THE

LAMP OF LOTHIAN;

OR, THE

HISTORY OF HADDINGTON,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF EAST LOTHIAN AND OF SCOTLAND,

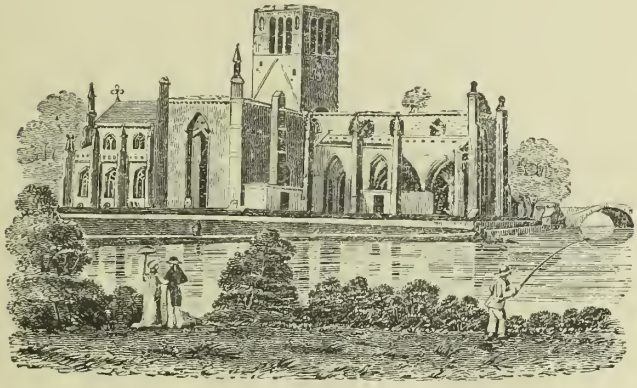
FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO 1844.

NEW EDITION,

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

BY JAMES MILLER,

AUTHOR OF ST. BALDRED OF THE BASS, THE HISTORY OF DUNBAR, ETC.



"Thy valleys float
With golden waves; and on thy mountains flocks
Bleat numberless; while, roving round their sides,
Bellow the blackening herds in lusty droves.
Beneath thy meadows glow, and rise unquell'd
Against the mower's scythe. On every hand
Thy villas shine. Thy country teems with wealth,
And property assures it to the swain,
Pleased and unwearied in his guarded toil."—THOMSON.

HADDINGTON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM SINCLAIR.
1900.

ORIGINAL DEDICATION.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THOMAS, EARL OF HADDINGTON,

BARON OF BINNING AND BYRES, LORD MELROSE, ETC.

FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY,

THIS VOLUME,

IS INSCRIBED, WITH THE HIGHEST RESPECT,

BY THE AUTHOR.

HADDINGTON,
February 12, 1844.

PREFACE.

IT is now fifty years since James Miller published his "History of Haddington," and as it is fully twenty years since a good second-hand copy could be had for less than two guineas, no apology need be tendered for reprinting the Haddington Author's "Magnum Opus." In 1830 Miller issued "Proposals for publishing by subscription the History of Haddington from the earliest records to the present period, with an account of the most remarkable places in the adjacent parishes." He said: "The only history of Haddington extant is that which was drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Barclay, one of the ministers of the parish, and communicated to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1785. This article possesses great merit, and is treated in a more systematic manner than the generality of the statistical details; but notwithstanding the research it displays, a vast fund of information regarding the ancient affairs of the burgh has escaped the author's notice. It will be our endeavour, therefore, to supply this deficiency."

The new and second, edition has been set up by the Linotype, a machine not dreamed of in the days of James Miller. The copious foot-notes have been, as far as possible, introduced into the body of the text—another innovation on the practice of fifty years ago.

We have received from Dr Wallace James a few notes on the historical value of the "Lamp of Lothian," and from Mr Thomas Cowan, who knew the author well, a biographical sketch, which will be found specially interesting as the first which has been published of the man whom the Haddington of the present day delights to honour. Mr Cowan has also supplied us with the woodcut of the "Lamp of Lothian" which adorned the title page of the original edition. It is none the worse of the wear, and we use it again after more than half a century's rest.

W. S.

NOTE.

"THE History of Haddington," published by James Miller in 1844 under the title of the "Lamp of Lothian," is a very meritorious work, and evinces a great amount of original research on the part of the author. He appears to have taken little on trust, and has endeavoured to verify every statement by reference to the original document when possible. The work is rather a general history of Scotland in connection with East Lothian, than, strictly speaking, a local history. County history should supplement and amplify national history by detailing the contingents furnished by each locality to shape it. The title of the book, however, is not well chosen, as Miller applies the term "Lamp of Lothian" to the magnificent Parish Church of St Mary. The writer of the chronicle, who originated the epithet, applies it most distinctly to the Church of the Franciscans or Grey Friars. The Church of the Friars was, of necessity, situated along with their other convential buildings near the site now occupied by the present Episcopal Chapel, as may be instructed from many deeds yet extant.

There was no Dominican Monastery in Haddington; this error probably arose from a *lapsus calami* of an exchequer clerk, who credits himself one year with the payment of a sum of money to the *Black* Friars of Haddington instead of to the Grey Friars. That this is so is proved from the fact that various similar payments appear for years both before and for years after that date, credited correctly as made to the Grey Friars.

The Chapel of St. Laurence did not belong to the mother Church of St. Mary, but was the chapel of a very ancient hospital, which gave its name to the village of St. Laurence. The hospital was, some few years before the Reformation, granted to the Nunnery of St. Catherine of Sianna, near Edinburgh, which name, now corrupted, gives its name to the district of the Sciennes in Edinburgh. Various deeds exist in connection with St. Laurence Hospital; one especially being most interesting, as it gives minute directions as to the feeding and lodging of the patients in the Hospital, and thus enables us to get some idea of the domestic arrangements of the 15th century. These documents, with others, will probably soon appear in print.

A branch of history that the author appears not to be very strong in is heraldry. Now, heraldry has been said to be the science of fools with long memories, but a knowledge of

armorial bearings enables one to trace family relationship and connections, which explain so many of the political transactions of the distant past; transactions which, without the key given by heraldry, could not be unlocked to our understanding.

So many of the old Scots families, that bear the "lion rampant" on the shield, are supposed to derive that bearing from the Royal Arms, whereas they do so as scions or vassals of the great Cospatricks, Earls of Dunbar. This family, which for centuries dominated the Merse and East Lothian, traces its descent from the Saxon Royal Family of England, and it carries the mind back to the dim distance when we remember that the almost shadowy King Duncan, "the gentle Duncan of Shakespeare's 'Macbeth,'" married Ethelreda, a daughter of the first Earl of that name. It is from this family that the Homes, Dunbars, Dundasses, Maitlands, Edgars, Hepburns, among others, bear the lion in their shields.

Bisset, the murderer of the Earl of Athol at Haddington, who, in expiation, vowed to go to the holy land and never return, evidently failed to keep his vow; as, from an inquisition made at York, it is found that he had died "far off in Scotland, at a certain island called Arran."

Too much of what is called history is merely copying by one author from another, the so-called historian or rather compiler being too lazy or too ignorant to refer to original documents or manuscripts, as in the case of Gilbert Stuart, who, on having his attention directed to certain MSS. during his compilation of the "History of Scotland," replied that "what was already printed was more than what he was able to read," with the result that his history is absolutely valueless.

Let us endorse what an historian of another stamp has said: "The record of the past is the bond of the present—one language, one faith, one history, one ancient birthplace, one common, mysterious, unsearched original—these are the strong sinews which hold together in a living unity the many separate articulations jointed to each other to form a people and a nation. Without an accurate knowledge of the past, all attempts to improve and raise the present must be to a great degree shallow and empirical. In our institutions, in our manners, in our language, that old past is still with us. The foundation of all national improvement and renewal is that full and accurate acquaintance with earlier times, of which it should be our great object to study and preserve the records."

J. G. W.-J.

JAMES MILLER:

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

(Written Expressly for this Edition).

JAMES MILLER, author of "The Lamp of Lothian; or, History of Haddington," besides several other works, legendary and historical, connected with East Lothian, was the son of George Miller, publisher, bookseller, etc., Dunbar, and born there about the year 1792. His father was a man of wonderful energy, though often engaging in schemes which, to a business eye, would have been evidently foredoomed to failure—the expense of working them being in many cases far greater than any possible profit. But his aims were worthy and good, setting himself the task—single-handed and at his own risk—to introduce and disseminate a healthier type of literature into our Scottish homes than that unmitigated and pernicious trash carried round by the ubiquitous chapmen or pedlars. This was more of an undertaking demanding the powers of a great national institution rather than the feeble efforts of one individual with limited means.

The first printing press in East Lothian was erected by George Miller at Dunbar in 1795, and which he transplanted to Haddington in 1804, felicitously calling it the true "Lamp of Lothian." The difficulties he had to face in order to get his publications sown broadcast over the country, as far north as Ultima Thule, and south over a large district of England to London itself, can scarcely be realised by the present generation, now completely surfeited with literature, or what passes under this name. He had recourse to itinerant auction sales in every accessible village and hamlet of the country, as well as a system of canvassing and delivery of the magazines issuing from his Haddington press.

George Miller's life-work drew forth very flattering eulogies from several distinguished men, notably Wilberforce, Dr Chalmers, and many others; and the favourable notices of his publications by the contemporary press show him to have been a man widely appreciated and his philanthropic efforts much approved. In Chambers's "Gazetteer of Scotland" his works are characterised as being "in advance of the age." Yet, on the occasion of the jubilee of "Chambers's Journal" in 1882, when its founder was publicly entertained and made the recipient of a handsome testimonial, several of the speakers referred to Dr William Chambers as the "pioneer of cheap literature." In the midst of the laudatory sentiments from the brethren of the trade, it seemed there was a something left unsaid which partially dulled the glory of the ceremonial. Either purposely or by inadvertence it was unmentioned that, twenty years before the birth of "Chambers's Journal," Miller's "Cheap Magazine" had been started, and was issuing from the Haddington press monthly at the low price of fourpence. This periodical was sown all over Scotland, also in London and several other districts in England at an average of from 12,000 to 20,000 copies a-month. The Chambers family quitted Peebles and settled in Edinburgh in 1813—the very year in which George Miller issued the opening numbers of the "Cheap Magazine," which were heartily taken up by the trade in Edinburgh. These monthly instalments could not fail to afford a sumptuous feast for the two young brothers, William and Robert, who were perfect gluttons to read. It is not difficult to imagine—indeed it is difficult to conceive the contrary—that the "Cheap Magazine," with its successor the "Monthly Monitor," were factors in the consolidation of character which stood the brothers in such good stead in after life. No youth of the Chambers brand could read the Miller literature without getting saturated with it; but it occasionally happens that benefits received are not considered as obligatory debts. In Dr William Chambers's "Reminiscences of a Long and Busy Life" (*Journal*, Jan. 28, 1882), it would not have been a surprise to have found a passing reference to the Millers' work; but fame is so precious that not even its faintest scintillating ray must be lost through exposing the stepping-stones that led to triumphant success. In the same article the writer quotes from the original prospectus of the journal—"The principle by which I have been actuated is to take advantage of the universal appetite for instruction which at present exists; to supply to that appetite food of the best kind in such forms and at such price as will suit the convenience of every man in the British dominions." Who created this appetite? Chiefly the Millers. It is quite within the writer's knowledge that their publications were to be found on the shelves of nearly all the cottages throughout the country, if the inmates were of an enquiring turn of mind.

George Miller's industry, energy, and uprightness really deserved better success than he ever attained, as evidenced in his autobiography work, "Latter Struggles"—a rather gloomy and depressing book, painfully and indiscreetly minute in detailing his constant battle with misfortune. This work is a literary and typographical curiosity, displaying its author's weakness for an interminable title-page, and its punctuation showing such a passionate misuse of the "comma" as has never been surpassed. Its verbiage, too, leads one to suspect that the book must have been perused by the Hon. W. E. Gladstone in his parliamentary youth, as the style of the great statesman seems to have been founded on some such model; and it is no disparagement to his memory to write that he made a remarkably good second.

George Miller's son James—the subject of this Sketch—was sent, while a mere lad, to superintend the branch business at Haddington. The father was not slow to observe James's facile pen, as he had composed a tragedy while yet at school, and had it staged with the help of some of his companions, utilising an empty garret for the purpose. He began business life in a writer's office in Dunbar, and, as a matter of choice, would rather have followed out this profession; but his father's wishes overruled this, as he considered James would get to be such a valuable acquisition to his publishing department. James himself was easily reconciled to be thwarted, as he saw a prospect of getting free scope for his pen in the pages of the "Cheap Magazine." Many of his lesser poems appeared in this way. His poetical gift was, besides, accompanied by a keen antiquarian instinct which kept all his energies in full play. It is matter of surprise how he found time for pursuing this latter bent, as the engrossing claims of the printing office must have kept him fully occupied. Yet, all the while, he was collecting material for his "History of Dunbar," first published in 1830, and which must have entailed considerable research and wide reading. A second edition of this work, with various additions, was printed at the late Mr Downie's press, Dunbar, about twenty years later.

But it was not James Miller's fortune to become a mere bookworm. The wide ramifications of the firm's business entailed a periodical collection of accounts; and in those days no such facilities existed for reaching customers, either by post or personal visit, as are now open to every branch of commerce. Under these conditions James had frequently to take long journeys on horseback to gather up scattered accounts in almost all the villages of the neighbouring counties, and even as far as Dumfries, Selkirk, Hawick, Kelso, Lauder and Berwick. On one such expedition he could tell of having been stormbound for nearly three weeks at Carfrae Mill, in the Lammermoors,—of all places in the world the least conceivable as a paradise for a poet.

It is understood to have been while undergoing this "durance vile" that he penned the verses on "The Gudewife of Tulloshill and the Lord of Lauderdale"—a poetical narrative of about sixty verses. This seems extremely likely, as the story of the "cake" of Tulloshill must have been a standard one for recounting to wayfarers passing a night in the neighbouring hostelry of Carfrae Mill. Without such a solace as the composition of this piece must have afforded its author, snowed-up in a lonely wayside inn, it is hardly possible to imagine his quick spirit surviving the ordeal. But the thaw came at last and set him free, and the next night he was busy reeling off his adventures—mayhap with Munchausen embellishments—and reciting his "Gudewife of Tulloshill," with the ink scarcely dry, to an electrified audience round the parlour fire in the Black Bull Hotel, Lauder. Pursuing in this way the routine of his business must have kept Miller's best energies on the rack.

In his palmy days James Miller stood well in local society, and was acknowledged a peer of the best blood of the ancient and royal burgh. He was promoted to a seat at the Council Board; and by that august, infallible and exemplary body was awarded a special vote of thanks, duly engrossed in its records, for his important elucidation of ancient burgh history, ferreted out of musty tomes decomposing in its charter chests. This gracious recognition of Miller's services, it is understood, was made the occasion of a Council banquet, with cake and wine, and laudatory speeches delivered as only municipal magnates can. The effect produced on poor Miller—the man whom the Council "delighted to honour"—was disastrous. Not knowing till that fatal evening that he was half so great a man, when his turn came to acknowledge the Council's blandishments, of a terse little speech he had prepared not a word would come. He was dumfoundered, and his mind seemed under a total eclipse. He could only mutter a few incoherent words, which, when translated, meant that he was "much obliged to them;" and, bathed in perspiration, and feeling very foolish, he resumed his seat.

Certain old people can relate how that a dapper young gentleman used to appear among the worshippers in Garvald Church, and that the intervals between such visits grew gradually shorter. Nor is it a myth that a certain bird, of dark and glossy plumage (Miss Crow) migrated from that rural parish to an aviary in the neighbouring county town, and was afterwards catalogued as "Mrs Miller." At this period of social history it was never remarked to a wife's discredit that she became, in the best sense, a *help meet* to her husband, in whatever way her assistance would most further their material interests and mutual well-being. So Mrs Miller at once took her place at her husband's counter, and, as Carlyle puts it, "assisted him in all she

best could." But the law of evolution is ever-operative and inexorable and "has changed all that." This would be only somewhere about eighty years ago; and now: what do we find? this finest type of womankind almost extinct. Indeed, so radical has the change effected by fashion become that scarcely a merchant is found sufficiently heroic to dwell over his shop, nearly each having forsaken this humble domicile, with its *Via Dolorosa* of a passage thereto, and gone to shine with noontide splendour in what he proudly calls his "villy" at the "west end." But to return from this brief digression: so highly did Miller stand—even under such primitive social modes of former life as here indicated—that, on the occasion of his nuptials, one of the leading functionaries of the town considered it an honour to officiate in pulling off the bridegroom's glove.

Thus far, and for several succeeding years, Miller was borne along on the flowing tide of prosperity. But, without going into needless and painful details as to the initial steps of his down-grade career, suffice it to say that eventually the tide turned; and how speedily was the low-water mark reached! Personally, he used to speak remorsefully of the agency of Masonic and other convivialities as having given an impetus to habits which sent him tobogganing down to ruin. It was, moreover, an unfortunate circumstance for Miller that his business was not exclusively a book and stationery one, as the grocery with which it was combined, with its usual concomitants, put an insinuating and seductive enemy perilously near his hand, and the all too easy move from hand to mouth was rapidly acquired.

It may not be out of place here to remark that, with all his gifts and faculties, Miller had a strain of superstition in his nature. The first step in his downfall, he used to say, was his having consented, in a luckless moment, to sell copies of a work written by an East Lothian farmer, which work was assailed with rancour by every pulpit in the county and beyond. The work itself, read nowadays, would seem a mere wart beside such monster Bens as "The Vestiges of Creation," by the late Dr Robert Chambers, and even this latter being now dwarfed by the works of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and a host of other later exponents of the laws of nature. The author of the work in question—evidently a scholar and a gentleman—seems to have given offence more by his audacity to think and write and publish a purely philosophical book, when he ought to have confined his studies to the cultivation of "neeps" and the active virtues of manuring. "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*" was in their thoughts; and the critics answered and condemned the book by calling the author nicknames. Such a tornado of abuse gave Miller qualms; and he felt as if "Ichabod" were written athwart his lintel by the

withering finger of Fate, and his ruin assured through ever having sold a copy of the obnoxious work. Be this as it may, the inevitable crash came at last, and he found himself a broken, friendless, and homeless outcast while yet a comparatively young man. No doubt a sort of effort was made to hold his family together for a time, but this was evidently fruitless; and latterly he betook himself to whatever lodgings he could get into, and, when sober, worked in one or other of the printing offices in the town, till the smouldering, pent-up and irrepressible appetite would again burst its frail barriers and set the poor victim adrift like a derelict ship on a boundless sea. Between spates, however, Miller always managed to keep advancing some particular work he had in hand; and he thus, in the early 'forties, was actively engaged in pushing his masterpiece—his *magnum opus*—through the press, under the title (still retained in this re-issue) of "The Lamp of Lothian; or, History of Haddington." [It is small wonder that the pleasant and euphonious name—"Lamp of Lothian"—should survive after every vestige of the structure which originally bore it has totally disappeared. The "Lucerna Laudoniæ" of the historians, though their remarks thereanent date no further back than about 1385 and 1521 respectively, is more effectually obliterated than the ancient city of Nippur, in Babylonia, presently being unearthed, and from whose buried archives a strange historical light is streaming in on our dazzled vision from a retrospect of many milleniums. The edifice which is still so perversely credited with the olden name—"Lamp of Lothian"—though beautiful for situation and picturesque exceedingly, is only as a goose which fond fancy sees plumed as the gorgeous peacock—a pitiful simulacrum. Many another of the "sair Sanct's" consecrated biggings throughout Scotland might more justly claim such a title; yet these the historians have not thought worthy of special remark. The superb appearance of "The Lamp" of Fordun and John Major must have been transcendently striking to evoke from these historians such a description as has come down to us. But the name is soothing: let it abide!] It may be noted here that the groundwork of the History of Haddington appeared, under the title of "Remarkable Events," in the East Lothian Annual Register or County List, first published by Miller in 1820, continued by Messrs Neill & Son, and still issued by Mr Hutchison. Many of the early numbers are extremely interesting, but now rarely or never to be seen. Apart from the valuable local information it contained, its pages gave much antiquarian and legendary matter; and several wood engravings of neighbouring places of interest enhanced its attractions artistically. These were from the graving-tool of the late Mr Adam Neill, and bore favourable comparison with the illustrations in more pretentious volumes. A very striking view was that of the ancient Royal Palace, the ruins of which were cleared away to make room for the present County Buildings

and other erections in the rear. In this palace a prince was born, in 1198, afterwards King Alexander II.

Of the merits and demerits of "The Lamp" it is foreign to the scope of this brief Sketch to speak; but a general remark may be hazarded that a *one-man* history is never, in the very essence of things, a performance to be implicitly trusted as a faithful photograph of what it records. The author (no doubt quite unconsciously) has a bias in favour of certain traditions in preference to others, and puts on these accordingly the impress of his own mental seal. Thus he may hand down to posterity as facts what may be but distorted representations of false impressions produced on his own mind. History, to be reliable, must be put through the crucible of several judicial minds acting in concert; and whatever fails to stand this crucial test, and come out of the process as a solid fact, must be rejected as being deficient in evidence to substantiate its claim as veritable history.

"The Lamp" was originally printed in the office of Mr James Allan, Haddington, and every type of it was set up, and every correction—preparatory to printing off the sheets—was performed by the author's own hand. In this connection, Mr Allan could tell how that, one day, as he was waiting till a "proof" came back from a writer's office in town, he chanced to see a piece of the M.S. of "The Lamp" on the case where Miller had just left setting. Thinking to do a good turn, he followed the "copy" and set up several lines to give Miller a friendly help. On the author's return there was an explosion, and all the types kindly set up for him he threw back into their places in the case: no human fingers save his own must touch the sacred work. This slumbering volcano of quick temper often brought Miller to trouble. On one occasion, when in the heyday of his prosperity and full activity, he could tell of having, in a fit of passion at one of his pressmen, levelled him on the floor by a blow from a desk stool. This slight amusement cost him a tidy palmful of sovereigns to keep the case out of court.

The fate of the first edition of "The Lamp" was a somewhat curious one. After the subscribers' copies had been all supplied, and the ordinary demand had ceased, the remaining unbound sheets lay cumbering the printer's shelves for a number of years. Seeing the hopelessness of their ever being wanted, or the futility of attempting to get up any fresh demand for the work, the printer parted with the total remainder of the sheets for a small slump sum to get rid of them as waste paper. The purchaser—a tobacconist in town—had two copies collated and bound (one for himself and the other for a friend), and the rest of the mass was cut up into set squares for rolling round the inevitable ounce and half-ounce. This was "tragedy;" but

"comedy" trod on its heels. In a few years it began to be bruited abroad that "The Lamp" was—not out, but—out of print, and that not a copy could be got. Second-hand specimens brought fabulous prices. Published at 8s, it was no uncommon experience for a copy—not particularly clean—to fetch from £1 to £1 10s; and a well-bound and perfect one has changed hands at three guineas. In connection with this state of matters, a strange phenomenon presented itself. A large number of the townspeople who had got the work when it came out had lent it to *somebody*, and the knave had never had the grace, the honesty, nor (let us say in charity), the recollection to return it. And every man kept asking his neighbour, in a sort of tentative way, whether he had not once borrowed from him a copy of "The Lamp," but, of course, no neighbour ever had. For Miller, was not this true fame? One can almost imagine him giving a hitch in his coffin, and chuckling at the vagaries of Fate.

In his early career, Miller must have been quite well known to a number of leading literary men; and in later life he could mention several interviews with some, and correspondence with others, that corroborates this idea. The late Dr David Laing, the celebrated antiquarian, once called upon the present writer and, incidentally, spoke very favourably of Miller and his abilities. The two brothers—Dr William and Dr Robert Chambers, the eminent publishers—also knew him well, and he would often rehearse conversations he had had with them. Robert he used to speak of in a very cordial way; but about William he was a little reticent. It may be more than suspected that William would always temper his acts of benevolence with good advice—that "dead fly in the ointment" which Miller greatly abhorred. It is also on record that some of Miller's poetical pieces were very favourably remarked on by even such a high authority as Sir Walter Scott. In a certain sense, Miller's intellectual powers were unusual in their combination. His imagination at times runs riot on the crested waves of thrilling and heroic legendary romance, or darkly grubs among the gruesome depths of abysmal horrors; yet, all the while, one is impressed with the sense that, even when glowing with incandescent heat over his theme, there is lacking the true vivifying fire of inspiration. His verse, too, is very unequal in quality; frequently stanzas of wondrous beauty are ruined by faulty measures or outrageous rhymes. But how a mind that seemed in its native element when winging the empyrean of fancy could submit to the drudgery of digging like a day labourer in antiquarian mines, seems like a "sport" in the world of literature. It is certainly to be regretted that the youth of our county have not the opportunity of reading Miller's legendary pieces—most of them of a deeply interesting and local character—the volumes in which they are contained having been long out of print.

Miller's career, after being thrown out of business upon the cold world of chance, was an exceptionally chequered one. Even when he got employment, which might have been permanent, he did not seem able to settle down; and often at some important juncture, when his services were urgently needed and relied upon, he would fall away or turn up totally incapable. To vary the programme, occasionally he would disappear altogether for weeks or months at a spell, and return—the very incarnation of the Prodigal Son. Still, during these erratic spins, he never wandered aimlessly about, but invariably, like some bird of prey, had his eye fixed on a doomed quarry at his journey's end. From his long acquaintance with most of the best (and the worst) gentlemen of the county, he was never in any difficulty of getting food and shelter, and even sums of money, the which, alas! he had but one habitual mode of spending. The good Earl of Haddington—to whom was dedicated "St. Baldred of the Bass"—paid dear enough for this distinguished honour. Many a time Miller would debauch till he could scarcely show a rag of what had once been coat or other item of masculine habilament; and on many occasions the good Earl would see him rigged out anew, and give him a fresh start on the path of probation. His lordship, too, oftener than once, used his influence to get a bonus for the poor pen waif out of the Literary Fund, which had to be dribbled out to him on safe homeopathic principles to prevent its abuse. Miller's proud spirit never forsook him, and bounties such as this had to be given in the least ostentatious way. On one occasion, when he had dropped to a lower level than usual, it was seriously suggested to him that he ought to apply for parochial relief. In a few seconds the proposer was "sorry he spoke." Miller turned on him with gleaming eyes and growled, "What! I can make more money with a scrape of my pen in one hour than your income's worth for a month." To show that this high-mindedness was no secret, the following item may help to illustrate. One day he found occasion to call at a certain county mansion house, and the lady of the manor kindly proposed to the butler to give him his dinner. The butler looked puzzled, and asked, "where shall I set him, your ladyship?" "Beside the servants, of course," she replied. "My lady," said he, "I could scarcely try that: he's dreadfully proud." "Proud!" exclaimed her ladyship, in astonishment, "what is he proud of? It must be his rags!" But the butler, to spare the bard's feelings, navigated him into a quiet sanctum where he could enjoy the repast in secrecy and perfect peace.

It was no uncommon thing for poor Miller to be picked up, quite *hors de combat*, here, there, or anywhere. Before Mylesburn was covered in, which then ran as a small open stream past Gladstone House, Haddington, a lady, of the fine old Scottish type, chanced to come that way

and saw an object in human shape lying blocking the stream. On looking closely down she recognised the familiar outline of our bard and exclaimed, "Eh, me! but 'The Lamp' 's burnin' low, low the day!" "The Lamp" was the name frequently given to Miller by old acquaintances. She hurried off and reported the "wreck" to her brother-in-law, who was then provost; and he instantly dispatched one of his men to rescue "The Lamp" from being extinguished by the water. When the man had got him dragged up the steep broken bank, where only treacherous foothold could be got, Miller expressed his thanks in some of his choicest gutter classics, at the same time dealing at his deliverer an ineffectual blow with his stick. As a rule, Miller's gratitude displayed itself thus in a negative form. A gentleman, who was interviewed by him for the usual object, gave him sixpence, remarking, "Now, I know very well you'll just go and drink it." Miller returned him a look not free from scorn; and opening his hand and gazing, as if in pity, on the coin he had just received, he stingingly observed, "Wae 's me! I'll no get muckle whisky for that!" and, tottering off, put his observation to the proof in his nearest "house of call." On many such occasions of his managing to "raise the wind" too well for his good, there were sure to be "scenes" on the streets with the vulgar boys. Many of these demonstrations can be painfully recalled by those whose memories go back to the 'fifties and early 'sixties. When the ever-absent-when-wanted police were invisible, the rude gamins would hustle him about to open the floodgates of his rage, for the pure cussedness of hearing him slinging at them his maledictions in fractured scraps of Hebrew, Greek, or Dog Latin, which rushed from his lips like a volcanic cataract of printer's "pie." It was cruel to urge Miller to swear: he couldn't do it—at least on conventional lines; but, although his fierce erudite jargon might be totally unintelligible, generally the hearer could feel the epithets flying from between the lines like barbed arrows dipped in aqua-fortis. These horrid boys, too, were in their glory when they could so neutralise the integrity of his toilet as to produce a tableau calculated to stagger the softer side of humanity.

As old age began to creep upon Miller he drifted further and further from reclamation. His Muse's wing had moulted, and could rise no higher than such themes as "The Yeomanry going into Quarters at Dunbar"—an annual text which never failed to nearly float him in Glenlivet and rattle the nails into his coffin. His friends were his enemies. Another text, which he always distilled to his own hurt, was the "Epithalamium." This being a song set exclusively to the peal of bridal bells, no friend of his—from "Mary, the Maid of the Inn" to the wearers of coronets or other badges of social superiority—who ventured to indulge in the

equivocal luxury of matrimony, escaped his flattering attentions on such an auspicious occasion. Such effusions are scattered all along the line of his later pilgrimages, and were very rarely received but with a good grace. Like a comet, his orbit might be difficult to map; but it certainly never had a wide range. With East Lothian as an inner circle, he would sweep erratically and at undefined intervals into Berwickshire and Midlothian; but, considering that all his movements were accomplished on foot, and under all degrees of inclement weather, it proves the iron build of his constitution that he did not sooner succumb to such a strain. Dragging out his existence against such heavy odds, the wanderer found himself crossing the line of three-score-years-and-ten. The sympathy of generous hearts, however, soon came into play in his behalf, and he was prevailed upon to accept the offer of a permanent home in Queensberry House, Edinburgh, where he would at least have the advantage of warmth and shelter, with comfortable bed and board. Through the influence of his patron and bounteous friend the then Earl of Haddington, and other gentlemen, a small annuity had been secured for him from the Literary Fund, and which he enjoyed for the short remaining term of his days. This sort of life suited Miller wonderfully well, as he had perfect liberty to stroll through the city streets, where he often forgathered with old friends who chanced to be attending the market; but these, knowing that he was provided for, judiciously abstained from putting him in jeopardy of losing his "situation." Not long beyond twelve months was Miller spared to enjoy the calm of this peaceful haven. On the 23rd day of May, 1865, he died in the Institution already mentioned, in his 73rd year. A curious circumstance may be here noted, in which the writer of this Sketch was by chance concerned. Being released from a jury an hour before a train could be got for home, he thought of taking a saunter down the Canongate, judging it not unlikely that he might discover "the bard" out on the prowl. In this, however, he was disappointed, and had to retrace his steps to the Waverley Station. Judge of his surprise when, next morning, he read in a newspaper that James Miller was dead.

In closing this sketch of an author, distinguished in many ways both for talents and industry, it may be pointed out that, while the external and every-day life of Miller does certainly afford critics of a certain class much material for blame, yet impartial justice demands that such oblique-eyed critics should put themselves in his place. Well might Burns ask—

"Why is the bard unfitted for the world?"

The answer is not far to seek. The bard is built after a totally different model from "the man in the street;" and yet said man presumes to pronounce judgment on and condemn one whom he

is by nature totally unqualified to understand. The bard, too, is *on* this planet, but socially (in many striking instances) not *of* it; and—to his misfortune be it said—he is endowed with stomach and other digestive glands like all members of the bipedal fraternity, while his faculty for answering their eternal cry, "Give! give!" has, in Nature's occult processes, been mysteriously missed out. Carlyle has truly, if caustically, said that "London contains so many millions of inhabitants—mostly fools." Did Carlyle appraise "the fool" as of no value? The fool is a potent factor both in social and political economy. Were the genus, "fool," to be exterminated the whole social machinery would be wrecked. Most men consider their neighbours fools, yet ungraciously ignore the fact that their very own sustenance is drawn from the fool's folly. The common mind is too apt to register all men as fools or sinners whose thoughts and actions do not square with its own hereditary and arbitrary standard of tea-table morality. The wholesome saving prayer—

> "O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
> To see oorsel's as others see us"—

never escapes its lips. It would be shocked exceedingly on realising the possibility of "others" seeing it as aught but the very pink and pearl of absolute perfection. It cannot learn that one man is but a compound of dull insensate clay, while another is fashioned as a harp whose strings are too intensely strained to bear the touch of even the most delicate angel fingers, yet thrill responsive to all life's vagabond breezes that come and go. The common mind may be compared to a cube, having all its sides and angles in perfect form, lying soberly, sedately, and self-complacently on its lower side, and comforting its soul with the notion of its own unimpeachable excellence. But what is this? here comes rolling in a sphere or ball, rudely impingeing against the grave and dignified Mrs Cube, and anon starts pirouetting around the startled and outraged figure. Miss Sphere hops and sings and laughs hilariously by turns—the very embodiment of happiness and glee. Her smile, as she fixes her bewitching eye on Mrs Cube, is too much for that superior being to brook. "Stop!" she screamed; "how dare you behave so wickedly in my presence? Be off, you giddy, silly thing! you ought to be ashamed of yourself!" On hearing this, Miss Sphere seemed to liven up and grow more frolicsome than ever, only replying, "I can't stop! God made me round, to roll about and be happy!" At last, in a frenzy of exuberant fun, she bowled full tilt against her self-appointed censor, turning the poor thunder-struck creature over and over again and again. O! my good reader, it was an eye-opener to gaze on the spot which had accommodated the nether base of the proper and severe Mrs Cube: even the sportive Miss Sphere was completely sobered at the sight. There, in the light of day,

lay a heap of python's eggs, which the good Saint Cube had been religiously hatching for the benefit of society. This simple illustration may look like a digression ; but it isn't much : it points a moral—possibly two morals. It may teach, first, the unabashable "Mrs Cube," with the common mind, that it is on this side the horizon of possibility that other members of the great human brotherhood—though remote as the antipodes from her in her imaginary superiority —may fill a niche in the social economy prepared for them by Heaven itself. A second moral is on behalf of James Miller. He, like many others, alas ! in everyday experience, got but a small share of fair play in beginning life. He was, so to speak, a round man forced into a square hole. He never ceased to regret that he had been initiated into an occupation the mechanical part of which he was not adapted for by natural temperament. But his was no isolated example of a youth being put to an occupation for life greatly as a matter of chance, and is not meant as an extenuation of Miller's self-wrought misfortunes. Had he not been the slave of intemperance, which brought all manner of other vices in its train, he might have weathered every gale of adversity which overtook him, and have come honourably out of the storm at last. But the one and only gospel that could have saved him, and which he either never heard or heard unheeded, was the gospel of *self-respect*. When this loses hold on a man he is doomed. The late worthy President Garfield used to say, "there is one man in America whose good opinion I would not lose for all the world : that of James Garfield." Often there is but a thin film between self-respect and self-conceit ; and in certain individuals these terms would imply a distinction without a difference. But the latter, being an almost universal feature in human character, defies eradication. It is, moreover, happier to dwell on the lasting good and the salutary influence of the Millers' work (both father and son), inaugurated in the early years of this century, now closing, the full extent and far-reaching nature of which it is beyond human power to estimate ; and although the publications themselves are now comparatively unknown, yet the Millers cast into the ground the first seed, which has to-day made the land to groan beneath the superabundant harvest.

T. C.

Haddington, *November 1900*.

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HISTORY OF HADDINGTON.

PART I.

HISTORICAL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

CHAPTER I.

In Ford, in Ham, in Ley, and "Tun,"
The most of English surnames run.—VERSTEGAN.

ORIGIN OF THE TOWN.—THE PRINCESS ADA—WILLIAM THE LION—ALEXANDER II.

Of the origin of an ancient town, situated on contending frontiers, little can be known; for the torch of war has destroyed what piety or learning might have preserved. The chronicles of the monastic establishment of Haddington have been lost; and the oldest book in the record chamber of the burgh extends no farther back than 1426. To etymologists we must, therefore, recur, to clear up our doubts; but in disputes of this kind they seldom agree. Chalmers, the learned author of "Caledonia," supposes Hadintun to have been originally the hamlet of Haden, a Saxon settler, as "tun"—[Gibson, in his Regulæ Generales to the Saxon Chronicle, supposes "tun" to be derived from "dun," "mons," as towns of old were built on mountains. This, however, does not apply to the site of Haddington. "Tun" is used in the termination of the names of many places, as we learn from Verstegan.]—was generally affixed, in the Anglo-Saxon practice, to the name of some person as the appropriate designation of his hamlet; and that as one Halden,—[As a proof how the etymology of names may be corrupted, the Howdens, a respectable family in East Lothian, who came originally from Yorkshire, were designated "Holden," which in course of time was euphonized into Houdon. The first branch of this family settled at Reidshill, in the parish of Yester. They came here at the time of the restoration of Charles II., in consequence of having taken an active part in public affairs during the protectorate.]—the son of Eadulf, —[In 1020, the Saxon settlers in East Lothian, were ceded to the Scottish king by Eadulf Cudel, brother and successor to the Northumbrian earl, Uchtred.]—was a witness to the Inquisitio Davidis, in 1116, some such person gave his name to the town. This, however, seems merely conjecture. In a charter of Richard, the Bishop of St Andrews, who died in 1163, there is a grant "de Ecclesia de Hadintun." —The bishop died only forty-seven years after the charter of king David was signed, consequently his grant must have taken place at an intermediate space; and as religious establishments do not spring up in a day, the name of Haddington seems more likely to have been derived from an ecclesiastical court, than from the rude hamlet of a migrating Saxon.

So early as the sixth century, the canonized Baldred fixed his holy cell at Tyningham, which belonged to the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, in Northumberland,—a bishoprick which, in 635, extended over the ample range of Lothian. As it was evidently convenient to establish a place of worship more remote from the shore, we accordingly find, in the ancient Taxatio of the deanery of Lothian, in 1176, Haddington holding a conspicuous situation, being rated next to Dunbar, which also included Whittingham. This leads us to believe that Haddington

derived its name from a monastic establishment; as, according to the same learned antiquary, "Hading" signifies in the Anglo-Saxon "ordinatio consecratio," "a giving holy orders;" and, agreeable to Somner, "the place of ordination," while "tun" signifies indifferently either a dwelling-place or hamlet, a village or a town. Thus Hadingtun may be translated, "the Town of Ordination," or "for giving Holy Orders." [The author of the prefatory introduction to Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, 1662, supposes the name of Haddington to be derived from Hadtyn-town, from the situation of the burgh by the river Tyne. This definition is about as correct as that given by an old man to the author, who stated, that it was derived from the Scottish guides calling to the English during an invasion "Had-doon-Tyne!"]

A town or village situated like Haddington, in the neighbourhood of a splendid monastic establishment, soon rose into importance. Accordingly, in the 12th century, it is mentioned as the demesne of the Scottish king. The town was created a burgh by David I., who held it along with the other manorial rights of a church and a mill. Here the king's chamberlain held his court annually, and the city of Edinburgh was one of the four burghs that waited attendance on that court. [Maitland's Hist. Scot. I.] As the pleasant site of Haddington, by the primrose banks of the gentle Tyne, and its proximity to the capitol, rendered it an agreeable spot for a royal retreat and a regal dower, we find, in 1139, the town and its territory given in dowry to Ada or Adama—[If we may indulge in a conjecture, which seems somewhat plausible, those who prefer a female dynasty, by dropping the cockney's favourite aspiration of the "h" before the vowel, may transfer the etymology of Hadina, to Ada-ing-tun, the dwelling of the Princess Ada.]—the daughter of the Earl of Warren and Surrey, on her marriage with Prince Henry the son of David I. This happy event took place for his timely rescue by Stephen, who afterwards usurped the crown of England,—[Stephen was Earl of Boulogne, in right of his wife Matilda, the only child of Mary, sister of David I. The wife of Stephen, and Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. of England, stood in the same relation to the king of Scotland. On the death of Henry, in 1135, Stephen ascended the throne, unmindful of the right of Matilda of England.]—and who had lately ceded to him the earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough. Until her death, in 1178, Ada was ever attentive to the interests of "her" burgh, and founded, and richly endowed, a nunnery at the Abbey of Haddington. She was a lady of noble blood, nearly related to the chief persons of the English court, and descended from Isobella, daughter of Hugh earl of Vermandois, the brother of Robert king of France. The latter married Robert earl of Meulant, the favourite minister of Henry Beauclerc, and afterwards William earl of Warrene, by whom she had one son and two daughters; the elder married Roger earl of Warwick, and the younger Prince Henry of Scotland. [Hailes' Annals, I. Prince Henry died 12th June 1152. Aldred, a contemporary historian, who knew him intimately, pays the following trite compliment to his exemplary virtue: "He was," says he, "of manners more gentle, but in all things else resembling his father," who, according to Buchanan, "was the perfect exemplar of a good king." His children by the Princess Ada, were Malcolm IV., born in 1142; William (the Lion,) born 1143; David, earl of Huntington, born 1144; Ada, or Elda, married in 1161, to Florence, count of Holland; Margaret, married in 1160, to Conan IV., duke of Britany, (she afterwards married Bohun earl of Hereford); Matilda, who died unmarried.—"Chron. Melrose, Fordun, etc." On the death of his son, David, whose growing age and infirmities prevented him from joining in the ceremony, sent his grandson, Malcolm, on a solemn progress through Scotland, and ordered him to be proclaimed heir to the crown, while his territories in Northumberland were given as appanage to his grandson William. David I., having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, fixed his residence at Carlisle, where he was found dead in a posture of devotion, 24th May 1153.]

On the death of the Princess Ada, Haddington, as a demesne of the crown, reverted to her son William the Lion,—[Surnamed "the Lion," according to Boece, for his "singulare justice;" by others on account of his stern appearance, and because he was the first who bore a lion rampant upon his shield. None of the Scottish kings assumed a coat armorial till the reign of William. The lion rampant first appeared upon his seal. From a similar cause the chief of the heralds in Scotland, is styled Lyon King at Arms. In 1217, the seal of the Earl Marshal was appended to Instruments in England "because as yet the king had no seal."]—who occasionally resided there. William succeeded his brother Malcolm IV., 24th December 1165. His first step was to repair to the court of Henry II., and to solicit the restitution of Northumberland, which had been abandoned by Malcolm; from whence, contrary

to the opinion of his counsellors, he passed over to France, and served under the banners of the English king. He was, however, only rewarded by delusive promises, upon which, returning to his country dissatisfied, he sent ambassadors to France, soliciting an alliance with that power against Henry, which is the first authentic record of the intercourse between Gaul and the Scottish nation.

William appears to have been pacified for a short time by a grant of the earldom of Huntington, for which he did homage to the younger Henry as the vassal of England, and afterwards resigned it to his brother David, who performed the ceremonies of the vassal on the same occasion. The Prince of England having taken up arms against his father in 1173, William joined his standard, for which he received a grant of the long contested earldom of Northumberland as far as the southern Tyne, while David was rewarded with the earldom of Cambridge. The grants of a rebellious prince, however, are of no moment. After invading England, and laying siege on Werk and Carlisle without effect, William returned from a fruitless devastation, and like an ambitious soldier of fortune of the present day, brought the invaded into his own country, who laid waste the lowlands of Scotland.

A short truce was concluded; but, in 1174, the restless spirit of "the Lion" again led him to Northumberland. With a select body he watched the motions of the garrison of Alnwick, while his numerous army, spreading over the country, carried the horrors of war into every barbarous excess. The Yorkshire barons took alarm, and with only four hundred horsemen, incumbered in heavy armour, came to oppose the Scots. During their march a thick mist arose, and bewildered the army. The more cautious advised a retreat, while Bernard de Baliol exclaimed: "Ye may retreat, yet I will go forward alone, and preserve my honour." Animated by this reproach the English advanced, when the returning light shewed them the battlements of Alnwick, where they found William with his slender train of sixty horsemen. At first the king took the English for a party of his own troops returning loaded with spoil; but, perceiving his error, in the very soul of chivalry he cried, "Now it will be seen who are true knights!" and instantly charged the enemy. It is scarcely necessary to add that he was overpowered, unhorsed, and made prisoner, while his companions in arms shared the same fate; and several of his barons, who were not present in the action, from a mistaken zeal surrendered themselves. The English, with the most barbarous cruelty, placed the captive king on horseback, tied his feet like a felon's under the belly of the animal, and, with the greatest celerity, conducted their royal prize to Newcastle the same evening, the 13th July. It has been urged, in palliation, that the barons had no other means of securing their active and fierce prisoner; but William did not arrive at Northampton, a distance of 200 miles from the scene of action, till the 31st of the month, whither Henry had ostentatiously summoned his nobles, to witness the humiliating spectacle of a monarch bound. The Scots army, wrought up to a fury on the loss of their sovereign, put many of their companions of English extraction to the sword, and, abandoning their spoils, made a precipitate retreat, while David earl of Huntington, who was at Leicester, immediately returned to his native land.

Henry placed William in confinement at Richmond,

> Into his cumlie castell strang,
> Closit about with craft and meikill ure;

But not considering his prisoner in a place of sufficient security in his own dominions in that turbulent age, he carried him beyond seas to Falaise in Normandy.

In 1174, the liberty of William was purchased at the expense of the independency of the Scottish nation, and he became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland and all his other territories,—["On the return of the king," says Leland, "the nobilles of Scotland came no nearer than Pembles (Peebles) yn Scotland to mete theyr king. Wherefore he toke with hym many of the youngger sunnes of the nobyl men of England that bare hym good wylle, and gave them landes in Scotland of them that were rebelles to him." Amongst the names of these gentlemen we meet with Baliol and Bruce, and the following either then or to be connected with East Lothian: Sinclair, Hay, Gifford, Ramsay, Vaux, Fraser, etc.—"Leland's Collectanea," who quotes "Scala Chronica."]—while the Scottish church for a season acknowledged the supremacy of that of England.

In 1178, Ada, the mother of the king, died; and in the same year William founded and endowed, with various privileges and revenues for its support, the picturesque and venerable abbey of Aberbrothick (Arbroath), in honour of the holy martyr Thomas a Becket, with whom he was personally acquainted. It was reported that at the same moment in which he was taken prisoner at Alnwick, Henry was doing penance by scourging himself before the shrine of the saint at Canterbury, and it was presumed that this mon-

astic endowment of the Scottish king, was to propitiate the saint to observe a neutrality in future.

After the death of Ada, William for some years laid aside the truncheon for the crosier, and was engaged in a warm dispute with the Pope respecting the election of a bishop to the see of St Andrews. John, surnamed the Scot, a native of Cheshire, a Matthew Kynymount, or Kininmund, bishop of Aberdeen, was supported by the papal authority, while William awarded the bishoprick to Hugh his chaplain. After a useless controversy between a spiritual and a temporal prince who held remote jurisdictions, the matter was conceded in favour of the king by the Pope nominating Hugh to St Andrews and John to Dunkeld.

In 1180, a difference having arisen between the men of the monks of Melrose and the herds of Richard de Morville, to settle this famous controversy, King William, accompanied by his earls, lords, and barons, perambulated the disputed ground, and appointed parties to be heard before him at Haddington. This event brought a vast assemblage of the chief men of the kingdom, clergy as well as laymen innumerable, when the king, like a good and pious prince, decided in favour of the monks of Melrose.

The year 1186 was distinguished by the marriage of William to Ermengarde, at Woodstock, 5th September, who was destined to be the mother of our "townsman" king. She was daughter of Richard viscount Beaumont, whose mother was a natural daughter of Henry I. Hence she was styled cousin of Henry II., who proposed the alliance. The dower of the queen was the castle of Edinburgh, the feudal services of forty knights, and the yearly revenue of one hundred pounds.

At Haddington, in 1191, William gave his daughter Isobel, (who had been the wife of Robert de Bruce),) to Robert de Ross in marriage.—She was of course a natural daughter. [William had a daughter Ada, married to Patrick earl of Dunbar, in 1184.] We are ignorant of her lineage; but it appears that William had issue by the daughter of Adam de Hituson.

The 24th August, 1198, was remarkable for the birth of Alexander II., in the palace of Haddington, on St Bartholomew's day.

In 1212, Alexander, prince of Scotland, received the order of knighthood from King John of England; and, on the 4th December, after a lingering illness, William died at Stirling, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign. He is characterized as a worthy and judicious prince, stern and inflexible in the administration of justice in a lawless age, and zealous in asserting the rights of the Scottican church. We have been thus particular in noticing the eventful life of William the Lion, as a prince decidedly our own,—as one who perambulated the scenes we now behold, but which we enjoy under a more cultivated aspect;—and as one who was the father of our townsman king.

CHAPTER II.

He was the third best knight persay.
That men knew living in his day.—BARBOUR.

ALEXANDER II.—MURDER OF THE EARL OF ATHOL.—ALEXANDER III.

Alexander II. succeeded his father at the age of seventeen, and was crowned at Scone, on the 5th December, 1212. To this prince the barons of Northumberland had recourse for protection against the fury of John, who, with his foreign mereenarics, ravaged their estates and debauched their families. They did homage to the young king at Felton, who afterwards invested the castle of Norham with all his forees; but after lying before the plaee forty days, he was forced to raise the siege. John, incensed at these proceedings, pursued his march northwards with the greatest expedition, in the depth of winter, and amidst the desolation of the country; for the barons of Yorkshire, like the Northumbrians, having sworn fealty to Alexander, destroyed their own houses and corn, that the English might be distressed for want of provisions. This served to whet the vengeance of the invader. After burning Roxburgh, he took the town and castle of Berwick, where the most barbarous cruelties were perpetrated in search of money and chattels; and the current report was that Jews were employed to assist in torturing the inhabitants to reveal where their troasure was hid. Advancing into Lothian, in 1216, he burned Dunbar and Haddington, with several places of smaller note: "We will smoke; we will smoke," said he, "the little red fox out of his covert!" Meanwhile Alexander had concentrated his forces on the river Esk, near Pentland, and John, either not wishing to risk a general engagement, or because his army could not subsist in a desolated country, retreated eastward, plundered the abbey of Coldingham, burned Berwick: and, like another Nero, disgraced majesty by exulting over tho flames of the houses which had sheltered him. These outrages were retaliated by Alexander's making an inroad into England. Penetrating into that country as far as Richmond, he received the submission of the inhabitants of the bishoprick of

Durham, and returning through Westmoreland and Cumberland,, ravaged and destroyed the country; the Highlanders, (to whom the Chronicle of Melrose gives the appellation of Scots,) acting with the same ferocity as the mercenaries of John. While Alexander was thus pursuing his successes, Haddington, which had been reduced to a smouldering pile of ruins, was hastily rebuilt with wood.

On the 25th June 1221, Alexander married Joan, princess of England, the sister of Henry III. Her jointure is stated at £1000 laudrent, out of the lands of Jedburgh, Lessuden, Kinghorn, and Crail.

Queen Ermengarde, the mother of Alexander, died in a venerable old age, and with unblemished fame, and was interred in the monastry of St Edward of Balmerino, which she had founded. This event happened in 1233. A few years afterwards the king lost his beloved Joan, who had sought relief at the supposed medicinal shrine of Thomas a Becket;

> And specially from every shire's end
> Of Engle-land to Canterbury they wend,
> The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
> That them hath holpen when that they were sick.
> —CHAUCER.

But the virtues of the saint, and the shade of Pæon, proved unpropitious, and she expired on the 4th March 1238.

This loss, however, was in some measure repaired, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a potent lord of Picardy. A family, which for wealth and antiquity almost rivalled the royal house of France. The laconic motto, embroidered on their banners, and shouted by their vassels as they rode to battle, marks the dignity of the house:

> "Je ni suis Roy ni Prince aussi,
> Je suis le Seigneur Couci."
>
> Neither king nor prince ye see,
> But the Baron of Couci.—TYTLER'S "Scots Worthies," I.

The treaty of marriage was concluded at Roxburgh, on the 15th May 1239.

In 1242, Haddington was the scene of an atrocious murder, which created a great sensation in Scotland, and involved the kingdom in a party war. At a tournament on the English borders, Patrick, sixth Earl of Athol, a youth of distinguished accomplishments, overthrew Walter or William Bisset, it not being distinctly ascertained which of the two, the chief of a powerful family, who resided in the neighbourhood of his estate. An ancient animosity existe i between them, which was now kindled into rage. The Earl of Athol on his return passed the night at Haddington. The house in which he lodged was set on fire, and he, with several of his followers, were either burned to death or slain in their retreat. It was supposed that the house was fired, that the murder might be concealed. The supposition naturally fell upon the defeated Bisset. The nobility flew to arms, and demanded his life. It was in vain that the king offered to bring the matter to a regular trial. The Comyns and other powerful nobles, headed by Patrick earl of Dunbar and March, excited to vengeance by David de Hastings, who had married the aunt and heir of Athol, would listen to no accommodation. On the other hand Bisset, in order to justify himself, procured sentence of excommunication to be published against the murderers in all the churches of the kingdom. He urged that he was fifty miles distant from Haddington at the time of the murder, and offered to maintain his innocence by single combat; yea, the young queen offered to make oath, "That Bisset had never devised a crime so enormous!" which evidently shewed that he was a royal favourite. This only fanned the flame of the malice of his enemies, which at length prevailed. For three months did they secretly seek to slay him, while the king concealed him in retreats inaccessible to their vengeance. As a mark of Bisset's ingratitude, on effecting his escape to England, he sought to embroil the two nations in a general war. He laid his sufferings before Henry, ascribing them as much to the weakness of the king as to the fury of the nobility; and flattered the vanity of that prince, by impressing him with the belief, that he was the superior lord of Alexander, and that the latter had no right to condemn persons of the supplicant's rank without his majesty's consent. He likewise added, that Geoffry de Marais, the father of William de Morises, a famous pirate who had lately been hanged, and who had lately escaped from the jails of England, had received protection at the Scottish court; and further, that Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, and other nobles, had erected a castle in Galloway and another in Lothian, contrary to the charters of their ancestors. Again appealing to his sword, he made a vow, "for the salvation of Athol's soul and his own, to repair to the Holy Land, and never to return!" a vow very unlikely to be made by one whose conscience was clear; yet a vow which he was compelled to adopt, and the kindred of Bisset seem to have been involved in his ruin. [Hailes' Annals, I.]

Henry found fault with these proceedings as violations of what was due to be conceded to him as a superior; but which Alexander as indignantly disclaimed. Jealousies, however, had previously arisen be-

tween the nations from another cause. Mary de Couci, queen of Scotland, was considered of a family unfavourable to the interests of England; and, it was supposed, that by her means, secret communication were held with France by her husband. Henry was, therefore, easily persuaded in his own mind to invade Scotland. He applied for aid to the Earl of Flanders,—instigated twenty-two Irish chiefs to make a landing in his favour,—intercepted the troops sent by John de Couci to aid his brother-in-law, and assembled a numerous army at Newcastle. Alexander, with equal promptitude, entered England with a great force, and arrived at Ponteland, within a few miles of the enemy. Happily Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and the Archbishop of York, a prelate who had a great love for the Scottish king, and who was desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, acted as mediators between the parties, and succeeded in concluding a peace at Newcastle. Not, however, till Alexander had given a charter to Henry as his liege lord, and come under an obligation not to correspond with the enemies of England in future. [At the ratification of the treaty of peace, four nobles, and as many prelates, swore, "on the soul of the Scottish King," to preserve the truce on his account, while the oath to procure the observance of the charter, was sworn by the same four prelates and twenty-four barons.—"Ridpath's Bord. Hist." The first in the list was Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who soon after fell a martyr to the crusades of that chivalrous but fanatical age. From the above document we learn the curious fact, that it was then the custom to "swear by proxy," which then might be as convenient as to vote by proxy now. In the border laws, established by both kingdoms, a few months before the death of Alexander, it was decreed, that, in settling their claims, the standard-bearer or constable of the army, should swear for the king of Scotland and bishop of St Andrews, etc.]

Before the Scots army marched upon England, they confessed themselves; and, animated by the exhortations of their preachers, they resolved to die in defence of the just rights of their country. It has been remarked, that the same practice was adopted by the sectarians at the battle of Doonhill, by men professing a different creed, about four hundred years afterwards, but with as little success. Thus shewing how little one age differs from another in point of religious feelings, whatever may be their difference in manners or improvement. [The description of the appointment of the two armies, as detailed by Matthew Paris, deserves to be preserved: "In Henry's army were 5000 horse, completely and finely armed:" The number of foot, which were characterised as a strong and numerous body, is not mentioned. "In Alexander's army were 1000 armed horsemen, mounted on good enough horses, although not Spanish, Italian, or others of great price, and competently provided with armour of iron or net work. His foot were about 100,000!" —This great array consisted of a number of old men, and many little better than boys, who either followed the army for plunder, or were pressed into the service.]

In 1244, Haddington, which had been rebuilt with wood, as formerly observed, was again totally consumed by fire. At this time houses were generally built of this combustible material; and, according to Walsingham, even those of Edinburgh had a mean appearance, and were covered with straw. [Building with wood carries us back to a very primitive if not barbarous state of the country, when our meadows that now wave with grain were covered with swamps and forests like the American wilderness. What would our aborigines have thought, if some gifted seer had propheeied, that six hundred years afterwards houses would be built with iron and thatched with paper? Yet such is the fact. Buildings of cast-iron, of considerable height, are rapidly increasing in England, so nicely constructed that they can be taken to pieces, and transported from one place to another, and sheathing was used at West Salton paper-mill thirty years ago as a roof for drying sheds.] Fordun mentions, that in the same night in which Haddington was burned, Roxburgh, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, and Montrose, shared a similar fate. The idea of six towns burned in different quarters on the same night is sublimely horrific, and shews that it must have been the preconcerted work of the enemy.

In 1285, the Yorkshire barons, who had confederated against King John, swore fealty to Alexander II. in the chapter-house of Melrose abbey.

Amity prevailed on the Borders during the few remaining years of the life of Alexander. Having repaired to the Western Isles of Scotland to subdue those piratical chiefs, who held their petty dominions as vassals of the kings of Norway, he was seized with a rapid and malignant fever, and died at Kerrera, a small island, in the sound of Mull, in 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Melrose, where his dust mingles with that of many a heroic Douglas, and where

> Through slender shafts of shapely stone,
> By foliaged tracery combined,

Thou wouldst have thought some fairy's hand
'Twixt poplars straight the osier wand
In many a freakish note had twined;
Then framed a spell when the work was done,
And changed the willow-wreathes to stone.
—"Lay of the Last Minstrel."

[The large marble stone, still pointed out as such, in the Abbey of Melrose, is supposed to be the monument of decayed royalty. According to the Norwegian Chronicle, Alexander was warned in a dream of the fatal termination of his expedition. "King Alexander," it says, "then lying in Kerarry Sound, dreamed a dream, and thought three men came unto him. He thought one of them was in royal robes, but very stern, ruddy in countenance, something thick, and of middling size. Another seemed of a slender make, but active, and of all men the most engaging and majestic. The third, again, was of very great stature, but his features were distorted, and of all the rest he was the most unsightly. They addressed their speech to the king, and inquired whether he meant to invade the Hebrides. Alexander thought he answered, that he certainly proposed to subject the island. The genius of the vision bade him go back, and told him that no other measure would turn to his advantage." The king related his dream, and many advised him to return, but the king would not; and a little time after he was seized with a disorder, and died. The Scottish army then broke up, and they removed the king's body to Scotland. The Hebridians say, that the men whom the king saw in his sleep were Saint Olive, king of Norway; St Magnus, earl of Orkney; and St Columba.—"Norse Chron. of the Expedition against Scot."—Tytler's "Scots Wor. I.]

There are no details of what the fleet and the army effected on the death of the king. During the minority of his successor the Norwegian standard still floated on the cliffs of Thurso, apparently showing that the mainland of Caithness was still a province of that country.

Alexander III. was born at Roxburgh, on the 4th September, 1241. He was the son of Mary de Couci, previously alluded to, and was only eight years of age when he ascended the throne.

On the death of the late Scottish king, Henry III, used his influence with Pope Innocent IV. to delay the coronation till he might have an opportunity of getting his title of feudal superiority acknowledged by the young monarch. This, however, the policy of the Scottish court took means to prevent. Escorted by a numerous and brilliant concourse of the nobility, the young king, after being invested with the belt, and receiving the golden spurs of knighthood, was crowned, in the ancient abbey of Scone, on the third of July 1249. Failing in his first object, Henry immediately proposed that the marriage between the young king and his daughter, the Princess Margaret, which had been previously agreed to by Alexander II., should now be consolidated. Notwithstanding the youth of both the parties the ceremony was agreed to by the court, and was performed at York with the greatest pomp. The king and queen of England; Mary de Couci, the queen-dowager of Scotland; and the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms were present, while, with Persian splendour, one thousand knights, clad in robes of silk, waited on the bride, and sixty knights attended the bridegroom. The royal party and their train were entertained by the Archbishop of York in the most sumptuous manner; and as a mark of the profusion of the banquet, for a single article of one day's consumption, the prelate slew sixty stalled oxen.

Amidst the fascination of these rejoicings, Henry again plied his insidious arts on the bridegroom, that he might obtain from him the same homage for Scotland, as was paid for various lands held off the crown of England. This attempt the young monarch evaded with becoming dignity. "I came here," said he, "by the invitation of the king of England, in all peace and good faith to enter into an alliance by marriage, and not to answer any such arduous question as is now proposed, upon which it is impossible for me to give any reply without the solemn advice of my council."

During the festival at York, other dark spirits were not idle. A conspiracy against the crown was formed by Sir Alan Durward, the High Justiciar, a powerful and ambitious baron, who had also proposed to delay the coronation, and who had married the illegitimate sister of the king. This plot was happily discovered, and the ring-leaders secured,—the youthful pair returned to Scotland,—and their persons, with the chief management of public affairs, were entrusted to Comyn, Earl of Menteith.

Durward, after about eight years confinement in England, was taken into the service of Henry in the French wars, over whom he gained considerable influence, and distinguished himself by his bravery. He soon found means, through his kindred and adherents in Scotland, to get false reports transmitted to the English court respecting the treatment of the young queen. The purport bore, that "she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, a sad and solitary place, without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome,—that

she was prevented from making excursions through the kingdom, and of choosing her female attendants,—which was aggravated by her being debarred from all familiar intercourse with her husband."

For the ostensible purpose of remedying these grievances, Henry, on his return from France, made a progress, along with the queen, towards the marches of the kingdom. The English troops, under the Earl of Gloucester and Maunsel, suddenly entered Scotland, and, in concert with the Earl of Dunbar, surprised and took possession of the castle of Edinburgh; received the king and queen into their custody, and conveyed them to the castle of Roxburgh, as a place of greater security from the baffled party. Fifteen of the principal nobility and gentry were appointed regents of the kingdom, and guardians of the royal minors, among these the following either had, or their successors now have, estates in East Lothian: Patrick, seventh earl of Dunbar and March; David de Lindsay, Gilbert de Hay.—[Sir Gilbert de Haya of Locherworth, ancestor to Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. The peerage, however, does not state that he was the same person mentioned above. He is evidently alluded to in "Marmion:"

> And many a knight hath proved his chance,
> In the charmed ring to break a lance,
> But all have foully sped;
> Save two, as legends tell, and they
> Were Wallace wight, and Gilbert Hay.]

and Hugh de Giffard. [Hugh Giffard of Yester, died in 1267. In his castle there was a capacious cavern formed by magical art, which still remains in a very entire state, and has been consigned to immortality by the author of "Marmion," We will have occasion to notice this enchanted hall in a further part of this work.] Besides this arrangement, Henry obtained a promise from Alexander that his daughter should be treated, not only with conjugal affection, but with every honour due to maturer years; and that he should take care to see the covenants and grants made to the regents ratified. All these promises, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, swore, "upon the king's soul," to see fulfilled.

Tranquillity was thus restored to the sister kingdoms; but Scotland was soon to be annoyed by a foreign foe. In 1263, the men of East Lothian were called to the Western shores to meet a descent of their ancient enemies, the Danes and Norwegians. From a similarity of circumstances it is possible that Alexander may have recalled to memory the warning genius of the dream which appeared to his royal father at Kerrera; and this may have led our great historical poet to the incident of carrying the king to the Goblin-hall of Yester, to consult the knight-magician on the result of the impending invasion:

> Lord Gifford, deep beneath the ground,
> Heard Alexander's bugle sound,
> And tarried not his garb to change,
> But, in his wizard habit strange,
> Came forth, a quaint and fearful sight,
> His mantle lined with fox-skins white,
> I know the cause, although untold,
> Why the king seeks his vassal's holde:
> Vainly from me my liege would know
> His kingdom's future weal or woe;
> But yet, if strong his arm and heart,
> His courage may do more than art.
> —"Marmion," Canto iii.

For more than three hundred years the country had been exposed to the descents of these piratical barbarians, who were encouraged by the English as a check upon their unconquerable neighbours. Early as the year 941, Anlaf, the Dane, spoiled the church of St Baldred, and burned the village of Tyningham, in Haddingtonshire. During the thirteenth century the Norwegians were considered the best shipbuilders and most skilful navigators in Europe, while the navy of Scotland was deplorable till the reign of the Jameses, when her intercourse with France made it necessary to improve and increase her shipping. The Danish and Norwegian fleet, led by King Hacho, entered the Firth of Clyde about the end of September, 1263. It consisted of one hundred and sixty vessels, which were calculated to contain upwards of twelve thousand men. Part of the armament having landed, subdued the isles of Arran and Bute, took the castle of Ayr, while some of the vessels having run up to Loch Long, the hardy Norsemen dragged their boats across the narrow neck of land which separates this loch from Loch Lomond, and finding the beautiful little islands with which it is studded, filled with inhabitants, they put the whole to the sword. From Loch Lomond, one of the Hebridean Norsemen, Allan, the brother of King Dugal, penetrated into the heart of Dumbarton and Stirling, destroying everything, and carrying off several head of cattle. Alexander, who had scarcely time to assemble a numerous army, met them in the field of Largs. The left division, consisting of the men of Lothian, Fife, the Merse, Berwick, and Stirling, was led by the Earl of Dunbar. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the invaders were completely routed; a dreadful hurricane happening at the same time destroyed the greater part of their fleet, and strewed the shore with fragments of wrecks; while

their king, with a few followers, effected his escape to the Orkneys with difficulty; and, sinking under a mortal disease, brought on by fatigue and anxiety, died in a few days. Such was the end of an expedition which created alarm even in England, and threatened to place the crown of Scotland on a foreign power,

> While all around the shadowy kings,
> Denmark's grim ravens, cower'd their wings.

In 1271, William de Soulis was knighted at Haddington by Alexander, and by the same monarch was appointed justiciary of Lothian.

Nothing particular occurred during the reign of Alexander after these events in which this country was engaged. He made several visits to England with his queen; and, in 1274, he assisted at the coronation of Edward I. A few years afterwards the queen died. Bereaved of all his children, he married Ioleta, a lady of extraordinary beauty, daughter of the Count de Dreux. A singular scene occurred at a ball given in honour of the nuptials at Jedburgh. When the floor was thronged with maskers, a figure, in the skeleton form of death, glided up to the queen, and invited her to dance. She gave a loud shriek, and falling into the arms of the king, the music ceased. Boece, with his usual credulity, expressly says that it was a skeleton. It was, however, discovered to be a mummery; but the incident destroyed the harmony of the evening, and was deemed by the superstitious as the presentiment of some national calamity,—a calamity which seemed verified by the death of the king about a year afterwards. Returning from Inverkeithing to Kinghorn, in a dark night, he stumbled over a precipice with his horse, and was killed on the spot. He died in March, 1285-6, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

CHAPTER III.

> Quhen Alysander oure Kyng was dede,
> That Scotland led in luive and le,
> Away wes sons of ale and brede,
> Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle;
> Our golde wes changed into lede;
> Chryst, borne into virgynyte,
> Succour Scotland, and remede,
> That stad is in perplexyte,
> —WYNTOWNE'S "Chron."

MARGARET OF NORWAY.—BRUCE AND BALIOL.—EDWARD I.—ROBERT BRUCE.—DAVID II.—EDWARD III.—THE BURNT CANDLEMAS.—ROBERT II.—BATTLE OF OTTERBURN.

Andrew Winton, prior of Lochleven, who wrote a rhyming chronicle of Scottish history about the year 1420, records that when Alexander III. was killed by a fall from his horse, the people, or the "unlettered muse," composed a brief song on the subject, in which they lamented the cessation of that extraordinary degree of plenty and prosperity which distinguished his reign, and anticipated the misery which was to arise from a disputed succession. The song, which we have quoted at the head of the chapter, is introduced by a couplet, which intimates that song-making was then a matter of common occurrence:

> This falyhyd fra he deyd suddanly;
> This sang wes made off hym for thi.

"From these rude canticles," Mr Robert Chambers observes, "one valuable historical fact is gathered, that the language of the English nation, and that of the Scottish lowlanders were then nearly the same."

On the death of Alexander, the sceptre devolved on Margaret of Norway, his granddaughter, who had been acknowledged heir to the crown of Scotland by the nobility in 1284. Being an infant, a regency was appointed, and the care of the kingdom confided to six guardians. In 1290, it was agreed that a marriage should take place as soon as possible between the young queen and Henry, Prince of England. Commissioners were instantly despatched to Norway for Margaret; but the royal blossom sickening on her passage, was landed in Orkney, where she languished and died. "At the rumour of her death," says the Bishop of St Andrews, "the kingdom was troubled, and its inhabitants sunk into despair. On the news of the queen's death, there were about a dozen of claimants for the crown on the female side amongst the nobility; and first in the field were Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Baliol, lord of Galloway, as descendants of the daughters of David earl of Huntington, the second son of David I. As it was impossible that these numerous claimants could be satisfied, the whole nation would have been involved in blood from the "hills of Gallowa" to the rocks of Dunbar,—[Patrick, Earl of March, claimed the crown, as the great grandson of Ada, natural daughter of William of Lyon, king of Scots.]—had not the sagacious Edward I. of England, offered his services to settle the dispute as mediator, on the competitors swearing fealty to him as Lord Paramount, or Superior of the kingdom of Scotland. This humiliating act each party complied with, no doubt thinking it serviceable to their cause in having such a powerful auxiliary. The whole of the competitors were set aside except Bruce and Baliol, who had nearly equal claims, and the disputes of these families gave rise to the succession wars,

in which Haddington, like other places on the borders, was occasionally involved. In 1293, Haddington, along with Berwick, was formally demanded of John Baliol by Edward I.;—[Ayloffe's Calendars of Ancient Charters.]—and, in a parliament held by Edward, in 1294, at which Baliol was present, an appeal was lodged by the Bishop of Durham, claiming the towns of Berwick and Haddington, with their appendages, as belonging to the church of Durham,—[Tradition declares, that the fine bells of Haddington Franciscan church, were carried to Durham during some of the English invasions.]—his lordship having in vain sought for justice in the Scottish court. Baliol was summoned by Edward, through the Sheriff of Northumberland, requiring satisfaction for the bishop's complaint, on the day after midsummer; but the result is not known. [Ridpath, who quotes Rymer.]

Of the servile scenes over which patriotism would fain draw a veil, which were acted at Brigham, Upsettlington, and Berwick, Haddington partook. In the numerous parliaments held at the former places, there were only three barons who could be deemed the representatives of the county. These were Patrick the Earl of Dunbar, Nicol de Graham, David le Marischal, and John de Vallibus or Vaux of Dirleton. The diocesan William, bishop of St Andrews, was the only ecclesiastic from Haddington. [Chalmer's Caledonia, II.]

After the fatal battle under the walls of the Castle of Dunbar, in 1296, the fate of Haddingtonshire and of Scotland was decided. [See Hist. Dunbar, p. 26.—In the battle fought by Edward at Dunbar, the Scots by an impetuous imprudence similar to what they afterwards exhibited in Cromwell's time, and nearly on the same ground, near Doonhill, in leaving the heights, where they had the advantage of the English army, lost a great number of men. The invaders thus got a double revenge for the taunting rhyme of the defenders of Berwick.

Thus scattered Scottis
Hold I for rootis,
Of wrenches unaware;
Early in a mornyng,
In an evyle tyding,
Went ye fra Dunnbarre.

After the battle of Dunbar, according to Langtoft, following up their sarcasm, the Inglis rymed thus:

Oure fote folk put thaim in the polk, and nakned ther nages,
Bi no way herd I nevir say of prester pages,
Purses to pike, robis to rike, and in dike tham schonne,
Thou wiffin Scotte of Abrethin, kotte is thi home.

The above verses were evidently intended as a retort courteous, for the following Scots sarcasm on the English monarch:

Weened Kyng Edwarde, with his lange shankes,
To have gete (got) Berwyke, al our unthankes?
Gas (gar) pikes hym,
And after gar dikes hym.

This rhyme, in which the similarity of the language to the preceding is conspicuous, is quoted by Ritson, from the Harleian MS.] The whole Scottish nobility, with the exception of William Douglas, who afterwards submitted,—[Sir William Douglas, captain of Berwick Castle, swore fealty to Edward in 1297, when he was restored to his estate.]—and persons of all ranks, swore allegiance to Edward I. at Berwick. The record of names, drawn up by a notary, filled a roll consisting of thirty-five skins of parchment, which is still preserved in the English archieves. In consequence of these engagements, the sheriffs of counties were commanded to restore to abbots, priors, and other ecclesiastics their lands, houses, and corns, that had been seized for the king. The sheriffs had orders to restore the same possessions to widows, whose husbands had been dead before the alliance of the Scots with France, and who were not since married to the king's enemies, with the reservation of these women's castles, which were to be disposed of at the pleasure of the guardian of the kingdom. The following are the gentlewomen of East Lothian who swore fealty to Edward in 1296:

Maria of Keith, relict of Philip de Keth;
Marjory of Sydeserf;
Alicia of Halyburton and Dirleton, relict of Philip Haliburton;
Helena of [Dunglas,] relict of Stephen Papidei;
Alicia of Ormiston;
Mabilla of Congalton;
Elene of Pepdie (Berwickshire), from whom the earls of Home, Marchmont, Dunbar (Hume), &c., are descended.

[Borthwick's Inquiry into Feudal Dignities. Edin. 1775.]

This prince of policy was in the habit of summoning ladies to attend him in war. In 1291, he issued mandates for the ladies of Cumberland and Westmoreland to join his train at Norham:

From whence the race of Albyn mothers come,
And the long glories of majestic Rome.—DRYDEN.

A list of the clerical landholders, who swore allegiance to Edward, will be found in the Ecclesiastical part of this volume.

The enterprises of Wallace, in 1297, checked for a while the ambitious projects of Edward: but, on his return from Flanders, in June, 1298, he was determined to

prosecute the war against Scotland with vigour; and advancing by moderate marches, wasted and destroyed every object that impeded his progress. After a gallant defence Dirleton castle surrendered to Anthony Beck, the Bishop of Durham, who wielded the sword perhaps more adroitly than the pastoral staff,—[The magnificent ruins of Dirleton castle will be noticed in a further portion of this work. The bravery of the clergy was not confined to England. On a landing of the English at Inverkeithing, in 1317, a party under the Earl of Fife and Sheriff were discomfited or intimidated by superior numbers. They were met by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, who exclaimed to the commanders, "Whither are you flying,—you deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off,"—then throwing aside his ecclesiastic vestments, he seized a spear and shouted, "Who loves Scotland follow me!"—The Scots rallied with their pious leader, and drove the English back to their ships with considerable loss. When the king heard of the intrepidity of the prelate, he said, "Sinclair shall be my bishop, under the appellation of the King's Bishop."—"Hailes' Annals," I.]—and the English forces proceeding westward, fought and won the hard contested field of Falkirk, on 22nd July, 1299.

Some years elapsed before Edward was able to pacify a haughty and distracted country. By an ordinance to that effect, issued in 1305, the domestic rule of this constabulry was entrusted to Ive de Adeburgh, as sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington.

The accession of Bruce to the throne in 1306, changed the face of public affairs, and he granted many political and commercial liberties to the burgh, which soon had an opportunity of supporting his cause. The title of Robert I. to the Scottish crown had not yet been acknowledged by the papal authority. In 1317, Pope John XXII. issued a bull, commanding a truce for two years between the rival kingdoms, under pain of ex-communication from the benefits of the church, and to carry this into effect two cardinals were dispatched to Britain with private instructions to inflict the highest spiritual censure on Bruce, and on others who might deserve reproof. Unfortunately for their mission, their credentials were addressed to Robert Bruce, "governing in Scotland," while the title of king was omitted. This insult was too gross to be overlooked. The king indignantly declined receiving their packets, but the mortified cardinals were bold enough to proclaim of their own accord the papal truce in Scotland. This hazardous office was entrusted to Adam Newton, guardian of the monastry of Minorites at Berwick. He found the king of Scotland with his army in a wood near Old Cambus, making preparations for the siege of Berwick; and although personal access was denied, the obedient monk performed his duty, proclaimed the truce by the authority of the pope, and tendered his credentials. The king returned the instruments, and exclaimed, "I will listen to no bulls, until I am treated as king of Scotland, and have made myself master of Berwick." The monk, terrified at this answer, requested a safe-conduct to Berwick, or liberty to pass into Scotland with letters for the clergy. Both of these requests were denied. He was waylaid, stripped, robbed of his parchments and instructions, and the pope's bull torn with little ceremony by the robbers. In the skirts of the ancient wood of Old Cambus, the youth of Haddingtonshire were assembled under the Earl of Dunbar, to assist their loyal benefactor, and learn the art of war under Randolph and Douglas. One Spalding, a citizen of Berwick, betrayed the post where he kept guard to a Scottish lord, (probably Dunbar,) who communicated the information to the king. "It is well,"said he, "that you made me your confident; for if you had told this either to Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust; both, however, shall aid you in the enterprise." The troops cautiously advanced, the walls were scaled, and in a few hours the assailants were masters of the town. The reduction of Berwick was followed up by an inroad into Northumberland, when the castles of Wark and Harbottle were taken by siege, and Mitford by surprise. [Hailes' Annals, II. See also "St Baldred of the Bass and other Poems," where the author has woven this incident into a Ballad.] From these events we learn, what a critical game kings have to play on a contested throne. Napoleon was harassed by the altercations betwixt Davoust and Murat in the Russian Campaign, and here The Bruce, the adopted of his country, must study the temper of his haughty chiefs.

After the sanguinary battle of Halidon Hill, Berwick again surrendered to the English. The valiant Bruce was gathered to his fathers; and after a life of vicissitude and war, calmly slept in Dunfermline's aisles. During the minority of David II., Edward Baliol, brother to King John of that name, urged his family's pretensions to the crown, and courted the assistance of Edward II., by sacrificing both his own liberty and that of his country. He ceded to him the castles of Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh, and all the

south eastern counties of Scotland; in which, at least, part of Haddington must have been included.

In 1336, an amatory incident occurred, which shewed upon what slight events civil broils might be created. Alan of Winton having forcibly carried off Margaret, the heiress of Seton, produced a feud in East Lothian, some favouring the ravisher, while others sought to bring him to punishment. On this occasion one hundred ploughs were laid aside from labour: a proof of the advanced state of agriculture in that district at this early period. This was no uncommon method of courtship in that iron age. The prior of Lochleven states that William Murray, then lying in Edinburgh castle, was the chief aid and support of Alan in this "love riot!"

Till the memorable siege of Dunbar castle, by the Earl of Salisbury, in 1337, nothing particular occurs in our history. In the absence of her lord, this strong holde was defended by Black Agnes, the daughter of Randolph; and so resolutely, that after an investment of nineteen weeks, and after every art was practised that force could direct, or stratagem devise, the enemy withdrew. The great object of the English seems to have been to starve the garrison into submission; but this was happily prevented by that pink of chivalry, Sir Andrew Ramsay, who, with a few hardy followers, in a small boat, entered a dark postern next the sea, and brought them provisions during the night. [The gallant defence of the castle is fully detailed in the "History of Dunbar," which must be familiar to many of our readers. The noble family of Lauderdale is descended from Lady Agnes in the female line.]

The restless spirit of the Scots did not slumber when the hero of Crecy was pursuing his contests in France. He had invested Calais with every prospect of success, and now the king of France, feeling alarmed, applied to David to invade England, as the likeliest means of creating a diversion in his favour, by drawing off some of the forces from the siege; and this application was supported by the irresistible argument of men and money. The politic Edward, apprehensive of the storm, yielded so far, for the sake of purchasing the friendship of David, as to offer him the restitution of Berwick, and if we may credit the Scottish historians, to deliver his rival Baliol into his power. David, however, was not thus to be propitiated. Perhaps he recollected the dying advice of his father, not to "take ony lang peace with Inglismen; for the ingine of man growis dull and febill be lang sleuth;"—[Hailes' Annals, II. 272.]—and contrary to the advice of the prudent and gallant Douglas, he rushed into the field.

David, with fifty thousand men, invaded England by the western border, took the fortress of Liddel, and put the garrison to the sword; and spreading terror and desolation in his progress through Cumberland and the southern parts of Northumberland, he found himself in the neighbourhood of the cloistered shades of Durham. Queen Philippa of England, alarmed at David's triumphant success, summoned her peers and prelates to meet her at York, and, with their assistance, collected a chosen body of sixteen thousand men. The advanced guards of the English found the Scots encamped at Neville's cross, where a desperate battle ensued. Victory long wavered on the Scottish side. The English archers were driven back by the battle-axes and broad swords of Scotland, till Baliol, advancing to their assistance, broke through the battalion commanded by Robert the High Stewart, with a strong body of horse. The scale of battle was turned. David, although twice wounded, fought bravely, and refused to ask quarter. He rallied his disordered troops, who, with undaunted valour, like the men of Flodden field in aftertimes, formed a bristling circle round their sovereign;

> The English shafts in volleys hailed,
> In headlong charge their horse assailed:
> Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep,
> To break the Scottish circle deep,
> That fought around their king.
> But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
> Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
> Though bill-men deal the ghastly blow,
> Unbroken was the ring:
> The stubborn spear-men still made good
> Their dark impenetrable wood,
> Each stepping where his comrade stood,
> The instant that he fell.
> —"Marmion," Canto vi.

These brave men fought against fearful odds till their number was gradually reduced to eighty, when they were forced to yield and see their monarch taken prisoner. Thus terminated the battle of Durham, which David rushed upon with a sad fatality. He was now a captive in the spring of life, and his country in the hands of factious rulers. After this defeat, a truce was concluded between England and France, in which Scotland was included; and which was prolonged nearly eight years, notwithstanding the constant infringement of it on the part of the Borderers.

In 1355, the truce had scarcely expired, when hostilities were renewed in France by Edward III. He was accompanied by the Black Prince, the brave son of an am-

bitious father. King John, as usual, called in the assistance of his allies the Scots, to create a diversion in his favour, and for that purpose sent over Eugene de Garentiere, an eminent French knight, with a select band of sixty men-at-arms, and 40,000 crowns, —[These gold coins bore the impression of the "Angus Dei." This the vulgar mistook for a sheep, calling the coins "mutons."]—to be expended in levying and maintaining a body of regular troops. This money the Guardian and nobles thought fit to share among themselves; and followed the good old plan of harassing the English by the moonlight foray and the bold inroad. [This is stated on the authority of Ridpath.] Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and Lord William Douglas, having united their forces, sent William Ramsay of Dalhousie, another knight of the same approved race of valour, in advance, to burn and plunder the populous village of Norham. This was effected; and as a considerable body of the enemy was approaching, Sir William allowed them to advance, in order that he might draw them into a pursuit. He then fled before them to Nisbet-moor in the Merse, where the Scots were lying in a deep ambuscade, and the English being unexpectedly attacked by superior numbers, were routed, after a gallant resistance. Sir Thomas Gray, with his son and heir, Sir James Dacres, and other considerable Englishmen, were made prisoners; and on the side of the Scots, two brave knights, Sir John Haliburton and Sir James Turnbull, were slain. Encouraged by this success, the victors formed a scheme for the recovery of Berwick. Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, in concert with the Earl of Dunbar, having collected a number of ships from different ports of Scotland, filled them with brave warriors, and in a dark night disembarked them on the northern side of the mouth of the Tweed. From thence they moved to the foot of the walls of Berwick, and applying their ladders to the port called Cowgate, soon mastered the place. Sir Alexander Ogle, captain of the town, was killed, with other two English knights. In the assault the Scots lost no fewer than six knights, amongst whom are some names familiar to us, such as Sir Thomas Vaux and Sir William Sinclair. In the reduction of Berwick, Garentiere, the French knight, and his followers distinguished themselves. The Scots, however, not succeeding in taking the castle, their triumph was unhappily of short duration. The whole of the proceedings since the battle of Durham had brought misery and vengeance on the country, and Haddington was destined most severely to feel the blow.

Edward III. on receiving intelligence of these transactions, returned from the field of his fame with all expedition; leaving the care of France to the brave Black Prince, and arrived in London, on the 17th November, 1355. From his parliament which was then sitting, he obtained a subsidy for six years, of 50s. on every sack of wool sold in the kingdom, to enable him to prosecute the war with vigour. [The wool trade was so considerable, that, according to Walsingham, the tax produced 350,000 merks per annum.] He remained only three days in the capital; when, putting himself at the head of the army, he pursued his march northwards, and arrived at Durham on the 23rd December. From this city he issued a proclamation, commanding all men in the several counties of the kingdom, betwixt the age of sixteen and sixty, to repair to him at Newcastle, by the 1st of January, 1356. Having partaken of his Christmas cheer at Durham, he reached Berwick, on the 14th January. His navy had now arrived in the mouth of the Tweed, and as he laid siege to the town by sea and land, it soon capitulated. Leaving a sufficient number of men to garrison Berwick and repair the fortifications, Edward divided his army into three bodies, and taking the lead of one of the divisions, he repaired to the castle of Roxburgh, where Baliol made a solemn surrender of his rights, by delivering up his crown and some of the soil of the kingdom to the English monarch; and yielding all right to his family estate, declared him his heir. For this great boon he was only to receive a paltry annual pension. [Had Edward Baliol fallen at Durham, the bravery of his death might in some measure have atoned for the errors of his life. His family had an equal right to that throne with The Bruce, which they forfeited by their traitorous conduct to their country. The crown which he won at the battle of Duplin, he lost at Annan; and the surrender of his rights at Roxburgh completed the humiliating scene:

> So glory's thrill is o'er,
> And hearts that once beat high for praise,
> Now feel that charm no more.—Moore.]

