ (= Woodside) as the place of the Saint's death. Although Urquhart is in Easter Ross geographically, it was under the jurisdiction of *Nairn* of Moray, and had the appearance of being in harmony with the tradition. The Breviarist overlooked the fact that Urquhart of Ross did not fall into Nairn until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, whereas S. Maolrubha suffered in 722, before there was a county of Nairn.

The *Breviary* tells also that a wooden chapel was erected where S. Maolrubha was slain, and that his body was carried to Applecross for burial.

¹ *De Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate*, 1631.

² S. Donnan's day is 17th April (617).

³ V = w.

⁴ 670 is an error. It was not the year of Maolrubha's death, but the year quoted roughly for his birth, which took place in 671.

⁵ S. Finbarr's festival was changed twice—once by an Earl of Sutherland, again by the Scottish Parliament. It was put a whole month out.

⁶ The Breviarist was not aware that there is strong evidence that Urquhart was not a place-name in E. Ross when S. Maolrubha was slain.

It seems to be an imported name. The accounts say that the parish and place took its name from one of the Urquharts who settled in E. Ross from Loch-Ness side.

The Urquharts themselves claim to be descended from the keeper of Urquhart Castle on Loch-Ness. This keeper, Conachar by name, did not flourish until the end of the twelfth century. Cf. *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, by William Mackay, of Inverness, p. 11.

Wm. Urquhart, of Cromartie, is mentioned as sheriff of that county in the lists ordered by Edward I.

Memorial chapels were not the early Celtic practice. In S. Maolrubha's day the primitive dry-stone Teampull rather than a wooden erection was the fashion in the Highlands.

There has long been a fanciful story to explain the different 'Seats' of S. Maolrubha. It was said that his body was rested at these several places on the way to Applecross. The 'Seats' are so situated that they do not suit this story. Doubtless the Saint's body did rest upon them, but not his corpse.

Partly through following the *Breviary*, and partly through a misinterpretation of *Cladh Ma-Rui*, the story that S. Maolrubha was buried at Applecross has been widely believed by those who were ignorant of his grave in Na^rⁿ of Sutherland.

We may see the misinterpretation taking form in the twentieth century. An inquirer goes to a native and asks, 'What do you call this churchyard in Gaelic?' The native answers 'Cladh¹ Ma-Rui.' 'What is "Cladh?"' asks the inquirer. 'A digging, a grave, a burial-place,' responds the native. 'O yes, burial-place of Maolrubha,' and the inquirer goes away satisfied. Next time we hear of this inquirer is in print, where he asserts that the natives say that S. Maolrubha is *buried* at Applecross, and that he has stood at the place where he is interred.

One wonders how often this misconstruction has been put upon the speech of the native during the centuries that have gone. It must have happened very frequently, because we find similar wrong ideas about the burial-places of SS. Donnan, Ronan, Moluoc, and others.

'Cladh Ma Rui' is the burying-place by the church originally 'blessed' by S. Maolrubha, not the place where S. Maolrubha is interred.

The tradition that the pagan Vikings² who martyred S. Maolrubha 'landed in the East of Ross' affects in no way the account of the Saint's death in Strath-Na^rⁿ. We cannot interpret mediaeval ideas of the North by a modern map of Scotland. 'Ross' was a vague term used until comparatively

¹ Cladh = churchyard. Early Irish, a trench.

² Dr. Reeves takes serious objection to the story of a Danish inroad in East Ross so early as 722, because the first Danish invasion of England is dated 787.

But the Scandinavians and later Danes were not the only Vikings who invaded and even settled in the north and east of Scotland.

The archaeologist finds traces of Frisians who invaded the north of Scotland long before the end of the eighth century.

S. Donnan was martyred by Vikings in 617.

See also the expeditions to the north recorded by Nennius.

recent times to include every district north of Moray that was not in Caithness. Sutherland was the south land of the Catti, and ecclesiastically it was reckoned in Caithness. It was not the territory we now see on a modern map, but the strip of coast from Helmsdale to Dornoch, with a very narrow hinterland. The territories behind had often more communion with Ross proper than any other district. One old writer speaks of 'Roosia' as being on the south and the 'Orchades' to the east of 'Cathania,' as if Ross marched with Caithness. On this idea Stra'-Nairⁿ would lie on the eastern side of Ross.