He spent the remainder of his days in obscurity, and the historians of his country are silent in regard to the time of his death. He died childless in 1363.—["Hailes' Annals," II.]

While Edward remained at Roxburgh, Earl Douglas, and some other crafty nobles, amused him with proposals of submission, in order that they might gain time to transport their moveables of value beyond the Forth. This effected, they sent him a defiance, upon which, greatly incensed, he

led his numerous forces into East Lothian, and desolating the country, advanced to Haddington, in all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," where he remained ten days waiting the arrival of his fleet. [Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 342.]

The Scots had taken their usual precaution of driving off the cattle, and removing every sort of victual beyond the reach of the enemy; and, to add to their discomfort, for fifteen days the army had no drink but water. Their distress was further heightened by the fleet of transports, laden with provisions and other necessaries, being dispersed or wrecked by a violent tempest in the Firth of Forth. The superstitious ideas of the age ascribed this disaster to divine vengeance, as a mark of displeasure for some sacrilege the English sailors had committed, at the church of the Virgin Mary of Whitekirk, and the destruction of other religious houses. This anecdote is gravely related by Boece in his Latin chronicle. We subjoin the translation of John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, whose work is considered the purest specimen we possess of the early prose of Scotland, and which has afforded a valuable mine for modern lexicographers, to enable them to rescue the Scottish language from that oblivion to which it was fast hastening.

"Nocht lang efter, King Edward come to Hadingtoun, to the gret dammage of all pepill lyand thairabout. Ane part of his navy spulyet the kirk of Our Lady, called the Quhit Kirk; and returnit with the spulye thairof to thair schippis. Bot thair sacralege was not long unpunist; for suddanly rais ane north wind, and raschit all thair schippis sa violently on the see bankis and sandis, that few of thaim eschapit, safe only sa mony as swame to land. King Edward, in contemptioun of God, becaus his navy was trubillit in this maner, perwisit all abbayis and religius placis quhan he come, with gret cruelte. Treuth is, ane Inglisman spulycit all the ornamentis that was on the image of Our Lady, in the Quhite Kirk; and, incontinent, the crucifix fel doun on his heid, and dang out his harnis (brains.)" [Bellonden's Boece, I.] This circumstance is also alluded to by Fordun, in his Scotichronicon:—"Landing from their ships, the English rushed upon the abbey church of Our Lady, stripped her image, which no man hitherto had wickedly touched with impunity, and robbed her of her ornaments." These decorations were necklaces of gold, rings, bracelets, and other valuable gifts, "the pious offerings of the faithful, which she gracefully wore." [Fordun, xiv. 13.] But

> They whom once the desert beach
> Pent within its bleak domain,
> Soon their ample sway shall stretch
> O'er the plenty of the plain.
>
> Now the storm begins to lower,
> Haste, the loom of hell prepare,
> Iron-sleet of arrowy shower,
> Hurtles in the darken'd air.
>
> —GRAY'S "Bard."

It appears that a miracle was necessary to arrest the destructive progress of Edward, which is further recorded by Fordun, whose learning and piety are unquestioned, and who, doubtless, believed what he wrote. "At that time," says our historian, "he might easily have scattered, demolished, destroyed; nay utterly wasted the land of Scotland, both far and near, had not the Mother and Virgin, the refuge of the wretched, quickly come to the relief of the nation in this extremity. While Edward remained at Haddington, thirsting for the blood of the Scots, the Virgin, the singular fountain and origin of devotion, by her pious prayers, obtained from her son, who has said, 'Without me, ye can do nothing,' a tempestuous wind of such violence, accompanied with such inclemency of weather, that the ships, shattered by the raging billows and rocks, sunk and dispersed, and could bring no supplies to the king."

These disastrous circumstances irritated the temper of Edward. The conqueror of France, baffled, like Napoleon, by the elements, and harassed on every side by small parties of the Scots, found his difficulties increase as he advanced, and no safety remained but in a prudent retreat. Inflamed by disappointment and rage, the work of destruction was seriously begun. He poured the vial of his wrath on Edinburgh and Haddington, and laid every town, village, and hamlet in ashes; while every public record shrivelled beneath the torch of the invader; and, in the words of an acute historian, "more resembling the frantic John, than the conqueror at Cressy, he spared not the edifices consecrated to religion." [Lord Hailes.] He burned the town and reduced to ashes the monastery of Haddington, and nearly destroyed the church of the Minorites or Franciscans, which, from the lights constantly burning before its numerous altars, was called "Lucerna Laudoniæ," or the "Lamp of Lothian." This circumstance is given on the authority of Fordun, who says, "He burned the town, the monastery, and the sacred church of the Fratres Minores of Haddington, a costly and splendid building of wonderful beauty, whose quire, from its elegance and clearness of light, was commonly called the Lamp of Lothian,—and a church which was the singular solace of the pious in that part of

the country. It now behoved the "ruthless king," so lately fanned by conquest's crimson wing, to make his retreat from an injured and despoiled country.

> The scourge of heaven. What terrors round him wait;
> Amazement in his van, with flight combined,
> And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind.
> —GRAY'S "Bard."

While part of Edward's army crossed the borders at Ettrick forest, it was attacked by Lord Douglas, who slew great numbers. This invasion happened in February, about the time of the feast of the purification, and was long remembered as an era among the people of Scotland by the name of the Burnt Candlemas.

After this inglorious retreat, the partisans of Edward were expelled from the west marches; and Nithsdale, Annandale, and the interior of Galloway, over which he had held despotic sway, were reduced. On his return, he issued a proclamation, intimating that he was resolved, as sovereign of Scotland, to maintain inviolate the ancient laws and usages of that kingdom. The affairs of France, however, now required the whole attention of Edward. The Black Prince had penetrated too far into the country; and the Scots, enjoying a momentary tranquillity, and, as if burning to revenge the late inroad, crowded from every quarter to join the French standard. Amongst the bravest of the brave was Lord Douglas, who, forgetful of a religious pilgrimage, tendered his sword to the French king, and was received with every military honour. The rival armies met in the vineyard of Maupertuis; and, after an immense carnage, the great battle of Poictiers was gained by the king of England and his warlike son.

In March 1357, at the intercession of the Pope, a truce was effected between England and France for two years; but the Scots who chose to negotiate for themselves, only concluded a suspension of hostilities for six months. Edward, however, on his late departure for France, showed an inclination to enter into a treaty for the ransom of David, who had now been in captivity eleven years. He probably considered that it would be much easier to manage Scotland with a sovereign at its head, than under the factious reign of contending parties. This treaty, so much desired by the nation, was now resumed, and 100,000 merks sterling demanded as the price. To consider the matter, a parliament was held at Edinburgh by the Regent, on the 26th September. Adam de Hadinton and Adam de Congalton were appointed by the town of Haddington, as commissioners of the burgh, to meet other burgesses, to consult together, and treat for the liberation of the king. At this meeting it was agreed that the exhorbitant sum should be paid, and the king was released. From the impoverished state of the country, considerable difficulty arose in liquidating the ransom, in which Haddington bore her share; but until the death of David II., which occurred at Edinburgh in 1370, she appears to have suffered repose from the miseries of war.

David was succeeded by his nephew Robert II., the Steward of Scotland. The beginning of his reign was soon stained by those bloody inroads, which the two rival nations were continually urging against each other. Edward III. had now buried his victories in the winding-sheet of his race, when some new and enormous taxes being imposed, roused the vassals of England into rebellion, and carried them to seek redress at the very foot of the throne of the youthful monarch. [Richard II.] Their vengeance was particularly directed against John Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, whom they regarded as the chief author of these oppressions. They laid in ashes his palace of the Savoy; and he might have fallen a sacrifice to their fury, had he not been absent on a mission to Scotland. During these violent proceedings, the duke, who was warden of the northern marches, visited Berwick, for the purpose of effecting a peace with that country; and retired to Haddington, where he remained for some time, and from thence was conducted by the Earls of Douglas and Murray to the castle of Holyrood, where he was magnificently entertained, and enjoyed the cheer of Scottish hospitality, till the disturbances in his own country were quelled, and he could return home in safety. [Major, 115. Fordun xiv. 46.]

On the expiry of the truce, which lasted for three years, the Scots renewed hostilities, and, in the depth of a cold and stormy winter, retook the castle of Lochmaben, which had been long in possession of the English. Alarmed at the vigorous activity of an energetic people, the English turned their attention to the security of Roxburgh, and, to strengthen the castle against a siege, despatched the baron of Graystock with troops, and a long train of waggons and beasts of burden, laden with provisions and arms for the use of the garrison. This was too valuable prey to be overlooked. He was intercepted by the Earl of March, who, after a desperate conflict, routed the party, and made the Baron prisoner, with many others. Graystock was courteously conducted to the castle of Dunbar, where he was sumptuously entertained by his noble

host, and had the mortification to see himself served with the rich plate, and regaled with the choice wines, which he was entrusted to convey to his friends at Roxburgh.

Enraged at the successful skirmishes of the Scots, about Easter, Richard II., accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, advanced through Northumberland, with an army of thirty thousand men, and entering Scotland by the eastern marches, proceeded through Lothian, destroying the towns and villages on their way, till they reached Edinburgh, while a fleet accompanied their progress by sea, and safely anchored in the Firth of Forth. The brutal soldiery were anxious to plunder and burn the city of Edinburgh; but the duke had now an opportunity of evincing his gratitude for the hospitable reception he had once met with in Holyrood's towers, and the metropolis was saved.

The fierv battle of Otterburn was fought by the Scots, under Douglas, and the English under Percy, on the 5th August, 1388. The soldiers of East Lothian were commanded by the Earls of March and Moray, and amongst these were the Lindsays, Hepburns, Setons, and Haliburtons, and the flower of the county. It was here where the younger Percy, surnamed Hotspur, (in allusion to his ardent valour,) and afterwards immortalised by Shakspeare, particularly distinguished himself. In the evening the Scots were carelessly encamped, and most of the warriors had laid aside their armour. The Earls of Douglas, March, and Moray, had sat down to supper in the commander's tent, when they were suddenly roused by the trumpets of the English. Douglas, in the confusion of the moment, tarried not to array himself in complete armour,—[A very important matter at that period, when both warriors and their steeds were housed in cases of steel. It is recorded that more than one year was employed in making the armour of Douglas and his esquire.]—but rushed fearlessly to the combat, in order if possible to break the first attack of the enemy, and but for the bravery of Patrick Hepburn of Hailes and his son, he would have been taken prisoner by the impetuous Hotspur. The darkness of the night awhile parted the combatants, till the battle was renewed by moonlight.

The Scottish spearmen were about giving way to the English, when John Swinton, a brave knight, instead of pushing forward with his spear, raised it aloft, and, with herculean strength, smashed the shafts of the foremost columns of the enemy. He did this with such effect, that that panic so fatal in battle was instantly created, and gave the victory to the Scots. This victory, however, was bought at a high price. The gallant Douglas, who had rushed carelessly to the fight, for want of defensive armour in the most vulnerable parts, fell mortally wounded in the head and neck,—when as a mark of true affection and bravery after this great man fell, his body was gallantly defended by his chaplain, William of North Berwick. [Pinkerton, I. 40.] In this battle extraordinary feats of valour were performed on both sides. The two Percys were taken prisoners; and, according to Harding, Hotspur was led to Dunbar. [Hist. Dunbar, 68.]

The affable treatment of illustrious prisoners in that barbaric age must frequently have led to private friendships: hence we find the fiery youth, now the prisoner of the Earl of Dunbar, in conjunction with him some years afterwards, carrying destruction into East Lothian, at the head of the Northumbrian Yeomanry. This tergiversation of the Earl from his country, was occasioned by the non-fulfilment of a matrimonial engagement. Next to the Stewarts, the Douglases and Dunbars were the most potent lords in Scotland. From the family of the latter, the king wished to provide a wife for his son and heir, the young Duke of Rothsay, and the Earl of Dunbar, proud of such an alliance, agreed to pay a high dowry with his daughter Elizabeth. The lady was already betrothed, and the consummation of the nuptials fixed, when the Earl of Douglas, jealous of the advantages which this marriage promised to a family that already rivalled his own, protested against the espousals, till they should be sanctioned by parliament: and, during the delay, by his intrigues at court, he succeeded in seducing the minds of the king and the prince from the intended marriage; and, with the bribe of a heavier dowry, saw his daughter Marjory exalted to the princely coronet of Rothesay. Another incident occurred, which fanned the earl's revenge. During his absence in England, he intrusted the custody of the castle of Dunbar to his nephew, Robert Maitland of Ledingtoun,—[Lethington, now Lennoxlove.]—who, either from the dread of the indignation of his royal master, or treachery, surrendered the fortress to young Douglas. In vain did the earl profess that he had visited England under a passport for the transaction of private business,—the Douglases and the Stewarts knew too well how "to turn occurrence to their own advantage," and the government would listen to no compromise. The wavering chief no longer hesitated to take arms against his country, while his vassals and kinsmen keenly espoused his cause. These, issuing in small

predatory bands, annoyed the burgesses and peasantry in a more harassing manner than if they had been at once subjected to the wasting career of a great army. Descending from the Lammermoors, the Earl of Dunbar, accompanied by Henry Hotspur, at the head of 2000 men, entered Lothian by Pople, and advancing to the river Tyne, laid siege to the ancient castle of Hailes, which gallantly withstood their assault. Foiled in this attack, they applied the torch to the villages of Hailes and Traprene, and thence penetrated to Haddington with terrible devastation. They appear to have returned by the village of Merkhill, which they also burned, and encamped at Prestonkirk on the northern side of the river. Young Douglas, who had mustered his forces at Edinburgh, suddenly came upon "the spoil encumbered foe." Their booty and baggage were left behind; and this bloody inroad ended in a precipitate retreat, in which the fugitives were successfully pursued to the gates of Berwick. [Pinkerton, I. 64.]

CHAPTER IV.

On Lauder's dreary flat,
Princes and favourites long grew tame,
And trembled at the homely name
Of Archibald Bell-the-Cat.—SCOTT.

HENRY IV.—ROBERT III.—JAMES III.—CAMP AT LETHINGTON.—BELL-THE-CAT. — JAMES IV.—PROGRESS OF QUEEN MARGARET.—BATTLE OF FLODDEN.—THE REGENCY OF ALBANY.—EARL OF HOME.—JAMES V.— TANTALLON CASTLE.

Instigated by these mighty and defeated chiefs, Henry IV. of England, who was now firmly seated on the usurped throne of Richard, was easily persuaded to invade Scotland, in order that his superiority might be acknowledged and secured. From Newcastle he sent letters to the king and prelates of Scotland, requiring them to meet him at Edinburgh, on the 23rd August; and, in the event of his knights or squires finding any difficulty in delivering the packets to whom they were addressed, they were commanded to issue proclamations to the same effect at Edinburgh and other public places of the kingdom. Henry proceeded to Berwick with a large army, while his fleet, coasting along the shore, sailed into the Forth with supplies. As Kelso is mentioned among the places where the proclamations were to be made, it seems probable that he entered Lothian by the southern marches of Lammermoor; for he arrived at Haddington, on the 15th August 1400, where he remained three days, and was accommodated with apartments in the nunnery, for which he bounteously rewarded the holy sisterhood; and, as if desirous to propitiate his enemies by his piety, celebrated the assumption of the Virgin Mary in her churches. [Bower, xv. 2.] Contrary to the practice of late invasions, the monasteries and other religious edifices were held sacred from the violations of the soldiery, and both the petty baron and lowly clown, who sought protection, did not seek it in vain.

Henry IV. leaving Haddington, marched to Leith, where his vessels awaited him. He found his endeavours fruitless to bring the Scots to a pitched battle,—that the castle of Edinburgh could not be taken,—and that his provisions gradually wasted away in a famishing land. Where nothing was to be conceded, and nothing gained, it was useless to remain: he accordingly commenced his retreat, and arrived in Newcastle by the beginning of September. He had treated the country with lenity; and in his retreat he was little harassed by the Scots. His extraordinary clemency, so different from the ruthless Edward, was ascribed to the gratitude he felt for the hospitality his father had received from the Scottish nation during the rebellion of Wat Tyler; but the consideration of the danger to which his usurped throne was yet exposed from civil dissension, was a forcible motive for his courting the friendship of his formidable rival. [Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 369.]

After the expiry of a short truce, the Earl of Dunbar and his vassals, in conjunction with the English borderers, continued to infest the Scottish marches. To repel these aggressions, Archibald, Earl of Douglass, to whom the chief direction of military affairs was intrusted, sent forth parties under different leaders; amongst these were Thomas Halyburton, lord of Dirleton, and Patrick Hepburn, younger of Hailes. The latter, who had penetrated too far into England, was suddenly attacked at Nisbet Moor, in the Merse, by the Earl of Dunbar, on the 22nd June 1402. Hepburn, with the flower of the youth of East Lothian, fell in the battle, and John and William Cockburn, John and Thomas Halyburton, and Robert Lauder of the Bass, with many others were taken prisoners. This affray was followed by an inroad into England by Douglas, in the August following, and led to the fatal battle of Halidon-hill, where Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and several of the Scottish nobility and gentry were slain, while no person of note fell on the side of the English, whose victory was ascribed to the skill of their archers.

Amidst the disasters of his country, the

King of Scots, overcome by mental weakness, and the infirmities incident to extreme age, was sinking fast to the tomb. Anxious to secure his second son James from the dark arts of Albany, which had proved so fatal to his eldest son, he resolved on sending the heir of the crown to France, where he might receive an education suitable to his rank, and remain in security from the intrigues of his uncle, till he arrived at the period of manhood and of power. To Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, the young prince was intrusted, who was escorted by a gay and gallant company of Scottish gentlemen to the Bass. Here they waited the favouring breeze for a few days, and then set sail; but ere they could clear the English coast, they were captured by a ship of war, and carried prisoners to Flamborough Head. [Fordun, xv. 18.—Major, vi. 8.—Heron, III.] Although a truce at this time subsisted between the rival nations, the prize of a prince was too valuable for Henry to yield. Robert, on the verge of life, could not sustain the frustration of his hopes. He languished for a few days, and, refusing food, expired in the Castle of Rothesay, in the isle of Bute, in the year 1406, and was interred in the Abbey of Paisley.

Through the mediation of Walter Halyburton of Dirleton, (who was married to the daughter of Albany, now governor of Scotland,) the Earl of Dunbar, with some restrictions in favour of Douglas, was restored to his estates. This restoration for a while saved the country from those dreadful broils, which had so long agitated the borders. Unhappily, in 1435, these agitations were revived. Earl George was accused of treason, in holding estates and titles which the tergiversations of his predecessors had forfeited, and which the Regent Albany had no right to bestow. The extensive lands of the earldom of Dunbar and March, so often the witnesses of the red glory of the battle-field, were, by a decree of parliament, confiscated to the king. James, however, could not altogether forget the share which the Earl of Dunbar had in his liberation: and, in order to mitigate in some degree the harsh sentence, bestowed on him the earldom of Buchan, or rather an assignment over the revenues of that estate. This forfeiture was reckoned highly injudicious, as the Earl of Dunbar was a powerful rival and check to the overgrown influences of the Douglases. The family of Hepburn of Hailes, who were originally vassals of Dunbar, now rose into power on the ruins of that lordship. Adam Hepburn was appointed governor of the Castle of Dunbar, where the Queen-mother resided while it was under his charge. Several of the barons, who formerly held the lands of his extensive earldom as subjects-superior, now became tenants-in-chief of the king; and this earldom, at that period, comprehended, in East Lothian alone, the lands of Dunbar, Spott, Biel, Whittingham, Hailes, Markle, and Fortune. [Chalmers' Cal. II.]

In the summer of 1436, the Princess Margaret of Scotland was conveyed to France, in order that her espousals might take place with her betrothed husband, Louis, the son of Charles VII. The English beheld this proceeding with a menacing eye; and, with a squadron, endeavoured vainly to intercept the voyage. The quiet of the borders was, however, soon to be disturbed by this incident, war was declared, and the Earl of Northumberland, with an army of 4000 men, prepared to advance on the Scottish marches He was met on his own territories by Douglas, near the mountains of Cheviot. This expedition was accompanied by the men of the Lothians, under Adam Hepburn of Hailes, Alexander Elphingston of Elphingston, and Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. A fierce battle ensued at Pepperden, in which the Scots were victorious. Elphingston, much celebrated for his valour, fell on the field, and about 200 of the Scottish army, while on the other side, besides Sir Richard Percy, 1500 gentlemen and commoners were slain. [Ridpath.] James I. was prevented from following up the enterprise by a plot against his life. He was assasinated in the convent of the Dominicans at Perth, while at supper with the queen, and fell beneath the daggers of that faction that had planned the ruin of the house of Dunbar.

In 1471, when James III. was engaged in open war with Douglas and other rebellious chiefs, the state of the country was most deplorable: that faithless and unprincipled motto seems then to have been adopted,

> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.—Wordsworth.

Torn by domestic feuds, it was found necessary to fortify the granges of convents. The injured nuns of Haddington, laid a complaint before the privy council against the Lairds of Yester and Makerston, who had forcibly wrested from them their lands of Nunhopes, while they found it requisite to erect a fortification for the protection of their grange at Nunraw.

The extensive ruins, near the farm-house of Barny-mains, about two miles from Haddington, is a specimen of these fortified granges. This place was erected by Sir John Seton of Barnes. The buildings are situated on a bold promontory, stretching from the high lands of Garleton; and from

the arched stone roofs of the under storey, are commonly called "the Vaults." These vaults surround a spacious square, where the beeves, and other beasts of pasture, belonging to the barony, might repose in security, free from the knife of the marauder, while the nut-brown ale lay unrippled in the adjoining catacombs.

[Sir John Seton of Barnes.—Sir John Seton was third son to the fifth George, Lord Seton, by Isabel, daughter of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar. He is characterised by Lord Kingston, as a brave young man, who went to Spain to attend the court of Philip II. by whom he was created a knight of the royal order of St Iago, at that time the order of knighthood in that kingdom of greatest esteem. In memory of which, he and his heirs have a sword on their coat armorial, as the badge of that order. King Philip also preferred him to be gentleman of his bed chamber, and Cavalier de la Boca, (which is master of the household): he also carried the golden key at his side, in a blue ribbon; the greatest honours the king of Spain conferred on his subjects, with the exception of being made a grandee of Spain. He had also a pension of 2000 crowns yearly. James VI., unwilling that so gallant a subject should remain absent from his court and service, commanded him home. On his return he was created treasurer of the household, and appointed an extraordinary lord of session, in room of his brother Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, who had been promoted. He married Ann, eighth daughter of William, seventh Lord Forbes, and was ancestor of the Setons of Barnes: and died in June 1594.—"He made a great building at the Barnes' (vault heights,) intending that building for a court, which he did not live to accomplish, and which does not appear to have been completed."—"Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and surname of Seytoun, be Schir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, dochteris sonn of the said Hous. Of the second Sir John Seton of Barnes.—Sir John Seton of Barns, served heir to his father, on the 3rd October 1615, was also a gallant man, says Lord Kingston, and was gentleman of the privy chamber to King Charles I. He acquired from Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, lands in Ireland worth £500 sterling yearly. Sir John suffered imprisonment, and was fined in a considerable sum of money, for joining the Marquis of Montrose in 1646. He married, 1. Miss Ogilvy, daughter to the laird of Poury, Ogilvy. His son, Alexander, married the daughter of a noble Irish family of Ophuall,—his eldest daughter, Isobell, married the Laird of Bareford,—and Lilias, Sir James Ramsay of Benham, in the Mearns. Sir John married, 2. the Dowager of Kilsyth, daughter to Lord Fleming: and, 3. the only daughter of Sir John Home of North Berwick. His daughter, Jean, by this lady, married John Hay of Aberlady.]

In 1481, the parliament ordained the "furnishing of castellis," that they might be defended. Amongst those are mentioned the castles of Dunbar, Dunglas, Tantallon, and Hailes:—[Black Acts, 56.]—and the intrigues of the Duke of Albany, the king's brother, in 1482, again introduced an invading army into the bosom of the county. This formidable force, which amounted to 22,500 men, marshalled at Alnwick,. The van was led by the Earl of Northumberland, while the Dukes of Albany and Gloucester commanded the middle division. After repeated attacks they took the castle of Berwick, which was defended by Lord Hailes; and, advancing through Lammermoor, penetrated to Edinburgh, carrying as usual destruction and terror in their progress. This expedition is said to have cost the English £100,000, while their only gain was the reduction of Berwick, which the Scots had held for twenty-one years, and a short truce: Such is the expensive method of settling differences by the irrational, but summary process of war. But the country continued to be agitated by the jealousies of James and his ambitious brother, which the conduct of the latter too amply justified.

In 1482, the king's government, with Lord Evandale, the chancellor, at their head, assembled at Haddington, with a small force, in the rear of the English army, and the people, though they had been betrayed by Angus, Gray, and other nobles, being roused by the blaze of Berwickshire, began to gather around their capital and their king,—Gloucester did not feel himself perfectly secure in Edinburgh,—Albany had not been received by the acclaim of the country, and all parties perceived that this was a fitter moment for negotiation, than for the irritation of fire or the hazard of battle. [Chalmers' Cal. I.] The continuator of Harding intimates, that Gloucester gave peace to Scotland, because the peers did not join Albany,—[Stow, 432.]—and relates, that Albany made the agreement with the Scottish government by his consent, and that Albany bound himself to the English negotiator by his oath, and a written obligation, to fulfil the contract he had made with Edward IV. at Fotheringay; yet it appears clearly from the dates of the documents, that Gloucester, with his army, soon retired from Edinburgh to a safer camp at Lethington, behind the Tyne, near Haddington, where he was encamped on the 3rd August 1482,—[Hall, fol. 65, who mis-

taking calls the place "Levingtong."]—while the Scottish ministers of state were undoubtedly resident at Edinburgh, on the 2nd August 1482;—[Rymer, II. 161.]—and it was from these two places that the whole negotiation was carried on, the king being within the castle of Edinburgh, not so much for his captivity as his safety.

James III. has been stigmatized as a weak prince, because he delighted more in architecture and music, in masons and fiddlers, than in what was considered the noble exercises of hunting and hawking. This predilection, however, showed a superior taste, and was but a minor fault. His weakness lay in allowing the proficients of these arts to sway his judgment, which led him, in conjunction with his minions, to form the daring plan of extirpating the old nobility. His favourites were, as a matter of course, obnoxious to these noblemen; and, one Cochrane, a mason, whom he had created Earl of Mar, was particularly marked as an object of their wrath. An opportunity was soon found to put their design into execution, when James, encamped at Lauder, had convoked the country to march against the English. A midnight council was held in the church, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, and other nobles, to concert means for removing these ashen tools from the presence and councils of the king. When the propriety of the measure was agreed to, Lord Gray told the assembly of the Apologue of the Mice, who had formed a resolution, that it would be highly advantageous to their little community, that a bell should be tied round the cat's neck, to warn them of her approach at a distance; but which desirable measure unfortunately miscarried, from no mouse being willing to undertake the risk of fastening the bell. "I understand the moral," said Angus, "and that what we propose may not lack execution, I will 'bell the cat!'"—a term which afterwards passed into the baron's surname. Cochrane, while entering the kirk door, with the greatest arrogance, and arrayed in a rich hunting dress, was suddenly seized by the earl. He was conveyed, with the other servants of the king, to Lauder bridge, where the whole of them were hung by Douglas's party before the eyes of their royal master. At the place of execution, Cochrane behaved with the greatest bravery. He requested that in place of a hempen halter, he might be hung with a silken one. This favour however was denied, and a rougher one, made of hair, substituted in its place. [Ridpath's Bord. Hist.—Heron's Hist. Scot. In 1479, the lands and castle of Tantallon, which had been forfeited by the Earl of Douglas in 1455, were given by James III. to Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, surnamed Bell-the-Cat.]

It was easy to be foreseen that a prince who had his subjects so little under control, was verging to his fall. James, after many vicissitudes, saw Hume, Hepburn, and Angus, with the audacity of men who had risked their all on the success of rebellion, arrayed against him. With a force of about 18,000 men, assembled out of East Lothian, Teviotdale, and the other estates of Douglas, they encountered the royal army in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The troops from the eastern borders, who were distinguished for their skill in archery, led the van, while the young prince, under the protection of Angus and other Lords, conducted the rear. James was horror struck at seeing his own son, who was now the forced tool of an unruly faction, armed against his life. The forebodings of that sorcery, which he had formerly courted, now cast its shadows over his darkened mind. His courage forsook him, and turning his horse's head from the fight, galloped off the field, and was followed by his disordered forces, who were completely routed. Unable to restrain his fiery steed, he fell, at the mill of Bannockburn, and was slain by some of the rebel corps, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, on the 11th of June 1488.

In the month of October, after the death of the king, Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, and Alexander Home, were appointed by the first parliament of James IV., king's lieutenants, over the Merse, Lothian, the wards of Haddington, Linlithgow, and Lauderdale, till he should reach the age of twenty-one; and, in 1489, the parliament appointed Patrick, Lord Hailes, and the Earl of Bothwell to collect the king's revenues and dues within the shires of Edinburgh and Haddington, Kirkcudbright and Wigton. Alexander Home, tho great chamberlain, was appointed to the same office, for the earldom of March, the lordship of Dunbar and Coldbrandspath, Etterick Forest and Stirlingshire. [Chalmers' Cal. II. 420.]

After ages of misery and war, more joyous scenes dawned on East Lothian, in the interesting union of the Thistle with the Rose. Scotland, jealous of the rivalry of the sister kingdom, had been too long under the control of France. That alliance was about to be broken, by the marriage of James IV., now in his thirtieth year, to the Princess Margaret of England, a maiden in her fourteenth year, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. She was accompanied in her journey by her father as far as Northamptonshire, and after spending some days there, was intrusted to the care of the Earl of Surrey, accompanied with a splendid

retinue of English nobility and gentry. The Earl of Northumberland, warden of the east marches, joined the cavalcade. Thus conducted, the princess passed through Berwick, and arrived at the old kirk of Lamberton, which was situated at a small distance from the march between Scotland and Berwick bounds. There James, with a gay and numerous court, was ready to receive her, and conveyed her to Dalkeith.—[Ridpath.]

In her progress through the county to the metropolis, at that time the roads were so "founderous," and ill adapted to the luxury of vehicles with wheels, that, in some places it was found necessary to make by force a path for her carriage. Margaret arrived at the Abbey of Haddington, on the 2nd August 1503, where she was sumptuously entertained, and abode for the night.

In the words of the ancient journalist: —[Young, the herald, has given the whole progress, in curious detail, in Leland's Collectanea.]—"The said Qwene, accompayned as before, drew her way toward Hadington; and in passyng before Donbarre they schott ordonnaunce for the luffe of hyr. Shee was lodged that sam night in the Abbay of the Nonnes, ny to Hadington, and hyr company at the said place; where in lyk wys was ordonned provysyon at the Gray Freres, as well for the company as for the horsys, as on the day before."

Margaret departed for Dalkeith castle, which was provided for her reception, in her litter, richly adorned, nobly accompanied, and in fair array, where she spent some pleasant days, and on the 7th August, proceeded to Edinburgh. Her meeting with James is described with great naivete. "A mile from Dalkeith, the king sent to the queen a great tame hart, for to have a course. The king caused the said hart to be loosed, and put a greyhound after him, that made a fair course, but the said hart won the town, and went to his repair. Half the way the king went to meet her, mounted on a bay horse, running as he would run after the hare, accompanied of many gentlemen. At the coming towards the queen, he made her very humble obeisance, in leaping down off his horse, and kissed her in her litiere. This done he mounted again, and soon being put in order as before, a gentleman usher bare the sword before him. The Earl of Bothwell bare the sword at the entering of the town of Edinburgh, and had on a long gown of blue velvet, furred with martin. The king mounted on a palfrey with the "said queen behind him;"and so rode through the said town of Edinburgh. Half a mile nigh to that, within a meadow, was a pavilion, whereof came out a knight on horseback, armed at all paces, having his lady paramour, that bare his horn; and, by a venture, there came another also armed, and robbed from him his said lady, and blew the said horn, whereby the said knight turned after him: And they did well tourney till the king came himself, the "queen behind him," crying "Paix," and caused them to be parted." [Leland.]

The royal party were met by the lieges on horseback, and the Grey Friars, with their cross and relics, which they presented to the king to kiss, which he would not before the queen, and had his head bare during the ceremonies. The imagination had been tortured for devices, which appeared all but ludicrous. Near the cross a fountain cast forth wine, for those who chose to drink it,—the lofty houses were hung with tapestry,—the windows were filled with lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—the streets were crowded with a multitude numberless, and mad with joy,—and the churches and city bells rung their merry chime. Such was the reception Margaret met with in Scotland, which must have been gratifying to her mind. The heavy ordnance, which had been so often lighted with the "fires of death" against England, now hailed her daughter with different effect. Nor were there wanting some of the earliest of the Scottish poets to celebrate the nuptials. Dunbar, in his beautiful poem of the "Thistle and the Rose," breathes a strain not inferior to the versification of Chaucer: —

> To se this court, bot all were went away;
> Then up I leinyt, halflings in affrey,
> Callit to my muse, and for my subject chois
> To sing the ryel Thrissil and the Rose.

The queen received, as part of her dowry, the whole earldom of March, the lordships of Dunbar and Coldbrandspath, (excepting the castle of Dunbar, with its keeping, which the king reserved for himself,) and thus became connected with East Lothian.

Peace now rested her dove-like wings on the bosom of the country. During the happy interval the king indulged his taste by repairing and embellishing his castles and palaces, while in the splendour of his court he surpassed his predecessors. He improved and extended the administration of justice to the wildest and most remote parts of the kingdom; and the bold outlaw, whom neither the edicts of former sovereigns could bind, nor bolts of steel secure, now crouched submissively beneath his determined power. His navy was also strengthened by some ships of great magnitude, and everything bid fair for a prosperous and energetic reign. But, alas! how futile are the whispers of hope, and how mutable are the affairs of this world. The same Earl of Surrey, who handed James to a

joyous bri'e, in Lamberton kirk, in 1503, was destined to be his opponent and conqueror on Flodden field, ten years afterwards, and to be the means of consigning him to a gory grave.

Adam Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, led the gentlemen and youth of East Lothian to the fatal field of Flodden; and there was scarcely a family of any note in the county, but mourned the loss of some relation in this dreadful conflict. We have to record the names of John, Lord Hay of Yester; the Lords Seton and Elphingston; and David Lindsay, third son of Patrick, fourth Lord Lindsay and Byres, who were found among the slain, on the 9th September 1513;—[In connection with the bravery ascribed to the men of Selkirk at Flodden, tradition has handed down the following rhyme, which has been the subject of much literary contest, in regard to the reflection it casts on Lord Home, who was not "carl" till 1604.

Up wi' the soutors of Selkirk,
And down wi' the Earl of Hume;
And up wi' a' the braw lads,
That sew the single-soled shoon.

The second part of the beautiful song of the "Flowers of the Forest," was written in commemoration of this fatal fight, by Mrs Cockburn of Ormiston, relict of John Cockburn, Esq., whose father was lord justice-clerk.]—and George Lyle of Stanypeth. [Stanypeth Tower, now the property of James Balfour, Esq. of Whittingham, is romantically situated on the eastern banks of Papana water, on the edge of a perpendicular rock, shaded with trees, a drawing of which, by the Rev. John Thomson, is inserted in Scott's Border Antiquities, where it is mistakenly described to be on the water of Hopes. In a charter granted to Sir Robert Lyle of Duchal, who was created a peer by James II. about 1446, George Lyle of Stanypeth, is mentioned after the uncle of Sir Robert, as one of his heirs male. In Henry the Minstrel's "Actis and Deidis of Wallace," Squire Lyle is noticed as well acquainted with East Lothian, and who was of material importance to the patriot-chief, when in pursuit of the Earl of Dunbar in 1297:

A squeir Lyll, yat weill yat cuntre knew,
With twentye men to Wallace couth persew,
Besyd Lintoun.....Book viii. line 71.

Squire Lyle, and Lauder (ancestor to the Lauders of the Bass,) were thus rewarded for their services:

Stantoun** he gaiff to Lawder in hys wage,
Ye knycht Wallang§ aucht it in heretage,
Yane Brygeane Cruk‖ he gaiff Lyll¶ yat was wyeht.
—Book viii. line 419.

** Stenton. § Sir Aymer Vallance. ‖ Bridge-end Crook. ¶ Sir Walter Lyle of Duchal.

Sir Robert Lauder of Popil, son of Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass, married Margaret daughter of William, fifth Lord Hay of Yester.]

These noblemen appear to have been accompanied by some of their brave tenantry and vassals, since an old song says:

For a' that fell at Flodden field,
Rouny "Hood of the Hule" cam hame.

[The "Hule" now consists of a few cottages on the farm of Prora, in the parish of Athelstaneford.] The author regrets that he has not been able to recover more of this ballad. The epithet "rouny" seems here used as a term of reproach. Old Scottish nicknames commonly terminated with that syllable; as, "eustroun," a poor pitiful fellow. [Sibbald's Glossary.—See also Notes to St Baldred.]

For some time after this disastrous fight, there is little to relate of the affairs of the shire of Haddington, except transactions regarding its castles. In consequence of the marriage of the Queen-mother to the Earl of Angus in 1514, she forfeited her right to the regency, upon which John, Duke of Albany, (son to the expatriated Duke,) who had been born and bred in France, was invited to accept of that delegated trust. Albany claimed the castle of Dunbar, as heir of his father, who had lost it by his treasons and intrigues; and as he was supported by Lord Home, chamberlain of the kingdom, and other nobles, who beheld the preference given to Angus with an envious eye, at the first parliament that was held after his arrival, the inheritance, titles, and honours of his father, were solemnly restored to him. [Drummond's Hist. 81.] He was Duke of Albany, Earl of March, of Mar, and of Garrioch; Lord of Annandale and Man.

Although Albany shewed sufficient spirit and capacity, yet, from his education at a foreign court, and being wholly a stranger to the laws of Scotland, he was necessitated to draw his information from the knowledge of others. This occasioned an unhappy breach between him and the Lord Chamberlain Home. [As a mark of the power and splendid retinue of the border chiefs, Lord Home came to the governor at Dumbarton, accompanied with 10,000 horse, on which the governor said, "He was too great to be a subject."—Godscroft. Others maintain, that he came with his household only, consisting of 24 horse, in Kendal green, which was his livery; and the duke slighted him with this sentence, "Minuit præsentia famen: being a man of low stature, and "carrying no appearance of much stuff to be in him from his outside." —Ridpath.] It was by this nobleman's influence that the sceptre was almost

placed into the duke's hands; but he was deficient in those talents that qualify a man to become a confidant and a counsellor. Such arts were possessed, in an eminent degree, by John Hepburn, prior of St Andrews, the implacable enemy of Home, who soon insinuated himself into the confidence of the regent. His enmity arose from a dispute about a clerical benefice. Hepburn had been in competition with Andrew Forman, Bishop of Murray, and Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, uncle to Angus, for the archbishoprick of St Andrews. Hepburn, who was prior of the convent of that city was elected, while Douglas, who was supported by the Queen-dowager, got possession of the castle, from which the former had expelled the garrison. Meanwhile, Lord Home, who espoused the interest of neither of these parties, but that of Forman, accompanied by a great body of his kindred and vassals, caused the Pope's bull in favour of that prelate to be proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, upon which Hepburn saw it was impossible to contend with a rival so powerfully supported, and entered into a compromise with Forman, who resigned the see in his favour; yet, notwithstanding this concession, the most violent animosity rankled in his breast against Home. The confidence, therefore, which Hepburn had obtained over Angus, was employed to give the worst impressions against the Lord Chamberlain. The haughty spirit of Home could not brook the coldness of the prince whom he had so essentially benefited, and the Queen and Angus, lately the objects of his jealousy, now became those of his unqualified regard. He lamented his error in putting the king and the country into the hands of a foreigner and a stranger, and persuaded the Queen to carry the heir of the crown and his brother to England, in 1514, to claim the protection of Henry VIII.

Albany, on receiving intelligence of this scheme, made a sudden journey from Edinburgh to Stirling, and having taken the young princes under his charge, confided them to the care of some high personages in whose fidelity he trusted. Angus and the Queen, dreading the resentment of the governor, found shelter in the castle of Tantallon, which belonged to the Douglas family; but not choosing to remain prisoners in this solitary stronghold, and considering, like his predecessors, that it was "better to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep," the fugitives fled to Berwick, from whence they got a convoy to the nunnery of Coldstream. In the rich priory of the Cistertians they found a sanctuary, and awaited the pleasure of the king of England, to whom they had sent an account of their situation. They were consigned to the protection of Lord Dacre, the warden of the marches; and, in the castle of Harebottle, the queen gave birth to Lady Margaret Douglas, the grandmother of James VI.

Meanwhile, the regent, Albany, exasperated at their lord, took Home and Fast castles, and ravaged his lands. In 1516, Lord Home took Dunglass castle, and the Regent having made offer of amnesty and pardon to the border chief, invited him, through the French ambassador, to a conference at Dunglass. His lordship was here treacherously arrested, and conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, which was then under the custody of the Earl of Arran. He easily prevailed on the governor, who had been previously married to his sister, to favour his escape, and to accompany him to the borders.

Home again obtained the professed favour of his treacherous foe; for visiting the court in September, along with his brother William, they were both arrested, and tried for treasons and crimes which had been formerly pardoned. He was executed, and his head placed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his brother shared the same fate next day. For this atrocious act, and other circumstances, the kinsmen of Lord Home, were soon to be revenged on one of Albany's favourites. Dunbar castle had been delivered in charge to Sir Anthony D'Arcy, a Frenchman, who, for the elegance of his person, was called Sieur de la Beaute. He was created warden of the east marches, a post of honour held by the late lord. Having gone in person to suppress a tumult raised by the Laird of Langton, he was attacked by Sir David Home of Wedderburn, —his head struck off, and placed on a pole, —while his long flowing locks, plaited as a wreath, served to decorate the saddle-bow of the victor. [The unhappy regency of the Duke of Albany, and the murder of the Sieur de la Beaute, gave rise to the ballad:

> God sen the Duke had bidden in France,
> And De la Bauté had never come hame.]

The Regent now found it either prudent or desirable to make a voyage to France, from whence he returned again but for a very short period. The government of affairs during his first absence was intrusted to Angus and other nobles, the former of whom soon usurped the management of the whole to himself. For some time previous to this period, Angus had been divorced from the Queen-mother, but having got the young king into his keeping, he kept a strict scrutiny over his person, and detained him almost as a prisoner at Falkland.

During his short, but tyrannic usurpation, Angus did not leave his neighbours unmolested. In 1526, accompanied by his

brother, Sir George Douglas, he burned and wasted the lands of Patrick Hepburn of Bolton, whom he took prisoner; and for this outrage, and every other act of oppression, he easily obtained indemnity from a parliament created by himself.

An opportunity at length occurred, which released James V. from his captivity. When under preparations for a hunting party, which was to start next morning, accompanied by two youths, and, in disguise of a stable-boy, he effected his escape during the night, and reached Stirling's grey towers "ere the busy morning began to wake." He was received by the servants of the queen, with whom a secret correspondence had been held, and who had made arrangements for his reception.

The first act of James was to summon his faithful barons without delay; and to declare forfeiture and exile against the house and kinsmen of the once potent Douglases. Angus and his brother fled to his southern estates, and from thence into England, leaving his uncle Archibald, with other chiefs of his party, in the strong castle of Tantallon. James determined to reduce this fortress, and with some heavy ordnance, that had been left by the Duke of Albany at Dunbar castle, he battered its stubborn walls for twenty days without success. He was, therefore, compelled for a short time to abandon the siege. As his forces withdrew, the veteran Douglas, who had charge of the castle, made a sally with his troops, attacked the rear of the retiring army with great slaughter, and slew Falconer, who had charge of the artillery; and following up his success, defeated a party, under Argyle, at the Pass of Pease, near Coldbrandspath.

James, on his liberation, speaking of Douglas, Earl of Angus, swore, "Scotland shall not hold us both, till I be revenged on him and his!" He was therefore now determined to "destroy the roosts, and let the crows fly away." Accordingly, Tantallon was again invested on all sides, with a view to starve the garrison out. Panango, the brave governor, to whom the fortress in the interim had been intrusted, unsubdued by bribes, was determined to stand out, until he should ascertain whether or not his lord could throw supplies into the place; but these necessaries the exiled Angus could not furnish; and their wants increasing, the governor surrendered on the honourable terms, that both he and the garrison might depart unmolested, with their private goods and chattels, which was granted. The old military march,

> Ding doon Tamtaloun,
> Mak a road to the Bass,

is supposed to have composed and used at this memorable siege, and hence the strength of the place passed into a proverb; signifying, that it was as easy to "make a road to the Bass, as to knock down Tantallon!"

In 1528, the Earl of Angus, being now attainted, his castle and estates were forfeited to the crown; upon which the command devolved on Oliver Sinclair, when the fortifications were repaired.

In 1537, James V. inspected his artillery in the castles of Dunbar and Tantallon. Some further repairs appear to have been ordered; for in the Council Register of Haddington, in 1538, we find the following curious entry of articles borrowed from the town, by the captain of Tantallon:

"The xx. day of May, the year of God jmvcxxxviij zeris, Mr Dawe Borthwik, captain of Temtallon, borrowit from the town of Haidintone and bailies of the same, to the king's service, in work of Temtallon, this geir under written. In the first place,

"A pike schif of brass, with the stock of the same;
An extre of a wyndess, with the collar of the same;
Three yrn (iron) naillis; ane dog;
A pair of clipis; a baike;
A greit cowe, contenand fyfte faudonis wyth the mair.

"The which geir above written, the said Master Dawe band himself to deliver the same geir within xv. days next after he be requirit thereto be the bailies and council; for the which gear Master Dawe and Jhone Ayton is caution and suretie, quhilkis has subscribit this present act with their hands in plain court day, and year above written.

"(Signed,) Mr David Borthwick.
Jhon Aytoun."

Henry VIII. was much exasperated at James V., in consequence of not meeting him at York agreeable to a promise formerly made; and as the Scots made an inroad into England at the same time, and the commissioners differed about some small pieces of land on the borders, an open rupture was expected. Accordingly we met with something like a preparation for war, in the subjoined extract from the Council Records of Haddington:

1542, April 27,—The bailies and council "ordained, ane vappinschawin to be haldin in Gledsmuir, on St Helen's day, afore noon, and that to lay down the muir the laird of Skraling has gart teill." [A weapon-shawing, or military muster, was held twice or oftener in the year, according to the urgency of the occasion. The lieges were summoned to appear at the rendezvous on a premonition of twenty days, by the sheriff and other civil authorities, who, in conjunction with commissioners, appointed by

the king, superintended his national guard, divided it into companies, and allotted its captains. No station of society was exempted from the service, and every man was equipped in military array, conform to his rank or the means which he enjoyed. The lords or barons made up a roll of those who attended them in this muster, and of the weapons with which they were accoutered, which was delivered to the civil magistrates or commissioners that it might be laid before the king.]

Henry at length irritated beyond measure, at the prevaricating conduct of James, who acted under the control of Cardinal Beaton and other artful prelates, caused the Duke of Norfolk advance into Scotland. The army entered by the southern marches, and burnt Kelso and its beautiful abbey. They afterwards retired on Berwick; but from the insubordination which reigned among the officers of the Scottish camp, it was impossible for the king to pursue them. This caused an intolerable anguish to prey upon his mind, and to allay these mental feelings, Lord Maxwell engaged, with 10,000 men, to make an inroad into England by the western marches, where the enemy were least prepared to meet him. The success of this enterprise was in every way promising, when James, by a most infatuated fatality, appointed a minion, Oliver Sinclair, (the same person lately appointed keeper of Tantallon), to be lieutenant-general of the army. Maxwell, and the other noblemen, beheld this appointment with disgust, and a murmur ran through the ranks, while Sinclair, with an audacity peculiar to himself, stood elevated on two pikes, to shew himself to the forces as their leader. [Ridpath, 542. Lond. edit.] The English cavalry, posted on a gentle eminence, beheld the wavering among the Scots, and, seizing the critical moment, rushed from the height, routed the divided bands, and took 1000 prisoners. Among the latter were some of the principal nobility of Scotland, who preferred captivity in England, rather than to be exposed to the vengeance or weakness of their own sovereign. This defection James readily ascribed to the perfidity of his nobles; and, on receiving intelligence of the event, and that his queen was delivered of a daughter, he exclaimed: "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." His spirits sank under the factious disposition of his nobles, and he died, in a few days afterwards, on the 14th December, 1542, in the prime of life. He was buried in the Abbey of Holyrood, in the same grave in which the body of his first wife, Magdalen, had been laid. His funeral was conducted in magnificent, but solemn pomp: and "black" robes were, for the second time in Scotland, worn as a dress of formal mourning.

James was a prince of considerable talents; but inclined to favouritism and pleasures of a certain kind. He was particularly fond of golfing and archery, and frequently visited Gosford for the purpose of pursuing these recreative pastimes. It was shrewdly suspected, however, that three favourite ladies, Sandilands, Weir, and Oliphant, who resided in the neighbourhood, were the secret magnet that attracted the royal visitor, which awoke the satirical muse of Sir David Lindsay. [Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries, I.—St Baldred, 231.]

James had also the distinction of being celebrated by Ariosto, the Italian poet, in his wild and irregular poem of Orlando Furioso, which was adapted by its extent, to introduce the most renouned knights and ladies of the age in which he lived. The character of James is immortalized in the person of Zerbino, one of the most amiable of his heroes. The great Caledonian forest is celebrated by the same writer in such a manner, as to induce us to think that the papal ambassador after his return to Italy, had spoken much of that wildly magnificent feast, with which the king and his court were regaled in the forests of Athol.

CHAPTER V.

I was the Queen o' bonnie France,
Where happy I hae been;
Fu' lightly raise I in the morn,
As blithe lay down at e'en:
And I'm the sov'reign of Scotland,
And many a traitor there;
Yet here I lie in foreign bands,
And never-ending care.—BURNS.

QUEEN MARY.—THE EARL OF HERTFORD'S EXPEDITION.—SETON AND HAILES CASTLES.—FORTALICE OF NUNRAW.—THE DUKE OF SOMERSET'S INVASION.—THE PASS OF PEASE.—THE SIEGE OF DUNGLAS, INNERWICK, AND THORNTON CASTLES.—FAWSIDE CASTLE.—THE BATTLE OF PINKIE.

James V. was succeeded by his daughter Mary, an infant of a week old, upon which Henry VIII. took the earliest opportunity of proposing a match between the young queen and his son, Edward, a prince about six years of age! a fine specimen of the royal road to matrimony. But this proposal, which seemed so well calculated to make peace between the sister kingdoms, was frustrated by Cardinal Beaton. That wily prelate hung about the king, in his last moments, like a demon, and en-

deavoured to wring from him a will, appointing him Regent of the kingdom during the minority of the princess. This will, although produced, was thought, on good grounds, to be a forgery, and the Douglases returning from England, with other powerful nobles, immediately promoted James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, (presumptive heir to the crown,) to this elevated dignity. The reformation of religion had begun to shed its cheering light in the last disastrous years of James's reign, and Arran was at first favourable to the measure. With the assistance of Henry, who, with all his matrimonial guilt, kept the priesthood in check, this cause might have been considerably advanced. But the Queen-dowager, the Cardinal, with the majority of the clergy, and the greater part of the nobility of the French faction, thwarted this desirable union by every artifice and intrigue; and a marriage between Mary and the Dauphin of France was contemplated, even after a parliament had sanctioned the former measure, and treaties had been concluded on the subject. Henry, guided by resentment, rather than by the dictates of sound policy, resolved on avenging the tergiversation of the Scots, and sought to gain that by force, which he could not win by persuasion. Edward Seymore, Earl of Hertford, uncle to Edward, Prince of Wales, was constituted lieutenant-general of the army of the north, and advanced in the month of March to Newcastle, with 10,000 men. A fleet of 200 ships and transports were collected under Dudley, Lord Lisle, admiral of England; and, with this formidable armament, he sailed from Tynemouth of the Forth, "a notable ryver of Scotland;" and, on the 4th May, disembarked his troops near Leith, where he was joined by a body of 4000 light horse, under Lord Eure, captain of Berwick. Hertford had orders "to seize by force the person of the young Queen of Scots, or to harass her people with devastation and bloodshed, till they should deliver her up;" and "to burn and spoil in his journey, without respect to whom the places should appertain; and if his honour and promise was not engaged to the contrary, to bring with him into England, the Earl of Angus and his brother, if they should put themselves in his power." [Ridpath.—Haynes.] The former he found impracticable, for the Regent, after fortifying Edinburgh castle, retired to Stirling with his royal charge; but some of the latter parts he executed with savage severity. After an unsuccessful attack upon the castle of Edinburgh, and suffering much annoyance from the artillery of the garrison, the English set fire to the city. They demolished the pier of Leith, burned the town, and carrying off the merchant-vessels from the harbours, committed similar devastation on both sides of the Forth. After ten days spent in this destructive work, their fleet sailed from Leith, laden with booty, while the army on the same day pursued their desolating march eastward. On the 15th of May, the English encamped at Preston, a town belonging to Lord Seton, which they destroyed. They also burned and razed the castle of Seton, which, in the language of the historian, who accompanied the expedition, "was right fayr; and destroyed his orchards and gardens, which were the best they saw in the whole country." [Patten's "Expedicion to Scotlande, under the conduit of the Earl of Hertford."]

Sir Richard Maitland, who was a relation of the Seton family, and then lived in his castle of Lethington, writes, that besides destroying the castle of Seton, they "spoiled the kirk, took away the bells, organs, and all other trussable (moveable) things, and put them in their ships, lying off in the Firth, and burnt the timber work in the church." [MS. History of the Setons.]

"And they did Lord Seton the more despyte," continues Patten, "because he was the chief labourer to help their Cardinal (Beaton) out of prison; the only auctor of their calamytie."

The English also burned Tranent.

"The same day," says their historian, "we burned a fine town of the Earl Bothwell's, called Haddington, with a great nunnery and a house of Friars."

In this neighbourhood it appears the army encamped for the night; for the other towns and villages destroyed on the march of the invaders eastward next day, were Shenstone (Stevenson,) Markle, Traprene, Kirklandhill, Hetherwick, Belton, and East Barns.

That night the spoilers encamped at Dunbar. They were a little alarmed by parties of the Scots; but they came to no close engagement. The people fully expected that the town would be burned; but when they saw the enemy strike their tents in the morning, weary with watching, many went to their beds. About 500 hakbutters, backed by 500 horse, were left to execute vengeance on the town. Those hapless wretches who had retired to rest, were now closed in with fire: and men, women, and children, suffocated and burnt.

In crossing the Pass of Pease, which occupied the English several hours, they were attacked by Lords Seton, Home, and Buccleuch; but the latter had not a sufficient force to come to a regular battle. The invaders encamped at the fortlet of Renton, "which pyle was a very ill neighbour to the

garrison of Berwick."—This place they burned and razed; and, advancing upon Berwick, joined their ships, and returned to England with the curses of Scotland on their ruthless head. Thus ended a campaign in which no particular point was gained, but a deal of destruction effected.

The death of Henry VIII. saw the Earl of Hertford advanced to the dignity of Duke of Somerset; and, during the minority of Edward VI. placed at the head of the government as Protector of England. The French party had gained a complete ascendency in Scotland: but Somerset was determined to try once more what the force of arms could effect in bringing about that matrimonial alliance between the young king and queen, which had been the favourite measure of Henry. With this view he raised an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail of ships. Meanwhile, the Scots, apprehensive of an invasion, prepared to meet it with more union and energy than they did the last. Proclamations were issued for placing beacons on the hills near the coast, from St Abb's Head to Linlithgow. Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich was charged with the keeping of that at St Abb's Head; the Laird of Restalrig with that of Dow-hill above Fast Castle; Robert Hamilton, captain of Dunbar, with that of Domilaw above Spott; the Prioress of North Berwick, with that on North Berwick Law; Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, with that on Domiprender (Traprene) Law; and, in the event of the enemy coming by day, post-horses were to be stationed at each place for the purpose of conveying intelligence from one to the other. All persons were prohibited from removing their goods, or leaving their habitations, on account of the threatened invasion, as the governor had resolved, at the hazard of his life, with the noblemen and loyal subjects of Scotland, to resist the invaders. [Border Hist.] It was further ordained, that all fencible men between sixteen and sixty, should appear at the market crosses of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, etc. "weil boddin, in feir of weir." [Keith's Hist. folio edit. 52.]

John, Lord Borthwick, was appointed keeper of Hailes castle: and was bound not to deliver the fortalice either to the English or to Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, under a penalty of £10,000; and, in the event of the enemy endeavouring to recover the place, he was to apply either to the captain of the castle of Dunbar, or to the captain of Edinburgh, in the lord-governor's absence, for 24 horsemen to defend the same; which shows that in these times a very small additional force was necessary to defend a castle. At the same time Elizabeth, Prioress of Haddington, took upon her the keeping of the fortalice of Nunraw.

[Hailes Castle. "1547, 19th Feb.—Sedcrunt Episcopi Dunkelden. Abbates Dunfermeline, Melrose; Dominus Borthwick, Clericus Justiciariæ—"The quhilk day, in presence of the lordis of counsale, comperit Johnne lord Borthwick, and at my Lord Governour's command, hes taken upon him the cuire and keiping of the place and fortalice of Halis, and hes bund and oblist him to keep the samyn surlie fra our auld ynimies of Ingland and all uthires; and sall nocht deliver the said place and fortalice to Patrick erle Bothville, nor nane uthires in his name, but my Lord Governour's avice and command, under the pane of 10,000 pundis. And in cais ony adverteisment cummis, that our auld ynimies intend to cum and pursew the said hous, and to recover the samyn furth of the said Lordis handis; than, and in that cais, the said Johnne lord Borthwick, bindis and oblisses him to mak sik adverteisment to my Lord Governour upoun the space of four dayis warning, that his Grace may send xxiv. horsemen to the said place of Halis for keiping thairof, and sall mak thame convey surlie to pass and repass fra the symn within the said space, under the pane foresaid: and the said adverteisment to be made outher to the capitane of the castell of Dunbar, or to the capitane of the castell of Edinbure, in my Lord Governour's absence; and at the coming of the said horsemen, the said Lord Borthwick bindis and oblisses him to deliver the said place to thame, to be usit as salbe commandit be my Lord Governor, under the pane above written."—"Keith's Appendix."

Fortalice of Nunraw. "The samyn day, Elizabeth, Priores of Hadyngton, hes takin upon hir the cuire and keiping of the place and fortalice of Nunraw: and hes bundin and oblist hir, and be the tenor heirof bindis and oblissis hir, to keip the samyn surlie fra our auld ynimies of Ingland and all utheris, and sall not deliver the said place to na manner of personis, but by my Lord Governour's avise and command; and in cais ..... the samyn, and that ..... place; than, and in that cais, bindis and oblissis hir to cast down and destroy the samyn, swa that na habitatioun salbe had thairintill frathy nefurt."—"Ibid."]

The Duke of Somerset entered the borders of Scotland, on the 4th September 1547. The army encamped two days in the fields near Berwick. During this halt the Duke reconnoitred the country. He visited Eyemouth, which finding a commodious place for a harbour, he caused a fortress to be erected on a promontory on the north side of the Eye, to defend its

entrance. The army now advanced by gradual marches, while the fleet coasted along the shores of the Firth of Forth. With much "puffyng and payne," says Patten, "the troops crossed the Pass of Pease, rendered difficult and dangerous by its steep sloping zigzag roads, and now more so by several trenches cut across by Sir George Douglas, the governor of Dunglas castle.

["So steep be these banks on either side (says Patten,) and deep to the bottom, that who goeth straight down shall be in danger of tumbling; and the comer up so sure of puffing and pain: for remedy whereof, the travellers that way, have used to pass it, not by going directly, but by paths and footways leading slopewise, from the number of which paths, they call it, (somewhat nicely indeed,) the Peaths."

The Pass of Peaths, or, as it is now called Pease, is a deep ravine or wooded chasm, upwards of one hundred and sixty feet deep, about two miles east from Cockburnspath, on the old post road which led by the Press inn to Berwick. A bridge of four towering arches, 123 feet in height, was built over this immense pass in 1785-86. Two of the arches rest on the banks of the chasm. The bridge is 300 feet long, and only 16 feet broad, protected by an iron balustrade, of which there is a good view in Grose's Scottish Antiquities, drawn in 1788.—"Hist. Dunbar."]

While the army was thus occupied, a herald was sent to summon the castle of Dunglas to surrender. The captain, Matthew Home, nephew to Lord Home, solicited an interview with the duke, after which he gave up the place. "The garrison," says Patten, "consisted of 21 sober soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed, that, so God help me, (I will say it for no praise,) I never saw such a bunch of beggars come out of one house together in my life.....Yet sure it would have rued any good housewife's heart, to have beholden the great, unmerciful murder, that our men made of the brood geese, and good laying hens that were slain there that day, which the wives of the town had pend up in holes, in the stables and cellars of the castle ere we came." The castle of Dunglas was blown up, and razed; but not without considerable difficulty, owing to the thickness of its massy walls and depth of foundation in the rock. Four hundred pioneers were employed nearly two days on this work. Probably in return for the ready surrender of the keeper, and the good fare the invaders met with, the town of Dunglas was left unspoiled save of its live stock, and also unburned.

While the miners were employed in sapping Dunglas, another party were employed in burning and razing the castles of Innerwick and Thornton. These two pyles or forts, were situated on a craggy eminence, divided about a stone-cast asunder. Thornton castle then belonged to Lord Home, and was kept by Tom Trotter. The duke having summoned the castle to surrender, some prickers issued forth with their gades (spears,) ready charged for the purpose of violence, when Trotter came to the assistance of the herald, and desired him to tell his grace, that he would wait upon him personally. He then pricked off most adroitly, with his prickers (light horsemen) and making promise to the garrison that he would return in the morning with soldiers and ammunition, "locked up sixteen poor souls, like the soldiers of Dunglas, and took the keys with him." It appears from this circumstance, that Dunglas had been abandoned in a similar manner by the elite of her garrison; and hence the sober looking bunch of beggars that William Patten, Gent., met with. The brave holde of Thornton being again summoned without effect, Sir Peter Mewtus's hakbutters (musqueteers,) watched every loop-hole and window, while four heavy pieces of ordnance battered the walls. The garrison seeing no chance of escape, plucked in a banner they had formerly hoisted in defiance, and put on a "white linen clout," tied on a stick's end, and called for quarter. This being refused, they raised their flag again, and held out until it should be conceded to them, that they should have the privilege of being hanged, and allowed time to prepare for death. Sir Miles Patrick being nigh, espied one in a "red doublet," whom he took to be an Englishman, and thereupon undertook to forward their petition to the Duke of Somerset, whereupon they were only sent prisoners to the Provost Marshal. Patten concludes with this moral reflection: "It is somewhat here to consider, I know not whether the destiny or hap of man's life,—the more worthy men, the less offenders, and more in the judge's grace, were slain; and the beggars, the obstinate rebels, that deserved nought but cruelty, were saved. To say on now, the house (Thornton,) was soon after so blown with powder, that more than the one half fell straight down to rubbish and dust, the rest stood all to be shaken with riftes and chynkes."

[Patten characterizes the Scots as so vile in their port, that "the lurdein was in a manner all one with the lord, and the lounde with the larde: all clad alyke in jackes covered with white leather, doublets of the same or of fustain; and, most commonly, all white hosen. This vileness of port, was the cause that so many of their great men

and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved." This garrulous historian seems to have estimated human life by "a patent of nobility;" but he does not tell us why so vile a nation was so fond of "white;" neither in what state the refuse of England were found when their country was laid waste by invasion.]

Innerwick castle belonged to Lord Hamilton; and was kept by his son, the Master of Hamilton, with a few soldiers, chiefly gentlemen. This garrison was determined on resistance; and, barricading their doors and loop-holes, filled up the stair-cases within; but the enemy having effected an opening below, set fire to some wet straw, and nearly suffocated the defenders, who now asked for quarter; but ere the messenger arrived, the hakbutters had effected an entrance, and slew eight of the garrison, while a soldier, leaping over the walls, was slain in the rivulet.

The village of Innerwick was burned, with all the houses of office and stackyards belonging to it and Thornton.

[The picturesque ruins of the castle of Innerwick still remain, a view of which is inserted in Scott's Provincial Antiquities, drawn by the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston, in his usual exquisite style. Thornton castle is obliterated from the face of the earth: agricultural improvements having effected what time and the invader spared.]

The entire destruction of the strong walls of Dunglas, had not been effected till these fortalices were destroyed; for Patten states, that, on my lord's grace (Somerset,) turning round he saw the fall of Dunglas, which likewise was undermined, and blown up with powder.

The destruction of these places being accomplished, which was done more with a view to prevent them from giving shelter to the Scots, and to prevent the English parties from being molested in their retreat, than on account of their own importance, the pioneers joined their ranks.

The English army passed within a gunshot of Dunbar about noon when the castle sent "divers shots" amongst them, and their horsemen showing themselves in the fields, had several skirmishes with the outposts; but this fortress was too strong for them to reduce, and the object of the duke's enterprise was to proceed to Edinburgh. That night the army encamped near Tantallon, and were first advertised that the Scots were encamped in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh, awaiting their advance, and watching their movements. They had kept near the shore, in order that they might receive supplies from their ships, which were in the Forth. Next day the English passed the Tyne, at Linton Bridge. "Our horsemen and carriages passed through the water," says Patten, "for it was not very deep,—our footmen over the bridge:" the passage of which he describes as very straight for an army. [Although the bridge is situated on the great north post road to London, and upon a road as well kept as any in Europe, it is as impassable for carriages were they to meet in contact now, as it were then for an army.] They next passed Hailes castle, which our historian describes as "a proper house, and of some strength;" but as the object of the enterprise was at present to proceed, this holde was left unmolested. Perhaps this clemency might be to win the Earl of Bothwell to their party, who was now under the bondage of the Regent, and to whom the castle belonged. From thence the army proceeded by Beanston and the Garmiltons (Garletons,) by Longniddry, keeping clear of Haddington, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans. On the 9th September, the day following, a band of Scottish horsemen having attacked the English camp too wantonly were encountered by a body of English cavalry and some foot on Fawside-brae. After a skirmish of three hours the Scots were defeated and driven back to their camp. The Lord Home, in the rout, fell from his horse, and received a hurt of which he died at Edinburgh, and his eldest son was taken prisoner. Fawside castle was soon after burned, and those within smothered in the ruins.

[The ancient family of Fawside were vassals of the House of Seton. In 1371, William de Seton granted a charter "dilecto armigero nostro Johanni de Favsyd, pro bono et fideli servicio mihi impenso et impendendo, of the whole lands of Wester Fawside, in the barony of Travernent," confirmed by King Robert II., 20th June, 1371. The ruins of Fawside castle are situated on a gentle eminence, near Dolphingston. —A tablet placed in the north wall of the church of Tranent, bears the arms of Fawside, a plain shield, with a helmet for crest, inscribed "Iohn Favside of that Ilk."]

The Duke of Somerset, in hopes that the powerful armament now before the Scots, might induce them to accept of his proposals; and, further, as he saw little prospect of attacking them with success in the strong position which they held, he lowered his haughty bearing considerably; and, addressing a letter to the Regent, Arran, agreed to forego further hostilities, provided the young Queen should not be sent to France, but that she might be educated among themselves, till she should arrive at a proper age for choosing a husband for her-

self. These concessions seemed quite plausible; but Mary of Guise, the Queen-dowager, true to the interests of France and the Romish faith, in conjunction with Arran, concealed the purport of this message from the people, and maintained that the sole object of the English protector was to carry away the young queen by force. The Scots army now gloried in its strength, —the military vassals of the crown had assembled under the bravest leaders,—the fiery cross, rapid as the igniting flame spreads over the sun-dried heather, had brought 40,000 men from the mountain clans—and, further, the bloody inroad of the duke, when Earl of Hertford, in 1544, was not forgotten; and the remains of the smouldered ruins of a few years called upon the Scottish chiefs to forget the animosities of party, and to be united in the common cause of their country. The Scottish army was encamped on a large field west of the Esk river, which went by the name of Edmonston-edge; the English lay in the parks of Drummore and Wallyford. The former were divided into three bodies, commanded by the Earls of Angus, Arran, and Huntly, with some light horse and a body of Irish archers, whom the Earl of Argyle had brought to Scotland. Previous to the engagement, the Earl of Huntly, who "did not mislike the match so much as the rough way of wooing," sent a challenge to Somerset to decide the quarrel by single combat, which the duke, as an individual, had no right to accept, and which he as promptly declined.

[Several of the Scottish commanders were unwilling to risk the fate of their queen and country on the fortunes of a day. They remembered the dying advice of the great Bruce, "never to meet the English in a pitched battle, but to vanquish them by degrees." The Pass of Pease was doubtless the spot, where the Scots, with the force which they then had at their command, might have opposed the enemy to some advantage, instead of dragging them into the richest bosom of the country. But the chiefs were still divided amongst themselves; and held the balance of the sceptre whichever way it swayed, as a very lightly thing. Huntly, aware of this dissatisfaction, "sent a herald, (says the translater of Monsieur Beague,) to the Duke of Somerset, with proffers to decide the quarrel by means of a less bloody, but more equal combat, of 20 to 20 men, or 10 to 10, or of themselves, man to man," like Percy and Douglas, in the ballad of "Chevy-chase;" but the Protector had not gallantry enough to comply with that motion, and the evil genius of Scotland pushed on her army to a general engagement.]

As the Scots passed the bridge of Musselburgh, and marched to the field up the hill west from Inveresk church, there being then no village, and only two shepherds' houses on that spot, they were raked by cannon-shot from the galleys in the bays, and Lord Graham, eldest son of the Marquis of Montrose, was killed on the bridge with many of his followers. To have crossed the Esk at any other place would have been dangerous from any ambush of the enemy, as a thick wood, skirting its banks, extended to Dalkeith. After passing the church they were sheltered from the shot, on the ground slope down to the Howe Mire, (then a morass,) from whence it rises gently to the bottom of the hills of Carberry and Fawside, and on this gentle eminence lay the field of action.

The Scots while crossing the bridge, being thrown into disorder by the fire from the English ships, Lord Grey who commanded the duke's heavy armed horse, wishing to snatch a victory, left his post, and attacked them, although contrary to orders. He soon found himself fixed in this miry ground, beyond which the Scots were posted in a ploughed field, in a deep phalanx, with their spears pointed. Here the horse could make no impression, but were instantly routed, and their leader dangerously wounded. The Scots, having lost some of their best cavalry on the former day, could take no advantage of the success. The main body of the Scots army in the meantime, led by their usual impetuosity, and urged by their priestly confessors, abandoned the admirable position they occupied on the heights in the morning, and rushed pell-mell on the enemy, while the Duke of Somerset rallied his cavalry, and assailed the Scottish infantry with his artillery, with the fire of some Italian and Spanish arquebusiers, and with a shower of arrows from the English bowmen. The van of the Scots, unable to withstand these cool and repeated attacks, began to waver, and the Irish archers fled. "A single leaf will waft an army on," but it is unhappily the reverse when a panic takes place. This panic spread rapidly through the Scottish army, which was now an undistinguished host, scattered in every direction, and flying to the capital. The English followed up the pursuit, and the fields between Edinburgh and the scene of action were strewn with dead bodies. Of the Scots, amongst whom were several of the nobility, 10,000 were slain, and 1500 made prisoners;—of the latter was the Earl of Huntly, who "did not so much mislike the match, as the rough manner of wooing!"—["We liked not the manner of wooing, and we could not stoop to be bully'd into love."

—Beague.]—and John, fourth Lord Hay of Yester, who was sent to the Tower of London. [He remained here until peace was concluded, when he was released. "Hobby" Hamilton, captain of Dunbar, was also among the prisoners.] The priests and monks, of whom there were a great number in the Scottish army, received no quarter; neither did they deserve it.—The English considered them as the chief promoters of the war, and slaughtered them without mercy. The haughty cardinal, the murderer of George Wishart, had already met with his deserts in the blood-stained cloisters of St Andrews, and vengeance now awaited his myrmidons on the links of Musselburgh.

The day after the battle of Pinkie, the Duke of Somerset marched to Leith. Here he remained a week, and received the submission of several noblemen, amongst whom was the Earl of Bothwell, who, on the night after the battle, had been released from an imprisonment in which he had been held by the governor. Having taken measures for securing the Firths of Forth and Tay, on account of the advanced season of the year, the duke resolved to return to England. He might easily have pursued the victory he had gained to some advantage; but the intelligence he had received of plots carrying on against him at the English court, seems to have been the real cause of his sudden departure from Scotland. Edinburgh was spared; but Leith and its shipping, contrary to his intentions, were left in flames.

The duke proceeded by Soutra, Lauder, and the southern marches to England; and, on the 29th September resigned the command of the army to Lord Grey of Wilton. His lordship was appointed king's lieutenant on the Borders, with English garrisons in the castles of Roxburgh and Home, and the fort of Lauder, which was speedily reduced.

In April 1548, Lord Grey advanced through the Merse to Lothian, and took the castles of Yester and Dalkeith, and "fortified" Haddington. In this ancient burgh he left a garrison of 2000 and 500 horse, under Sir James Wilford; and after wasting the country by every mode of hostility, he returned to England. Indeed the Scots were now so dispirited, that the English garrison of Haddington made pillaging excursions to the gates of Edinburgh. Under these disastrous circumstances, the Queen-mother and Arran, the regent, were compelled to solicit the aid of Henry II. of France; and by way of propitiating his regard, it was agreed that the concessions refused to England, should be granted to him,—that the Queen of Scots, who was likened "to the Helena of the age, in whose cause there was no sovereign of Europe but would have been fond to embark with his subjects and allies, in the Trojan-like war, to be possessed of her envied beauty and consequential grandeur:"—in short, that France should be intrusted "with a jewel, for which England had no equivalent," and that Mary, at the age of six years, betrothed to the Dauphin, should be sent to receive her education at one of the most licentious courts of Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

Next unto Berwick, Haddington faced all,
The greatest dangers, and was Scotland's wall;
By valiant arms oft guarded it from woes,
And often carried home the spoils of foes;
By Force, not Valour, it hath been o'ercome,
Gave many wounds, when it received some.
Believe it not, that only here should be
Brave captains and the flower of chivalrie,
Who in this city did make their abode;
For here dwelt Scotland's Titularie Gods.

JOHNSTOUN'S
"Epigrams on the Royall Boroughs."

ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS OF HADDINGTON.—GARRISONED BY THE ENGLISH.—BESIEGED BY THE SCOTS AND THEIR FRENCH AUXILIARIES.—FRENCH SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENGLISH.—QUEEN MARY SENT TO FRANCE.—THE MAN WITH THE TWO HEADS.—BATTLE AT HADDINGTON.—THE FRENCH ENCAMPED AT THE ABBEY.—THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.—FRENCH RETREAT TO EDINBURGH—FORTIFY LEITH.

Haddington, fortified and garrisoned by the English, presented the novel features of a conquered city, while the Scots, burning with the mingled emotions of regret and revenge, saw the abodes of piety, and learning, and regal power, in the hands of the invader. They were glad, therefore, to accept of succours from France, even at the expense of their youthful queen; and as such an important political alliance as was now held out to Henry could not be resisted, the requisition of the Queen-mother and the Regent was instantly granted. Andrew Montlamberi, Monsieur d'Esse or Desse, an experienced French officer, was selected for this important expedition, and appointed lieutenant-general of the army of Scotland; and, with 6000 veteran auxiliaries, landed at Leith, June 16th, 1548. M. de Andelot commanded the foot, De Etauges the horse, Count Rimgrave, (Rhinegrave) the Germans; the famous Leo Strozzi, the Italians, and Dunoon the artillery. Their arrival cheered the drooping spirits of the Scots, who joined them with 8000 men; and their first campaign opened with the siege of Haddington.

Haddington was ovidently a fortified town of considerable extent, which was strengthened and augmented by the English, aided by the skill of their Italian allies. But although the ancient walls extended considerably beyond the site occupied by its present buildings, it does not appear to have been protected by a castle. In Ayloffe's Calendar of the Ancient Charters,—[Ayloffe's Calendars of the Ancient Charters, and of the Welsh and Scotch Rolls in the Tower of Loudon. 4to. Lond. 1772.]—a "castrum de Hadington" is mentioned; but Chalmers justly observes, that wherever castles existed, they were distinctly marked in the grants made by Baliol to Edward III. in 1334. Situated on a plain, unlike Dunbar and Tantallon, nature had stampt it with no rocky eminence for an impregnable fort; but from the fertile district with which the burgh was surrounded, particularly towards the coast, distant only a few miles, it must have afforded abundant supplies for a numerous garrison: henee we find that, besides its inhabitants, the town and suburbs accommodated 2500 men. In describiug the warlike operations of the siege, we shall follow the account given by Monsieur Beague, who visited this country with the French auxiliaries in 1548; and who must have been sufficiently versed in military affairs to have given a correct description of what he saw.

The fortress of Haddington was quadrangular. It was environed with a large and flat-bottomed ditch, a strong curtain of turf, a spacious rampart, and good and safe breast-works. Four strong bastions were conveniently placed at the four corners of the wall, and were designed in lieu of so many platforms, to keep the weak places from being discovered. Behind these bastions, towards the most champaign country, several works of earth were raised, by way of platforms and ravelins, where the English planted a great many guns of a middle size, to annoy the French as they sat down before the place. Above these fortifications, a curtain, with fascines, was reared up, on which the arquebusiers of the English stood secure. Behind, and over against the rampart of the first wall, was a deep fosse (ditch or moat,) bordered with a strong curtain, and four turrets, which fenced and enclosed the donjon; and between the edge of the fosse, and the curtain of this donjon, there were many casements close to, and level with the first rampart, in which arquebusiers might be placed for guarding the second fosse; so that, in the event of the turrets, which fenced the wall of the donjon, being ruined by the cannon of the besiegers, these casements, with the help of such "falsebrays" as were intermixed with them, might supply their loss. The donjon itself could not be battered save on one side, and that side was guarded by the river Tyne, while a "cavalier," raised on the most exposed place of its rampart, sheltered both the house and the soldiers. "In fine," observes M. Beague, "the fort was so very convenient and spacious, that the garrison, in case of necessity, might retreat into it, draw up in order of battle; nay, and raise new fortifications for a further defence."

[The "donjon," in its proper signification, means the strongest part of a feudal castle; a high square tower, with walls of tremendous thickness, situated in the centre of the other buildings, from which, however, it was usually detached. Here, in case of the outward defences being gained, the garrison retreated to make their last stand. The donjon contained the great hall, and principal rooms of state for solemn occasions, and also the prison of the fortress from which we derive the modern and restricted use of the word dungeon. Ducange conjectures plausibly, that the name is derived from these keeps being usually built upon a hill, which in Celtic is called Dun. Borlase supposes the word came from the darkness of the apartments in these towers, which were then figuratively called Dungeons.—Sir W. Scott. On a brachead, S.W. of the town, were the vestiges of an old fortification, called "New Wark," signifying a new erection, situated on the ground new designated "Mill Flat." It was of a circular form.]

"This spacious fort, within the fortifications, had been built," contiues the French journalist, "in the manner I have described, probably because Haddington is situated in a fruitful and pleasant country, nigh the capital city, not very remote from the centre of Scotland, and for these reasons fit to insult over and annoy the whole kingdom: But I know not, if they considered, that these otherwise great conveniences were attended with this notable disadvantage, that the place was not to be succoured with men or ammunition without a prevailing army. For as I have said, it lies almost in the middle of Scotland, and at the distance of two leagues from the sea; and the English were not master of such other places as were proper to cover, and bring off those in Haddington." [This appears incorrect, unless Monsieur Beague included Northumberland, which, during the Border wars, was alternately held by Scottish and English chiefs.]

Such were the fortifications of Haddington in 1548, as described by this lively writer. They are now entirely demolished, having gradually given way to modern improvements.

[The boundaries of the town walls were as

follows: On the north, they extended from the West-port, near the site of Mr Ferguson's monument, where there was a gateway, along the properties of P. Dudgeon, Esq., W.S., Craig Lodge; H. M. Davidson, Esq., sheriff-clerk; and Messrs Spears, where there was a gate, styled the "Sally Port," (the pillars of which were taken down in 1803,) by the uorth side of the new church of St John's, to a row of houses called the Newton, at the head of the old flesh-market port, where there was another gateway; and from thence, betwixt the present Bank of Scotland, (Mr A. Todrick's property;) and Sunnybank, (Mr Donaldson's) to the East-port gate. On the east, from the last gateway, along the banks of the Tyne, to the Gowl close, where there was a gateway; from thence along Skinner's Knowes, at the back of the Episcopal chapel, to the Nungate Bridge, where there was another gateway; from thence along Church Street, and on the north side of the Churchyard, to the head of the Long Causeway, which terminated in a gate. On the south from the gateway, at the head of the Long Causeway, along the wall at the extremity of Maitlandfield, (Dr Howden's property,) by the Mill Wynd and Mill-field, to the west of Tynebank, which terminated in a watch-tower. On the west, from this watch-tower, between Mr D. Roughead's property, and a park oelonging to the town of Haddington, (which park was then a morass, and now forms part of Mr T. Dod's nurseries,) to Rosehall toll-bar; and from thence, on the south-east of Major Vetch's property, to the West-port gate. So lately as September 1806, the town-council, who wished to make a road over part of the ancient walls, had a lawsuit with the conterminous proprietors, who had erected buildings against them, which was decided in favour of the town.]

The French had no sooner landed in Scotland, than their restless ardour was anxious to try its prowess in the field against the English; and, in a council of war, it was determined, that the recovery of Haddington should be the first object, as a place likely to cross their designs; and from which the 500 horse, left there by Grey, constantly scoured and harassed the whole country.

General Desso having ordered his troops to oe in readiness, he acquainted the Queendowager and the regent Arran of his intention, when the latter agreed to join him with 800 horse, then lying in Edinburgh. As they left the city, Desse already found the infantry ranked in order of oattle by M. de Andelot, in an open field. He now harangued them in the most flattering terms, and exhorted them to show their bravery before the Scots: "For my own part," says he, "I resolve in this armour, both on foot and on horseback, to show you the path that leads to glory; and I hope that this very arm, so oft and honourably dipt in English blood, shall yet be felt by them not at all weakened, or short of what it has been." He next addressed Count Rimgrave's regiment, and his speeches were received with loud huzzas. Immediately the drum beat to arms, and the French and the Germans marched along the sea-coast to Musselburgh; the Lord Duno, commanding the artillery, of which he was commissary. General Desse entreated the Laird of Dun, a Scots gentleman, to accompany Captain Loup, lieutenant to M. de Etauges, to reconnoitre the enemy, and ordered the rest of the army to advance with all expedition. The army was divided into two bodies, the one consisting of Germans, under Count Rimgrave, a man heartily devoted to the French king's service, and the other under the no less daring M. de Andelot. When within a mile and a half of Musselburgh, they were met by M. de Anche, a gentleman of De Etauge's company, who informed General Desse, that the English had retreated to Haddington, upon which Desse smiled, and turning to the regent Arran, and to M. Strozzi and De Andelot, said, "Here De Anche brings us good news; for if the English are frightened before they have seen us, how much more will our nearer approach alarm them." He then sent De Anche back to M. de Etauges, with orders for him to halt at Musselburgh, and then ordering Captain Rotouze, lieutenant to Count Rimgrave, to make the vanguard advance at a slow pace, Desse went up before them, accompanied by Arran, the Lord Peter Strozzi, and others, and followed by a considerable troop of horse.

Captain Loup, who had been despatched with a party suitable for the purpose, was conducted to a village above Haddington, where he sent off 50 lancers to provoke the English to sally out of their fort, and having instructed them which way they should manage their retreat, if it was found necessary; and leaving a sentinel on an adjacent hill, on the outlook for the enemy, he placed himself at the head of his troop, in an ambush behind the rubbish of some old houses. The Scots in the meantime advanced to Haddington, where they waited in hopes that the English would break out upon them; but they only fired some cannon from the ramparts. Captain Loup, informed of this circumstance, left his ambush, and joined the Scots. By this timo 300 men came out of the town; but notwithstanding every endeavour to draw them to an engagement, they constantly kept within musket shot of the place; and Cap-

tain Loup finding that they betrayed no inclination for fighting, after having viewed the fortifications of Haddington at the very foot of its walls, from whence the garrison fired several shots at him without injury, he returned to the general.