We have already noticed that the *Aberdeen Breviary* confounds S. Maolrubha with S. Rufus of Capua.

Adam King in his *Kalendar*, probably by a personal slip, or a scribe's error, enters S. Maolrubha as martyred 'be ye daneis at Marne in Scot.'

Thomas Dempster in the *Menelogium*¹ enters—'Julius xxvii.² Marnae Malrubi Eremitae et Martyris a Danis interfecti.' In adopting Adam King's error, Dempster was probably misled by the popularity of S. Rufus, the historical double of S. Maolrubha in the Mearns district, to which he belonged.

Bishop Keith,³ who also belonged to the Mearns, but who, from his knowledge of Scotland generally could hardly help knowing the original tradition about S. Maolrubha, realised that Adam King had made a mistake, and corrected Marne to *Nairn*.

The Bollandists,⁴ who had the great advantage of a competent native correspondent and inquirer, were seemingly so unconvinced (as well they might be) that S. Maolrubha had suffered in Nairn of Moray, or in the outlying portion of Nairn, where Urquhart of Ross lies, that in despair they left the place of his martyrdom as it had been entered in Adam King's *Kalendar*, interpreting it as 'Marnia or Mernis.'

THE IRISH RECORDS AND S. MAOLRUBHA'S DEATH.

Tighernac⁵ records the Saint's death as follows: 'Maelruba in Apercrossan, anno lxxx etatis suae et tribus mensibus et xix

¹ 1622.

² The customary date was exactly a month later, but doubtless Dempster adopted the date on which S. Rufus was celebrated in Forfar and the Mearns.

³ *Account of the First Planting of Christianity in Scotland* (1755).

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. tom. vi. pp. 131, 132. . . . 'narravit mihi P. Macra noster eis in oris missionarius et amicus meus.'

⁵ *Tighernac and Annals of Ulster, Four Masters, 732.*

diebus peractis in xi Kal. Maii tertie ferie die pausat.' His death took place in the year 722 A.D.

Dr. Reeves was much troubled to find in the Irish writings an account so exact as to time, without mention of any of the details of the Saint's death familiar to the Scottish writers.

When we try to picture eighth century communication between Teampull in Stra' Na'rⁿ and Abercrossan, and again between Abercrossan and Ireland, we can quite realise that the Annalists at first might only hear the bare fact of the Saint's death, and may have waited for details that never came; or, if they came, were never recorded.

We can see that either might well have resulted when we recall that Failbe, son of Guaire, successor of S. Maolrubha, was drowned in the open sea in 737 with twenty-two of his sailors. With Failbe and his people a store of information would certainly be lost.

Then, at a later date, Abercrossan itself was plundered by Vikings, who perished with their booty 'in a calm sea.'¹ This booty would in all likelihood include the records.

Again, for some unexplained reason, the annals of the mother-church of Benchar were not available to several of the Irish writers; because the scribe of *Tamlacht*, the annotator in the *Kalendar* of Gorman, the O'Clerys in the *Kalendar* of Donegal, and the *Four Masters* all describe the Saint as Ab of Benchar.

It is only fair to the Irish Annalists to note that S. Maolrubha died after fifty-one years of tireless, isolated work in the remotest part of distant Alba. He must have outlived many of his contemporaries, and some must have forgotten the exact story of his younger days. He appears never to have revisited Ireland; although he kept up correspondence with the mother-church of Bangor.

There is a tradition in Ireland of the great love that he had for Subtan, his mother. Under the 21st April in the *Felire of Aengus* we have:

'Inalpain conglaine,
Jarlcud cechsuba,
Luid uainn conamathair
Armbrathair Maelruba.'

In Alba in shining purity,²
Having relinquished all happiness,³
Went from us to⁴ his mother,
Our brother Maelruba.

¹ *Breviary* of Aberdeen.

² Pure, with the idea of brightness. Cf. *γενεiv* and *clean* all from the same root.

³ Suba = joy

⁴ Or *to be with*.