Desse after having appointed the main body of the army to lodge at "Laurette" (Loretto;)—[The French general could not have fixed upon a happier spot for pitching his tents than the links of Musselburgh, near the head of which stood the ancient chapel and hermitage of "Our Lady of Loretto," the site of which is now occupied as an academical seminary. To this place James V. performed a pilgrimage from Stirling on foot, before proceeding on his voyage to France in search of a wife. The chapel was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford, in 1544; and the Reformation abolished it. "The materials of the ruined chapel," says Mr R. Chambers, "are said to have been the first belonging to any sacred edifice which were, after the Reformation, applied to a secular purpose; having, in 1590, been made use of in the building of the tolbooth of Musselburgh: for which piece of sacrilege, it is said, the inhabitants of the town were annually excommunicated at Rome till the end of last century."]—and given such orders as were necessary, drew up his own company, that of M. de Etagues, and a considerable number of Germans, and 500 arquebusiers, the choicest of all the regiments; and having placed at their head Colonel de Andelot, he advanced to a hill above Haddington, towards Aberlady, and from thence sent off M. de Etauges to pickeer—["To pickeer" signifies either to plunder, or a flying skirmish]—at the port of the town, and at the same time appointed M. de Andelot, De la Chapelle, Villeneuve and Achaut, with 300 arquebusiers under their conduct, to fetch a circuit behind the hill, and to show themselves on the other side, in the hopes that something would be thus effected. Desse having done this, left two pieces of cannon on the hill, and two German companies, with orders to support those who might require assistance; and, with his gen-de-arms and the surplus of the arquebusiers, he approached the town, and leisurely observed the extent, circuit, and weak sides of the fortifications, as also the most favourable places in the neighbourhood, either for lodging the soldiery or battering the ramparts.

The cannon of the English were incessantly playing during this reconnoitre, while some of the Italian arquebusiers and 200 lancers, sallied out of "the place by that side of it which looked to Edinburgh;" but they were quickly repulsed to their own gates, by M. de Etauges and his company, which was composed of some "lusty" young fellows, who, in imitation of their captain, did wonders. These Italians, supported by some arquebusiers, drawn up in the Fosse, under Tybere, an Italian officer, attempted to overpower M. de Etauges; but he, backed by ten men-at-arms, under the command of Desse's lieutenant, pushed them to their barriers. Another body of bowmen and arquebusiers, composed of Italian and English, and amounting to 200 men, finding that M. de Andelot was so far from being terrified by the thunder of their artillery that he continued to advance nearer to the fosse, came out with a resolution to beat him back. At first he made a show of willingness to wait their charge, and being seconded by M. de la Chapelle and Captain Villeneuve, with about 25 or 30 arquebusiers, he gave them such a brisk fire, as killed several of the most advanced; but when he thought that by this means the courage of the English was raised to the highest pitch, he began to retreat slowly, and then to run with full speed straight to those ruinous houses, behind which he had appointed Captain Achault to wait the event of the project. The enemy, unaware of the stratagem, and trusting to their numbers, and not doubting to make good their retreat, broke their ranks, and eagerly followed the chase without the least order. On a sudden the French faced about, M. de Andelot falling upon the English front, while Captain Villeneuve attacked their flank with so much vigour, that few blows came short of their designed effect. Many of the English were killed; but, being encouraged by a considerable troop of horse, that galloped to their assistance, they stood their ground; neither did the French forget their wonted assurance, notwithstanding the reinforcement of the enemy; but keeping close together, the arquebusiers took to their swords, and repelled them with the greatest bravery. "The French sustained little or no loss by fighting in this manner," says M. Beague, "for the arquebusiers were furnished with head-pieces, and coats of mail, arms most necessary for them, (though I know most people are now-a-days of a contrary opinion,) by reason of the various accidents which obliges them sometimes to come to handy blows. In fine, the enemy was foiled, and repulsed from this place by dint of sword; the whole way was covered with their slain and wounded; and all the damage done to M. de Andelot amounted to no more than that four gentlemen of his retinue were wounded, and that but slightly."

After this skirmish, the French were equally successful in several other attacks. General Desse, at the head of 50 horse, engaged Sir John Winford, commander of the

forces in Haddington, who, to rescue his own soldiers, came out of the town at the head of 200 lancers and 25 arquebusiers; but these, according to the French journalist, were mostly cut off by the valour of their general, and the remainder chased back to the gates of the town. In the meantime a constant fire was kept up from the ramparts; but by reason of continual rains, and the approaching night, the balls fell without effect. "Thus," says the journalist, "we had all the honour of this our first exploit, which was such as did very much contribute to allay the English arrogancy, at least we reaped this advantage by it, that henceforth they never durst wait our onset with assurance. The Lords Strozzi, De la Mailleraye de Oisel, and Count Rimgrave, went on so far as to strike the ports of Haddington with their hangers, and this they have often done since that time, with as much bravery as ever was shown by men. And now every one retired to Monsieur de Desse, and he to Laurette, (evidently Loretto, near Musselburgh,) the infantry marching always in order of battle, and the cavalry in the rear, with their arms displayed. We had only one soldier killed with a cannon ball, and 5 or 6 wounded in these actions."

The same evening General Desse having retired with his army to Musselburgh, gave orders to march by break of day. Accordingly, after rewiewing his whole forces, he returned and encamped in sight of Haddington. Lord Home had already preceded him, and was engaged in a skirmish with the English when the French vanguard came up, on which they retreated under shelter of their cannon. The regent Arran, who commanded the vanguard, detached a party to assist the advanced posts; but kept the greatest part of his squadron in order of battle, in the open fields, while the Germans were lodging themselves, and the general opposing the rest of the army. General Desse, perceiving that Lord Home was nearly worsted by superior numbers, sent Captain Gourdes, at the head of 50 men, to his assistance, which he did with such success, that the English were obliged to fall back under the shelter of the walls of Haddington, whither they were warmly pursued; but the French, perceiving 100 men advancing to their assistance, retreated apace, and contrived to gain time, and to arrest the enemy's progress by the repeated fire of their arquebusiers, till Captain Villeneuve came up to their relief with a reinforcement of 60 horsemen. This brave officer fell upon the flank of the English, broke their ranks, and pursued them with great slaughter, both of horse and foot, to the very brink of the fosse; and, with his own hands, pushed a great many headlong into the ditch, but in this act he was mortally wounded with a musket ball, and died on the spot. "'Twas a pity," observes M. Beague, "for this young officer had frequently given but too flagrant proofs of his courage: the soldiers regretted his fall extremely, and some charged him with too much forwardness in thus offering himself rashly to death; but I am rather of the opinion of others, who believe that 'courage could not have shortened his days, nor cowardice have prolonged them;' for as M. du Belley writes:

Fate, on swift wings, doth unexpected come,
Nor can our fears or caution change his doom."

[This sentiment recalls to memory the beautiful lines of the English poet:

———Cowards die twice;
The valiant never taste of death but once.]

During these skirmishes, Count Rimgrave, with his Germans, was encamping before the town, and Duno was casting up trenches to guard the artillery. A party of the French infantry stood under arms near General Desse, while M. de Andelot, who was bringing up the remainder of the corps, was unwilling to show himself until he tried the courage of his party. With this view he appointed a detachment to wait in order of battle, in a convenient place of the hill, that could not be discovered from the town, while he, at the head of 300 arquebusiers, marched down the river Tyne, (which runs by one of the sides of the town,) as warily as possible, yet he was discovered; and Captain Tyber with his Italian arquebusiers, sallied out upon the party; but so cautiously, as to keep always under the shelter of their cannon. For the purpose of drawing them off, M. de Andelot commanded Captain Prade, with 25 men, to advance; but without success; he next detached Captain Lucenet, with orders to charge them where they stood. The captain advanced within forty paces of the enemy, gave them a volley, and then, conform to his orders, retreated with the greatest precipitation. This stratagem led the enemy to pursue the chase; and De Andelot, who had not as yet stirred from his post, seized the opportunity with so much advantage, that the surprised Italians were immediately discomfited, and forced to betake themselves to their heels, leaving many by the way exposed to certain execution. Ten of the slowest of the soldiers were surrounded, and six of them were made prisoners, and the other four threw themselves into the fosse. Two soldiers unwarrantably following them received the reward of their temerity: one was mortally wounded in the shoulder by a musket ball, the other in the

left arm by that of an arquebuse. [This sentenco is only worth transcribing to show, that there was a difference between a musket and an arquebuse.]

While these skirmishes were going on before the walls of Haddington, General Desse was not idle; but had attacked a party of English which had appeared about the Abbey of North Berwick, whom he completely repulsed. The troops were now allowed to retire to their respective quarters for the day, and to assort the lodgings assigned for them, while the avenues of the camp were guarded with ravelins, flanks, and trenches, and other measures of security.

The town of Haddington was now invested on all sides, and a sharp contest kept up. A considerable body of Scots from the islands of Orkney and the south, who were assembled at Edinburgh in obedience to the Queen-mother's eommands, joined the French camp, and were considered a "very good eompany" for the space of twenty days. These warlike kernes skirmished late and early with the English, and had scarcely taken up their residence in the camp, when about 600 stole away from the main body, and marched right to the gates of Haddington. ["They wore coats of mail," says the journalist: "each had a large bow in his hand; and their quivers, swords, and shields, hung as it were in a sling. They were followed by several highlanders; and these last go almost naked,—they have painted waistcoats, and a sort of woollen covering, variously coloured, (evidently tartan,) and are armed as the rest with large bows, broad swords, and targets. There was not one of them but gave convincing proofs, that they stood in no awe of the English."—Beague's "Hist. Campagnes."] They instantly beat off the advanced guards of the English with a volley of arrows, and then, sword in hand, rushed upon 500 or 600, that were posted between the Port and the Barriers; but tho noise of the artillery, which was new to them, soon quelled their courage as effectually as ever it fell on an Indian heart. The highlanders shut their ears, and threw themselves on their bellies at each shot of the cannon. The English, seeing this disorder, sought to avail themselves of the advantage; but Captain Linieres, with 60 soldiers, met them half-way, and put a sudden stop to the pursuit. Twenty-five of his arquebusiers fired upon their flank, while M. de Andelot, at the head of fifty gentlemen, who had waited upon him from his tent, as he was going to visit the trenches, attacked them, and at the first onset, drove them back to their barriers, where they again rallied, and faced about. Here a gentleman of Limoge recklessly went alone, and singling out an Englishman, by whom he had been wounded some days before, struck him dead to the ground with his halbert, and returned to the party, who retired to the trenches.

Not long after this skirmish, General Desse, accompanied by the Lords Strozzi, Do Andelot, De la Chapelle de Biron, and De Ouartis, with at least 20 more gentlemen, went out to observe such places as were most fit to be battered. Meanwhilo Captain Gaillard, Gourdes, and Argenlieu, each at the head of 25 arquebusiers, went to dislodge some Italian soldiers, who were lying upon their bellies, conveniently entrenched, and kept up an incessant fire to the no small annoyance of the French, who came to view the curtain. [That part of the wall or rampart that lies between two bastions. The bastion is a huge mass of earth, usually faced with sods, standing out from the ramaprts as a bulwark.] These officers divided themselves into different bodies; and from several places of the enemy's entrenchments so mauled them with small shot that they were glad to get in to the town. By this means General Desse had an opportuity of taking a narrow and leisurely inspection of the enemy's works and defences; and, when retiring, witnessed a notable and daring exploit of one of the highlanders that belonged to the Earl of Argyle. This fellow had observed the fearlessness of the French in bearding the very mouth of the enemy's cannon, which he being willing to imitate, went straight upon a party of the English, who had engaged a few Frenchmen under Captain Voquedemar; and, with incrediblo celerity, seizing one of them, in spite of his struggles, trussed him upon his back, and in this plight brought him to the camp, during which the enraged captive bit the poor fellow's shoulder in such a manner, that he almost died of the wound. The general rewarded this action with a coat-of-mail and twenty crowns; a compliment which the highlander received with every demonstration of gratitude.

Nothing more was effected until the evening of next day, when about 900 Scots pioneers, under the direction of M. de la Chapelle, began to cast up a trench on the left side of the Abbey-port, and he cut out such other apposite fortifications, as were thought fittest to shelter them from the fire of their opponents. Some soldiers sallied from the town, and endeavoured to disturb the work of the pioneers, but they were beat back by the valour of M. Strozzi and De Andelot, who scarcely left the trenches till daybreak. The enemy had seven men killed in this attempt.

The succeeding four or five days were spent in continual action. The English,

still seeking to impede the work, made several brisk sallies, in one of which M. Strozzi, a person whose daring courage was not inferior to his skill as an engineer, was dangerously wounded. "'Twere endless," says our journalist, "to enter into the detail of each; this much I shall only say, the enemy came off in not one occasion but with confusion and loss. We could attribute these successes to nothing so much as the admirable prudence of our chieftain; and the truth is, they managed matters with such order, counsel, and courage, that M. de Desse had reason to boast, that there were as many soldiers as men in his army.'"

In the meantime, an Italian deserter from the town brought intelligence to the general that the English had neither victuals nor ammunition remaining for a siege of twelve days. This he asserted under the penalty of his life. From this, and other information, which General Desse had obtained, he caused expedite the work of the trenches with such diligence, that, in two days' time, they had advanced to the foot of the bulwark, which he attempted by sapping,—no time was lost, and no exertion spared, and ere long the Captains Linieres, Voquedemar, Duosac, Ferrieres, Guerin, Cobios the younger, and several other gentlemen and soldiers, got several times to the top of the bulwark; and a soldier of Gascony, bending his crossbow from thence, shot twice in upon the garrison, with the same unconcern as if he had been shooting at game merely for sport, and returned safe and unhurt.

About eleven at night the French advanced their gabionades—[Gabion or Gabionades, a wicker basket, which is filled with earth, to make a fortification or entrenchment to protect the besiegers]—and made loup-holes for six guns; and "thence by break of day," says M. Beague, "we wakened those in Haddington with a vengenance, and battered at once betwixt the Port of Edinburgh, (West Port,) and Tybere's bulwark, and the breastworks of the curtain. [So called from Tybere, a captain, who commanded the Italians. This bulwark was probably situated betwixt the West Port and the Fosses; but on what side is uncertain.] In these last the English had placed some musqueteers and arquebusiers, who kept up a constant fire on the assailants. This day 340 balls were sent from six pieces of cannon upon the front of the wall and the breastworks, which were much damaged; but the curtain, which was wonderfully thick, and made of earth, which deadened and drowned the balls, remained entire, neither was there much harm done to the wall. This induced General Desse to remove the gabionades, and to place them a little lower, at the distance of about one hundred paces from the fosse. Here again the guns were discharged 200 times; but they only made a great noise, without effecting any purposo. Whereupon the general called a council of war, and proposed to carry the place by assault. He expressed his wish to head the troops in person, and to substitute M. de la Mailleraye in his place as commander. "I doubt not," says the general, (addressing his council,) "but his Majesty will approve the thing; success is always attended with praise; and nothing is impracticable when undertaken by men of honour: the garrison is not so very numerous, but that if we come to a close fight, they are sure to be foiled; besides we are no strangers to them by this time; and it is impossible that they are ignorant, that we dare more than they." Many were of the general's opinion, and all were disposed to obey; but after long reasoning, and mature deliberation, it was concluded,—that it was by no means advisable to attempt the place by storm,—that the numbers of the French were inconsiderable, and not proper to be exposed all at once,—that upon the supposition of their being cut off, before a reinforcement could pass the seas, Scotland was probably lost,—that the king could not but be displeased to hear, that without necessity they had staked their all;—and, in fine, that it was hard to determine how the Scots might concur in this measure, as many of them had been seduced and brought over to the English interest.

While these desultory affairs were going on, the Queen-dowager had carried the young Queen to Dumbarton, as a place of security till she should be shipped to France. The Lord de Breze was despatched to Scotland for this purpose, and received the royal charge on board his galley. "She was not above six years old," says the enraptured M. Beague; "but, even then, one of the most 'perfect' creatures the Author of Nature had ever framed. Her match was nowhere to be seen, nor had the world another child of her fortune and hopes!"

After the resolution of the council, that it would be highly improper to risk a general attack, had been promulgated in the camp, a soldier's boy was taken up by one of the French sentinels on a morning as he was stealing out of the town, and frankly confessed that he had been sent in by his master, who was an Italian, to acquaint Tybere that it was not their intention to storm the place, and to desire that officer, as an Italian, to improve that advice to the best purpose for the honour of their common country.

Tybere commanded 300 Italian infantry, in the English service, and as he was a good

and a vigilant soldier, he had taken care to fortify and repair one of the shattered bulwarks, to prevent its falling into the hands of the French during the heat of the assault, and hoping by this means to obtain a safe and honourable capitulation for himself; but on receiving intelligence of the resolutions adopted by the French, he made bold to offer, not only to make good his own post, but to defend the breach with his company alone. Sir John Wilford could scarcely credit a fanfaronade so unreasonably grounded, for he was abundantly satisfied with the intrepidity and fury of the French; but the governor of Haddington was at last convinced of the truth of Tybere's assertions, and the French lost the opportunity of carrying the place.

General Desse to prevent the town from receiving supplies during the night, appointed his own gen-de-arms, and the cavalry of M. de Etaugus, to be continually on the watch, at one of the avenues that led to the camp. He imagined that the Scots, on the other side, would be equally on the alert, and give him early intelligence of any approaching danger. Yet the English who had long been seeking to bribe a passage to the place, at length resolved to attempt its relief, and to throw in 200 men, some powder and ball, and such other provisions as the besieged stood in need of. General Desse, informed of this circumstance by his spies, came out of the trenches, where he was wont to be during most of the night, and informed the French guard, that as they had humbled such as their ordnance and ramparts could not protect, it now behoved them to reduce those that might not dare to meet them in the field. After using these words, the general was on the eve of seeking the road, whence the supplies were expected, when a Scotsman, who went by the equivocal nickname of "The Man with the Two Heads!" persuaded him by means of a thousand oaths, and as many not improbable assertions, that it was more expedient to march by another way, which he pointed out to the Earl of Arran, that both might meet together, and fall upon the approaching troops; adding, that they were not as yet within three leagues of Haddington. This information was absolutely false; and thus, through the obscurity of the night, and the cheat played upon the general, the supplies reached the town by the same path that he was advised to abandon. This unlucky accident was gratifying to the garrison, as it was mortifying to the French. Two hundred English, with their baggage and trains, under the command of Captains Windham, Warkham, St Leger, and John Carr of Wark, had found means to pass 8000 Scots, and that at no greater distance than 200 paces. [The camp appears to have been only 200 paces from the town.]

Shortly after "The Man with the Two Heads," (who was one of those who corresponded with the Earl of Lennox,) had played his trick to the French, the Scots, with the exception of 600 lancers, that belonged to the Earls of Arran and Huntly, withdrew to their homes. [Some reason seems necessary for the sudden withdrawal of the Scots. "The Scots," says M. Beague, (alluding to their present desertion,) "never take the field but when forced to arms by necessity. The reason is this, they serve at their own charges, and therefore cannot spin out time, as all the nations in Europe do but themselves. They carry along with them all necessaries, for the time they resolve either to encamp, or to scour the campaign. Their time is but short, but they lose it not; for they make it their business to seek out the enemy, and fight with invincible obstinacy, especially when they have to do with the English. For the reciprocal hatred of these two nations is intermingled with their vital spirits, and essential to their being! Neither is it, in my opinion, to be eradicated from out of their breasts so long as ambition shall prompt men to domineer, or jealousy repine at encroaching grandeur. This done, and their victuals being consumed, they break up their camp, or retire in different bodies one after another." Some of the sentiments here expressed can only now be read with a smile; yet a few years have only elapsed, since we have also heard, in the political changes of time, grave and pious men hold up the French themselves as our "natural enemies!" and, in the words of Burns, "nail'd with scripture."

No sooner had the Scots withdrawn from the camp, than the general received advice, that the English meant to constrain him likewise to break up the siege. Wherefore he sent a number of trustworthy persons in quest of further intelligence, while he carefully concealed the information from the army. Desse lost no time in apprising her Majesty of the circumstance, who was then in Edinburgh, whither he sent the great guns, keeping only six light field pieces in the camp. Both officers and soldiers were ordered to be constantly under arms, and not to stir from their posts under pain of death, while he continued to hurry on the ravelines and ramparts, commenced for the better defence of the camp. Several of the French troops having been but lately levied, M. de Andelot ceased not to see them perform their military duties, and Count Rimgrave was equally assiduous in training his battalion.

The English had now gathered courage from the succours they had received, and making frequent sallies, both on foot and on

horseback, galloped up to the trenches of the French. At last Lord Home, the Laird of Dun, and Captain Longue, detached two days before, with about 300 horse to Roxburgh, having ascertained the enemy's designs, returned with the certain news of their march, and of their already having reached Alnwick on their way thither, while two spies confirmed the same tidings. Desse having summoned to his tent his chief lords and officers, laid the matter before them, when they were unanimously of opinion, that as they were ignorant of the country, and whether the enemy would take the high and mountainous road, which was unfit for their ordnance, that it would be better for them to keep their present station where they were advantageously posted, as he had no doubt but the enemy would assail them, which was all that they desired.

The Queen-dowager, informed of the posture of affairs, and that a number of the French were idling at Edinburgh, and that most of the Scots had returned to their homes, immediately commanded all the gentlemen of her own house, and such of her other servants as could carry arms, to repair to the French camp at Haddington. She also sent large quantities of bread, wine, ale, and meat; and gave orders to the most intelligent and knowing of her domestics to inform the soldiers, "That she meant not to repay the services she expected from their bravery with so small a compliment; but that they might trust to her word, that she would employ the means God Almighty had left in her hands, to reward their merit in a more particular manner." These presents were highly acceptable to the camp; and did not fail to inspire the soldiers with a high sense of her Majesty's bounty.

This done, the Queen-dowager mounted on horseback; and, accompanied by her ladies and maids of honour, visited the citizens' houses in Edinburgh. As she passed along the High Street, the Scots gathered about her in great numbers, when she took the opportunity of reminding them of their duty; and delivered her sentiments in a speech apparently studied:

"Is it thus, my friends," exclaimed the Queen-dowager, "that you second the French? Is this the example you give them? Had not my own eyes informed me of this your forgetfulness of honour and duty, I should never have been prevailed upon to believe it. I ever thought, and I am still willing to entertain the same sentiments, that no nation under the sun can vie with your inbred and unequalled gallantry; for, after all, it may be, and I flatter myself it is so, that you came not hither to avoid fighting, (forbid it, O heavens!) but to furnish yourselves with arms and horses! to fight with the greater advantage. Persuaded then, that it is beneath the grandeur of Scottish souls to deserve a just reproach, I give you to know, that within the short space of two days, we shall have a Battle at Haddington. I know you could never forgive yourselves the unpardonable omission, if through your own negligence or inaction you should miss of the longed-for opportunity, you now have in your hands to repay the injuries received from the enemy. Injuries no less than the ransacking your goods, the laying waste your inheritances, and bringing death to those parents that gave you life, and to those friends that made life desirable."

The Queen-dowager did right in courting the affections of her daughter's subjects, rather by offices of kindness, than by acts of rigour and pride. She also exhorted the French, who were lounging about Edinburgh, in great numbers, to repair to her standard at Haddington. "Five or six thousand English were at hand," she exclaimed, "with a design to beat us from before Haddington, but care is already taken, God willing, to frustrate their attempt. I cannot doubt but that you seek honour for merely honour's sake, as believing it a full return and compensation for all the valour you can express; and, therefore, I should be sorry if you shared not in the assured glory that waits your fellow-soldiers in the camp. For the truth is, these brave men are sufficiently numerous to ascertain victory without your additional assistance; but then the English would only feel the weight of their arms, and the universe loudly proclaim your infamy. However, do as you please: I assure myself, you will not—cannot do amiss."

This speech, like the former, is quite in the fanfaronade style of the French; and could only be eclipsed by the secretary-of-state to his celestial Majesty at Pekin. They, however, had their desired effect; and all Scotland seemed now in a movement towards Haddington. The Queen-mother on horseback, with her ladies of honour, by the magic of her smiles, sent all the soldiers of either nation to the field.

A graver duty awaited her champion. M. de Andelot had disciplined and prepared his soldiers for action; and General Desse was indefatigable in endeavouring to unravel the plans of the enemy. The night previous to the day of battle, he appointed the French cavalry to keep watch on an eminence that lay in the road in which the English army was expected, and a detachment of Scots kept guard along with them, to render assistance if necessary. These two corps were to be relieved at midnight by the general's gen-de-arms and another party

of the Scots. Four companies of the Germans were appointed to guard the trenches by turns, and equal numbers of French appointed to attend the camp. "In fine," observes Beague, "judging it an indelible stain for a captain, after having been foiled, to talk that it was a surprise upon him, or that he had not thought of the matter, he commanded the remainder of the army to sleep in their armour. Desse himself, the Lords De la Mailleraye, Strozzi, De Andelot, Count Rimgrave, and all the other persons of quality, remained the whole night long in arms; some on foot, walking the rounds towards the avenues of the camp and guards of the trenches; others on horseback, visiting the watches and scouts, that were posted on the road on which the enemy was expected.

Lord Grey had dispatched from Berwick Sir Robert Bowes, warden of the west marches, and Sir Thomas Palmer, with 1000 foot and 500 horse, to throw fresh supplies into Haddington, and they were now rapidly approaching. About one or two hours before day, some English began to draw near the French camp, in the expectation that they would find them asleep, and thus overpower their advanced guards ere the army had leisure to form; but Lord Home, who had gone abroad the former night, to reconnoitre the posture and state of the invaders, had already returned with the news of their advance. Upon which General Desse, assured that they could not be far distant made the horse guards retire; and, without creating any public alarm, caused the orders pass from tent to tent, commanding each corps to be in readiness to fight in such posts as had been marked out for them. M. de Andelot drew up the French infantry, and Count Rimgrave the Germans, almost instantly. The orders given were executed with such fidelity and dispatch, that the commanders had every reason to rejoice in men so well instructed.

In the meantime General Desse went from rank to rank, and encouraged the men, assuring them of victory, and roused their courage by a long harangue. While he was thus inspiring the army "to deeds of glory in the battle-field," the English appeared upon the neighbouring hill, divided into two squadrons, consisting of about 500 horse, all well armed, and for the most part after the French fashion; these men, excepting 200 Albanians, who were trained up in the wars of France, were all English; and such as had attended the court had signalised their courage in several remarkable exploits, and had been picked out for this expedition from amongst the best of the forces.

["Comrades," said General Desse, "did not inevitable necessity constrain us, I should at this time avoid fighting by all means possible: and the reason is, because in this part of the world, the loss of any one amongst us, is of inestimable value; but the enemy is hard upon us, we have no time to retreat: it were cowardice to think on it, and folly to attempt it. Since then we can place our hopes in nothing but the force of our arms, and the height of our courage, let us resolve to stand it to the last. For to be plain with you, I do not see than any one of our number can escape death, either by flight, (I abhor the infamous word,) by reason that our foes are so admirably well mounted, as I know them to be, or, which is no better, by yielding our arms in hopes of quarter; for I am certainly informed, that my Lord Bault—[This nobleman's true name is unknown.]—has several times sworn in presence of the Duke of Somerset, that those amongst us, who shall fall in the heat of action, if we but dare to engage, shall have reason to bless their stars; as for the remainder, that he would lead them in chains, and present them to the Protector, as so many slaves doomed to sit at the oars of the barges of their king. Be as it must, we shall dare to engage this insolent enemy; and I am assured that they shall upon trial be found fitter to fill our galleys, and that we shall prove the executioners of the justice of that God, who can no longer bear the heinousness of their crimes. I could enlarge upon the preference of our cause, courage, and conduct; but you may trust to it, we shall trample upon their bodies in a shorter time than I could acquaint you with all the means of victory I have in my hands. Follow me, my comrades and friends, and endeavour to do well, since you have in your eye a general that desires you but to imitate him. There are no more trenches and ravelins to guard the enemy from our blows;—our arms are stronger and better tempered than theirs;—as pompous and shining as they appear, you surpass them in valour, order, and steadiness; and, what is a mighty advantage on our side, we are pent up between their garrison in the town, and their army in the fields, and by consequence necessitated to vanquish or perish!"]

"The English came no sooner in view," says M. Beague, "than our soldiers gave all the apparent signs of joy that could be wished for, and demanded, with loud acclamations, to be led on to the enemy. But the officers made the army halt, and a great many of them went in to Haddington; but whether with a design to see or to confer with their friends, it is certain that in this they committed a great error: for by this means they at once gave

time to the ardour of their own men to evaporate or cool, and created in us a contempt of their courage, and a belief that this trifling and wasting of time, would not proceed but from their want of resolution and experience."

While the English commanders were thus idly employed, in congratulating their countrymen on the vigorous defence they had sustained for nearly three months, they assured them that henceforth they should have little to do,—that one day's work was likely to put an end to the war,—at least to make sure of the overthrow of all the Frenchmen in Scotland. In the meantime General Desse satisfied, and placing every reliance in the courage of his soldiers, sent off a party of 20, under M. de Etauges, to pickeer; and the Earl of Cassilis, with 50 light horse of the Scots, was sent to support them. M de Andelot, at the same time, advanced at the head of his battalion, and failed not to exhort them to do their duty. He gained the most advantageous ground he could observe, and placing himself on foot in the first rank, with a pick in his hand, and having on both sides those he most trusted, and, at his back, men determined to stand their ground, he waited the nearer approach of the enemy with that assurance in war that generally promises success. Count Rimgrave had posted the German troops a little higher on the left of the French infantry, with a design to fall on the flank of the English, as soon as they came up with M. de Andelot's battalion: he had also six field pieces planted at the side of his regiment, in readiness to fire on the first approach of the assailants. In this manner the two battalions marched to battle, at a small distance from one another, with the cavalry and gen-de-arms on their wings. They had frequent skirmishes with the bravest of the English, who were abundantly forward and handled their arms with great skill, "kept close in their ranks, had a good mein, and demonstrated no small experience by sometimes gaining time, and at others reinforcing their pickeerers, as they found it expedient."

M. de Andelot came out of the ranks, and taking along with him 200 arquebusiers, he marched about, (as if he meant to sound the ford of the Tyne, which divided them from the enemy:) and was just about to attack 40 or 50 horse, that gained their flank, on the heels of eight of their men-at-arms, when perceiving a number of the enemy preparing to surprise him, he commanded his arquebusiers to turn their backs, and make a feint of flying; then seeing that they had entered the ford in order to follow, he faced about suddenly, gave them a vigorous charge, when a number were slain. [There are at present two fords of the river Tyne at Haddington, one at the North-east port, and another between the Nungate bridge and the parish church. Previous to the building of the Waterloo Bridge, in 1817, a ford led to the Saltoun road, over which was a neat wooden bridge for foot passengers, called the "Chinese bridge;" there is also a ford opposite the head of Distillery-park, on the south side.] Having effected this, he withdrew to more convenient ground, where he maintained his position near a quarter of an hour. In another part of the field, M. de Etauges, supported by the Laird of Dun, at the head of some Scots, (who were considered all brave fellows, and headstrong enough to undertake any dangerous exploit,) had attacked and killed several of the Albanians. General Desse's lieutenant came at length to the assistance of M. de Andelot. He had maintained his position against the English horse with much bravery, with the fire of his arquebusiers; but the former now finding themselves assaulted on all sides, by means of this new reinforcement, began to retreat to their squadrons, leaving the whole way covered with wounded and slain.

During these skirmishes the French artillery was constantly playing, and each army was advancing slowly toward each other; they were just about to come to a general engagement, "when," says M. Beague, "our forlorn hope—[The advanced troops in any dangerous enterprise.]—fired upon the enemy twice or thrice, and killed several of them; and now one of their squadrons gave a most furious onset to our battalion; but were so valiantly received by our picks (pikes)—[Picks, or pikes, a long lance used by the infantry to keep off the horse, previous to introduction of the bayonet.]—that they found it no easy matter to disorder us; yet all we endeavoured was to stand our ground, being willing to keep ourselves in breath, and to lay up as it were in store our utmost efforts, till the enemy's vigour should be spent, and their first ardour wasted, which indeed was wonderful, and such as I believe none but the Scots and French could have withstood.

General Desse, at the head of his gen-de-arms, with Lord Home, the Laird of Dun, and M. de Etauges, with the troops under their command, charged the enemy's flank, while M. de Andelot continued the vigorous resistance he had formerly made, striking a number of his foemen dead on the spot with his halberds and pikes. He had intermixed the arquebusiers with the rest of the foot, and those he kept in such order as to enable them to fight the English, though they were on horseback, man to man. Meanwhile the general's squadron did great

damage to his gallant opponents, who kept the ground most resolutely, in the expectation of relief from their second squadron, who as yet only kept the Germans in awe.

Count Rimgrave endeavoured to oppose the second squadron of the English, who now made a movement for the support of the first, but without effect; and the fight was pursued with matchless fury on both sides. The troops under Desse, Lord Home, and the Laird of Dun, performed wonders; and they had this advantage over the enemy that each nation, out of sheer vanity, would endeavour to rival the prowess of the other, before each other's eyes,—the brave battalion of M. de Andelot, continued to second their efforts with the greatest vigour,—and the fortune of the day was at last decided by an attack made by the Germans, who fell upon the English crossways. This manœuvre completely disordered their ranks; they fled in earnest, and had neither courage nor leisure to rally. The slaughter they sustained was terrible; for the allied officers, and most part of the soldiers, and even the arquebusiers, had got their swords in their hands, and mixing themselves pell-mell with the enemy, houghed the horses, which terrified them so, that those few who got clear of the soldiers, could not escape the hands of the boors, who cut them to pieces most unmercifully, filling all the roads and corners of the neighbourhood with heaps of the slain. "Nay, such was the terror and consternation of the vanquished," says the journalist, "that eighteen of them, though armed cap-a-pie, yielded their persons and arms to the discretion of a few country-women, who were afterwards enriched with their ransom, the price of their cowardice; others asked, and got quarter from the French; and some of the best mounted endeavoured to get into Haddington." Desse, with his cavalry, followed close upon the heels of the English fugitives, who endeavoured to reach the ports of Haddington, where their governor was stationed with about 300 men, well provided with muskets and arquebuses, ready to receive them. "In this battle," says M. Beague, "the English had about 800 men killed, and more than 2000 were made prisoners, whereas there fell not above 15 on our side!" An assertion palpably false, as a few days after the Queen-dowager was at Haddington, lamenting over the French who had fallen in the late skirmishes. The loss of the English was, however, great, as acknowledged by their own writers.

[This engagement, so disastrous to the English, seems to have given rise to the name of the "Tuesday's Chase," a field fought on the 17th July, 1548:—The siege of Haddingtoune wes layed too by the Frenchmen, quhilk indurit ane haill zeir. In the quhilk tyme wes the Twesdaye's chaisse, quher mony of England wer takin and slaine." MS. Advocate's Lib.—"Birrel's Diary." There is so much conflicting testimony in the account historians give of the losses of an army, that it is almost impossible to arrive at the truth. Each magnifies the successes of his party and the losses of the enemy. John Knox, who was a decided enemy to Mary of Guise (the queen-mother,) and her French auxiliaries, says, "that the English approaching unto the town (Haddington,) for the comforting of the besieged, with powder, victuals, and men, lost an army of 6000 men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the most part of the borderers were taken or slain, and so might the town justly have despaired of any further succour to have been looked for: but yet it held good for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wolford, general."—"Knox's Hist."]

General Desse thus master of the field, being persuaded that serious affairs are not to be hurried with trepidation, returned to Count Rimgrave and M. de Andelot, who met him at the head of the infantry, and urged him to pursue the victory to the centre of the fort. Upon consideration, however, they thought it more expedient to suspend operations in the meantime. An express having conveyed intelligence to the Queen-dowager, she arrived in the camp just as they were about to beat the reveille at the guard. Her Majesty showed the greatest urbanity to the soldiers; took them by the hand; recommended them to their officers; and extolled their courage above all praise. "I ever esteemed you," said the Queen; "but I should prove ungrateful if I ceased to love every one of you after the signal service you have done me. Assure yourselves nothing in my power shall be wanting to testify the value I set upon your merits; and since the state of this kingdom and my service depend on you, it is but reasonable that I should see you rewarded. I have ordered some presents for you—receive them as an earnest of my further liberalities: I hope to be one day in a condition to make you acknowledge, 'that the rewards of victory are greater than the hazards of war.'"

"The Queen continued this day, and for several months after," says M. Beague, "to praise the slain, and gratify the surviving; and the soldiers on the other hand, went up and down the camp, and published with loud voices, a most feeling sense of the love and respect they bore to the Queen of Scotland. The Scots thronged to the camp, and beheld the naked and mangled bodies

of the English, stretched out upon the ground, with an air rather of resentment than pity; nay, some who had suffered most from their insulting enemy, had the cruelty to pull out the eyes of the dead! So true it is, that men when affected with hatred, must needs be estranged to reason; and I know not after all, whether that hatred which takes its rise from the love of one's country, may not be ranked amongst the number of virtues!" [This moral sentiment of the French journalist, would have suited the Peruvians: "Children of the sun, with whom revenge is virtue!"—Pizarro.] To palliate this conduct of the Scots, the journalist observes:—"that their towns ransacked,—such an extent of their country laid waste,—their palaces burned,—their altars prophaned,—their churches demolished,—the best blood of their kindred shed,—their nobles inhumanly butchered,"—all served to nourish and whet the spirit of revenge; and this asseveration was but too true.

An incident now occurred which changed the features of the siege. M. de Andelot presented General Desse with an Albanian soldier, whom he had rescued from the point of a hundred swords in the battle. This soldier had undertaken, on obtaining his life, to make a very important discovery. Upon which he was brought to the Queen-dowager's presence, when, with a confident and brisk air, he spoke to the following purpose:—"That it was plain that the fortress of Haddington, environed as it was with fortifications of all sorts, was proof against all the cannon in Scotland,—that it was not to be recovered but by the expedient of a long siege; and that considering how impracticable it was to make a sufficient breach, the garrison was numerous and strong enough to repulse the fiercest assaults; but, on the other hand, that Captain Tybere and his Italian troops, were much dissatisfied with the usage they had received;—and if her Majesty thought fit, that M. de Desse should remain before the town but for one month longer, provided he continued his usual vigilance to prevent the entry of provisions and ammunition, it was certain that the town would be forced to capitulate." Giving due consideration to this information, the Queen-dowager immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour to famish the place by the length of the siege; and for the better accommodation of the army during the blockade, they should be lodged at the Abbey of Haddington, ("distant about 1500 paces,") where the Scottish troops had encamped before.

The removal of the French from their old camp before Haddington, encouraged the Governor and Captain Tybere, to sally out more frequently than they had hitherto done, and to undertake some enterprise against them at all hours of the day and the night; as if by this means they wished to conceal the condition of their affairs, and to proclaim the strength of their garrison. Of these skirmishes our journalist only particularizes one: Some days after the French had withdrawn from the trenches, about eleven at night, a party of 200 horse, consisting of English and Italians, wishing to surprise their horse-guard, which waited without the camp, went about and made a compass round the hill of Aberlady·—[See Blaeu's Atlas.]—while Sir James Wilford, the governor, at the head of 400 English and Italian foot, accompanied by 60 Scots peasants, issued forth with a view of seizing some barley, which had been left at the arquebusiers' post, near the fosse.—"Now," in the words of our journalist, "although in this season of the year, ('twas in autumn,) the nights are but short, and not at all obscure in Scotland, where in summer-time the day seems to be continual, as being only overshadowed a little by a short-lasting darkness, that scarcely deserves the name of night, yet by reason of a mist that had clouded the skies, and of a rain which was beginning to fall, it was so very dark, that ten or twelve of the foremost of the enemy could not discover two of our sentinels, but passed by them at no greater distance than the length of a pike. The sentinels, instructed beforehand by M. de Andelot, of what they should do on such an occasion, slipped off to a lower ground; and one of them came with an account of the matter to M. de Andelot, who immediately commanded Captain Gourdes to stand still with his company, and to detach only 12 arquebusiers, to charge and decoy them on to his post, while he, with another company of the guards, should march about, and endeavour to cut off their retreat. Accordingly he caused cover the matches of the arquebusiers,—[Flints were not then in use, and percussion springs unknown.]—and after descrying a large circuit, he got in betwixt the enemy and their fort, so that by obscurity of the night, and the noise of the fight commenced by Captain Gourdes, he remained undiscovered, till falling furiously upon their rear, he cried out to his soldiers, "Fall on, comrades, and fear not a few rogues in their shirts!" for the Governor and his men had come out in a sort of night-dress. A great number of the English fell at the first onset; and Sir James Wilford, finding himself surprised, made straight to M. de Andelot who was in the front; while he fond of the opportunity of facing the Governor of Haddington in person, because of the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, re-

ceived him with all his heart; but not to enlarge on the single combat they fought, (which might appear like a story apiece to those of our old romances), I shall only tell that M. de Andelot had the good luck to wound the Governor in the hand, and that with his sword, he so shattered his headpiece, that several times since he has publicly owned, that he was never so heartily swinged in his life. Thus the English were hemmed in between our two parties, and 'tis certain they had all been cut to pieces had not the Governor timeously prevented their destruction, and given them orders to retreat with short and thick steps. But they had come too far from their fort, and that in night time; besides they had to do with men flushed with recent victory, and emboldened to a degree of temerity: for the French mixed themselves with the enemy, broke their ranks, killed great numbers, knocked others headlong into the fosse, and drove them to the foot of the walls of Haddington. Nay, they attempted to follow the enemy by jumping over the trenches, by which the barriers were flanked; but this had certainly brought destruction on themselves; and M. de Andelot unwilling to venture further, unless supported by the army, with difficulty persuaded his troops to retire." ["Hist. Campagnes, 1548."]

The English cavalry, which had been led out by Tyberc, fared no better. They were repulsed in the same manner by Lord Home and the Laird of Dun, who were that night upon guard. "Both Scotsmen of quality," observes Beague, "who on all the occasions I could witness or hear of, gave the most signal proofs of their loyalty, and evinced themselves inferior to none in the world either in courage or conduct."

While these bloody games were acted before Haddington, a parliament was convened at the Abbey, on the 7th of July, 1548, where the French had now established their camp. Through the influence of the Queen-Dowager, General Desse and the ambassador, M. de Oyssel, the consent of parliament was obtained for the young Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and of her education at the court of France. Those who favoured the reformation of religion were most averse to the measure, and would rather have submitted to any terms from the English; but French bribes and promises prevailed, and secured the majority; of the latter was the regent, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran. He was created Duke of Chatelherault, with a pension of 12,000 livres a year, having been previously invested with the order of St Michael by the King of France;—["Huntly, Argyle, and Angus, were also made knights of the Cockle," says Knox; "and for that, and other good deeds received, they sold also their part. Shortly none were found to resist that unjust demand; and so was she sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she would drink of that liquor, that should remain with her all her lifetime, for a plague to the realm, and for her own ruin."—"Knox's Hist." Cockle signifies a scallop, or fish, with a hollow pectinated shell, which was born by the knights of St Michael as a badge: hence they were called of "the order of the Cockle."]—and with the promise of the command of the Scots guards, commonly called Gen-de-Armes Escosse, for his son. [This guard was established in France at an early period, and continued to attend the French kings alone, till the reign of Charles VII., who joined to them some French companies. It is said to have been established in honour of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, who fell at Verneuil, in Normandy, when fighting under the banners of Charles VII., in 1424, who also created him Duke of Touraine. They had on all occasions the precedence of the other guards. When the king was anointed, the captain of the Scots guards stood by him, and when the ceremony was over he took the robe as his due. When the keys of any town or fortress were presented to his majesty, he returned them instantly to the captain of the Scots guard. Twenty-five of this guard wore always, in testimony of their unspotted fidelity, white coats of a peculiar fashion, overlaid with silver lace; and six of them in their turn stood next the royal person in the church, on the reception of ambassadors, and on every public occasion. It was the privilege of these twenty-five gentlemen to carry the corpse of the French kings from Paris to their burial place at St Denis. In short every honour was paid to these brave household troops.] After these preliminaries the young Queen, as we formerly had occasion to notice, was consigned to the care of Monsieur Breze, who had been sent by the King, with the royal barge, for her conveyance to France. "And so, the Cardinal of Lorrain," says Knox, "got her in his keeping; a morsel, I assure you, meet for his own mouth . . . but from the time that the Frenchman had gotten the bone, for the which the dog barked, the pursuit of the town was slow."

The Duke of Somerset beheld these proceedings in Scotland with a jealous and watchful eye. He assembled an army of 22,000 men for the invasion of Scotland, the command of which he bestowed on Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, while a fleet was fitted out under his brother, Admiral Lord Seymour, to ravage the coast.

General Desse having got intelligence of

these mighty preparations, sent an express to the regent Arran, to remind him to the promise he had made, to assist him with 6000 foot and as many horse, as often as he should stand in need of them; and to assure his excellency, that if he was reinforced with these numbers, that he would endeavour to give him a good account of the land-forces of the English. This application, however, came too late; and the French had scarcely time to commence their retreat, before the enemy, whom they imagined they had baffled so long, was upon them. They, however, although marching upon the wings of the retreating army, did not offer an immediate attack, but allowed them to retire unmolested.

The Earl of Shrewsbury now reinforced the garrison of Haddington with fresh troops, and supplied them with necessaries of all kinds after they had been reduced to the last extremity. Two days after the French had left Haddington, the English horse came to the village of Tranent, with a view to lay an ambush for them. Six hundred men were dispatched to their camp for this purpose, and endeavoured to provoke them to a skirmish. This detachment showed itself by break of day, upon the top of a little hill, where they stayed not long when the French, with only a party of 50 horse visited them. Their object in retreating was to draw the French into a snare, and this company on a sudden found itself surrounded by 3000 horse; and were compelled to make a precipitate retreat, in which Captains Longue and Lucenet were taken prisoners. In the meantime the English fleet lay at anchor before Musselburgh, and ceased not to cannonade those places in which they imagined the French would draw up in order of battle.

General Desse was reinforced with about 15,000 highlanders, under the Earl of Argyle. They had not taken up their quarters, when three English battalions and two regiments of horse appeared on the heights, where they had been stationed the following day. After tarrying for above the space of an hour, they departed without offering to molest the camp. M. de Andelot and Count Rimgrave drew up their battalions in order of battle, while the Scots highlanders animated themselves with the sound of the bagpipes. General Desse sent M. de Etauges and De Ouartis to reconnoitre the enemy, and on their report he resolved to stand his ground, and to fight should they attack him. Some argued that it were better to retreat to Edinburgh or Leith, where they might have a fairer field for victory to encounter the English then at Musselburgh, where the odds of 25,000 men to 10,000, (for no more of them could engage on that ground,) gave a mighty advantage to superior numbers. Desse, however, was resolved to await the award of the day in his present position. Some arquebusiers on horseback, and some soldiers of the company of M. de Etauges, had gone abroad to skirmish. He was mindful of the error of those who had been decoyed on the former day from their station; and, therefore, with a few troops, he advanced to make them retire. An advanced party of the enemy did the like, while 1000 horse were coming up by the back of the hill to surprise and coop up the foremost of the French; but they no sooner perceived that the regiments of Arran, Huntly, De Andelot, and Count Rimgrave, were on their march to intercept them, than they took the alarm; and, without an onset, broke their ranks, and galloped back to the main body of their army, which also in a short time retired upon Haddington. It was in vain that the English sought to decoy the wary Frenchman from his position. Had the Scottish generals acted with the same precision on the Duke of Somerset's late invasion, their historian would have had a different tale to relate.

Lord Grey had undertaken to conduct the land-army to Leith, and there to facilitate the descent designed by the admiral of England; and both, in concert, were to take that town, and fortify and keep it henceforth for the king of England; but he found that without gaining a battle, which was more than he could hazard, that it was impossible to keep his promise. The admiral made a landing with 1200 men, at St Monance, in Fife; but was repulsed by the Prior of St Andrews, (afterwards Murray, the Regent, natural brother of the king,) who killed 600, and took 100 of the English prisoners. The admiral made a second attempt at Montrose; but was defeated with considerable ingenuity and loss by John Erskine of Dun, who figured so conspicuously, and with so much gallantry, at the siege of Haddington. After these defeats, the commander of the fleet hoisted sails for England; and after supplying Haddington with some hundreds of horse, the army also retired.

On his way to England, the German mercenaries, under the Earl of Shrewsbury, of whom he had 3000 in his army, burned the town of Dunbar. For securing the communication between Berwick and Haddington, it was judged necessary to build a new fort at Dunglas, and to defend those employed in carrying on the work, the Germans, together with some bands of English, horse and foot, remained. Meanwhile, Lord Grey, on whom the command of the English marches had again devolved, aided by part

of these German troops, overran Teviotdale and Liddisdale, ravaging and destroying the country without mercy.

["Lord Grey ordered the fort of Dunglas to be built on the brow of a hill, but blundered extremely," says the French writer, "in the choice of the situation, for no water could be had there, and that hill was commanded by a lesser one, at the distance of about 50 paces, so high that none could stand at the breach of the fort, without laying themselves open, not only to the view, but also to the battery of that superior ground. In short, the plan of this new fortress was so ill laid, that it is plain God Almighty would not permit my Lord Grey to with stand his designs. From thence his Lordship returned to England, where the Protector (Somerset) as it is the common custom of the English, had caused reports to be spread abroad amongst the people, very contrary to what had really passed, and gave falsely out, that their own men had always had the better of ours."—"Hist. Campagnes."]

General Desse, informed that Lord Grey had dislodged from Haddington, and that about 500 horse, which he had left in the place, were daily sallying forth, and harassing the soldiers and the country in repeated skirmishes, resolved on paying them a visit, and of endeavouring to take Haddington by a coup-de-main. For this purpose M. de Andelot and Count Rimgrave picked out 100 of their best foot and 300 horse, and took up an ambush behind a little hill not far from the town, whilst Desse detached Captain Loup with 10 horse to provoke the enemy to skirmish, and appointed M. de Etauges to advance slowly, and support him with the rest of his cavalry. Captain Loup had scarcely come in view of the English, where all their horse, and some foreigners on foot, issued out of the town, and fell upon the cavalry of M. de Etauges. Upon which General Desse sent an express to M. de la Chapelle de Biron, and to Captain Routouze, who had been left at the head of the foot, to march straight on the enemy as soon as he should give the signal of a trumpet. The signal being sounded, and the English perceiving that the general, with his men-at-arms, and two companies of foot, had broke forth upon them, endeavoured, but in vain, to make an orderly retreat. The French routed their opponents at the first onset, and followed them pellmell within the gates of the suburbs of Haddington. Here, a brave Englishman, enraged at the cowardly conduct of his countrymen, and believing that he could do something more honourable for the valour of his land, singly faced about, and fiercely attacked M. de Andelot, who was in the front; but he broke his lance in the attempt, and the officer warily sustaining the shock, dispatched him on the spot with a thrust of his sword. The French now laid about them most furiously with their hangers and clubs, drove the enemy to the gates of the fort; and, according to the journalist, "without losing above 'three' of their own number, sent off 300 to their last tribunal, to give an account of that religion that taught them thus to sacrifice their honours and lives in a war 'plainly unjust.' Besides the glory of vanquishing the enemy at the foot of their ramparts, we had the good luck to carry off 80 prisoners, and that in sight of the intimidated garrison; who although they were much more numerous within, than we without the gates, yet offered not to rescue their friends."

[John Knox was of the same opinion; but, unfortunately for our journalist, it was in favour of the other side. Speaking of the Queen-mother, after the battle of Pinkey, he says, "When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh abiding upon the tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling, with Monsieur de Oyssel, who was as fearful as 'a fox when his hole is smoked'; and thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured governor, with such as assisted him to defend an 'unjust quarrel'; albeit that many innocent fell amongst the wicked."—"Knox's Hist. Reformation."]

Soon after this exploit the French raised their camp, and marched to Edinburgh; from whence Marshal Storri, the Lord de Andelot, and several other persons of quality sailed for France. M. de la Chapelle de Biron, a man of unquestionable bravery, and experience, was appointed colonel-general in Scotland, and Captain Bache, an Italian, had the command of four stoutly armed gallies that remained in the service. Meanwhile, General Desse, with an activity of spirit that never tired, set about fortifying Leith, which induced a number of people from Haddington, Dundee, St Andrews, Glasgow, and Stirling, to come and carry on business there, by which means the port of Edinburgh soon became more rich and populous.

CHAPTER VII.

Once more unto the breach, dear friends! once more,
Or fill the wall up with our English dead.——
Hang out our banner on the outward wall;
The cry is still 'They come!' Our castle's strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn.—SHAKSPEARE.

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO JEDBURGH—AFFRAY AT EDINBURGH—THE PROVOST KILLED.—ATTACK ON HADDINGTON—THE SIEGE RAISED.—DUNBAR CASTLE GARRISONED BY THE FRENCH—SKIRMISHES IN THE BURGH WITH THE ENGLISH.—THE GOVERNOR OF HADDINGTON TAKEN.—INROADS OF THE FRENCH.—THE EARL OF RUTLAND'S INVASION.—THE ISLAND OF GOOSE.—THE ISLE OF MAY.—INCHKEITH.—ABERLADY AND LUFFNESS FORTIFIED.—THE PLAGUE.—WISHART'S PROPHECY.—FORTIFICATIONS OF HADDINGTON AND ABERLADY DESTROYED.

The Scottish regency apprehending that the English intended to fortify Jedburgh, the Queen requested Desse to march thither, and destroy two companies of Spaniards, who had taken refuge in the town; and who by the force of their arms or artifice had brought over a great part of that district to the English interest. He was accompanied in this expedition by 800 Scots on horseback, who were much surprised at the nice arrangements of the French in providing for the comfort of their camp. "It seemed new and unprecedented to them," says M. Beague, "to see sutlers appointed to follow the army; for they trouble themselves with no such impediments, by reason that they keep the fields no longer than 40 days, reckoning from that on which they first set out from their houses; but there is not one amongst them so very poor, but has either a horse or a lusty servant to carry his baggage; thus they are provided with necessaries during this short campaign." The want of these sutlers, however, was the cause of the failure of the present enterprise. Having marched eighteen leagues through a deserted country, the victuals of the army failed on the second day; and these epicurean warriors were obliged to tarry at Peebles till the sutlers came up. In the meantime Peter Negre and Julian Romerous, who commanded the Spanish bands, withdrew to England, and the French returned to Edinburgh.

The French troops were so different in their habits and manners from the Scots, that they could not long agree when encamped together. The gaiety and light frivolity of the one, ill accorded with the shrewd gravity of the other. Further, there was a strong and rigid party who opposed them in defence of their religious principles and the chief beheld, with a jealous eye, the favours bestowed on foreigners by Mary of Lorrain. An incident now occurred, which gave Desse a pretext for withdrawing, in order that he might strike another blow at Haddington. A certain Frenchman delivered a culverin to one George Tod, a Scotsman, to be stocked, who, in carrying it home, was stopped by another Frenchman, who claimed, and endeavoured to wrest it from the gunmaker by force. Upon this quarrel, parties on both sides began to assemble, two of the French were knocked down, and the others chased from the cross to the head of Niddry Wynd. The Laird of Stenhouse, the provost, was on the street, and apprehended two of the French, and was in the act of carrying them to the Tolbooth, when a number of their countrymen, issuing from the close where the general's lodgings were situated, with drawn swords, resisted the civil power. The noise brought forth a number of the citizens, who repulsed and drove them to the Netherbow, when M. de la Chapelle came to their assistance. The provost and his son, James Hamilton, captain of the Castle, and six other persons, amongst whom was a woman, were slain, while the French kept possession of the streets, till they found it practicable to retire to the Canongate. The whole city was roused at the slaughter of their provost, and the governor and the nobility were glad for the sake of pacification, to demand justice on the malefactors. Accordingly one person, the innocent author of the affray, was delivered up, and the same day hanged in the Grass-Market of Edinburgh, while other promises of retribution were made, which were left to some miraculous bullets to fulfil.

"These fair words pleased our fools," says Knox, "and so were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington; to the which they approached so secretly, that they were never espied till that the foremost were within the outer court, and the whole company in the churchyard, not two pair of butts length distant from the town (Edinburgh). The English soldiers were all asleep except the watch, the which was slender, and yet the shout arises, 'Bows and bills, bows and bills!' which is a signification of extreme defence, to avoid the present danger in all times of war. They affrighted arise,—weapons that first come to hand serve for their need. One, amongst many, came to the east-gate where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows who were at the gate making defence, 'Beware before,' and so fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no further pursuit made: for the bullets redounded from the wall of the Friar-church to the wall of St Catherine's chapel, which stood directly over it, and from the wall of the said chapel to the churchwall again, so oft, that there fell more than a hundred of the French at those two shots only.

They shot oft; but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh, without harm done, except the destruction of some 'drinking beer,' which lay in the said chapel and church, and this was satisfaction more than enough, for the slaughter of the foresaid captain and provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with them." This account of the fray by honest John Knox, reminds the reader of the story of Baron Munchausen, who caught the enemy's bullets in his hand, and threw them back upon the garrison. Our great reformer had a decided hatred against the Romish party; and his zeal often led him into expressions beyond the pale of common sense.

This occurrence was hailed with joy by the English, as likely to effect a breach between the French and the Scots. To do away with this impression, and for reasons formerly assigned, Desse found it prudent to muster his forces with the greatest secrecy; and to divert the public mind by striking another, and, if possible, his final blow at Haddington, which had foiled him so often. He accordingly marched to Musselburgh, and from thence eastward.

"All things being prudently and cautiously laid for the designed effort," says M. Beague, "about eleven o'clock at night every man was armed; and although the heavens were overspread with darkness, yet Monsieur de Desse was faithfully conducted by a secret and convenient avenue to the gates of Haddington, where he remained without being discovered, (such was our silence and diligence,) till some of the soldiers after taking a half-moon (battery,) before the port, and killing three sentinels, made the walls resound with the name of France!—at the same time we attacked the enemy's guard, and found that they did their duty but negligently."

The bas-court—["Basse-cour," an inner yard or inferior court, where poultry, etc., were kept.]—before the east-gate of the town was gained ere the garrison was alarmed; meanwhile some granaries, which the English had placed at the back of an adjacent church, were attacked, while the French were breaking open the port. [These granaries were probably placed under the commodious cover of the Franciscan, now the parish church of Haddington. It is rather singular that the French journalist takes no notice of our religious edifices. To those who had seen the immense cathedrals of St Lucie and St Peter's they might appear of little moment.] This was so suddenly effected that the garrison had little time to put themselves in a posture of defence. The Italian guard were put to the sword; and the few English who were upon duty at a short distance from the former, fared no better. "Several were killed in their sleep," says the journalist, "and those who awakened had but the comfort to die more feelingly. Thus we had leisure enough, not only to do great execution, but also to have carried the town with little or no loss; but M. de Desse was wisely apprehensive lest some ingenious fallacy should lurk under a fault so evidently palpable. He very well knew that the most unusual favours of fortune are for the most part hurtful and fradulent; for these reasons he would not suffer his men to run headlong upon success, but kept together in one body. The enemy had but one pass to defend, and therefore were not so much put to it, as if they had been environed on all sides; and this pass was very narrow, and was fenced with trenches and other earth-works, from whence a few men by firing upon the assailants were able to defeat their attempt." Notwithstanding this advantage, which the garrison might have turned to some account, General Desse, at the head of his battalion, continued to gain ground, and to give new testimonies of valour. He was backed by men that had been taught to fear no danger. The soldier had already cried, "Victory, victory!" a hundred times, and doubted not but she waited upon their arms. "Of five hundred men," says Beague, "who opposed our entrance; some in their shirts with swords and daggers, others with halberts, and most part without any arms at all, 250 lost their lives upon the spot, whilst hitherto not one man had fallen on our side. [This assertion is incredible; although it must be kept in mind that the French, like their descendants at Waterloo, wore defensive armour—they had their head-pieces and breast-plates, while their opponents were in their shirts!] Indeed fortune till this minute had been so partial in our favour, that we could not doubt of victory; and nothing but treachery could have frustrated our hopes."

General Desse and his men were exposed to the mouth of a "double cannon," planted between two gabions upon the narrowest place of the entrance or avenue, which led to the town. This place had not been mastered as yet, when by chance a French soldier, a native of Paris, (who not long before had been corrupted by the enemy, and served him as a spy,) was stationed at that very spot of ground. This renegade, dreading the punishment he deserved, had grown desperate; and, naked and unarmed as he was, ran to this double-mouthed cannon and fired it. The ball made its way through the close ranks of

the French, and could not fail to make a great slaughter among them. In consequence of this smart reception, and the darkness of the night, which hindered them from ascertaining their real loss, which as yet was not sufficient to dishearten them, the French were seized with a sudden panic. A terrible cry ran through the battalion, which alarmed those in the rear, who began to retire; and those behind them following their example, the French ranks were broken, and thrown into the utmost confusion. The garrison being now under arms, a party sallying from a privy postern, made such a furious onset with spears and swords, that very few of the French who had entered the lower, or bas-court, escaped alive. [Probably the port at the Gowl close, which led to the river. A private postern also led from the Earl of Bothwell's house, some paces eastward.] The goneral no wise dispirited, still kept his ground, and thrice renewed his attack in the morning: but, at last, on the remonstrance of the other officers, and after suffering considerable loss, he was obliged to issue orders to sound a retreat. Dissembling his thoughts on this disastrous occasion, he smiled, and said to the Lord De Ossyel: "Let us then suppose, my friend, that we are at sea, and by storm constrained to lower our sails,—what then? The wind is changeable, and a fairer gale will yet enable us to make out the voyage."

The journalist of the French army, who has been particularly minute in stating the exact number lost by the English in each encounter, is here silent in regard to his own. According to Hayward, sixteen carts were filled with the wounded, and 300 left dead before the walls of Haddington. Thus terminated this great siege, which had lasted nearly four months without intermission; and without any material advantage to either party. The brilliant affair of Desse in cutting off the supplies under Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, was in a great degree balanced by the disaster at Haddington, from whence he immediately retired. This assault happened in the beginning of October 1548.

The French armament was now greatly reduced. The Lords Strozzi and De Andelot, with a number of officers and gentlemen, had returned to France, and not a few had fallen by maladies incident to a change of climate. A reinforcement of four companies, therefore, embarked, and landed at Dumbarton, till spring should enable Henry to send further supplies. In the meantime the allies had little repose. Home castle had been retaken from the English by stratagem; and the Scottish regency, who might wish an excuse for keeping the troops from again coming in collision with the citizens, sought employment for Desse in the south of Scotland.

Ever since the regency of Albany the castle of Dunbar had been garrisoned by the French. It lay on the road to Berwick and Roxburgh, and as it was at no great distance from Haddington, Dunglas, Eyemouth, and Fast castle, it was frequently,and even daily, visited by foraging parties from Haddington, who plundered and harassed the country. The French captains had made frequent sallies to meet the marauders; but as the former were on foot, and the latter on horseback, they were unable to follow up their slight rencounters. At length these sallies, designedly, became more faint, and by this means inveigled the enemy nearer the place; for the English imagining that the French were afraid to fight, would disperse themselves through the whole burgh of Dunbar; and, alighting from their horses, would even enter the houses. Early one morning, the French posted most of their men in two houses just opposite one another, and in the church at the entry to the town, on the enemy's road. They had also distributed soldiers, with arquebuses and the like offensive weapons, in other houses through the streets, and had given necessary directions for their behaviour whatever might happen. The English, as usual, made their appearance, and scattered themselves through the burgh, accompanied by Sir James Wilford, the governor of Haddington, with 50 or 60 arquebusiers on horseback, who were little more distant than the shot of an arquebuse from the castle. Captains Corroman, Desme, and Achault broke forth from their lurking places, and surrounded the enemy from all quarters. The governor of Haddington attempted to escape by the seaside; but 80 soldiers who guarded that pass, fired upon his cavalry, and prevented their advance; at the same moment Captains Achault and Desme fell upon their rear, and charging them from right to left, with the greatest fury, bare many to the ground; while the arquebusiers, who were stationed in the houses of the town, having made apertures in the walls, fired as securely and directly as if they had been firing at a butt or a target.

[Monsieur Beague's description of Dunbar is so lively that we cannot help quoting it:—"The Captains Achault, Corroman, and Desme were in garrison at Dunbar, a town that stands upon the brink of the sea, about ten leagues from Edinburgh, upon the skirts of Lothian, in a very good country, and accommodated with all these advantages, that conduce both to the pleasure and the support of life. If the place were fortified, (this establishes the fact that

Dunbar was not a walled town) and a good harbour contrived, which might be done with very inconsiderable charges, it would unquestionably claim a precedency among the goodliest towns which are anywhere to be seen in these islands. It has already a very strong and beautiful castle, built upon a high rock, on the edge of the sea;—the avenues that lead to it, are not to be forced but with vast danger and difficulty; and art here has seconded nature so admirably well, that there are few places in the universe, that can vie with those conveniences the castle of Dunbar affords for defence against batteries, or any warlike engine, or invention whatever."—"Hist, Campagnes." It is generally conjectured by the antiquaries of Dunbar, that a drawing of the castle is preserved in the library of the Scots college at Paris. That the Frenchmen, who were excellent engineers, took drawings both of the castle of Dunbar, and of the fortifications of Haddington, there can exist no doubt. These may have perished with the private families to whom they belonged; but as the castle was latterly a demesne of the crown,—the residence of Albany and afterwards of Queen Mary,—some sketch may be preserved in the continental palaces.

After the lapse of nearly 300 years, the idea of this ingenious Frenchman, that "a good harbour" might be contrived at Dunbar, is about being realised. The foundation stone of "Victoria Harbour" was laid at that port on Tuesday, 27th September, 1842, by the right honourable the Earl of Dalhousie, provincial grand-master for East Lothian. The different masonic bodies, consisting of deputations from Edinburgh, Musselburgh, Morison's-haven, Haddington, North Berwick, Dunse, Eyemouth, etc., having joined the Dunbar Castle Lodge, marshalled at one o'clock, and walked in procession to the site of the new harbour, an arch of evergreens decorating the spot assigned for the foundation-stone. After an impressive prayer by the chaplain, (the Rev. Robert Moore, A.M., minister of Oldhamstocks,) a bottle, hermetically sealed, containing newspapers, almanacs, and coins, with lists of office-bearers of the lodges and other public bodies, was deposited by the grand-secretary, Charles H. Davidson, Esq., Haddington. The stone was then lowered, and the grand-master, the Earl of Dalhousie, gave instructions to Sheriff Riddell and other competent office-bearers in his train, to finish the business of the day with all the honours due to the "mystic tie." The noble Earl, in an eloquent speech, addressed the meeting, to which Provost Middlemas made an admirable reply. He stated "that he had received Her Majesty's gracious permission to designate the harbour, which was to be of such vast importance, not to Dunbar only, but to the adjacent country, and the stone of which had been so auspiciously laid—Victoria Harbour." This announcement was received with loud cheering from the multitude. The union-jack, which had triumphantly waved on the walls of the old castle during the morning, was lowered, and one with "Victoria Harbour" emblazoned on its front hoisted in its place, while the guns of the battery fired a salute. The scene was highly imposing—like everything connected with free-masonry, a pleasant enthusiasm animated the assemblage, many of whom had come from a considerable distance to witness an object of such extensive utility, on which the welfare of thousands depended—while the cavorned rocks, which in less peaceful times rung with the exploits of the gallant Ramsays, echoed the voice of congratulation of their noble descendant. The procession, preceded by music, returned by the high-street; and, at four o'clock, a company of about 300 sat down to dinner, Provost Middlemas in the chair, supported by the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir George Warrander of Lochend, Bart., Captain Hunter of Thurston, James Hamilton, Esq. of Ninewar; James Maitland Balfour, Esq., M.P., Simon Sawers, Esq. of Newhouse, etc.—The ceremonies of the day were concluded with a ball in the assembly-room in the evening.

Victoria harbour is situated immediately west from the old basin, separated by a peninsula, called "the Island," on which a battery is built. It is worthy of being recorded that his grace the Duke of Roxburgh, with a praise-worthy generosity, has granted not only the use of large blocks of stone lying along the shores of Broxmouth estate, for this great undertaking, but also the quarrying from such other places as might not materially injure the property.]

The English thus cooped up, and attacked on all sides, exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and resolved to sell their lives dearly; for, in the language of our moralising journalist, "Those weapons which necessity affords, prove always the sharpest." At this critical moment, a Biscayan soldier, called Pellicque, a brisk resolute fellow, (who was afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy in Captain Cageac's company,) assaulted the governor, bore in upon him most furiously with his pike, killed his horse, wounded himself, and forced him to surrender, while the rest of the soldiers, who were not killed or taken, escaped by the fleetness of their horses.

It was the first wish of General Desse,

when he heard that M. do Etauges, his late companion in arms was taken prisoner, to lay siege to the castle of Broughty, near Dundee. This castle had been fortified and garrisoned by Lord Grey; and the French officer when on an expedition to reduce Dundee, which he found deserted and in ruins, had been captured. The regency, however, still apprehensive that the English would fortify Jedburgh, wished him once more to return to that quarter. Although his soldiers had not received pay for two months, and although the gentry and people of that district to which he was ordered were in arms against the French, yet he frankly obeyed. His first exploit was the recovery of Ferniehirst castle, situated at a small distance from Jedburgh, where the Scots exercised the most barbarous cruelties on the English prisoners.

["The Scots who had followed M. de Desse, after having alighted from and left their horses as they were wont to do, forced open the gate of the bas-court, and joined us. The captain could perceive this from the donjon, and doubted not of his hard fate should he chance to fall into the hands of the Scots, so often and inhumanly injured by him; to avoid, therefore, present death, he again slipped out of the hole, at the breach, and yielded himself to M. de Dussac and M. de la Mothe-Rouge; these gentlemen designed to have used him as a soldier, and would have led him out of the press; but a Scotsman eyeing in the person of this tyrant the ravisher of his wife and daughters, and unable to contain his resentment, came up ere anybody could discover his meaning, and at one blow struck off the wretch's head so adroitly, that it fell full four paces from the body. About a hundred Scots took it up on a sudden with loud shoutings, raised it on high, and exposed to the eyes of all present, the punishment they had inflicted upon the author of so many foul and villainous actions; nay, several of them washed their hands in his blood; and with as many demonstrations of joy, as if they had stormed the city of London, they fixed his head upon a cross of stone, that divides three different roads, and left it there a spectacle to passengers:

> The gods have feet of wool, but sinners' feel,
> When late, their powerful arms are made of steel.
> —M. Beague.

After several disgusting details at which humanity shudders, "I remember," says Beague, "they purchased one of the prisoners from myself for a horse: they tied him neck and heels, laid him down in a plain field, run upon him with their lances, armed as they were, and on horseback; killed him, cut his body to pieces, and carried the divided parcels on the sharp ends of their spears." Such men were fit for "deeds of stratagems and crimes;" but our military journalist coolly concludes: "That the Scots repaid the enemy with their own coin!"

Desse continued some time at Jedburgh, and made several successful inroads into the English borders. In one of these expeditions he took the castle of Cornhill, near Newark, an old house of considerable strength, where plenty of spoil was found, and large quantities of salted salmon to regale the half-famished soldiers. He also attacked the castle of Ford, which he was forced to abandon, after having burned the greater part of it.—Having reduced other ten villages to ashes, the French found it prudent to return to Jedburgh, as a large body of English horsemen were advancing. The invaders, were laden with booty to the value of 9000 crowns; but as the Scots had got possession of this treasure, they took care to monopolize it to themselves, and left their allies "alone in their glory."

But "what signifies honour to him that died o' Wednesday," Falstaff shrewdly observes. The French army were now reduced to such extremities for want of provisions that they would gladly have purchased a supply at the expense of any sacrifice of booty. The only means left to preserve their lives was hunting, or fishing in the Jed; and such as were unfit for these sports sunk under their miseries, and died of hunger, which gives a frightful view of the poverty of the country. Some of the officers were seized with brain fevers,—others died of moping melancholy,—while the soldiers, dropping away daily, it became more easy to count the living than to number the dead. This led our journalist to conclude that "there is nothing new under the sun," and to break forth in the following poetic strain:—

> "Long life's at best a lease of painful years,
> And stakes us down to a long tract of cares:
> What find we new, since this day's joy or pain,
> Assumes to-morrow a new-shape again:—
> Our months and hours we see in brief array,
> In nothing changed but the returning day;
> A constant round of follies we pursue,
> And shift old toils, but to take up the new."

To heighten these calamities, Desse received information that 8000 English troops were on their march to Jedburgh. He was now environed with deep and rapid rivers on all sides; and the soldiers, both German and French, that belonged to the garrisons of Dundee, Leith, and Dunbar, were too far removed to render him any assistance. The English, however, in place of availing themselves of the opportunity they now had of

annihilating their enemy, kept at a wary distance. The French had not now above 1500 foot and 500 horse in a fit condition for service. "Had they followed us on the rear," observes Beague, "with 3000 of the troops that lay at Haddington, Douglas (Dunglas,) Eyemouth, and Lauder, to cut off our retreat, they had certainly effected something more than the burning our houses at Jedburgh."

The English, however, did not avail themselves of this opportunity; for, like the Scots, at this moment, they were divided amongst themselves. According to Strype, "the captains preferring bare gain to their honour and country's good, made false musters, and picked even part of the pay of those that served under them: the private men, naturally imitating and despising such leaders, did not provide themselves with sufficient horses and harness, nor take any care of those they had; and were negligent of repairing to their posts or standar s when called; and left them as cowardice, humour, or interest directed."

Availing themselves of this discrepancy, the French retired to Melrose, while the Earl of Rutland, with a small body of forces, arrived at Jedburgh, and took possession of what booty the Scots had left. "The protector of England (Somerset)," says the French writer, "was desperately bent on mischief; and the army he had sent to force us from our post at Jedburgh was no sooner returned to England, but he sets about the execution of further designs."

In consequence of some unpopular measures, a great part of England was in open rebellion, upon which the active and gallant Lord Grey was sent to quell these disturbances, while the wardenship of the eastern marches, and the lieutenancy of the north, were committed to the Earl of Rutland. An armament was also sent by sea; and their first exploit was an attack upon the fortifications of the Bass, which is described with much naivete by the French journalist. As every description relating to the county must be interesting (prolix though it may be,) which was written by an eye witness upon the verge of 300 years ago, we shall quote his account of the expedition:—"The Protector of England caused 25 men-of-war to be again fitted out, and amongst these some of the King of England's barges, and some large Dutch hoyes, all admirably well furnished with ammunition and victuals. Their first attempt was upon the island of Goose (Bass), so called from these big white birds, not unlike to wild geese, that nestle there in such numbers, as the Scots assure me, that the garrison of the castle of Bass, situated within the island, which consists of 100 or 120 soldiers, subsist for the most part by means of the fishes brought daily to them by these birds, and that they stand in need of no other firing the whole year long besides the wood these same creatures bring thither for building of their nests in the beginning of summer. Now the island in which the castle stands, is itself an impregnable rock, of a small extent and oval figure, cut out by the hands of nature: it has only one avenue that leads to it, and that is towards the castle; but so very difficult and uneasy, that by reason of the hidden sands that surround the rock, nothing can approach it but one little boat at a time The island is so exorbitantly uneven, that till one reach the wall of the castle he cannot have sure footing in any one place, (so that, as I have often observed,) those that enter it must climb up by the help of a strong cable thrown down for the purpose: and when they have got by much ado to the foot of the wall, they sit down in a wide basket, and in this posture are mounted up by strength of hands. There is no getting into this wonderful fortress by any other means: formerly it had a postern-gate, which facilitated the entry, but it is now thrown down, and fortified in such a manner as is incredible.

"This place the English designed to have carried, as being sensible of the vast use it would be to them by empowering them to put a stop to the Scots trade, and to hinder foreign vessels to come to Scotland on that side; but when they understood that it was not to be taken by force, and found that their ships were like to be driven from their anchors to the shores, (for here there's no riding secure against any wind that blows,) they went another way to work, and resolved to send off a judicious man to take a nearer view of the place. To this end an English officer of reputation was pitched upon, who, dressed like a trumpeter, went off in a long-boat, and at a pretty good distance gave a sign that he desired to come to a parley: when he was yet nearer the island, he civilly intreated that he might be allowed to speak with the commandant?—They answered from the top of the rock, that the favour could not be granted; but that he might freely express his orders, and that there were in the company, who would acquaint the captain with what he should say. Then the Englishman asked, whether they would suffer one of the officers of the fleet to come and treat amicably about matters highly advantageous to those within.—This was also denied: however he laid hold of the opportunity to lay before them all such motives as he thought were most prevalent

to oblige them to a surrender;—he told them among other things, that although the fort was by no means tenable against the English forces, who had often done greater feats when less numerous, yet they chose rather to sue for the Scots' friendship, than to work their ruin. That to evidence this, the admiral of the fleet was willing to bestow 5000 nobles upon the commanding officer, and 300 upon each of the soldiers; and that if they would yield the place, they might promise themselves much greater rewards from the king of England.

"The commandant was present, and thought not fit to permit the Englishman to enlarge upon arguments of such a nature; but replied by way of raillery in the following terms:—'To hear an Englishman talk big is no new thing, and I am not at all surprised at the presumption your words express; but I did not think your officers had been such fools as to imagine, that one loaded with such a weight of gold as you talk of, can get up to a place accessible to none but birds! Our birds have laid up store of all necessaries for our entertainment; and gold is superfluous where plenty abounds. Get you gone, and tell your commander so much from me, else I'll send you to the depths with a vengeance.'

"With these words he commanded some seven or eight muskets to be discharged upon the Englishman, who had no sooner got back to the fleet, but they weighed their anchors and stood out to sea."

The English fleet stood off for the island of May. This place is characterised as much larger than the "Island of Horses" (Inchkeith,) where there were fountains of sweet water, a sort of coal-stones, and good feeding for beasts. It was considered a convenient retreat and ambush for pirates. The object of the English was to proceed to Leith, which they cannonaded with little effect; but took several merchant vessels. During their abode in the Roads, a party made a descent during the night, and supplied Haddington with provisions and other necessaries. The English set about fortifying Inchkeith, while the French, who had no ships of any consequence, remained passive spectators till their fleet should depart.

[Inchkeith in early times belonged to the noble family of Keith, the first of whom, named Robert, received it from Malcolm II., along with the barony of Keith in East Lothian, (parish of Humbie,) as a reward for killing with his own hand, Camus, a Danish cheftain, at the battle of Barry in 1010. After the battle of Pinkey, the English fortified this island along with Haddington; and on being taken by Desse, a regular fortification, of great magnitude and expense, was erected. The properties of the grass of this island as a nutritious food for horses was observed: hence a great number of these animals was placed on it, and it acquired the name of "L'Isle des Chevaux." Boswell, in his tour to the Hebrides, states, that when Lord Hailes was crossing the Firth of Forth with Dr Johnson, he mentioned this fact, and observed that the island would be a "safer stable" than most others at that time. The herbage of the island of Goose was in like manner celebrated—but for feeding sheep.]

Ever since the unfortunate riot on the streets of Edinburgh, both the French troops and their leader had been beheld with indignation, and the latter was blamed for protecting the depredations of his men. At the request of the regency, Desse was thereafter superseded in command by Monsieur de Thermes, a knight of the order of St Michael. He landed at Dumbarton with 100 men-at-arms, 1000 foot, and 200 light horse. General Desse determining to signalise the close of his campaign by some exploit ere his departure in conjunction with M. de Thermes prepared for the retaking of Inchkeith, which the English had fortified. This affair was set about with great caution, as the English had 20 men-of-war lying at Eyemouth, waiting for a fair wind to waft them to Calais, and who might easily have come to the assistance of their countrymen. Inchkeith, after a gallant resistance, was taken by the French, in which M. de la Chapelle, who had often distinguished himself before Haddington, was killed. General Desse, having accomplished this enterprise, and paid the last honours to his departed friend, with two galleys returned to France, while the command was assumed by the new general.

The first measure of M. de Thermes was to build a fort at Aberlady, to prevent supplies from reaching the garrison of Haddington by sea; but, in spite of this precaution, the Earl of Rutland during the summer found means to throw provisions into the place.

[It was formerly in agitation to build a fortress at Aberlady. In the Talbot papers there is a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, dated Berwick, August 23d, 1547, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, ordering and recommending to fortify some place about the Paths, and particularly White Castle or Aberlady, to enable the English to keep Haddington, with which order Shrewsbury had not immediately complied. "I have much ado to get the victuallers out of the haven (says Sadler); but I have made some

of them believe they shall be hanged if they do not go out this tide. Have already made them draw to the haven's mouth, and I trust they shall be at Aberlady some time to-morrow. Those that were at Holy Island have already passed this morning towards Aberlady.

The ruins of White Castle were situated in the united parish of Garvald and Barra, adjoining the Lammermoor hills. In the age of violence and hostility this fortification was of considerable importance, as it guarded a pass from the Merse and from England. About a mile northward there is a large fortification or encampment, situated on a rising ground. It is of a circular form, and is in circumference about 1500 feet.—"MSS. Antiq. Scot."

The house of Luffness, which was built by the Hepburns, in 1584, stood within an old fortification, which was also supposed to be the work of De Thermes. This fortification was of an irregular square figure, the longest side extending to 140 yards. About a mile westward on the shore, were the vestiges of a small entrenched camp, much defaced by the plough. These two places commanded the whole bay. [Statistical Acct. by the Rev. Dr Neil Roy, minister of Aberlady.]

The French general was now determined to get Haddington into his possession, which several causes served to accelerate. The English regency was engaged in a war with France, and harassed by rebellions at home, while, to add to their disasters the plague had broken out amongst the garrison at Haddington, and swept away numbers daily:—

[Collier furnishes us with the following anecdote:—"Haddington, a town of Lothian, which being possessed by the English, and pressed upon by the Scots, under the command of Thermes, a Frenchman, the garrison having no hope of relief, burnt the town. But before that the French, under the command of Hessius, had been repulsed with great loss (just as entering the town which they had surprised,) by the ready wit of an English private sentinel, who fired a cannon, that by chance stood at the gate, which made a dreadful havoc among the French who stood in rank before it."—Buchanan.]

"Haddington being kept," says John Knox, "and much hership done about in the country, (for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed by the French,) God begins to fight for Scotland; for, in the town, he sent a plague so contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain: hunger and plague within, and the pursuit of the enemy with a flying camp lay about them, and intercepted all victuals, (except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick,) so constrained them, that the council of England was compelled in the spring-time to call their forces from that place; and so spoiling and burning some parts of the town, they left it to be occupied by such as first should take possession, as those were the Frenchmen, with a small number of the ancient inhabitants; and so did God perform the words and threatenings of Mr George Wishart, who said: 'That for their contempt of God's messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire; with pestilence, strangers and famine;' all which they found in such perfection, that to this day yet, that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as then did inhabit it."

"O leave the barren spot to me,
Spare, woodman, spare the beechen tree!"

Which has nourished thee and thy forefathers!—Knox was a native of the suburbs of Haddington; but here, as usual, he is carried away by his passionate zeal in favour of those who were martyrs to his church; for unhappily the pestilence and famine were not confined to Haddington.

[Several words in common use in East Lothian, are supposed to have been introduced by the French during their frequent intercourse with Scotland. The author is indebted to Captain Yule of the Royal Engineers, for the following list of a few peculiar to this county:—

A ruckle of stones, ...from reueilli;
Asset, ...from Assiette;
A jigot of mutton, ...from gigot;
A servitor, or napkin, ...from serviette;
Doure, ...from dur;
Dorty, ...from durete;
Douse, ...from doux, douce;
To jalouse, suspect, ...from jalouse;
Multure, pronounced mouter (a miller's fee).....from mouture;
Goo, smell, ...from gout;
Jupe, a part of dress, ...from jupe;
Cust, a chest, ...from caisse;
Haggis, or hashy, ...from hachis;

"Poudret," the name of one of the south streets of Haddington, may be either L'epaule Droit," (formerly pronounced "dret,) "part of a fortification;" or, "Le pont Droit," "the right bridge."

Scotland, although it might be "distracted by intrigue and overrun by hostility," could not be conquered. Amongst the active intrigers against their country during this agitated period were John Cockburn of Ormiston, and Alexander Crichton of Brunston, who were condemned by parliament as traitors, and forfeited, but after-

wards restored, without receiving much benefit from the salutary lesson.

[On the 28th February 1547-8, the governor and council considering the divers and enormous crimes of the Lairds of Ormiston, Brunston, and Salton, ordered that the houses of Salton, Ormiston, and Gilbertson, should be cast down.—"Keith's Appendix."]

The Earl of Rutland determining that neither soldiers nor military stores should fall into the hands of the French, marched to Scotland with 6000 men, amongst whom were a band of German mercenaries. Entering Haddington in the night, they totally demolished the fortifications of the place; and, without molestation from either Scots or their allies, conveyed the garrison with all their artillery and stores to Berwick, on the 1st October 1549.

On the 22nd March, 1550, letters were written to Lord Bowes, not to proceed in conveying the ordnance of Haddington from Dunglas; nor to send too large a supply of victuals to Lauder or that place, there being a prospect of peace, which happily soon was realised. [Parliamentary Record.]

The war now raging between England and France was of short duration.—The French found a resistence from the garrison of Boulogne which they did not apprehend, while, on the other hand, the defence of this place was an intolerable expense to the English;—and Warwick, with his party, who had lately driven Somerset from his great offices and power, were, for their own security desirous of peace. The principal object of this treaty was the restitution of Boulogne, which was readily granted; but as the French insisted that their allies of Scotland should also be included in the amnesty, this part of the treaty was conceded with the greatest reluctance.