S. MAOLRUBHA IN MODERN LIFE.

It will seem like importing the prose of political experimenting into the region of Christian romance and heroism, to mention the Congested Districts Board of Scotland along with S. Maolrubha.

Yet there were many people of respectable twentieth century education who feared that in their efforts to re-people Strath Naver (Stra' Na^rⁿ) the Congested Districts Board would be the indirect agent in evicting S. Maolrubha from his grave at Skail (Teampull).

The fear arose in this way. It appears that S. Maolrubha, while he preached in the valley, prophesied that the time would come when the clansmen would be driven out of the valley as a punishment for their sins, and would not be allowed to return until his bones were washed to the sea, from their resting-place by the cross-marked stone.

The people have treasured this prophecy, and it has added great interest to the grave of the Saint. Every Highlander knows, of course, how the first part of the prophecy was fulfilled in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

After the 'Clearances' the River Naver (Na^rⁿ) cut into its left bank above S. Maolrubha's grave and threatened to wash the sacred dust to the sea.

A sheep farmer who held the best of the land from which the people had been driven away, took alarm. He did not want the people to come back, to reoccupy the cleared ground where his sheep wandered; so he constructed a substantial outwork of stones and brushwood, and turned the current of the Naver to a more auspicious direction.

The upper part of the Strath has been re-peopled within recent years, but the river still leaves Sagart Ruadh's bones in peace.

The bard of the Mackay country voices the unsatisfied, who would like to see the Saint's bones in the ocean.

'Then sweep, Naver! sweep, for the dark clouds are hovering,
Towering in masses on corrie and steep,
Tear the Red Priest from his fern-shadowed covering
And bear him away to the sonorous deep.

Then softly shall stream the red beams of the sunset
Over Strath Naver when peopled again,
And the glory of peace for poor hearts shall be won yet,
And they who are sad shall yet sing love's refrain.

And the blue smoke shall curl yet from many a dwelling,
 And love shall go wandering beneath the green trees,
 And happiness float on the breezes soft swelling
 From the low wooded hills to the storm-circled seas.¹

One other curious reminiscence of S. Maolrubha has been preserved. Just as we have seen the Ross-shire lairds claiming connection with S. Maolrubha, through an alleged daughter, for the sake of the church lands of Abercrossan, so we find in Durness and Farr a family who claimed connection with S. Maolrubha through an alleged son. This family bore the name of *Reid*,² which was a translation, under Scandinavian influence, of their ancient name of Rubha or Ruadh.

The Reids appear to have owned property that at one time had been ecclesiastical; but they not only used their alleged descent from S. Maolrubha to infest themselves in the property, but also to justify them in holding a *spiritual* ascendancy over the people. They were laymen, but they claimed the right to some sort of ministry. They seem to have anticipated 'the Men.'

So troublesome were they to the regular clergy in the Roman Catholic period that the Bishop of the diocese had to come to terms with them, and on one occasion one of them was ordained to a regular charge. The descendants of these Reids were scattered after the 'Clearances,' and some of them are to be found in the various colonies of the Empire, and some of them in the great cities at home.

The writer does not believe in the claims, either of the Rosses, the MacKenzies, the Reids, or the MacDonalds to be connected by blood with S. Maolrubha, but these claims are interesting to the historian and the archaeologist, and deserve to be recorded.

ARCHIBALD B. SCOTT.

¹ These verses were taken from an interesting little work on Lairg, where they were quoted by the author, the Rev. D. Macrae, B.D. The verses are by 'Bard Dutach Mhic Aoidh.'

² My attention was drawn to the story of the Reids by the Rev. J. K. MacLean, Lairg, who was minister of Farr, a parish which was of old in Durness, and which now contains Strath Naver, where S. Maolrubha was slain, and where he lies buried.

Chronicle of Lanercost¹

AFTER so evil a fate as the death of their king, the magnates of the realm of Scotland, adopting sound counsel for themselves, elected from the prelates A.D. 1285. as well as the nobles, Guardians of the Peace for the community, until such time as it should be made clear by deliberation what person should be accepted for such rule. They governed the country for six years, transacting the affairs of the people, and, before all, of the Lady Queen, widow of Alexander, assigning a portion as her terce. But she, resorting to feminine craft, was pretending to be pregnant, in order to cause patriots to postpone their decision, and that she might more readily attract popularity to herself. But just as a woman's cunning always turns out wretchedly in the end, so she disquieted the land with her pretences from the day of the King's death till the feast of the Purification,² nor would she admit respectable matrons to examine her condition; [and], in order that she might return ignominy upon those from whom she had received reverence and honour, she determined to deceive the nation for ever by foisting on herself the child of another. She caused a new font to be made of white marble, and she contrived to have the son of a play-actor to be brought [to her] so that it might pass for hers; and when as many as collected to dance by license [in honour of] so important an accouchement had come to Stirling (the place where the aforesaid lady was staying) at the time for her to be brought to bed (which she herself had arranged beforehand), her fraud was detected and revealed by the sagacity of William of Buchan, to the confusion of all present, and to all those willing to trust

¹ See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174.

² 2nd February.

* * * *Erratum*. Stanehouse, referred to *S.H.R.* vi. 186, was not, as suggested in the footnote, Stonehouse in Lanarkshire, but Stenhouse in Larbert Parish, Stirlingshire.

her who heard of it afterwards.¹ Thus did she, who was first attracted from over the sea only by the prospect of wealth and was united to the King in marriage, depart from the country with shame. That I have said so much about the fidelity of women is my reason for adding another instance in a different matter.

Four years before this time there befel something else which, out of reverence for God's name and worship, must not be concealed. Certain scholars, residing at Oxford for the purpose of study, yielded themselves to sleep one of these days after supper. One of them, less careful about his comfort than the rest, but as merry and lively as the rest, went to his usual bed in some upper chamber. About midnight his companions were alarmed to hear him shouting, striking and gnashing his teeth, and roused their fellow-lodgers. Hastening to his bedside they found the man speechless, behaving as if on the point of death; but, which is very wonderful, his whole body presented such a horrible appearance that you would have believed him to be a filthy Ethiopian rather than a Christian. And so, as all of them thought that his peril was urgent, one of them of more fervid faith than the others, exclaimed: 'Let one of us begin the holy gospel of God according to John, and I hope it will relieve the sick man.' Whereupon the others, stimulated by faith, began to recite the holy gospel in parts, because they did not know the whole of it; and lo! the evil spirit having gone out of him, in the hearing of them all, shook to the ground the great stone stair which led to the door of the chamber, leaving after his exit such a stench that they almost thought they would be suffocated. The sick man, however, restored to life by the sound of the holy words, shortly afterwards returned from the sooty appearance to his natural looks. This was related by a trustworthy person who was among them, and saw, heard and noted [the occurrence], and first of all pronounced [the words of] the gospel.

In the same year, on the sixth day of the week before the nativity of S. John the Baptist,² there occurred at Bywell, near Newcastle, something which ought to be remembered. There was in that place a married man, steward to the Lady of *Vallnor*, who under cover of his office had acquired many things dishonestly, and enriched himself from the property of others. Arriving at the close of life, he was advised by a

¹ For *confodere* in Stevenson's text read *confidere*.

² 19th June.

priest that, among other things to be settled by the dying man, he should provide out of his property for the redemption of his soul. The one firmly insisted upon this, and the other on the contrary denied it, besides swearing falsely that he had nothing to make a will about, and could scarcely be persuaded to bestow sparingly part of each of his different kinds of property, saying: 'Whatever is over I commend to Satan.' After the close of his life, while his body was being carried to the church, and the funeral feast was being made ready in the house for the neighbours by the son and the servants, suddenly fire burst out from his house, which was towards the western part of the town, and consumed the whole buildings on either side of the street, following the body towards the east so swiftly that the mass to be celebrated for him could scarcely be fully performed, nor could the wretched corpse be committed to the grave with the proper rites. Nay, but the devouring flame even consumed two large and beautiful parish churches, all their contents being burnt, one [being] S. Peter's, where he [the dead man] was committed to the earth, the other, S. Andrew's. And inasmuch as the wind had increased in violence, a ball of fire crossed the adjacent river and reduced to ashes two villages distant half a league. These facts were known to the whole country, and to myself also, who shortly afterwards beheld the traces of conflagration, and was instructed very fully about the event by the inhabitants.¹