The articles in this instrument relating to Scotland were, that the forts of Dunglas and Lauder, which the king of England had built, " should be delivered to the Scots, together with all the ordnance within them, except what had been brought from Haddington: and that this restitution should be made as soon as commodiously might be, before the second payment of 400,000 crowns, which the French had agreed to pay England for the restoration of Boulogne. On the delivering up of the above forts, the English garrisons were to retire unmolested with their baggage, along with the artillery brought into them from Haddington. It was further agreed, that if these forts ceased to be in possession of the king of England, he should be freed from the obligation of their restoration; and that in place of this restitution and recompence for it, he should be obliged within forty days from the date of the present treaty, to destroy and raze to the ground the towns and castles of Roxburgh and Eyemouth, while, on the other hand, the queen of Scotland for her part was to order the demolition of the castles of Dunglas and Lauder. The forts of Dunglas, Lauder, Roxburgh, and Eyemouth, were accordingly destroyed; and the castles of Dunbar and Blackness, and the forts of Broughty and Inchkeith, for commanding the entrance into the principal rivers, were garrisoned by the French during the peace. In 1551, the fort of Aberlady, at Luffness, was included in this destructive mandate: it being decreed by the Queen-dowager and council, that in consideration of the great expense incurred by the king of France, in garrisoning the forts of Aberlady and Luffness, and their inutility in the time of peace, that they should be delivered up to Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, for the purpose of demolition; reserving the house and mansion to himself in heritage, on condition that he sent the ammunition and artillery to the castle of Dunbar at his own expense.

[The barony of Luffness lies about half a mile east from the village of Aberlady. It is now the property of George William Hope, Esq., of Craigball and Waughton, M.P. for Southampton. Luffness-house was renovated by the late General the Honourable Sir Alexander Hope, G.C.B., in the old English castellated style, and from its proximity to the sea is a pleasant and healthy residence. A short distance west from the mansion, within an inclosure called the Friar's-ward, are the vestiges of a chapel and other buildings, which have belonged to some religious establishment. In an arched niche in the north corner of the chapel, lies the statue of a man as large as life, with a shield on his breast, while his right hand grasps a sword, which goes by the name of "Friar Bickerton."

The Bickertons were proprietors of Luffness about the end of the 14th century. One of them, who probably attended the Earl of Douglas as esquire, is said to have treacherously stabbed him in the back, when at the battle of Otterburn, in revenge for some reproof for neglect of duty on the previous evening. Tradition says that Bickerton was outlawed, and afterwards slain at his own gate by Ramsay of Waughton.

Near this chapel stands all that remains of the ancient house of Saltcoats, which is merely the east gable, somewhat of the form of an arch, supported by two staircases. The last tenant, Mrs Carmichael (alias Menzies,) died about fifty years ago,

The principal part of the building having been removed for agricultural improvements twenty years ago, the stones were found so firmly cemented together, that they were compared to having been "seathed in steel." The old arms, cut in stone, which surmounted the principal door of the mansion, are now placed above the door of the gardener's house. There is a strange traditional story of the ancestor of the Livingstones of Saltcoats, destroying a boar, which infested that neighbourhood, for which he received an ample grant of land between Gullan point and North Berwick law. About the beginning of the last century the estate was acquired by John Hamilton of Pencaitland, who married Margaret Menzies, the heiress of Saltcoats. —See the poem of "Alan of Winton."]

CHAPTER VIII.

Rejois, Henrie, most Christine king of Fraunce!
Rejois all peopill of that regioun!
That with manheid, and be ane happy chance,
Be thy Levetennent trew, of greit renown,
The Duik of Gweis recoverit Calice towne,
The quhilk hes bene twa hundreth yeirs begane,
Into the hands of Inglis natioun;
Quha never thocht be force it micht be tane.
"Of the Wynning of Calice," 1558.
—Sir Richard Maitland.

MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN-REGENT—HER PROGRESS TO THE BORDERS.—FORTRESS OF EYEMOUTH.—INROADS OF SIR HENRY PERCY.—MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, MARRIES THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE.—SIR RICHARD MAITLAND'S EPITHALAMIUM.—JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL. — QUEEN ELIZABETH. — JOHN KNOX.—DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERIES. —THE QUEEN-REGENT TAKES REFUGE IN DUNBAR.—COCKBURN OF ORMISTON.—CIVIL WAR.—DUKE OF NORFOLK'S INVASION.

The Queen-dowager, from the gentleness of her manners, and the conciliatory measures she employed, had brought over several of the nobles of the reforming church party to her interest; and, in a parliament held in April 1554, she was chosen Regent of the kingdom in room of Arran, who was compelled or induced to resign. In the June of the following year she made a progress to the Borders, to hold justice courts for punishing malefactors, and to settle differences among contentious chieftains. The English court, agitated by the reckless deeds of their bigoted queen, viewed this progress with no small alarm. The reformed church in that country had suffered a severe loss in the death of Edward VI., who died in his sixteenth year. He was succeeded by his illegitimate sister Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII, by Catherine of Arragon: so that both countries were under the dominion of women connected with France, both by manners and religious faith. The Lord Coniers, who had command of the opposite marches, sent an account of the Queen-regent's motions to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Berwick, requesting his aid in case of a sudden attack. On the 28th July he writes: "The Scots queen departed from Jedworth on the 13th instant, and came the same night into Kelsay, and the next day to Hume castle; and so along the bordors into Langton, Haymouth, Dunbarr, and (H) Addington; and that she had travelled very earnestly to bring her subjects into amity and love with one another; and took of divers surnames pledges for the observing and keeping of good rules, as of the Carrs, the Scots, with divers others." [Keith's Appendix, 85.]

The Queen-regent made a progress the following year for the same purpose, when commissioners from both kingdoms met at Dunse, to settle disputes arising from the banditti of the marches. The commissioners from England were Tunstall, Bishop of Durham and others; and, on the part of Scotland, the Bishop of Dumblane, Richard Maitland of Lethington, and James Macgill, clerk of Register.

[Sir Richard Maitland, the poet, who amused himself during the intervals of public business, in writing verses, at Lethington, enveighs sadly against these maurderers, the depreciations of whom he often felt to his cost:

Thay thiefs have neirhand herreit haill
Ettrick Forest and Lauderdaill:
Now are they gane
In Lothiane; and spairis nane
That they will waill.]

It appears from Strype, in "Memorials of Queen Mary," that the Border marches were in a very turbulent state; and two meetings were held at Reddingburn to allay animosities. The English preferred no less that one thousand bills of "attemptats" or trespasses against the Scots. To discuss these complaints, it was agreed to meet one day in the church of Norham, and another in the Lady-church on the opposite side. The Earl of Bothwell was the principal person on the side of the latter, and acted in quality of lieutenant of the Scottish marches in an expedition against the Armstrongs on the west border, where he was accompanied by the Laird of Drumlanrig, the warden of that march. The banditti had the advantage in two rencounters. [Ridpath's Bord. Hist.]

To put down these disorders the Queen-regent proposed to her parliament, that a body of foreign mercenaries should be em-

ployed, and a tax levied on the estates so infested for the support of the soldiery. A great body of the lower barons assembling at Edinburgh, remonstrated against this innovation as dangerous to their liberty, and intolerable to their poverty, which being supported by the major part of the nobility, the prospect was abandoned.

In 1557, at the instigation of Pope Julius III., a war broke out betwixt France and Spain. The queen of England had married Philip the king of Spain, which immediately led to a collision between England and France, while the French were not slow to aid the Scots in a war with their ancient enemy. To this measure the nobility of Scotland were quite averse; but the Queen-regent, who favoured the project, soon found means to provoke hostilities. D'Oysel, the lieutenant of the French king in Scotland, was sent with a body of soldiers to rebuild the fortress of Eyemouth, which had been first erected and possessed by the Duke of Somerset, and which had been demolished in pursuance of the treaty made at the close of the last war. As this act was a manifest breach of that treaty, the English garrison of Berwick made attacks to disturb the progress of the work, which the French repelled; but which led to mutual incursions on both sides. It was found necessary to collect an army for the defence of the country; and the Earl of Huntly, who was made lord-lieutenant of the Scottish marches, having arrived at Dunse, made several considerable inroads into England. In one of these inroads into Northumberland, Huntly burned several towns and villages, and carried away a great booty. In these excursions it was no uncommon thing to carry off several hundreds of oxen and some thousands of sheep, besides horses. The Frenchified queen of Scotland now acted like another Boadicea:

> When the British warrior queen,
> Bleeding from the Roman rods,
> Sought, with an indignant mein,
> Counsel of her country's gods.—COWPER

She accompanied the army, which was commanded by the Earl of Arran, now Duke of Chatelherault, to the neighbourhood of Kelso, and took up her abode in Home castle: but here the troops, after crossing the Tweed remained stationary. The nobles considering the quarrel as purely French, left them to decide it themselves. D'Oysel, equally eager to gratify the queen-regent, and serve his own interests, marched upon the castle of Wark on his own accord, upon which the bulk of the nobility, indignant at these proceedings, without the order of their general dismissed the army, and the French commander was forced to withdraw, to the great chagrin of Mary. After he was thus forsaken by the Scots, D'Oysel returned to the fortress of Eyemouth, while other companies of foot, paid by the French king, and bodies of cavalry, were stationed at Kelso and Roxburgh, and other convenient places on the frontiers.

About Martinmas 1557, Sir Henry Percy made a great inroad into Scotland, and was opposed by Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, with the men of Teviotdale. A sharp skirmish ensued in which the English were at first beaten back, but rallying, the Scottish leader, with several of his followers, was taken prisoner, and the army defeated. The war on the borders, however, was pursued but faintly, and with less ardour than formerly by England. Their bloody and bigoted queen, who was busy with the fire and faggot at home, had reinstated in their clerical honours the bishops of the Romish church; and completely undid the salutary reform in religion, which had been effected in England during the reign of Henry VIII. Hundreds of victims were immolated for their religious faith at the smoking stakes of Smithfield; and the pious Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, perished in the flames. To add to these civil distresses, Calais, which had been held for more than two hundred years by the English, capitulated to the French, which called forth a congratulatory effusion from Sir Richard Maitland, which we have quoted.

The wishes of the French were further gratified by the marriage of the young queen of Scotland to Francis the Dauphin of France. Lord Seton was sent to France as one of the commissioners for the nuptials, which was consolidated in the cathedral church of Paris, in 1558. For this service he was rewarded by the king of France with certain silver vessels, and an yearly pension of xijc. franks, etc.—[Hist. House of Seytoun.] This event turned out very unsatisfactory to Scotland; and was conducted by France with the most studied and e'aborate deceit, the queen having been persuaded privately to sign three deeds, unjust and invalid, conferring the kingdom of Scotland upon the crown of France, failing heirs of her own body. Not content with this unjustifiable measure, the French court insisted that as the dauphin took the title of king of Scotland, the crown matrimonial should be conferred upon him, vesting in his own person the rights which belonged to his wife as a sovereign princess, which being seconded by the arts of the Queen-regent, was complied with by the Scottish parliament.

Such a joyous event as the marriage of a young and beautiful queen, could not fail to rouse the poetic energies of the country; accordingly amongst the first that awoke

the harp of East Lothian in her praise, was the loyal and venerable knight of Lethington.

[The following verses are highly deseriptive of the rejoieings on any happy event happening to the royal family at this period. At the cross of the burgh-town "wine ran in sindrie ways," and the stairs, like the front of the houses, were "hung with tapestrie." The second stanza shews jousting and the tournament also to have been practised on such occasions.

APITHALAMIUM.

"ON THE QUENIS' MARYAGE TO THE DOLPHIN OF FRANCE."—1558.

BY SIR RICHARD MAITLAND.

I.

"The great blythness and joy inestimable,
For to set furth the Scottis are nocht able:
Nor for to mak condign solemnitie
For the gude news, and tydings comfortable
Of the contract of maryage honorable
Betwixt the Queen's maist noble majestie
And the greatest young prince in Christentie;
And alsua to us the maist profitable,
Of France the Dauphin, the first son of King Henrie.

II.

"All lusty wooers, and hardy chevaliers,
Go dress your horse, your harness, and your geirs,
To rin at lists, to just, and to tournay;
That it may run on to your ladies' ears,
Quha in the field maist valiantly him bears.
And ye, fair ladies! put on your best array,
Request young men to ride in your liv'ray,
That, for your sake they may break twenty spears
For luf of you, young lusty (1) ladies gay.

III.

"All burrows-touns, ever ilk man you prayis,
To make bainfires, fairseis, (2) and clerk-playis, (3)
And thro' your rewis(4) earrels dance, and sing:
And at your Cross gar wine rin sindrie ways, (5)
As was the custom in our elders' days,
When that they made triumph for ony thing;
And all your stairs with tapestrie gar hing;
Castles, shoot guns; shippis and galayis,
Bawl up your trumpets, and on your drums ding.

IV.

"Priests, and clerks, and men of each professioun,
With devout mind gang to processioun,
And in your queiris (6) sing with melodie.
To the great God mak intercessioun,
To send our Princess gud successioun,
With her young spouse to our utilitie;
That after her may govern this countrie,
And us defend from all oppressioun,
And it conserve in law and libertie.

V.

"Ye lordis all, and barons of renown,
And all the statis of this natioun,
Mak great triumph, mak banquet, and gude cheer;
And everilk man put on his nuptial-gown (7)
Let it be seen into the Burrow's-toun, (8)
That in your coffers has lain this mony year:
Sin that your Queen has chosen her ane feir, (9)
Ane potent prince for to maintain your crown,
And entertenye you in peace and weir.

VI.

"O noble princess, mother of our Queen,
With all thy heart to God lift up thy een,
And give him thanks for grace he has thee send;
That he has made thee instrument and mean,
With maryage to couple in ane chain
Thir twa realmis, other to defend.
Think weel warit the time thou has done spend,
And the travale that thou has done sustain,
Sin it is brought now to sae gude ane end."

—"Quod R. M. of Ledingtoun, knyt."]

(1) "Lusty," beautiful. (2) Farces. (3) Mysteries, acted by the clergy. (4) Streets. (5) In 1503, when Queen Margaret paid her first visit to Edinburgh, 'In the mydds of the towne was a crosse new paynted, any ny to that same a fontayne, castynge forth of wyn, and ychon (each one) drank that wold.....The towne of Edenbourgh was in places haunged with tapissery.....And in the churches of the sayd towne bells rang for myrthe. After this done, ychon lept off his horse, and in fayr order went after the processyon to the church.'—LELAND. (6) Quires, or choir. (7) Nuptial-gown refers to the practice of that age of men wearing short gowns or cloaks.—PINKERTON. (8) Haddington. (9) Companion.

Several great inroads continued to be made on the Borders by Sir Henry Percy, (brother to the Earl of Northumberland,) and Sir George Bowes, marshal of Berwick. With about 800 horse and 2000 foot, they made an incursion into the Merse; and,

burning Dunse and Langton, returned home with great booty of cattle. They were pursued by the Scots and some Frenchmen to the village of Swinton, where a desperate conflict ensued, in which the latter were defeated.

A nobleman of great power and dubious character is now to be introduced on the stage of public affairs, who for some time was not only connected with the fortunes of Queen Mary, but ruled the political destinies of Haddington. This personage was James, Earl of Bothwell, of whom the faithful historian has little to praise, but much to condemn. In November 1556, he succeeded his father, Patrick, the third earl, who had fled from his country through treasonable designs, and died abroad. Besides the great estates of his father, he inherited from him the offices of great admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Edinburgh, of Haddington, and of Berwick; and bailie of Lauderdale: "He was thus bydescent," observes Chalmers, "the most powerful noble of southern Scotland, with the castles of Hermitage, Hailes, and Crichton, for his fortlets."

Bothwell having sent a sufficient body of horsemen to burn the town of Fenton, he remained with the rest of his forces at Haltwell-Sweir, where he was attacked by Sir Henry Percy at the head of 1000 horse; but a panic having seized Percy's cavalry, on a sudden discharge of firearms from the Scots, they fled in disorder, and were pursued over the Till, and 120 men with some officers taken prisoners.

[Queen Mary, in her apology, sent to the court of France sometime afterwards, for her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, says, "that in these wars against England, he gave such proof of his valiantness, courage, and good conduct, that, notwithstanding he was very young, yet he was chosen as the most fit of the whole nobility to be our lieutenant-general of the borders, having the whole charge, as well to defend as to assail. At which time he made many noble enterprizes, etc."—Keith's Hist.]

The small fortress of Edrington, situated near the boundaries of Berwick, which frequently drew forth attacks from the English, after a gallant resistance, was reduced. Its garrison consisted of 16 Frenchmen. Soon after a hot skirmish took place at Halidon-hill. Some bands of soldiers, from the garrison of Berwick, were stationed for the protection of the husbandmen employed in mowing and carrying in the hay of the fields. Several days having elapsed without the appearance of the enemy, the party grew confident; and, throwing aside their armour, spent their time in sports. The garrison of French and Scots at Eyemouth having received intelligence of this remissness of conduct, surprised them with a sudden attack, which lasted for some hours, till Sir James Crofts, bringing up a party from Berwick, ended the contest, and obliged the assailants to retire. About the end of the same year, Lord Eure made an inroad towards Eyemouth, and burnt a mill, a kiln, and some houses in the neighbourhood, for which he received the thanks of the Queen; but Leonard Dacres for a similar exploit was treated more coolly, as it was found by both parties that these wasting inroads only led to reprisals without effecting any definite purpose.

In April 1559, a treaty of peace was concluded between France and England, in which (the French negotiators having a commission to that effect from Mary the queen of Scotland, and her husband the Dauphin-king,) the kingdom of Scotland was included. The Scots having entered France, it was decreed in this new treaty that the fortress of Eyemouth rebuilt by them should be razed. We accordingly find a movement among the French allies at this time; and "the provost, bailies, and council of Haddington, ordained Thos. Panton, treasurer, to buy and deliver to the Frenchmen, five legs of beef and twa swine, and the same to be 'allowit thankfullie at the makin of his compt.'"

[By a letter from the Queen of England, it appears that young Lethington (William Maitland), was employed to negotiate the affairs of Scotland at the English court, before the conclusion of the treaty of Cambray. The letters of the Earl of Northumberland are full of complaints against the subjects and wardens of Scotland, and he had an interview with the Earl of Bothwell, at Reddenburn, for settling these differences.—"Bord. Hist."]

[Haddington Council Register, 1559.—The burgh council-books previous to 1556, must have either been removed to some private dormitory or destroyed by the English at the siege we have lately detailed, as none are to be found anterior to that period.—There is an old dingy volume, however, of date 1424, relating to deeds of mortification in favour of the church, which we have quoted in our "Ecclesiastical Annals."]

In the meantime a more cheering era had dawned upon the reform party of the church of England on the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne. After the fall of Calais, the health of the persecuting and bigoted Mary rapidly declined; and she was heard to declare, that, when dead, the name of Calais should be found engraven on her heart! This woman, along with much bigotry, was possessed of much pride, which are frequently found in the same individual, and "a wounded spirit

who can bear?" Forsaken by her husband, who was now king of Spain, and on whom she doated exceedingly, she died, after a short reign of little more than five years, amidst the murmurs of the people. Meanwhile her sister-queen of Scotland was following much the same steps, but with more French duplicity. To consolidate her power, she found it necessary to make concessions to the Protestant party, which she never fulfilled. The consequence was, that the Earl of Argyle, John Erskine of Dun, the Prior of St Andrews, and some of her steadiest friends, were amongst the first to leave her cause. The new queen of England had also been provoked to become her decided enemy. On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, the French court sought to advance the claim of the young Queen of Scotland as one of the nearest descendants of Henry VII., rejecting the title of Elizabeth, on the alleged nullity of her mother's marriage with Henry VIII. On the accession of Francis to the throne of France, the arms of England and Ireland were quartered with those of France and Scotland, and on some occasions the titles of king and queen of England were assumed by Francis and Mary. A general affection, however, was discovered by the English to Elizabeth, who heartily concurred in the reformation; and such conduct could only lead to one desirable result.

[James V., the son and successor of Queen Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., left no issue that came to maturity except Queen Mary.]

John Knox, who arrived from Geneva, on the 2nd May 1559, was warmly espoused by a powerful "band," that assumed the name of "The Congregation." Perth was as yet in possession of a garrison, which Mary had placed there, to protect the Romish religion. The lords of the congregation imagined that, in consequence of a treaty, the French garrison which was kept in that town, should retire beyond the Forth, and leave it open to the control of its former magistrates and inhabitants. This article, however, was either indistinctly expressed, or studiously evaded; upon which Arglye and James Stuart, prior of St Andrews, (the natural son of James V.), sent a letter demanding the evacuation of the town of Perth. Charteris, the provost, and the garrison, declared their determination to hold it for the queen against all assailants, while the reformers being joined by the Earl of Monteith and Campbell of Glenurchart, immediately decided on hostilities. Huntly and other ambassadors, from the Queen-regent, were not even listened to; but the garrison, on capitulating, when they saw the inutility of resistance, were allowed to depart with the honours of war. Ruthven and the former magistrates were restored to the government of the town, while the troops of the congregation entering, assisted by the mob, which they could not repress, proceeded to destroy whatever they considered monuments of idolatry which had formerly been spared. Next day the rich abbey of Scone fell a sacrifice to the townsmen of Dundee. Knox, however, was not to blame for these exeesses; they were in most cass the work of the undiseriminating multitude, who in general take part with the weaker or popular party whether they be right or wrong. It being understood that the Queen-regent intended to place a garrison of French in Stirling, means were immediately adopted to prevent it. Early in the morning the destruction of the monasteries had commeneed,—the altars and images of superstition were cast down,—and the fine abbey of Cambuskenneth laid in ruins. On the fourth day the reformers proceeded by way of Linlithgow to Edinburgh, carrying the hammer of demolition in their train. This body, which did not exceed 300 men, so terrified the Quoen-regent and her guards, that with all precipitation she fled for safety to the castle of Dunbar. The Lord Seton, who was provost of Edinburgh, abandoned his charge, and left the destruction of its monastie establishments to the mob. In short, the popular fervour had now arrived at such a height, that it was as easy for Canute to have driven back the ocean waves, that mocked his rebuke, as to havo arrested its progress. The Queen-regent now saw the necessity of a compromise; and, issuing a proclamation, proposed calling a parliament in the following January to arrange differences, while, during the interval, all were allowed to indulge their own consciences in religious opinions, which was a great concession gained in persecuting times. In this proclamation, however, the "congregation" were blamed as particularly obnoxious,—"they were in tho practice of bringing English spies into their houses; and had violently entered the palace of Holyrood, and seized the printing-irons of the mint-house." According to Knox, "the Queen, by eorrupting or issuing base money, made to herself immoderate gains, whereby she might maintain the soldiery, wherefore it was found necessary, that the printing-irons, and all things pertaining thereto, should be staid, lest she should privily transport them to Dunbar." [Knox's Hist. Calderwood observes: "The clipped and rounged soulaces," (i.e., the gnawed sous, a specious of small money,) "which had not passed these three years bygone in France, were commanded by her to have free course within this realme."—Calderwood's Hist.]

On Sunday the 26th July, the Queen's forces marched on their return from Dunbar, and "the congregational army" not being properly united, retired before them. It was now found necessary by the reformers or protestants, to solicit the aid of England and of England and of Elizabeth; and it was certainly more honourable to demand that of a sister state, although formerly an enemy by the perverse conduct of its rulers, than that of a foreign ally. But before doing this the congregational leaders were urged to the greatest extremity for want of specie to pay their troops. —"To pacify the men-of-war," says Knox, "a collection was devised; but because some were poor, and some were niggards and avaricious, there could no sufficient sum be obtained. It was thonght expedient that a coin-house should be made; that every nobleman should coin his silver work and plate to supply the present necessity: and there, through David Forres, John Hart, and others, who before had charge of the coining-house, did promise their faithful labours; but when the matter came to the very point, the said John Hart, and others of his faction, stole away, and took with them the instruments fit for that purpose. Rested then no hope amongst ourselves, that any money could be furnished; and, therefore, it was concluded, by a few of those whom we judged most secret, that Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, then having charge at Berwick, should be tried, if they would support us with any reasonable sum in that necessity." [Knox's Hist.]

The court of England aware that it was for their interest to support the Anti-Galican party in Scotland, immediately sent supplies to Sir James Crofts, governor of Berwick, and dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler with powers to act in concert along with him. These two officers began with furnishing sums of money to the leaders of the reformers, to pay some mercenary soldiers whom they were obliged to employ in their service. Mr Henry Balnaves was sent to receive one of these payments, and conveyed it safely to his friends; while Cockburn, the Laird of Ormiston, who was charged with the conveyance of the second, amounting to 4000 crowns (of the sun),—[£1000 sterling.—Ridpath.] He was waylaid by the Earl of Bothwell, who came upon him unexpectedly and unarmed near Haddington; and, after wounding him in the head, carried off the money. Sadler mentions that the Earls of Arran and Moray immediately went with 200 horse and 100 footmen, with two pieces of artillery, to the Earl of Bothwell's house in Haddington, where he occasionally resided; but were a quarter of an hour too late. Having notice that the troopers were entering the West Port in pursuit of him, he fled down the Gowl Close to the Tyne; and, keeping along the bed of the river, stole into the house of Cockburn of Sandybed by a back door; and, changing clothes with the turnspit, performed her duty for some days till he found an opportunity to escape. As a mark of gratitude for this timeous shelter, Bothwell gave Cockburn and his heirs a perpetual ground annual of four bolls of wheat, four bolls of barley, and four bolls of oats, out of his lands of Mainshill in the county of Haddington.

[This ground-annual continued to be paid to the heirs of Cockburn, till about 1760, when George Cockburn of Sandybed, who succeeded to the estate of Gleneagles, took the name of Haldane, sold it and his property of Sandybed, to John Buchan, Esq. of Letham, who soon after sold and discharged this ground-annual to Francis, Earl of Wemyss, then proprietor of Mainshill.—Sir G. Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton.]

The Council of the Protestant lords suspended the Queen-regent from the exercise of her office· but were unable to reduce Leith. Disappointed of the supply of money which they expected from England through the Laird of Ormiston, they could no longer keep their forces together, but were obliged to retire from Edinburgh to Stirling. A powerful and effectual aid from England was absolutely necessary; and to solicit this boon the Protestant lords, whose spirits the energetic oratory of Knox had revived, sent William Maitland of Lethington (son of Sir Richard), a man of great abilities, who had lately come over to their interest. Maitland, with Barnavie (Thomas Randall), his associate, having found means to reach Holy Island, were received the night after their landing into the castle of Berwick by Sir James Crofts. After remaining a day in conference with Crofts and Sadler, they were before daylight conveyed out of the castle, and proceeded on their journey to the English court, where they met with a highly favourable reception; and in less than a month Barnavie, or according to other Scottish writers, Robert Melville, returned to Stirling, with assurances of effectual support from England, on such conditions as should be agreed to by commissioners from Elizabeth and the Protestant party in Scotland. To carry these engagements into effect, the Duke of Norfolk about the end of the year came to Newcastle, invested with the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom north of the Trent. In his commission were expressed the apprehensions Elizabeth entertained from the great forces the French had transported into Scotland, and in particular her jealousy with regard

to the safety of her town of Berwick. The queen sent, at the same time, commissions to the gentlemen of the northern counties to raise forces of horse and foot under the pretext of opposing the dangerous attempts of the French, and to bring them to the Duke of Newcastle, while a fleet of fourteen ships of war, with seventeen transports, laden with provisions and military stores, commanded by Admiral Winter, proceeded to Berwick, where taking on board a body of harquebutters (men skilled in the use of arquebuse and pike), he sailed into the Firth of Forth, and under pretence that it was unsafe for his great ships to lie off Berwick during the present stormy season, sailed into the roads of Leith. The French firing upon him from Inchkeith, Burntisland, and Leith, gave him an opportunity of throwing aside any scruples he had in renewing hostilities; upon which he fell upon some French ships, lying on the Fife coast, and took three of them, amongst which he found artillery, ammunition, and tools necessary for fortifications. The arrival of this fleet happened most opportunely for stopping the progress of a body of French who were on their way to take St Andrews, who immediately returned by way of Stirling to Leith.

A meeting was held at Berwick between the Duke of Norfolk and delegates from the Scottish reformers. Four of the latter were brought from Fife in a ship of Winter's squadron. These persons were the Lord James Stuart, prior of St Andrews; Patrick Lord Ruthven; John Wishart of Pittarow; and Mr Henry Balnaves of Hallhill. Maitland younger of Lethington, and Sir John Maxwell of Terreagles came by land. With these delegates the Duke of Norfolk concluded a treaty, which, with some slight alterations, was ratified by he queen of England. The chief object of this treaty was the preservation and defence of the true Protestant religion, and the ancient rights and liberties of Scotland, against the attempts of France to destroy them and to make a conquest of that kingdom.

[The Duke of Chatelherault, with other nobles, were engaged by this treaty to subscribe and seal it within thirty days after the delivery of the hostages.These hostages were delivered to Admiral Winter, and as they were passing in a ship to Berwick, were driven in by adverse winds to Prestonpans, while the English army lay there, on the 4th April, 1560, and remained with the army during the night, from whence they proceeded to Berwick. The treaty was subscribed and sealed by the Scottish lords, in the camp before Leith, on the 10th May, three days after the attempt to storm Leith had failed.]

In fulfilment of this treaty, when the season for action had arrived, and some hopes given by the French court of setting matters amicably had failed, the English forces quartered at Berwick and in the neighbourhood, amounting to 6000 foot and 1250 horse, entered Scotland. [Ridpath's Border Hist.] This armament was commanded by Lord Grey of Wilton, who was also appointed warden of the east and middle marches. The second person in command was Sir James Crofts, captain of Berwick. The other principal officers were the Lord Scroope, lord Marshal; Sir George Howard, commander of the gen-de-arms and demi-lances; Sir Henry Percy, general of the light horsemen; and Thomas Gower, master of the ordnance. Lord Grey proceeded with the foot from Berwick and stopped for the first night at Coldingham; where

> Reflecting back the smoky beam,
> The dark red walls and arches' gleam.—SCOTT.

The day following, being Saturday, Sir James Crofts and Sir George Howard left Berwick with the lancers and light horsemen. The whole army advanced this day as far as Dunglass, where the foot encamped, the cavalry being cantoned in the adjacent villages. The next day's march brought them to Lintonbrigs and Haddington. As they passed by the castle of Dunbar, some of the garrison sallied forth, and skirmished; but as they kept near the walls, only a few lives were lost in the encounter. On the day following, the first of April, the English army arrived at Prestonpans, where the chief commanders had an interview with the leaders of the Scottish allies. The Queen-regent remained obstinate, would bow to no terms, and refused to dismiss the French troops from her service, except with the consent of her daughter and that of the French king. The English, incensed, advanced upon Leith, where a fierce and long skirmish ensued, in which young Percy (son of Sir Henry), particularly distinguished himself. The French, under Martigues, shewed the most resolute spirit in sustaining the siege for three months, with very little prospect of relief, although they were reduced to the greatest extremities for want of necessaries. The garrison consisted of about 3000 men, French and Scots, and was excellently officered by the former, who were the soul of every enterprise.

Meanwhile the Duke of Norfolk remained at Berwick, from whence he sent considerable reinforcements to the besieging army. Endeavours had been used by the Duke and Sir Ralph Sadler, to gain the Homes and the Kers, who had the chief power on the eastern Scottish marches, to their assist-

ance in expelling the French; but these chieftains would come to no engagement on which the Duke could depend. He, therefore, raised 600 light horsemen: 400 in Yorkshire, to carry currias or arquebuses and 200 in the marches. These, together with the garrison of Berwick, were considered a sufficient defence against the Scottish marches. About the time the English army entered Scotland, Lord Home having come to the borders from Edinburgh, a report was spread that he, with his friends, would raise fire in England; "but we have provided," says the duke, "such sauce for him that I think he will not deal in such matters; but if he do fire one haygoff, he shall not go to home again without torchlight; and, peradventure, may find a lanthorn at his own house." [Haynes, 275.] Norfolk, suspecting that the Borderers designed to intercept the money he forwarded to the army at Leith, and from the weight of specie and of carts, about the end of April, sent Valentine Brown with it by sea. Soon after Lord Home joined the Protestant lords with 300 horse; but a doubt existed which interest he ultimately intended to support. In a hasty and ill-conducted attack to scale and storm the town of Leith, the English sustained a repulse the failure of which was attached to Sir James Crofts, who did not make the assault at the part of the wall assigned to him. Norfolk (in a letter to Cecil) calls Crofts the Bell-wether of all his mischief; and got him superseded in the command of Berwick, which was conferred on Lord Grey. The last succours sent from Berwick to Leith were two bodies of 300 men each, who setting out on the 8th, arrived in the camp on the 10th June. The same day the Queen-regent of Scotland, worn out with grief and vexation at the wavering interests of her party, died, in the castle of Edinburgh, little regretted but by those in her immediate interest. The organs of a bigoted party were, however, inclined to ascribe her demise to the immediate judgment of providence for her cruel and contumacious conduct. But previous to her death, according to more liberal writers, she had an interview with the prior of St Andrews, the Earl of Argyle, and other chiefs of the Congregation, to whom she lamented the violence of her councils,—the errors of her administration,—and begged the forgiveness of those whom she had injured.

[The historian of the Congregation observes: "That Sir James Crofts was blamed for not assaulting Leith on the north-west quarter upon the sea-side, where, at low water, the passage was easy;—that he had an interview with the Queen-regent, at the fore block-house of the castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards appeared to act under enchantment·—that the Frenchmen's paramours, of whom the most part were Scots, did no less cruelties than the soldiers: for besides that they charged their pieces, and ministered unto them other weapons; some cast stones and carried heaps of burning fire, stones, and other missiles, which they threw on the besiegers. The Queen-regent at a distance beheld the overthrow; and, as the ensigns of the French were displayed on the walls, she gave a 'gawf' of laughter, and said, 'Now will I go to the mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen.' . . . . . The French, proud of the victory, stripped naked the slain, and laid their carcases along the wall in the hot sun, unto the which, when the Queen-regent looked, for mirth she leapt, and said, 'Yonder is the fairest tapestry that ever I saw; I would that the whole fields that are betwixt this place and you, were strewed with the same stuff.'" These expressions drew forth the anathemies of John Knox, who boldly affirmed in the pulpit: "That God should revenge that contumely done to 'his image' not only on the furious and godless soldiers, but even in such as rejoiced thereat;" and the very experience proved that he was not deceived: for within a few days after (yea, some say that same day) began her belly and legs to swell, and so continue, till that God, in his wisdom, took her away from this world. The garrison of Leith was in such a miserable condition that horse flesh sold at a considerable price.]

After the death of the Queen-regent, Monsieur Randan and the Bishop of Vallance were sent, on the part of France, to negotiate a peace with Sir William Cecil and Doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury, the plenipotentiaries of Elizabeth. So many conflicting interests were to appease, and differences to settle, that this negotiation was protracted for three weeks. By this treaty it was agreed that the fortifications of Leith should be demolished,—after which the French forces in Leith were to be embarked on board English ships, which were to carry them to France;—that the fortress of Eyemouth should be razed;—that Francis and Mary should no longer assume the arms and titles belonging to Elizabeth;—and that their clemency should be extended to the nobility and commons of Scotland, by granting them certain immunities, tending to the honour of the sovereigns and the general tranquillity of the kingdom:—a third instrument ratified the articles demanded by the Congregation for the security of their civil and religious liberties;—and in this instrument an arrangement for the removal of the French troops was distinctly settled. Of the latter somewhat

more than 4000 remained, to be transported to France with their armour and baggage; [Haynes' Col. Letters] and of these only 120 men were to be left to garrison the castle of Dunbar and the fort of Inchkeith, in equal divisions of 60 in each, merely to preserve the forts, and to be in no wise dangerous or oppresive to the country. It was provided, "That to prevent the garrison from taking things upon loan, that they should receive their wages regularly each month;—that it should be lawful for two Scottish gentlemen to be present at their musters to inspect the forts and to see that no men were admitted but the stipulated number; and that the soldiers belonging to the garrison of Dunbar should take no victuals without paying ready money for them, or at least without the goodwill of those to whom they belonged; and that the nobility should be obliged to furnish them with what provisions they stood in need of upon these conditions." Certain new works, erected at Dunbar since the beginning of the late disputes were to be demolished without delay, and no fortifications henceforth to be erected or repaired without the consent of the states. [Keith's Hist.]

On the 16th July 1560, the French allies embarked in English vessels, to the great satisfaction of the Scots people, who had been molested by them for more than fourteen years; and thus the Popish party of the Guisians was forever broken. The English on their return through East Lothian, took care to see that the outworks, built by the French at Dunbar castle, should be demolished. As a mark of respect, the army was accompanied by several of the Scottish nobles, the Prior of St Andrews, and Maitland of Lethington, to Berwick; from whence the crafty secretary wrote a polite and obsequious epistle to the Lady Cecil, wife of the English minister: while Arran and Lord James Stuart paid also great court to this lady for political purposes.

These important transactions being concluded, the strength and safety of Berwick became a matter of consideration to the English court, when its garrison was augmented to 2000 men.

CHAPTER IX.

Born all too high by wedlock raised
Still higher—to be cast thus low!
Would that mine eyes had never gazed
On aught of more ambitious show
Than the sweet flowerets of the fields!
It is my royal state that yields
This bitterness of woe.
Unblest distinction! showered on me
To bind a lingering life in chains:
All that could quit my grasp, or flee,
Is gone;—but not the subtle stains
Fixed in the spirit.
—WORDSWORTH'S
"Lament of Queen Mary."

RETURN OF QUEEN MARY TO SCOTLAND ON THE DEATH OF FRANCIS II. AND THE QUEEN-REGENT.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH ELIZABETH. — BORDER BANDITTI. — ARCHERY. — THE QUEEN MARRIES THE EARL OF DARNLEY. —MURDER OF RIZZIO.—BIRTH OF JAMES VI. MURDER OF DARNLEY.—WHITTINGHAM FORTALICE.—THE EARL OF BOTHWELL ACCUSED AND ACQUITTED.—THE QUEEN CARRIED TO DUNBAR.—HER MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL. CARBERRY-HILL.—MARY IMPRISONED IN LOCHLEVEN.

On the death of her husband, Francis II., on the 4th December 1561, Mary found her residence at the court of France no longer desirable; and, on the solicitation of her subjects, prepared to embark for Scotland. In consequence of that petty jealousy which seemed destined to exist between the rival queens, Elizabeth denied her a safe-conduct; but notwithstanding the rather ungenerous denial of this favour, Mary trusted herself to the waters, and arrived at Leith after an absence of thirteen years, amidst the acclamations of a joyful people, who were glad to forget the past under the promises of the future.

Her first act was to propitiate Elizabeth by friendly correspondence; and acting under her prudent advice, she placed her natural brother, the Prior of St Andrews, at the head of her councils. A new jealousy was, however, soon awakened. Mary, although willing to abandon the arms and title of the English queen, yet withheld her ratification to the late treaty of Edinburgh, as being prejudicial to her claim for the English crown in the event of the demise of Elizabeth without heirs. Yet such a proposal, which was calculated to excite new animosities between the queens, Maitland of Lethington had the hardihood to propose; and Elizabeth, though offended at the proposal, held out the prospect of doing what was just and safe in the matter.

The disorders of the borders, which had slumbered for a short time, broke out afresh; and Mary exerted unusual vigour in supressing them. For this purpose James Stuart, Earl of Moray, was appointed her lieutenant and justiciary, and empowered to hold courts at Jedburgh for the trial of the offenders. The banditti at that time were so perfectly organised and daring, that they resembled the robber chiefs of the Italian states. To subdue these, the nobles, freeholders, and

fighting men of the eleven nearest counties, viz., Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife, were appointed to meet the Queen's lieutenant at Lauder, on the 13th November, to pass with him to Jedburgh, where a justice-court was to be held on the 15th. From whence the Earl of Moray making a private journey to Hawick, apprehended 50 thieves on the fair-day. Of these seventeen were drowned, others executed at Jedburgh with "Jethart justice," which implies first hanging and then judging a criminal, while the principal leaders were executed at the burrow-muir of Edinburgh. During this expedition a meeting was held at Kelso with Lord Grey and Sir John Forster to make arrangements for the peace of the Borders, which was of short continuance.

In the summer of 1562, Secretary Maitland was sent to the English court, to arrange the form of an interview between Mary and Elizabeth at York, which the jealousies of the French and the Protestant party afterwards delayed: the Queen of England having embarked in the support of the Huguenots in France, on the same liberal principles of prudence which induced her to espouse the Protestant cause in Scotland.

The marches of the borders again became a turbulent scene of confusion; and justice was too often obstructed by the connivance or protection given by the lords and other proprietors of lands, and by their officers and bailiffs, to their more immediate tenants and clans. Sir Richard Maitland, therefore, with justice complains:

To sic grit stouth quha eir wald trow it,
But gif some great man it allowit?
Rycht sair I rue,
Though it be true, there is sae few
That dare avow it.

Of some grit men they have sic gait,
That ready are them to debait:
And will up weir
Their stolen geir: that nane dare steir
Them, air or late.

Quhat causes theifis us our-gang,
But want of justice us amang?
Nane takis care,
Though all forfair (to waste): nae man will spare
Now to do wrang.

Of stouth (theft though now they cum guid speed,
That nother of men nor God has dreid,
Yet, or I dee,
Sum sal them see, hing on a tree,
Quhill they be dead.—"Maitland MS."

For the purpose of restoring order and subduing these unprincipled disorders, commissioners from the two queens met at Carlisle and afterwards at Dumfries. It was agreed that an indemnity should be granted for the past; but that future transgressions should be visited with the severest justice. With this view it was ordained that redress should be made by the officers of each realm, within their respective districts, for all murders, slaughters, and offences, formerly committed, and contained in rolls now subscribed by the commissioners; but after the present date, that offenders should be punished agreeable to the laws formerly in force, with the greatest rigour;—that the speedy dispensation of justice should be promoted by the warden's "spearing, fyling, and delivering," upon his honour,—with the assistance of six honest and respectable men of his district, nominated by the opposite warden;—but with a proviso, that it was not meant to abolish the ancient laws and customs of the marches, which allowed the "hot trod"—[Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.]—for recovery of stolen goods, or the trial of an assize, should that method be preferred by the plaintiff. It having been found, that since the order was introduced of the wardens making inquests "upon their honour," that several wicked men had presented bills of complaint wholly groundless, and thereby mocked the dignity of justice in leading the warden to make search for crimes that had never existed, it was resolved that the presenters of such false bills should be delivered over to the opposite warden, to be punished, imprisoned, and fined, as the party offended might think proper;—that should any fugitives escape to the opposite march, that they should be delivered up;—and that the pursuit of the "hot-trod" should be allowed over the respective marches for parties in pursuit of them. Another article was introduced to guard against a perjury which had been often practised in the valuation to be recovered for stolen cattle, and to terrify thieves by these penalties being established. [Every ox, above four years old, was valued at 40s sterling; each cow, of the same age, 30s; every ox, above two years, 20s; a young cow of the like age, the same; every other beast under two years, 10s; every old sheep, 6s; every sheep-hog, 3s; every swine, above one year old, 6s; every goat, above one year, 5s; every young gayte, 2s. It is scarcely necessary to add that lean cattle are now (1842) six times the value.] It was also ordained that thieves convicted successively of three offences, besides the payment of these penalties, should suffer capital punishment. There were also instances of subjects of the one kingdom sowing corn within the grounds of the other; to prevent such encroachments it was agreed, that the owner of the ground or the warden might destroy such crops; or

that he might complain to the opposite warden, and, on the intruder being convicted, that he should forfeit such corn to the plaintiff, pay a fine of four times its value, and suffer an imprisonment of three months. Arrangements were also made for making an amicable division of certain grounds lying on the frontiers, called "debateable lands," and of removing in future these objects of continual strife.

In 1562, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, was convicted of joining with his father in an enterprise against the Queen, and was condemned for treason, which was commuted into imprisonment in the Castle of Dunbar.

[The fate of the Earl of Huntly's remains, who was killed in the skirmish at Corrichie, exhibits a striking example of the absurdity of the ancient feudal laws, and the rancour of party: his dead body was carried by sea to Edinburgh, and kept unburied all the winter in the abbey of Holyrood-house; and then an indictment of high treason was exhibited against him before the parliament, in the month of May following, "eftir that he was deid, and departit frae this mortal lyfe."]

Above all things the English court paid particular attention to the security of Berwick. Lord Grey of Wilton, who had long held a conspicuous place in the history of the borders died in 1563,—[Camden.]—and was succeeded in the government of the "guid town upon the Tweed," and wardenship of the eastern marches, by Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford. The officer next to him was the high marshal, the celebrated William Drury: the others, in successive subordination, were the treasurer, chief porter, and master of the ordnance. These officers the governor had authority from time to time to convoke as his counsellors, to assist him in ruling the town and garrison.

On June 5th, 1563, the town-council of Haddington thought it necessary for the exercise of our sovereign lady's lieges in archery, that "there be ane payre of bow buttis byggit on the Sandis in the place where bow buttis used obefore to stand." Directions to this effect were given, and ten merks paid by the town-treasurer for biggin the butts.

[Bow-butts were earthen embankments thrown up to protect the archers from the effects of the sun and wind. Shooting at the butts and playing at foot-ball, were favourite diversions long before this period: —

> He won the pryse above them all,
> Bothe at the butts and the fute ball.
> —Lindsay's "Squire Meldrum."

In his "Parliament of Correctioune," Lindsay enumerates them as among the vices of the parson:

> Thocht I preich nocht, I can play at the caiche (quoit),
> I wait there is nocht ane among you all
> Mair ferilie can play at the fute ball;
> And for the carts, the tabils, and the dyse,
> Above all persouns I may beir the pryse.
> —"Parl. Correct." Scene iii.

James V., as we formerly observed, frequented Gosford for its golf and archery; and, in an old poem, in praise of Lethington, are the following verses: —

> Thy buttis, biggit neir thame by
> Sa suir, but sun or wind;
> Maist plesand place of archerie,
> That e'er I yit could find."

The foot-ball seems even then, as now, to have been chiefly the amusement of the mob. This illusion however scarcely applies to the moorish uplands,

> Where each forester blithe from his mountain descending,
> Bounds light o'er the heather to join in the game.
> —Scott.

In the folio Maitland MS. is the following quatrain, levelled against the game in its rudest state:

> Brissit brawnis, and brokin banis;
> Stryf, discorde, and waistie wanis (dwellings),
> Cruikit in eld, syn halt withall,
> Thir ar the bewteis of the fute-ball.]

Notwithstanding the continual jealousies between the sister queens, arising partly from female emulation and party causes, they had powerful motives to cultivate peace with each other. Elizabeth was threatened by the plots of the papists at home, and by the power of Spain and the house of Guise abroad; while Mary from her desire to be acknowledged heir to the crown of England, and the little hold she had on the affection of her protestant subjects, found it her interest to cultivate the friendship of the mistress of that nation. For these reasons Elizabeth was averse that Mary should espouse a catholic prince of either of the families of France or Austria, and made proposals, which were scarcely considered serious, that she should wed Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, one of her own favourites. This match, which Mary regarded as unequal, formed the subject of a long correspondence between the courts, and was the principal matter of a conference held at Berwick, in which the Earl of Bedford and Randolph acted as commissioners from England, and the Earl of Moray and Maitland of Lethington on the part of the Scottish court: but the want of definite instructions from ministers, and the lukewarmness of

their mistresses, prevented any matrimonial engagement from being concluded.

[William Maitland made a great figure at the court of England, observes Guthrie. "His uncommon abilities, his politeness, his classical learning, and insinuating manners, while they procured him the esteem of Elizabeth and her ministers, excited at the same time their jealousy; and notwithstanding his attachment to the protestant religion, they began to suspect that he was too much in the interest of his sovereign to betray her."—"Hist. Scot." vi.]

Mary at last formed the resolution of espousing her cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. The latter had resided in England ever since he had abandoned his own country; and, as the price of his allegiance and services, had received in marriage the Lady Margaret Douglas, (the niece of Henry VIII.) by whom Darnley was his son. Darnley being a native of England, and the eldest male descendant of the daughter of Henry VII., he was presumptive heir to the crown of England; a matter that induced Mary to form her choice.—But the ancient enemies of the house of Lennox, especially the Hamiltons, were averse to a match which would restore that house to their ancient dignities and possessions; and Moray and Maitland, who, ever since the Queen's return from France, had governed all public affairs, felt a jealousy of being superseded by a beloved husband. These fears were promoted by the insolence and folly that soon appeared in Darnley's proceedings. The Queen of England encouraged these domestic discontents; declared openly against this new alliance; and imprisoned Lady Lennox in the tower. This rash behaviour increased the desire of Queen Mary's friends, both in England and France, to carry the measure into effect. Moray had forsaken the court, and joined himself with the Duke of Chatelherault and some other lords, under the pretence that the present match endangered the security of their religious freedom; and as they were about assembling their partisans and vassals to hinder the marriage by force, Mary found this a convenient plea for summoning her subjects to attend her in arms, to assist her in the consummation of the important ceremony. The chieftains of the marches, particularly Lord Home and the Lairds of Cessford and Fernherst, were forward to serve her at this eventful crisis. Lord Home was in hopes of being created Earl of March; and Randolph, in a letter to Elizabeth advises his mistress "to find Home business at 'home!' by hiring some of the strapand Elliots to oblige him to keep at home to look after his corn and cattle." But the men of Liddesdale were at that time wholly in the interests of England, and could not by all Bothwell's promises be induced to give their aid to the queen. Lord Gordon—[This nobleman narrowly escaped losing his head, by means of a paper presented amongst others to Mary, which she signed without looking at it, containing a warrant for his immediate execution. His keeper, at Dunbar, refused to obey this mandate till he saw the Queen, who countermanded the order.]—who was confined at Dunbar, was also liberated, and while every means was used to strengthen her party, Moray was declared an outlaw. The marriage of the Queen was, however, allowed to proceed without interruption; and she issued proclamations conferring the title of King of Scots upon Darnley, and commanded henceforth that all writs at law should run in the joint names of the king and queen.

The domestic quiet of the Queen was of short duration; for she was frequently engaged in quarrels with her consort. Lord Darnley was a man of loose principles; and soon treated her with marked neglect, while an ill-judged attachment which she formed for Rizzio, an Italian musician, drew on her the most unhappy consequences. This excited the indignation of Darnley, who placed himself at the head of a plot for destroying the luckless minion. It was agreed that the Earl of Morton, with 160 men, should seize the gates of the palace, and that Darnley, accompanied by Lord Ruthven, Douglas, and his associates, should seize Rizzio in the Queen's presence. Morton having secretly secured the entrances, while her Majesty was at supper with the Countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few domestics, Darnley suddenly entered the apartment by a private passage, followed by the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven in complete armour, with Maitland of Lethington and other accomplices. This unusual appearance created alarm, and the poor victim, in the utmost consternation, retired behind his royal mistress. Ruthven, who had for some time been so much emaciated by disease, that he could scarcely bear the weight of his armour, with his helmet on his head, seemed to be the moving picture of death: and with a voice, dreadfully hollow, after reproaching Rizzio for the bad offices he had done the king (Darnley), by withholding from him the matrimonial crown, drew his dagger, and wresting him from the Queen, to whom he clung, forced him into the anti-chamber, where the wretched minion fell pierced with fifty-six wounds.—Thus fell Rizzio, whose real crime was that of being a

foreigner, and because he was imprudently intrusted by his mistress in affairs which she could commit to no other secretary, while his presumption and insolence had rendered him obnoxious to the nobility. That there was any criminal intercourse between this unfortunate minion and the Queen, was as improbable as it was malicious to suppose; for while Darnley was distinguished by the graces of his person, the figure of Rizzio was described by Buchanan, as so ugly and awkward, that no dress could make him look like a gentleman: yet the same pedant, who wrote an elegant Latin epithalamium on the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and was afterwards preceptor to her son, drew such an inference. This deed happened on the 9th March, 1566. The confusion consequent on this murder, prevented the meeting of Parliament, which was to sit next day. Mary, in order to gain over the conspirators to her interest, received Moray into favour, seduced Darnley by her blandishments to abandon his party, and thereby gained an opportunity of making her escape to the castle of Dunbar, where she might remain in safety till the storm had blown over.

The pardon extended to Moray and others was in order that she might be the better able to avenge herself on those immediately concerned in the late outrage. By this measure the latter were obliged to seek safety in flight. The Earl of Morton, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington, fled to Newcastle. Ruthven died at Newcastle in June; and his son and the Earl of Morton continued lurking near Alnwick, and other places on the borders, until they obtained pardon, and were restored to their estates.

Having thus prevailed on Darnley to abandon his party, the Queen's next resolution was to avenge the murder of her favourite. A proclamation was accordingly issued from the castle of Dunbar, couched in the following terms:—

Dunbar, 16. Marcij, 1565-6.

Sederunt Georgius, Comes de Huntlie; Jacobus, Comes de Bothwell; Joannes, Comes de Atholl; Wilielmus, Comes de Marischal; David, Comes de Crawfurd; Gilbertus, Comes de Cassills; Georgius, Comes de Caithness;

PROCLAMATIOUN TO MEIT AT HADINGTOUN

"The King and Quenis' Majesties understanding that be vertew of thair Majesties' letteris and proclamationis direct of befoir, under thair Majesties subscriptionis, the inhabitants of the Sheriffdomes of Edinburghe principall, within the Constabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Strivling, Lanark, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peiblis, Berwick, Lawder, and utheris specifiet in the saidis proclamationis, wer warnit to convein and meit thair Hienesses at Hadingtoun and Musselburghe respective, the 16th, 17th, and 18th dayis of March instant, with vii. dayis provisioun and victuallis eftir thair cuming, as in the sadis former proclamationis past thairupon at mair lenth is contenit: And thair Majesties, God willing, being of purpois to be at Hadingtoun this nixt Sonday, the 17th day of March instant, ordanis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armes to pas to the Mercat-Croces of the said burgh of Hadingtoun, and utheris places neidfull, and thair be open proclamatioun in thair Majesties' name and authoritie command and charge all, etc., as aforesaid. And to attend and pas furthwart with thair Majesties towart thair Hienesses burgh of Edinburgh, or other place, as thae salbe commandit, conform to the sadis former proclamationis past thairupon of befoir, under the pain of tynsall of lyff, landis, and gudis." [Acts of Privy Council.—"Keith's Appendix," 130.]

The Queen sent orders, at the same time, to Lord Erskine, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, to fire upon the city, should the conspirators be harboured there; and, on the 22nd March, "she caused summon within six days to compear before her majesty's privy-council, under pain of high treason, the Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, Lord Lindsay, the Master of Lindsay, the Laird of Ormiston, Douglas of Whittingham, Mr Archibald Douglas, his brother;—[The Douglases were also involved in the murder of Darnley.]—George Douglas, Lindsay of Preston, Douglas of Lochleven, Mr James M'Gill, clerk-register, etc. and their accomplices." And to support her authority the more effectually, Mary privately dispatched messengers to the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Athol, directing them to raise what forces they could, and march to her assistance. [Guthrie, vol. vi.]

Mary now ventured to remove from Dunbar to Haddington, where she sealed Moray's pardon: but could not conceal from Sir James Melville, (one of the gentlemen of her chamber at Haddington,) her dislike of the king for his folly and ingratitude. Melville endeavoured to inspire her with more favourable sentiments; and laid the blame on Douglas, who had a chief concern in the conspiracy.

From Haddington the Queen proceeded to Edinburgh in triumph with 8000 warriors in her train.

This discord, which agitated the nation, had not subsided, when James VI. was born

in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 19th June: Sir James Melville of Hallhill, was dispatched with the joyful news to Queen Elizabeth. Since the late assassination Mary had formed a rooted aversion to her husband, which might have been less important had she not at the same time indulged in an immoderate attachment to James, Earl of Bothwell, one of the most unworthy and ambitious of her subjects; a man, according to Spotswood, "sold to all wickedness."—The Queen, about the beginning of October, went in person to Jedburgh to hold justice-courts, for the punishment of offenders, and for the restoration of quiet to the borders. The Earl of Bothwell had departed before her, and gone into Liddesdale, where he had in keeping the strong castle of Hermitage; and in an encounter with some of the banditti of that quarter, he was attacked by John Elliot of the Park, and received wounds, which were pronounced in the highest degree dangerous. The Queen, on receiving intelligence of this accident, set out immediately to visit her favourite; and returned to Jedburgh on the same day. This rapid journey was highly injudicious; besides exposing her imprudent regard for Bothwell, it brought on an illness which nearly proved fatal, and gave the Borderers an opportunity of revenging their private quarrels. [Melville says that Bothwell and Huntly concerted the slaughter of the Earl of Moray at Jedburgh; but Lord Home came with a great force and prevented him.] In a short time, however, the Queen recovered, and was able to leave Jedburgh on a progress eastward; and spent the two first nights at Kelso, from whence she proceeded to Home castle. From thence she travelled through the Merse, by Wedderburn and Langton. Being desirous of seeing Berwick, she approached its walls with 800 horse. Sir John Forester, (the Earl of Bedford's deputy,) met her at the bounds, (as the nature of his trust did not permit him to admit the Queen into the town,) and paid her every respect. He conducted her first to Halidon-hill, and from thence to an eminence where she might see Berwick distinctly. The Queen was saluted with a general salvo of the cannon; and was afterwards attended by the deputy-governor nearly as far as Eyemouth, on her way to Coldingham, where she stopped for the night, and next day proceeded to Dunbar.

[A singular accident occurred to the Queen while in conversation with Forester. —"In the meantime while the warden was speaking with her majesty on horseback, his courser did rise up with his foremost legs, to take the Queen's horse by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her majesty's thigh very ill. In continent, the warden lighted off his horse, and sat down upon his knees, craving her majesty's pardon, for then all England did very much reverence her? Her majesty made him to rise, and said that she was not hurt; yet it compelled her majesty to tarry two days at the castle of Hoome, until she recovered again."—"Melville's Memoirs."] When Mary arrived at Dunbar, she received some dispatches from England, which gave her so much satisfaction, that she wrote a most polite letter to the privy-council, thanking Elizabeth for all her good offices; and mentioned, that "as a mark of her sincerity, she had, when she thought she could not live above twelve hours, left her son to her majesty's special care and protection. She mildly, at the same time, put them in mind of the succession; but added, that she had no intention to press her good sister on that head, further than should come of her own pleasure." At this time the commons of England, and the nation in general, were divided in their sentiments as to the right of succession in the houses of Stuart and Grey. It was understood that Elizabeth favoured the former.

In January 1566, Mary went to Glasgow to visit her husband, who was slowly recovering from the supposed effects of poison. On consenting to be removed to Edinburgh, he had apartments assigned him in what was then a solitary house, called Kirk-of-Field, (now the site of the university,) while Bothwell was royally lodged in Holyrood-house. The fatal charm was nearly wound up. The solitude of the place encouraged Bothwell to execute what he had so long premeditated. He believed Morton, like himself, to be a man of no principle; and the Earl had no sooner returned from England, on being pardoned by the Queen, whether he had been expatriated for the murder of Rizzio, than Bothwell met him at Whittingham, and directly proposed that he should join him in assassinating the king, and requested him to subscribe a bond to that effect. Morton, instead of being startled at so execrable a proposal, asked Bothwell whether he had the Queen's warrant for the murder. He was answered in the negative; but that her majesty was very earnest the deed should be accomplished, because she blamed her husband more for Rizzio's murder than she did Morton. Bothwell afterwards employed Douglas, the favourite of Morton, (brother of the laird of Whittingham), and the same who had been so active in Rizzio's death, to persuade the earl to the murder; but he still insisted on the warrant. Bothwell made another attempt to engage

Morton when everything was prepared for the horrid crime, but without effect. While these treasonable designs were going on, Mary appeared to be dividing her time between the affairs of state, attendance on her son, and on the sick-bed of her husband.

[This treasonable plot is conjectured to have been planned in the ancient fortalice of Whittingham: the persons here alluded to being Mr Archibald Douglas, brother to the laird of Whittingham, who acknowledged to the Earl of Morton, that he was actually concerned in the murder of Darnley.—"Harleian MSS. and Crawford's Memoirs," quoted by Guthrie, who took the trouble to compare them. According to the MS. the Queen was only "suspected" of the deed, while the printd copy makes Morton say that she was "the doer thereof," a most material difference in Mary's favour. Morton acknowledged to the two clergymen who attended him on the scaffold (Mr John Durie and Mr Walter Balquannel), that he was informed again and again of Bothwell's attempt to murder the king, yet he durst not reveal it! a weak excuse for a brave man. Mr David Moyses, who was for many years an officer in the household of James VI., in his "Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland," gives the following account of the apprehension of the Earl of Morton, in which Mr Archibald Douglas, Morham, was implicated:—"Upon the last day of December, betwixt four and five o'clock at night, Captain James Stewart, son to the Lord Ochiltree, openly in presence of his majesty and council, at the council-table in Holyrood House, challenged and accused James, Earl of Morton, of art and part of the horrible murder of his Majesty's father, affirming that Mr Archibald Douglas, 'cousin' to the said earl, was actually at the deed doing, by command and direction of the said earl. That same night the said earl was charged to confine himself within his lodging in the abbey of Holyrood-house, under the pain of treason; and upon Monday the 2nd of January, he was removed and committed to ward within the castle of Edinburgh, where it was ordained, that no person should have access to, nor intercourse with him, but the four persons he had to serve him. The said Mr Archibald Douglas being sought for that night at his dwelling in Morham,—[The barony of Morham at this time belonged to the Earl of Bothwell. It originally appertained to the Hays of Locherwart, ancestors of the Marquis of Tweeddale; next to Sir David Dalrymple, Queen Ann's advocate; and now chiefly to the Earl of Wemyss.]—in order to have given him in charge to keep ward: he having notice of the matter, fled to England. Upon the 18th of January, the said Earl of Morton was transported from the castle of Edinburgh to the castle of Dumbarton, being conveyed thither by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Seton, and Lord Robert Stewart, feuar of Orkney, and their household, etc. Upon the said 18th of January, Mr Randolph came ambassador from the Queen's majesty of England; and, the day after his coming, had an audience of his Majesty, and presented his letters of credit. The ambassador's demands were (amongst others) that the Earl of Morton should be put to trial for the crime whereof he was accused. He desired likewise, that Mr Archibald Douglas might have liberty to come to Scotland to be tried by an assize, for the crime for which he was delated, without putting him to torture, etc. After the above propositions, the said ambassador threatened war, in case his Majesty fulfilled not the contents of his foresaid petitions. The answers to the ambassador's petitions were these:—Touching the Earl of Morton, it was answered, 'that he cannot be put to a trial, until such time as Mr Archibald Douglas's trial first proceed, by reason he was an actual committer of the murder, and sent for that purpose by the Earl of Morton. As to the said Mr Archibald's trial without torture, answered: 'It cannot consist with his Majesty's honour to enter into conditions with his own subject; especially in the form of the trial of one charged with so horrible a kind of murder, which cannot be tried but by torture.' Upon the 5th of April 1581, the King's Majesty passed at this time to Seton, where having remained four or five days, he went thence to Dalkeith, and remained there other three or four days; when it was devised and agreed, that the Earl of Morton should be transported from Dumbarton to the castle of Edinburgh, and put to trial for the treasonable and horrible murder of Henry king of Scotland, our sovereign lord's father, etc."—"Moyse's Memoirs." The ultimate fate of Morton is detailed in Chap. XI.]

Fortalice of Whittingham.—When the unpopularity of Darnley, as we have observed, had alienated him not only from the nobility by his contumacy, but from the affections of the Queen, through the profligacy of his conduct, and was gradually preparing the way for the horrid plot by which his life was sacrificed, the secluded fortlet of Whittingham was selected as a secure place where the conspirators might meet in safety for arranging the details of their horrid tragedy:—But as

——Blood will have blood:
Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak;

Augurs, and understood relations, have
By maggot pies, and choughs, and rooks, brought forth
The secret'st man of blood,—

Even the darkest and closest recess of the most secret chamber of the castle, was considered to afford but an imperfect secrecy to the plotters of the treason, and a yew tree is pointed out, which was considered a fitter scene for the contrivance of their plot, under whose gloomy branches they held their meetings, and with horrid obligations bound themselves to the unhallowed deed. This solitary tree stands in the south-east angle of the outer court-yard, and is of great size and magnificence, deriving a wild interest from its connection with the tragical event. A part of the ruins of the fortalice still remains, which, with the external walls, indicates its original extent and impregnable strength. Stanypeth Tower, also belonged to the family of Douglas. In 1414 it was occupied by James Douglas of Roberton. The manor of Whittingham belonged originally to the Earls of Dunbar and March, where they held their baronial courts. Lying in the bosom of their East Lothian estates it was well suited for this purpose, while its secluded situation secured it from the ravages of an invading army, and hence it is seldom noticed in history. In 1372, George, Earl of Dunbar and March, gave, on the marriage of his sister Agnes,—[Daughter of "Black Agnes," the heroic defender of Dunbar castle in the reign of Edward III. Her sister Elizabeth was married to John Maitland of Lethington, ancestor of the Earls of Lauderdale.]—to James Douglas, Lord Dalkeith, the manor of "Quhittingeam" in East Lothian and the lands of Mordington in Berwickshire. From Sir William Douglas, grandson of Lord Dalkeith, descended the Douglasses of Whittingham,—the last of the direct male line of whom was Archibald Douglas, who died in 1660. [Douglas' Peer.] In October 1564, Queen Mary granted to James, Earl of Morton, who represented the Douglasses of Dalkeith, etc. the barony of Whittingham, the castle, mills, and advowson of the church. This estate being forfeited in 1581, was restored by James VI. to the family of Morton. Early in the seventeenth century, Viscount Seton of Kingston, married the heiress and daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas, by whom he acquired the estate. By another heiress, Elizabeth Seton, it passed to the Hon. William Hay of Drummelzier, second son of the first Earl of Tweeddale. From the esteemed and amiable family of the Hays, it was purchased along with the lands of Papple and Stanypeth, in the year 1817, by James Balfour, Esq., (late M.P. for the county of Haddington,) second son of John Balfour, Esq. of Balbirnie. A magnificent mansion house was built in 1818, on a precipitous bank on the south side of Whittingham water—Mr Smirk, London, architect,—which was further enlarged and decorated in 1827, William Burn, Esq., Edinburgh, architect; Mr James Dorward, Haddington, builder. The front is of Grecian architecture, and commands a delightful view of the Firth of Forth and the romantic Bass. The house is surrounded by beautiful plantations, laid out by Mr Gilpin, the celebrated English arborist, interspersed with winding walks, planned with so much skill and taste, that here the visitor may find "health in the breeze, and shelter in the storm."]

On the 9th February, her majesty appeared uncommonly kind to the invalid; but took leave of him at midnight, for the weak purpose of attending the marriage of Sebastian, a facetious musician. Meanwhile, Bothwell, to make sure of his victim, came upon Darnley in his sleep, and after strangling him, removed the body into an orchard, when, to avoid suspicion, the house was immediately blown up by gunpowder, which had been brought from the castle of Dunbar. [Douglas' Peer.] Bothwell was instantly accused of this atrocious murder by Lennox, the father of Darnley; and on the 28th March 1567, the Privy Council directed that the "enormous subject" and his associates, should appear before the tribunal of their country. The same faction, however, which goaded the ambition of Bothwell interposed, and by means of intrigue and influence obtained his acquittal. [Maitland's Hist. Scot.—Anderson's Collect.—Chalmers' Cal. II.] That he was the contriver of the plot was afterwards confirmed by his own confessions when a prisoner in Denmark. [Keith's Hist.]

Besides the Earls of Bothwell and Morton, and Secretary Maitland,—[Bannatyne's Cont. Knox.—Crawford's Memoirs,]—several cadets of their families in East Lothian, to whom it proved fatal, were involved in the conspiracy. In January 1568, John Hepburn of Bolton, Hay of Tallo, William Powry, and George Dalgleish, were executed; a prelude of what was to happen their superiors in rank at a future period when the day of retribution should arrive. In the meantime Mr Archibald Douglas effected his escape to England.

[The manor of Bolton thus forfeited, was given to Secretary Maitland, who had contrived to get clear of the plot. It was afterwards purchased from the Earl of Lauderdale, by Thomas Livingstone,

Viscount Teviot, and latterly by the beautiful Duchess of Lennox, who gave it as a gift to her grandfather, tho first Lord Blantyre.]

A few days after Bothwell's acquittal, as a striking mark of the Queen's infatuated disregard of public opinion, he was permitted to carry the sword of state in the procession to parliament; and, as a prelude to high favours, besides the ratification of his other lands and offices, her Majesty infefted him and his heirs male in the captaincy of Dunbar, the crown lands of East and West Barns; the lands of Newtonlees, Waldane, Rig and Fluris, Myreside; with the mills of Brand's-smyth, Westbarns, with their lands, and £10 of annualrent from the lands of Lochend, etc.—[Douglas' Peerage, II.]—A more extraordinary scene occurred next day; for Bothwell having invited the principal nobility to supper, surrounded the house with an armed force, and compelled them to sign a bond, signifying their approval of his marrying the Queen.

On the 21st April, Mary went to Stirling to visit her son, who was baptised with great pomp and festivity. On her return on the 24th, Bothwell, with an armed party of 800 men, met her at Cramond Brig; and, taking her horse by the bridle, conveyed her "full gently" to the castle of Dunbar:

So daring in love and so dauntless in war,
Have ye e'er heard of gallant like young Lochinvar!

The Earl of Huntly, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville, were taken with the Queen, while the rest of her servants were allowed to depart. Melville informs us, that next day, when in Dunbar, he obtained permission to go home. "There," continues he, "the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the Queen who would, or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not; "while Captain Blackader, who had taken him, alleged that it was with the Queen's own consent. [Melville's Memoirs. Crawford justly observes: "the friendly love was so highly contrasted between this great princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof, so that she suffered patiently to be led where the lover list, and neither made obstacle, impediment, elamour, or resistance, as in such accident used to be, which she might have done by her princely authority."—"Crawford MS." "They had scarcely remained ten days in the castle of Dunbar," says Buchanan, "with no great distance between the Queen's chamber and Bothwell's, when they thought it expedient to return to the castle of Edinburgh;" and the dependants of Bothwell threw away their weapons, that they might not be challenged for detaining the Queen prisoner.] Bishop Leslie said, in her defence, "that she yielded to that, to which those crafty, colluding seditious heads, and the necessity of the time, and then to her seemed, did in a manner enforce her." [The advocates of this necessary marriage, ascribe it all to a faction, the chiefs of whom were the Earls of Morton, Mar, and the Lords Home, Sempil, and Lindsay.]

Finding Mary agreeable to his wishes, Bothwell's next difficulty was to procure a divorce from the accomplished Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only six months before, which was agreed to on the grounds of consanguinity. In the court which sat on the occasion, John Manderson, canon of the collegiate church of Dunbar, held a conspicuous place as the advocate of his lordship; but the conscientious scruples of the Rev. John Craig, Edinburgh, were not so easily overcome, who, unawed by power, denounced the criminality of the transaction from the pulpit, even after the bans were published. It was left to Adam Bothwell, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, to enforce the ceremony amidst public reprobation, and before very few spectators, on the 15th May 1567, while the French ambassador refused to attend.

The birth of the prince, which had infused concord amongst the nobility, and gave hopes of future tranquility to the nation, was blasted by this imprudent marriage; and "hope for a season bade the world farewell!" After a few weeks had been spent at Dunbar, proclamations were issued for assembling the inhabitants of several counties to accompany the Duke of Orkney, (a new title conferred by the Queen upon Bothwell,) in another expedition against the thieves of Liddesdale. The enemies of Bothwell represented this measure as a plan he had concerted for drawing away the noblemen who had associated for the safety of the young prince, whom he wished to get into his power. Aware of this circumstance, the associated lords surprised the Queen and her consort at Holyrood-house; but they found means to escape to the castle of Borthwick, a place of greater safety. Thither they were followed by Lord Home, with 800 horse; but Bothwell effecting his escape, and the Queen indecently disguised in men's clothes as a page, followed him to Dunbar. Bothwell's marriage with the Queen had met with the decided disapprobation of the border-chieftains. Lord Home headed the first body that appeared against him, and was soon joined by Ker of Cessford, the Laird of Cowdenknowes, and from the west by Drum'anrig, who joined the associated lords at Carberry-hill. The Queen had come to the latter place too hurriedly from Dunbar, with an army which consisted chiefly

of the personal friends of Bothwell from the Merse and Lothian. According to Calderwood, she was supported in her march by Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick; the Lairds of Wedderburn, Langton, Cumledge, and Hirsel, from the Merse; and the Lairds of Bass, Waughton, and Ormiston, in East Lothian; and Ormiston of Ormiston, in Teviotdale.

The news of the Queen's arrival having reached the associated lords, they left Edinburgh next morning, and met her forces at Carberry-hill, near Musselburgh, where Bothwell, a second time, threw the gauntlet down to his accusers; but after the challenge had been again accepted, he refused to fight.—The confederated chiefs "fought and conquered ere a sword was drawn:" and the poor buffeted Queen surrendered herself to the Laird of Grange, whilst the guilty Bothwell, like the striken eagle, deprived of his prey, retraced his solitary flight to Dunbar.

> Ah, who would soar the solar height,
> To set in such a starless night?
> Since he miscalled the morning star,
> Nor man nor fiend has fallen so far.
> BYRON'S "Ode to Napoleon.

[Thus Bothwell, at Carberry-hill, took a last farewell of his young and beautiful wife and sovereign. Returning to Dunbar, he proceeded by sea to the north, and remained with the Earl of Huntly and his uncle the Bishop of Moray, for some time, till, being abandoned by them, he went to Kirkwall in Orkney. Being refused admittance into the castle, he plundered the town, (which shows he had still a considerable number of followers,) and, retiring to Shetland, turned pirate for subsistence. A party being sent against him, he affected his escape in a solitary vessel to the coast of Norway, where he was seized for piracy. His person being recognised, he was put into close confinement in the castle of Draxholm. Falling into a state of insanity, he died in that condition, after eight years' imprisonment, about the end of 1575, before he attained the fortieth year of his age: a sad instance of vaulting ambition which overleaps itself.—His estates were forfeited by parliament, 29th December 1567.]

The Queen was then led to Edinburgh, exposed to the indecent aspersions of an incensed populace; and soon repented of having so hastily surrendered; for some of her letters being intercepted, addressed to Bothwell, wherein menaces were breathed against the associated lords they came to the stern resolution of placing her in confinement in the castle of Lochleven, which was immediately carried into effect.

[Mary remonstrated with the lords upon this treatment, and employed Maitland to speak with them, and offered to call a parliament, and submit everything to their approval; but in vain. Next morning when she arose, she beheld at her window a white flag, in which was delineated the figure of Darnley, lying dead under a tree, with the young Prince, his son, on his knees, and a label from his mouth, with the words, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" The sight of this banner, and of the ruffian guards, who surrounded the house, subdued the spirit of Mary, and she burst into tears: a pathetic appeal which for the moment turned the popular tide in her favour.]

CHAPTER X.

> And haggard Lindsay's iron eye,
> Could see fair Mary weep in vain.—"Ballad."
>
> My hair is grey, but not with years,
> Nor grew it white
> In a single night,
> As men's have grown from sudden fears.
> —BYRON.

JAMES VI.—THE EARL OF MORAY APPOINTED REGENT.—DUNBAR CASTLE REDUCED.—MARY ESCAPES FROM LOCHLEVEN—DEFEATED AT LANGSIDE—FLIGHT TO ENGLAND.—WAUGHTON FORTALICE.—MORAY ASSASSINATED.—FAST CASTLE.—THE BLIND BARON'S COMFORT.—THE REGENT LENNOX KILLED.—FORTALICES OF BYRES AND LETHINGTON.—THE EARL OF MORTON REGENT.—SECRETARY MAITLAND POISONED.—DEATH OF LORD HOME.

Queen Elizabeth beheld the rigorous proceedings in regard to Mary with the highest displeasure; and although she sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to comfort the Queen under her misfortunes, he was not admitted to her presence. Mary was compelled to subscribe writings, which wrung the sceptre forever from her grasp. These instruments were carried to Lochleven by Lord Lindsay: one containing the Queen's resignation of the crown to her son; another constituting provisional regents for his government; and a third empowering Moray, her natural brother, to act as regent during his minority. It was with difficulty that this odious messenger could obtain the imprisoned Queen's voluntary signature to such papers; yet he returned with them formally executed on the subsequent day to Edinburgh.

James VI. was crowned at Stirling, on the 29th July 1567;—and Moray, who had gone over to France, returned by way of London to take possession of the reigns of government.

The regent Moray soon showed the vig-

our of his measures, and immediately turned his attention to that wide field of discord, the Border marches. Accompanied by the Earl of Morton, and the Lords Home and Lindsay, he made a secret expedition to Hawick, in the end of October, when more than forty of the thieves of Liddesdale were apprehended. Having obtained command of the castle of Edinburgh, he issued precepts to several noblemen in Midlothian attached to the Queen, to surrender their strongholds:—Dunbar castle, which was held by Patrick Whitelaw of Whitelaw; John Newton, younger of Newton; and Mr Thomas Hepburn, parson of Oldhamstocks, for the Earl of Bothwell, refused to surrender. A proclamation was therefore issued on the 1st September, requiring all persons to meet the regent Moray at Edinburgh in four days, furnished for the warlike purpose of accompanying him to the siege of Dunbar. [Keith's Hist. 461.] On the 21st September 1568, four companies of soldiers, under Captains Cunningham, Murray, Melville, and Haliburton were sent to take Dunbar; and, by an order of the privy-council, issued on the 23rd, "the brewsters, baxters, and fleschers of the town of Haddington," are charged "to pass and gang forwart with bakin bread, brewin aill, and flesche, to furnische the camp lyand at the siege of Dunbar castell, at competent pryces, under the pain to be repuit assistaris of the rebellis: And charging the provist and bailzies of Haddington, to see the said breid, ail, and flesche, furnished to the said camp, as thai will answer upon their obedience, and under the payne foirsaid." [Keith's Hist.] In another proclamation, all men betwixt sixteen and sixty, "weill boden in feir of weir," to meet him at Edinburgh; and, on the 26th September, four of the best double cannon, and six smaller pieces, with powder and bullets, and other provisions, were sent from Edinburgh, to assist in reducing Dunbar; and the next day the regent Moray and his suite followed. The captain of Dunbar, seeing these resolute measures adopted, without any hope of being relieved, thought it prudent to capitulate. The artillery and ammunition belonging to Dunbar were now conveyed to Edinburgh, and the keeping of the castle intrusted to the town of Dunbar till the meeting of parliament, when an act was passed ordering the demolition of that fort along with that of Inchkeith, on account of their present ruinous state, and their expense to government. Some months elapsed before this act was carried into execution; for after the escape of Mary from Lochleven, an attempt was made by the Parson of Oldhamstocks to retake the fortress for the Queen by surprise. Sir William Drury thus informs Cecil of this transaction: "6th March 1578,—Upon Monday, Dunbar had like to have been surprised: for at one instant there arrived into the town of Dunbar the Parson of Auld-hamstock, with 20 men;" but several of Lord Home's men arriving at the same time, and the town being well affected to his lordship, the parson desisted from his enterprise, and returned.

[George, fifth Lord Seton, was one of those who aided Queen Mary in her escape from Lochleven. After the battle of Langside, he retired to Flanders, where this eccentric personage remained in exile two years, and drove a waggon with four horses, for his livelihood. "His picture in that condition, I have seen (says Lord Kingston,) drawn and vividly painted, upon the north end of the Long gallery in Scton, now overlaid with timber." He had for his own particular motto, under another picture, which was drawn with the master-of-the-household's batton:

> In Adversitate, patiens;
> In Prosperitate, benevolus.
> Hazard yet Forward.
> —"Hist. House of Seytoun," by Alex. Viscount Kingston.]

The Queen arrived at Hamilton, when the Regent was at Glasgow holding courts of justice; and several of her partisans joined his standard. The citizens of Glasgow were warmly attached to his interest; and his other friends, particularly Lord Home, brought 600 excellent troops from the Merse and Lothian. The Regent having 4000 warriors assembled, resolved to give battle to the Queen's troops, although exceeding his own by 2000 men. He encountered the latter at Langside, two miles from Glasgow, who, after a short conflict, were totally defeated. In this battle, Lord Home, fighting on foot, among the spearmen, greatly distinguished himself, and received several wounds. The Laird of Cessford, his brother-in-law, fought at his side, and raised him when beaten down. Home's resolution and vigour at this time tended much to the Regent's success,—he declared his purpose to adhere to the present settlement in church and state,—and should the Regent desire it, to expel his enemies from their habitations in the Merse, and to place his friends in their stead. The unhappy Queen after her defeat, instead of retiring to the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton, as had been proposed, fled precipitately to England; and threw herself into the hands of her envious rival, to be imprisoned for life, and to die on the block. After this victory, which secured his power, the Regent assembled a parliament, in which he proposed the for-

feiture of the estates of those who had taken arms for the Queen; but the interposition of Elizabeth, and the mild councils of Lethington, prevented these extremities being used against persons of rank and eminence.

The next act of the regent Moray was to enjoin the principal landholders to submit to his authority, on pain of treason. The town of Haddington was specially required to acknowledge his title, and to obey his power; and for that end the people of Haddington were called together, and with one voice gave their assent to what they could not resist. [Keith's Hist.]

On June 4th, 1568, the town-council of Haddington appointed Thomas Puntoun, provost, and John Forrest to pass to Edinburgh to purchase license for the town to remain from the Raid of Dumfries, and to compone therefor." [Haddington Couucil Reg.]

It was usual at this time by proclamation, to summon the attendance of the lieges when any warlike expedition was contemplated;—it was also customary to send substitutes, or pay a composition to be excused from giving attendance. The following extract, which is copied from a MS. Chronicle, in the possession of David Laing, Esq., of the signet library, Edinburgh, refers to the above Raid:—

"Upon the nyntene day of Maji, 1568, my lord Regeut causit ane proclamatione to be maid at the burgh of Edinburgh, charging all and sindrie earlis, lordis, barronis and substantious gentilmen, alsweill to burgh as to land, to address them (to make themselves ready) to be in feir of weir, with fiftene dayes victuall, to meit the said Regent at the town of Biggar, upone the tent day of Junij nixt to cum, to pass fordward quhair thaiy salbe commandit, under the pane of deith, and tinsell of landis and gudis."

On the 2nd December following of these troublous and turbulent times, the town-council of Haddington ordered the townports to be "biggit and closit substantiouslie with diligens;" and December 5th, "the town-council discharged any license to be given to any person to gang to Edinburgh." [Ibid.]

In the meantime some show of justice was necessary to give a colouring to the proceedings of Elizabeth, in her detention of Mary. Leslie, bishop of Ross, the chief confident of the latter, and Secretary Lethington, formed a scheme for serving the unhappy queen, by practising on the ambition of the Duke of Norfolk, to whom they proposed a marriage with their mistress. The prospect of this alliance engaged the Duke to hinder the production of any evidence of Mary's guilt in regard to the murder of Darnley, which the regent Moray and his associates had carried to England. Moray, therefore, by the advice of Secretary Lethington, in concert with Norfolk, refused to proceed to this extremity, unless the English queen beforehand, promised to take under her protection the infant King, and to extend her clemency to his adherents. The English commissioners at York having no instructions to that effect, the Regent with his attendants, the Laird of Lethington, and Mr James Macgill, proceeded to London, where he was induced by Elizabeth, notwithstanding his former promise, to lay before her those famous letters, written by Mary to Bothwell, which seemed to establish her guilt; but which the "revered defenders of beauteous Stuart" consider to be forgeries, and openly charged those who produced them as the plotters and perpetrators of the murder of Darnley. As Mary's request, however, to be heard in person, in her own vindication was rejected by Elizabeth and her council, it was considered unnecessary to enter into further particulars; and the Earl of Huntly having assembled an army at Glasgow, with the view of holding a national council, the regent Moray was suddenly called home, and the unhappy Mary was left to her solitary fate. Lord Hunsdon (governor of Berwick,) writing to Secretary Cecil from that place, says, besides the above defection of Huntly, "he was advertised that the Hepburns and Hamiltons were besieging Waughton, and that Lord Home was going with all his forces to rescue it. There is great stir in all parts of Scotland, and all by the Queen's commandment."—Haynes. "In 1569, January 14, Robert Hepburn, son to the Laird of Waughton, came to the house of Waughton, and brake the stables, and took out 16 horses; the Laird of Carmichael being captain and keeper of Waughton. They issued out of the house, and slew three of them; and divers were hurt of both parties."—"Birrell's Diary."] The marriage of the Queen with Norfolk had never been agreeable to Elizabeth; and, on the charge of treason, he was soon afterwards committed to the tower. In the meanwhile a rebellion, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, broke out in Yorkshire. They were both Papists, and zealously attached to the Queen of Scots, whose deliverance they ardently desired.—The exploits of the rebels were confined to the north and east ridings of Yorkshire, and the county of Durham; but having failed in their object of liberating the Queen, from a want of ardour in the Catholics of that district, the rebellion was soon quashed. Sussex, with the Lords Warwick and Clinton, having taken the field,

the two rebel earls retired to Hexham, and thence to Naworth-castle in Cumberland, where their army dispersed, and they fled to Scotland. The Regent, studious to oblige the court of England, found out Northumberland, at a place called the Harelaw on the west border, among a nest of banditti, of the name of Graham. Crawford says, that Northumberland was entertained by the Elliots, from whom he was taken by force, and sent prisoner to Lochleven, while Westmoreland and others found refuge with the lairds of Ferniherst, Buccleuch, and Andrew Ker, of Bedrule, who were more able to protect them, till they escaped to Flanders.