About the same time, or a little before, it happened in Lunedale, in the diocese of York, that a certain widower, who was called Clerk of the Chapter, was accused, and falsely, by a certain woman, of having plighted troth² with her in youth upon oath, as she pretended. The clerk, however, being summoned, denied it altogether, although freely confessing that when he was young and lustful he had committed common fornication with her. But he was deemed by all his acquaintances so worthy of credit that he could by no means assent to the falsehood. Therefore a day was assigned for the woman to prove her charge; while the Episcopal judge, as well as the Dean and the rest, urged the clerk not to conceal

¹ Bywell, on the North Tyne, consists of two parishes, Bywell-St. Andrew's and Bywell-St. Peter's, the churches being close together and locally known as the White church and the Black church respectively.

² *Praestita*.

the truth from them, and they themselves would provide means of escaping [the consequences]. He, on the contrary, became ever more immoveable, declaring and swearing that the affair was not otherwise [than he had stated]. At last, after many precautions and delays, the woman was brought up with the witnesses for her, and the duties of episcopal judge in this part of Lancashire were committed to a certain rural vicar who had formerly been Dean. And because he hesitated to accept the oath offered, believing it to be an afterthought, he publicly requested all present that they would unite in repeating before God the Lord's Prayer, so that He should grant them on that day that they should not proceed with an unjust cause. At this moment the woman, kneeling down, stretched out her hand to the book, when suddenly she fell upon the bosom of the said vicar, as if composing herself to sleep. But the vicar, thinking that she was trying to cajole him by such wanton behaviour (for she was beautifully adorned), said: 'Get up! why do you lie down thus? Finish what you have begun.' But when she gave no sign of feeling or movement, he raised her in his hands, and showed to all [present] that she was dead. He who told me this had it from the lips of the vicar who held the chapter.

In this year the Welsh again brought upon themselves misfortune, provoking afresh a royal expedition against themselves; and David himself, author of the mischief, was taken and slain (as you will find in the ninth chapter).¹

At this time on the vigil of S. John the Baptist,² William of Wykeham, Archbishop of York, came to Durham for a visitation, where he suffered an undignified repulse, not only from the monks but from the laity also, so that he thought he must appeal to arms. Which insult God beheld from on high, and, albeit he is slow to vengeance, yet he afterwards vindicated [himself] through Antony,³ who afterwards visited them severely enough.

In the same year, on All Souls Day, the body of Thomas, first Lord of Multon, was moved.⁴

¹ See page 180 *antea*.

² 23rd June.

³ Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham.

⁴ *Translatum. Corpus domini Thomæ de Multona primi.* The title *dominus* is ambiguous; sometimes it means a feudal lord, sometimes, merely an honorary prefix to a cleric's name.

In the same year John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, attacked vigorously the preaching friars¹ upon the unity of form.

At the octave of the Epiphany,² Antony Bek, King's Clerk, was consecrated Bishop of Durham in presence of my lord the King and the Queen and almost all the nobility A.D. 1286. of the land, not without great searching³ of conscience as to what kind [of person] should be appointed Christ's vicar and suffragan of His church.

On the following day, with the utmost rejoicing, they translated the relics of Archbishop S. William⁴ enclosed in a costly shrine, who when living was profligate for a time, but turned himself resolutely to righteousness.

About the same time, as he himself informed me, there lived at Rome a certain Minorite Friar of English birth, who, in travelling round the places of the saints, arrived one day after dinner at a house of virgins consecrated to God, erected in honour of S. Agnes. After he had inspected the church thereof, he found an old cardinal sitting with his [clergy] behind the high altar; who, the boards fixed to the back of the altar having been removed, was contemplating, for the strengthening of his faith, the body of the martyr without a taint of corruption consecrated to God; because this [cardinal] was perfectly faithful to God. When he had bedewed his face plentifully with tears, he uncovered the virgin [martyr's] countenance, which was hidden under a black veil, and beheld, with all [the others], the youthful features as it were of one sleeping, showing no hollows except at the point of the nose, and also the shoulders and fingers as flexible as they may be seen in a man lately dead and not long passed away. In addition, the arms and the body, which was not larger than that of a girl of twelve years old, were clothed with a tunic of some unknown white material, so fine [in texture] that none who beheld it could doubt that it was the raiment brought to her from heaven by angels.⁵ But if any one should be at the pains to collect the records of early times, he will find that

¹ *Prædicaciter* in Stevenson's text is probably a misreading for *prædicatores*. Peckham supported the doctrine of unity of form of Christ's body in the Eucharist, and was actively promulgating it at this time.

² 13th January.

³ *Singultus*.

⁴ William Fitzherbert, Archbishop of York, d. 1154, canonised in 1227.

⁵ The reference is to the miraculous robe which was brought to Agnes by angels when she was exposed naked in a brothel.

there were then completed one thousand years from the time of her martyrdom. These things therefore I have described in order that the reader may note by what a distance God separates the incorruptible sons of corruption from the sons of iniquity.

In the same year John Romanus returned consecrated by the Roman court.¹

In the same year King Edward of England sailed across to Gascony.

Nicholas the Fourth was created Pope after Honorius, and sat for four years, one month and twenty days. He A.D. 1287. was formerly called Jerome, being a Minorite Friar and Minister General of the Order, [and] Cardinal of La Sabina. As Head of the Church he displayed such humility as to discharge the guards² which his predecessors had for the protection of their persons, and caused jesters' bladders to be carried before him. So sincere a friend also was he of poverty that he entirely abandoned the suits of wealthy persons to his colleagues, and specially reserved for himself the suits of the poor. He granted privileges very seldom, and even these were insignificant; but he was most earnest in raising funds for an expedition to the Holy Land, wherefore he decreed that a sexennial tithe should be collected in every parish church for that purpose.

Because of the fame of this [Pope's] justice, the aforesaid Lord Archbishop of York hastened to his Court to lay before him the case of his church, and on the journey was struck down by fever at *Pountenei* and died, feeling that the thing in his life which he chiefly regretted was that he had received and consecrated an unworthy [Prior of] Durham.³ It is affirmed by very many persons that the truth of his life manifests itself in miracles at the place where he lies, and it is said to possess special benefit for fever patients.

My lady Eleanor, mother Queen of England, now, for Christ's sake, despised the withering flower of this world wherein she had formerly delighted, and on the feast of the Assumption⁴ was made a nun at Amesbury, where she had already dedicated

¹ As Archbishop of York, 1285.

² *Clavarios.*

³ Alluding to his controversy with Antony Bek over the subjection of Durham to the see of York

⁴ 15th August.

her own daughter to God. For love of her my lord the King, her son, increased the wealth of that house with large rents.

In the same year Risamaraduc, one of the most noble men of Wales, began hostilities against royalists, and especially the English. Wherefore my lord the King of England expended 15,050 pounds of silver upon infantry alone, besides the expenses of the nobles. He [Risamaraduc] was ultimately captured and drawn at York.

At this time the wall of Castle Droslan fell and crushed Sir William de Michens and the Baron of Stafford.

In the same year a certain esquire named Robert Chamberlain,¹ with his accomplices, set on fire the booths of tradesmen at S. Botulph's,² and, as the fire spread, he burnt down a great part of the town and the church of the Preaching Friars; and while the tradesmen exerted themselves to put out the fire so as to save their goods, they were slain by the said esquire and his people, and their goods were plundered.

There was such abundance of crops in England this year that a quarter of wheat was sold in some places for twenty pence, in others for sixteen and [in others] for twelve.

In the same year the Carmelite Friars changed their habit at Lincoln on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.³

Sir John de Vesci died and was buried at Alnwick.

In the same year there abode with us William Greenrig, who used to eat neither flesh nor fish; about whom H. said:

'You may not seek the monkish dress to wear,
Who cannot feed yourself on common fare?'⁴

Also about a certain malefactor, H.:

'For the sinner who fears not the keys of St. Peter,
Than death at the stake what reward can be meeter?'⁵

On the vigil of the Lord's Ascension⁶ the church of Gisburn in Cleveland was burnt by an unfortunate accident. For the plumber to whom was committed the duty of A.D. 1288. repairing the roof of the church had been employed in making

¹ Or Chambers, sc. *Camerarius*.