The adulation and dependence of the Regent on the court of England could not be very grateful to many of his countrymen; and placemen are generally regarded with an eye of jealousy by their compeers. A certain haughtiness of manners, consequent upon power, also alienated him from his friends. The desertion of Maitland of Lethington and the Laird of Grange, the one considered the greatest statesman, and the other the best soldier of the kingdom, was followed by that of Lord Home, who had long and zealously followed Moray's interests; for in an expedition the Regent made to the Borders in 1569, when he arrived at the castle of Home, instead of his usual welcome, he was treated by the lady of the house, a sister of Lord Grey, with harsh and reproachful words. But although he had few attendants in his expedition, he exerted his usual vigilance in the administration of justice. In a few weeks afterwards this amiable nobleman, at the premature age of forty, fell a victim to private revenge. On the 21st January 1569-70, we was killed by a shot from a window in the streets of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. After the murder of the regent Moray, Ker of Ferniherst and Scott of Buccleuch, two of the mightiest border cheftians, and the friends of Queen Mary, made an inroad into England. The charge of suppressing this insurrection was intrusted to Lord Hunsdon, the governor of Berwick, and Sir John Forester, who with about 1500 men advanced against this desperate band, whom they finally subdued.

Repeated inroads on the frontiers of England incensed Elizabeth, who had been much grieved at the murder of the Regent; upon which she sent the Earl of Sussex with a large army to the Scottish borders. Their first exploit was to burn and raze a large tower, called, from being situated in a marsh, the "Moss Tower," which belonged to Buccleuch. Proceeding to Crailing, they destroyed a castle of some strength belonging to the Laird of Ferniherst; at Jedburgh they were hospitably received by the magistrates, and sparod the town; but, exasperated at the perfidious conduct of the inhabitants of Hawick, the town was laid in ashes. After these marauding expeditions the English general came to Kelso, with a view of attacking Home castle; but Lord Hunsdon having gone to Wark castle, to bring some artillery for this purpose, he found it impracticable for want of a supply of horses, and returned to Berwick. In this short expedition the English destroyed and spoiled more than fifty castles and piles, and about three hundred towns and villages. Lord Scroope, warden of the west marches, made at the same time an inroad into the Scottish territories, and committed great depredations without meeting with much resistance. On the 4th day after the return of Sussex to Berwick, he again marched from thence with about 3000 men, to reduce the castle of Home. Having arrived at Wark in the evening, he dispatched Drury, the marshal of Berwick, by break of day, with a body of musqueteers and horsemen to invest the place, and to choose a proper spot for encamping the army. The same day the army and ordnance got over the river, through which the horse carried the foot. The English musqueteers, covered by a trench, and by the ruins of some houses near the castle, which the Scots had burned, gave great annoyance to the garrison, as they appeared on the battlements, or were seen through the embrasures. In the meantime a battery was erected on the north-east side of the castle, and the garrison being summoned in vain to surrender, the pieces began to play, and were answered by the castle; but having lost the services of their master-gun by a shot, the Captains William Trotter and Gilbert Grey were soon compelled to seek a parley. Lord Home, who had been released from an imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh, and was not far off, had an interview with Drury, and found himself obliged to surrender his fortress to the English general, with the provision that the lives of the garrison should be spared, with the exeeption of any Englishman that might be found in its precincts, and the loss of their arms and baggage. The booty found in the castle was considerable, consisting of a great quantity of stores, and many rich moveables belonging to its lord, and to the neighbouring families, that had sent them thither for security. Home (according to Buchanan,) had persuaded himself that Sussex and Drury were his friends, and, by his credulity, brought on himself this heavy loss; after which, being abandoned by his followers and kinsmen, who were in the interests of the King, he retired with a

few attendants to Edinburgh, and shut himself up in the castle. [Holinshed's Chronicle.—Ridpath's Bord. Hist.] Sussex having placed in the garrison 200 men, under Captains Wood and Pikman, returned to Berwick. Five days afterwards an incredible body of men (2000), under Drury, were sent to take Fast castle. The garrison of this fortress, perched on a lofty rock, hanging over the deep, consisted of ten men; "yet theso were thought sufficient," says Holinshed, "to keep it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong." They, however, surrendered on the first summons to this formidable host.

These harassing expeditions were not intended so much to distress the border chieftains, as to weaken the party attached to the captive Queen, and to support the lords who were combined to maintain the infant King, and their ravages sometimes fell on either party indiscriminately. Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington's verses entitled "The Blind Baron's Comfort," written when he had attained the age of seventy-four, and had become blind, were particularly directed against these disgraceful inroads. On the 16th day of May 1570, Rollent Foster, captain of Wark, with a company of 300 men, herriet (plundered) the lands of the barony of Blythe, in Lauderdale: and "spulyit" from Sir Richard, and his eldest son, (Secretary Lethington,) their servants and tenants, 5000 sheep, of different ages; 200 nolt, 30 horses and mares; and "insight" (furniture) forth of his house of Blythe, worth one hundred pound; and the hail tenants' "insight" of the whole barony that was "fursabil." All this happened, too, in the time of peace, "quhane nane of that cuntrie lippint for sic thing." [Sir Richard's verses consist of a pun on the name of "Blythe," which was but poor comfort:—

Blind man be "blythe," although thou be wrangit:
Though Blythe be herreit, tak no melancholie:—
Thou sal be blythe whan that they sal be hangit,
That Blythe hes spulyeit sa maliciouslie.
Be blythe and glad, that nane perceive in thee
That thy blythness consists into riches,
But that thou art blythe, that eternalie
Sal ring with God in eternal blythness.

Though they have spulyeit Blythe of gude geir,
Yet have thai thieves left lyand still the land,
Whilk to transport was nocht in thair poweir,
Nor yet will be though na man them gainstand.
Therefore be blythe: the time may be at hand,
When that Blythe sal be yit, with Godis grace,
As weil plenish'd, as ever they it fand:
While some sal rue the rinning of that race.
—PINKERTON'S "Ant. Scots Poems."]

On the 29th July 1570, the community of Haddington, at sound of the bell, convened in the tolbooth, and elected and gave commission to John Gray and James Cockburn, to pass and consult with my Lord of Morton; and thereafter to pass to Edinburgh to try if they might enter into a composition with the treasurer or commissioner, to remit them to remain at home during the time of the Raid of Linlithgow.

In the summer of 1571, the principal scene of hostilities between the king and queen's parties was Edinburgh and Leith. Grange, the governor of the castle, who belonged to the queen's faction, having received some remittances from France, hired soldiers, by means of whom, and of his situation in the castle, he became master of the city. Thither the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Huntly, and the other leaders of the queen's faction, soon repaired, while the regent Lennox and his friends, of whom the most active and most powerful was the Earl of Morton, took possession of Leith, from whence they sallied forth and annoyed their adversaries. The English queen, still assuming the character of mediator between the parties, sent Drury to Edinburgh in June for this purpose. But the jealousies and resentments on both sides frustrated his plans. A body of the Queen's forces attended Drury on his return to Berwick, as a matter of respect, upon which Morton drew out his supporters. Drury endeavoured to persuade them both to retire, on a signal given by him to each of the parties. This friendly advice had, however, no effect. Morton, irritated by the boasts of his adversaries, made a sudden and violent attack, broke them, and drove them into the city. In the pursuit, and in entering the Canongate, through the Water Gate, a considerable number were killed, and made prisoners; among the latter was Lord Home, who was sent to the castle of Tantallon; but who was soon after exchanged for the Laird of Drumlanrig, who had been made prisoner by Sir David Spence of Wormeston, a gentleman of the queen's faction, who had distinguished himself by many gallant exploits. [Crawford's Mem.] In another sortie from the castle, the regent Lennox was taken prisoner by Sir David Spence, and was mortally wounded by Captain Calder of the queen's party; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the dying regent, Sir David also fell a victim to the king's faction, so bloody was the hatred existing on both sides. The Earl of Mar was elected regent on the death of Lennox. During these dreadful scenes of civil discord, when quarter was not given or either side, a conspiracy was detected in England for the liberation of Queen Mary. One of the principal parties was the Duke of Norfolk, who was condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill, on June 1571, and by

his death the interest of the Scottish queen received its fatal blow in England.

Lord Lindsay of Byers was chosen lieutenant of Leith, till the regent Morton should return fro the King's parliament, to be held at Stirling on the 28th August. The lords of the castle of Edinburgh also appointed their parliament to be held about the same time. The same day, the horsemen of Edinburgh, of the queen's party, to the number of 200, and about 100 hagbutters of foot, went to Lord Lindsay's place, the Byers, and took all his cattle, about "24 guye and oxin, with some pure menis hors and uther beastis," which were brought into the town of Edinburgh. Four of five days after another party went with the intention of demolishing the place of Byers; but the house being provided with some hagbutters, as they approached "sum left their carcases behind, and utheris were tane, whereby that enterpryse come not to pass." [Bannatyne's Journal, 248.]

These frequent parties from Edinburgh did great damage to the fortalices of those who favoured the king's cause. On Thursday, in the night, March 13th 1572, the place of Lethington was taken (some of Captain Home's men having charge of it), but upon Sunday, early in the morning, before they got provision, Lord Lindsay took it again. [Ibid.]

As Lord Home, who was now decidedly of the queen's party, united in counsels with Grange and Lethington; this gave the queen of England a pretext for retaining the fortresses of Home and Fast castles. These eminent leaders were now amongst the only open enemies of the king and the regent; and, trusting to their past good fortune, and in the expectation of succours from France and Spain, they still held out, and would agree to no terms.

The Earl of Morton, the new regent, who had long been a faithful servant of the English court, but destitute of the means of reducing the castle of Edinburgh, easily obtained from Elizabeth a train of artillery and a body of troops for that purpose. Drury marched into Scotland with 1500 men, while the artillery, among which were said to be nine great culverins, taken from the Scots on the field of Flodden, and other necessaries for the expedition, were sent by sea. Grange and his companions refusing to surrender, thought the summons was accompanied with an offer of their lives, five batteries were erected, the siege began, and after a cannonading of nine days, several practical breaches were made. Melville says, that several of the captains of Berwick ascended the breach, which was made in the forewall by the cannon, that they might say they had won the "Maiden-castle." An assault being then given, a lodgment was made in one of the bulwarks; and the small garrison being wasted with watching and fatigue, and in great want of water, Grange did at last, with the advice of Lethington, resolve to surrender. Contrary to the intercession of Drury, which made him afterwards resign his command, Lethington and Kirkcaldy of Grange were placed in confinement. The latter was executed, and Maitland, who from the implacable enmity of the regent Morton, could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution, by a voluntary death, and ended his days, (says Melville,) after the old Romanish fashion, in his place of confinement at Leith, by swallowing a dose of poison, 9th June 1573. The lives of the other prisoners were spared. Lord Home was confined in the castle, where not long after he died. Melville ascribes the preservation of Lord Home's life, to the Regent's dread of Alexander Home of Manderston, Coldenknows, the "Goodman of North Berwick," and others of the same name, who were open and loud in their menaces of vengeance, while Camden ascribes it to the intercession of the Queen of England.

CHAPTER XI.

What shall we do for the Propine?
We used to offer something fine,
But ne'er a groat's in poueh o' mine,—
Carle, now the King's eome.

Come, Morton, show the Douglas blood,
Come, Arran, from the hill and wood,
Bring down your elansmen like a eloud,—
Carle, now the King's eome.

—Sir W. Scott.

A woman rules my prison's key;
A sister-Queen, against the bent
Of law and holiest sympathy.

—Wordsworth.

THE RAIDS, OR WARLIKE MUSTERINGS OF HADDINGTON.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MORTON.—INSURRECTION OF THE NOBLES AGAINST THE REGENT ARRAN.—FRANCIS EARL OF BOTHWELL.—DOUGLAS OF MORHAM ACCESSORY TO THE CONDEMNATION OF QUEEN MARY.—HER TRIAL AND EXECUTION.—MARRIAGE OF JAMES VI.—TRIAL OF THE WISE WIFE OF KEITH AND OTHER WITCHES.—LAST ENTERPRISE OF THE BOTHWELLS.—DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The regent Morton now being established in the undisturbed possession of supreme authority, maintained and exerted it with vigour. One of his earliest considerations was to put an end to the disorders that had prevailed on the Borders during the late

troubles, and which had been highly reprobated by the court of England; and, with this view, he intended to visit the places in person. Accordingly we find it stated in the Council Records of Haddington, August 16th, 1573, that the town-council discerned their treasurer to pay of the common good £50 money, for composition "fra raid of Liddesdale, proclaimed to convene on the 20th August." The Regent in consequence, to settle these disputes, met with Sir John Forester, the English warden of the middle march, and concerted with him the most effectual measures to correct the past and prevent future abuses. The heads of the principal families were compelled to deliver pledges for their good behaviour in future; and three wardens were appointed in whom they could confide; viz. Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes for the eastern; Sir John Carmichael for the middle, and Lord Maxwell for the western marches. Some months afterwards we find an entertainment prepared at Haddington for the Regent, in one of his progresses: November 26th, 1573,—"The town-council ordained Adam Wilson, younger, to buy and bring hame ane puncheon of claret wine for a propine to the Regent, with a dozen of torches and the spice; and to be allowed for the punseoun xxij. lb. Haddington Council Register.]

In 1577, October 17th, a deputation from the town-council of Haddington was sent to Edinburgh, to wait on the Regent, to get composition made against attending the Raid to Dumfries on the first November.

In March 1578, the Earl of Morton resigned the regency, when he obtained from the king an act containing the approbation of everything done by him in the exercise of his office, and a pardon, in the most ample form that fear or caution could devise, (a sure evidence of guilt), of all past offences, crimes, and treasons, which was ratified by parliament in the July following.

In 1579, November 20th, the town-council of Haddington authorised the treasurer to pay to James Cockburn his expenses at the parliament which extended to twenty-three days; "and to William Brown xiij. days; and to John Thomson for xxiiij days, each day 5s money."—The riding of the Scots parliament was then a magnificent scene.

The same year Alexander Home of North Berwick was employed on an embassy to the Queen of England by the Scottish council, to apologise for the manner in which they had treated Bowes, the English ambassador. According to Moyses, part of his commission was to demand the Queen's aid, for the supression of the disorderly persons on the Border. The Queen, however, would not admit Home to her presence; but remitted him to her treasurer Burleigh, who declared plainly the suspicions the Queen entertained of Lennox, and the dangers arising from the power of this favourite to the king's person, the protestant religion, and the peace between the two kingdoms. These proceedings being ascribed to the agency of Morton, a scheme was formed to destroy him, and having been accused by Captain Stewart (afterwards Earl of Arran), of being accessory to the murder of Lord Darnley, he was committed prisoner to Dumbarton, of which Lennox had been appointed governor, from whence he was removed to Edinburgh, 27th May, and brought to trial when he was found guilty "of counsel, concealing, and being art and part in King Henry's murder." Anxious to save Morton, the Queen of England sent envoys for this purpose; but without effect. His accusers employed a numerous band of enemies to conduct him to Edinburgh, where so short was the descent from the highest pawer to the block in those treacherous times, that he was found guilty by an assize of his peers to the treason laid to his charge, and, on the day after his condemnation, beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh.

[Morton was put on his trial in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, on the 1st June 1581. —On this assize were the following gentlemen belonging to East Lothian:—George, Lord Seton; Alexander, master of Elphingston; and Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, knight. By this assize the Earl was found guilty, especially as to the concealment of the plot, and doom was pronounced against him; but that part of the sentence relating to the quartering of his body was remitted. The Earl of Morton, like the inventor of the guillotine during the time of the French revolution, perished by the same instrument which he introduced. He was executed by the machine called the 'Maiden," which he brought into Scotland, in the summary manner we have described, and his head placed on the public gaol of Edinburgh, whence it was taken down by the king's warrant in December 1582, after having been exposed for about 18 months. On the day of execution, the body, after lying on the scaffold until sunset, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the burial-place of criminals. Upon the next day, one John Binning, servant to Mr Archibald Douglas, declaring that he was present with his master at the murder, was hanged, and demeaned as a traitor. Upon the 28th Day of November, the forfeiture was led and deduced against Archibald, Earl

of Angus; Mr Archibald Douglas; John Carmichael, younger of that Ilk; Hugh Carmichael, his son and apparent heir; James Douglas, sometime prior of Pluscardin, and Archibald Douglas of Pittendreich, natural sons to the said earl of Morton; George Douglas of Parkhead, James Douglas, his son; Malcolm Douglas of Mains, Archibald Douglas, sometime constable of the castle of Edinburgh, and Hector Douglas, called "Red Heckie;" against the said "Mr Archibald Douglas," for art and part of the horrible murder of his Majesty's father; and for trafficking with noblemen and others of credit in England, persuading them to levy 10,000 men and to transport them to the frontiers of the realm,—and to menace present war if the said Morton were not released immediately;—and the remaining persons were forfeited likeways for trafficking with England for the same purpose, and for fortifying and holding out the castles of "Temptallon" and "Douglas" (in Lanarkshire), against his Majesty and his authority,—and for some other crimes of treason and lese-majesty imputed to them."]

Thus perished James fourth Earl of Morton, another victim to lawless ambition in a turbulent age, when several of his compeers and accusers equally guilty were allowed to escape. Thus, during the minority of James VI., in the short space of ten years four regents perished by violent means—Moray was assassinated. Lennox treacherously slain, Mar died of grief, and Morton beheaded,

To point a moral, or adorn a tale!

In 1581, among other grants confirmed by James VI., mention is made of the fort of Dunbar, granted to William Boncle, burgess of Dunbar, which probably referred to the site of the fortress and ground adjoining. [Scott's Provincial Ant.]

In 1582, William, sixth Lord Hay of Yester, was engaged in the detention of James VI. at Ruthven castle. He retired to the Continent next year; but returned home in 1585, when the exiles were pardoned.

In 1585, October 25th, the town-council and Deacon of Crafts of the burgh of Haddington, being warned that "the Raid" to be held in Stirling, was to take place in three or four days, and that no hagbutters nor soldiers could be found to satisfy the King's pleasure, without they received full payment in hand, and that they were each to be provided with a month's victual; and finding that they had not sufficient funds arising from the ordinary taxation to meet that demand, they authorized the treasurer to borrow money for that purpose; "and failing that it could not be procured upon obligation or act, to purchase the same where it may be had upon lands, as they and the parties might appoint." Accordingly, on the 29th October, one hundred pounds were borrowed from Robert Thomson, flesher, to the forward setting of 24 hagbutters to Stirling to the King's majesty's army.

In 1586, Mr Archibald Douglas (Morham,) whose forfeiture had been led, as an accomplice with Morton in the murder of Darnley, when he managed by his craft and ingenuity to obtain an acquittal. And as a proof of the King's versatility of character, in the beginning of February, an express having come from his Majesty's ambassadors, signifying that the execution of Queen Mary was in the meantime respited, a threatening letter was sent back to Elizabeth, avowing that if she meddled with the blood of his Majesty's mother, that the king should be revenged, and would solicit the aid of all the foreign princes in Europe for that effect. This express, with the letters, was intrusted to this same Archibald Douglas—the accredited murderer of his father—to be presented to the Queen of England.

["Upon the 10th May 1586, the foresaid Mr Archibald Douglas was accused before the justices in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as one of the special actors of the murder of his Majesty's father. He pleaded first a remission for art and part, foreknowledge and concealing thereof, and stood an assize for the rest, whereof he was acquitted. In that process there was great knavery and shift used; for that part of the Earl of Morton's deposition concerning him, wherein he confessed, that Mr Archibald acknowledged to him, that he was actually at that deed doing, was concealed and abstracted. He handled the matter so, as he made his own ditty,—he closed his own assize,—he foreknew all that was to be said against him,—and so was absolved most shamefully and unhonestly, to the exclamation of the whole people. It was thought the filthiest iniquity that was heard of in Scotland; being done in his Majesty's minority, by the means of the Master of Gray and Mr Randolph, ambassador; and by the slight and oversight of the council, upon such suddenty, as very few, but those in the plot, knew of the matter."—Moyses' Mem. Edin. 1755. Mr Archibald Douglas had some cause to dread the trial by torture which seems to have been an effectual way of extracting the truth. Mr George Ker, brother to the Lord of Newbottle, was apprehended on the suspicion of carrying on a correspondence with Spain, for subduing the religion of his country. It was thought proper

that as he persisted in his denial of all things, that he should be tried by "torture of the boots;" and some of the council, particularly the Laird of Ormiston, justice-clerk, and Mr William Hart, justice-depute, were appointed to see him tortured; but they being menaced by his friends, delayed putting him in boots, until his Majesty taking the matter very highly amiss, absolutely commanded it to be done. And at the first or second stroke, Mr George cried "Mercy," and confessed that all he told before was lies, and that he would then declare the truth as it should be asked him. The Boot of Bordekin was used in England as well as in Scotland to extort confessions by torture. The boot consisted of four thick strong boards, bound round with cords; two of these were put between the criminal's legs, and the two others placed one on the outside of one leg, and one on the other when squeezing the legs against the boards by the cords, the criminal's bones were severely pinched, and sometimes broken.]

A few years had only elapsed since James VI. had escaped from the Raid of Ruthven, when he again fell into the snares of one of the most ambitious men of a turbulent age—the Regent Arran. Queen Elizabeth secretly assisted the banished nobles, including the Earls of Mar and Angus, and the Master of Glammis, Hamilton, etc., who came to Kelso, where they were received and joined by Francis earl of Bothwell, and the Laird of Cessford, and remained with them two or three days at Kelso and Fleurs [James, Earl of Bothwell, left no children; but was survived by a sister, who married James Stewart, the natural son of James V., who was commendator of Coldingham. He died in 1563, leaving a son by her, Francis Stewart. She afterwards married John Sinclair, apparent heir of Caithness, by whom she had also issue. Francis was born about 1562, and was probably educated abroad, having returned to Scotland in 1582, being then in his 20th year. In 1581, he was created by King James, who considered him as his cousin, though by an illegitimate line, Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes and Crichton; to whom was given also with his uncle's forfeited estates, the lands of Old hamstocks, Morham, etc. He was also made great admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Edinburgh, of the constabulary of Haddington and of Berwick, and bailie of Lauderdale.] Thither also proceeded Lord Home, Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and others of that clan. On arriving at Jedburgh these chieftains published a long manifesto, in which they stated their design, wherein they accused Arran—["Upon the 1st of May 1585, the king's Majesty passed out of Edinburgh to Dirleton, to a banquet, to which he was invited by the Earl of Arran." —Moyses' Mem.]—and his friend, the colonel of the King's guard, with the most grevious abuses of their power and trust, such as the persecution of the King's ancient and faithful nobles; the oppression of the church, and showing favour to papists,—of false and injurious conduct towards England, and of holding a correspondence with the sworn enemies of that realm. They avowed their purpose of delivering the king out of the hands of such hated and dangerous counsellors; and summoned, in his name, all true subjects to aid them in their enterprise. As they advanced towards Stirling, they were joined by the Lords Hamilton and Maxwell; and their partisans and vassals now amounted to about 10,000 men. Arriving at St Ninans on the last day of October 1585, they drew up in order of battle, and waiting till nightfall, they were introduced into the town by their friends by some back passages, without opposition. Arran, who kept watch with the Earl of Crawford, effected his escape by the bridge, of which he kept the keys. Some resistance made by Colonel Stewart, in the Market-place, if it had been well supported, might have turned the fortunes of war; for the Borderers dispersing in quest of plunder, "according to their custom (says Spotswood,) fell upon the stable, and made prey of all the gentlemen's horses, whereof they found good store." Having possessed themselves of the castle and of the King, that versatile monarch granted free pardon to the victorious leaders, banished his favourites, whom he secretly cherished, and called a new parliament for the ostentatious purpose of restoring tranquillity. For more readily levying men for the King's service in this Raid, the city of Edinburgh was divided into different divisions, each of which had two commanders, one of whom was selected from the merchants, and the other from the craftsmen. On these rebellious occasions Edinburgh furnished from 200 to 500 men in aid of the government, while Haddington sent its quota of 24 hagbutters.

The Earl of Bothwell, who, in his early years, showed the daring and want of principle which characterised his uncle and grandfather, had joined the Lords Maxwell and Home, as narrated above, in driving Arran, the King's favourite, from court. For this act he was forgiven; and being received into the King's presence, James already showed his conciliating address and weakness of policy, "What should have moved thee, Francis, to come in

arms against me?" said he; "Did I ever do you any wrong, or what cause hadst thou to offend? I wish thee a more quiet spirit, and that thou mayest learn to live as a subject, otherwise thou wilt fall into trouble:"—[Spotswood.]—yet along with Boyd and Home, he was one of the commissioners for a treaty with England, concluded at Berwick, in July 1586; but, in 1588, he began to display his ferocious character, by slaying Sir William Stewart in an encounter at Blackfriar's wynd. [Birrel's Diary.]

At this period of our history a deed was perpetrated, which, although not altogether unexpected, created one sentiment of disgust throughout Scotland and over Europe,—a deed of the basest sort in the annals of England; yet not unworthy of the daughter of Henry VIII.—the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. [Henry divorced Catherine of Arragon, for the purpose of marrying Anne Bullen, the mother of Elizabeth. This lady he got beheaded, and next day married the Lady Jane Seymour.] She had been a prisoner in England for nineteen years, and now stalked a meagre shadow of her former beauty and greatness, with a mind diseased from hope deferred, and a constitution impaired by sedentary confinement. The Duke of Norfolk and some of her principal friends had suffered on the block;—the weak and sordid King, her son, had been bribed with a pension from Elizabeth, which made him relax in the affection he had formerly evinced for his mother; in addition to which, he was beset by ministers corrupted by the same princess's gold. [James continued so infatuated by his English pension, that he had not only dropped all thoughts of his mother, but had taken her mortal enemies, as we have described, into his most secret councils. Of these was Archibald Douglas, who continued still to be his resident in England, with the Master of Gray, and both of them had sold themselves to Elizabeth. "Nothing was so terrible to Elizabeth (says Guthrie) as the thoughts of a war with Scotland at this time; and I perceive from the State papers that her creatures fed James with the ridiculous hopes of marrying Elizabeth himself, and of being declared by the English parliament her heir and successor." The following is the style in which the Master of Gray writes to his confederate Mr Archibald Douglas:—"His (the King's) opinion is, that it cannot stand with his honour that he be a consenter to take his mother's life: but he is content how strictly she be kept, and all her old knavish servants hanged, chiefly they who be in hands. For this you must deal very warily to eschew inconveniences, seeing necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of the way." By a letter from James himself, to Mary's secretary Naue, he ordered him to make up some differences between his mother and the Countess of Shrewsbury; but refers to Archibald Douglas for further particulars, whom he desires her to trust as himself.] The notorious Archibald Douglas, (brother to the Laird of Whittingham), but lately acquitted as one of the murderers of her husband, was appointed resident at the English court, to watch over her conduct; and who, in conjunction with the Master of Gray, and other minions of Elizabeth, privately advised her to strike the fatal blow. [Guthrie, viii.]

Elizabeth, assisted by such spies, and seldom at a loss for pretexts, soon laid hold of the foreign correspondence of Mary with the Pope, the king of Spain, and other popish practices, for bringing an accusation against her; and a plot of one Savage, a Spanish officer; and Ballard, a popish priest; gave a colour for instituting proceedings against the Queen, and completed the scheme for her destruction.

Mary disdained denying that she had corresponded with her friends, but without any treasonable intention; and completely refuted the other parts of her accusation. She was, however, doomed to undergo the ordeal of a house of commons sufficiently packed for her condemnation, of which Puckering, her bloodiest enemy, was appointed speaker. So absurdly prejudiced were some of these wretches, that Crofts the comptroller, and Knolles the treasurer of the household, moved that the house should go to prayers to "implore God that he would put it into Elizabeth's heart to murder Mary, by ordering her head to be cut off." [D'Ewe's Journal.] In the hands of such men, after a trial of two days, on the 25th October 1586, the commissioners after adjourning to the star-chamber, Westminster, pronounced Mary—guilty.

The nobility of Scotland, exasperated to the last degree at these proceedings, urged James to take the field against the murderers of their Queen. Stung by their reproaches, he made a show of some natural anxiety and activity. He ordered Archibald Douglas to remonstrate more peremptorily with Elizabeth; but she knew too well that James was forced to make use of this stratagem, and put off Douglas with evasive answers, to be forwarded to his court, at his own suggestion. Still, to keep up appearances, when Douglas's agency had failed, Keith, a young and inexperienced courtier, was appointed to join him in demanding a respite of Mary's execution, which being refused, he presented a letter from the King, little short of a declaration of war. This letter, as coming from a pen-

sioner-king, was treated with contempt; while she flew into a passion against Keith, which her courtiers found some difficulty to pacify. The crafty Bothwell was next appointed; but Elizabeth would not receive him, under pretence of his having committed hostilities on the Borders in time of peace. The Master of Gray therefore again had recourse to Mary's approved enemy, to whom was added Sir Robert Melville, a worthy gentleman, but one without weight or dignity to execute such an important trust. In this last act the Master of Gray performed his part in the scene with the greatest dissimulation and address, proved himself the worthy coadjutor of Douglas, and hastened the drop of the curtain in the fatal drama.

"Elizabeth's secret intention," says Guthrie, "was to put Mary to death privately, to deliver herself from the odium of signing her sentence. Leicester, who had now returned to England, suggested this expedient to her, by recommending an apothecary instead of a hangman to be her executioner." A proposal to this effect was made to Paulet her gaoler, by Secretaries Walsingham and Davison, who, to his eternal honour, respectfully declined making "so foul a shipwreck of his conscience" by being accessory to such a guilty act. Elizabeth, on being informed that this honest knight declined the infernal office, called Paulet "a dainty precise fellow, who promised everything, but performed nothing," and, in a private conference she had with Davison, she proposed one Wingfield to execute the murder. Davison objected to the danger, as well as the infamy, that attended such a proceeding; and Elizabeth gave him an order for drawing up a warrant which she was to sign for Mary's execution, and after signing it, she had the inhumanity to jest with the bearer of it. "Go, said she, "and tell Walsingham what I have done; though I am afraid, poor soul, he will die of grief when he hears of it." The iniquitous warrant passed the seals that very night, and the callous Elizabeth gave orders that her privy-councillors should put it into execution without troubling her in future.

An interview which the French ambassador had with Elizabeth was equally unsuccessful. She endeavoured to prepossess him against Mary by informing him, "that she had made the King of Spain her heir to the crown of England; and added, that as the heavens did not contain two suns, so neither could England contain two queens, or two religions; that she had recommended to her parliament to find out some method less severe than Mary's death to secure her own life; but as no such method had been devised, execution must be done." [Guthrie's Hist. viii.]

It was reserved for high-born men to execute publicly what no scoundrel could be found to do in secret. The Earls of Kent, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Cumberland, were appointed to see the execution performed; but only the first two attended. On the evening of 6th February 1587, these noblemen acquainted the Queen that she must die on the 8th. Mary confessed that she did not think of dying so soon; but received the message with her usual calmness and resignation, without the least emotion in her words, looks, or gestures. She requested that her confesser should be allowed access to confer with her on the state of her soul, which was barbarously denied; but she was made offer of the Dean of Peterborough, which, according to her tenets, she could not accept; yet who afterwards attended contrary to her inclination: she was, however, allowed to consult with her steward, Melville, about her worldly affairs. Before the departure of the earls, laying her hands upon the bible, and crossing herself in the name of the Trinity, she solemnly declared her innocency of all concern in Babington's conspiracy to murder Elizabeth, notwithstanding the perjured confessions of Naue and Curl. After a sparing supper, with her usual composure she called for a glass of wine, and drank to her attendants, who were dissolved in tears around her person, ordering each of them to pledge her; which they did, kneeling, while she gave them her benediction and consolation, and seemed the only one that did not stand in need of it. She then retired to rest, and slept soundly for some hours.

About half-past eight in the morning, the sheriff, whose melancholy duty it was to inform Mary that her hour was come, found her at prayers. She arose, and went cheerfully to the place of execution, being gently supported by two of Sir Amias Paulet's chief gentlemen; preceded by Mr Andrews, the high-sheriff, being met at the great hall by the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, with the rest of their solemn and gloomy train. [Mary was particular in the fashion and finery of her dress, which frequently excited the curiosity of Elizabeth, and made her examine the pacquets which came to her from France. She seems to have felt the "ruling passion strong in death;" and, even on the scaffold, like the Earl of Mar at Lauder-Bridge, or Earl Ferriers at Tyburn, would have preferred a silken string to a hempen cord. The following is the description of her dress and behaviour, from a narrative drawn up by Lord Burleigh's orders:—"She appeared on the day appointed; being tall of body, cor-

pulent, round-shouldered; her face fat and broad, double-chinned and hazel-eyed, her "borrowed" hair brown. Her attire was—she had on her head a dressing of lawn, edged with bonlace, a pomander chain, and an "Angus Dei" about her neck; a crucifix in her hand, and a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them; a veil of lawn fastened to her caul, bowed out with wire, and edged round with bonlace; her gown was of black satin printed, with a train, and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn buttons of jet, trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black cut satin, with a pair of sleeves of purple velvet, whole, of figured black satin; her petticoat, upper-body unlaced in the back, of crimson satin, and her petticoat skirts of crimson velvet; her shoes of Spanish leather, with the rough side outwards, a pair of green silk garters; her nether stockings worsted coloured, watched and clacked with silver, and edged on the top with silver; and next her leg a pair of Jersey hose, white. Thus attired she went cheerfully to the place of execution."] When she came to the porch of the hall near where the scaffold was erected, her faithful servant Melville threw himself at her feet, in tears, and uttered the most passionate expressions of sorrow, till his words were drowned in grief. She endeavoured to comfort him, and exclaimed: "My good servant, cease to lament; for thou hast cause rather to rejoice than mourn; for now you shalt see Mary Stuart's troubles receive their long-expected end—in a world of vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail; but, I pray thee, carry this message from me, that I do die a true woman to my religion; and like a woman of Scotland and France. God forgive them who have long desired my life, and thirsted for my blood as the hart doth for the water-brooks. O God! thou who art the author of truth, and art truth itself, knoweth the inward chamber of my thoughts—how that I was ever willing that Scotland and England should be united together. Howbeit I take thee to be in religion a Protestant, and I myself am a Catholic; yet seeing there is but one Christ, I charge thee upon thine own account to him, that thou carry these my last words to my son; and show that I pray him to serve God, to defend the catholic church,—to govern his kingdom in peace, and will him to keep friendship with the Queen of England; certifying to him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the crown of Scotland. [Spotswood.—Camden.] She then requested that her domesties might attend her on the scaffold, to see how patiently their queen and mistress should endure her execution, and relate how she died a true and devoted catholic to her religion. The Earl of Kent opposed this request, as her servants by their "speeches or practice might do things not fitting for them to tolerate, were it no more than the superstitious trumpery of dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood." Mary promised that they should not be blamed in this respect, upon which Melville, her physician, surgeon, and apothecary, and two ladies, were allowed to attend her. She entered the great hall, her train borne by Melville, preceded by the two earls, the sheriffs, the knights, and gentlemen present. The scaffold was about two feet high, and twelve broad, surrounded with rails and covered with black. She mounted it with unparalled serenity of countenance, and placed herself in a low chair, while Beal read aloud Elizabeth's warrant for the execution, which she heard without emotion, still retaining the same serenity of countenance. The spirit of her grandsire, who fell at Flodden-field, seemed to hover over her, and inspired her with courage at this trying hour. She who had shed tears at the rebuke of the preacher Knox, now sat like a marble statue of faith and devotion, in an attitude worthy of the heroines of antiquity. Perceiving her maids shedding tears, she again exhorted them to desist; and after signing them with the cross, she tenderly embraced them, and with a smile bade them farewell! While they were undressing her to prepare for the block, the two executioners offered their assistance; but Mary commanded them to stand off, saying to the spectators, "That it was a new spectacle to behold a queen brought to die upon a scaffold; and that she used not to be undressed before so great a company, and to have two hangmen to attend her for her grooms of the bedchamber; but (added she) we must submit to what Heaven is pleased to have done, and obey the decrees of divine Providence." Her gown and doublet being taken off, she tied a linen handkerchief round her eyes; and, laying her head upon the block, she rehearsed aloud the thirty-first psalm: then stretching out her arms, she repeated the fifth verse, which being the signal for the executioners, one of them clumsily struck off her head at three strokes, while the other was holding both her hands. The upper attire of her head being discomposed, discovered her hair to be quite grey; and the executioner taking it up, called out aloud, "Long live Queen Elizabeth, and so let the enemies of the gospel perish!" which words were re-echoed by the Dean of Peterborough and the two Earls, the rest of the spectators being dissolved in tears.

In musing over the conduct of Elizabeth in this tragical deed, one would imagine

that the whole art of reigning lay in dissimulation; and the Queen had now a wide field to display her skill in Machiavelism and the tricks of expediency. It was easy to satisfy the conscience of her pensioner-king; but it was not so easy to appease the injured feelings of the Scots. Her first resolution was therefore to get rid of the odium attached to the late tragedy, by throwing the blame on her emissaries, and bringing them to trial. Davison, one of her secretaries of state, was accused of being too premature in putting the warrant of execution into effect, contrary to her intention; and he was happy to escape the block, by paying a fine of 10,000 merks, while the public resentment against the Master of Gray was so strong, that James was easily induced to surrender him to justice. A letter, or a copy of a letter, from this minion to Elizabeth was produced, in which he made use of the expression "dead people do not bite," with some other charges, which he did not deny, but endeavoured to alleviate. His sentence was banishment from Scotland, with a prohibition against returning to England or Ireland under pain of death. The crafty Archibald Douglas, when he saw "coming events cast their shadows before," retired to the background of the picture, and with his usual good fortune escaped punishment.

Our limits, however, will not allow us to enter farther into the general history of this interesting period. We must, therefore, return to the events which more immediately affected our own locality, or to the public men or public measures which were connected with it.

At the epoch of the Spanish Armada or invasion in 1588, considerable alarm was created on the shores of Lothian. At this crisis the Earl of Bothwell, in opposition to the king and parliament, raised troops to invade England, that he might create a diversion in favour of Spain. While Elizabeth would have sent the greatest peer in England to the Tower for such conduct, James contented himself in ordering Bothwell, as lord-high admiral, to look to the sea; and to take care that the shipping were ready for service. In the subsequent year, Bothwell engaged with the Roman Catholic peers in the most dangerous enterprizes against the king's person, and being found guilty by an assize, he was sent prisoner to Tantallon castle. But he appears to have been soon released; for when the King went to Denmark to consolidate his marriage with the Princess Anne, in 1589, Bothwell, with the Duke of Lennox, was left to govern the country in his absence,—a trust which he not only had the merit to discharge without reproach, but had even the duplicity to court the favour of the church by making a confession of his manifold sins.

In 1590, October 4th, the town-council of Haddington distributed the sum of 2000 pounds of the King's marriage gift.—The same year James bestowed Dirleton castle (forfeited by the family of Ruthven) on Sir Thomas Erskine, captain of the English guard, for his valour in rescuing him from the traitorous attempt of Gowrie.

["The sum of two thousand pounds of our sovereign Lord's tocher gude distributed."—"Haddn. Council Reg." To get quit of their entertainment the city of Edinburgh paid him 5000 merks.]

"Most of the winter" says Spotswood, "was spent in the discovery and examination of witches and sourcerers. Amongst others Agnes Sampson, commonly called the Wise Wife of Keith, was the most remarkable." This woman confessed that the Earl of Bothwell had moved her to inquire, what should become of the King when he went to Denmark; while she somewhat startled his Majesty by declaring some words that passed betwixt him and the Queen at Upslo, in Norway, on the night of their marriage! Bothwell was also accused of having used the art of these misguided creatures, who suffered death for their temerity, by raising storms which had endangered the Queen's life, and which had detained the King so long in Denmark; and especially with one Richard Graham, to conspire his death. Upon such miserable evidence, in these rascally times, was Bothwell committed to the castle of Edinburgh, on the 2nd June 1591. The haughty spirit of the Cataline of Scotland could neither submit to the restraint, nor suffer the indignity; and, having corrupted his keepers, he effected his escape, and was declared forfeited on the evidence of such wretched bedlamites.

[That grave statesman, Sir James Melville, asserts: that "the tricks and tragedies the devil then played, among so many men and women, in the country, will hardly get credit by posterity," and he was quite correct. Some curious particulars will be found in the author's Notes to St Baldred, including a "Commission for Judging of Witches in Samuelston," etc. on a petition from John, Earl of Haddington, to appease his tenants, when the Lord Commissioner and Lords of the Articles granted a commission for putting to death such as were guilty by confession, and trying the others. These tricks and tragedies were, however, not altogether confined to the ignoble herd. Dame Jean Lyon, lady Angus, deigned to consult Agnes Sampson through Barbara Napier, for which the latter was burnt. For this imputed crime the lovely Lady Glammis suffered; and an

opinion was generally prevalent, that the Countess of Athol possessed the powers of incantation. If we are to believe the advocates of Queen Mary, James, Earl of Bothwell, also declared, when on his death-bed, before the governor of the castle of Melling, and several persons of distinction, "that as he had from his youth addicted himself much to the art of enchantment at Paris and elsewhere, he bewitched the Queen to fall in love with him, and so invented means to get rid of his own wife;—that after the marriage was consummated, he sought all means to destroy the infant prince, and the whole nobility that would not fall in with him. Then the said earl declaring that through his present great weakness, he was not able to discourse all the several steps of these things, testified that the Queen was innocent of the King's death, and that only himself, his friends, and some of the nobility, were the authors. And being thereafter pressed by the Bishop of Schonen and by those lords to name some of the persons that were guilty, he named James Earl of Moray; my Lord Robert, abbot of Holyrood-house, (bastard brothers of the Queen); the Earls of Crawford, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton; my Lord Boyd; and the Lairds of Lethington, Buccleuch, and Grange."—Guthrie.]

Imputing his accusation to Chancellor Maitland, Bothwell assembled his followers, under the pretence of driving him from the King's councils. Being favoured by some traitors, he was admitted by a secret passage into the court of the abbey of Holyrood-house, and made directly towards the royal apartments; but the alarm being given, the doors were shut. These he attempted to break open, and set fire to others; but several of the citizens having run to arms, he escaped with great difficulty. In this affray the King's master-stabler and one servant were killed. Eight of Bothwell's faction, who were taken, were hanged betwixt the girth cross and the abbey-gate without any trial. James, who could not let this opportunity pass in showing his orational powers in public, passed to St Gile's church next day, and there made an oration on the criminality of Bothwell and the slaughter of his servant. [Birrel's Diary.] Bothwell was attained by Parliament on 10th July 1592.

After this unsuccessful attempt to seize the King, Bothwell retired to the north, and found a shelter with the Earl of Moray, who was his cousin. The Earl of Huntly having received a commission from the King to pursue Bothwell and his abettors, with fire and sword, took this opportunity of executing his vengeance on Moray, his hereditary enemy. Having invested the House of Dunibirsel, he set it on fire. Dunbar, sheriff of Moray, who was in the house at the time, said to Moray, "I will go out at the gate before your lordship, and you shall come out after me." Dunbar accordingly came out, and ran desperately on Huntly's men, by whom he was slain. During this skirmish the Earl of Moray came out, and retreated among the rocks at the sea-side; but unfortunately his knapscull tippet, whereon was a silk string, had taken fire, which betrayed him to his enemies in the darkness of the night; and he not being conscious of their presence, they came down and cruelly murdered him. [Ibid.] Thus Moray was the victim, and Bothwell escaped.

[Balfour, in his MS. Annals, says, it was publicly reported that James was jealous of the Earl of Moray, who was one of the handsomest men of the age, because the Queen had some days before spoken in his commendation; on which he privately ordered the Earl of Huntly to murder him. He was distinguished by the epithet of the "Bonny Earl of Murray." A ballad composed at that time, under that title, and published by Bishop Percy in his Reliques of Ancient Poetry, gives some countenance to Balfour's assertion.]

On the attainder of Bothwell, the abbey of Coldingham was transferred by the King to Lord Home; and his lands of Spott were given to Sir George Home. Nothing daunted by former disappointments, Bothwell made a fresh attempt to seize the King at Falkland, when James, betrayed by some of his courtiers, and feebly defended by others, owed his safety to the vigilance of Sir Robert Melville and to the irresolution of Bothwell's associates. [As a striking instance of how much the King during his minority and some time afterwards, lay under the dominion of the arictocracy, Sir James Balfour in his MS. Memoirs, says, that the inscription upon the standards of the lords (supposing the King to complain, and them to answer) was

> KING.—Captive I am; liberty I crave.
> LORDS.—Our lives we shall lose, or that ye shall have.

In addition to what we have noted above, on the 29th May, at a meeting of the Parliament at Edinburgh, James Douglas of Spott; John Hamilton, younger of Samuelston; and divers others, to the number of seventeen persons, were arraigned and forfeited, for the Raid of the abbey of Holyrood-house.] After the unsuccessful termination of this affair, the haughty baron fled to England, and found protection from Elizabeth. She solicited his pardon from James, which was however refused. The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Athol, and Lord Ochiltree, invited Bothwell back to

Scotland; when, seizing the gates of Holyrood-house, he was introduced into the apartments of the palace, attended by a numerous train of armed followers. James, deserted by his courtiers, and incapable of resistance, called on the earl to finish his treasons, by piercing his sovereign to the heart. But as the crafty Bothwell fell on his knees, and craved pardon, the King was unable to resist his demand. A few days afterwards he signed a capitulation to this successful traitor, to whom he was in reality a prisoner, whereby he granted him a remission for past offences, and promised, in the meantime, to dismiss Chancellor Maitland and others from his councils. A convention of the nobles held at Stirling, however, would not agree to such promises, extorted from the King by force; yet James did not decline preferring Bothwell a pardon, provided he sued for it as an act of grace. These generous conditions the earl rejected; and, retiring to the Borders, on the 3rd of April 1594, he appeared suddenly at the head of 500 horse. The citizens of Edinburgh stood forth in defence of his Majesty; and, with their aid, the King advanced against Bothwell, who retired to Dalkeith without hazarding an attack, when he saw such a great force, with some cannon, coming against him. Lord Home pursued the fugitive, but being repulsed, he fell back upon the borough-moor of Edinburgh, where the King's principal forces lay. In the attack on Home, Bothwell fell from his horse, and his army dispersed next day. His followers, whom he was never again able to rally, now abandoned him; and having again betaken himself to his lurking places in England, Elizabeth at last, and reluctantly, in compliance with the request of James, compelled him also to leave that retreat. The enterprising traitor again retired to the northern fastnesses of Scotland, where he entered into new compacts with the Popish lords. On being bribed with Spanish gold, he engaged to raise such disturbances in the south, as should prevent the King from acting offensively against the Spanish partisans in the north, while he came under an obligation, that he should succeed in apprehending the Scottish king, his majesty might be confined in Blackness castle, whose captain he had corrupted, till he should agree to their terms. Orme, a servant of Bothwell, being apprehended, disclosed these designs. The consequence was, that this last scheme was defeated, and the Captain of Blackness, Orme, and their accomplices hanged. After this affair it was dangerous even to entertain Bothwell. The "enormous rebel" was not only now abandoned by his adherents, but excommunicated by the church. He now fled to Orkney; but his own knew him not, and the people attempted to arrest him, from whence he pursued his flight to Scotland, and made his escape to France. Every man's hand was now raised against the fomentor of civil discord; and, followed by awakened vengeance, he could find no rest. The French government obliged Bothwell to retire into Spain, in 1600, whence he went to Naples; and, renouncing the Protestant faith, closed his life in indigence and low debauchery.

Before his attainder Bothwell had made over some of his large estates to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, his step-son, amongst which was the lordship of Hailes in East Lothian. John Stewart, the second son, was commendator at Coldingham; and the eldest son, Francis, obtained from the easily cajoled James VI., (who seems to have been fascinated by this family like his unfortunate queen-mother,) a part of the estate of his father, but none of his offices. [Chalmers' Cal. II.] After the forfeiture of Bothwell, Sir William Seton, the fourth son of George, fifth Lord Seton, was made Sheriff of Lothian, and Warden of the Marches. [Mackenzie's Lives, III.] He was also appointed chief-justice of the southern Borders of Scotland.

[On the accession of James to the English throne, Sir William Seton was created master of the household, and master of the posts in Scotland, for both of which he had a pension from James and Charles I. He died at the advanced age of seventy-three, in his house at Haddington, in 1634, and was buried in the college-kirk at Seton.—Hist. House of Seyton.]

We cannot contemplate the audacity of Bothwell, in demanding the dismissal of Chancellor Maitland, without surprise; but it must be recollected, that, like his uncle, he was the tool of an aristocratic faction, and had the head to plan, and the hand to execute, the treasonable measures which they meditated. The party formed against the Chancellor, however, at length becoming very powerful, and as he had incurred the neglect of Elizabeth when he could be of no further service to her, he prudently retired to his estates in the country. This accomplished statesman and scholar did not long enjoy retirement: for he was soon privately visited by the King, to the discomfiture of his other counsellors; and was again called to preside at that council-board, which had been dignified by his talents.

["On the 28th April 1593, (says Moyses,) the King's Majesty rode out of Holyrood-house about six o'clock in the morning, making as if he were going to the hunting; but he sent back his hounds, and rode himself to Lethington, the Chancellor's (Maitland) house, where he dined, and conferred

with the chancellor a long while, and returned again to supper, for the effects of which the council were much afraid."]

On the 3rd May 1593, a justice-court was held at Haddington, where all offenders within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, constabulary of Haddington, Berwick, and Lauderdale, were summoned to attend.

In 1595, an incident occurred, which weighed so heavily on the Chancellor's spirits, as to hasten the close of his mortal career. The heads of the family of Mar had for some years been tutors to the infant princes of Scotland; and James had committed the custody of his son to the Earl of Mar. [Prince Henry, who died prematurely. James's next son, the ill-fated Charles I., (by Anne of Denmark,) was born at Dunfermline, in the year 1600. Six days after the baptism, in honour of the occasion, Lord Seton was created Earl of Winton, and the Lord Cessford, Earl of Roxburgh,—a family afterwards connected with this county.] But Queen Anne who thought it of importance to have the prince under her own guardianship, leagued herself with the Chancellor, with whom she had always before lived at enmity, and other counsellors, to obtain her ends. James having heard of the Queen's intention to take her son out of the Earl of Mar's keeping, paid her a formal visit; and, after sharply reproving her, sent her to Stirling. He then severely reprimanded the Chancellor, and the other confederated lords, and gave a writing to Mar, expressly charging him with the custody of his son; and that in the event of his death, he should not deliver the prince up either to the queen or the states till he was eighteen years of age. This reproof broke the sensitive heart of the Chancellor. On his death-bed he requested the favourable notice of James to his lady and family, to which an affectionate answer was returned; but it came too late to revive the dying statesman.

[Sir John Maitland was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland. He accompanied James on his matrimonial excursion to Denmark; and, on his return, was created a peer, by the title of Lord Maitland of Thirlestane. In 1591 he resigned the office of secretary of state, which was conferred on his nephew, Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington. His lordship died at his seat of Thirlestane (which he had built,) on the 3rd October, 1595, when he had just completed his 50th year, and was buried in the family isle at Haddington, where a sumptuous monument was erected to his memory, with a well-known epitaph composed by the King.—See Crawford's Peerage."]

In 1596, England and Scotland were alarmed with the report of another Spanish invasion, whereupon weapon-schawings were appointed to be held throughout the county; and a proclamation issued calling on the different shires to be in readiness for a general muster on the 2nd of February. This proclamation was supposed to have been drawn up by Elizabeth, so much was it in favour of James's alliance with England, and the zeal it expressed for her glory.

"The ways of providence are dark and intricate," says the poet, and some mortifying sufferings, like retribution, clouded the last days of Elizabeth. Early in 1603, she was seized with an indisposition, which arose from a settled and incurable melancholy. Her favourite Devereux, Earl of Essex, had been condemned for being engaged in a treasonable correspondence for seating the Scottish monarch on the English throne, and died on the block. After his death the queen neither enjoyed health of body nor tranquillity of mind, and seldom mentioned his name without tears. At times she appeared delirious, which was probably heightened by overhearing the whisperings of her courtiers, who suggested the expediency of putting the reins of government into James's hands. [Guthrie, viii.] Anxious to get a declaration in his favour from her own mouth, on her departure to Richmond, where she died, the question was put, to which she replied to Cecil and the Lord-Admiral, in the following ambiguous terms: "My throne has always been filled by a succession of princes, and ought only to go to my next heirs." [Strype's Annals, iv.] Her spirits at last grew so depressed that sleep forsook her couch she refused to go to bed—and for ten days and nights, sat pensive and silent, with her finger on her mouth, as if imposing a deeper and deeper silence, with her eyes fixed upon the ground. At length she could not be induced to taste food, and refusing the medicines prescribed by her physicians, seemed to say, in the strong language of Shakspeare:

> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
> And, with some sweet oblivious antidote,
> Cleanse the foul bosom of that perilous stuff,
> Which weighs upon the heart?—
> Throw physic to the dogs, I'll none of it!
>
> —"Macbeth.

After remaining for some time in this state of stupor, the Earl of Monmouth, in his Memoirs, says, that "on Wednesday, the 23rd of March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called for her council; and by putting her hand to her head when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her." Such at

least was the construction Elizabeth's courtiers wished to put upon her last motions; and the moment the breath was out of her body, the palace gates were shut. Carey, (afterwards Earl of Monmouth,) by the favour of his brother, Lord Hunsdon, was permitted to leave the palace; and agreeable to a promise he had formerly made to James, was the first to convey intelligence of her death, together with a blue ring from a fair lady (whose name is unknown,) but which James no sooner saw, than he pronounced him to be a true messenger. Elizabeth died on the 25th March, after a reign of 44 years, five months, and some days, (being nearly the exact age of Queen Mary,) in her 70th year.

CHAPTER XII.

Speak, citizens, for England; who's your king?
—"King John."

Sound the bagpipe, blaw the horn,
Let ilka kilted clansman gather;
We maun up and ride the morn,
And leave the muir among the heather.
—Jacobite Song.

THE ACCESSION OF JAMES TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND—SIR ROBERT CAREY.—THOMAS THE RHYMER'S PROPHECIES.—THE KING'S PROGRESS TO LONDON.—HOME, EARL OF DUNBAR.—GEORGE HERIOT OF TRABOURN.—DEATH OF KING JAMES.—CHARLES I.—ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HIS PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE—VISITS SETON.—THE COVENANTERS.—CHARLES'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, the accession of James to the crown of England was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 31st March. The intelligence was brought by Sir Robert Carey, who travelled post-speed, with all the enthusiasm of a young knight. On his way between Widdrington and Norham, he received a severe wound in his head from a fall and stroke from his horse, which obliged him to move more slowly; he did not reach Edinburgh till the King had gone to bed. This circumstance caused no delay to the admission of the bearer of such high tidings; and Carey was the first that saluted James, king of Great Britain. What a scene for a painter!

[Previous to the death of Elizabeth the Scottish people enjoyed themselves translating prophecies agreeable to the event. "At this time (says Birrel) the haill commons of Scotland, that had reading or understanding, were daily expounding Thomas the Rhymer's prophecies and others, which were predicted in old times; such as, in the time of Henry VIII., it was predicted:

Hempe has begun,
God give it long to last;
Frae hempe begun
England may tak rest.

"H" was understood to signify "Henry;" "E" for "England;" "M" for "Mary;" "P" for "Philip," king of Spain, who married queen Mary of England; and "E" for Queen "Elizabeth." According to the Scotch version it was fulfilled, that England should take rest when it was united with Scotland:

Ane French wyff shall beir a sone,
Shall bruik all Britaine be the sie.

Queen Mary, the mother of James VI., was a French wife, in respect she was first married to the Prince of France. They were married as Dauphin and Dauphiness of France, and King and Queen of Scotland.]

The King left Edinburgh on the 5th April, with a retinue of 500 persons on horseback. Those of noble rank were the Duke of Lennox; the Earls of Mar, Moray, and Argyle, and Lord Home; also Sir George Home, treasurer; and Sir Robert Ker of Cessford.

The same day happening to be the funeral of Robert seventh Lord Seton, his Majesty rested at the southwest roundal at the orchard of Seton, which then lay on the highway, till his lordship was interred, that he might not withdraw the company. On which occasion the King was pleased to observe, that in the deceased he had lost "a good, faithful, and loyal subject." At this period, the king, queen, and all foreigners of quality, were frequently entertained at the palace of Seton.

The King, in his progress, passed Haddington, (which lay a little off the post-road, (which then led by Beanston,) and proceeding to Dunglas Castle, the residence of Lord Home, he and his retinue lodged there for the night, and were sumptuously entertained; which shows the fortalice of this domain to have been of great importance when it was able to lodge such a numerous and royal retinue. In the King's progress next day from Dunglas to Berwick, the cavalcade was joined by many of Lord Home's dependents. On his arrival at the boundaries of Berwick, he was received with every demonstration of joy, by the marshal, Sir John Carey, accompanied by the officers of the garrison, at the head of their respective bands; and while these welcomed him with volleys of musketry, the cannon thundered from the ramparts. James, in the rapture of the moment, and with his

characteristic weakness, fired one of the large guns with his own hand: a singular feat for a monarch who shuddered at the sight of a naked sword! In short, the King's whole journey to London was one of continued acclaim and triumph; and he met with so much old English hospitality in his way, that his Majesty occupied a month in its accomplishment, which drew from him the remark, "it looked like one continued hunting party."

The predecessors of James had used every effort to re-establish popery, but they had uniformly failed; and, in the reign of Mary, the presbyterian form of church-government triumphed. To those who had been bred in courts, or who believed that the world was governed by show, the transition from the gaudy trappings of the Romish altar to that of the plain Presbyterian pulpit, was scarcely to be tolerated. Music, fasts, and forms of prayer were wanting. The English bishops whispered pleasant language in the king's ear, and James, setting the opposition of the Scottish clergy at naught, seriously endeavoured to introduce the Episcopal form of church-government as the national religion. The archbishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Brechin, were among the first to accept of consecration from the bishops of the sister kingdom; but the great majority of the clergy conscientiously stood aloof. In these delicate affairs none were more zealous in assisting the king than George Home, Earl of Dunbar, and many and severe were the contests he had with the general assemblies, when acting as a mediator between his Majesty and the incensed clergy.

[George Home was the third son of Alexander Home of Manderston. From the urbanity of his disposition, and being early introduced to court, he soon rose high in the favour of the king. He was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber; was constituted master of the wardrobe, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him in 1590; and reeeived the staff of high-treasurer of Scotland on the 5th September 1601. He attended his Majesty to England as above stated, on his accession to the throne of that kingdom, in 1603, and besides having considerable influence in the management of the affairs of the nation, he had the sole disposal of those in Scotland. On being sworn a privy-councillor, he was created a peer of England, by the title of Baron Home of Berwick, (where he afterwards built a splendid mansion.) But a higher mark of Royal favour awaited him. He was created a peer of Scotland by patent, dated at Windsor 1605, constituting George Lord Home of Berwick and his heirs male, Earls of Dunbar. He was also appointed chancellor of the exchequer in England. At the Parliament held at Perth, 9th July 1606, he carried through the act for the restitution of the estate of the bishops. The Earl of Dunbar was high-commissioner to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1606 and 1608; and, as a mark of the king's approbation, was installed a knight of the order of the garter. He died suddenly at Whitehall, 29th January 1611, when about to solemnize the marriage of his daughter with Lord Walden.—Wood's Douglas's Peerage. A writer in the "Biographia Scoticana, or Scots Worthies," imputes this circumstance to the judgment of heaven, for the part he took against the presbyterians when commissioner to the general assembly, while Sir John Scott, in his political epitome of slander, ascribes it to some poisoned sugar tablets, which were given him by Secretary Cecil for expelling the cold. His remains were embalmed, and brought to Scotland, and interred within the walls of the church of Dunbar, where a splendid monument of various-coloured marble (which was repaired in 1820,) was erected to his memory. Hist. of Dunbar.]

Among the first acts of king James in Scotland was an attempt to destroy the Presbyterian form of church government, and to introduce Episcopacy. With this view he evaded the meetings of the presbyterian general assembly, while he continued to augment the revenues of the bishops. This conduct so much irritated the leaders of the reformed doctrine in Scotland, that they convened a meeting at Aberdeen, by their own authority. The consequence was, that this stretch of ecclesiastical power was pronounced rebellion, and several of the ministers were arrested, and sent to Blackness castle. The plague having broke out, and approached the very gates of the prison, they sent a supplication to the Lords of Council, praying for transportation, which was rejected. These Martyrs of the Scotican church were afterwards taken to Linlithgow, tried by assize, and those who could not conscientiously acknowledge their offence to the court, were again imprisoned in Blackness, and afterwards banished from Scotland for life. Calderwood gives an affecting description of their departure, which will be found in our ecclesiastical details.

To arrange these differences, James judged it requisite to visit Seotland in 1617, after an absence of fourteen years.—When he passed the Borders, he was again welcomed by the "Muses Dunglasides." And, in the course of his progress, he, with his whole court, were sumptuously entertained at Seton House, by George, third Earl of Winton. This princely residence, and the castle of Lethington, were then amongst

the gayest mansions in East Lothian, and, on many occasions, entertained royalty.

Surrounded by Buckingham, Somerset, and other profligate favourites and courtiers, James was frequently in want of money to answer his improvident expenditure. To accommodate their royal master in this extravagance, none were more ready than George Heriot, goldsmith in the West Bow of Edinburgh, to whom Sir Walter Scott has given a double immortality in the "Fortunes of Nigel," under the uncourteous epithet of "Jingling Geordie." We may here remark, that goldsmiths were among the most ancient corporations of Scotland; and ere persons of rank began to feel the comfort of wearing shirts, they had appreciated the value of pearls, jewels, and embroidery. Hence, in every barbarous age, endeavours were generally used to introduce the arts which contribute to gorgeous splendour, rather than to cultivate those which produce modest comfort or unostentatious display. Thus, in the early stages of society, pride and vanity seek their consequence in the exhibition of costly apparel, ere the caprices of taste and the variations of fashion come to their relief.

[The family of George Heriot belonged to Trabroun, in the parish of Gladsmuir; but George was born in Edinburgh, in June 1563. His father was a goldsmith of great respectability. He followed the same business, and held the lucrative appointment of jeweller to the king and queen. On the accession of James to the English throne, in 1603, he went to London, where he continued till his death, which happened in February 1624. James entertained a particular friendship for the young goldsmith, and it is reported, by tradition, in Edinburgh, that his Majesty would sometimes condescend to wait on Heriot in his small dingy workshop, which was situated in a close near the west end of the church of St Giles, which adjoined the courts of justice, where his Majesty sometimes presided in person. The Heriots of Trabroun were a family of great antiquity in East Lothian. George Heriot founded the munificent hospital in Edinburgh that bears his name; which is reckoned a fine specimen of the architecture of the age in which it was built. For this beneficent purpose, after paying annuities to two daughters, he left the sum of about £24,000. One of the trustees was Dr Walter Balcanqual, dean of Rochester, formerly reader of the common-prayers in the church of Haddington, and one of the clergymen who attended the Earl of Morton in his last moments.]

During the visit of James to Scotland, he was again at great pains to enforce a conformity of their ecclesiastical worship with that of England—a hopeless and ungracious task. He obliged his noblemen (says Guthrie) to take the sacrament after the English manner, kneeling. He introduced an organ, a choir, and all the pomp of church music and ceremony, into his own chapel, and even gave liberty to abbots, or such of the protestant clergy to whom abbeys had been conferred, to sit in parliament, in the same manner as they had done in the times of popery. Most of these abbeys, however, were now converted into temporal hereditary lordships, which rendered their owners lords of parliament. he was even so zealous in the prosecution of his object, as to lose no opportunity of haranguing his subjects in the church; but he could not succeed in abrogating the authority of the general assembly, where the bishops had no decisive vote. James had, therefore, no reason to boast of the reception he met with in his native dominions. Had he kept aloof from meddling with matters of conscience, he might have been a popular monarch. But he who was at one moment a vulgar buffon, and at another a dogmatical preacher, could not appreciate the sentiments of our great moral poet:

> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.
> —Pope.

The only benefit which resulted to Scotland from this visit, was the establishment, by act of Parliament, of justices of the peace and constables on the same footing as those in England; and though his court-chaplains (observes Calderwood), rained flattery upon him from the pulpit, yet he gained nothing in the establishment of his prerogative in ecclesiastical matters but by dint of persecution, fines, and imprisonment. According to Spotswood, the nobility and bishops obeyed the boisterous commands of James with reluctance; and his unhappy son fatally experienced that they thought themselves discharged from all servitude imposed upon them by the mere force of arbitrary laws. The lower classes, who commonly judge by the evidence of their senses, discovered a spirit little short of rebellion, when they beheld the innovations introduced into their religious worship. It was, therefore, with little regret, that they witnessed James's departure. He returned to London, by way of Carlisle, where he arrived on the 4th August 1617.

In 1623, James acquiesced in a scheme, with some Scottish gentlemen, for planting a colony in North America; and in furtherance of this object, instituted the order of knights baronets of Nova Scotia, in honour of the enterprise, to be conferred on the first adventurers or promoters of the object. They took their denominations

from that part of America which now goes by that name, and which Sir William Alexander of Menstrie undertook to settle and cultivate with Scotsmen. Being a lively specious person, he prevailed on the Earls of Marischal, Haddington, Nithsdale, and several noblemen and gentlemen, to assist him in completing the settlement; and each settler who advanced a certain sum of money, was entitled to a portion of land, and the dignity of a baronet. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, is said to have been the first knight of Nova Scotia, and entered into a contract with Alexander for sending over a number of planters from the county of Sutherland. The Duke of Roxburgh, the Earls of Lauderdale, Wemyss, etc., and Lord Elibank, were created honorary knights of this order.

On the death of the Marquis of Hamilton, in 1625, James no sooner heard of the event than he exclaimed: 'If the branches are thus cut down, the stock cannot long stand," alluding to the death of Lennox and Hamilton. His words were considered prophetic. He had contracted a bad habit of body by riding hard both before and after drinking largely of "sweet wines," and at length was seized with a disease, which his physicians imagined to be a tertian ague, but which was really a gout; and which, through the improper treatment of the Countess of Buckingham and some mountebanks, was driven from his feet to his vital parts. He met death with calmness and resignation, and on the Prince of Wales approaching his bed-side, he talked in a strain suitable to the occasion,—desired him to love his future wife, but not her religion,—and declaring that he died in the belief of that of the church of England, expired with great composure on the 27th of March 1625, in the 22nd year of his reign, and 59th of his age. The announcement of his demise was preceded by a great storm in Scotland. "On the last of March, (says the historian of the church,) by reason of a vehement wind blowing in the night, and the sea-tide rising above its accustomed level, the ships in the harbour of Leith were so tossed about, that many of them dashing one upon another, were broken or spoiled. Several mariners and skippers in endeavouring to save them through the night were drowned. Great harm was done on the coast side along the Forth, in Prestonpans, Kirkcaldy, Culross, and other parts. Saltpans were overthrown, ships and boats broken, and coal-heughs drowned. The like of this tempest had not been heard of in this country in any preceding age. He died fourteen days before Easter, which he intended to have celebrated at Edinburgh with great solemnity; the Christmas communion having been delayed on account of the breaking out of the pest. Several of the "honest men" of Edinburgh looked forward to the ceremonial with great anxiety, particularly those who were under the censure of the bishops, from which they were happily relieved. The ceremonials attending the funeral of the King, continued till the 7th of May; and the night of interment was so tempestous, with thunder and rain, at London and its environs, that it passed the remembrance of any living in these times." [Calderwood.]

An ingenious writer observes that James may truly be said to have possessed power without dignity, learning without utility, craft without wisdom, and religion without morality. His failings evidently arose from being too early initiated into the intrigues of parties, who vied with each other to give him wrong notions of government, and inspired him with a hatred of all liberty, civil or religious. [Guthrie, ix.] With all these faults he had a few redeeming qualities,—he was eloquent in advocating the union between England and Scotland,—abrogated distinctions on the borders, and caused the iron gates of Berwick to be removed,—abolished the barbarous feuds of the nobility,—patronised learning, and founded the college of Edinburgh,—encouraged commerce, and gave new charters to Dunbar, Haddington, and other burghs,—and, but for his bigotry in favour of a particular church, and a vulgar attachment to favourites, might have been considered as a patriot-king.

On the death of his father, Charles I. ascended the throne of England with every advantage; and formed a matrimonial alliance with Henrietta, daughter of the King of France. He had the full support of his chief nobility, who beheld the rising democratic spirit of the house of commons with extreme jealousy; and by continuing the officers of state and justice in their respective departments in Scotland, he stood well with that nation. In a short time, however, he wasted treasure and blood in the affairs in Germany,—disgusted the house of commons by his arbitrary proceedings,—and, by a sad fatality, presumed to govern the nation without their aid.

Having lost the affection of his English subjects, Charles turned his attention to the crown of Scotland; and thought his coronation in that country an indispensible ceremony. He was now entirely under the government of Archbishop Laud; and was glad of a pretext for visiting Scotland that he might carry that zealot's schemes into execution. The Scottish nobility, not very anxious for his visit, had warded it off with abundance of address; but Charles was now resolved to perform the journey, and also to render it as splendid and imposing as

poss.ble. Accordingly on the 11th of May 16.3, Charles left London, attended by the Marquis of Hamilton; the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Holland, and the flower of the English nobility, who vied with each other in the splendour of their equipages. His stages, after passing Berwick, were short and slow, and the noblemen, whom he visited, entertained him with vast magnificence. The royal party stopped one night at Dunglas, and another at Seton House, when the whole of his retinue, both Scots and English, were luxuriously feasted by George third Earl of Winton. Next day Charles visited the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith, and from thence proceeded to the metropolis.

[At this time the palace of Seton stood in the middle of a large plantation of trees, of at least twelve acres, with a garden to the south, and another to the north. The house consisted of three large fronts of freestone, with a triangular court in the middle. The front to the south-east had, besides other apartments, a noble hall and drawing-room; and it is probable, that this portion of the palace was built in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots · for, on the ceiling of the great hall were plastered the arms of Scotland, with the arms of France on one hand, and those of Francis II., then dauphin, with his consort, Queen Mary, in one escutcheon, on the other, surrounded by the French order of St Michael, etc. The front to the north seemed to be the oldest part of the building. The apartments of state were on the second storey, and very spacious; three great rooms at least forty feet high; the furniture of which was covered with crimson velvet laced with gold, and also two large galleries filled with pictures. The same nobleman erected the house of Winton in 1619. He also established twelve saltpans in Cockany, where none formerly existed; and built a harbour at the west end of the town, which was destroyed by a storm in 1635. The site of the new harbour is supposed to be the same as that destroyed by this tempest, where the Earl of Winton commenced building a pier: but which he abandoned, and built the harbour of Port Seton. The commodious port constructed at Cockenzie a few years ago, according to plans furnished by Robert Stevenson, Esq., civil engineer, Edinburgh, was at the joint expense of William, Robert, and H. F. Cadell, Esquires, for the purpose of shipping coal from Tranent Colliery. The foundation stone was laid on 19th July 1833. It was built from an excellent stone found in its basin, which, in some degree, lessened the expenditure, which at first amounted to £5000. The depth of water is greater than that of Leith, the ebb-tide seldom leaving the heads, and the entrance is clear and of easy access: from thence coals are exported to France, Portugal, Germany, the Baltic, England, and other parts of Scotland. The old castle of Winton was built by George Lord Seton in 1493; and appears to have been the site of the present edifice. To this he added a garden, called "the Wonder of the Times," which he laid out with something like Dutch taste, erecting about the plots of flowers five score pillars of timber, painted with divers oil colours, two cubits high, with two knops on their heads, overgilt with gold. He was a learned man, but tinctured with much eccentricity; as he not only set songs to music, but fitted out a ship, called the Aquila, at a great expense, with which he cruised against the pirates of Denmark.]

We are indebted to Sir James Balfour for the following graphic account of Charles's triumphal entry into Edinburgh:—"Entering at Castle-Port, and marching through the city, to the palace of Holyrood-house, for many ages his kingdom had not seen a more glorious and stately entry, the streets being all railed and sanded; the chief places where he passed were set out with stately triumphal arches obelisks, pictures, artificial mountains, adorned with choice music, and divers other costly shows. First, there went on horseback, squires two and two; esquires, knights, his Majesty's servants of the best sort; lords, earls' eldest sons; bishops two and two, on velvet foot cloths; viscounts: earls two and two; archbishop of Glasgow alone; the Earl of Haddington, lord privy-seal: the Earl of Morton, lord treasurer; Viscount Duplin, lord chancellor; five serjeants at arms, with gilded maces; York herald of England: six Scotch heralds two and two; Norroy king of arms of England; master of requests, two gentlemen ushers; and, in the middle betwixt them, Lyon king of arms, on rich foot cloth; the Earl Marshal of Scotland with his batoon of office in his hand; the Duke of Lennox, great chamberlain of Scotland, and of his Majesty's household; the Earl of Errol, lord great constable of Scotland, bearing a sheathed sword before his Majesty. Then came the King's Majesty, riding on a barbary, with an exceeding caparison of velvet, embroidered with gold and oriental pearls—the bosses of bridle, crupper, and tie, being richly set with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds; and on his head a panache of red and white plumes. After the King, followed James Marquis of Hamilton, master of his Majesty's horse, riding on a horse richly mounted: and after him rode four gentlemen of his Majesty's equerry, leading a horse richly furnished with caparison,

and foot cloth of white satin, embroidered with gold, and stones very beautiful to behold. Next came the English noblemen, two and two, gallantly and richly mounted; gentlemen of his Majecty's privy-chamber two and two in order. Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, captain of the pensioners; gentlemen pensioners with their gilded partizans, two and two in order. Henry Earl of Holland, captain of his Majesty's guard: Lastly, came the yeomen of the guard, two and two, with their partizans in their hands." [Balfour MSS.]

In honour of Charles's coronation, John lord Wemyss was created Earl of Wemyss and Lord Elcho; William lord Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie; and Sir Robert Douglas of Spott, Viscount Belhaven.

In 1636, Charles made the infatuated attempt of introducing the English liturgy into Scotland; and by proclamation at the market-crosses of all the head burghs, enjoined his subjects to conform to this act, and caused two books of common-prayer to be provided for each parish in the kingdom, and declared the minister a rebel who should not conform to the practice. A strange scene occurred at Edinburgh on the introduction of this absurd measure, in which the fair sex had been employed as active agents. "When the day appointed came (says Guthrie,) the audience in St Giles, or the high-church of Edinburgh, was very respectable. It consisted among others of the two archbishops, several bishops, and other privy-counsellors, the lords of the session, and the magistrates of the town-council. Hannah, dean of Edinburgh, was appointed to read the service, and the bishop was to preach. No sooner had the former opened the book, than the lower people, who had assemoled in vast numbers, saluted him with such vollies of execrations, and other marks of abhorrence, that he was compelled to desist; and the B shop of Edinburgh stept into the desk to endeavour to quieten the disturbance. His appearance served only to give it fresh fury. The women threw their joint-stools, their bibles, or whatever came to their hand at his head. The great officers of state next interposed, with no better success; but the mob having some respect for their magistrates, whom they considered their friends, was by them, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, turned out of the church, and the doors were locked. The dean then resumed his function; but the doors and windows of the church were so violently assaulted with sticks and stones, that he could not be heard. His voice was drowned by the outcries of 'A pope! an antichrist! pull him down!' and although the magistrates had authority enough to prevent the mob breaking into the church, yet their fury against the persons of the bishops continued. The service being concluded, the bishop would have been assasinated between the church and his lodging, had he not with great difficulty been saved by the Earl of Wemyss and his attendants." The tumults in the other churches, where the liturgy was read, were but little inferior to that of St Giles. In the afternoon, although some precautions were taken, the bishop was again attacked in the Earl of Roxburgh's coach with stones, and, but for the protection of the servants, who were provided with arms, could not have reached his lodgings alive. [This tumultuous day was afterwards remembered in Edinburgh by the appellation of "Stoney Sunday."—Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.]

To increase the popular ferment, the Archbishop of St Andrews, at the instance of the court, had commenced a criminal process against two ministers, Henderson and Bruce, for not reading the liturgy. Henderson had formerly belonged to the episcopalian persuasion: and was considered a man of learning, and amongst the ablest politicians of the clergy. Conscious of the security of the ground on which they stood, they presented a petition to the council, requesting that the proceedings against them might be suspended, till his Majesty's further pleasure in regard to reading the service book was known. As Maxwell and the Archbishop of St Andrews, the two leading churchmen, agreed to this proposition, it was at once sanctioned by the council; and a letter was drawn up to Charles in these terms, and signed by the Archbishop himself, the bishops of Edinburgh and Galloway, and the Earls of Roxburgh, Lauderdale, Morton, Wigton, Southesk, Traquair and Perth; besides the chief officers of state. [Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford was created a peer by the title of Lord Roxburghe, about 1600. He was appointed keeper of the privy-seal in 1637. On the breaking out of the civil war in 1639, he joined king Charles; but on the pacification taking place at Berwick, he returned home. In 1643, he was one of the lords accused of writing a letter from Derby to the Queen, with intelligence of the design of the Scots to take up arms against his Majesty; but which was overlooked. He was deprived of his office of privy-seal, in consequence of his suporting the engagement for the rescue of Charles, by the parliament in 1649, and died in 1650. The Earl of Roxburghe married, 1st, Margaret, only daughter of Sir William Maitland of Lethington; 2nd, Jean, daughter of Patrick, third Lord Drummond, who was governess to the children of James VI., which office she executed with applause.—Laing's "Hist. Scot." Her funeral was appointed for the

rendezvous of the royalists, who projected that opportunity to massacre the covenanters; but they found their numbers too considerable for this diabolical attempt. In 1618, the Earl of Roxburgh became connected with this county, by receiving a charter of the tenandry of Pincartoun,—of Oswalddene in 1632,—and of the barony of Broxfield in 1642.—"Peerage."] To this petition Charles returned a very bitter answer; vindicating the affection of his god people of Scotland, and accusing the cowardice or coolness of his council and the magistrates of Edinburgh for the tumult that had occurred. He concluded with a peremptory order, that every bishop should command the book to be read in his diocese, as the Bishops of Ross and Dumblain had already done; and that no burgh should choose any magistrate, who did not conform to this indispensable mandate. [The folowing was one of the instructions given by Charles to the archbishops and bishops of Scotland, on adopting the new liturgy:—"That, in the calendar, you keep such catholic saints as in the English,—that you pester it not with too many,—but such as you insert of the peculiar saints of that our kingdom, that they be of the most approved; and here to have regard to those of the blood-royal, and such holy bishops in every see most renowned; but in no case to omit 'St George' and 'St Patrick.'" These instructions were dated from Newmarket.—Guthrie.] Such arbitrary proceedings awoke the dormant energies of the nation, and the spirit of Knox seemed again to animate the people. Large bodies, headed by the nobility and gentry, appeared before the privy-council, with sixty-eight petitions against the service-book. The Duke of Lennox happening to be in Scotland, was present in council when the Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss, who appeared in the name of the other petitioners, were informed by his grace, that their complaints should be taken into consideration, and a full state of affairs laid before the King. In short, the bishops created by Laud were now, in a great measure, left to themselves; and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, who most zealous, retired to his own diocese, was the most zealous, retired to his own diocese, and most of the others followed his example, leaving Traquair master of the field, and the wily Laud mortified and astonished.

But as shallow streams make the greatest noise, so these ebullitions of the populace were only expressive of higher and deeper feelings, which were destined to sweep away the embankments of episcopacy from the Presbyterian church; for when a proclamation was published at Stirling, pardoning past offences, and enjoining peaceable behaviour, Charles experienced, for the first time, an act of deliberate rebellion against his authority. His measures were opposed by the Earl of Home, Lord Lindsay, and others, by a public protestation, in which, after seting forth their grievances, "they protested that they should not be found liable in any penalties or forfeitures for disobeying orders or proclamations in favour of the book of canons or liturgy; and that they were not answerable for any consequences which might happen in enforcing these innovations." The leaders of the presbyterians at this time were the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, Eglinton, Home, Lothian, and Wemyss; and the Lords Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranstoun, and Loudon; who proceeded to form themselves into four Tables; one consisting of the nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burgesses. The murmurs which arose among the protestants at the favour which the Duke of Lennox, a papist, had enjoyed with James VI. gave rise to an association, in 1580, for renouncing the errors of popery. This, and perhaps a recollection of the furious effects produced in France by the Holy League, for extirpating the protestant religion, suggested to the Tables the idea of framing a covenant; from whence arose at this time the powerful body of the Covenanters, who were to sustain a trying part in the subsequent persecuting reigns. The people being assembled for the purpose in the Greyfriar's Churchyard, the covenant was solemnly read aloud to them. All ranks, conditions, and ages, of either sex, flocked to subscribe this instrument, and with as much ardour as if they believed that the insertion of their names in this parchment scroll virtually enrolled them in the book of life. [The original copy of the "covenant" is written on a skin of parchment four feet long and three feet eight inches deep. It is so crowded with names on both sides that not the smallest space is left. Some were so zealous as to add to their signatures, "till death;" and when there was no longer room for subscribing at length, the eager votaries of the covenant filled the margin of the deed with their initials. Copies of it were sent from Edinburgh and subscribed all over the kingdom.—Arnot's "Hist. Edin."]

Charles, in answer to a petition from the presbyterian body, again declared his willingness to pardon past offences, provided this untoward liturgy was adopted, and implicit obedience paid to his authority in future. The presbyterians, however, now conscious of their strength, scorned to accept of pardon on such terms; and pursued the most active measures for their own security, while the Earl of Traquair

repaired to London to persuade his sovereign to yield to the rising storm which was fast gathering its treasonable clouds. At length, convinced of the urgency of the case, Charles dispatched the pacific Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland with conciliatory overtures and concessions; but as nothing less would satisfy the presbyterians than the abolition of every law which affected the affairs of the Scotican church since the accession of James to the British throne, Hamilton returned from his fruitless task to England, exerting himself to the last to bring about a reconciliation. In the meantime the covenanters, who were pursuing their bold measures with energy, continued their sittings, surrounded by armed parties of their adherents; and were joined by the Earl of Argyle, who became their leader. They rescinded the acts of the assemblies for the last forty years,—deposed the bishops,—abolished episcopacy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons and the liturgy,— and declared them unlawful. Thus the whole patched-up edifice, which James and Charles had been rearing for a series of years, with so much care and solicitude, fell at once to the ground, like "the baseless fabric of a vision," and only left some racks behind to show that it had existed.

On receiving intelligence of these proceedings, Charles resolved upon invading Scotland, and raised an army of 20,000 men. On the 29th May 1639, he marched to York, while a fleet of twenty ships, under the Marquis of Hamilton, with three regiments on board, was sent to the Firth of Forth, for the purpose of dividing the forces of the covenanters. He was furnished with a proclamation drawn up by the King, in which he complained of the affronts his authority had sustained from that body, with the determination to do himself right, according to the power and authority which God had placed in his hands. The covenanters having neglected to fortify the small islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, and the Marquis not venturing to land at Leith, or on either of the Lothian or Fife coasts, put his soldiers ashore on these islands. The covenanters of Edinburgh, however, refused to suffer the King's proclamation to be published. While lying with his ships in the Forth, the Marquis of Hamilton had many meetings with his friends and relations, who gave such a picture of the power and interest of the covenanters as rendered him extremely cautious in his proceedings; and the conduct of his mother, who was a zealous advocate of that party, may have had some influence on his actions. His representations to Charles were, therefore, so startling, that he ordered hostilities in the meantime to be abandoned.

[This lady was Lady Anne Cunningham, fourth daughter of James seventh Earl of Glencairn, whose family had ever been warm supporters of the presbyterian interest. Being of a masculine spirit she appeared among the covenanters on the seashore, at the head of a troop of horse; and, drawing a pistol from her saddle-bow, declared she would be the first to shoot her son, should he land in a hostile manner against his countrymen.]

Charles kept himself too abstracted in his own majesty, and at too great a distance from his subjects, to know what was in reality passing in Scotland; he was, therefore, startled by the arrival of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and Laud's other bishops, whom the fury of the covenanters had driven into England; and his eyes were opened when he saw them followed by Traquair, to whom he had chiefly intrusted the management of ecclesiastical affairs in that country. This gave that nobleman an opportunity of clearing his own conduct at the expense of the bishops, and to possess him with the propriety of milder measures, in which he was supported by the lord-justice-clerk, who had been sent by the council for the purpose. The Earl of Roxburgh, for whom Charles had a personal regard, joined them in the same opinion; but after all, the truth was obscured, and the king misled by flattering pretences, in the vain hope that the spirit of the covenanters might be subdued.