² Boston.

³ 14th September.

⁴ *Vivere sub veste non quaeras canonicali,
Commune more qui nequis, hortor, ali.*

⁵ *Qui se dant scelerei, claves Petrique vereri
Nolunt, terreri debent de morte rogi.*

In these couplets H.'s prosody is even more shaky than usual, at least according to classical standards.

⁶ 5th May.

good some defects about the bell tower. He had carelessly put a fire which he had for heating his tools near the timbers of the church, and when he went down to the lower buildings of the monastery had taken no heed to the danger. As the monks, having performed their solemn litanies, were returning through the fields and houses, fire broke out suddenly in the upper part of the tower, and as there was no remedy at hand, only a few valuables were got out and many thousand marks' worth was burnt.

There happened also something else to enhance the honour of S. Francis, which at that time had not become sufficiently well-known to the northern part of the English province.¹ A certain burgess in the town of Newcastle, who is alive at this day, Alexander Furbur [by name], contracted such a severe hot dropsy that he was given up by the physicians, and, from the swelling of his body, presented the appearance of a great tun, while his legs were beyond the compass of any leggings. This man, constrained between dread of praying and love of his children,² being ill-prepared to meet death, brought himself round to seek God's pardon and the help of the saints. By advice of his friends he caused himself to be measured³ with various saints upon whose assistance his hope more fully relied. And whereas he felt relief from the power of none of them, he made a vow to S. Francis that he would personally visit his tomb, if through his help he should recover the health he desired. In that very moment, therefore, he was affected by a flow of water so continuous that it never ceased running for the rest of that day and the whole of the following night, so that it sufficed to fill a very large tub. Hence the skin of his body became so loose through loss of flesh that, to the neighbours who gathered to view him he would stretch out his skin like a garment, and it seemed as if he could make himself leggings about his shins out of his own hide. Having thus recovered some degree of strength, straightway he set out upon

¹ Of Franciscans. The 'English province' was early divided into two parts, one being Scotland, the other England.—*Monumenta Franciscana* R.S. i. 32-3.

² *Inter timorem precaminum et amorem pignorum.*

³ *Mensurari*: a common form of invoking a saint's help. A string with which the saint's body had been measured was passed round the forehead of the sick person (see Camden Society's *Rishanger*, p. 152). Other explanation occurs in a late edition of Ducange, to the effect that a candle of the height of the sick person was placed in the saint's shrine.

a journey piously to fulfil his vow, and shewed forth the praises of God's saint in presence of many persons, returning home happy and healthy, having many witnesses, including myself, to this event.

On the other hand, I will relate something that may instruct posterity how great is the difference between God's service and worldly vanity. There lived at that time in the diocese of Glasgow a young cleric, strong and handsome, and beneficed out of the patrimony of Christ; but, as is to be deplored, more concerned in mind about getting into the company of rich men than about the cure of souls. He who neglects his own [soul], despises or vilifies that of another. And so this vain man, called Adam Urri, learned as a layman in lay law and disregarding God's precepts against Ulpian's *Prætorialia*,¹ used to employ the laws for litigation, lawsuits for quibbling, the statutes of the Emperors for pecuniary gain. But when he had become advanced in years and had become notorious for his villainy, and was endeavouring to involve the affairs of a certain poor widow in his toils, the divine mercy arrested him, chastising his body with a sudden infirmity and enlightening his mind so that he should discern more of hidden things and discourse of another life. For, lying in bed for four days and having made confession, he altered his intention of wronging the widow, foretold the day of his death, vehemently condemned the court of pleaders, and ordered his servant to come quickly to him, adding that just as he himself would go first on the Saturday, so he [the servant] would follow next Monday, just as the event turned out in the end.