The covenanters now openly avowed their independence,—many of them disclaimed the oaths of allegiance or supremacy,—and the leading nobility of Scotland being united and supported by public opinion, they only required an experienced soldier to lead them on to victory. This person they found in Alexander Leslie, who had distinguished himself in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, in his wars against the imperialists of Germany. He was invited home from Sweden to take the command of the covenanting army, which he immediately accepted. A general attack having been concerted to reduce every fortified place, Leslie by a masterly manœuvre, with 1000 chosen musqueteers, appeared unexpectedly before the castle of Edinburgh, applied a petard to the outward gate, the inner gate was scaled, and that strong fortification, "grim rising o'er the rugged rock," was taken by assault, without the loss of a single man, which evidently shows that little resistance had been made. The covenanters also took the palace of Dalkeith, and fortified Leith against the royal fleet. The Earl of Roxburgh endeavoured to preserve Teviotdale

in its allegiance; but was soon compelled to yield to the overwhelming stream; and the Marquis of Douglas having embraced the cause of Charles, the Castle of Tantallon was also forced to surrender.

[John Knox, the chaplain, (afterwards minister of North Leith,) showed great bravery. He conveyed Lord Angus and some ladies privately in a boat to North Berwick, and again returned to the castle. Though deserted by the lieutenant and most of the garrison, he held out for a time, and capitulated on honourable terms.]

General Leslie proceeded with the Scottish army to Dunse Law, to oppose the Royalists. His camp at this time formed a novel spectacle, not less interesting to the military, than pleasant to the devout. Their colours were inscribed with the crown and covenant of Christ; the soldiers were summoned by drums to sermon, and their tents resounded at dawn and sunset with psalms and prayers. "The clergy (observes Laing,) were instrumental in preserving discipline; and the dangerous emulation of the nobility was repressed by the discretion of their general, an unlettered soldier of fortune, of an advanced age, a diminutive size, and a distorted person, but prudently vigilant, and expert in war." The pacification of Berwick, in June 1639, occasioned the temporary disbanding of the English and Scottish armies, and stayed immediate hostilities and the horrors of civil war. Among the first to wait upon the King, was George, third Earl of Winton, who was not only zealous in the cause of his royal master, but perilled his life and expended his ample fortune in his service.

[On the breaking out of the Scots rebellion, in 1639, the Earl of Winton was among the first who waited upon Charles, and having left the country for the purpose, his estate was sequestrated, and the keys of his corn and salt girnels taken from his servants. "Nevertheless (says Lord Kingston) he stayed constantly at the King till the treaty of pacification betwixt his Majesty and the rebels: at the same time the rebels did take upon them to use a forfaulture against him, and gifted the estate, out of their mad and diabolical distraction (in the heat of their cruel and godless rebellion,) to a gentleman of the name of Elphingston, of small account styled . . . But it was thought it was for the real behoof of that arch, cruel, and bloody traitor the then Earl of Argyle, created the first Marquis of Argyle, by king Charles I. in anno 1641. After which year the said rebels renewing their rebellion, anno 1643, in which rebellion the said first Marquis of Argyle was ringleader, promoter, and arch-traitor, in carrying on of the Scots army which was at the battle of York, in anno 1644; where the king's army, under the conduct of Prince Rupert, was beat, and did prove the first step to King Charles the First's ruin, cruel and unchristian murder. In anno 1613 they did fine the said George Earl of Winton, at two several times, in the sum of 36,000 merks, which he was forced to pay, or have his estates sequestrated. In anno 1645, when the Marquis of Montrose, by King Charles the First's commission, was in Scotland, in arms against the rebels, George Lord Seton, son to the said Earl of Winton, joined himself to Montrose for his Majesty's service. And at the fight at Philiphaugh, Montrose's forces being defeated, Lord George Seton was taken prisoner, and carried, in the winter time, to the Scots army in England, besieging the town of Newark upon Trent; from thence carried back prisoner (having a guard of horse, both the times, upon his own expense), to the then castle of St Andrews, where he lay prisoner, in hazard of his life, till such time as his father paid 40,000 pounds Scots; which sum, by the rebellious Scots (as they styled themselves, the states of Scotland), at that time sitting in parliament at St Andrews, was distribute among their fellow active rebels. In anno 1648, when James first Duke of Hamilton went, as general, with an rich royal army, lifted and sent to England by the power of that loyal parliament, for the relief of King Charles I., then prisoner at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight, the said earl George of Winton gave, in free gift, to the said James Duke of Hamilton, for ordering his equipage for that journey, one thousand pound Sterling."—See Lord Kingston's "Hist. House Seyton," published from the Maitland MSS. by the Bannatyne Club. The Earl of Winton had now, alas! engaged in a lost cause, and made purchases which were soon to pass from his posterity. He purchased two considerable feu lands in Longniddry, hereditarily; the one from Sir George Douglas, in the end of the town: and the other from the Laird of Corstorphine. He also bought the teinds of Longniddry from Bothwell, lord Holyroodhouse. He purchased the house and lands of Gourleton (Garleton): the half of Athelstaneford from Sir John Tours, laird of Inverleith, and the other half of the same lands from Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton; these lands he provided for his eldest son then living of the second marriage, called Sir John Seton, created knight baronet of Scotland by Charles II.]

This truce, however, was of short duration, and General Leslie, with a fresh army, again took the field as commander-in-chief. He marched into England in

August 1640; attacked the royal army at Newburn; completely routed them; and obtained possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, with large magazines of provisions and arms.

The same year, Thomas, second Earl of Haddington, who favoured the cause of the covenanters, was constituted colonel of one of their regiments. When General Leslie marched into England, his lordship was left behind to watch the motions of the garrison of Berwick, and fixed his quarters at Dunglas Castle, where there was a considerable magazine or gunpowder. His lordship continued in that fortress till the 30th August, when an event occurred which plunged many noble and ancient families into the deepest grief. About mid-day, as he was standing in a court of the castle, surrounded by several gentlemen, to whom he was reading a letter he had just received from General Leslie, the powder-magazine blew up; and one of the side walls in an instant overwhelmed him and all his company, with the exception of four persons, who were thrown by the force of the explosion to a considerable distance. The Earl of Haddington was found among the ruins, and buried in the family aisle in the ancient chapel of Tynningham. With his lordship perished his brother, the Hon. Robert Hamilton of West-Binning, in the county of Linlithgow; Patrick Hamilton, his natural brother; Sir John Hamilton of Redhouse, his cousin-german; Sir Alexander Hamilton of innerwick; and Alexander, his son and heir; Colonel the Hon. Sir Alexander Erskine, fourth son of the seventh Earl of Mar, brother-in-law of Lord Haddington; Sir Gideon Baillie of Lochend; James Inglis of Ingliston; and John Cooper of Gogar. [John Hamilton served with the Scots troops sent to assist Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, in 1631. His father (Sir Andrew,) married Jean, the daughter and heiress of John Living of Redhouse, one of the Senators of the college of Justice in the reign of James VI. The ruins of Redhouse are situated in Aberlady parish, near the small stream which divides it from Gladsmuir, and has left some massy walls to mark its ancient magnificence. A report prevailed that Dunglas was designedly blown up by Edward Paris, an English boy, page to Lord Haddington, in consequence of his master jestingly telling him that his countrymen were a pack of cowards in suffering themselves to be beaten, and to run away from Newburn; which so enraged the youth, that he took a hot iron, and thrust it into one of the powder barrels, perishing himself with the rest. [Balfour's MS. Annals.—Scotstarvet's Epitome.]

A further cessation of hostilities having been agreed to, and peace restored by the treaty of Ripon, which was afterwards consolidated at London, the articles were ratified by parliament in 1641. During this transitory calm, Charles gave his daughter Mary in marriage to the Prince of Orange. The same year he visited Edinburgh; but in a very different manner from the open and ostentatious manner in which he formerly entered the city; no joyous scenes at Seton now awaited him—no fountains blushed with wine, nor tapestry waved from the battlements. He now felt that the security of the throne did not depend on the breath of parasites—neither did it rest on his boasted "prerogative" of enjoying one hundred and eight descents—but in the affections of the people. He was now compelled to ratify that covenant he had formerly despised, and of apparently conforming himself to the protestant interest. Pensions were bestowed on Alexander Henderson, George Gillespie, and other popular preachers; Argyle was created a marquis, Loudon an earl; and Leslie, Earl of Leven, and keeper of the castle of Edinburgh. The latter received his patent in parliament upon his knees, and made solemn protestations of loyalty, which afterwards were indifferently observed, besides a donative of £10,000 for his services. Lord Lindsay was made Earl of Lindsay,—the Earl of Lauderdale got a grant of the lordship of Musselburgh,—and the privy-seal was given to the Earl of Roxburgh.

The Scottish army, satisfied in their demands, having retired to their own country, the factions at Westminster were uneasy lest the king and his subjects in Scotland should come to too good an understanding together; both houses of the legislature, therefore, named committees for attending the Scottish parliament. While Charles remained in Scotland, a horrible rebellion in Ireland broke out, headed by a gentleman of the name of Roger More, in which it was computed 200,000 protestants were massacred or perished. The Scots, flattered by the visit of Charles, seemed for the moment to forget their wrongs; and made offer of 10,000 men to quell this insurrection. This proposal served as a pretext for sending Leslie and other experienced officers, belonging to the covenanting army, to take a temporary command in that unhappy country.

This was the last visit Charles was doomed to pay to Scotland. On his return to London, he found it a chaos of anarchy and confusion. A new religious sect had sprung up, with Cromwell at its head, called "Independents," who went a

step farther than the covenanters, and not only sought the extirpation of prelacy but of the clergy altogether, and to adopt the presbyterian form of church-government over the kingdom. In this exigency the assistance of the Scots was solicited, upon which 18,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry, commanded by Leslie, marched into England.

The Marquis of Montrose, who had formerly supported the covenanters, was now a zealous royalist, and supported the king's cause in Scotland. Having collected a body of Highlanders and Irish troops, he gained a victory over the Earl of Tullibardine at Tippermuir, and took Perth, which was defended by Lord Elcho with 5000 men; and, marching to Aberdeen, obtained a second victory over Lord Burleigh. This prosperous state of Charles's affairs was of short duration. Leslie hastened from England with the cavalry; and, seizing the Earls of Home and Roxburgh, pursued his way through Berwickshire and East Lothian, and, marching to Philiphaugh, attacked Montrose, who, after a spirited defence, met with an irretrievable defeat.

[Previous to the battle of Philiphaugh, when General Leslie was encamped west from Haddington, near Gladsmuir, he was visited by Hepburn of Athelstaneford, attended by his five sons. The general was so much struck with the appearance of one of his sons, that he offered him a commission in his army, which was readily accepted. Young Hepburn conducted himself with much propriety and conrage; and, on the restoration of peace, being fond of the military profession, he entered the Swedish service (probably through Leslie's recommendation), where he received the honour of knighthood, and was made colonel of the Scottish brigade. He afterwards entered the French service, and died a field-marshal of France. The memoirs of Sir John Hepburn is an interesting narrative, but exceedingly scarce.—"New Stat. Acct. Scot." Rev. W. Ritchie.]

In the meantime, the rapid success of the parliamentary forces in England compelled Charles to grant concessions which he formerly denied; but not satisfied with this demand, they insisted on obtaining possession of the king's person. The unfortunate monarch fled for protection to the Scottish camp; but, on their receiving L.400,000, the amount of the arrears due to them by the parliament, they delivered up their king to his blood-thirsty enemies, a transaction over which the Scottish historian would gladly throw a veil.

John, second Earl of Tweeddale, having joined the royal cause, waited on the King at Newcastle in 1646; and commanded the East Lothian regiment of 1200 men, raised in 1648, to endeavour to rescue Charles; and was at the battle of Preston (in England) the same year, when the Scots were totally routed.

The Duke of Hamilton raised a considerable force for the same purpose, in which generous attempt he was joined by the Earls of Lauderdale, Winton, and several other noblemen, who at first were friendly to the covenanting cause; but who latterly, inspired with the patriotic sentiments of Akenside, could not tamely submit

To see their standard fall, and leave their monarch bound.

Hamilton was attacked by Oliver Cromwell with a numerous army; and, after a severe conflict, he was defeated, taken prisoner, brought to trial, and executed. His royal master, who had been a "dear master to him" (to use Charles's own words at their last parting), soon followed him to the scaffold.

The independents, under Cromwell, having gained the whole power of the state, brought an accusation against the King, as the author of all the miseries and bloodshed of the civil war. A tribunal, consisting chiefly of soldiers of fortune, and the creatures of Cromwell, was appointed for his trial. Before such adventurers fallen greatness could obtain little commisseration. After the examination of a few witnesses, sentence of death was pronounced against Charles; and, on the 30th January 1649, he was beheaded in front of Whitehall, in the 49th year of his age and 24th of his reign.

CHAPTER XIII.

"His was the glee of martial breast,
And laughter theirs, at little jest;
For though with men of high degree,
The proudest of the proud was he;
Yet, trained in camp, he knew the art
To win the soldier's hardy heart:
Who love a captain to obey,
Boisterous as March, yet fresh as May."
—SCOTT'S "Marmion."

OLIVER CROMWELL INVADES SCOTLAND—COCKBURNSPATH.—FIGHT AT LONGNIDDRY AND WATER OF LEITH.—CROMWELL RETREATS TO HADDINGTON—PURSUED BY GENERAL LESLIE.—THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR.—THE COVENANTERS DEFEATED.—GENERAL MONK REDUCES TANTALLON AND TAKES DIRLETON CASTLE.—DR CLAIRGES, M.P. FOR HADDINGTON, ETC.—CHARLES II. RESTORED.

Oliver Cromwell, who was appointed to the Protectorate of the commonwealth of England, found an easy pretext for invading Scotland. The ostensible reason

was that the Scots had given shelter to the sons of Charles Stuart, who had taken refuge in the lands of his ancestors; but it was more likely with an intention to consolidate his own power, that he took this daring step. The Scots were much startled at the approach of the English armament, which consisted of a body of 16,000 men. It is reported that they were in want of arms, particularly of swords, and that six shillings a piece were offered for that desirable weapon. The invaders "prized" or destroyed all the corn and grass on the Borders, while the people fled northward, carrying their goods along with them.

["All foot soldiers (says Hodgson, in his Memoirs,) had swords before, and long after the introduction of the bayonet. Shadwell, in one of his comedies, describes the Roundheads or Puritans "in high-crowned hats, collared bands, great loose coats, long tuckes (swords) under them, and calves'-leather boots. They used to sing a psalm, fall on, and beat us to the devil."—The Volunteers, Act iii. They were styled Roundheads, from the practice prevalent among them of cropping their hair round. Bishop Burnet gives a more formidable account of the covenanting army, though a very sorry one of their equipage. "Every soldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal; and they had a drove of cattle with them for their food. They had also an invention of guns of white iron tinned, and done about with leather, and corded so that they could serve for two or three discharges. These were light, and were carried on horses: and when they came to Newburn, the English army that defended the ford was surprised with a discharge of artillery: some thought it magic; and all were put in such disorder that the whole army did run with so great precipitation, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had a command in it, did not stick to own, that till he passed the Tees his legs trembled under him. This struck many of the enthusiasts of the King's side, as much as it exalted the Scots."—Burnet's Hist. Lond. 1724.]

On the 22nd July 1650, Cromwell passed through Berwick; and, marching over the bounds, encamped at Mordington. "Here the General, (says Captain John Hodgson,) made a large discourse to the officers,—showing he spoke as a Christian and a soldier,—and showed the inconveniences we should meet with in the nation as to the scarcity of provisions; as to the people, we should find the leading part of them soldiers, very numerous, and, at present, may be unanimous; and much to that purpose: And charged the officers to double, nay treble, their diligence in that place, for be sure we had work before us." Notwithstanding his canting style, and pious exhortation, an incident occurred, which showed that Oliver was one who enjoyed a pleasant jest:

"Well," continues Hodgson, "that night we pitched at Mordington, about the house. Our officers were looking out at a window; hearing a great shout among the soldiers, they spied a soldier with a Scots kirn upon his head. Some of them had been purveying abroad, and had found a vessel filled with Scots cream; and, bringing the reversion to their tents, some got dishfuls, and some hatfuls; and the cream growing low in the vessel, one would have a modest drink, and, heaving up the kirn, another lifted it up, and the man was lost in it, and all the cream truckled down his apparel, and his head fast in the tub; this was a merriment to the officers, as Oliver loved an innocent jest."

The Scots set their beacons on fire the same night. The countrymen took the alarm, and drove away their cattle, while the clergy, incensed against the invaders, represented them to the people as the "monsters of the world." The English, in their progress, found the country deserted, —at Ayton, and other places, none but the aged and decrepid remained, while the women were described as "sorry creatures," clothed in white flannel, bemoaning the fate of their husbands, whom the lairds of the towns had forced to "gang to the muster." [Original Memoirs of the Civil War.] Cromwell lodged for the night in the mansion-house of Sir James Nicholson at Cockburnspath; the village of which is then described as a sea-port town, fourteen miles from Berwick.

On Friday, July 26th, the Protector marched to Dunbar where, after receiving a supply of provisions from his ships, which had arrived from Newcastle, he departed to Haddington. Sunday morning, July 28th, the invaders learning that the Scots were preparing to meet them at Gladsmuir, beat their drums at an early hour, in order that they might gain possession of the moor before them; but on reaching that place, as no considerable body of the Scots appeared, Major-General Lambert and Colonel Whalley were sent as a vanguard to Musselburgh. That night, the division, which Captain Hodgson accompanied, lay in the fields, in a village, he calls Lichnagarie (Langniddrie,) and encountered a most tempestuous night; the arms of the soldiers were nearly spoiled, and for the moment rendered unservicable. "About eleven o'clock (says this honest soldier,) we wanted our bread and cheese, and drew off towards Musselburgh, and the van of our army marching

too fast, as if we had been at a great distance from the enemy, they took courage, and came swarming out like bees, horse and foot; fell upon our rear of horse, where they were sore put to it, at Lichnagarie (Langniddrie), cut and hewed Major-General Lambert, took him prisoner, and were carrying him away towards Edinburgh; but the valiant Lieutenant Emson, one of Hacker's officers, pursued with five or six of our soldiers, and hewed him out, and brought him back to his own foot regiment."

[Longniddry originally belonged to a cadet of the family of Douglas of Dalkeith. The vaulted ground floor of the baronial mansion, and the ruins of the chapel where Knox preached, still remain.]

This attack was made by two bodies of Scottish horse, the one from Leith, and the other from the Canongate. Captain Evanson, who received the charge of the last body, was routed, as well as Cromwell's "Own Regiment," which supported him; but Colonel Hacker, who was engaged with the troops that had advanced from Leith, repulsed them with loss. It is reported that the young Scottish King, who stood on the castle-hill, to behold the fight, when he saw his troops beaten on both sides, called them his "green-hornes." [Relation of the fight at Leith, etc.] The success of the day was chiefly owing to the bravery of Lambert. His horse was shot under him, and he received two wounds, the one with a lance in the thigh, and the other in the arm with a tuck. Early next morning, the Scots, under Major-General Montgomerie and Strachan, renewed the attack. The English horse were driven into disorder; and their army alone preserved by the vigilance of Lambert's regiment of infantry, in which Hodgson was a captain. The assailants amounted to 800 picked men, armed with cuirasses, lances, and pistols. They were called "the Kirk Regiment of Horse;" but in the eyes of their opponents they must have deserved another name. It is reported that several English cavaliers on the royal side, had mingled with them, and that one soldier, when mortally wounded, exclaimed with his last gasp: "D—— me, I'll go to my king!" After this gallant assault, the Scots were, however, routed;—they were chased within the precincts of Edinburgh, and many of them taken prisoners.

[They were mostly English cavaliers who charged in this and the first engagement. At both places they were heard to say: "We are Morris his men; remember Pontefract." The prince it was said gave to each of them 2s to drink. These had engaged to the prince to bring the Lord-General Cromwell to him."—"Relation of the Fight at Leith." The French soldiers, who were wounded at the battle of Waterloo in our times, acted with much more taste. While undergoing the amputation of a limb, they simply exclaimed: "Vive la Emperuer!" or, "Cut a little deeper, and there you will find him!"]

Cromwell, in his letter to the Lord President of the council of state, exclaims: "Indeed, this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather the Lord's! and I believe is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the Kirk party.—I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servants." In the conclusion of his letter, Cromwell complains of the want of provisions. The inclemency of the weather prevented the ships, with recruits and supplies, coming up the Firth of Forth, upon which part of the army fell back on Dunbar, on the 6th of August. On the retreat of the English the kirk proclaimed a thanksgiving, which was immediately dashed by their sudden return.

[John Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661, says, in his Itinerary, "They had, at our being there, two ministers in Dunbar;—they sung their gloria patria at the end of the Psalm after the sermon, as had been ordered by the Parliament, in these words:

"Glore to the Father and the Sonne,
And to the Holy Gheast;
As it was at the beginning,
Is now, and aye doth last."]

Cromwell having taken up a position on the Pentland hills, where he pitched his tents, endeavoured to cut off the supplies of the Scottish army from the west; and took Colinton and Redhall, where he placed small garrisons. Leslie, however, contented himself with covering Edinburgh, and declined giving battle. On the 26th, the English left their position on the Pentland hills, and advanced to the Water of Leith, where a skirmish ensued, with little success on either side. But it, at least, gave birth to a wonderful escape. "Every bullet has its billet," and here was one. "There was several strange shots," says the writer of the "Relation": "one was at Major Hobson's troops, which was drawn close together to pray; and just as the Amen was said there came in a great shot among them, and touched neither horse nor man."

["The word given at the Water of Leith was 'Rise, Lord!' The body of foot advancing within lesse than twice musket shot; and then was discovered such a bog on both our wings of horse, that it was impossible to passe over. Thus, by this very unexpected hand of Providence, were we prevented, and only had liberty to play with

our cannon that evening and part of the next morning, which did good execution, as we believe upon them. We had very strange and remarkable deliverances from theirs, though they played very hard upon us, and that with such art; but the Lord suffered them not to do us much hurt; we had not slain and wounded above five and-twenty men. We finding it not possible to engage them, and far from our provisions, divers of our men having cast away their bisket, with their own tents, out of a confidence they should then fight; we, therefore, resolved upon our March back to the seaside,—the enemy likewise hastening towards Edinburgh."—"Letters from Scot. read in Parliament," London 1650. We learn from the above and other passages, that bread and cheese was the fare of the English puritanical army, which was certainly preferable to the little bag of oatmeal, which the hardy Scot carried in his haversaek.]

While the invaders thought, or pretended, that they were under the special protection of the Deity, the Scots had an equally complacent opinion of themselves. "Captain Wilford, a gentleman in my Lord's own troop, being on Tuesday taken prisoner (his horse being killed under him), was carried to Leith, where he was very courteously used by Lieutenant-General David Leslie, who kept him at his own house; where resorted to him divers of their ministers and commanders, who demanded of him how long he had served under Antichrist, that proud man Cromwell; over whose head the curse of God hung for murdering the King, breaking the covenant, and they did expect daily when the Lord should deliver him into their hands; they saying he termed his guns his Twelve Apostles, and that he put his full confidence in them; and the commanders, old cavaliere like, did sweare most desperately, that they had taken eighteen of our colours; and the ministers said that our ships in the haven had revolted to the King which your London cavaliers might perhaps believed." [Relation of the fight at Leith. —London, 1650.]

After the encounter at Leith, the English having only provisions left for two days, drew back to their old quarters at the Pentland hills, while the Scots, with a view of cutting off the enemy's communication with Musselburgh, where their vessels were stationed, took up a favourable position betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. On the 29th Cromwell abandoned his camp at the Pentland hills, upon which Leslie showed a disposition of giving battle, and of intercepting his march eastward; but on two great guns being brought to bear upon him, the Scottish general fell back upon Arthur's Seat and Craigmillar castle, where a garrison was stationed. Disease had now crept into the English army, and the same night, 500 sick were shipped at Musselburgh, to be conveyed to Berwick. It was, however, found impossible to draw the cautious Scot into an open battle. He took advantage of his mountainous passes, so that when the enemy reached one post he got over to another. Thus baffled, Cromwell called a council of war, when it was agreed that the army should return and garrison Dunbar, and other considerable places nearer Tweed, and there wait a more favourable opportunity for adopting severer and more effectual measures against the Scots. The same whining spirit of religious fanaticism, that emanated from their illustrious leader, spread its infection through the army. A colonel, in writing to a member of the state, of the measures adopted at this time, concludes with this pious and humble observation: I know many among you who will think it strange we have done no more against them (the Scots): I wish they may eye the Lord and not man. We have this satisfaction, there is no means left unattempted by us; we have done our utmost; and the Lord therein gives us comfort, besides many remarkable testimonies of his presence." These pious soldiers did not seem to consider, that if the bullets had spared them, and had been tempered by the breath of heaven, that still the seeds of disease had visited their encampments, and that the natural effects of change of climate and that the fatigues and hardships of protracted war awaited them.

The English army now retraced its steps to Haddington, and was closely followed by flying parties of the Scots. On the 31st August, the invaders departed from Musselburgh; and, in the meantime, their vanbrigade of horse, with their foot and train, had resumed their quarters. The Scots pursuing fell upon the rear-forlorn of the horse, and put them into disorder; and "indeed," says the writer of the Relation, "had liked to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of the afore-mentioned forlorn." The army succeeded in drawing themselves up in a tolerably secure position; but at midnight the Scots made an attack upon their entrenchment at the westward of Haddington; and with a party of mounted musketeers, attempted to come near the town walls, and sent a volley of shot into their encampment. A regiment of foot, under Colonel Charles Fairfax, and a regiment of horse,

were instantly drawn out to guard the town; the assailants were driven back, and the Highlanders, throwing down their arms, made a rapid retreat. [Hodgson's Memoirs.]

Next morning, being Sunday, the 1st of September, 1650, Cromwell drew up his army in an open field, on the south side of Haddington, where he awaited the Scots, not judging it safe to attack them on the ground which they had an opportunity of selecting. After remaing there till ten o'clock in the forenoon, and after prayer had been made in several regiments, as the Scots showed no disposition for an immediate attack, the Enghsh sent their waggons and carriages to Dunbar, and pursued their retreat. The Scots having gained courage and strength, now hung upon their rear closely pursued by the retiring hosts, and gathering like clouds on the bold sloping promontories that terminate the pastoral range of the Lammermoors, endeavoured to intercept or destroy their way to Berwick. The army of Leslie, however, was not destined to be blest with that victory which seemed now within his reach. It was completely under the command of a wild and fanatical committee of the clergy, who imagined that the sword of the spirit of faith could annihilate the sword of steel, wielded by human hands against forms of clay. The gallant veteran (Leslie) had taken up an almost impregnable situation on the Doon-hill, immediately above the village of Spott, where the clergy, after ordering the King to leave the camp, and purging it of all malignants, among whom were some of his best soldiers, compelled Leslie, against every remonstrance, to descend from the heights, and drive Cromwell into the sea. Like the army of Jerubbal they exclaimed: "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon," when Cromwell, discerning through his telescope this extraordinary movement in the Scottish camp, with equal fervour cried out: "They are coming down, the Lord has delivered them into our hands!"—The English van was led by Major-General Lambert, and consisted of six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot. [When at Dunbar, Cromwell took up his residence in the Earl of Roxburgh's house, (now Broxmouth,) in the immediate scene of the action. A gentle eminence east from the mansion, still called Cromwell Mount, is the spot where he reconnoitered Leslie's forces. The English were in a state of starvation, and the least evil seemed to be to kill their horses, and put the army into the transports lying at Dunbar, and sail back to Newcastle: the protector, however was spared this disgrace through the impetuosity of his opponents. In the words of Bishop Burnet: "So Cromwell called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord, in their style. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards: He said he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens that lay under the hill; and, by prospective glasses, they discerned a great motion in the Scottish camp, upon which Cromwell said, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us."—Burnet's Hist. I.] They charged the Scots up a steep ascent, and before the foot came up, there was a gallant resistance, and every inch of ground disputed at the sword's point by the rival cavalry. The first foot were soon overpowered, when Cromwell's own regiment seasonably advanced; and, in his own words, "at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give." After little more than one hour's dispute, the Scots army became a mass of moving confusion. The infantry threw down their arms, and both horse and foot fled indiscriminately; some to Cockburnspath, others to Dunbar, where they were surrounded and taken, and the greater part to Edinburgh. The fugitives were pursued by Cromwell's horse to the gates of Haddington, slaughtering and wounding them in their retreat. In this great conflict, while the Scots lost 4000 slain, and 10,000 prisoners, that of the English was comparatively trifling.

[Many men of distinction fell in this fatal conflict: among whom were the Homes of Wedderburn, father and son· Sir William Douglas of Kirkness, who appears to have fallen at Broxmouth, as a plain stone, bearing his name, lies in the shrubbery southeast from the house. Amongst the prisoners were several of the nobility; 12 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 40 captains, etc.; 32 pieces of ordnance were taken, with 200 colours, horse and foot: and their arms, tents, and baggage. It is asserted by Walker, that after the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell sent a thousand of the wounded men in a gallantry to the Countess of Winton.—See History of Dunbar, where there is an ample account of this great victory. In a letter, addressed by Sir Arthur Hesilrige to the Council of State at Whitehall, an expression is made use of, which makes the mind shudder, and calls to recollection Napoleon's affair at Jaffa in later times. After the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell set at liberty the wounded, or those who were disabled for future service,

Amidst the multitude were a number of old men and boys, who were of course set at liberty. These, with the wounded before mentioned, amounted to about 5100: the rest, amounting to about 3500, were conducted by Major Hobson to Berwick, and from thence conveyed by some foot soldiers and a troop of horse to Newcastle. At Morpeth the unhappy wretches were put into a large walled garden, and as they had fasted, according to their own account, for nearly eight days, they devoured raw cabbages, leaves, and roots, which poisoned their bodies, and ere they reached Newcastle many of them died by the way side. They were lodged in the great church of Newcastle, and next morning seven score were sick, and unable to march. Several died on the roadside betwixt Newcastle and Durham. Sir A. Hesilrige sent his lieutenant-colonel to tell them over in the cathedral church where they were lodged, and he could only count 3000, being a deficiency of 500 since they had left Dunbar. "I believe, (says Sir Arthur,) they were not told at Berwick, and most of those that were lost, it was in Scotland: for I heard that the officers that marched with them to Berwick, were necessitated to kill about thirty; fearing the loss of them all, for they fell down in great numbers, and said they were not able to march, and they brought them far in the night, so that doubtless many ran away." According to his own account, he treated them with as much humanity as circumstances admitted. They were provided with a hundred fires by day and night, with straw to lie upon; pottage made with oatmeal, and beef and cabbage, a full quart of meal for every prisoner. Of these unhappy wretches 1600 and 60 officers were dead and buried at Newcastle, while at Durham there remained only 600 in health in the cathedral, and 500 sick in the castle.]

If we may credit their own account, Major Rokesby and a cornet were the only commissioned officers that fell, with forty soldiers, in this engagement; an assertion, which from the number of the slain among the defeated, carries falsehood in its front. After the battle Cromwell halted his army; and, by way of refreshment, sung the cxvii. Psalm; and, afterwards, when the commander was busy in securing prisoners, "we returned to bless God in our tents, like Issachar, (says Hodgson,) for the great salvation afforded to us that day."

This great battle, which has been indifferently styled the battle of Doonhill or of Dunbar, began about six o'clock in the morning of 3rd September 1650. [It has been remarked that Cromwell's principal victories at Dunbar and Worcester, happened on the 3rd of September; and finally his death on that ominous day.] Cromwell remained at Dunbar the following day, and wrote letters to the House of Commons detailing his triumphs. The colours taken from the Scots, were afterwards hung up in Westminster-hall, and medals of gold and silver distributed to the soldiery.

[The following is a list of the Scottish army at the battle of Dunbar, copied from the Harleian MS. 6844, folio 123, in the British Museum, London.

List of ye Scottish Army at Dunbarr.

The Horse at Dunbarr Battaile.

The Earle of Leaven's (Al. Leslie) Rgi. ...	1
Leu: Gen. Lashle (David Leslie)	2
Maior Gen. Mongonry	3
Ma: Gen. Browne	4
Coll. Cragg	5
Coll. Arnott	6
Coll. Strathan	7
Master of fforbos	8
Coll. Scott	9
Sir James Hackert	10
Lord Mackline	11
Lord Brichen	12
Coll. Scotts Cragg	13
Sir Robert Adaerr	14
Coll. Steward...	15
Earl of Casseats	16
Robert Harkhert	17
Coll. Gibby Carr	18
Adjutant Gen. Bickerton	19
Regiments of Horse	19

The Ffoot at Dunbarr Battaile.

Leuetenant Gen. Lumsdale	1
Maior Gen. Hobron	2
Maior Gen. Pettscobbie	3
Coll. Lawnes	4
Coll. Innis	5
These commanded Brigades.	
Coll. Glanagis	6
Coll. Tallifeild	7
Lord Killcowberry	8
Lord of Egell	9
Mr Loueit	10
Lord of Buchannon	11
Sir Elex Stuard	12
Gen: of the Artillery's Regi. Weams ...	13
Coll. Hume	14
Coll. ffreeland	15
Reg. of ffoot	15

The following anecdote, in allusion to a heroine of humorous notoriety, evidently applies to some of the foraging parties of the parliamentary army: "There hath been a tradition in the burgh of North Berwick, and country about, handed down to this time from father to son, that when Oliver Cromwell, that grand usurper, hypocrite, and great wicked man, lay with his army encamped about Dunbar, before the battle of Doonhill, that he had sent a party to North Berwick, where Sir Robert Lauder,

then of Bass, had his house, with barn-yard and other office-houses. The party entered the barn, where the corn was sacked up, ready to be carried out to be sown; the party having offered to carry off the corn for the use of their master, the Lord Protector, (as they called him,) his army, Sir Robert's servant went into the house, and acquainted Mrs Margaret, alias Maggy Lauder, Sir Robert's sister, who had the management of his family and affairs. She immediately ordered the sharpest knife and flail to be brought to her, and went into the barn, where, after upbraiding the party, she ripped up the sacks, and managed the flail with such dexterity, that she beat off the party; for which she most deservedly may be accounted amongst the greatest and most glorious heroines of that age. Sir Robert was obliged at that time to abscond, because he was a loyalist, as all of that and other families of that name have almost always been, and still continue."—"MS. vol. Genealogical Collect. Advocates' Lib." To which family it appears, we are indebted for at least the name, if not also the character of the heroine of the song of "Maggy Lauder."—Chambers' "Scottish Songs."]

Returning to Leith and Edinburgh with his victorious army, both places yielded to Cromwell without the least resistance. The power of the covenanting clergy was now demolished at one blow by the farmer of St Ives; while by a strange anomaly their young King, whom they had held in thraldom, escaping from two professedly religious parties, now pitted against each other, was in the hands of the Scots royalists at Perth; and that party which at one time was so confident of success, that the most zealous among them boasted, that they should carry the triumphant banners of the covenant to Rome itself, stood abashed. [Cromwell was descended from a respectable English family; but previous to entering the army he followed the profession of a farmer and brewer.] "In short, Charles had been reduced to so singular a position (observes Arnot), that the defeat of the army fighting in the field in his behalf was to him rather a matter of triumph; for thereby he was exempted from the horrible tyranny to which the ecclesiastics, elated by victory, would have subjected him." The path of fame and fortune, and those "steps of glory that lead but to the grave," now lay before the Protector of the Commonwealth, and he followed up his victories with a greater success than his ambition and hypocrisy ever merited. In his defence, it has been urged, that, in assuming the cloak of religion, he only fought his opponents with their own weapons. To this remark we cannot concede, as on the side of the covenanters were many sincere and amiable men, who were no enemies to the rights due to Cæsar, provided they were left unmolested in matters of conscience. Britain was now as much under a military despotism as France ever was during the halcyon days of Napoleon. An incident occurred, while the army was on its march to Pentland hills, shewing that it assumed the privilege of choosing its own officers. "Colonel Bright having resigned through disgust at some illusage, when we were at Alnwick (says Hodgson), several colonels came into the head of the regiment and told the soldiers the general was much troubled such a regiment should want a colonel; who would they have? The soldiers told them they had a good colonel; but he had left them, and they knew not whom they might have. The colonel asked if they would have Colonel Monk? 'Colonel Monk!' said some of them, 'what! to betray us! We took him not long since at Nantwick prisoner; will have none of him!' The next day the colonels came again, and propounded the case afresh; and asked if they would have Major General Lambert to be their colonel, at which they all threw up their hats and shouted, 'a Lambert! a Lambert!' and on the general placing himself at the head of the regiment he was received with loud acclamations."

[When Cromwell was at Dunbar, one Hannah Trapnall, a prophetess, appeared in his train, as we learn from the following document:—"Jan. 16.—A brevate of Hannah, whom some call a prophetess, in Whitehall. There is one Hannah, a maid that lives at Hackney, near the city of London, the same that was formerly at Dunbar, a member of Mr John Simpson's church (as is said) who lives at one Mr Robert's, an ordinary at Whitehall, to whom many hundreds do daily come to see and hear, who hath now been there about a fortnight. Those that look to her, and use to be with her, say she neither eateth nor drinketh, save only sometimes a toast and drink, and that she is in a trance, and some say that which she doth is by a mighty inspiration; others say they suppose her to be of a troubled mind, and people flocking to her so as they do, causeth her to continue this way, and some say worse, as everyone gives their opinions as they please; but this is visible to those that hear her. Her custom is to pray sometimes an hour, and sometimes two hours, and then sing two hymns, in two several tunes, and then prays again, etc. Her matter is various, full of variety, for the Lord Protector, that God would keep him close to himself, as he hath hitherto, so still to have his heart set upon the things of the Lord, not to be vain, nor regard earthly pomp or pleasure, and things

below, but the things of God and his people; that he may be delivered from carnal councils, and being seduced to please the men of the world and those that seek unrighteousness; that he may not leave the council of the godly, to hearken to them who are worldly wise, and earthly politicians, but wise in the wisdom of God. Hannah, the maid that prayed at Whitehall, of whom you have the particulars before, this day, rose and went from Whitehall home, speedily and lustily." See "State Affairs in Cromwelliana."]

After Cromwell's return to England, and when in the protectorship he had attained all but the regal power, it was evident that for the sake of consolidating his reign, his first object would be to reward the officers who had assisted him in his late enterprise. His earliest attention was turned to General Monk, who was one of the those who led the van at the late battle; and who was destined to act a distinguished part at the restoration. He was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, and one of the commissioners for uniting that country with the commonwealth.

[At Dunbar fight General Monk behaved himself bravely, and advanced with his half pike in his hand against Towers, regiment, which made a stout resistance, till one of Monk's sergeants killed Captain Campbell, whose death discouraged his men, and they gave ground; the rest of the regiment following their example were put to flight, and almost all of them cut to pieces, which contributed very much to Oliver's victory. —"Hist. of Illust. Persons, II."]

Monk was detached with three regiments of horse and foot to reduce Tantallon, where the garrison made an obstinate resistance. He caused the mortar pieces to play for forty-eight hours; but these did little execution against its adamantine towers, till six battering guns being planted, they were so well managed, that the governor was compelled to submit. The walls of this ancient holde of the Douglases bear evident marks of this stubborn attack. It was on the high ground south from the spot called St Baldred's well where tradition reports the artillery to have been planted.

[Tantallon Castle.—This stronghold of the Douglases ranked next to that of Dunbar, in East Lothian, as a place of strength; and it is supposed to have been built by that potent family when the overgrown power of the Earls of Dunbar had awakened their jealousy. The following curious etmyology of the place is given in Blaeu's Atlas. Two superintendents of the building, called Thomas and Allan, got permission from the lord of the castle to inscribe their names on a prominent part of the walls in Latin, which stood "Tom et Allan:" hence the country people called it the castle of "Tam 't Allan." Tantallon castle stands about two miles and a half east from North Berwick, nearly opposite the Bass rock, on a high and almost insulated rocky piece of ground overlooking the sea, which surrounds it on three sides. The greater part of the buildings remain in a ruinous state. The only approach is from the west, which was defended by batteries. The interior of the edifice exhibits such a labyrinth of inaccessible passages, broken vaulted chambers and staireases, that it is only by means of a ladder that a progress can be made through the castle. Above the entrance there still remains, sculptured in a stony shield, almost effaced, the memorable emblem of the "Bloody Heart," the well known ensign of the Douglas. Such an inaccessible and solitary place was well fitted in latter times for the den of the freebooter and the smuggler, who have frequently used it as a depot for their plunder and contraband goods. The barony of North Berwick, with the castle of Tantallon, was forfeited by the Earl of Douglas in 1455. In 1479 they were given by James III. to Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, whom we have formerly noticed under the sobriquet of "Bell-the-Cat;" and whom Sir Walter Scott has immortalized in the descriptive poem of Marmion. In 1528, when Angus was attained, the lands again fell to the crown; and on come necessary repairs being made on the fort in 1538, David Borthwick, captain of Tantallon, applied to the town of Haddington for the loan of some useful materials, amongst which were "three yrn naillis and ane dog." This mighty stronghold, as we have related, was abandoned by the Marquis of Douglas, and fell before the fiery zeal of the covenanters, while the independents in their turn completed its ruin. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the castle and lands were sold by the Duke of Douglas to Lord President Dalrymple, and are now inherited by his descendant, Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart.]

At this epoch the beautiful castle of Dirleton was the favourite resort of a body of mess-troopers, who, "with burnished brand and musquetoon," harassed the country. "On the 8th November 1650, (says Rushworth) Colonel Monck, with 1600 foot and a detachment of horse, four pieces of ordnance and a mortar, proceeded to attack Derlton House, near Haddington, which was occupied by some moss-troopers, a species of mauraders very troublesome in Cumberland and Northumberland in 1647. Fleetwood and Lilburn's horse surrounded the house to keep in the enemy. Lambert and Monk appeared before it with the artillery and foot on Fri-

day night, broke open the gates, beat down the draw-bridge, and rent and tore the house; the lieutenant of the moss troopers was killed, and his body smashed, when the remainder called for quarter." [Rushworth's Historical Collections.]

No terms were allowed the garrison but unconditional submission; ladders were then supplied from within for Monk's soldiers to enter. Major John Hamilton, the governor; Captain Waite, commanding the moss-troopers, and about 60 of his men were taken. Waite, and the two most notorious, were shot on the spot; and the others sent prisoners to Edinburgh, while the castle was left in that ruinous state, in which it afterwards remained, till it was embellished by the taste of its later proprietors.

[Dirleton Castle. This ancient ivy-mantled fortress originally belonged to the family of De Vaux, or De Vallibus, of French or Norman extraction, who probably came over in the train of William the Conquerer. At an early period this fortress must have been of considerable importance; for, in 1298, the progress of Edward I. was stopped by Dirleton Castle, but, after a resolute derence, it surrendered to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham. Among the orders of Edward relative to the adherents of Robert I. in 1306, are directions for taking into custody Mons. Johan de Vaus et Mons. Alexandre de Seton, when they should return from the voyage they were gone with Mons. Johan Moubray towards the Isles, for seizing the castle of Dirleton, belonging to Vaus, and the lands, tenements, goods, and chattels of Alexandre de Seton; and for bringing their persons before the king. At the above siege the English, who were reduced to great scarcity for want of provisions, suosisted on the pease and beans they picked up in the fields. This presents us with a favourable view of the agriculture in East Lothian (observes Lord Hailes) so far back as the 13th century, and, in a statistical account of the parish, in 1627, we meet with a further testimony of its ancient fertility: "There is no occasion of lyming within the Lordschipp of Diriltoune, siclyke ther growes noe quheate in all the toun of Gulane, Elbottle, and most pairt of the Colledge steid."—"Document Reg. Office," Maister Andro Makghie, Minr. From its first proprietors the lands of Dirleton passed to Sir John Halyburton, who married the heiress of De Vallibus. Their grandson, Sir Walter Halyburton, high treasurer of Scotland, was cerated a peer about 1447. Patrick, sixth Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, was succeeded in his estates by his eldest daughter Janet, married to William, second Lord Ruthven. Their son, Patrick, Lord Ruthven and Dirleton, was grandfather of John, Earl of Gowrie, whose traitorous attempt upon James VI. terminated in his death and forfeiture. Dirleton, thus forfeited, was bestowed on Sir Thomas Erskine, the captain of the English guard, who rescued the king, and was successively created Lord Dirleton, Viscount Fenton, and Earl of Kellie, which titles are now held by the Earl of Mar. From that family Dirleton passed by purchase to Sir John Maxwell of Innerwick; and from him, in 1663, to Sir John Nisbet, king's advocate, one of the most eminent lawyers at the Scottish bar. Having no male issue he settled his great estates on his nephew, William Nisbet, Esq. of Craigintinny, member for the county of Haddington in the last parliament of Scotland, and in the first of Great Britain. From him descended the late William Hamilton Nisbet, Esq. of Biel and Dirleton,—a gentleman distinguished for his classic taste and other acquiremnts,—also member of Parliament for East Lothian in 1779, whose daughter and heiress married the late Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Raith, M.P. for Haddingtonshire in 1835. The fine garden which surrounds the magnificent ruins of the castle is kept in the greatest beauty, to which an excellent bowling-green is attached. The words which Goldsmith addressed to his beloved Auburn, may, with equal propriety, be applied to the village of Dirleton, which, with its Anglo-Gothic cottages, flower-plots, and shrubberies, is not only "the loveliest village of the plain," but perhaps of Europe.

Weeds fringe its ramparts: o'er the crumbling walls
In gay festoon the clustering wild-flower falls;
The owl at midnight, and the merle at morn,—
The ploughman's team—the hunter's early horn—
Are all that stir those slumbering echoes where
Strength sat in state, and Beauty flourish'd fair.]

Monk retired from the field of war to the royal shades of Dalkeith, where he took up his residence during the years that intervened between this period and the restoration. Here he actively employed himself in regulating the civil affairs of the country, and in pursuing the interests of the Protector in furthering the parliamentary elections of the burghs. Several letters passed betwixt him and the magistrates of Haddington, respecting the assessments levied by Government on that burgh. In May 1658, the commissioners for the burgh of Haddington were commanded to meet for the purpose of raising six months' supplies, to commence from the 24th June following, in two instalments, of three months' date. A strict compliance with this order was demanded from the exigencies of the commonwealth, and accompanied by a threat, that, if not per-

formed, the armies must unavoidably go into free quarters.

Each county was assessed periodically to raise a certain amount, by act of parliament, for the maintenance of the army and garrisons. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land; and commissioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounting to £120,000 a month in England: the lowest was £35,000. The excise during the civil wars was levied on bread, flesh, meat, as well as beer, ale, and strong waters, and many other commodities. Cromwell, in 1657, returned to the old practice of farming the taxes, the whole of which during that period might, at a medium, amount to two millions a year, a sum which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king. Sequestrations, compositions, sale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded also considerable sums. [Hume, vii.]

Monk was also authorised to recommend to the town of Haddington, a proper person to represent the burghs in parliament. He accordingly wrote to Sir William Seton, the provost, on the 31st December 1658, suggesting Dr Thomas Clairges, his brother-in-law, as one well qualified for that important office,—a gentleman who had done much service to Scotland,—and as one not likely to be chargeable to them,—with a request that he should forward the substance of the Lord-General's letter to the other burghs.

The result of this canvassing was, that Thomas Clairges of Westminster, Esq., was elected representative of the burghs of Peebles, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Lauder, North Berwick, Dunbar, and Haddington, (which were then one united district of burghs,) on the 27th January 1658, while the sheriffdom of East Lothian was represented by John, Earl of Tweeddale.

Monk continued to conduct the government in Scotland till the death of Cromwell, which happened, on what was considered to him an ominous day, the 3rd September, 1658. On this event Monk was among the first to recognise the authority of Richard, the son of the Protector, and brought his army to do the same. Lord Falconbridge, Richard's brother-in-law, had some suspicion that Monk was tampering with the royalists; and stated his suspicions to Henry Cromwell, who was deputy-lieutenant of Ireland; but the matchless caution and dissimulation of Monk baffled all their suspicions. One Mr Otway, a royalist, was persuaded to undertake a journey to Scotland and Ireland, in order to bring over the Colonels Cloberry, and Redman, his brothers-in-law, to the royal cause. Cloberry commanded a regiment under Monk, and Redman another in Ireland. They were two of the most active officers the English had; and Charles got intelligence of Otway's commission. He had also, by this time, such confidence in Monk, that he charged Sir John Grenville with a letter from himself to that general, who was then lying at Dalkeith.

[It may not be uninteresting to notice how General Monk got introduced to the Clarges family. George Monk, the first Duke of Albemarle, was born at Potheridge, in Devonshire, in 1608, and was a younger son of Sir Thomas Monk. Having unfortunately slain a man, he was necessitated to fly to the Low Countries, where he learned the art of war, and before his return from the Netherlands he had attained the rank of captain. He afterwards served in the army, which Charles I. sent against Scotland, in 1640: and, upon the Scottish pacification, he was employed against the Irish rebels. He arrived at the rank of Lieutenant-colonel in the army belonging to the King's party; but, on their defeat at Nantwich, by Fairfax, in 1644, Monk, with other prisoners, was consigned to the tower, where he remained in confinement two years. Petrarch found love a native of the rocks, but Monk found the little urchin nestling in the precincts of his prison, and here he first got acquainted with Ann Clarges, the daughter of John Clarges, a blacksmith in the Strand, who was his laundress, and whom he married after she had lived with him some time as his mistress. He was long a decided royalist, and refused to serve in the parliamentary army, till his scruples being overcome, he accompanied Cromwell in his expedition for the reduction of Scotland in 1651. Bishop Burnet says that "Monk was ravenous as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both asked (from the king) and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time."]

Grenville found means to get acquainted with Monk's brother, a clergyman in Devonshire; and finding him willing to engage in the royal service, intrusted him with Charles's letter to the general. Dr Clairges, M.P. for Haddington, accompanied his reverend friend to Scotland, for the same purpose; and endeavoured to persuade Monk to declare for his exiled master. In the meanwhile, Richard Cromwell, although supported by the best regiments in England and Scotland, destitute of the resolution and enterprise which enabled his father to sway the jarring elements of the state, suffered himself to be led aside by a faction, dissolved the parliament, and, on a considerable yearly pen-

sion being secured to him, surrendered the reins of government; yet, doubtless, in his prudent retirement, enjoyed that tranquillity which ambition cannot command, and which power cannot bestow.

The conduct of Monk at this time was still undetermined; and neither his brother nor Dr Clairges made any further impression upon him, than by getting his declaration to support the parliament against the army and the independents. In England the administration of government was now vested in the hands of a committee of safety, over which Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston presided. As the committee of state had thought proper to dissolve the parliament, Monk, who was conscious that Fleetwood and Desborough aimed at his ruin, protested against their authority, and that of the army. Upon this the committee had it under deliberation to strip Monk of his command; but, afraid of doing it prematurely, Colonel Cobbet was sent by Lambert, and the heads of the army, to make a party against him among his officers; and then, after putting him under arrest, to take upon himself the command. Dr Clairges, who by this time had returned to England, had such a speedy intelligence of Cobbet's commission, that he put Monk upon his guard; and when Cobbet arrived in Edinburgh, he himself was made prisoner, and Monk cashiered all the officers whom he knew Lambert, who was at the head of the army in England, depended on. He next secured Berwick; and calling a meeting of the chief noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland, who were then in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, he declared his immediate determination of marching to England in support of the parliament. The royalists considered this declaration almost the same as one made in favour of the king; and a considerable sum of money was advanced to put his army in motion.

The officers of that parliament which had voted the destruction of Charles, and which Cromwell had turned out of doors, were now determined to restore the same body. The Rump Parliament, (which was its appellation,) on being reinstated, exerted itself with full vigour to lessen the power by which it was re-established. The officers, on the other hand, were now as strenuous to dissolve by force the assembly they had restored, and so zealously supported: accordingly, General Lambert, who fought in the van with Monk, at the battle of Doon-hill, having drawn up a chosen body of troops, placed them in the vicinity of Westminster-hall, and when the speaker, Lenthall, appeared in his carriage, proceeding towards the House, he ordered his horses to be turned round, and very civilly conducted him home. In like manner the other members were intercepted by the military despots, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or followed their outrages!

General Monk, who was at the head of 8000 veterans in Scotland, was at Haddington, when he received communication from the council in England of such proceedings, which being far from satisfactory to him, he returned with his officers to Edinburgh. After consultation the articles, which were intended rather to enforce the legislation of the sword, than that of the parliament, were rejected. The general immediately issued a letter to the magistrates of Haddington and the different burghs, stating, in the style and language of his late leader, that "Having a call from God and his people to march into England, to assert and maintain the liberty and being of parliament, the ancient constitution, and the rights of the people of the three nations from arbitrary and tyrannical usurpations, etc., he expected they would not fail in their duty and authorised them, at the same time, to suppress all tumults and unlawful assemblies; and commanding them to hold no correspondence with the party of Charles Stuart or his adherents, but to apprehend, and send any disturbers of the peace to the next garrison." He further hoped "that his absence would be short, and promised to do everything in his power for the good government and relief of the nation." In a note he takes care to remind them to be prepared for the payment of the assess when it should be called for.

Having issued this precept, and appointed commissioners in the shires to keep the peace in his absence, Monk marched to Berwick, whence he published another letter to the lords and gentlemen of the counties to make arrangements for setting watches on the Borders. Monk remained a short time at Coldstream watching the progress of events. While in this neighbourhood, he raised that gallant regiment since so much distinguished under the name of the "Coldstream Guards."

While Monk was thus pursuing in secret his skilful schemes, his conduct was anxiously watched by the contending parties, till with astonishment they beheld him at St Albans, within a few miles of London. From thence he sent a message to the Rump Parliament, commanding them to remove such forces as remained in the city to the country. In the meantime the House of Commons found it expedient to dissolve itself; and a proclamation was issued for the assembling of a new parliament, whose first act was to invite the

return, and effect the restoration, of King Charles II.

The Lord-General of Scotland still preserved an inflexible taciturnity. Locke, in his life of Lord Shaftesbury, says, "Monk had agreed with the French ambassador to take the government on himself, by whom he had promise from Mazarin of assistance from France, to support him in this undertaking. This bargain was struck between them late at night, but not so secretly but that Monk's wife (who had posted herself behind the hangings, where she could hear all that passed,) finding what was resolved, sent immediately notice of it by her brother, Dr Clairges, to Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury). She was zealous for the restoration of the king, and promised Sir Anthony to watch her husband, and inform him, from time to time, how matters went. Upon this notice Sir Anthony summoned the council of state, and before them indirectly charging Monk with what he had learned, proposed that, to remove all scruples, Monk would at that instant take away their commossions from such and such officers in his army, and give them to those whom he named. By this means the army ceased to be at Monk's devotion, and was put into the hands that would not serve him in the design he had undertaken."

[Aubrey says, that Lady Monk's mother was "one of the fine women-barbers; and that her father's was the corner-shop, the first turning to the right hand as you come out of the Straud into Drury Lane."]

Whatever were his intentions, it is evident that Monk had, for some time, been carrying on a secret plot for the restoration of Charles, and he saw the object of his wishes attained by the declaration of the new parliament. On the 25th May, the general received Charles II. when he landed at Dover; and, on the 29th, the King entered London amidst the joyful acclamations of the people.

General Monk received the order of the garter, and was created Duke of Albemarle for his eminent services. Among his first acts was to raise Dr Clairges, who was an honest, but haughty man. He became afterwards a very considerable person in parliament, and valued himself on opposing the court, and on his frugality in managing the public money; "for he had Cromwell's economy ever in his mouth, (says Bishop Burnet,) and was always for reducing the expense of the war to the modesty and parsimony of those times. Many thought he carried this too far; but it made him very popular. After he had become very rich himself by the public money, he seemed to take care that nobody else should grow as rich as he was in this way."

Monk was not only distinguished as a soldier and a statesman, but also as an admiral of the fleet. In 1666, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, he encountered the two Dutch admirals Ruyter and the younger Van Tromp in the Downs, and in a fight which lasted two days, sank and burned twenty of the Dutch ships, 4000 of their men being killed, and 3000 wounded. He died in 1670, aged 62.

I do not think a braver gentleman,
More daring or more bold, is now alive,
To grace this latter age with noble deeds.
—SHAKSPEARE.

In March 1660, John second Earl of Lauderdale, who was taken at the battle of Worcester, and committed prisoner to the Tower of London where he suffered a confinement of nine years, was liberated by Monk. He had been excepted out of Cromwell's act of grace and pardon in 1654. On his liberation he repaired to the Hague to welcome home the King, with whom he came over at the restoration. As a reward for his sufferings in the royal cause, his lordship was constituted secretary of state, one of the extraordinary lords of session, president of the council, first commissioner of the treasury, one of the lords of the bedchamber, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh.

[Oh fickle people, rewyn'd londe,
Thou wylt kenne peace no moe!
While Faction's sonnes exalt themselves,
Thy brookes wythe bloude wylie flowe,—

Saie, were ye tyr'd of godlie peace,
And godlie Charles's reigne,
That you dydd choppe your easie daies,
For those of bloude and peyne.]

[1623, June 2nd, "the provost and council of Haddington received the oath of Lodovick Fouller, eldest son lawful of umwhile, the late Mr William Fouller, secretary to the Queen's majesty; and of Mr Peter Arbuthnot, servitor to the Earl of Lauderdaill; and made them burgesses of the burgh conform to act."—Haddn. Council Reg.]

CHAPTER XIV.

"Had thou been born to shield
The cause which Cromwell's impious hand betray'd,
Or that, like Vere, display'd
His redcross banner o'er the Belgian field;
Yet where the will divine
Hath shut those loftiest paths, it next remains,
With reason clad in strains
Of harmony, selected minds to inspire
With virtue's living fire,
And burst the tyrant's chains."—AKENSIDE.

CHARLES II.—HIS ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT.—THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE'S TYRANNICAL ADMINISTRATION.—THE PRESBYTERIANS PERSECUTED.—CIVIL WAR.—THE BASS ROCK CONVERTED INTO A BASTILE.—BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE.—THE DUKE OF YORK VISITS SCOTLAND—ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT.—DEATH OF CHARLES.—JAMES VII. —THE REVOLUTION.—LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. WILLIAM AND MARY. —THE EAST LOTHIAN MILITIA.

Britain now passed from the stern republicism of Cromwell to the absolute monarchism of Charles. There was this much, however, in favour of the "Immmortal rebel:" he whom Waller lauded, and Milton deigned to praise, that during his sway differences of religious opinions were tolerated and treated with respect, while in the latter reign they were crushed and degraded. The former held the reins of government with a master-hand till the natural close of an active life; but not without the dread of assassination, as he constantly wore a plate of iron-mail within his doublet; while the latter, who died at a premature age, spent it in the fever of a sensual existence, amidst the constant dread of treasonable plots, under the excitement and agitation of spies and informers.

The first act of Charles was to resume the unhappy stumbling-block of his predecessors, by endeavouring to strike a blow at presbyterianism in Scotland, and to establish episcopacy as the national religion in its stead; as this mode of worship in its forms more nearly resembled the Romish Church, of which he was a secret worshipper, but whose tenets he durst not openly avow. The Scottish clergy, however, were not inclined to submit to this transmuting process; and many of them, abandoning their homes, poured forth their prayers in the recesses of the Pentlands, or in the jungles of the Esk; and in consequence of the resignations of the clergy, no less than 350 parishes (above a third of those in the kingdom), at once became vacant.

In 1660, John, Earl of Midddleton, who had formerly incurred the hatred of Cromwell, and had waited on Charles at Cologne till the restoration, was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, governor of Edinburgh Castle, and commissioner to the parliament of that country, which he opened on the 1st January, 1661, with a splendour to which the nation had been long unaccustomed. He was appointed one of the extraordinary lords of session, and commissioner to the parliament of 1662. By this parliament episcopacy was established — the non-conforming clergy ejected from their livings—and an act of indemnity passed, in which the most obnoxious persons were fined, amongst whom were the following resideuters in East Lothian: — Patrick Temple, in Lintonbridge, fined in L.300; Patrick Hepburn of Benniston, L.1200; Robert Aitchison of Saint Serf, L.3000; and Robert Hodge of Gladsmuir, L.600.

During the administration of Middleton, the iniquitous trial of Mr James Guthrie, minister, also took place, who was among the first victims to those persecuting times. The Earl of Tweeddale had shown some dislike to these proceedings, and had even spoken in favour of the unfortunate man, which being represented at court, it was resolved, though he was one of the best and worthiest of the nobility, to make him an example to others. He had been on terms of friendship with Lauderdale, yet did he send down a letter to the council, in the king's name, requiring them upon a mere verbal information, to imprison the earl in the castle of Edinburgh, for having uttered some speeches which tended much to the prejudice of the king's authority. He was accordingly imprisoned; and with some difficulty obtained the favour of being removed from the castle to a confinement upon his own estate, on his giving 100,000 merks bail for his appearance. In his defence the earl stated, that he conceived the judges should have made some allowance for the epidemical madness of the times, and other circumstances, which inclined him to think that a punishment less than death should have been inflicted on Guthrie. Tweeddale's confinement lasted from September till May.

Middleton, wishing to retain the supreme power in his own hands, got the act of balloting passed, by which twelve of the most considerable royalists, including the earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, were to be incapacitated. This measure so much incensed the king, that although on Middleton's return to court, his services were magnified by the prelates, and he found powerful intercessors in Clarendon and Monk, yet he was disgraced and deprived of his offices, to the great joy of the nation, to whom his administration had become odious from his severities, and contemptible from his excesses. [Middleton was a pikeman in Hepburn's regiment in France. He held a command in Leslie's army, and contributed to the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh. As he had been formerly in the parliamentary army, Cromwell was so much irritated against him that he endeavoured to get him tried for his life, but he baffled the Protector by effecting his escape from the Tower.] But unhappily his successor was another disciple of Michiavel, who ad-

mirably followed the course which a despotic minister had traced.

John, second Earl of Lauderdale, was born at Lethington, in the parish of Haddington, in 1616. [His lordship was the son of John first Earl of Lauderdale, by Lady Isabel Seton, second daughter of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline. The latter died when president of the parliament in 1645, and was buried at Haddington. His epitaph was written by the elegant historian and poet Drummond of Hawthornden. That he was much distinguished for his probity may be gathered from the following circumstance: The charterchest of the family being concealed under ground, in the time of the civil wars, the writs were so entirely defaced that they had become unintelligible; but by reason of the character his lordship had for integrity, the inventory, which he made, was, by order of parliament, appointed to supply the place of the ancient records of the family, every page thereof being readily signed by the clerk-register. — Crawford's "Peerage." Several records of this periods must have shared the same fate. Many years ago when the author was engaged (assisted by an eminent antiquary) in making researches into the council registers of Haddington, some of the books during the time of the commonwealth were amissing, unless they were comprehended among a few volumes too dilapidated to be deciphered. Cromwell, who was at no loss for expedients, seized the public records of Edinburgh when on a voyage to Stirling as a measure of security, and conveyed them to the tower of London, which Charles II. with an urbanity, in which he was not deficient, restored. Unfortunately, on returning to Scotland by sea, the vessel was shipwrecked, and eighty-five hogsheads of these documents were lost.] He began his political career by joining the covenanters; and was much trusted by them in the management of their affairs. He was one of the commissioners from the church of Scotland to the assembly of divines held at Westminster in 1643; but he afterwards became a furious advocate of arbitrary measures, and preferred his own aggrandisement to the welfare of his country. After the dismissal of the Earl of Middleton, he contrived to get the whole power and patronage of Scotland vested in his own hands; and one of the first acts of his lordship's arbitrary sway in Scotland was to bring the parliament to vote the raising a body of 20,000 infantry and 2000 horse. This army, which was to be entirely at the king's devotion, and under the minister's direction, was considered not only sufficient to enslave Scotland, but to insist in reducing the parliament of England, if it should persist in opposing the king. By this bold measure Lauderdale convinced Charles how much he understood the art of government better than Middleton, and how superior he was to that rival in the despotism of his principles, since arbitrary laws are of little effect without an army to enforce them.

On the resignation of the Earl of Crawford, who was a steady presbyterian, but who had been a great sufferer in the royal cause, Lord Rothes (father of Margaret, Countess of Haddington), received the treasurer's staff, and the Earl of Tweeddale was appointed president of the council in place of Rothes. Lord Hatton, the Earl of Lauderdale's brother, and the two Archbishops' were added to the council; and Lord Lorn, by being restored to the title and estate of his grandfather, became Earl of Argyle, which rendered Lauderdale's administration more popular.

Whatever effects the terrors of a standing army produced in Scotland among the people, the administration was divided by party. Archbishop Sharpe saw that he had proceeded too far, and was afraid that he might meet with the fate of Laud, unless he and his brethren were strengthened with farther powers; he, therefore, made use of his interest at court, to obtain from Charles a high commission for ecclesiastical affairs, which, in fact, took them entirely out of the hands of the privy-council, and threw them into the hands of the bishops, whose powers were in the highest degree inquisitorial and independent. The absurdities and dangers of this commission were foreseen by the king's friends in Scotland; and an open breach soon ensued between the chancellor and the Archbishop of St Andrews. The Earl of Lauderdale had given way to Sharpe, in hopes that his violence would ruin episcopacy in Scotland: but the chancellor's death left the archbishop without a rival, while Lord Rothes, whose friendship he had cultivated, obtained the great seal, and besides commanding a troop of life-guards, was invested with the three greatest places in the kingdom. In short, when the prelate left London, he told Charles he could now ask no more for the church.

The military were employed to collect the fines which had been imposed by Middleton, but which had been postponed to the year 1666. This was done in such an inhuman manner by the soldiers, accompanied by the fradulent conduct of the collectors, that the moiety fell far short of the expected sum. The excessive mulcts the middling and lower ranks of people had already suffered, had brought them to such extreme poverty, that it was common for the troopers when they met a beggar, to

ask, in a taunting manner, "Whether he had been fined?" [Guthrie, x.]

Under such a load of calamities, the people of the west grew desperate. This led to the unfortunate insurrection at the Pentland hills, in which George fourth Earl of Winton, commanded the East Lothian regiment, under General Dalziel, against the covenanters, when the latter were defeated.

In 1667, while negotiations were pending between England and Holland, Charles had no fleet of any consequence at sea. De Witt availed himself of this negligence, and having fitted out a squadron, it appeared under Van Ghendt, the Dutch admiral, in the Firth of Forth, when he bombarded Burntisland, but left Leith harbour unmolested, where he might have done great damage. Though the country people made a good appearance on both sides of the Forth, yet the army being in the west, no regular force was at hand to oppose the invaders had they attempted to land. This does not appear to have been the admiral's intention; for, after alarming the coast, he joined De Ruyter, and sailing in conjunction with him to Chatham, executed that blow upon the English navy, which was for some time unavenged.

In 1669, an act was passed for raising a county-militia, in which the Earl of Lauderdale exercised his usual authority. The Haddington council register states:—"October 2nd,—The militia ordered to be mustered, and the haill to have hats! The town council appoint the treasurer to buy 58 hats for the town's part." Great umbrage was taken at this act, in consequence of its being enacted that the force should be ready to march into any part of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his Majesty's authority, power, or government, might be concerned, simply by an order from the council-board, without waiting for the king's authority. [In 1669, October 5, —John Hay of Baro, burgess of Haddington, was appointed commissioner to the convention of burghs, and also to the parliament, and was allowed 6s 8d per day. —"Council Register." And, in 1671, August 19th,—Henry Cockburn, dean of guild, was allowed L 68 Scots, for his charges at Dundee and Edinburgh, when commissioner to the convention at Dundee.] "The Earl of Lauderdale (says Burnet), valued himself upon these acts, as if he had conquered kingdoms by them, and wrote a letter to the King, in which he said, all Scotland was now in his power—the Church of Scotland was now more subject to him than that of England—this militia was now an army ready upon call; and that every man in Scotland was ready to march whensoever he should order it, with several very ill insinuations in it. But so dangerous a thing is it to write such letters to princes; this letter fell into Duke Hamilton's hands some years after; and I had it in my hands for some days. It was intended to found an impreachment on it. But that happened at the time when the exclusion of the Duke [York] from the succession of the crown was so hotly pursued, that this, which at another time would have made a great noise, was not so much considered as the importance of it might seem to deserve."

We must now unfold one of the darkest pages in the history of East Lothian, over which it is impossible to throw a veil, when one of her sublimest natural objects was converted into a state prison. Situated near the shores of North Berwick, and at no great distance from the metropolis by sea, the Bass, from its impregnable height, was well calculated for the purposes of a bastile. Here the tears and groans of the prisoners could not reach the ears of their friends, to awaken those sympathies which might have been exerted in their favour; and while at this period it was no uncommon occurrence for state-criminals to escape from the Towers, those who entered the dungeons of the Bass never left it again unless liberated by authority.

This rock originally belonged to the family of Lauder, from whence it merged into that of Lauder of Bielmouth, and thence passed to Sir Alexander Ramsay of Abbotshall, from whom it was purchased by the crown in 1671, for L.4000 sterling, and converted into a state prison, where the western covenanters, or cameronians, and others accused of high treason, during the arbitrary reigns of Charles II. and his brother, James VII., were confined. [The ancient family of Lauder of Bass, sprung originally from Lauder of that ilk, or Lauder Tower. According to Henry the minstrel, Robert Lauder accompanied Wallace in many of his exploits. This family continued in a lineal descent till the reign of Charles I. In the aisle of the lairds of the Bass, in the old church of North Berwick, a tombstone bears the following inscription, in Latin Saxon character: "Here lies the good Robert Lauder, the great Laird of Congalton and Bass, who died May MxiiicxI." That sapient monarch, James VI., when on his progress to the castle of Tantallon, beheld this "rock immense" with a covetous eye; and so anxious was he to obtain possession of it at any price, that he offered the Laird what he might be pleased to ask for it. Lauder, however, could not be persuaded to part with this romantic heirloom of his family; and, after much cajoling, replied: "Your Majesty maun e'en resign it to me; for I'll

hae the auld crag back again!" In the wars between Mary and her son, the regent Moray was also desirous of strengthening his party by the possession of the Bass.] At this period the Bass was garrisoned with eighteen soldiers, besides officers; and as a proof that the governor of the Bass was no mean office, the Earl of Lauderdale was appointed captain. It is even stated that this wily councillor prevailed on the king to purchase the rock, that he might enjoy its emoluments.

Betwixt the years 1673 and 1684, no fewer than fifty ministers and gentlemen were incarcerated in the dungeons of this insulated solitude. In the energetic verses of Dr Moir:

"Here still some ruins, motleyed with the weeds
That love the salt breeze - tell of prisons grim
Where in an age as rude, though less remote,
The fearless champions of our faith reformed.
Shut up and severed from the land they loved,
Breathed out their prayers."—DELTA.

The ostensible reason for confining these martyrs to the Scotican church, was chiefly for holding conventicles or field preachings. The most noted were, Alexander Peden, of prophetic memory, of whom strange anecdotes were related while he was a prisoner on the rock,—Mitchell, who attempted the life of Archibald Sharpe,—Dr Gilbert Rule, who after the revolution became principal of the university of Edinburgh,—Alexander Gordon of Earlston, whose father was slain when on his way to join the Covenanters at the battle of Bothwell Bridge—[On the 22nd August, 1684, Gordon was removed from the Bass, and ordered for execution; but through the intercession of his friend the Duke of Gordon, his life was spared. He was thrown into Blackness castle where he remained till the revolution]—Thomas Hogg, minister of Kiltern,—Fraser of Brae, —Scott of Pilochie,—William Veitch, preacher, who conducted the Earl of Carlisle incognito to London,—Henry Erskine, the father of Ebenezer Erskine, the latter of whom was born here, and was afterwards distinguished as the founder of the original seceders:—Sir George Campbell of Cessnock,—John Knox, chaplain of Tantallon, —and John Blackadder, a lineal descendant of the house of Tulliallan, who died in the Bass, in 1685, after a confinement of five years.

[Blackadder was buried in the churchyard of North Berwick, where a handsome tombstone, with a suitable epitaph, has been erected to his memory. His cell, in the Bass, with its three small iron-barred windows to the west, is still pointed out. He has found an excellent biographer in Dr Andrew Crichton, who gave his memoirs to the world while residing at North Berwick some years ago.]

In 1673, on the 13th May, the magistrates of Haddington and such of the town-council of the burgh as they might choose, were appointed to attend the funeral of the Countess of Roxburgh at Kelso, under a penalty of £30.

The same year, on the 1st September, it was ordained by the town-council of Haddington, "that no burgess should be created but such as were sufficiently provided in armour; and that he should present himself in his arms at his creation." And again, on November 10th, 1679, his arms are specified, which were "a musket and bandeliers, or with a pike and sword."

[In the instructions to officers and soldiers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in 1626, it was ordained, that "men of high stature and habilitie of body should carry a pick, and those of less stature a musket; and the said pickmen to be provided with corslete, lancellot, and heid-piece; and that every musketter be provided with bandeliers and heid-piece, with all other furniture belonging to a musketter, sic as lead, powder, and matches; that they should be ready by day and night, at the sound of the drum, or toll of the common bell, to march when the provost or bailies might command, under pain of death."]

Lauderdale's power had now reached its zenith in Scotland; he was created Duke of Lauderdale, Marquis of March (as descended from the Earls of Dunbar), and a peer of England as Earl of Guildford and Baron of Petersham. He was lord high-commissioner, president of the council, sole secretary of state, a commissioner of the treasury, governor of the castle of Edinburgh and of the Bass, agent at court for the royal burghs, and an extraordinary lord of session. His brother, Lord Hatton, was treasurer-depute, general of the mint, and a lord of session; while the Earls of Athol and Kincardine, and some of his principal friends, held important places of trust.

The Duke of Lauderdale had also extended his influence by uniting himself in marriage with Elizabeth countess of Dysart in her own right, upon which they made a magnificent progress through the country. The fruits of this visit was a new assessment on an impoverished nation.

[The pomp and circumstance assumed by the Duchess of Lauderdale on coming to Scotland, gave speedy employment to the poetical satirists. A lampoon, in the shape of a parody on Lord Dorset's song, "Methinks this poor town has been troubled too long," gives a list of her grace's lovers:

"Methinks this poor land has been troubled too long,
With Hatton, and Dysart, and old Leidington,
While justice provokes me in rhyme to express
The truth which I know of my bonny old Bess;

She is Bess of my heart, she was Bess of OLD NOLL (Cromwell),
She was once Fleetwood's Bess, and she's now of Athol;
She's Bessy of church, and she's Bessy of state," etc.

In another poem, "The Muse's Salutation, 1672," the Duchess is also celebrated by Erato for her beauty:

"Sparta for beauty famous once did shine,
And Paphos gloried in her lovely queen;
They soon were silenced when the western rose,
Only the buds and blossoms did disclose."

Bishop Burnet ascribed the great change in the Duke's political conduct to his marriage with this lady. "She was a woman of great beauty (remarks Burnet), but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing vivacity in conversation. She had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematics and philosophy. . . She had been early in a correspondence with Lord Lauderdale, which had given occasion to censure. When he was a prisoner after Worcester fight, she made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that she saved it by her intrigues with Cromwell; which was not a little taken notice of. Cromwell was certainly fond of her, and she took care to entertain him in it till he, finding what was said upon it, broke it off. . . The Lady Dysart came to have so much power over the Lord Lauderdale, that it lessened him much in the esteem of all the world. . . All applications were made to her: she took upon her to determine everything; she sold all places, and was wanting in no methods that could bring her money, which she lavished out in a most profuse vanity. As the conceit took her, she made him fall out with all his friends, one after another. (Here he names Argyle, Tweeddale, Hamilton, Murray, Athol, etc.) If after such names it is not a presumption to name myself, I had my share likewise."—Burnet's Hist.]

"The scheme of persecuting the presbyterians (observes Guthrie,) was now taken out of the hands of the prelates, and converted into a fund for supplying the necessities or gratifying the avarice of Lauderdale and his friends. Many persons of fortune were arbitrarily imprisoned and fined, and when they paid the money, the duke was wont to insult them with a joke: 'Gentlemen, (said he) now you know the rate of a conventicle.'" Such severities frequently prevented persons of both sexes from appearing to their citations, upon which their estates and effects were legally plundered by the creatures of the ministry, in virtue of the acts which they had passed for the purpose.

An insurrection in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, headed by Hamilton, a young preacher, in which the covenanters were successful against Graham of Claverhouse, induced Charles to send the Duke of Monmouth, his favourite natural son, to assume the military command in Scotland. This nobleman was of an amiable disposition, and had public measures been left to his guidance, affairs in that distracted country might have taken a happier direction. The duke left London with favourable ideas of the presbyterians; but he was rather surprised on arriving at Edinburgh, in receiving orders "not to treat with the rebels."

George fourth Earl of Winton, with the East Lothian regiment, and all his vassals in "noble equipage," upon his own charges, joined the duke's army, and proceeded with him to the west. The insurgents were encamped on the south side of the Clyde, near Hamilton, and were masters of the pass of Bothwell Bridge. The Earl of Linlithgow beat the advanced guard of the rebels, after a smart dispute, from the bridge, and drove them back upon their main body, which remained under Hamilton, and by some infatuation (as was commonly the case when commanded by their preachers,) they never advanced to defend the pass, which was of the last importance. The consequence was, that when the royal artillery was brought to play upon the main body of the insurgents, Hamilton fled, leaving the world to debate (observes Wodrow,) whether he acted most like a traitor, coward, or fool. All the horse followed their leader in this flight, about 500 men were killed on the field, besides those who fell in the pursuit, and 1200 surrendered without striking a blow, while the loss of the royalists amounted only to a few soldiers. Thus ended this ill-concerted rebellion, although it is calculated the covenanters, who were now dignified with the name of Whigs, mustered 4000 strong on the day of battle, the greater part of whom were horsemen. The Duke of Monmouth has been censured for not following up this victory with the cold-blooded cruelties of a Dalziel or Claverhouse; but he does not seem to have relished the task, and used every means, in conjunction with the moderate nobility who attended him, to allay the butchering propensities of his officers, and the plundering disposition of his soldiers.

[The author has seen a flag, said to have been borne by the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, which was in possession of an old woman at Dunbar. Its texture is light-blue silk. The inscription is on one side, in gilt letters, "For Christ and his Truth," and underneath in red, "No Quarter for ye active Enemies of ye Covenant." The motto is surmounted by a Hebrew inscrip-

tion, in gilt letters, signifying, "For the Covenant of Jehovah." This flag belonged to Henry Hall of Haughead, who took an active part in the transactions at that time, he held a command in the army of the insurgents from the skirmish at Drumclog to their defeat at Bothwell Bridge. On his death the flag of course fell to his son. Young Hall, on his death-bed, bequeathed it to James Cochran, shoemaker in Greenlaw, a noted Cameronian, who presented it to Michael Naismyth, Edinburgh. This venerated ensign was destined to return to Cochran's family again; for, at Naismyth's death, he bequeathed it to James Raeburn, late cabinet-maker in Dunbar, the son-in-law of Cochran, and it is still held most sacred by his widow. There is a further tradition, that this flag was borne by Richard Cameron (the founder of the sect of the Cameronians), at Aird's Moss, in 1686, where he was slain. The inscription on the ensign of "No Quarter," etc., seems to confirm the report, that the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge were so confident of victory, that they had a large gallows erected in the midst of their camp for the purpose of executing judgment on the enemies of the covenant; and in some measure might have given a sanction to the severities too often indulged against these deluded people. Mrs Raeburn has also an "Andrew Ferrara," or broad-sword, being the remains of a chest of armour, which had been sent to Edinburgh along with the banner; but which the family found it prudent to disperse among their friends during the French revolutionary mania, when a scrutinizing search for arms was made in this country. Mr James Hogg (the Ettrick Shepherd), when on a visit to a literary friend in Dunbar, about 1817, called upon the old lady, and like many others, would have been glad to have got possession of these reliques, for the purpose of presenting them to the Antiquarian Society; but the venerable possessor, like the ancient laird of the Bass, could not be prevailed on to part with the honours of her family. The covenanter's flag is alluded to in the verses, in the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," on the elder Gordon of Earlston, who was slain when on his way to join the insurgents in the above conflict:

> "So Earlstoun rose in the morning,
> An' mounted by the break o' day;
> And he has joined our Scottish lads,
> As they were marching out the way—
> Then he set up the flag o' red,
> A' set about wi' bonny blue."—Vol. ii.]

The Duke of Monmouth returned to London on the 6th July; and previous to his departure, he and all his officers, Scots and English, received a "splendid and royal treat" (says Lord Kingston), from the Earl of Winton at the house of Seton, being among the most munificent entertainments to be witnessed within its walls.

James, Duke of York and Albany, brother to Charles II., succeeded the Duke of Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs. On visiting Scotland, he was met by the magistrates and town council of Haddington, on the 10th November, 1679. From the records of Edinburgh it appears that he had 123 atendants and domestics in his train.

[At this time the free gift of burgess-tickets was carried to a ridiculous length. At an entertainment given to the Duke of York at Edinburgh, his grace not only honoured the citizens himself by accepting of the freedom of the city, but 123 of his attendants were admitted freemen!]

The Duke of York's first measures in Scotland, from their lenity and moderation, made him highly popular. With regard to religion, episcopalians and presbyterians were the same to his royal highness; and as by this time he had probably formed the plan of the popish system which he afterwards pursued, he found it his interest to make the latter his friends. The government, in order to prevent armed field-conventicles, very wisely allowed the presbyterians to worship God after their own way, beneath their own fig tree, and in their own houses: so that addresses to the king from Scotland, resounded with the praises of his royal highness; and even the Duke of Hamilton and his friends, who had been much soured by Lauderdale's administration, now dropped their opposition to the Duke of York's party. His royal highness being recalled to the court of England, he was represented to the King as the father of the country, and the healer of its political discord. Rothes was still Chancellor; Lauderdale secretary of state, whose power was fast falling; while the Earl of Roxburgh had been admitted into the privy-council.

On the 3rd July, 1680, the magistrates of Haddington, attended with 40 horses, were appointed to wait on the Duke of Rothes on Monday and convoy him to Tranent, on his way to Edinburgh, under the penalty of L.10.—"Council Reg."

[John sixth Earl of Rothes was promoted to the office of high chancellor of Scotland for life, and Duke of Rothes in October 1667. He died at Edinburgh in the same year and month following that in which he was met at Haddington, and his body being privately carried to the cathedral of St Giles, was conveyed with the greatest magnificence to Holyroodhouse, whence, after lying in state, it was carried with the same pomp to Leith, and put on board a

ship to be conveyed to Leslie. The Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Haddington were chief mourners. An engraving of that superb funeral procession was executed; and, but for the nodding of sable plumes, it rather resembled the pageantry of a royal progress than the funeral of a nobleman. The body was preceded by regiments of guards, and trains of artillery—a gentleman in complete armour, with a plumage of feathers in his helm—pursuivants and heralds—magistrates, ministers, and lords of session—followed by dukes, marquises, and earls, and a long train of the nobility. Dying without male issue, his titles of Duke of Rothes, etc., became extinct, and the earldom devolved on Margaret, Countess of Rothes, his daughter, who married Charles fifth Earl of Haddington. The eldest son of this marriage was John seventh Earl of Rothes, and the second Thomas sixth Earl of Haddington. The first married Lady Jean Hay, daughter of John second Marquis of Tweeddale, high chancellor of Scotland.]

The flattering testimonials of popular applause bestowed on the Duke of York, were of short duration; which is to be ascribed to the passing of that abnoxious measure the test act by the Scottish parliament, which he had introduced.

[1681, July 14th.—Henry Cockburn, Provost of Haddington, while commissioner to the Scots parliament, was allowed for himself and man, £5 Scots daily.—"Counceil Reg."]

On the 20th December, 1681, several members of the town-council of Haddington refused to take the test oath. By this oath all persons in office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, were obliged to acknowledge the king's supremacy,—to profess the protestant religion as contained in the Confession of Faith,— to bind themselves from ever making any alteration or change in their opinions,—to renounce the covenant, —and to profess the doctrine of passive obedience. This test, however, while it appeared to ratify the Confession of Faith, established doctrines directly repugnant, and was at once a mass of absurdity and contradiction; and while the Earl of Argyle was persecuted to the death for its evasion, an exemption was made in favour of the royal family from its acceptation.

In 1682, the Duke of York having left his duchess in Scotland, went down in May by sea, to carry her to England. The Gloucester frigate in which he sailed, struck on a sand-bank, when the Duke was forced to betake himself to a boat, and apparently to forsake some of his friends. According to Burnet, he was so anxious to save his dogs, that some unknown persons, who were supposed to be jesuitical priests, that the long-boat pushed off with very few in her, though she might have carried about eighty. The Earl of Winton was one of those saved with the Duke; but the Earl of Roxburgh, Mr Hyde, the duke's brother-in-law; the Laird of Hopetoun, Sir James Douglas, and the Lord O Brien, with several other gentlemen and their suite, were drowned.