At that time King Edward was staying in Gascony, and on a certain day when he and the queen, having met together in a chamber, were sitting conversing upon a couch, a flash of lightning entered a window behind them, and, passing between them, killed two domestics who were standing in their presence, they themselves remaining wholly unhurt. All the rest who were present were amazed on beholding what had happened, discerning that a miracle had not been wanting for the royal safety.

At this time on the fourteenth of the kalends of August,² Brother N. de Mor received the canonical habit. The Dominical letter was then C.

In the same year many of those who burnt Botelstane³ were hanged.

¹ Roman law.

² 19th July.

³ Boston.

The King of England returned from the lands of Gascony, whether he had gone to put down the sedition among
 A.D. 1289. the people of Bordeaux. For, having received there an embassy from Scotland urgently beseeching him that he would deign to assist them in their leaderless condition, and that he would take charge of their realm until they should succeed in getting a prince regularly elected, he set out with them to his native land, where he soon heard grave complaints about the corruption of the justiciaries of the province, who, in the king's absence, and blinded by bribes, had betrayed the justice of their country. Moreover, there were in collusion with them,¹ enfeoffed knights or beneficed clergy, whose misdeeds, when detected, brought much treasure into the royal store, that the Solomon's precept should be observed, who says in the twenty-second of Proverbs: 'He who oppresseth the poor to increase his own wealth, shall himself give to a richer man and come to want.' Those, then, that are greedy of fame and rob the poor, when they are adjudged punishment for the deeds they have done, lose also what they appeared justly to possess. This happened manifestly to these [persons], although I am unable to state the fine [inflicted upon] all of them, yet I know that one of them, a rector of Holy Church, paid to the king upwards of thirty pieces² of silver and as many carucates of land.

Concerning the Jews, I will relate an instance of their injustice occurring at this time, which may be of no small service to posterity against the crime of perjury and fraud.³ In upper Lindsey, then, there is a priory, in the place called Marchby, occupying long and broad pastures for feeding stock, not altogether by exclusive right, but sharing with their neighbours a common liberty by gift of the patrons. But whereas avarice, [which is] in the minds of all men of the present day, endeavours to make all common [lands] private property, the aforesaid monastery brought an action in London to the prejudice of all their neighbours, the suit having been suborned and the judges bribed. But as they [the commoners] defended their cause at great legal expense, the matter was at length submitted to the

¹ Or 'frequently'; *communiter*.

² *Bigatus* is a synonym for the Roman *denarius* = $8\frac{1}{2}d.$; but the term *bigatus* evidently represents a far larger amount here.

³ *Pervasionis*.

verdict of twelve. But they [the jury] casting aside all reverence for God and the truth, and perpetrating fraud for the sake of favour, adjudged the ground to be freehold of the said monastery, and they [the monks] caused a great part of the land to be ploughed in token of seisin. But, on the other hand, God did not allow His name to be usurped with impunity, and he sowed the furrows of unrighteousness with the infamy of the act. For the twelve jurymen began to be steadily, but gradually, removed from the world, and ever as they were removed they were submitted to a terrible yoke. For during about two years afterwards there appeared in that country a fiery plough, glowing like hot brass, having a most foul fiend as driver, who drove the dead men, harnessed in that manner, to the ground where he had incited them to guile when living. Many persons beheld these wretches clearly, committed to the plough like oxen, always at the hour of noon, and this, I imagine, was done because it is at such an hour men most assiduously press litigation¹ before the judges. Those coming to behold the spectacle were warned to be careful for their safety; nor did they know² for whom were reserved those yokes which they perceived to be empty. Howbeit, after these years Alan of Hotoft, the spiritual advocate of the said prior in this suit, and the contriver of the fraud which it is not expedient to explain in detail, was seen plainly before [men's] eyes after his death driving and guiding the said plough; and repeatedly addressing many of them, he explained to them the reason for that punishment, and implored urgently that the judgment which had been pronounced might be revoked, if in compassion they proposed to mitigate the punishment of these [persons]. Although all this was made public throughout the province, yet was I unwilling to believe it easily, until I heard particulars of the truth from the lips of a certain nobleman, who lived not more than three miles from the place in question.

¹ *Prætoria negotia.*

² *Innotescabant.*

(*To be continued.*)