[Sir James Dick of Prestonfield, who was one of the party, gives an interesting account of the shipwreck, in a private letter, dated Edinburgh, 9th May 1682.—"At seven o'clock on the morning of Saturday last (says he), the man-of-war called the Gloucester, Sir John Berry, captain, wherein his highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one, did strike in pieces, and wholly sink, upon the bank of sand, called the Lemon and Oar, about twelve leagues from Yarmouth. The Duke and the whole that accompanied him were in bed, and the helm of the ship having broke, the helmsman was killed by the force of it. When the Duke had got on his clothes, he inquired how matters stood, the vessel having nine feet of water in the hold, and the sea running in at the gun-ports. All the seamen and passengers were not under command; for every one studying his own safety, whence the Duke was forced to go out at the large window of the cabin, where his little boat was secretly ordered to attend him, lest the passengers and seamen should have so thronged in upon him, as to drown the boat. It was accordingly conveyed in such a way, that none but the Earl of Winton, and the Lord President of the Court of Session, with two of his bedchamber men, (of whom one was afterwards Duke of Marlborough,) went with him; but were forced to draw their swords to keep the people off. We, seeing his highness gone, did cause tackle out, with great difficulty, the ship's boat, whereinto the Earl of Perth got, and then myself, both leaping off the shrouds into her; the Earl of Marchimont after me, jumped in upon my shoulders, and then the Laird of Touch, with several others that were to row. Thus we thought the number sufficient for her loading, considering the sea ran so high, by a wind from north-east, and because we saw another boat, close by the one containing the Duke, overset by the waves, and the whole people in her drowned, except two, who were observed riding on the keel. This made us desire to be gone; but before we were aware, twenty or twenty-four seamen, leapt in upon us from the shrouds, which induced all the spectators and ourselves to think we were sinking; but having got out of reach, and being so crowded, prevented an hundred more from doing the

like. Among those that were left, were my Lord Roxburgh, and Laird Hopetoun, and Mr Littledale (Roxburgh's servant), and Dr Livingstone (the President of the Court of Session's man); all those being at the place I jumped from would not follow, since it seems, they concluded, that it would be safer to stay in the vessel, than to expose themselves to any other hazard. But all were in an instant washed off or drowned. When I looked back, I could not see one bit of the great ship above water, but about a Scots ell of the staff on which the royal standard stood. To conclude this melancholy account, besides our countrymen, there perished of England, of respect, my Lord O Brien, and my Lord Hyde's brother, who was lieutenant of the ship. I am sure there were eighty noblemen and gentlemen, their servants excluded. My computation was, about 330 in all, of which I cannot understand 130 to be saved."]

The Duke remained a short time in Scotland; but sufficiently long to develop new and enlarged plans of oppression and tyranny against the unhappy dissentients.

The Duke of Lauderdale's influence, as we have already observed, was rapidly declining, and he remained but a short time longer at the head of public affairs. Having voted for the condemnation of the unfortunate Earl of Stafford, who was a papist, he incurred the resentment of his royal highness, and losing, along with that princely favour, which had ever been the god of his idolatry, both his places and pensions, he died at Tunbridge, whither he had retired for the benefit of his health, the victim of selfish and unsatisfactory ambition, on the 24th of August 1682, in the 67th year of his age.

On the 31st March 1683, it was intimated to the town-council of Haddington, that the Duke of Lauderdale was to be buried in the cemetery of that town, on the 5th April ensuing, when they should attend with the magistrates in procession, to pay the usual honours and solemnities on such occasions.

[The body of the Duke had been embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin, (which accounts for the length of time that elapsed before the interment,) when it was brought to Scotland, and laid in the family vault at Haddington, where a splendid monument was erected to his memory. Bishop Burnet, who knew the Duke of Lauderdale particularly, gives the following description of his character and acquirements: "He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern; so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding. . . He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: he was to be let alone; and perhaps he would have forgot what he said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. . . . In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind; but he wore these out so entirely, that scaree any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him nor complaint of him could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against popery and arbitary government; and yet by a fatal train of passions and interests he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter." The description that Burnet gives of his grace's personal appearance strongly reminds us of James VI. "He was very big; his hair red, hanging oddly about him, his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court." His grace was married first to Anne, second daughter of Alexander first Earl of Home (co-heiress with her sister Margaret, Countess of Moray), by whom he had a daughter, Lady Anne, married at Highgate, in 1666, in presence of the King, Queen, and court, to John, second Marquis of Tweeddale: he was married, secondly, at Petersham, in 1671-2, by the Bishop of Worcester, to Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, in her own right, relict of Sir Lionel Talmash of Helmingham, in Suffolk, Baronet, without issue, a lady of much personal beauty, and of considerable mental acquirements. Having no male issue his grace's English honours became extinct; as also the titles of Duke of Lauderdale and Marquis of March. His other Scottish honours devolved on his brother Charles, third Earl of Lauderdale, from whom the present noble family is descended. Richard fourth Earl of Lauderdale (son of the preceding), inherited the poetical talent of his ancestor of that name, and wrote an elegant translation of Virgil. Although a Roman Catholic, he was harshly treated by James VII., for whom he had sacrificed his prospects. His lady being a protestant, and

he an enemy to the violent measures of the court, it was judged a sufficient excuse for excluding him from any share in the government. He advised the king to put his affairs into protestant hands, and recommended Lord Clarendon, the nonjuring bishops of England, and the Lords Home, Sinclair, etc., in Scotland, as the fittest persons to serve him; but this advice was so ill taken, that he was forbid the court. He retired to Paris, where he died in 1695.—See Mackay's "Mem."—Douglas's "Peerage," etc.]

The rigorous measures which had been pursued against the people of Scotland were again resumed. Even husbands were fined for the imprudence of their wives in attending conventicles, and torture was applied, under the superintendence of the privy-council, to such unhappy wretches as would not subscribe to the infallibility of the test. In addition to these barbarities, Graham of Claverhouse, exhibited all the cruelties of a leader of banditti against the weak and defenceless, as he traced their footsteps, mounted on his milk-white steed, along the steep mountain side. Under these circumstances we need not wonder that intrigues were caried on with the Whigs in London, with the Duke of Monmouth, Argyle, and more particularly with the exiles in Holland, while the friends of liberty in Britain turned their eyes upon the Prince of Orange, who was not only a Protestant, but related to the crown, as the future deliverer of an oppressed nation. Charles saw the necessity of forming a new administration; but this important measure was strenuously opposed by the Duke of York, who attempted to persuade the King that the situation of Scotland was such, that he might lose, but never could gain any advantage, by calling a parliament in that kingdom. The answer of Charles was explicit—"Brother, either you must go, or I;" and, without explaining himself further he treated the Duke after with unusual reserve. But the Earl of Perth, who by means of his apostacy to popery, had been promoted to the chancellorship, on the dismissal of Lord Aberdeen, had shown himself a fit instrument, by his persecuting conduct, to govern Scotland according to those stretches of absolute power, which had been so long in progress, and which had nearly reached their height. While such dangerous measures were in force, and the Duke of York preparing to return to Scotland, Charles II. died, on the 6th February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. [The character of Charles seems accurately drawn in an epitaph ascribed to one of his favourites—the witty and profligate Earl of Rochester;

"Here's lies our sovereign lord the king,
No courtier e'er relied on:
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one."

On the 20th September, 1686, the magistrates and town council of Haddington received a letter from the Earl of Perth, lord high chancellor of Scotland, discharging them from electing any new magistrates or councillors within the burgh for that year, the present magistrates and council to be continued in office until his Majesty's further pleasure was signified. In accordance with this order, on the 30th November, the magistrates and town council were nominated by the Lords of Council, agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure. Sir William Paterson, knight, clerk to his Majesty's privy-council, was appointed provost of Haddington. [1688, January 28.—The town Council of Haddington ordained that the Queen's conception should be celebrated there, as it was to be in Edinburgh, on Sunday first, after sermon by ringing of bells, bonfires, etc.]

In 1688, the landing of the Prince of Orange being daily expected, beacons were appointed to be placed on the Bass Rock, St Abb's Head, North Berwick Law, and Garleton Hill, in East Lothian; and on Arthur's Seat and the Fife hills: to be kindled as soon as any number of vessels appeared off the coast. The appearance of a large fleet of Dutch fishing vessels appearing at the mouth of the Firth of Forth at this time, being taken for a French armament, was sufficient to excite great alarm.

The arrival of William and Mary was hailed with great joy throughout the kingdom; and, on the 23rd of September, 1689, the oath of allegiance was sworn to the king and queen, on their accession to the throne, by the town council of Haddington.

The solitary fortress of the Bass was among the last places that held out for the Stuart dynasty in Great Britain. It was defended by a gallant officer, David, third son of James Blair of Ardblair, who afterwards joined his royal master in France, where he died. In 1691, this rock, secure in its natural height, as the eyry of the eagle, was taken from the Jacobites by stratagem. The garrison, while employed in unloading a boat, was surprised by four officers—Lieutenants Middleton and Hallyburton, and Ensigns Ray and Dunbar. It was the custom of the greater part of the soldiers, when a boat came in with coals, to assist in unloading it at the crane, which was without three of the gates, and while thus employed they were excluded and the place taken. The assailants retained three of the garrison, and forced the rest to retire in the boat. Next night they were joined

by Crawford, younger of Ardmillan, with his servant, and two Irish seamen, who came in a long-boat, which they had stolen from the coast near Dirleton. The day following a detachment was stationed at Castleton, a farm town in the neighbourhood, to prevent their receiving supplies, and to hinder their escape. The former, however, was found impracticable, as no frigate could be found to cruise on the coast. At length nine men, landing at midnight, succeeded in carrying off the boat of the rebels, when they proposed capitulation; but as they were concluding the articles, Ardmillan and Middleton, who had been absent, returned with eight men and provisions, and treated the summons with contempt. On the 3rd September, an in emnity was offered to them, which was refused, and the sergeant and drummer, who conveyed the message, were made prisoners. Next day a Danish galliot, coming within range of their cannon, was plundered of her provisions, but the crew was suffered to depart.

The Bass did not ultimately surrender to the new government till 1692, when the command was awarded to Fletcher of Salton.

[The Lieutenant-Governor at this time was Captain Maitland, brother to the general of that name. After his surrender, General Maitland carried his brother with him to Flanders, and presented him to King William, then at the head of the allied army, who offered him a captain's commission, telling him that he was confident that the man who had served his sovereign with such an uncommon fidelity woul l likewise be true to him: He thanked his Majesty for his favourable opinion, but declined the offer. This anecdote which reflects both honour on the heroic prince who made the offer and the officer who refused it, I had (says the Rev. Dr Barclay,) from Captain Maitland's nearest relation.—"Trans. Scots. Antiq." The governor's house and barracks were situated on the west side of the rock, and the buildings on the east were a prison:

"Where captive eyes, for many a joyless month,
Have marked the sun that rose o'er eastward May."

Nearly opposite the east turret was the crane bastion or landing place, which bristled with three guns. Behind the ramparts, which still remain, the ascent is by three flights of stairs, each of which is protected by a strong gate. About half way up the rock, are the remains of a chapel, where the ammunition of the garrison was kept, when the island was used as a state prison for the covenanters. The niches for the holy fonts show that it must have been used as a Catholic place of worship at an eary period. A little up the rock is a fresh water spring, and a small garden. A singular incident occurred on the Bass, a few years ago, in connection with the chapel. "A young lady (says the reverend author of the Statistical Account,) in the presence of her father, was here solemnly confirmed in the Romish faith and profession, and the due ritual services were gone through in the presence of the keeper of the Bass and his boat assistant. On the conclusion of the solemnities, the priest turned to the keeper, and asked him, with due decorum, if he would not also now kneel down before the altar, and follow them in similar dedication and worship. 'Me?' said the protestant presbyterian James, 'Me? Na, na, am thankfu' there's mair sense gi'en.—I wad just as soon, sir, fa' doon and worship ane o' thae puir solan geese about us,' (pointing to the myriads around him,) 'than e'er gang on wi' ony sic mockery.' James remains an invincible adherent to the reformation, and also, as well may be conjectured, the Bass being ever before him, a stern abhorrent of prelatic tyrrany and regal despotism."—Rev. R. Balfour Graham. After the demolition of the fortifications, in 1701, the Bass was ultimately granted by the crown to President Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet, for one Scots penny, reserving the power of refortifying the island should government at any future period find it necessary. A view of the fortifications of the Bass, is preserved in Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ." There was also a drawing of the old fortifications taken by T. Dury, the engineer, who superintended the siege in 1691.]

The power of the new dynasty not yet being fully established, and as a secret correspondence was carried on by the Jacobites with the expatriated family of Stuart, who had still some lingering partisans in the land, it was found necessary to have an established body of voluntary troops. In consequence of this call upon the country, it was ordained by the magistrates and council of Haddington, on the 3rd of February 1694, that "the drums beat for volunteers for the town's proportion of levy for his Majesty's service of eight men. The bounty money to be made up by an assessment on the burgesses."

On the 6th day of March 1696, a proclamation was issued from Edinburgh, calling out the foot-militia of East Lothian. In accordance with this order, on the 10th March, the half of the militia were ordered to be mustered at Beanston-moor, on the 12th of that month, with their arms and ten days' pay. The magistrates of Haddington were appointed to enlist and enrol the town's proportion. Lord Belhaven was appointed colonel; the Laird of Preston-

grange, lieutenant-colonel; and Ensign Robert Sinclair, major.

[On December 27th 1698 an act was established by the town-council of Haddington for seeking in arms from the Dean of Guild and Burgesses, and depositing them in the Town's Magazine.]

This militia, by act of parliament, cap. 26, 1663, was only to be employed for the suppression of foreign invasion and intestine troubles. All heritors and others liable, were commanded to "outreik," and furnish their number and proportions, on the 12th March, with ten days' pay, at 6d per diem, with their best arms and accoutrements, at Beanston-moor; and for the better encouragement of those who might attend this muster, it was provided that they should not otherwise be troubled nor employed, but in resisting the present threatened invasion.

On the 30th of March, in 1696, £400 sterling were subscribed by the town of Haddington, to the company of Scotland trading to Africa and India. This company was ratified by the Scots parliament, with a free and exclusive trade for twenty-one years, and a capital of £500,000 was soon raised; and, on the recommendation of one William Patterson, a colony was established on the isthmus of Darien for commercial enterprise. Like the great English south-sea bubble, however, by which Gay the poet, and others were duped, it broke in a few years; and, as Squire Fop says in the comedy, "Now you talk of the Indies, I'll discover a mystery of trade; our merchants are taxed with the exportation of broad gold to that clime, when in sincerity the greatest part is exchanged with Sweden for copper." In the year 1700, great riots took place at Edinburgh, on the Scots being driven from this settlement by the Spaniards, under the countenance of the English and the Dutch. On this occasion the magistrates of Haddington, were placed in a rather novel and delicate situation. "This week (says Carstairs,) three or four of the last mob were put upon the Tron; and a cook, who truly deserved to be fricazied, was scourged most gently by the hands of the hangman; the mob huzaaing them all along, and throwing flowers and roses on the tron for their honour; and wine going about like water. This has given the provost and town-council great offence,—have put their hangman in the hole, and sent for his brother at Haddington to scourge him for not doing his duty. The poor executioner pled strongly for himself,—that the king's privy-council had taken no notice of the advocate, who being concussed, by a few of the mob, signed an order for making open the prison doors, and that he himself was threatened by many hundreds with death, if he laid on but one sore stroke. The magistrates, notwithstanding, repelled his defence, and ordered him to be scourged. The hangman of Haddington, seeing a great multitude in the streets, takes the 'epouvante,' and makes his escape. Thus, after waiting two hours in the windows, we are disappointed of the show! and the prisoner returned. The magistrates of Haddington (some say,) find themselves concerned to represent their hangman, and are to send to some neighbour town for a day's work of theirs. In short, the common discourse is, that all this bustle is like to terminate in a persecution of the hangmen hereabouts." [Carstair's State Papers.]

On the 8th April 1700, the town-council of Haddington empowered their treasurer to buy clothes for a boy, to attend the commissioner to the ensuing session of parliament.—Alexander Edgar, provost. We have introduced this notice merely for the sake of shewing that our commissioner was attended by his "gentle page." Such was the pomp of public processions, that the Duke of Queensberry, who was now the commissioner of King William, when, on his way to Edinburgh, was met by the magistrates, about eight miles from the city, which he entered with a train of forty coaches, and about 1200 horses. The riding or procession at the opening of the Scottish parliament was of the most magnificent nature, only eclipsed by a coronation.

In consequence of King William and his ministry joining in opposition to the infant colony of Darien, his Majesty was rendered highly unpopular in Scotland during the few remaining years of his reign. He died on the 28th March 1702, from a fracture of the collar-bone, in a fall from his horse, in the 52nd year of his age, after swaying the sceptre for the brief space of thirteen years.

William III. was succeeded by Queen Anne, the only surviving daughter of James VII. The new Scottish parliament met at Edinburgh in May 1703, at which the Duke of Queensberry presided as her Majesty's representative. After his dismissal, the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed commissioner.

[1703, November 9.—All burgesses were ordered to pay £4 Scots for their stand of arms.—"Council Reg."]

On the 9th March 1708, the French having fitted out a fleet with the intention of invading Britain in favour of the Pretender, the county, and the town-council of Haddington, to show their zeal and attachment to Queen Anne's government, voted a loyal

address on this occasion. And, on the 24th May, the oath of adjuration was taken and recorded.

Queen Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714, in her 50th year, having reigned exactly the same period of time as William. She was amiable, virtuous, and public spirited, and deserved the expressive epithet which was applied to her of "Good Queen Anne." She was succeeded by the Elector of Hanover, George I., in honour of whom, on the 29th October, 1714, the town council of Haddington ordained that the King's coronation day should be celebrated.

CHAPTER XV.

"To wanton me, to wanton me,
Ken ye what maist wad wanton me?
To see King James at Edinburgh Cross,
Wi' fifty thousand foot and horse,
Oh this is what maist wad wanton me."
"Jacobite Song."

"Borlum and his men's coming."—"Ibid."

GEORGE I.—THE REBELLION OF 1715.—MAR'S INVASION.—EXPEDITION OF BRIGADIER MACINTOSH.—ATTACK ON HEPBURN OF KEITH.—THE LAST EARL OF WINTON.—DEFEAT OF THE INSURRECTION.—GEORGE II.—REBELLION OF 1745.—PRINCE CHARLES STUART.—MEETING OF THE HOSTILE ARMIES AT PRESTON.

On the accession of George I. to the throne of Great Britain, an effort was made for the restoration of the expatriated house of Stuart. The Earl of Mar was among the first to raise the rebellious standard. On Wednesday, the 12th October, 1715, a party of the rebels sent by his lordship to reinforce the Northumbrians, under Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum, attempted to cross the Forth; but the sea exhibiting a dead calm, part of the transports were intercepted, by the boats of three men-of-war, which lay in Leith Roads. Sixteen hundred troops, however, succeeded in landing during the night, at North Berwick, Aberlady, Gullan, and other places. Next night General Macintosh stopped at Haddington, where he proclaimed the Chevalier; but instead of going southward, as was conjectured, he marched upon Edinburgh. [James VIII. who resided at the court of France, was commonly called the "Chevalier de St George."]

On Friday, the 14th October, 1715, John Campbell, lord provost of Edinburgh, took the earliest opportunity of apprising the Duke of Argyle of the arrival of the rebel forces at Haddington; and demanded a detachment of regular troops for the defence of the city. Two hundred foot were immediately dispatched, (mounted for the sake of expedition on country horses,) with 300 cavalry, who arrived at the West Port of Edinburgh, at ten o'clock at night. Meantime Macintosh having advanced as far as Jock's Lodge (Piershill), and finding that none of the citizens came to join him, and dreading the approach of Argyle, he proceeded to Leith, which he took and pillaged, and liberated those who had been taken prisoners by the boats.

Saturday the 15th, the Duke of Arglye arrived at Leith, with his small force; but on account of the height of the walls and fortifications, and being without artillery, he found an assault impracticable. The rebels were, however, summoned to surrender, under pain of getting no quarter should they resist. A highland laird, called Kinackin, replied, "that they did not understand the word; that they would neither take nor give quarter: but if he was able to force them he might try!"

Macintosh, despairing of aid, and taking advantage of the ebb-tide, stole round by the head of the pier, and proceeded by the sands to Seton-house, leaving behind him 40 men, who had inebriated themselves with brandy, which they had found in the custom-house.

Argyle, having provided himself with two pieces of cannon and two mortars from Edinburgh Castle, was on the eve of proceeding to Seton to dislodge the rebels when Macintosh received a dispatch from the Earl of Mar commanding him to cross the Forth at Stirling, in order that this movement might create a diversion in their favour. In compliance with this order, that night his little army began their march. Meanwhile, on the 19th October, an attack was made on Seton-house by Lord Torphichen and the Earl of Rothes, who marched from Edinburgh with 200 cavalry and 3000 volunteers for that purpose. Lord Rothes (the eldest son of the Earl of Haddington,) had been appointed vice-admiral of Scotland, and from his zeal in the cause of the Brunswick family, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the rebels. A party of them having proceeded to proclaim the Pretender at Kinross, his lordship entered the town, sword in hand, with a detachment of the "gallant Greys," put them to flight, and took Sir Thomas Bruce prisoner. These proceedings incurred a barbarous method of retaliation Another party coming to his seat of Leslie, searched it for arms, forced open the church doors, broke into the family burial place, dug up the coffins, and tore them open.

On arriving at Seton-house, the royalists found that old Macintosh had so securely entrenched the avenues and fortified the gates that it was impossible to dislodge them without artillery to batter the walls, upon which, after exchanging a few shots, without injury to either party, they re-

turned to Edinburgh. While in this fertile district, the rebels supplied themselves with cows, sheep, meal, and other provisions, which they found in abundance in the neighbourhood.

On the 18th, the rebels received orders from the Earl of Mar to evacuate Setonhouse and proceed to England.

Macintosh departed next morning with his whole strength, directing his march to the lonely wastes of lammermoor. In passing by Hermanston-house, (situated near the borders of Tyne,) he could scarcely be prevailed upon to spare it from fire, in consequence of an offence which its proprietor, Dr Sinclair, had committed against his party. [There was a John Sinclair, physician in Haddington, grandson of Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston. He died in 1742.]

Early in October, the Marquis of Tweeddale, lord-lieutenant of Haddingtonshire, had given particular injunctions to his deputy-lieutenants to enforce the laws against papists and suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and seizing their horses and arms. Although this order was strictly in terms of existing acts of parliament, yet it is evident, that a law putting so much arbitrary power in the hands of one set of country gentlemen against the other, would require to be acted upon with great discretion. "In the case under notice (observes Mr R. Chambers), it seems to have been abused as a means of venting private pique and revenge. On the very day when the deputy-lieutenants of Haddingtonshire received their charge from Lord Tweeddale, two of them, Dr Sinclair of Herdmanston, and Mr Hepburn of Humbie, formed the resolution of going next morning under cover of it, and assailing a gentleman in their neighbourhood, Mr Hepburn of Keith, against whom they had a grudge. At the time they had appointed for the execution of this scheme, Dr Sinclair appeared at the rendezvous with a number of armed attendants; when, not finding his associate arrived, he proceeded forward to Keith by himself. As he went, he enjoined his party that, in case of finding resistance, they should not fire till first the Laird of Keith should fire at them; and, on coming near the house, he repeated these orders. Hepburn of Keith, being informed that a party was at his gate, commanded by Dr Sinclair, at once understood the object of his visit, but called for a sight of the doctor's order. Sinclair immediately sent forward a servant, who, finding no admittance at the gate, offered the Marquis of Tweeddale's commission to Mr Hepburn at the dining-room window. The fiery Jacobite openly scouted at the commission, crying "God damn the marquis and the doctor both!" But the servant thinking that, upon consulting with his friends within, he might agree to terms of submission, continued standing near the gate, that he might carry back a message to his master. Hepburn entertained no such intention. Animated by feelings similar with those of Dr Sinclair, he had resolved to go out and encounter his assailants. Staying only till he and his friends had mounted their horses, he sallied suddenly from the gate, fired a pistol at the servant, which wounded him in two different places, and then, advancing to Dr Sinclair, who stood near the outer gate, struck him a severe blow upon the head with his sword. His daughters, who remained within the house, were heard, at this moment, calling to one another that they should see fine sport; the party rage of the time having entered even the breasts of the gentler part of creation. But the sport which they saw was such as to call forth very different feelings. Sinclair's men returned the assault of old Keith by firing a volley, which laid his younger son dead upon the ground. The distracted father, with his remaining son and friends, immediately broke away, and joined the troops of Mr Forster in the north of England."

Macintosh, with 1400 men, continued his march next day. He reached Longformacus on Wednesday the 19th. General Wightman followed him from Edinburgh, and, attacking his rear, returned the same evening with several prisoners. Macintosh on his arrival at Dunse, proclaimed the Chevalier. After collecting the public revenues, he proceeded to Kelso, where, on Saturday, the 22nd, he formed a junction with the Earl of Winton and Lord Kenmure, the former of whom had joined the Northumbrian insurgents at this town, with a fine body of horse, on the 19th. The higher command was assigned to Kenmure, in consequence, it was presumed, of that waywardness of character peculiar to the noble family of Winton, and which is too often the gift of talented individuals.

The Northumbrian gentlemen were decidedly of opinion that they should at once march into England, which was strenuously opposed by the Earl of Winton, Macintosh, and others, of the Scottish chiefs. The latter thought it better to return to Scotland, for the purpose of joining the western clans, taking Dumfries, Glasgow, and other places on their way till they should form a junction with the Earl of Mar. Their opinion having been overruled, the army proceeded to Hawick, when the highlanders, who were sensible of the propriety of the plan of the Earl of Winton, broke out into open mutiny. It was in vain that the horsemen, surrounding the foot,

ordered them to march southward. In this instance, the saying, that "the Gael seldom found his way back from the "sunny south,'" was completely reversed. Cocking their firelocks, they exclaimed: "If we are to be made a sacrifice, let us die in our own country." In place, therefore, of opening a passage through one of the richest cities of Scotland to the west, the English insurgents pretended they had letters from Lancashire, assuring them that on their arrival, a general insurrection would take place, and that they would be joined by 20,000 men. The Earl of Winton, with part of his troops, withdrew in disgust. Unhappily for that nobleman and his descendants, he was again prevailed on to join the Pretender's standard; but he was never afterwards invited to attend on his councils of war. This disrespect, however, Patten observes "gave him little uneasiness, for he amused himself with such company as chance threw in his way, and amused them with stories of his travels and adventures in low life."

This rebellion proved unsuccessful; and terminated with the battle of Preston, in England. On the 14th November, the Earl of Winton was taken prisoner on this disastrous field, where he distinguished himself in the affair of the barricades, and where the rebels were defeated. His lordship was tried for high treason on the 15th March, 1716; found guilty, and sentenced to be executed, while his estate of £3393 10s 3 l sterling per annum, with his titles and honours, were forfeited to the crown. On the 4th August, 1716, he was fortunate enough, however, to effect his escape from the Tower of London, by sawing through, with great ingenuity, the iron bars of the window of his cell; being thus indebted to his mechanical skill for that liberty which gold and coronets could not purchase.

[George fifth Earl of Winton, was son of the fourth Lord Seton, by Christian, daughter of John Hepburn of Alderston, in the county of Haddington. He is noticed by a contemporary, Mackay, in his Memoirs, as "a young gentleman who had been much abroad in the world; as having a particular caprice of temper peculiar to his family, – a good estate, a zealous protestant,—and not 25 years old." As a mark of his mechanical skill, and a taste for low life, having quarrelled with his father, he resided abroad two years in the capacity of a journeyman blacksmith, which circumstance nearly deprived him of his estate and titles; for, on succeeding to the earldom, his place of residence was unknown, and some of the next nearest heirs in line were for instituting a forefaulter of bastardy against him.—Lord Kingston. Thus terminated the illustrious line or the house of Seton, which had existed in East Lothian for 600 years, and whose descendants still represent the noble houses of Gordon, Eglinton and Aboyne.]

One of the other ancient families in East Lothian, who joined the standard of the Chevalier in 1715, was Congalton of Congalton. Robert Congalton having joined the prince, was also taken prisoner at the battle of Preston, in England; but effecting his escape, went abroad. Robert, his second son, was killed at his father's gate, in a scuffle with the county militia, who were sent to apprehend the family.

Charles Edward Lewis Cassimer Stuart, the hero of the rebellion of 1745, was the son of James VIII., commonly called the Pretender, but known in France by the incognito title of the Chevalier St George. His mother was Clementina, grand-daughter of John Solieski, the heroic king of Poland, whose blood seems to have animated the adventurous spirit of his daring and talented grandson. Prince Charles (by which name he is more familiarly known to Scotsmen,) was born on the 31st December 1720, and when but a boy gave symptoms of an aspiring nature. Meeting the pope one day when riding in his chariot at Rome, and fearful lest the holy father should gain the precedency in turning down a street, he commanded his coachman to drive before his holiness. A struggle taking place between the postilions, the dignitary of the church inquired into the matter, when Charles exclaimed: "Stop, sir, and let the Prince of Wales pass by."

The space of thirty years which had elapsed since the father of our hero made the unsuccessful insurrection in 1715, had consigned many a true-hearted warrior to his silent bed by the mountain cairn: but the youth who was destined for a time,

> "To o'erwalk the current, roaring loud,
> On the unsteadfast footing of a spear,"

brought along with an agreeable person, the highest military daring and talents, joined to a sedate deportment, with the greatest affability of manners, and a heroic patience in adversity.

Great Britain at this period was engaged in one of those destructive and expensive continental wars, into which, by an unhappy fatalism, she has been too much in the habit of rushing. King George himself was with the forces in Germany,—her navy was engaged in distant expeditions,—Scotland was unfurnished with troops; and, above all, the highland chieftains, who viewed with an avenging eye the system adopted of abolishing clanship and crushing their power were ripe for revolt. The government were consequently alive to alarm, and first showed its fears by apprehending some

gentlemen. On the 5th June, Sir Hector Maclean, George Bleau of Castlehill, and Lachlan Maclean (Sir Hector's servant), were apprehended in the Canongate, on suspicion of being in the French service, and of enlisting men. They were examined by the Lord Advocate on suspicion of treason,—regularly committed,—and afterwards sent to London. John Graham of Glengyle, jun., was also committed to the castle of Edinburgh on suspicion of treacherous practices. After a long examination by the Marquis of Tweeddale, it appears that Bleau of Castlehill was committed to Newgate.

Charles, after narrowly escaping the English cruisers, succeeded in landing at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, in the West Highlands, on the 25th July 1745, —a place suitable above all others for the designs of the prince, being remote and almost inaccessible, and in the very centre of that country where his surest friends resided, yet not above an hundred and fifty miles from the capital. [The appearance of the prince at that time is thus described, in an interview with Clanranald: "There entered the tent a tall youth, of a most agreeable aspect, dressed in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt (not very clean,) a cambric stock, fixed with a plain silver buckle; a fair round wig out of the buckle; a plain hat with a canvas string, one end of which was fixed to one of his coat buttons, black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes;" that is to say, the habit of a student of the Scots college in Paris."—Lockhart's Papers, ii. 483.] The Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stewarts, who posesssed the adjacent territories, had been, since the time of Montrose, inviolably attached to the house of Stewart; had proved themselves irresistible at Kilsyth, Killiecrankie, and Sheriffmuir; and were now, from their resistance to the disarming act, perhaps the most resolute of all the clans to take the field all "plaided and plumed in their tartan array." [Home's Works, ii. 427.—Chambers's Hist. Reb. ii.]

It was about the 8th August when the news reached Edinburgh of the descent of Prince Charles. On the first notice Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scotland, gave the necessary orders to the troops. Several parties who were at work on the roads were ordered forthwith to join their respective regiments; arms and ammunition were sent to the troops and garrisons from the castle of Edinburgh; that fortress was stored with provisions, and the garrison reinforced with two companies of Lascelles's foot; a camp was formed at Stirling; all military persons whatever in Scotland were required forthwith to repair to their respective posts; and the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital to present themselves before Lieutenant-General Guest at Edinburgh.

On the 4th September, Archibald Stewart, Esq., lord-provost of Edinburgh, sent a dispatch to Provost Lundie of Haddington, to give notice to the most proper persons in the neighbourhood, to send as early intelligence as possible, by expresses on horseback (which the city should pay), of any body of armed men he might find marching to Edinburgh. Which, being taken into consideration by the town-council, it was resolved that the magistrates of Haddington should settle a correspondence for that purpose between the magistrates of Dunbar and North Berwick; and, in furtherance of the same object, they sent letters to the ministers of Tynningham, Dirleton, and Aberlady, to give intelligence of the landing or marching of any armed men in those districts of the county. [Haddington Council Reg.]

The rebel army, which was fast advancing, crossed the Forth on the 13th September, a few miles above Stirling. On their approach Colonel Gardiner's dragoons fell back upon Falkirk. When the news reached Edinburgh, the train-bands mounted guard in the parliament-house, the volunteers in the exchequer, and the Edinburgh regiment in the justiciary-hall. The train-bands consisted of sixteen companies, averaging from 60 to 100 men, some of whom joined the gentlemen volunteers. Of these there were six companies, in number about 400, commanded by Provost Drummond, etc. To shew the effects that religious zeal had on the dissenters in opposing what was considered a war against a Popish pretender, besides the above there was a body of 200 Seceder volunteers, commanded by Mr Bruce of Kennet. On the 14th, intelligence was received that the van of the Highland army had arrived at Linlithgow. As an evil presage, Colonel Gardiner's dragoons retired as the rebels advanced, and drew up at Corstorphine, two miles west of the city.

Next morning the city guard and the Edinburgh regiment marched from the city and joined the dragoons. Meanwhile the insurgents were in full march to the metropolis, which was now the scene of the greatest consternation and confusion. On their approach an advance party of Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, posted near Corstorphine, retired to the main body at Coltbridge: which post they all quitted in the most cowardly manner about three o'clock in the afternoon. As a corresponding consequence the city-soldiers returned to the town: while the dastardly cavalry rode off by the north side of Edinburgh to

Leith, and, taking the road to Musselburgh, stopped not till they reached Haddington, leaving their tents and baggage behind, which were carried into the castle. [Scots Magazine.]

Prince Charles entered Edinburgh on the 17th, and took possession of Holyroodhouse, and encamped his army in the King's Park.

The friends of the reigning government still flattered themselves that a stop would speedily be put to the progress of the Highland army. Brigadier Fowkes, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London, on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons eastward. The same day Lieutenant-General Cope, with his transports, arrived off Dunbar. The troops were landed at Dunbar on the 17th, and the artillery, etc., next day, being the nearest port they found it practicable to land on the south side of the Firth of Forth. On the 19th, Cope left Dunbar, and marched towards Edinburgh, wending his way by Beanston, and encamped that night in a field to the westward of Haddington. [Grounds, which belonged to Mr Buchan of Letham, called "the Banks," lying between St Laurencehouse and Peghdaleloan.]

"Though London and Gardiner both were there,
They in council had but little share;
For Cope he challenged the sole command,
With furious Fowke at his command." GRAHAM.

Early next morning Cope departed, and followed the ordinary line of road, which then led by Huntington to Edinburgh, when striking off to the right, he took the low tract near the sea, and, passing by St Germains and Seton, arrived at Preston.

The same day, Friday, the 20th September, in the morning, Charles joined his followers at Duddingston; and, presenting his sword, said: "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard!" an action somewhat in the style of Charles XII., who threw away his sword that it might not be taken from him. The army marched, and drew up at Carberry-hill; but finding that Cope had kept down towards Prestonpans, the highlanders directed their march along the brow of Fawside-hill, till they came in sight of the enemy, upon which they gave a great shout by way of defiance; and such was their eagerness to rush to an engagement, that it was only by dint of authority that they could be prevented. This shout was answered by huzzas from the King's troops.

Sir John Cope had taken up a position, having a broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preston on the right, some houses and a small morass on the left, and the Firth of Forth in the rear, which rendered an attack on his flank almost impracticable, which the rebels observing caused a large detachment to file towards Preston, with a view of taking them in flank, which, being perceived, a disposition was made by the army, which prevented the rebels from making an immediate attack, and made them resume their former position. An advanced party of the insurgents having taken possession of Tranent churchyard, a small train of horsemen sent a few shots amongst them; but, during the night, there was no other offensive measures.

An incident occurred, apparently trivial, but upon which the fate of the approaching day seems in a great measure to have depended. Mr Robert Anderson (the son of Anderson of Whitburgh, in the parish of Humbie,) who joined the insurgents at Edinburgh, had been present at the council which determined the place and mode of attack, but did not take the liberty to speak or give his opinion. After the dismissal of the council, Anderson told his friend Mr Hepburn of Keith, that he was well acquainted with the ground, and thought there was a better way to attack the King's army than that which the council had resolved to follow. "I could undertake, (he said) to shew them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire." Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms, that Anderson desired he would introduce him to Lord George Murray. Mr Hepburn advised him to go alone to the lieutenant-general, with whom he was already perfectly well acquainted, and who would like best to receive any information of this sort without the presence of a third party. Anderson immediately sought Lord George, whom he found asleep in a field of cut peas, with the Prince and several of the chiefs lying near him. The young gentleman immediately awoke his lordship, and proceeded to inform him of his project. To Lord George it appeared so eligible, that he hesitated not a moment to use the same freedom with the Prince which Mr Anderson had used with him. Charles sat up on his bed of peas-straw and listened to the scheme with great attention. He then caused Lochiel and the other leaders to be called and taken into counsel. They all approved of the plan; and a resolution was instantly passed to take advantage of Mr Anderson's offer of service; while it was justly considered strange that a young country-gentleman, who had never seen an army, should have thus given advice to a band of military officers, some of whom had considerable experience, and that that advice proved perfectly successful. [Home's Works, iii.]

CHAPTER XVI.

Cope sent a challenge frae Dunbar,
"Charlie, meet me an ye daur,
And I'll learn you the art of war,
If you'll meet me i' the morning."

When Charlie look'd the letter upon,
He drew his sword the scabbard from:
"Come, follow me, my merry, merry men,
And we'll meet Johnnie Cope i' the morning."

Hey, Johnnie Cope, are ye wauking yet?
Or are your drums a-beating yet?
If ye were wauking I would wait,
To gang to the coals i' the morning.—"Ballad."

BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS—DEFEAT OF THE KING'S ARMY—DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER—HAMILTON'S DRAGOONS—FLIGHT OF SIR JOHN COPE.—HAY OF LINPLUM.—THE FOX MAN-OF-WAR—PRINCE CHARLES RETURNS TO EDINBURGH TRIUMPHANT.—SONGS OF THE BATTLE.—HAMILTON OF BANGOUR.—FARMER-POETS.—PETITION OF THE VILLAGES FOR THE HONOUR OF VICTORY.

About three in the morning of Saturday the 21st September 1745, the patroles observed some motion in the camp of the rebels. The highlanders marching eastward, formed a line, with a view to prevent Cope from making his escape in that quarter, while another party was stationed on the west to prevent his getting to Edinburgh. Mr Robert Anderson led the way, followed by Macdonald of Glenaladale, major of the Clanranald regiment, with a chosen body of sixty men, appointed to secure Cope's baggage whenever they saw the armies engaged. Close behind came the army, marching in a column of three men abreast. They came down by a gentle valley or hollow that undulates through the farm of Riggonhead. At first their march was concealed by darkness, and, when daylight began to appear, by a thick mist. When they were near the morass, some dragoons who stood upon the other side as an advanced guard, called out, "Who's there?" To which the highlanders made no answer, but marched on. The dragoons, soon perceiving who they were, fired their pieces and rode off to give the alarm.

[Several private gentlemen in East Lothian were equally zealous to serve King George's army. Mr Home, (afterwards minister of Athelstaneford,) and one of the first dramatic poets of Scotland, appeared before Sir John Cope in the character of a volunteer, and gave intelligence regarding the highland army which he had visited, and described at as inferior in appearance and accoutrements to the king's troops. While at Dunbar, several of the judges and civil authorities came to the camp, not as fighting men, but to remain with the army, as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching action. The Earl of Home, who was an officer in the guards, joined Sir John from a different principle; not thinking it right to remain at home when the King's troops were in the field. This nobleman came attended with only one or two servants; and there were not a few who made their remarks, and drew a contrast between his present retinue and that of his ancestors, who at a short warning could have brought as many armed vassals from their own territories into the field as would have coped with that highland army which had got possession of the capital of Scotland.—Home's Hist. The feudal system had now declined. Even in the rebellion of 1715, the Earl of Winton, whose estate in East Lothian stood among the first in the list of forfeitures, could only join the rebel army with fourteen men, while highland cheftains, even of middling rank, had, on the same occasion, brought along with them their clans to the amount of three, four, or five hundred followers. During the manœuvring of the armies on the afternoon of the 20th, two gentlemen, who had set out from Haddington as scouts, and never returned, made their appearance. These were Francis Garden and Robert Cunningham (afterwards Lord Gardenston and General Cunningham); who, in their enthusiasm, had gone so near Duddingston, that they were taken prisoners by the rebels, who threatened to hang them as spies; and when the highlanders marched to meet Sir John Cope, the prisoners were carried along with them, to be placed (they said) in the front of the battle, and exposed to the fire of their friends. When the armies came in sight of each other, the highlanders marched them backwards and forwards for some time, and at last allowed them to slip away. The whole afternoon had been spent with these evolutions, which resembled, (observes an ingenious author) nothing so much as the last moves of a well-contested game of draughts. Charles, deterred from making an immediate attack by the park-dikes, which screened Cope's front, shifted his ground, and returned to his first station near Tranent. The King's army faced round at the same time, so as to occasion a bystander to exclaim, in derision of these ineffectual movements, "Why, they're just where they were, wi' their face to Tranent."]

[The place where the rebels passed through the morass, was about 200 paces to the westward of a stone bridge, built over Seton mill-dam many years after the rebellion. The highlanders crossed the ditch, where there was a deep run of water, by a narrow timber bridge. The ground on both

sides was soft and boggy, which being long since drained, bears excellent crops. "When our first line had passed the marsh (says the Chevalier Johnstone), Lord George Murray dispatched me to the second line, which the Prince conducted in person, to see that it passed without noise or confusion. I found the Prince at the head of the column, accompanied by Lord Nairn, just as he was beginning to enter the marsh, when the enemy, seeing our first line in order of battle, fired an alarm-gun. At the very end of the marsh there was a deep ditch; the Prince, in leaping across, fell upon his knees on the other side. I laid hold of his arm, and immediately raised him up. On examining his countenance, it appeared to me that he considered this accident a bad omen."—Memoirs Reb. 26. Lond. 4to.]

In the arrangement of the highland army preparatory to the battle of Preston, the great Clan Colla, or Macdonalds, formed the right wing, because Bruce had assigned it that station at the battle of Bannockburn, in gratitude for the treatment he had received from that chief when in hiding in the Hebrides: it consisted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glenco. The left wing was composed of the Camerons, commanded by Lochiel: the Stuarts of Appin, by Ardshiel; while the Duke of Perth's men, under Major James Drummond, and the Clan Macgregor, with Glencairney, stood in the centre. The Duke of Perth commanded the right wing, and Lord George Murray the left. Behind the first line, a second was arranged at the distance of fifty yards, consisting of the Athole men, the Robertsons, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and the Maclauchlans, under the command of Lord Nairn. Charles took his place between the two lines. His army was rather superior in numbers to Sir John Cope, being about 2400; but as the second line never came into action, the real number of combatants, as stated by authority, was only 1456.

From the alarm given by the videttes, it was found necessary to form the lines as quickly as possible. This disposition effected, Charles addressed his army in the following words; "Follow me, gentlemen: by the assistance of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people;" while the English general, in more inflated terms, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, you are just now to engage with a parcel of rabble—a parcel of brutes! being a small number of Scots highlanders. You can expect no booty from such a poor despicable pack. I have authority to declare, that you shall have eight full hours liberty to plunder and pillage the city of Edinburgh, Leith, and suburbs, (the places which harboured and succoured them) at your discretion, with impunity." [Charles's Transactions in Scotland, vol. ii.]

Sir John Cope, who had spent the night at Cockenzie, where his baggage was disposed under a guard of the 42nd regiment, hastened to join his troops on first receiving intelligence that the highlanders were moving towards the east. His first impression regarding their movement seems to have been, that, after finding it impossible to attack him either across the morass or through the defiles of Preston, they were now about to take up a position on the open fields to the east, in order to fight a pitched battle when daylight should appear. Andrew Henderson, (a Whig historian) mentions, in his account of the engagement, that the sentries, on first perceiving the highland line through the mist, thought it a hedge which was gradually becoming apparent as the light increased. The event, however, proved that the royal army was completely taken by surprise. [Chambers's Hist. iii.]

To the darkness that hovered over the landscape, Charles was, in some measure, indebted for his sudden victory. The groups of clans seen through the dim sunny mist, seemed of interminable number, augmented by the savage and rustic-armed followers, who swelled their train. As it appeared to be the intention of Charles to attack the left flank of Cope's army, the general, by an expeditious movement, brought his front to theirs, and secured his flanks by several dikes on the right towards Tranent, while his left inclined to the sea. This disposition was scarcely completed when three large bodies of highlanders advanced with the greatest impetuosity, and began the attack on the right wing, where Colonel Gardiner's dragoons were placed. The English artillery, with their whole line, opened a heavy fire, which did little execution. Covering their faces with their targets, the highlanders advanced to the very muzzles of the guns of their opponents, when pulling off their bonnets, and ejaculating a short prayer, they discharged and threw down their muskets as incumberances, and, drawing their broadswords, gave a hideous shout, and cutting right and left, rushed furiously on the enemy, while a fatal panic soon seized the whole line.

"Then wild and high the 'Cameron's gathering' rose!
The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn's hills
Have heard, and heard too, have her Saxon foes:—
How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills,
Savage and shrill!" BYRON.

The Camerons led the way to victory. That spirited clan, says Chambers, "notwithstanding their exposure to the cannon, and although received with a discharge of

musketry by the artillery guard, ran on with undaunted speed, and were first up to the front of the King's army. Having swept over the cannon, they found themselves opposed to a squadron of dragoons under Lieut.-Col. Whitney, which was advancing to attack them. They had only to fire a few shots when these dastards, not yet recovered from their former fright, wheeled about and fled over the artillery ground, when the latter were also dispersed. The rear squadron of dragoons, under Colonel Gardiner himself, was then ordered to advance to the attack. Their gallant old commander led them forward, encouraging them as well as he could by the way; but they had not proceeded many steps, when, receiving a few shots from the highlanders, they reeled, turned, and followed their companions, "to witch the world with noble horsemanship!" Lochiel had ordered his men to strike at the noses of the horses, as the best means of getting the better of their masters: but they never found an opportunity of practising this ruse, the men having commenced their retreat while they were yet some yards distant. Hamilton's dragoons, at the other extremity of the line, behaved in a similar cowardly manner. No sooner had they seen their fellows flying before the Camerons, than they also turned about and fled, without having fired a carbine, and while the Macdonalds were still at a small distance.

[Hamilton's dragoons had been quartered at Haddington, Dunse, and adjacent places. Their appearance is thus described by Andrew Henderson: "Hamilton's dragoons came from Leith at a hard trot. I saw them riding through the city brandishing their swords,—heard them huzza as they passed, which was cheerfully answered, not only by those in arms, but by the whole crowd,—the horses and men, though raw and young, looked extremely well, and any man would have been tempted to put too much trust in them, which I fear too many did." Their horses, according to a custom since abrogated, were placed at grass in the parks near the quarters of the men. The denizens of the burgh felt much annoyed by the soldiery. In November 1736, the inhabitants of Haddington lodged a complaint with the magistrates on the burden they sustained from the quartering of dragoons in the burgh, while their horses (whereby they might have derived some benefit from their dung as manure,) were sent to country-stables. The magistrates agreed to draw up a representation, and to wait on General Wade on the subject. They appear, however, to have got no particular redress; for, on January 11th, 1738, Captain Fall, M.P., was empowered to represent the grievances of the inhabitants of Haddington, in having dragoons quartered on them, while their horses were put up in barracks belonging to noblemen and gentlemen in the county, whereby the King's revenue and the town's was diminished, and their stables going to ruin." For the accommodation of the cavalry horses, stables, commonly called "the Barracks," were erected in a park within the north-gate at Lethington; and Bara, in the parish of Garvald. In 1755, April 10th, Richard Millar, merchant in Haddington, feued a piece of ground, lying on the south side of the turnpike road, near the Peghdaloan, to build a riding-school for the use of the troops which might be quartered in the burgh.—"Coun. Reg."]

Cope's soldiers, thrown into complete confusion, and broken at all points, fell, fled, or surrendered. "Sauve qui peut"—["Save himself who can"]—was now breathed as sincerely, as ever it was uttered by Napoleon's battalions on their defeat at Waterloo, when the fatal war cry of the descendants of the same Lochiel arose. The infantry, deserted by their supporters, either to lighten them in their flight, or to signify that they had surrendered, threw down their unloaded pieces, without staining a bayonet with blood. Many fell upon their knees, imploring that mercy from the impetuous highlanders which the exigency of the moment would scarcely allow them to grant. One small party alone, out of the whole army, had the resolution to make any resistance. They fought for a brief space under Colonel Gardiner, who, deserted by his own troop, and observing their gallant behaviour, unfortunately put himself at their head. This brave band only fled when they had suffered severely, and when their excellent leader fell pierced with many wounds. [Colonel Gardiner was cut down near the west end of the village of Meadow-mill (which however was not built at that period), beside a thorn-tree which is still pointed out as the scene of his death-blow. He was within a quarter of a mile of his own residence of Bankton.

"One man he had, who by him staid,
Until he on the field was laid,
And then he fled to the Meadow Mill,
Where he acquainted was right well:
Thence in disguise returned again,
And bore him off, from 'mongst the slain.
His stately dwelling was near by;
But now he could not lift an eye."
—GRAHAM'S "Hist. Reb."

As the flight of the army was in the direction of Bankton, Gardiner's servant, it is said, having borrowed clothes from the miller, conveyed his dying master to the manse of Tranent, where he soon afterwards expired, and was buried in the west end of the church; but no tablet marks the grave

of this gallant soldier and admirable Christian. When digging the found of the present church, his bones were discovered. The hair quite fresh, and part of his queue remaining. In that age of military foppery, of powder and pomatum, the Queue, or Club, formed an important part of the soldier's head-dress. Mr R. Chambers states (on the authority of a friend) that about thirty years ago, regiments parading on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, were inspected by sergeants, who attentively measured the length of their Queues with a pair of compasses! I believe a monumental inscription had been placed over his remains by his wife, Lady Frances Erskine, (a daughter of David fourth Lord Cardross); but it has been removed or covered up in the building of the new church "The slain were buried near a farm-house called Thorntree Mains, erected since the battle, (says the Rev. John Henderson); and towards the close of last century, in making some drains to the north-east of the farm-steading, the workmen came upon the bodies, when the clothes were said to be so entire, that they could distinguish between the royalists and the rebels. One or two cannon balls have also been found in fields near Cockenzie, which, in all likelihood were among the few that were discharged at the disastrous battle of Preston. "A few coins of the reign of James V. and Mary, were discovered in 1828, while making improvements on the post-road to the west of Tranent, and might probably have been concealed there about the time of the battle of Pinkie in 1547."—"New Stat. Acct."] The fate of "the gallant and good Gardiner," was sincerely lamented by both parties. He had taken leave of his family at Stirling only a few days previous, with a fatal presentiment, it is said, of his approaching fall. "Honest, pious, bold Gardiner," says General Wightman, in a letter to the Lord-President Forbes, died in the field, and was stript near the threshold of his own house. I believe he prayed for it, and got his desire; for his heart was broken by the behaviour of the dogs he commanded." Deserted by his own squadron, and suffering from two shot and sabre wounds—one in the shoulder, the other in the forehead—he still attempted to rally a party of infantry, but in vain; and was cut down from behind, by the stroke of a scythe, or weapon, with which many of the Macgregors were armed.

[Captain Macgregor, of the Duke of Perth's regiment, for want of other arms, procured scythes, which he sharpened and fixed to poles of from seven to eight feet long. With these he armed his company, and they proved very destructive weapons. They cut the legs of the horses in two, and the riders through the middle of their bodies. Macgregor was brave and intrepid, but, at the same time, whimsical and singular. When advancing to the charge with his company, he received five wounds; two of them from balls that pierced his body through and through. Stretched on the ground, with his head resting on his hand, he called out to the highlanders of his company, "My lads, I am not dead!—by G—, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" The highlanders instantly fell on the flanks of the infantry, which being uncovered by the cavalry, immediately gave way; and so rapid was the victory (says Chevalier Johnstone) that, in five minutes, he saw no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground.—"Memoirs Reb." Yet the author of Waverley says, the English infantry "stood their ground with great courage!" though Lord Loudon, in his account, says, "as soon as the highlanders approached our foot, immediately a panic struck them," which was confirmed by Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford, independent of Sir John Cope's testimony.]

Dougal Graham, the metrical historian of the rebellion, who, like the Chevalier Johnstone, appears to describe the scenes which he witnessed, gives the following description of the forlorn situation of the infantry, in his homely style:

The poor foot, on field, I can't forget,
Who now are caught as in a net,
From 'bove Coweanny [Cockenzie] to Preston-dike,
About a mile, or near the like,
'Bove three hundred lay on the field,
Fifteen hundred were forced to yield:
The rest with Cope got clear away;
And so ended this bloody fray.
They were beat backward by the clans,
Along the Crofts 'bove Prestonpans,
Till the high dike held them again,
Where many taken were and slain;
Although they did for quarter cry,
The vulgar clans made this reply,
"Quarters! you cruel soldiers—mad,
It is o'er soon to go to bed."
Had not their officers and chiefs
Sprung in, and begg'd for their relief,
They had not left one living there:
For in a desperate rage they were,
'Cause many clans were hack'd and slain:
Yet of their loss they let not ken;
For by the shot fell not a few,
And many with bayonets pierced through.
Since call'd the battle of Prestonpans,
Fought by John Cope and Charlie's clans,
September the twenty-first day,
Below Tranent a little way.
From Gladsmuir church two miles and more,
The place old Rhymer told long before,
"That between Seaton and the sea,
A dreadful morning there should be,
Meet in the morning, lighted by the moon,
The Lion his wound here, heal shall not soon."

In Thomas's book of this you'll read,
Mention'd by both Merlin and Bede.
—"Hist. Reb." chap. ii.

The mode of fighting as practised by the highlanders, set at naught the tactics of the school of Marlborough. It has been thus described by the Chevalier Johnstone, who was engaged in all the actions fought during this campaign. "They advanced with the utmost rapidity towards the enemy, gave fire when within a musket-length of the object, and then throwing down their pieces, drew their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand along with the target, darted with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of their opponents' bayonets, bending their left knee, they contrived to receive the thrust of that weapon on their targets; then raising their arm, and with it the enemy's point, they rushed in upon the soldier, now defenceless, killed him at one blow, and were in a moment within the lines, pushing right and left with sword and dagger, often bringing down two men at once. The battle was thus decided in an almost incredible time, and all that followed was mere carnage.

"There never was a victory more complete, (says Sir Walter Scott). Of the infantry, 2500 men, or thereabout, scarce 200 escaped; the rest were either slain or made prisoners. It has been generally computed that the slain amounted to 400 men; for the highlanders gave little quarter in the first moments of excitation, though these did not last long. Five officers were killed, and eighty made prisoners. The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of 2000." Many of them exhibited a frightful appearance, being hideously cut with the broad-sword.

The field of battle, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, "presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with hands, legs, and arms, and mutilated bodies; for the killed all fell by the sword.—General Cope, by means of a white cocade, which he put in his hat, similar to what we wore, passed through the midst of the highlanders without being known. The panic terror of the English surpasses all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears, of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the highlander. Of so many men in a condition from their numbers to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken possession of their minds. I saw a young highlander, about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the Prince as a Prodigy, having killed, it was said, fourteen of the enemy. [The Chevalier Johnstone, in his zeal to conjure up prodigies of valour from the tartan clans, seems to have underrated the English army at Preston. It is evident that the soldiers, who had been hurried into the field, were raw recruits or levies for the army in Flanders, where so much British blood had been uselessly expended.] The Prince asked him if that was true. 'I do not know,' replied he, 'if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword.' Another highlander brought ten soldiers to the Prince, whom he had made prisoners, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. These were, however, the English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked among the bravest troops in Europe."

[The same year in which the King's troops acted with so much poltroonery at home, they had distinguished themselves abroad under Lord Charles Hay of Linplum, who commanded a company in the 3rd regiment of foot guards. According to Fantin, a French author, in the midst of that bloody engagement, the battle of Fontenoy, which was fought on the 30th April, 1745, the British and French officers mutually saluted each other, by pulling off their hats. The English being fifty paces distant from the French and Swiss guards, Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, stept out of the ranks, when Comte d' Hauteroche, lieutenant of grenadiers of the French guards, went to meet him. "Gentlemen of the French guards," says the English captain, "fire!" "No, my lord," answered the Comte, "we never fire first." The English then gave a running fire, when 19 officers and 380 soldiers of the French fell dead or wounded, and the Duc de Grammont, their colonel, was killed. At this battle Lord Charles Hay was wounded. This gallant officer had served at the siege of Gibraltar; and in Germany as a volunteer under Prince Eugene of Savoy. He was appointed aide-de-camp to King George II. in 1749, and afterwards served in America. He was third son of Charles third Marquis of Tweeddale, and succeeded to the estate of Linplum, on the death of Sir Robert Hay in 1751. Lord Charles Hay was chosen member of parliament for the county of Haddington in 1741. He did at London in 1760.]

The military-chest of the army had been placed in the house of Cockenzie, and the baggage in a large field adjoining, which during the action was upon the left. It was guarded by a few of the Earl of Loudon's highlanders, the greatest part of whom had joined the rebels on the breaking out of the rebellion. This guard, on seeing

the event of the battle, surrendered themselves prisoners, and specie to a large amount fell into the hands of the victors. Some accounts say to the amount of L.3000. "Sir John Cope having secured the rest (says Alexander Henderson), partly in the Fox man-of-war, and partly at Haddington and elsewhere, which was the only prudent action of that officer during his inglorious campaign. The highlanders plundered some officers both of their money and watches, and some country gentlemen, who were not in arms, were treated in the same way. I myself (continues Henderson), surveying the field before the dead were stript, asked some of the wounded men what had become of Cope. And they all, but especially the English soldiers, spoke most disrespectfully and bitterly of him. After this I went to the roadside where the Chevalier, who by advice of the Duke of Perth, etc., had sent to Edinburgh for surgeons, was standing. He was clad as an ordinary captain, in a coarse plaid and blue bonnet, his boots and knees very much dirtied. He was exceeding merry. Speaking of his army, he said twice, 'My highlandmen have lost their plaids,' at which he laughed very heartily. There were seven standards taken, which when he saw he said in French, a language he frequently spoke in, 'We have missed some of them.' Then he refreshed himself upon the field, and with the utmost composure ate a piece of cold meat, and drank a glass of wine, amid the deep and piercing groans of the wounded and dying. Next day the poor men were brought into Edinburgh upon carts; some were put into the Infirmary, others begged through the high streets; but no charity was shown by the rebels, so great was their hatred to a redcoat." Mr Home, however, gives a more favourable view of Charles's humanity: "He remained on the field of battle till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, for the disposal of his prisoners, and preserving, from temper or from judgment, every appearance of moderation and humanity." Having left the field, he rode to Pinkie House, the seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, who was then in London, where the Prince took up his lodgings for the night, and next day returned to the palace of Holyrood-house. [To show how little the success of Charles was anticipated, the very day on which the victory at Preston was obtained, the Marquis of Tweeddale, in a letter to Lord Milton, dated Whitehall, 21st September, made the following observation:—"That 2000 men, and these the scum of two or three highland gentlemen, the Camerons, and a few tribes of the Macdonalds, should be able in so short a time to make themselves masters of the town of Edinburgh, is an event which, had it not happened, I never should have believed possible. Some satisfaction, however, it gives to us that from Sir John Cope's landing the troops at Dunbar, and being joined by the two regiments of dragoons, we may hope soon to see the face of affairs in our country changed for the better; to effectuate which, I assure your lordship, I never had the least doubt that any thing in your power would be wanting."—TWEEDALE.]

The unfortunate Cope, on whom the chief approbrium of this disastrous day was to fall, after making a vain effort to rally Gardiner's dragoons, for the purpose of supporting the broken infantry, and not being inclined to sacrifice their life like their late gallant leader, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, he gathered together about 450 horsemen, at the west end of the village of Preston, and passing from thence up a narrow path leading to Birslie Brae (which was afterwards called "Johnnie's Cope's road,") retreated with them over Soutra-hill to Lauder, and reached Coldstream that night, a place fully forty miles from the morning's battlefield.

The misfortunes of this day, as regarded bluff Sir John, were not to terminate here; for although, as far as personal courage went, Cope was completely acquitted on his trial, he was doomed to be

> Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,
> And the sad burden of a merry song!

In the keen language of that satirical song, which is universally "familiar in our mouths as household words:"

> When Johnnie Cope to Dunbar came,
> They speer'd at him, "Where's a' your men?"
> "The deil confound me gin I ken,
> For I left them a' this morning."
>
> Says Lord Mark Car, "ye are nae blate,
> To bring us the news o' your ain defeat,
> I think you deserve the back o' the gate:
> Get out o' my sight this morning!"
>
> "I faith," quo' Johnnie, "I got a fleg
> Wi' their claymores and philabegs,
> If I face them again, deil break my legs!
> So I wish you a' a gude-morning."
>
> Sir Johnnie into Berwick rade,
> Just as the deil had been his guide;
> Gi'en him the warld, he wadna staid
> T' have fought en the boys in the morning.
>
> Says the Berwickers unto Sir John,
> "O what's become of all your men?"
> "In faith," says he, "I dinna ken;
> I left them a' this morning."
> Hey, Johnnie Cope, etc.

"The following ballad," observes Sir Walter Scott, "has preserved for its author a memorial for his name, outlasting the period of his own day and generation." From its embodying almost the whole talk

of the times regarding the actors on both sides, it has been found generally interesting, and attained a celebrity equal to the spirited song and air of "Johnnie Cope." It was written by Mr Adam Skirving, farmer at East Garleton, in the parish of Haddington, who was father of Mr Archibald Skirving, the celebrated painter: —

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.

Air—"Killiecrankie."

The Chevalier being void of fear
Did march up Birslie Brae, man,
And through Tranent ere he did stent,
As fast as he could gae, man;
While General Cope did taunt and mock,
Wi' mony a loud huzza, man:
But ere next morn proclaim'd the cock,
We heard anither craw, man.

The brave Lochiel, as I heard tell,
Led Camerons on in clouds, man;
The morning fair, and clear the air,
They loos'd with devilish thuds, man.
Down guns they threw, and swords they drew,
And soon did chase them aff, man;
On Seaton's crafts they buff'd their chafts,
And gart them rin like daft, man.

The bluff dragoons swore, blood and oons!
They'd make the rebels run, man;
And yet they flee when them they see
And winna fire a gun, man.
They turn'd their back, the foot they brake,
Such terror seized them a', man·
Some wet their cheeks, some fyled their ——
And some for fear did fa', man.

The volunteers pricked up their ears,
And vow gin they were crouse, man;
But when the bairns saw't turn to earn'st,
They were na worth a louse, man.
Maist feck gaed hame, O fie for shame!
They'd better staid awa', man,
Than wi' cockade to make parade,
And do nae gude at a', man.

Monteith the great, when hersel ——
Unwares did ding him o'er, man;
Yet wadna stand to bear a hand,
But aff fu' fast did scour, man.
O'er Soutra-hill, ere he stood still,
Before he tasted meat, man;
Troth, he may brag of his swift nag,
That bore him aff sae fleet, man.

And Simpson, keen to clear the cen
Of rebels far in wrang, man,
Did never strive wi' pistols five,
But gallop'd wi' the thrang, man.
He turn'd his back, and in a crack
Was cleanly out o' sight, man,
And thought it best: it was nae jest
Wi' highlanders to fight, man.

'Mangst a' the gang, nane bade the bang
But twa, and ane was ta'en, man;
For Campbell rade, and Myrie staid,
And sair he paid the kane, man.
Four skelps he got, was waur than shot,
Frae the sharp-edged claymore, man;
Frae mony a spout came running out
His reeking het red gore, man.

But Gardiner brave did still behave
Like to a hero bright, man;
His courage true, like him were few
That still despised flight, man.
For king, and laws, and country's cause,
In honour's bed he lay, man;
His life, but not his courage fled,
While he had breath to draw, man.

And Major Bowle, that worthy soul,
Was brought down to the ground, man:
His horse being shot, it was his lot,
For to get mony a wound, man.
Lieutenant Smith, of Irish birth,
Frae whom he called for aid, man;
But full of dread, lap o'er his head,
And wadna be gainsaid, man.

He made sic haste, sae spurr'd his beast,
'Twas little there he saw, man;
To Berwick rade, and falsely said,
The Scots were rebels a', man.
But let that end, for weel 'tis kend
His use and wont's to lie, man:
The Teague is naught; he never faught
When he had room to flee, man.

And Cadell drest, amang the rest,
With gun and gude claymore, man,
On gelding grey, he rade that day,
With pistols set before, man;
The cause was guid, he'd spend his blood
Before that he would yield, man;
But the night before he left the core,
And never faced the field, man.

But gallant Roger, like a soger,
Stood, and bravely fought, man;
I'm wae to tell, at last he fell,
And mae down wi' him he brought, man.
At point of death, wi' his last last breath,
Some standing round in ring, man,
On's back lying flat, he waved his hat,
And cried, "God save the king!" man.

Some highland rogues, like hungry dogs,
Neglecting to pursue, man,
About they faced, and, in great haste,
Upon the booty flew, man;
And they as gain for all their pain,
Are deck'd wi' spoils o' war, man;
Fu' bauld can tell, how her nain sel
Was ne'er sae praw pefore, man.

At the thorn tree, which you may see,
Bewest the meadow-mill, man,
There mony slain lay on the plain,
The clans pursuing still, man.

Sic unco hacks, and deadly whacks,
I never saw the like, man;
Lost hands and heads cost them their deads,
That fell near Preston-dike, man.

That afternoon, when a' was done,
I gade to see the fray, man;
But had I wist what after past,
I'd better staid away, man;
On Seton sands, wi' nimble hands,
They picked my pockets bare, man;
But I wish ne'er, to dree sic fear,
For a' the sum and mair, man.

As a contrast to the broad and racy humour of the preceding song, we hope the following Jacobite ode will also be interesting to the reader. It was written by an elegant and chaste poet, William Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour, author of the beautiful lyric of the "Braes of Yarrow," and of the "Address to the Countess of Eglinton," prefixed to Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd."

GLADSMUIR.

As over Gladsmuir's blood-stain'd field,
Scotia, imperial goddess flew;
Her lifted spear and radient shield
Conspicuous, blazing far to view:
Her visage lately clouded with despair,
Now reassumed its first majestic air.

Such seen as oft in battle warm,
She glow'd through many a martial age,
Or mild to breathe the civil charm,
In pious plans and counsel sage:
For o'er the mingling glories of her face,
A manly greatness heighten'd female grace.

Loud as the trumpet rolls its sound,
Her voice the power celestial raised,
While her victorious sons around,
In silent joy and wonder gazed:
The sacred Muses heard the immortal lay,
And thus to earth the notes of Fame convey.

'Tis done, my sons! 'Tis nobly done!
Victorious over tyrant power:
How quick the voice of Fame has run,
The work of ages in one hour!
Slow creeps the oppressive weight of slavish reigns,
One glorious moment rose, and burst your chains.

But late, forlorn, dejected, pale,
A prey to each insulting foe,
I sought the grove and gloomy vale,
To vent in solitude my woe:
Now to my hand the balance fair restored,
Once more I wield on high the imperial sword.

What arm has this deliverance wrought,
'Tis he! The gallant youth appears!
O warm in field, and cool in thought
Beyond the slow advance of years,
Haste, let me, rescued now from future harms,
Strain close thy filial virtue in my arms.

Early I nursed this royal youth,
Ah! ill detain'd on foreign shores:
I formed his mind with love of truth,
With fortitude and wisdom's stores;
For when a noble action is decreed,
Heaven forms the hero for the destined deed.

Nor could the soft seducing charms
Of mild Hesperia's blooming soil,
E'er quench this noble thirst for arms,
Of generous deeds, and honest toil;
Fired with the love a country's love imparts,
He fled their weakness, but admired their arts.

With him I plough'd the stormy main,
My breath inspired the auspicious gale;
Reserved for Gladsmuir's glorious plain,
Through dangers winged his daring sail;
Where, full of inborn worth, he durst oppose
His single valour to a host of foes.

He came, he spoke, and all around,
As swift as heaven's quick-darted flame,
Shepherds turn'd warriors at the sound,
And every bosom beat for fame;
They caught heroic ardour from his eyes,
And at his side the willing heroes rise.

Rouse, England, rouse! Fame's noblest son,
In all thy ancient splendour shine!
If I the glorious work began,
O let the crowning palm be thine!
I bring a prince, for such is heaven's decree,
Who overcomes but to forgive and free.

So shall fierce wars and tumults cease,
While plenty crowns the smiling plain;
And industry, fair child of peace,
Shall in each crowded city reign:
So shall these happy realms forever prove,
The sweets of union, liberty, and love."

Charles bore his good fortune with great moderation. His followers observed a decorum which could hardly have been expected from mountaineers; and the prisoners were liberated on their parole, which many of them broke. The established clergy were requested the previous evening (it being now Sunday,) to continue the celebration of public worship as usual; but although the bells rung, no clergyman appeared. The shepherds had left their flocks to take care of themselves, and taken refuge in the country. One presbyterian clergyman alone, ventured to appear in his pulpit. His name was Hog, and his charge the inferior one of morning lecturer in the tron-church. He was himself a Jacobite,

and had a near relation in the Prince's army. Charles, on learning that he had performed public worship, and that in his prayers he had mentioned no names, said he would bestow a parish on the good man, should he come to his kingdom. Two of the ministers of the West-kirk, being under the shelter of the guns of the castle, also continued their functions, and as usual prayed for King George. One of them, Mr Macvicar, went the length of saying, that, "in regard to the young man who had recently come among them in search of an earthly crown, he earnestly wished he might soon obtain, what was much better, a heavenly one!" When this was reported to the Prince, he laughed heartily, and expressed himself pleased with the tenor of the petition.

[The Rev. Mr Plenderleith, minister of Ormiston, wrote "A memorial concerning the unnatural rebellion begun in the north-west of Scotland, carried on mostly by the Highland clans; by which many in this part of the country have already suffered considerably; which not only threatens a greater devastation in the land, but the destruction of the most valuable interests of Britain." Such was the title of this loyal diatribe against Charles, which was read in the Church of Ormiston, on the 10th November 1745.]

Flushed as the highlanders were with victory, and the wild enthusiasm of their chiefs, yet none of the inhabitants were either killed or wounded by them, during their stay at Duddingston, where the tents taken from Cope were pitched. Neither was there much pillage; for several of them having put on white cockades, and, under these badges, robbed some people, one of them was condemned by martial law and shot.

On Monday, 23rd September, proclamations were issued, ordering all farmers in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to be ready, at twelve hours' notice, to furnish their horses for carrying the baggage of the rebels to Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the like distance, and, on the 30th, the magistrates of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, and other burghs in Scotland, received a circular from the Prince's secretary, Murray, commanding them "upon receipt, to repair to the Secretary's office in the palace of Holyrood-house, there to have the contribution to be paid by the town, for his highness's use, ascertained: to be done according and in proportion to the duties of excise arising out of the said town of Haddington. For the repayment of which contribution, the said duty shall be assigned. This they were ordered, upon pain of rebellion, forthwith to obey, by his highness's command," etc. The town of Haddington's contribution-money, or assessment, amounted to £50 sterling; and that of Dunbar to £40 11s, including expenses.

CHAPTER XVII.

As Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My thoughts did evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or loss it all.

And if no faithless action stain
Thy love and constant word,
I'll make thee famous by my pen,
And glorious by my sword.
—THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

Ill starr'd, though brave, did no vision foreboding
Tell you that fate had forsaken your cause?
Ah! were you destined to die at Culloden,
Victory crown'd not your fall with applause.
—LORD BYRON.

PRINCE CHARLES AT HOLYROOD.—LORD ELCHO—HEPBURN OF KEITH.—THE PRINCE INVADES ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TAKES THE FIELD.—CHARLES DEFEATED—RETREATS TO SCOTLAND—THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN—THE INSURRECTION CRUSHED.—DEATH OF GEORGE II.—THE SCOTS MILITIA.

The Jacobites, according to Mr Home, were charmed with the appearance of Prince Charles Stuart: they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled, they imagined, in his figure as in his fortune. The whigs beheld him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a handsome person; but they could not help observing, that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his ancestors, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy; that he looked rather like a man of fashion and a gentleman, than a hero or a conqueror. Hence they concluded that the enterprise was above the pitch of his mind; and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved. When Prince Charles came to the palace, he dismounted, and walked along the piazza, towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising his arm aloft, walked upstairs before Charles. The person who enlisted himself in this manner was James Hepburn of Keith, whom we have already noticed, who, when a very young man, had engaged in the rebellion of the year 1715, and from that time, learned and intelligent as he was,

had continued a Jacobite. But along with this spirit he had compounded another; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James VII., while he also condemned the union between England and Scotland as injurious to his country, saying, in his own words, "that the union had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than submit to it." Wrapped up in these notions, he kept himself for thirty years in constant readiness to take arms, and was the first person who joined Charles at Edinburgh; "idolized (says Mr Hume) by the Jacobites, and beloved by the Earl of Stair, Lord Milton, and some of the best Whigs, who regretted that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland."

["The King's Park was full of people (amongst whom was the author of this history)" says Mr Home, meaning himself, "all of them impatient to see this extraordinary person. The figure and presence of Charles were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, in the 25th year of his age, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion: he had a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front; he wore the highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St Andrew. He was about 5 ft. 10 in. high. Charles stood some time in the park to shew himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render him more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback."—Home's Hist. Reb.]

Amongst those who also held opinions derogatory to the union, was that most liberal and enlightened politician Fletcher of Saltoun; but though a determined opponent of that measure, he could not conceal from himself the inability of his country to withstand the power of England without extraneous aid.

It was supposed that if the Prince could have kept his ground in Scotland, the court of France would have found it their interest to maintain him on the throne, and would have exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent an union with England; but Charles, like his immediate ancestors, had an extravagant attachment to the English people; he had received assurances of support in that country; and although the English nation had never shown much devotion to the house of Stuart since their accession to that throne, yet the Prince was determined, contrary to the advice of his friends, not to renounce England for Scotland, when he thought it possible to obtain the diadem of both.

Amongst the noblemen who had unfortunately joined the standard of Charles, was David, Lord Elcho, eldest son of James fourth Earl of Wemyss, by Janet, only daughter and heiress of Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield, in the parish of Haddington. He was appointed colonel of the 1st troop of life-guards of the prince. Charles, on his first arrival at Edinburgh, rode forward with the Duke of Perth on one hand, and Lord Elcho, on whom he gazed with great complacency, on the other. Alighting from his horse when he had reached the eminence below St Anthony's Well, he paused for a few moments to survey the scenery that skirted the palace of Holyrood, and to receive the homage of that countless multitude, which, in the mutability of human affairs, would in a few months be transferred to the Duke of Cumberland.

[The "Caledonian Mercury," the organ of Charles, states, Monday, 30th September, —"There is now forming, and pretty well advanced, a body of horse life-guards, for his royal highness the Prince, commanded by the right honourable the Lord Elcho. Their uniform is blue, trimmed with red, and laced waistcoats; they are to consist of four squadrons of gentlemen of character." The organ of another party, Andrew Henderson, the Whig historian, says—"Lord Elcho raised a regiment of life-guards, who were clad in blue with red facings: such as had no character to lose listed in it; their pay was but small, for though the private men received 6d per diem, yet the officers were only paid the fourth part, the arrears being put to the charge of the government, when the peace of the kingdom should be restored; some soldiers, prisoners, likewise listed with them; but as they did this only for present subsistence so they embraced the first opportunity of deserting."]

Charles remained in Edinburgh till the 31st of October. In the morning before the council met, he held a levee of officers; and dined in public with the principal ones. After dinner he rode out with his life-guards, and usually went to Duddingston where his army lay. In the evening he returned to Holyrood-house, and received the ladies who came to his drawing-room. He then supped in public, and the day generally concluded with a ball!

In the meantime, while Charles was dallying with the Dame Herons of Holyrood; and, according to Leonier, a French poet, found in "the pleasures of Edinburgh, a second Capua," the British troops in Flanders had arrived in England; and these troops, with the Dutch auxiliaries, and the

new raised regiments, formed three armies, each of them superior in number to the rebel force. One of these divisions, commanded by General Wade, covered Newcastle; another, advancing towards Lancashire, was commanded by General Ligonier, and afterwards by the Duke of Cumberland; and, lastly, a number of old regiments, both horse and foot, which had been on foreign service, were quartered at Finchley, Enfield, and other villages near London, ready to form a third army, to be commanded by the King in person and the Earl of Stair.

[Charles's deportment was in general pensive; but he could not help shewing some gallantry both to the young and antiquated ladies who attended his entertainments, and took pleasure in contributing their plate, china, jewels, and linen, for his service. As a proof that he lost no opportunity of making himself popular, when passing the house of Windygowl, a little distance from Tranent, a number of ladies came out to greet him. One of the party more enthusiastic than the rest, approached him, and desired to kiss his royal hand. He not only granted this favour, but took the girl in his arms, and gave her a kiss of his lips also, calling her, in compliment, "a bonnie lassie." The Prince shewed a similar mark of his regard to an old lady on Glasgow-green, of which she often afterwards vainly boasted.]

Prince Charles left Edinburgh with about 6000 men. The plan of his campaign was managed with such privacy, that nothing was known of his intentions till, on the 9th November, he invested Carlisle, which surrendered to his forces in three days. This place had formerly been of great strength; but the fortifications had been long neglected, and there were no regular troops in the city, and only a few invalids in the castle.

It was considered matter of surprise, that General Wade, universally allowed to be the best general-officer in the service of England, had not advanced, and endeavoured to stop the progress of Charles. Whether he was afraid of exposing himself to the impetuosity of the highlanders after the disgrace of Cope,— whether he was unable to move for disease in his army, his soldiers not being accustomed to the fatigue of winter campaigns, the ground now being covered with snow,—or whether he had secret instructions not to leave Newcastle, lest the colliers, who were numerous, might have availed themselves of this opportunity of throwing off the slavery of the mines, and revolting to the Prince; yet he remained inactive beneath the walls of Newcastle, and drew forth the sarcastic couplet of the punster:

Cope would not "cope"—Wade would not "wade";
Nor Hawley "hawl" his cannon to the foe.

The whole of the rebel army having formed a junction at Preston, on the 27th November, Charles pursued his route to Manchester, where he was joined by several gentlemen, and about 300 commoners, having been in some degree successful in getting recruits, through the adroitness of one Dickson, a sergeant, in the Chevalier Johnstone's company, whom he had enlisted (as he says) from among the prisoners of war taken at Gladsmuir. From Manchester, Charles penetrated to Derby, and here he awoke from his dream of ambition, and paused. He and his followers were disappointed in the few adherents who flocked to his standard in England; for although his father had been proclaimed in all the towns which they passed, few acclamations greeted him—no bells rung save in Preston and Manchester.

Charles, therefore, abandoned Derby, and retreated into Scotland before a harassing enemy, with a celerity and good order almost unparalled. In the meantime something like order had been restored in Scotland. After the rebel army entered England, Lord Milton, the Justice-Clerk, with several other judges of the Court of Session, attended by the Sheriffs of East Lothian and the Merse, with a good number of gentlemen of these two counties, entered Edinburgh in procession, and were saluted by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle. The authorities of Glasgow also gathered encouragement from the return of the judges, and followed their example.

Charles having penetrated considerably into Scotland, defeated General Hawley at Falkirk, and met with several other successes; but the Duke of Cumberland having secured the passes at Perth and Stirling, and as the rebels were now mutinous for want of pay, and exhausted for want of provisions, they were compelled to give battle to a superiorly appointed army, commanded by the Duke in person, on the field of Culloden, on the 16th April 1746. The rebels in about thirty minutes were routed and totally defeated; and suffered a fearful retaliation for their wild ferocity at Prestonpans. Charles, himself, with Lord Elcho, and a few attendants, escaped on horseback; but the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were made prisoners, and reserved for the awful punishment that awaited them. [Lord Elcho died in Paris in 1787, when his titles were vested in his brother, Francis, fifth Earl of Wemyss.]

We cannot enter into the details of this soul-harrowing and sanguinary fight, which which drew from Smollett the indignant lines:

Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn,
Thy banish'd peace, thy laurels torn
Thy sons for valour long renown'd,
Lie slaughter'd on their native ground.

Neither is it requisite we should follow the unfortunate Prince Charles in his wanderings, which continued till the 20th of September, when, embarking in a privateer, accompanied by the brave Lochiel, he passed through the British squadron in a fog, and landed on the coast of Bretagne in France. By the victory of Culloden the rebellion was completely extinguished; and the highlands were given up to all the horrors of a conquered country.

On the 11th February 1746, it was agreed by the town-council of Haddington, along with the convention of Royal Burghs, to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland on his success against the rebels; and, on the 3rd May following, it was proposed to address his Majesty on the same theme.

On the 4th July, a congratulatory address was also voted to the Duke of Cumberland, by the town-council of Haddington, to be presented along with a burgess-ticket in a silver box. The arms of the town of Haddington to be engraved on the outside of the lid, and the arms of the Duke in the interior. As his royal highness, on his return from the highlands, made no stay in Edinburgh, many of our civic dignitaries were disappointed of the honour of presentation, and Haddington among the rest. The gift from the burgh of Haddington was transmitted to London through Sir Everard Falconer, the duke's secretary. In the address, he is styled, "the darling of the army, a protector to the oppressed, and a scourge to the rebels."

[The freedom of the city of Edinburgh was presented to the Duke in a golden box, of curious workmanship. It was sent to him at Maestricht, in the province of Brabant, whither he had gone to head the allied army. It is related, that his royal highness, when on his way to England, breakfasted at John Marr's, who kept the hostel at Bangley-brae foot. On being remonstrated with, for his exhorbitant charge, mine host drily observed, "That it was not every day Dukes breakfasted with him!" In 1738, July 20th, the town-council of Haddington agreed, that no gratis burgess-tickets should be given to any of the military except commissioned officers, nor to any person living or trading in the burgh, nor to any who had a title to an heritable ticket; and the guildery not to be inserted in any ticket given to gentlemen's servants, or to those who might have a view to trade.—"Council Reg."]

Fifty pounds having been contributed to the rebels by the town of Haddington, as we formerly noticed, it was found necessary, in 1751, to petition parliament for a duty of two pennies Scots on the pint of ale manufactured in the burgh.

[In 1751, January 15th, the town-council of Haddington ordained, that, in consequence of the great expense they had incurred in building a new town-house and prison, and other public works; and, considering, that during the late rebellion the burgh was compelled to pay £50 sterling to the rebels,—that the corn-mills, grammar-school and school-house were ruinous, the streets in disrepair, etc.,—that they should apply to parliament for an act to levy two pennies Scots upon each pint of ale brewed or sold within the burgh and liberties, and village of Nungate. This resolution was withdrawn on the 27th March, in consequence of the brewers subjecting themselves to pay sixpence sterling on each boll of malt made use of by them for ten years. 1756, April 8. George Vert, land-labourer and mealseller, was admitted a burgess and guild-brother of Haddington, gratis, in consequence of his having furnished to the rebels, in 1745, by authority, two horses, one of which, worth £7 sterling, was lost, and the other, although recovered, was in such sorry condition as to be rendered almost useless. His servant had also been absent six weeks in attendance on them.—"Council Reg." And, in 1745, September 17, William Valey, burgess in Dunbar, was allowed a claim of £5 17s 4d, for loss and damage sustained through the dragoons of Colonel Gardiner and Hamilton's regiments, by foraging their horses upon two acres and a half of pease, at the rate of 8s 4d per boll. The straw was valued at 1s per threave.—Ibid.]

In 1759, March 28th, the provost of Haddington received a missive from the provost of Edinburgh, requiring him to made search for all able-bodied seamen who might be concealed, and to cause them to be taken up, that they might be employed in the navy. The town-council further offered a premium of two guineas, exclusive of the government bounty, to induce seamen to enter into his Majesty's service at this critical juncture, for the immediate equipment of the fleet.

In 1760, the abolition of giving vials to servants and a Scots militia, were the subjects of general conversation and deliberation. [It was then the custom of gentlemen, when visiting their friends, to give perquisites to servants, in the name of "vials or drink-money," which became a serious tax to visitors.] The former usage was easily disposed of, but the latter met with considerable opposition, particularly from the agriculturists, who imagined that the measure would deprive them of the

most able-bodied of their labourers. "Shall that fierce and warlike people, proud of the valour of their ancestors (says an opponent to the measure,) be trusted with arms? To give a militia to Scotland, is to arm against England. The turbulent disposition of the Scots; their propensity on every occasion to revolt, makes it necessary to keep them disarmed, and in the respect to treat them like the inhabitants of a conquered province, not the fellow-subjects of a united kingdom." Such were the futile arguments made use of against this necessary measure, which was, however, in general supported by the landed interest and the clergy.

On the 20th February, the town-council of Edinburgh, resolved to support the militia-bill, the next day the annual committee of the royal burghs met, and issued a letter to every other royal burgh, recommending a like measure to them. To gain their acquiescence, it was urged, "that all the burghs situated on the sea-coast of Scotland, continued under the apprehension of being insulted, or even destroyed, by Captain Thurot's squadron;—[The Paul Jones of France.]—that he was then on the coast of Islay; and that the enemy must always have it in their power, by an inconsiderable force, to distress, and alarm the inhabitants of this country, whilst they remained unarmed and undisciplined. The annual committee were therefore persuaded, that the royal burghs of Scotland would shew a becoming zeal in a matter which so nearly concerned the well-being of the state, and the preservation of the happy government under which they lived; and that they would immediately send proper instructions to their members in parliament in favour of this national measure." In compliance with this requisition, the town-council of Haddington met on the 26th February, and concurred with the annual committee of the royal burghs, in sending a petition to parliament for a national militia, on the same footing as that of England; and Mr Fletcher of Saltoun, their representative in parliament, was requested by them to support the bill.

On the 12th March, a bill was introduced to the House of Commons, for establishing a militia, which was, however, lost. The measure was allowed to rest till 1762, when, it being understood that a bill would be moved for in parliament to amend the English militia laws, it was again revived.

A meeting of noblemen, freeholders, and others was held at Edinburgh on the 26th January, 1762, when a committee was appointed, and the Earl of Haddington chosen preses. His lordship transmitted a letter to the several counties and royal burghs of Scotland, the substance of which was: "The members of committee think it altogether unnecessary in the present situation of affairs, to recommend a militia to their countrymen. The happy experience of England, secured against the attacks, and formidable to its enemies, by a numerous and well-disciplined militia, sufficiently recommends this defence to the gentlemen of Scotland, who cannot be supposed insensible to the exposed and defenceless state of their country. With a sense of duty and regard to the public safety, it is to be presumed that a respect to the sentiments and example of a sovereign so dear to its people will conspire and co-operate to excite a zeal for militia, and a disposition to every man to stand forth, and become himself a part of the defence of his king and his country."

On the 18th February Dr James Lundie, provost, laid the above requisition before the town council of Haddington, but "they declined giving in an application to parliament for a national militia under the present circumstances of the country." The burgh of Haddington thus declared against this measure, while the county, and the burghs of Dunbar and North Berwick supported it.

A considerable number of farmers, manufacturers, and others, of the county of East Lothian, who were also hostile to the measure, met at Haddington on the 19th March, and drew up a series of resolutions, which shews the sentiments of those who opposed it, and of which the following is a transcript:—"The present is a most improper time to make application to parliament for a militia law, on account of the great scarcity of hands over the whole country, for carrying on the necessary work of agriculture, manufactures, and other valuable branches of trade. Who can dispute the numerous draughts of men made by the army and the navy within these few years from the plough, the loom, and other mechanic employments? It is, in fact, to so great a degree, that these arts of peace cannot be cultivated and carried on, although the employer be willing even to pay that extravagent rate to which labour hath already advanced. The young men, the idle, and profligate, of our nation, are already swept off by the army and navy; if then a militia law should be extended to Scotland, and carried into execution, who are left to serve? None else but the honest laborious husbandman; the industrious manufacturer and busy tradesman; many of whose wives and young children must fall a burden upon the parishes. What a melancholy scene from hence opens on our country! And even the landed interest is not without the reach thereof; for oppression in a country, although mostly felt in the first instance by the inferior ranks of people, yet gradually makes its approaches

even unto the top. The meeting could not but, with regret, observe the consequences to themselves and country, that must follow upon a late act of parliament, anent the distillation of spirituous liquors, by which not only a further additional duty is laid on spirits drawn from malt, but the exportation and drawback on the article, by the conditions of the act, puts it as effectually beyond the reach of merchant or distiller in North Britain, as if they had been prohibited by act of parliament. At the time such bill was passing into law, it ought not to have been below the notice of our militia patriots, to have instructed their representatives in parliament accordingly; but it is to be feared their burning zeal for the one hath made them overlook the other."—Scots Mag. xxiv.

The death of George II. having happened suddenly on the 25th October 1760, he was succeeded by his grandson, George III. On the 9th December an address was voted by the town council of Haddington to his Majesty, on his accession to the throne, which was subscribed by Robert Thomson, provost; and presented by Andrew Fletcher, younger, of Saltoun, member of parliament for the Burghs.

The inhabitants of Haddington had frequently altercations with the soldiery. On the 10th March 1761, an advertisement appeared in the newspapers, inserted, as was supposed, by the officer of Colonel Hales's regiment of light dragoons. They accused the citizens of cutting and wounding several of their horses on the night of the 23rd February last, in such a diabolical manner as to render them unfit for service, and a reward of ten guineas was offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrage. On a precognition being taken by the magistrates, the charge was found to be utterly false, only one horse having been wounded by a kick from another. With a becoming spirit, the calumny was refuted in three successive days in the Edinburgh newspapers. Indeed so far from such arts being practised, we have already seen that the inhabitants, from pecuniary considerations, were anxious to have the horses billetted upon them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

When Persia's tyrant to the Athenian coast,
Sent forth, indignant, his barbarian host,
At Freedom's call, a firm and faithful band,
Undaunted rose, to guard their native land:
Their valour forced unnumber'd foes to yield,
Pursued o'er Marathon's immortal field.
Lives there a Briton blest with Freedom's laws,
Less firm, less faithful, to his country's cause?
Breathes there a soul, which patriot zeal inspires,
But feels her wrongs and glows with equal fires?
While with gigantic stride, o'er Europe's plains
Fell Rapine stalks, and Desolation reigns;
While fierce Oppression, with insulting claim,
Mock's Freedom's rights, yet rules in Freedom's name.

—"Prologue on the War."

GEORGE III.—THE AMERICAN REVOLT.—LOYAL ADDRESSES.—CATHOLIC CLAIMS.—IMPRESS OF SEAMEN.—PAUL JONES AND OTHER PIRATES.—DUNBAR CAMP.—FENCIBLE REGIMENTS.—FRENCH REVOLUTION.—THREATENED INVASION.—YEOMANRY AND VOLUNTEERS.

On the 3rd December, 1761, an address was voted by the town-council of Haddington, to King George III., Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, his consort; and the Princess Dowager of Wales, on their Majesties marriage.

In 1763, May 18th, an address was voted to his Majesty, on the late "successful and advantageous peace." Britain held a strong and imposing position at this period. The taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, by the gallant Wolfe, who "died amidst victory's roar," had placed the whole of the continent of North America in her possession; while the taking of the Havannah from the Spaniards, was succeeded by the reduction of the Philippine islands in the East Indies, where her power had been firmly established by Lord Clive, in a series of successful operations. The island of Martinico, hitherto deemed impregnable, with Grenada, St Lucie, St Vincent, and other important places, were also taken from the French with astonishing rapidity. In the short space of seven years she had won by sea and land twelve great battles—reduced nine fortified cities and towns, besides nearly forty fortlets and castles,—destroyed upwards of a hundred ships of war,—and acquired about twelve millions of prize-money.

The name of General Wolfe recalls to memory an incident, which carries the imagination from the Tyne to the foaming side of the St Lawrence. Seventy years had nearby elapsed before British gratitude had erected a monument in honour of Wolfe. It was reserved for a nobleman connected with East Lothian, to carry this object into effect. Through the exertions of George, Earl of Dalhousie, when governor-general of Canada, a public subscription was raised, in 1827, by means of which an obelisk was reared at Quebec, not only in memory of this great hero, but, with a truly liberal spirit, the same inscription bore the name of his rival, the brave Montcalm, who fell in the same conflict. At the masonic ceremony of laying the foundation-stone, his Excellency presided, accompanied by the Countess of Dalhousie and other ladies of distinction; attended by his staff and

the rest of the army. The chief justice, the lord bishop, with other authorities were present. For an account of this incident we are indebted to "Sketches of a Summer Trip to New York and the Canadas," by Daniel Wilkie, Esq., writer, Haddington; a journal written in a lively strain, yet containing some illustrative tales, particularly Edward and Alice, and the last of the Oneida Indians, of exquisite pathos, and scarcely inferior to some of the best pieces of Washington, Irving and Cooper. Owing to some inadvertent delays in forwarding the inscriptions for the monument from England, it was not till the 17th September 1834, the anniversary of the battle, that they were affixed, when, by a strange coincidence, Mr Wilkie himself (a native of the same parish as Lady Dalhousie), was present, and, to use his own words, "had the satisfaction of seeing the last chisel stroke given in the completion of this well-merited token of national affection and respect."]

In 1775, the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies, in regard to the right of taxation, led to that open revolt, attended with such disastrous results, which are too well known to modern readers to require much matter of comment. On the 24th October, the town council of Haddington voted an address to his Majesty on the subject of the transatlantic rebellion, breathing the most loyal sentiments, which was presented by Sir George Suttie of Balgone, Baronet, M.P. for the county, in the absence of the Hon. Colonel John Maitland, the representative of the burghs.

In 1779, an attempt was made to repeal the penal laws against the Roman catholics, which met with the most strenuous opposition from the burgh of Haddington. On the 18th January, the magistrates received a communication from Mr William Dickson, Edinburgh, respecting a bill which was in progress of being brought into parliament, for repealing the penal laws then in force against Popery; together with a petition, signed by Mr James Watson, for, and in name of a great number of the burgesses and inhabitants of Haddington; accompanied with an extract from the convener, containing the resolution of the nine incorporated trades, all on the subject of opposing this obnoxious bill. The town-council having taken the same into their serious consideration, and being sensible (as they conceived) of the perfidious and dangerous consequences of such a boon, recommended to the provost to cause the following resolutions to be inserted in the newspapers:—"That being fully convinced that such a step would be attended with bad consequences, which every friend of the constitution, both in church and state, must wish to prevent, have resolved, and do hereby publish their resolution, that they are ready to join with the convention of Royal Burghs, with the correspondence of the committee-meeting, society-hall, Edinburgh, or with any other society meeting, in a peaceable and legal manner, in opposing the appeal by every method warranted by the constitution; and further recommend to the provost to correspond with the provost of Edinburgh, to obtain a meeting of a committee of the burghs for the same purpose." This request, however, was not complied with.

So anxious were the town-council of Haddington to forward their opposition to the repeal of the Catholic disabilities, that, previous to petitioning parliament, which was afterwards adopted, they consulted Mr Fletcher of Saltoun, whether or not counsel should be employed, to be heard at the bar of the house of commons to that effect, which, however, he thought unnecessary.

These petitions were presented by William Nisbet, younger of Dirleton, M.P. for the county, in the absence of Colonel John Maitland. The proposed repeal of the penal statutes was however reserved for a more liberal age, and dropt their session.

France and Spain having joined in an offensive confederation against Britain, on the 5th July 1779, a letter was received by the magistrates of Haddington, from the honourable Henry Dundas, lord-advocate, which was laid before the town-council. It urged, in the highest degree, the raising of seamen, in consequence of the continental powers having armed themselves against the safety of the British empire. Sensible of the importance of this requisition, the town-council offered a bounty of three guineas to every able-bodied seaman; two guineas for ordinary seamen; and one guinea for every able-bodied landsman, who might reside in the town and parish of Haddington, or the village and port of Aberlady; and who might voluntarily offer themselves to serve in his Majesty's navy, over and above the bounty paid by government. This resolution was advertised in three of the Edinburgh newspapers. In the event of any difficulty occurring in getting the necessary number of volunteers, Mr Dundas observed; "That it was in the power of every magistrate to testify his zeal in the service of government by giving every assistance and protection to those employed in the empress service, so that sea-faring men who would not make a voluntary offer of themselves, might be compelled to give their services in so critical a juncture!" Nine years previous to this period, on the 9th November, 1770, the town-council of Haddington had also shewn their loyalty by offering a

premium of 30s for able-bodied seamen, or 20s to landsmen, to serve in the navy, over and above his Majesty's bounty.

The exertions in Scotland in support of government at this time, even exceeded those of the sister country. Bounties to volunteer for manning the navy were offered, not only by the county of Haddington, and the burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, etc., but by the Earl of Hopetoun and other noblemen, and in many cases, by private individuals.

[The Earl of Hopetoun (July 10th, 1779,) offered £5 to every able-bodied seamen; £3 to ordinary seamen, and £2 to every stout landsman, belonging to the counties of East, West, and Mid Lothian, and Fife, who should voluntarily enter with any of the officers employed in the impress service, on or before the 1st of August. His lordship also offered 30s to every constable or other officer, who should deliver over a seaman to the impress-officers. The Earl of Fife went a degree further in loyalty, and promised £5 yearly to such volunteers while they remained in the King's service. In 1758, October 5th, the town-officers of Haddington were offered a reward of 20s sterling, for any able-bodied seamen they might apprehend lurking about the town or its liberties.—"Coun. Reg."]

While Britain was engaged in her unhappy contest with her American colonies, and every maritime power of Europe was armed against her, our shores swarmed with a host of piratical adventurers. Some of these outlaws of the ocean were like Falstaff's "minions of the moon," but of a superior order. Amongst the first was Paul Jones, a native of Selkirk, in Scotland, who, after a desperate engagement near Flamborough-head, took two king's ships, the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough, which he carried to the harbours of the United Provinces, where he found protection; but from whence he was ordered to depart on a remonstrance from the British government. Indeed, Lord North, in his speech before parliament, on the Dutch war, stated, as one reason for commencing hostilities against that country, the reception they had given this individual into their harbours, with his English prizes.

Another less noted adventurer, Captain G. Fall (who, we presume, was also a native of Scotland,) spread considerable alarm on our coast. He commanded a French privateer belonging to Dunkirk; and, on the 22nd May 1781 he appeared in the Firth of Forth, and gave chase to two vessels which took shelter in Dunbar. Several shots fell into the town, but happily did no material injury. Not deeming it prudent to venture up the Forth, he proceeded northward, and did considerable damage to the ancient port of Arbroath, by firing on the town, for the safety of which he had the audacity to demand £30,000; but although he kept up a cannonade at intervals for three days, the coolness and determination of the magistracy at length wearied him out, and he weighed anchor.

During the months of April, May and June, an immense fleet of merchant-ships collected in Leith roads waiting convoy for the Baltic. The Artois, with 100 sail, arrived in the end of April, where ships joined them every day from different ports of England and Scotland. On the 10th June, Admiral Hyde Parker arrived from Portsmouth with nine men-of-war. They had 120 sail under convoy, which, with those formerly in the Roads exceeded 500 sail. This splendid congregation of ocean carriers sailed on the 27th, accompanied by Admiral Parker; but so formidable were our combined enemies on the sea, that at one time the merchant vessels were ordered to return, as it was imagined that a fleet lay in wait to intercept them. It was found necessary, for the protection of the shipping in Leith harbour, to erect a battery between that port and Newhaven.

The alarm created by privateers on the coast, and the dread of an invasion from more formidable foes, also led government to the resolution of establishing a camp at Dunbar. On the 22nd June 1781, a quantity of camp equipage was sent from Edinburgh castle to the camp then forming at Westbarns links, in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. On the 27th, the flank companies of the 25th regiment marched from Edinburgh castle to the camp. The flank companies of the North Fencibles arrived there on the 19th, the South Fencibles on the 30th, the West Fencibles on the 2nd July, and the Sutherland Fencibles on the 3rd.

On the 1st March 1785, the town-council of Haddington received a letter from their representative, the Hon. Francis Charteris, younger of Amisfield, respecting a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Ireland. In reply to which, the council authorised him to oppose the measure by every means in his power, as injurious, if not ruinous, to the trade of Scotland in general.

On the 21st February 1789, an address was voted to the Prince of Wales, on his being appointed Regent during the first aberration of mind of his royal father. This unhappy circumstance, which proceeded from the delirium of a fever, happily subsided in a few weeks, and, on the 14th March, the town-council of Haddington congratulated his Majesty on his restoration to health, while a solemn thanksgiving was celebrated throughout the kingdom.

In 1793, January 5th, resolutions, embodying sentiments of loyalty, were drawn up by the town-council of Haddington, and subscribed by the presiding magistrates, and inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers.

The revolution in France had broken out in 1792, which not only created alarm in every state in Europe, but astonished the world. A similar spirit spread to this country. A society was formed in Edinburgh, which, assuming the name of the British Convention, kept up a correspondence with other societies throughout the kingdom, which was rapidly joined by many individuals, under the name of "the Friends of the People!" To such a height had the false notions of liberty and morality arisen, that men paid their devotion to human "reason," and, under the cloak of what they called "common sense" set every established order of things at defiance. The consequence was, that many young persons of good family and education were either executed, banished, or compelled to flee their country: and many lived to see the rise and fall of a military despotism in France, much worse than the evil which the revolution pretended to cure.

In 1793, the British, in concert with their allies, were engaged in opposing the French republican arms in the Dutch territories. While the confederates kept together, their efforts were successful; but, unhappily dividing, the Duke of York laid siege to Dunkirk, which he was obliged to abandon with the loss of his artillery. After this the army suffered the greatest privations and hardships from the inclemency of the season and other casualties, in consideration of which, on the 23rd October, the town council of Haddington subscribed five guineas: the one half for the relief of the wives, widows, or families, of our soldiers abroad; the other half for purchasing warm vests, etc., for the soldiers themselves.

The inhabitants of Haddington being still dissatisfied with having dragoons billeted upon them, the magistrates, on the 5th April, 1794, made offer to Lord Adam Gordon, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, of the ground of the two Gallowsgreen parks, amounting to two acres and some odd one-hundred parts, for building barracks, to which government did not accede. In March 1796, they made a further offer to Brigadier-major General Delancy, which was also declined; as it was considered that the cavalry barracks at Edinburgh (Piershill), when finished, would relieve the burgh of Haddington from such burdens in future.

[In 1750, October 1st, Bailie Robert Reid, mason, Haddington, had been impowered by the town council to build, at his own expense, a barrack of stables for dragoon horses, at the West Port, "between it, and northwards, to the round house on the corner of the town wall." This barrack was to contain "a full troop of horses, besides a magazine for their forage, and to extend 100 feet from south to north, and 42 feet from east to west, excluding the town wall." The building to be arranged so as to give no interruption to the highway leading to Aberlady. Bailie Reid was also under an obligation to sell the whole dung to the inhabitants of the burgh at the rate of sixpence per cart-load, or five shillings sterling each horse per annum, and to no other person; while, on the other part, the magistrates were bound to billet dragoons in these stables till they were filled. The feu of the piece of ground to be L.2. Scots yearly. The author had an anecdote from old Herkes, relating to the dexterity of the Essex light-dragoons, when quartered in the neighbourhood of Haddington, about 1760. At a review on Beanston moor, the men rode full speed, and picked up any articles that were placed on the ground for the purpose. This incident is corroborated by the fact, that in a review of Bourgoyne's light-dragoons in Hyde Park, by George II., a few days previous to his death, several volunteers in the regiment, who were distinguished by wearing oak boughs in their caps, rode at full speed, and picked up a pistol from the ground, which was laid before the king's pavilion for that purpose.]

In 1795, a great augmentation of the army and of the volunteers fencible corps took place, and voluntary subscriptions were again solicited by the government. On the 28th February the town council of Haddington made a declaration of loyalty, and approved of the measures taken by the Lord-Lieutenant and gentlemen of the county, to repel invasion and protect property. As a mark of the esteem in which this declaration was held at such a crisis, Provost Hislop was appointed a deputy-lieutenant by the Marquis of Tweeddale.

In the month of April the same year, the nuptials of His Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, with the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, were celebrated.

On the change of the magistracy of Haddington in 1797, the town council's politics appear to have wavered: for, on the 19th April, on the motion of Bailie M'Laren, it was voted "that a petition should be presented to the King, requesting him to remove his present ministry, by which means it was supposed that the blessings of peace might be restored." The petition lay in the council chamber for the signature of the inhabitants. [The town clerk was allowed L.5 sterling additional yearly, for his

trouble in billeting soldiers, with power to admit a deputy billet-master.—Coun. Reg. Oct. 31st 1797.]

The beginning of 1798, however, seemed to unite the majority of the nation in the propriety of arming themselves against the common enemy. The menaces of the French republic to invade Great Britain and Ireland still continued. Though their navy was greatly reduced, with their usual energetic ardour they had projected rafts to supply its place, on which they intended to transport their troops and artillery. The danger and difficulty of this undertaking appeared to professional men unsurmountable; yet it was necesary that Britain should prepare for the "hot bloody trial," and use every means to repel a landing. To harass this country, the French Government had recourse to a violent and decisive measure. English goods were suddenly seized and confiscated throughout the Republic: and a proposal was even made to shut their ports against every neutral vessel that had touched at an English harbour during her voyage; and they even dared to declare war against all the maritime powers that should act as carriers of her produce or manufactures. This measure had scarcely been promulgated when three millions value of goods, belonging to the English, were seized at Paris

In the meantime parliament used every effort to increase the military force of the country. The army consisted of 217,450 effective men, including 15,120 yeomanry cavalry, and 51,360 volunteers, besides 117 companies of artillery.

An alteration was made in the more material provisions of the Scottish militia act of last session. His Majesty's lieutenants were now authorised to hold their first meeting on the 12th of February, or on any day after, before the 1st of March.

The King was empowered by the new act to apportion the number of men to be raised over the counties and burghs, which had returned lists, provided the number so appointed did not exceed 5,500 men; and in the event of the number falling short, the deficiency was to be supplied by an additional apportionment on the counties. A supplemental militia was also established, from whence those willing to enter into the regular service were to be drafted. The total number, returned by the lord-lieutenant of Scotland, liable to be balloted for the militia, amounted to 24,330 men. Of these the county of Haddington returned 669, of which 137 were balloted.

Voluntary contributions were now collected to strengthen the hands of government, to which his Majesty contributed £20,000 from his privy purse. On the 18th March 1798, the town-council of Haddington met to consider the exigencies of the state, and the threatened invasion by (to use their own words,) their "mortal and daring enemy the French." At this meeting they showed their patriotism by contributing £100 sterling for the service of the state, in the defence of the country. It was also agreed "that public entertainments should cease during the present war, excepting a few glasses of wine to be drunk at the cross on the King's birth-day." [Alexander Maitland, provost.—Council Reg.]

In the month of May, a circular letter was sent by Mr Dundas to the lord-lieutenant of the county, recommending the formation of associations in every district, and pointing out the measures which appeared best calculated for carrying a plan into effect for the general defence of the country. This paper recommended: First, to drive the live-stock off such parts of the country as might be exposed to the inroads of the enemy, as also for saving other descriptions of property as much as possible, in the event of an invasion. Secondly, that the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry, were to supply such number of waggons, carts, and horses, as might be necessary for the King's service, and to contribute their share of flour, wheat, oats, hay, straw, and fuel, in case of an invasion: and, thirdly, a plan for insuring a regular supply of bread to the army in the same exigency. No volunteer was to be admitted into the armed association, but such as resided within the division of the county where they were formed.

The yeomanry cavalry were to consist of troops of 40, and not more than 80 men each. The officers to be recommended by the lord-lieutenant. The troops to be trained for six hours, once a week: and, in case of invasion, to serve within the military district to which they belonged.

The armed infantry to consist of companies from 60 to 120 men each, armed as the volunteer corps of towns, or a certain proportion with pikes, with uniform clothing, or a fair allowance for this accoutrement. To be under the command of resident officers, having no less than £50 income yearly in land, within the county, or renting land to the amount of £100. The sons of persons so qualified to be eligible, without any restriction. Those accustomed to military services were to be preferred, and to be allowed full pay. To be trained six hours a day, once in the week. Every man of the volunteer corps, who might think proper to claim it, were to be allowed 1s per week by government. A depot for arms was to be provided at a safe place within the county. None but known and

respectable housekeepers, or persons who could bring at least two such housekeepers to answer for their good behaviour, were to be admitted.

It was further decided, that should the urgency actually exist, that from that moment, every description of armed force, and every association, formed with a view to impede or annoy the enemy, or to support and assist our own forces, would come under the orders of the military commander of their district. It was also recommended that every petty jealousy respecting the military arrangements should be set aside, that all might co-operate, heart and hand, in the defence of their altars and of their homes.

While such were the arrangements of government for the safety of the country, and a harmonious enthusiasm pervaded a large body in regard to the yeomanry and volunteer system, it appears that the militia-act for Scotland was considered by many as a severe measure. We have formerly noticed how unpopular it was amongst a party of the agriculturists of East Lothian; but as they confined themselves to the constitutional mode of seeking redress by petitioning or similar methods, it led to no disagreeable results. Unhappily, however, we have to record, that the same spirit led to a scene of revolt among a different class of people, which we have narrated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

"Let them come:
They come like sacrifices in their trim,
And to the fire-eyed maid of smoky war,
All hot, and bleeding, we will offer them."

KING HENRY IV.

DREADFUL RIOT AND MILITARY MASSACRE AT TRANENT, ON THE FIRST BALLOTING FOR THE SCOTS MILITIA FOR THE COUNTY OF HADDINGTON.

The introduction of any novel measure, whether it be good or bad, is generally opposed by the multitude. The agitated mass look to present inconveniency rather than to future benefit: hence the turnpike-act, which, by giving the country excellent roads, and was the first thing to improve our internal traffic, was strenuously opposed on account of the trifling tax it levied, which was nothing compared to the advantages it brought. In like manner the temporary and necessary measure of a national militia was violently opposed. However fond our ancestors might be of the deadly game of war, the modern "gudewives of Scotland" could not bear the idea of the male branches of their family, just after they had reached the age of manhood, and just after they had acquired some useful profession, of being compelled to enter the ranks even for a limited period; and, it was rather unfortunate, that the task of "taking up the names," or making up the lists of those liable to serve in the militia, should have fallen on the parochial schoolmasters,—an employment which many a worthy man amongst them regretted,—as it rendered them unpopular in the eyes of the parents of the children they had hitherto taught; and, as a necessary consequence, first laid the foundation of "subscription," or what were called "opposition schools."

[The following extracts from the official papers give a specimen of how the schoolmasters were treated, and may serve as a preamble to the chapter. Robert Paisley, schoolmaster in Tranent, took up the list of persons liable to serve under the militia-act in that parish, and while in the discharge of his duty many complaints and threats were used against him. On the evening preceding the meeting of the lieutenancy of Tranent, on the 29th August 1797, he heard a drum coming down the town, accompanied by a mob, and being warned by some persons that it was not safe to remain at home, he took shelter in the minister's house, till the mob left the town, which was in course of half an hour. On his return to his house, he learned from his wife, that the mob had come to it, and threatened to tear him in pieces could they have got him;—that they demanded the parish books and lists, along with the extracts of the young men's ages, and other papers relative to the business;—all of which she was compelled to deliver except an uncorrected copy of the list, which had been left at the house of John Glen, where the lieutenancy were to meet next day:—they also threatened to burn his master's house (meaning Mr Anderson's of St Germains, one of the deputy-lieutenants.) Paisley immediately went to St Germains, and acquainted Mr Anderson with what had happened, where he also met with Mr Cadell of Tranent, another deputy-lieutenant. As he considered himself in imminent danger, the gentlemen excused him from attending the meeting next day. He accordingly went to Bankton, a farmer's house in the neighbourhood; from thence to Prestonpans, and afterwards, for greater safety, to Edinburgh; and did not sleep in his house, nor hold a school, till one month had elapsed from the time of the riot. One reason that Paisley gave for being so much afraid of returning to his own house, was, from the excitement raised against him, by a paragraph which appeared in the "Scots Chronicle," (a paper lately started in Edinburgh,) as introductory to the account of the affair at Tranent, wherein it was mentioned in substance, that the deponent's

wife had deceived the people in giving them a wrong book. Paisley afterwards called on Mr John Johnstone, the printer of the newspaper, and told him he was in danger of his life from that paragraph, upon which he promised to correct it in the next publication. Paisley, therefore, wrote a paragraph in the printing-office for insertion; but in place of it, Johnstone substituted another, which did not answer the purpose. This was adduced as proof against the publisher of the "Scots Chronicle," in an action raised against him by the Lieutenancy of the county for a libel. David Graham, schoolmaster of Saltoun, took up the lists of persons liable to serve in the militia for that parish. In the course of doing so, threats were used against him; and a day or two previous to the meeting of the lieutenancy at Tranent, about forty or fifty people assembled in the village of Saltoun for the purpose of getting up the list and books from him; but keeping within doors, and some person informing the mob of the danger of their conduct, they desisted and retired. Graham continued teaching till the night previous to the military meeting; when, fearful of molestation, and that the lists might be taken from him, he went down to Tranent and slept in the house of John Glen, whither he carried the lists: but left the session books at home. Alexander Thomson, schoolmaster of Ormiston, took up the names, and made up the lists of the people liable to serve in that parish, which he affixed on the church doors, during which he met with no threats or obstruction of any kind; but on the day of the lieutenancy meeting, when on the road to Tranent, and a little way from the village, he was met by a crowd of women, who demanded from him his papers. At first he told them that he had none, but the mob insisting, and saying that they would not harm him if he gave up these papers, and as he saw it was needless to resist, he allowed them to take them from his pocket, after which he was allowed to proceed to the house of John Glen at Tranent.]

The night previous to the first lieutenancy meeting at Tranent, for the purpose of balloting for the militia, the mob, after visiting the Meadow-mill and the village of Seton, passed through the streets of Prestonpans about ten o'clock, to the tuck of the drum, and carrying the session-books of Tranent by way of triumph, but which they promised to take care of. They called upon the people to turn out for the purpose of opposing the militia bill, and threatened those who did not. The general interrogatory to those they met, was "Were they for a militia or not?" and, according to their negative, which in few cases they durst evade, were they left unmolested. Mr Anderson was under considerable alarm that the mob would burn his house; and sent off his children during the night to a farm-house in the neighbourhood; but, on coming near to St Germains, the mob turned to the left, and proceeded as above mentioned to Seton and the Meadow-mill.

The first symptoms of outrage appeared on the evening of the 28th, when an orderly dragoon, riding through Tranent, was assaulted by the people with stones, and driven out of the town, on the supposition that he was carrying some message relative to the militia business. In the course of the night Mr Anderson of St Germains received a note from the Marquis of Tweeddale, the lord-lieutenant of the county, which he forwarded to Mr Andrew Wight at Port Seton, commanding the latter to send his troop of yeomanry cavalry to Haddington, and to be present at the meeting at Tranent himself. Major Wight accordingly went up to St Germains early in the morning, where, along with Mr Anderson, he found Captain Finlay of the Cinque Ports cavalry, with a party consisting of about twenty-four of his regiment. In the course of the morning Mr Anderson's troop of yeomanry also assembled there, and Mr Cadell of Cockenzie, and Mr Gray of Southfield, two other deputy-lieutenants, also arrived in the course of the morning. Several people came in, confirming the opinion of the agitated state of the country, particularly Hugh Ramsay, the schoolmaster of Gladsmuir, who said he had been threatened, and turned out of his house. Meanwhile a great assemblage of people had taken place, and were increasing every minute, at Tranent, which gave ground to suppose that great outrages would be committed. It occurred to Major Wight that the small force assembled at St Germains would scarcely be sufficient to enable them to carry on the business of the day without interruption, although it might be sufficient to protect them from danger. He accordingly proposed to Mr Anderson that they should send to the camp at Musselburgh for a reinforcement, which the latter at first declined; but as it was represented to Captain Finlay, that, from the situation at Glen's house where they were to meet, and the narrowness of the street, a determined mob might drive his party out of the street, and by getting an opportunity of assaulting the house, break up the meeting, about eight o'clock in the morning an orderly dragoon was sent to the commanding officer at Musselburgh for a reinforcement.

The deputy-lieutenant left St Germains for Tranent a little after eleven o'clock. They were escorted by Mr Anderson's troop of yeomanry cavalry, and a detachment of the Cinque Ports light cavalry, com-

manded by Lord Hawkesbury. [Afterwards Earl of Liverpool and prime minister. His lordsip was blamed for remaining at Haddington, as his presence might have prevented the outrages of the soldiery—the opprobrium of which fell on Captain Finlay.] These were afterwards joined by a party of the Pembrokeshire Cavalry, about eighty in number. Mr Cadell, Major Wight, and the other gentlemen, rode in the rear of the soldiers. They passed several assemblages of people on the road, particularly women and children. When they came near the village of Seton, where the road strikes off to Tranent, they saw a congregation of women and children, among whom there seemed to be a good deal of talk. One of them in particular, who seemed to be the leader of the party, came up, and, in a very insulting manner, addressed Mr Cadell, saying, "John, take care of your head!"—and this woman's behaviour seemed to indicate that mischief was intended.

On arriving at Tranent the party and the cavalry proceeded to Glen's house, where the meeting was to be held. They found a great concourse of people in the town; but still chiefly women, who were running about extremely clamorous and abusive. One tall thin woman, the very prototype of Meg Merrilees, acted a conspicuous part. She came running up to the head of the horses, holding out a great stone in her hand, and swearing that "she would have their heart's blood!" Much about the same place of the street, Major Wight and Mr Cadell passed some women sitting upon a wall, one of whom called out to them, "that they should have their brains knocked out!" upon which the gentlemen smiled, when another woman cried out, "Ay, you may laugh now, but it will be otherwise with you by and by!" Upon arriving near the head of the village, where the road joins with the high road from Edinburgh to Haddington, they heard a drum beating a little to the right, which they conceived to be some signal for assembling the people, or commencing a riot, as the mob had got possession of the town drum the previous evening, upon which Mr Cadell and Mr Gray rode forward towards the drum; but shortly returned to Glen's, as the streets were now crowded with men armed with sticks and stones, and attended by a great number of women: one of whom, called Crookston, advised Mr Cadell to go home: and another told Mr Gray "that he should not go home with his life if he entered Glen's inn."

Upon finding some of the schoolmasters assembled, the deputy-lieutenants proceeded to execute the business of the day. About this time a reinforcement arrived from the camp at Musselburgh, consisting of two troops of the Pembrokeshire cavalry, which were ordered to take post, with the other detachment, in the upper part of the town: the gentlemen studiously avoiding to post any of the troops in front of the house, lest it should have been said by the people, that they were interrupted or intimidated from coming up to the house with their objections.

After choosing Mr Anderson of St Germains, preses; and Mr Thomson, schoolmaster of Ormiston, clerk; it was thought proper to announce to the people the mode in which the gentlemen intended to conduct the business. Major Wight accordingly went to the window, and, in an audible voice, announced to the people in the street that the meeting was now ready to hear their appeals or objections against the lists, as given in by the schoolmasters; that they should do so, parish by parish; and that, first, the name of the parish and then the individual names of that parish, as they were called, should be announced to the people from the window. By this time the mob had commenced throwing stones, one of which struck the house, near the window, where the Major stood. Some of the people called out "that they could not hear for the noise what he said; and that if he would come down to the street that he should be perfectly safe." Upon this Major Wight went down to the street, in front of the inn, when the people formed a small circle around him; and he repeated what he had told them from the window. Some of the people listened to him with great attention: but the majority were clamorous, and bellowed out: "That they would have no militia!—no militia!"

At the same time, a man of the name of Duncan, a collier, whose person the Major knew; came forward into the circle and told him that the people wanted to make a proposition to the gentlemen, upon which the Major asked him what that proposition might be. He said that the proposition was, "That if the gentlemen should agree that there should be no militia, that then the people should come to an agreement": in other words, that if the deputy-lieutenants would go away, without attempting to carry the militia act into execution, the mob would permit them to do so without breaking their heads! Major Wight told Duncan "that the meeting would listen to no such proposition—that they had come there to execute the act of hearing appeals, which they were ready to do, but would attend to nothing else." Upon which Duncan replied "They would have no militia!" in which he was joined by several of the people about him. The Major continued "That the act must be executed; that they were deter-

mined to execute it; and warned the people not to oppose it at their peril." Duncan persisted: "That they would have no militia; for it was against the union." The Major answered "that he (Duncan) knew nothing about the union, and was talking nonsense." He then left the mob, and returned to the meeting.

The deputy-lieutenants proceeded first with the upper parishes of the district. They began with Humbie and Saltoun, and then proceeded to Ormiston, from both of which various appeals were heard, and the names of several persons erased, who had brought forward what were considered as sufficient objections. From the parish of Ormiston one man was struck off on an authority not a little remarkable. His father had been a quaker, and, on the score of age, his appeal was granted, on the evidence of an entry in the family bible, which the meeting held to be sufficient, on account of the practice of quakers not registering their children.

The meeting then proceeded to the parish of Prestonpans, and had gone about half through the list when a man called Nicolas Coutterside, a potter, whose name was in the roll, came into the room and produced a paper, which was put into Major Wight's hands. Conceiving it to be some certificate relative to the person's age, it was received; but, on examination, it was found to contain resolutions of the most seditious, if not treasonable nature, and threatening the gentlemen of the meeting with personal violence if they proceeded with their business. It was addressed to the gentlemen of the meeting in general, and signed by about thirty people, including Coutterside, mostly potters in Prestonpans, in the form of a circle, or what sailors' call "a round robin" —a method adopted to place the signature on an equal footing in regard to presidency. The meeting, having taken the paper into consideration, moved that Coutterside should be committed for presenting such a paper, but, after some deliberation, it was agreed, on the suggestion of Mr Anderson, and because Coutterside appeared to be a remarkably stupid fellow, that he should only be severely reprimanded and dismissed. While this man was in the room the women continued very clamorous on the street; but when he was dismissed there was a sudden stillness, and some of the constables or other people in waiting, who were standing near the window, said that the women were going away; upon which, one of the gentlemen observed: "We shall have the men upon us immediately!" Some one called out, that the men were assembling from all quarters; and the words were hardly spoken, before a violent attack was made on the house by a volley of stones, which were thrown in at the windows. Upon this an officer, with six or seven dragoons, came riding up to the door on a signal from Captain Finlay, with their swords undrawn by their sides. One of the women threw a stone at one of the soldiers, upon which the officer ordered them to draw their swords. The men then pranced their horses about, as they often do at reviews, to keep back the crowd. The people proceeded to throw stones, broken bottles, and sticks, and many men continued to join the mob. The stones came with such violence, that the gentlemen were forced to rise from the table, which was opposite the window, and take refuge in different parts of the room for safety, while some of the schoolmasters, more timorous, retired to the back apartments. Mr Cadell now thought it advisable that the riot-act should be read, a copy of which had been sent to him by Mr Craw, clerk of the peace at Haddington, that morning.

Although there was a guard of a sergeant and ten men at the door, and opposite the window, they had little influence in restraining the mob. Stones continued to be thrown, upon which Mr Cadell opened the window, and entreated the people to desist, and, at the same time, attempted to read the riot-act, but he was soon forced to retire. The Cinque Ports and Pembrokeshire cavalry now rode along the streets for the purpose of dispersing the mob. For a considerable time they rode backwards and forwards, firing their pistols in the air, without ball, which had no other effect than to encourage the audacity of the mob, who called out to one another, that they need not be afraid, as the soldiers were firing without ball!" When the streets were a little cleared, Mr Cadell again attempted to read the riot-act; but he could not be heard. The dragoons made a second attempt to form opposite Glen's inn; but they were again assaulted so violently as to be immediately driven back, and one of their sergeants either fell or was knocked from his horse, much stunned and stupified, with his helmet off. At this time the mob occupied two lanes, which led to two yards, and these being considerably higher than the street, and otherwise so situated, that the dragoons, who had only their swords drawn, could not reach them, they were annoyed with impunity; and each time that the dragoons were driven past the house, the mob renewed their attack upon it, by throwing stones in at the windows, and by pressing upon the door. About this time also a party of the mob had gone round into a field at the back of Glen's house, and commenced throwing stones in the same violent manner into the back windows, and par-

ticularly into the room where the gentlemen had met, so that it was no longer possible to find a place of safety in the room, or even in the house.

Major Wight, now perceiving that they were all in imminent danger, as the house apparently would be forced, were the people not dispersed, and, unhappily, from a conviction of the necessity of the measure, for the personal safety of himself and the other gentlemen, in the heat of the moment, called out to a party of dragoons as they were riding past the house, "Why don't you fire?" Upon this the dragoons in the front of the house began to fire with there pistols upon the mob, but at first seemingly without effect: at length, however, from the horrid yell which arose from the people immediately opposite the house, it was evident that the shots had taken effect, and, accordingly, the mob began to give way. At a short interval afterwards, the dragoons began firing their pistols on the mob at the back of the house; and, particularly, one dragoon was observed dismounted and firing his carbine, apparently at some object on the top of a house, on the same side of the street with Glen's inn.

The mob now dispersing, and the village appearing tolerably quiet, several gentlemen went down to the street with a view of pacifying the misguided multitude. While Major Wight and Mr Cadell were standing at a little distance from each other on the street, they observed the man Duncan, who had formerly addressed them. Mr Cadell called out in a loud and determined manner: "That fellow ought to be seized;" upon which the Major sprang forward with a view to lay hold of him, but Duncan made off, and ran up a lane into a small stackyard, which was much crowded with people, who all of them seemed to have sticks or bludgeons in their hands. Duncan perceiving from the nature of the place that he could not escape, turned round, and struck the Major a blow upon the head with his stick. The blow did not stun him, but beat down his hat and spectacles upon his face, in such a manner that he could not immediately see Duncan to apprehend him. [Major Andrew Wight was a native of Ormiston. He was in the Honourable East India Company's service.] Mr Cadell, however, having followed them up the lane, immediately knocked down Duncan, and, with the assistance of Mr Steele, one of the constables, they seized him and several others. Some of the dragoons, who had been ordered to dismount, came up the lane into this court or yard, to whom the prisoners were delivered. The dragoons were further ordered to search the lanes and houses in the neighbourhood, and seize such of the rioters as they could find, which they accordingly did, and apprehended a great number.

The village, appearing now to be sufficiently cleared, it was thought proper that the business of the day should be resumed. Accordingly Mr Cadell and Mr Gray returned to Glen's inn; and having collected the schoolmasters and their papers together, they proceeded to hear the remaining objections. A number of people who had taken refuge in the neighbouring houses, came forward, when they were heard with the same degree of attention as formerly, and some names were struck out of the list of each of the remaining parishes. The business of this unhappy day being concluded, the persons apprehended, to the number of thirty-six, were sent under a guard to Haddington, to be afterwards examined.

Previous to having recourse to extreme measures, the military suffered much provocation from the mob; but after they were authorised to act offensively, they exercised barbarities worse than that used by the highland caterans against the covenanters in the west, and which would not now be tolerated. Parties of cavalry, armed with pistols, carbines, and swords, rode through the fields and high roads, to the distance of a mile or two around Tranent, and, without the smallest provocation, wantonly and barbarously fired upon, or cut with their swords, many persons at that distance, and actually put to death several decent people, who were going about their ordinary business, and totally unconcerned or unconnected with what was going on at Tranent. No blame, however, was laid to the charge of the yeomanry—under such leaders as the late Mr Anderson of St Germains, none could be incurred.

[David Anderson, Esq., was appointed president of the board of Revenue in Bengal, when the celebrated Warren Hastings was governor-general, in February 1781. Mr Anderson returned from India with Mr Hastings in 1785. For several years he took the lead in the public measures of the county of Haddington, and filled the important office of vice-lieutenant at his death, which happened in 1826.]

The following is a list of the killed and wounded, agreeable to the deposition of the witnesses at the inquest:—Killed.—1.—Isabel Roger, (sister of Archibald Roger the writer of a letter giving an account of the transaction, which was inserted in the "Scots Chronicle," and libelled on). She was a girl of nineteen years of age. She was pursued by a dragoon into the passage of a house in Tranent, and there shot dead by him. She was buried on the day following, her brother

attending the funeral. 2.—William Smith, upon a stair, opposite the inn, in Tranent. 3.—William Hunter, shot on a house-top, adjoining to the inn. 4.—George Elder, on the street. 5.—Peter Ness, a sawer of timber, residing at Ormiston. He had not been in the street of Tranent at all during the riot, and was in a field on the south of the village, going towards Ormiston, when the mob had dispersed. He was attacked by five or six dragoons, who firing at him repeatedly, killed him, and then dismounting from their horses, were believed to have robbed him of his watch, as he wore it that day, and was found dead with his pockets turned inside out. John Gauld, sawer of timber, who had accompanied Ness to Tranent, on their ordinary business, escaped the fate of his companion, by remaining within a house in the village till after the scouring parties were called in from the country. Gould had been informed that the soldiers were galloping up and down the fields shooting people like partridges! and took this precaution. 6.—William Lawson, carpenter in Tranent, when walking along the highway, with his carts loaded with wood, from Ormiston to Tranent, and at the distance of half a mile from the town, was met by a party of cavalry, one of whom shot him in the groin without the least provocation. When the murderer presented his pistol Lawson begged of him not to fire, till he should hear him speak, as he had not been near Tranent that day, since the morning that he went to bring home his wood. Notwithstanding this reasonable remonstrance, the ruffians fired and mortally wounded him. Lawson instantly fell; and while lying on the ground another of the dragoons came up and snapped his pistol three times at his head. Lawson, on his deathbed, said to his surgeons and his friends who attended him that he thought the last man the most cruel of the two for repeatedly endeavouring to fire at him in that situation. 7.—Stephen Brotherston, who had no concern in the riot, when walking on the Ormiston road about a mile from Tranent, with his wife and an old man of the name of Chichton, were met by a party of the cavalry, and, on their approach, they stepped aside into a field by the way side. As the party came up one of them fired and shot Brotherston; after which the same, or another dragoon of the party, alighted and came into the field, where the unhappy man, mortally wounded, was supported by his wife and his old friend Crichton, and struck the latter six times with his sword: by one of which strokes the poor man's face was laid open through the nose to the bone. The dragoon then turned to the dying man, Brotherston, whom he struck across the belly and the legs with his sword, during which Brotherston's wife, who held her dying husband in her arms, repeatedly called out to "strike her rather than her husband, for they had shot him already!' The only reply the dragoon made to this appeal was to "damn her soul" and ride off. 8.—William Laidlaw, a farmer's servant, who had no concern in the riot, when at his lawful occupation in the fields, was wantonly attacked by the same party and shot. 9.—William Kemp, a boy of eleven years of age, walking on the road to Ormiston, a mile from Tranent, was attacked by a dragoon, who, in riding past him, "damned his soul!" and made a stroke at him with his sword, which cut off a piece of a small switch which the boy had in his hand. His brother, a lad of thirteen years of age, on seeing the dragoons riding up ran out of their way into an adjoining field, whither he was pursued by one of them, who wantonly and barbarously stabbed the boy in the breast, and then by a mereiless, repeated blow, cleft his head in two. 10.—Alexander Moffat, servant to William Hunter, brewer in Pencaitland, who was not present at the riot, was in a field at a short distance from the Pencaitland road, when a dragoon rode up and fired his pistol at him, but, missing his aim, he stopped to load his pistol, during which another dragoon pursued Moffat. This man's helmet happening to fall off, he called on Moffat to turn back and lift it up, and he should receive no harm. Moffat did so, and, after delivering the helmet into the dragoon's hand, he turned about, and was going away, when the dragoon fired his pistol or carbine at him, and shot him dead! 11.—John Adam, a collier, in a small village, about a mile and three quarters from Tranent, when walking quietly on the Haddington public road, was shot through the head by a dragoon belonging to one of the parties of cavalry. Adam, on receiving the shot, fell down into the ditch by the roadside; and three or four other dragoons of the party as they came up fired their pistols at the wounded man's body as he lay in the ditch, and others hacked the body with their swords. He had got 2s out of the family purse that morning to buy some necessaries for his wife, then lying in child-bed. Some of the troops having dismounted, were supposed to have robbed the dead body of the 2s, as no money was found about Adam when his corpse was brought into his house.

Wounded:—1.—Adam Blair, a schoolboy, when walking peaceably through a field, to the north of Tranent, was ridden down by a party of the cavalry, who damned him, stabbed him in the arm as they rode over him, and left him for dead lying on the ground. Blair had so far recovered from the effects of the first attack

upon him, as to be able to walk homewards to Penston, a village situated on the south-east of Annfield near Tranent. He was walking in company of a boy of the name of William Tait, when the dragoons came up. One of them pushed Blair into the ditch by the wayside, and was going to stab him, when the boy called out for mercy, as he had not been in the mobs. The dragoon, however, struck Blair with his sword repeatedly on the head; and others of the party, in passing, also struck him, while he was lying in the ditch with his face downwards. In this situation the boy received four wounds in his head, and a stab in his neck, during which one of the soldiers called out: "That is the b—— whom I stabbed before"; and the dragoon who made the last stab at him, said: "It is needless to put off any more time with him, for he is certainly dead now!" Blair miraculously survived these repeated attacks; but by the great loss of blood, havoc of his person, and terror of his mind, he was for some time in a very feeble state of health, approaching to imbecility. 2.—Alexander Robertson, servant to James Clark, farmer at North Winton, who had not been at Tranent on the day of riot, was attacked by a party of these dragoons in a field on the south-east of Tranent; and, on his begging for mercy, one of the dragoons without speaking, or attending to what he said, struck at him with a sabre, when Robertson lifting up his right arm to save his head, he received a severe cut in his hand. By a second blow on the left side of his head, he was struck to the ground senseless, where he remained a long time, and was at last taken up, and assisted to go home, his face and clothes being covered with blood. 3.—Robert Ross, mason in Pencaitland, who had not been at the riot, when walking upon the high-road near Buxley, in company with William Symington, coal-grieve in Pencaitland, was attacked by a party of dragoons, about eighteen in number, one of whom rode up to Ross, and, presenting his pistol, said, "Damn you, you b——, I will put you into eternity in a moment!" At the same time another dragoon rode up to Symington, and, presenting his pistol, threatened to put him to death; upon which both these persons implored mercy; and Ross observing one of the party, apparently in the dress of an officer, he ran up to him, and got under his horse's neck, calling out: "Sir, I expect mercy from your hands at least!" While the poor fellow was in this situation, a private of the party called out, "Damn him: put a dozen bullets through him!" But the officer, whose protection he had claimed, and to whose horse's neck he still clung, would not permit him to be put to death. 4.—John Blackie, a carter, walking peaceably along the Haddington road, near a place called Annfield, about a mile and a half east from Tranent, was met by a party of dragoons, one of whom, on coming up, fired at him with a pistol, the ball of which grazed Blackie's right ear. Three others, in passing, struck at him with their sabres, but he fortunately eluded their blows. 5.—William Tait, a boy of seventeen, who was walking on the highway in company with Adam Blair when he was so grossly maltreated, was attacked by four dragoons of the same party, who discharged their pistols at him. The shot did not take effect; but one of the dragoons in passing made a stab at Tait with his sabre, which went through the left pocket of his jacket. Tait, on his assault, leapt over the ditch by the side of the road, crept through a hole in the hedge, and hid himself under a cart on the other side, where he lay till the dragoons were out of sight. 6.—William Montgomery, an old man, some years above 70, was employed in spreading manure on his little farm, on the north of the Haddington road, nearly opposite to the place where the inhuman murder of John Adam was perpetrated, when some of the party who had committed that crime approached him, and one or two, in an exultant tone, as on the discovery of fresh game, called out: "We'll shoot the old b——;" and were going wantonly to take aim, when an officer interposed, and saved the old man's life. 7.—The same party then rode on to the farmhouse of Adniston, which is situated at the distance of two miles from Tranent; and here again most wanton outrages were committed. A number of dragoons rode up to the door of the house, possessed by the farm-servants at Adniston, and knocked violently. [Mr George Pillans inhabited the house.] The mistress of the family immediately opened the door, and submissively asked their commands, on which a dragoon fired his pistol at her: the ball luckily struck the lintel of the door, and passed over the woman's head, but the flash of powder was so near as to singe her face, and nearly put out one of her eyes. The poor woman, wounded and terrified, shut her door, and locked it, upon which the dragoons began to fire in at the windows, whilst others of them broke open the door, by battering it off the hinges with large stones. In the meantime the distracted family, consisting of a man, his wife, his brother, two fellow-servants, and two children, attempted to make their escape from the fury of the soldiers, by leaping out of a back window into a garden behind the house. But by the time they had run a few paces, the dragoons

having broken open the front door, and burst through the back window in pursuit of them, apprehended and carried them prisoners to Tranent, though they had not even heard of the riot there; and could not comprehend on what account they had been thus attacked, and carried off as prisoners. 8.—The same party, in returning to Tranent, visited the house called "Haldane's or Jailor's Hall," possessed by Mr Carnegie, of Leith, where (that gentleman being from home) some of the dragoons amused themselves, among other violences, with holding the points of their naked sabres close to Mrs Carnegie's breast for several minutes.

Such are the particulars of these fatal and disgraceful outrages, which we could scarcely believe possible to have happened, except in a country overrun by an invading army. Had any of the ringleaders fallen, there would have been less cause for regret; but the majority were innocent and harmless persons, who had not mingled in the riot, and who were even at a distance pursuing their ordinary avocations at the time the riot happened.

The facts above detailed became the subject of precognitions, by the authority of the Court of Justiciary, at the instance of the relations of the murdered persons; and they were laid before the Lord Advocate of Scotland, with a view to prosecution; but his lordship, for reasons best known to himself, did not think it proper to institute such prosecutions. On the contrary he lodged a complaint against Alexander Ritchie, W.S., who was employed in taking these precognitions, for having, as his lordship alleged, instigated the unfortunate people to these steps. His petition and complaint, however, was dismissed by the Court of Justiciary as incompetent, and his lordship saw the futility of renewing his prosecution against Mr Ritchie.

These melancholy events excited the indignation of the whole community. One Archibald Roger, whose sister had been slaughtered, addressed a letter to his wife, detailing the unhappy affair, which was published in the "Edinburgh Scots Chronicle," and became the matter of a serious prosecution of Johnstone, the printer of that paper, by the Lieutenancy of the county.

As a necessary consequence the deputy-lieutenants felt hurt at the animadversions made on their character in the above anonymous letter, which was not only declared to contain a false and erroneous statement, but was considered to be a fabrication of the Whig or opposition party connected with the paper. An action was therefore entered before the Court of Session, at the instance of Mr Cadell, against John Johnstone, the printer of the "Scots Chronicle," and John Morthland, advocate, the supposed editor and proprietor of that paper. They were pursued for £5000 sterling damages, less or more, as the Lords should decern, besides £500 in name of expenses.

In his defence Mr Johnstone stated, that this action though carried on in the name of Mr Cadell, did not originate with him; and that, therefore, it should not be entertained by the court; that the printer had caused soften several expressions in the letter, so as to prevent any just grounds of offence; and that he had no "animus injuriandi" against the proseeutor, with whom he was altogether unacquainted.

Mr Cadell, in his condescendence, stated, "that, without the imputation of vanity, it was from a sense of duty that he distinguished himself by his exertions to appease the tumult, and to convince the people of their error. [John Cadell, Esq., of Tranent.] He made repeated attempts to speak to them from the windows of Glen's house, notwithstanding that he was at every time pelted with a volley of stones and brick-bats. Afterwards, when the riot increased to such a degree that the lives of the gentlemen in the house were evidently in danger, the pursuer, who was a justice of peace for the county, and had brought a copy of the riot-act in his pocket, again went to the window in order to read it to the people, and to warn them of their danger, but he was again driven back by a shower of stones. Having failed in this attempt, he read the riot-act upon the stair of the house; but still, as it was possible that this might not be known to the majority of the people, so anxious was Mr Cadell to prevent mischief, and to put the deluded people on their guard, that, in spite of the remonstrances of the rest of the gentlemen, he actually went down to the street, where he publicly proclaimed to the people that the riot-act had been read, and warned them of the consequences of persisting in their outrageous behaviour. In doing which he was most grossly maltreated by the mob; and it was with great difficulty that his own servant rescued him from their hands, and got him pulled back into the house, the doors of which were immediately barricaded."

All this happened before any orders whatever were given to the soldiers either to charge or fire. In short, it was argued, that the whole of the proceedings of that day were marked upon the part of the deputy-lieutenants and justices, by the utmost propriety and impartiality in the execution of the act, and by the greatest tenderness and humanity towards the people, in their attempts both to prevent and quell the riot; and that in consequence of

the publication libelled, Mr Cadell's family were thrown into the greatest alarm and consternation, apprehending that he would be waylaid and assassinated, or that his house would be burned.

Morthland, in his replies, endeavoured to prove that he had no connection with the paper further than its occasional legal adviser;—that the present prosecution had been marked with an anxiety to trace (evidently for a different and unavowed purpose) what, or whether any assistance or countenance had at any time been given by him to the newspaper called the "Scots Chronicle." Johnstone, in his defences on the matter libelled, stated, as a mark of the orderly nature of the mob: 1st—That the deputy-lieutenants were escorted into Tranent by Mr Anderson's troop of yeomanry cavalry, and a detachment of the Cinque-Ports Light Cavalry, commanded by Lord Hawkesbury. These were joined by a party of the Pembrokeshire cavalry, about eighty in number. The people conducted themselves in so quiet and orderly a manner after the arrival of the deputies, that the attendance of the whole of that military force was deemed unnecessary. Accordingly the whole of the yeomanry corps was detached to Mr Anderson's house at St Germains; and the noble commander of the Cinque-Ports Cavalry perceiving no appearance of riot or disturbance, considered his presence to be unnecessary, and set off to Haddington, leaving the command of the cavalry to a young gentleman, one of his captains. He then goes on to state, that "the deputy-lieutenants, perhaps offended by the appearance of the crowd,—perhaps misapprehending the nature of their duty,— spoke to the people in a menacing style, and one of them even went so far as to strike a young lad with a stick, who presented a paper, said to be the extract of his baptism; and this before there was any appearance of riot on the part of the people," who did not commence throwing stones till some of them had been pushed from the door, and their petitions rejected. The defender then proceeded to give a detail of the killed and wounded, after the cavalry were ordered to charge, as we have already narrated.

The parties were next commanded to bring forward witnesses in proof of their condescendence, before the sheriff-deputies of Edinburgh or Haddington, while Mr Cadell moved the production of the business books of the "Scots Chronicle" office, which was granted.

The schoolmasters and the other gentlemen, who were examined as witnesses for the pursuer, gave in general a favourable view of the proceedings of the meeting. Andrew Gray, Esq. of Southfield, declared: That he was present at a meeting of the lieutenancy of Haddington, when a newspaper was produced containing the letter libelled;—that the meeting were unanimously of opinion, that this letter was a scandalous and infamous attack upon the lieutenancy and Mr Cadell, and the latter having proposed to prosecute, the meeting unanimously agreed to support him,—in other words, to bear their share of the expenses. This witness, however, made one deposition rather against the equitable character of the court: namely "that he saw from notes and markings upon the printed papers sent him by Mr Cadell, that some articles of Mr Johnstone's condescendence were not allowed to go to proof by the Court of Session.

In the course of the examination of Mr Morthland, and John Lauder, clerk to the proprietors of the paper, it appeared that the Earl of Lauderdale, General Macleod, Sir John Henderson, Mr Dugald Bannatyne, and some other gentlemen, had been connected with the original establishment of the "Scots Chronicle";—that his lordship had subscribed £100 as his contribution to the concern; and that in July 1796, Morthland had applied to the Bank of Scotland for a cash account to the extent of £600 in his name; the co-obligants along with him to be Lord Lauderdale and Mr Stirling of Drumpellier, which application was, however, refused by the directors.

It further appeared that Morthland was nearly involved in a dispute respecting some reflections in the "Scots Chronicle" upon the volunteer corps, and, particularly, upon two individuals, who had been active in endeavouring to apprehend a person, who was attempting to raise a disturbance on the evening of the King's birth-day, one of whom was Mr Thomas Scott, W.S., a brother of Mr (afterwards Sir Walter) Scott,—the latter of whom waited upon Morthland, and got a public and satisfactory explanation.

As a proof of the abnoxious nature of the libel inserted in the "Scots Chronicle," it appears to have been inserted by Mr Johnstone in the hurry of the moment after softening down some of the expressions, and with great hesitation. He had been dragged from his bed for this purpose; and, through the carelessness of the compositor, the paper was allowed to go to the press (1st September 1797,) without some contemplated alterations. The public mind was so much excited, that a considerable crowd had assembled previous to the publication of the paper in front of the printing-office. In the meantime Mr Johnstone was undergoing an examination before the Sheriff, and, on his return, he found that some corrections had not been made. The press

was stopped a second time, and further alterations adopted; but the people were so urgent for copies, they would not wait; so that Johnstone was under the necessity of breaking away a capital letter, which appeared to be C., in the communication sent by Adam Roger, evidently intended for Mr Cadell.

After about fifty witnesses had been examined on both sides, Mr Johnstone was found guilty of the libel cited by the Court of Session, and fined £300; but on the cause being appealed to the House of Lords, the sentence was reversed, and Mr Cadell, (who represented the lieutenancy,) was fined in the same sum, but which we believe was never exacted.

The day after the riot, the Earl of Haddington, Mr Law, the sheriff; James Wilkie, Esq. of Gilchriston, and other justices, took a precognition at Haddington respecting it, when it was evident from the whole of the depositions that the deputy-lieutenants had acted under great irritation at Tranent, and had not used that conciliating conduct which has the best effect upon the ignorant, or with those who consider themselves in any manner aggrieved. It appeared that a different conduct had been pursued by Mr Sheriff Law and Mr Wilkie the day previously at Haddington, when employed in a similar business, with the happiest effect; though no doubt they had a different class to deal with, being chiefly country people or agriculturists, while the others were colliers and salters; and it being well understood, as one of the justices observed, that "the best way to manage the colliers, is not to rub them against the hair!"

The thirty-six persons taken prisoners to Haddington only suffered a few days confinement in the jail of the burgh, while the precognitions were going on. Several of them were taken to Edinburgh, to undergo a justiciary trial; but the soldiers, who were the only evidence brought against them, contradicted each other, particularly respecting the identity of a person considered the principal leader of the mob,—in consequence of which, it is believed, they were all acquitted, with only a severe reprimand.

——————"Man, vain man!
Dress'd in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As makes the angels weep."—SHAKESPEARE.

[After this unfortunate riot, a considerable antipathy was manifested against the soldiery, which was particularly directed to those who were considered to have been engaged in the late murderous affair. Two of the Cinque-Ports cavalry having gone into a public-house in Aberlady, were dogged by a joiner, who was employed at Gosford, for the purpose of revenge. He went into the room where the soldiers were drinking, and gradually edging himself up to the fireplace, where he observed a large poker, he seated himself by the ingle-nook, and called for drink. The soldiers invited him to taste with them, which was readily accepted: and the joke went round on various subjects, as men will talk over their cups. One of the dragoons happened to rise for some purpose, while his back was turned, the joiner, watching the opportunity, seized the poker, and, aiming a blow at his unconscious comrade, laid him senseless on the floor, while the next moment the other shared the same fate. The ruffian immediately made his escape as adroitly as possible, in which he seems to have been favoured. He durst not, however, return to his employer; but made the best of his way to Leith, where his friends found means to get his working tools conveyed to him. Here he got on board of a vessel, which conveyed him to London, from whence he embarked to North America. On the banks of the Hudson the smiles of fortune visited him; and after the lapse of many years, when care had silvered his brow, and the Tranent riot was forgotten, the joiner returned to his native land with a small competency. In the neighbourhood of Salten he plied his vocation within these few years, undisturbed and unchallenged, and, doubtless, in his calmer moments regretted the rashness of youth.

CHAPTER XX.

London's bonnie woods and braes,
I mann leave them a', lassie.
Wha can thole when Britain's faes,
Wad gie Briton's law, lassie?
Wha wad shun the field o' kanger,
Wha frae fame wad live a stranger,
Now, when Freedom bids avenge her,
Wha wad shun her ca', lassie?

LORD MOIRA'S *Farewell.*

THE EAST LOTHIAN FENCIBLES AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY.—SIR DAVID BAIRD.—CAMP AT WESTBARNS. — GENERAL DON. — BERWICKSHIRE MILITIA.—HADDINGTON, DUNBAR, AND NORTH BERWICK VOLUNTEERS.—ERECTION OF BARRACKS AT HADDINGTON AND DUNBAR. — THE FALSE ALARM.—THE EARLS OF MOIRA AND LAUDERDALE. — HADDINGTONSHIRE LOCAL MILITIA. — DUELLING.—SHIPWRECK OF THE PALLAS AND NYMPH FRIGATES.—THE EARLS OF HOPETOUN AND DALHOUSIE.—FALL OF NAPOLEON AND DEMOLITION OF THE BARRACKS.

At the close of the year 1797 the public affairs wore a gloomy aspect. A vain attempt had been made by Lord Malmesbury

to negotiate a peace with the French Directory,—Spain had joined the league against Britain,—a run on the Bank of England created considerable alarm,—and a revolt of a most extensive nature had broken out in our fleet at the Nore; while the success of the French arms on the continent, under the modern Attila, to whom crouched alike the hereditary duke and the despotic czar, left our country single-handed to combat her inveterate foe, and, in the words of one of Scotland's gifted poets:

> Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
> And Freedom shriek'd when Kosiusko fell?
>
> —CAMPBELL.

Under the exigencies of the state we have noticed the loyalty and munificence of the town of Haddington, which happily extended to the gentlemen and tenantry of the county.

The East and West Lothian Scots Fencible Cavalry were raised about 1795. They were commanded by Colonel J. Hamilton of Pencaitland, and Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Baird. In 1800 they were stationed at Deal.

[About the year 1795, a sanguinary example of military discipline was exhibited at Gullan Links. Four unfortunate men, who belonged to "Grant's Fencibles," were condemned to be shot for mutinous conduct, which we believe amounted to little more than insolent language made use of to their commanding officer (Colonel Cumming,) in consequence of the hard drills to which the men were subjected. The place of execution was a spot called "Yellow Mires," on the west side of Gullan links, where the spectators were stationed. The regiment, to which the criminals belonged, formed three parts of a square, with one end open towards the sea. In the centre of the square the men were placed. As a precautionary measure the soldiers of the "Grants Fencibles" were deprived of their gun flints, except 16 men, who were ordered to fire on the prisoners—there were 32 men of the Scots Brigade from Dunbar, with loaded arms behind them, ready to fire if the infantry had shrunk from their painful duty. The cavalry were drawn up behind the infantry, while the artillery, with two field-pieces and lighted matches were placed in the rear. One of the men had been reprieved, and another of the three was to be pardoned. Lots were drawn for this man; and it is impossible to describe the exultation of the individual on whom this unexpected deliverance fell. He capered and jumped about in an excess of joy. One of the soldiers met his death with great fortitude. He kneeled, and deliberately dropt the signal handkerchief, and in a few moments ceased to exist; but the other, proving refractory, required to be tied, and, refusing to kneel, fell flat on the ground, which caused a number of shots to be put into him, and his body to be dreadfully mangled, before he expired. The criminals came to the ground in two mourning coaches, accompanied by clergymen; a cart following them with the coffins. The corpses were interred in Aberlady churchyard. The soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons of Edinburgh, Leith, and Musselburgh attended, with a vast concourse of people, which were drawn together to witness such a novel spectacle.]

The East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry was enrolled in 1797, under the command of Sir James Gardiner Baird of Saughtonhall, Baronet, a distinguished veteran officer. It consisted of three troops, averaging fifty men each, commanded by Captain Charles Maitland, David Anderson, and Francis Walker. The fourth or Dunbar troop was not raised till 1803, by Robert Hay, Esq., of Spott, and was 75 men strong.

In 1798, another attempt to negotiate with the French having proved abortive, the army and navy were powerfully recruited,—volunteer associations became numerous throughout Britain,—and gratuitous contributions were raised to the amount of one million and a half sterling. The patriotic exertions of all classes at this crisis became in the highest degree necessary. From the claims of the Roman Catholics being still denied, chiefly from the scruples of the King to this measure, an insurrection broke out in Ireland, which increased the danger of the country. A numerous body of troops had assembled on the northern shores of France, which assumed the presumptuous name of the "Army of England," while an expedition sailed from Toulon for the conquest of Egypt. At the close of the year public affairs looked less disastrous. Britain succeeded in forming an alliance with Russia; and while victory seemed to trace the path of France on the shore, our march o'er the mountain-wave had never been more splendid. Admiral Jervis, while cruising off Cape St Vincent, within fifteen sail of the line, beat a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships,—the gallant Duncan, in a contest with abler and braver seamen, gained a signal victory over the Dutch fleet off Camperdown,—and the immortal Nelson crowned "the glorious day's renown" with the battle of the Nile.

Britain, with that chivalrous spirit, ever ready to succour the distressed, and perhaps too ready to engage in quarrels not absolutely her own, turned her eyes to the old ocean-rival, the Dutch, with a view to

rescuing her from the bondage of France. A body of 19,000 men, under the gallant Abercromby, aided by 17,000 Russians, landed in Holland, took helder fort, and, in some degree, effected this object.

The British power was, in the meantime, strengthened in India, by the overthrow of Tippoo Saib, by an army of 18,000 men, under General Harris. Seringapatam was taken by assault, after a desperate defence, through the skill and bravery of General Baird, who commanded the troops, aided by Colonel Wellesley, now the illustrious Wellington. Tippoo's body was found buried amidst heaps of slain. The greater part of his dominions were seized by the East India company, and a vast deal of treasure fell into the hands of the British.

[General the right honourable Sir David Baird, Bart., G.C.B., K.C., was the fifth son of William Baird, Esq. of Newbyth, in East Lothian, where he was born in 1757. He appears to have been born a soldier; and gratified his early predilection for the military life by entering as an ensign in the 2nd regiment of foot, just as he had completed his fifteenth year; and joined his regiment the year following at Gibraltar. He distinguished himself at an early period in India, and, in an affair with Hyder Aly and Tipoo Saib, he was dreadfully wounded, having received two sabre wounds on his head, a ball in his thigh, and a pike wound in his arm, while his company of the 73rd regiment was literally cut to pieces. Captain Baird and five of the officers were put in irons, and suffered a confinement of three years and eight months in one of the principal prisons of Seringapatam; and it was not till the expiry of this tedious imprisonment, that he first received letters from his family and friends; and by a singular coincidence the gallant Baird was preserved to revenge the fatal devastation of Perambaukum by the conquest of Seringapatam. He died at Fern Tower, near Crieff, in 1829, where a monument, in the form of an obelisk, of the exact dimensions of a pillar in Egypt, called Cleopatra's needle, has been erected on a romantic and beautiful hill to his memory by his amiable and accomplished lady.]

The close of the eighteenth century was rendered memorable by Bonaparte's throwing off the mask, and, under the title of First Consul, assuming the supreme power in France. Amongst his first acts of policy was to hold out the olive branch to his country while the thorn rankled beneath, which his Britannic majesty in the posture of public affairs did not think it prudent to accept. This rejection, however, only served to stimulate the ambition of the French ruler to those hostilities which led to the victorious field of Marengo, and the prostration of Austria.

In 1801, the union between Great Britain and Ireland was, happily, effected,—an expedition, under Admiral Nelson, destroyed and took the Danish fleet at Copenhagen,—and the gallant and lamented Sir Ralph Abercromby, by his own example, and the valour and courage of his troops, taught the French in Egypt, that they were not invincible to the British arms. [Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir Anthony Maitland, K.C.M.G., brother of the present Earl of Lauderdale, served as a midshipman at the battle of Copenhagen, where he was wounded.] Nor were our countrymen less successful at sea. Sir James Saumarez, with a small squadron in the Mediterranean, carried destruction into the enemy's fleets. But what spread most joy through the land, couriers, with flags of truce, were daily passing between London and Paris; and at length Lord Hawkesbury, whom we had occasion to mention in our last chapter, and who was now secretary of state for foreign affairs, suddenly announced the preliminaries of peace with France, Spain, and Holland.

Gratified with this event, on the 29th May 1802, the town-council of Haddington voted an address to his Majesty on the definite treaty of peace being signed at Amiens by Lord Cornwallis, on the 27th of March.

The response of Europe was, however, of short duration. Bonaparte sent a large fleet to the West Indies, which excited our jealousy,— assumed the dominion of Italy, and subjugated Switzerland. Britain as a "sine qua non," refused to deliver up Malta unless the treaty of Amiens was respected, and that France should give up those countries which she had seized in the violation of that treaty. This demand was of course refused, which led to an immediate rupture with France, and, on the 18th May 1803, war was declared against that nation. The First Consul immediately exerted himself in preparing an army for the oft-vaunted invasion of England; and besides repairing its shattered navy, expended vast sums in the building of flat-bottomed boats.

Every precaution was now used by the county to guard against invasion, or of being surprised by the enemy. Telegraphs and signal-stations were erected on the heights of St Abb's and Blackeastle, in Lammermoor, which communicated with Dunbar battery, North Berwick Law, and East Garleton-hill, a short distance from Haddington; and thus not only commanded Berwickshire, but the whole extent of

coast and inland country all the way to Edinburgh.

The first encampment during the revolutionary war had been formed at Westbarns Links, near Dunbar, in 1794. It was composed of the Scots brigade in two battalions, (afterwards the 94th foot,) under the command of General Francis Dundas, and the 4th regiment of Dragoons. These were relieved on the same ground, when the Scots brigade embarked at Dunbar, by the Dumbarton, Lanark, and Dumfries Fencible Cavalries. These forces were gradually withdrawn; but after the rupture of 1803, when Napoleon and his bridge of boats formed the theme of the morning's debate and the terror of the midnight dream, the greatest military force ever assembled on these shores in latter times, was now encamped on Westbarns Links, under the vigalant command of Major-General Sir George Don. The regiments consisted of the Lanarkshire, Perthshire, and Fife militias, the Galloway militia as gunners, and a few dragoons to do duty for the general.

The Berwickshire militia, with which the East Lothian was incorporated, was raised in 1802. Alexander, Earl of Home, was appointed colonel-commandant, and Sir George Warrander of Lochend, Baronet, lieutenant-colonel.

The Haddington volunteers were embodied in June 1803. They consisted of two companies, under Captains William Wilkie and William Cunningham, of Haddington, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hay Mackenzie of Newhall. Their equipment, in the first place, was muskets, haversacks, and canteens, which was afterwards augmented; and they were allowed the common rate by government for clothing. Their dress was scarlet, faced with green; gray trousers, and common round hat with a black cockade and tuft. The officers wore the dress of the militia officers of that period.

The corps drilled twice in the week in the East-mill Haugh, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and, from the robust condition of the men, had a stout, soldier-like appearance. It was recommended by General Don, that previous to the volunteers going into quarters, in order that they might feel as comfortable as possible when on duty, they should be provided with greatcoats, knapsacks, and camp-kettles. It was also the wish of the Earl of Moira that each man should carry sixty rounds of ball-cartridges; the boxes, however, were only enlarged to forty. To carry these orders into effect, on the 1st of November 1803, the town-council of Haddington authorised the provost to subscribe the sum of L.21 towards the extra expense of clothing and other contingencies, of the two companies of Haddington volunteers; to be under the disposal of the officers of the corps, and a committee to be named by the subscribers to this fund. The town-council also empowered the magistrates to reserve in the articles of roup of the East-mill Haugh, liberty for the volunteers to exercise and drill in that pleasant meadow by the Tyne; and, in the event of any other corps applying for the same privilege, the magistrates were to have the power of the grant, on being answerable to the tacksman for any damage that might be sustained.

As a proof of the scarcity of men in an agricultural district, and of their value to the army at this period, on the parish being deficient of two men to serve in the militia, a penalty of L.10 for each was incurred; but the Earl of Home, commandant of the Berwickshire Militia (to which this country furnished its quota of men) agreed to supply substitutes at one-half the expense. [In the course of the war, men at length became so scarce, that even the sum of L.65 was paid for a substitute. This led to the establishment of a "militia insurance society," by Mr John Croumbie, ironmonger, Haddington, through which, those who could afford to pay L.3 3s for an insurance, were protected from the service in the event of being drawn at the ballot.]

The Dunbar volunteers were also reimbodied in the month of June 1803, in a more effective manner, by Major Middlemass, under the name of the "Dunbar Loyal Volunteers." This battalion was very complete, with all the appurtenances of a regular regiment. It consisted of four companies, rank and file, which, for the convenience of field movements, were subdivided into eight companies of forty men each, including a grenadier and light company. They were armed as the Haddington volunteers; and were allowed the usual rate of clothing, which being of a finer fabric than that used by the regular army, the difference was defrayed at their own expense. Their clothing was scarlet, faced with green, white lace; white breeches and long black gaiters; with high round military cap and feather. They had also a good band of music. In short, the smart appearance of this battalion, with its spirited manœuvres, and its finer garb and music, gave it considerably the lead of the neighbouring volunteer corps in point of appearance.

The North Berwick volunteers were embodied about the same time, under the command of Captain Robert Burn; but as they consisted of only one company, they acted as light infantry. Their accoutrements were similar to the others. They had scarlet clothing and blue pantaloons.

The military mania continued to spread throughout the country, pervading all ranks

with a generous enthusiasm. The yeoman harnassed his steed for the battle—the artisan left his workshop—the hind the plough—the merchant his desk—and the scholar his cell. And this ardour was much whetted by the bloody atrocities of the French revolutionists, who, in asserting the rights of man, acted the part of demons, creating a complete revulsion of feeling in Britain in favour of the established order of organised society. This mania spread to our youth, and for the sake of 'playing at soldiers" every other athletic sport was set aside. This spirit was further enceuraged by the volunteer drills happening on the schoolboys' half holidays, with a view to inspire martial ardour into the rising generation.

Government having come to the most determined resolution in prosecuting the war, it was necessary that more substantial cantonments should be found for the soldiery than the tented field; accordingly in the autumn 1803, barracks were erected at Haddington and Dunbar with surprising celerity, and a vast expense. They were begun in some instances ere the crop was off their site, and occupied by the first of November. The huts were built with wood, pitched over, and covered with red tiles, and each accommodated twenty-four men.

The Haddington Barracks were constructed to contain about 1800 men and 500 horses, viz., 326 cavalry, 301 artillery, and 1158 infantry.

The Cavalry Barracks were situated in a field lying north from Craig Lodge, bounded by the Aberlady road, belonging to Patrick Dudgeon, Esq., W.S. They consisted of 44 huts, viz., 1 mess-reom, 4 field officers' rooms, 16 for officers, 4 quartermasters, 4 sergeants, 12 soldiers, besides stables fer 320 horses, hay-sheds, granaries, guard-house, storc-rooms, etc.

The Infantry Barracks were situated in that field, in a line with the former (from which it was divided by a park), lying eastward of the road leading to Harperdean, which belonged to the late Robert Vetch, and William Wilkie, Esqrs., and bounded by Goatfield (the property of Thomas Pringle, Esq.) and the great north post-road. They consisted of 104 huts; viz., 2 mess-rooms,—[The house now called Goatfield was the barrack mess-room.]—with kitchen, cellars, etc.; 8 field-officers' rooms, 42 for officers, 45 for soldiers, 25 servants; and 2 staff-sergeants. Besides stables for 40 horses; an hospital, storehouse , guard-houses, etc.

The Artillery Barracks were situated in that field, which lies betwixt Sunnybank and the river Tyne, belonging to the Earl of Wemyss, and presently occupied by Bailie Andrew Pringle. They consisted of 34 huts; viz., 1 mess-room, 2 field officers' rooms, 12 for officers, 12 soldiers, 7 servants; besides stables for 140 horses; gunshed; smiths', farriers,' wheelers', and saddlers' shops, guard-house, stores, etc.

Among the first regiments that occupied the barracks were the Perthshire, the 18th or Royal Irish militia, and the Galloway militia; the latter, being a small corps, were trained and acted as gunners. These were followed by the York, the 25th or Sussex, Northumberland, Aberdeenshire, and Lanark militias, etc. The 2nd or Queen's Dragoon Guards were the last that occupied the cavalry barracks.

East Lothian had now most decidedly turned her ploughshare into a sword, and was armed at all points to meet the threatened invasion; and a more vigilant officer than General Don could not have been appointed. He had already been severely wounded in active service; he knew the cunning enemy he had to deal with, and was sensitively alive to the care and circumspection necessary for the important post which he filled. On the 19th November 1803, he issued the following instructions for the regulation of the yeomanry and volunteer infantry of the county of Haddington, in the event of being called into service:—Instructions for the corps of yeomanry cavalry, and regiments and corps of volunteer infantry in the county of Haddington—"On the signal being made for an enemy's fleet being off the coast, or that a descent has been effected in the north of England or in Scotland, or that positive intelligence is received to that effect, the corps of infantry and yeomanry will instantly assemble at their respective alarm-posts, where each horseman is to be provided with a cloak, great-coat, or blanket; and with two days provisions for himself, and two days' corn for his horse; And where as many ball-cartridges and flints are to be issued to the infantry as each man can carry (60 rounds if possible) and where each soldier or infantry is to be provided with two days' provisions (to be carried in a haversack or knapsack) and with a great-coat or blanket, to be rolled up and slung over his shoulder. Such of the infantry as have not yet been armed with firelocks or pikes, must be provided with pitchforks, or any other weapon which can be procured for them. East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry.—The first, second, and third troops of this corps, will, on an alarm, assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the brigade have marched from it, these troops will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as soon as possible. The 4th troop of this corps will assemble at Dunbar, and join

and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the column have marched from thence the troop will follow and join it as soon as possible. Dunbar Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.—This regiment will, on an alarm, assemble at Dunbar, and immediately join and act with the brigade at that town. North Berwick Regiment of Volunteers.—On an alarm, this corps will immediately assemble at North Berwick, and join and act with any troops that may be stationed at that town. Should the enemy land to the eastward of Dunbar, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed by Whitekirk and Tynningham Bridge to Dunbar, where the commanding officer will inform himself of the march of the brigade from that town, and follow the direction of the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible. Should the enemy land at Tynningham Sands, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position of Lawhead. Should the enemy attempt to land at Peffer Sands this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position on Whitekirk heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy at the said sands, taking care to secure a retreat to the abovementioned heights. Should the enemy attempt to land at Dirleton Bay, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the high ground and woods to the westward of Archerfield; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in the above bay, taking care to secure a retreat to the heights at Fenton Tower. Should the enemy attempt to land at Gulane or Aberlady Bays, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position at Gulane heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in these bays, taking care to secure a retreat to Kilduff Hill, and afterwards to the strong position at Garleton Hills. Should the enemy land between Aberlady Bay and Prestonpans, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed along the coast, and act upon the left flank of the enemy, taking care to secure a retreat to Garleton Hills. Should the enemy land at Musselburgh, or to the westward of that town, this corps will march from North Berwick, and will proceed along the coast, and endeavour to join the brigade at Musselburgh, under the command of Major-General Sir James St Clair Erskine. On the taking up of any of the foregoing positions, the commanding officer of this corps will send forward a guide on horseback (who must be previously secured at North Berwick) to Major-General St James St Clair Erskine or myself, according to the line of march the corps may have moved on, and to report its situation, and receive further orders. In the above movements and operations, this corps will act as a light corps; and, when opposing the enemy, will take extended order behind hedges and walls, and in ditches or in woods, and endeavour as much as possible to conceal its force. On the march of this corps to North Berwick or any of the abovementioned positions, the corps will kill all the live stock which may not be driven from the coast or employed on the public service, particularly horses. Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.—This regiment will assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed there. Should the brigade have marched from thence, the regiment will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible. Given at Westbarns this 19th day of November, 1803. George Don, Major-General. The Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Hay Mackenzie, commanding the Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry."

On the last day of January 1804, an incident occurred, which at least placed the zeal of the yeomanry and volunteer corps beyond a doubt. The watchman at Hounamlaw, in Roxburghshire, mistook an accidental light, which arose at a "house-heating," situated upon an eminence in the neighbourhood of Dunse, for the beacon of Dunse Law, and she in her turn lighted up when she saw the former in a blaze.

> "That's no the castil lycht I see,
> That shines sae fayr and sae brycht,
> For fleit it dauncetli frae tree to tree,
> Like Will o' the Wisp at nycht."
> —"Ane Tale of Duns."

According to another version, in a note to "the Antiquary," it was the person stationed at Home Castle, who was deceived by some accidental fire in Northumberland; consequently the signal was immediately repeated through all the valleys on the English border. Luckily the watch stationed at St Abb's Head considered that had there been a descent on the eastern sea-coast, the alarm must have come from that quarter, and did not fire his beacon; otherwise the alarm would have blazed from Blackcastle to Garleton, and alarmed the whole of the north of Scotland.

In Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire, the volunteers got under arms with wonderful rapidity; and next morning the inhabitants of Dunbar were surprised by the arrival of the Berwickshire yeomanry at an early hour; some of whom were no doubt chagrined at the hoax, while others were agreeably disappointed. The same day the Dunse volunteers came to Haddington, being their appointed place

of rendezvous in the event of an invasion, and the Selkirkshire yeomanry, notwithstanding their remote distance from the alarm-post, reached Dalkeith by one o'clock.

On the 7th May 1804, the Haddington volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hay Mackenzie, went on permanent duty into the North Barracks of Dunbar for fourteen days; and, on the 19th, the whole of the military stationed in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, including the garrison of Haddington, were reviewed on Westbarns Links by the Earl of Moira, then commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. The regiments reviewed were the first and second battalions of the 18th Royal Irish; the Perthshire and Galloway militias, the latter as gunners; and a brigade of Royal Artillery; also a brigade of volunteer infantry; viz., the Dunbar, Haddington, North Berwick, Dunse, Eyemouth, and Coldingham regiments; and the Berwickshire and East Lothian yeomanry; the whole amounting at least to 5000 men.

The erection of the barracks was the golden-age of East Lothian. It not only brought a vast population to the burghs, and set a great deal of capital in circulation, but the cattle and victual consumed by the troops; the forage by the dragoon horses, and the value of their manure, was of material service to the agriculturists. The farmer, in place of his keg of aqua or cask of country-brewed ale, could now treat himself to a pipe of wine; and the merchant could introduce the piano into his drawing-room as a substitute for his grandmother's spinning-wheel! Many active persons, also, who had formerly moved in a very obscure sphere of life, came suddenly into notice, and by dint of honest industry, and other means, acquired moderate competencies; and he who but yesterday held the plough, might now be a candidate for the highest civic honours of the burgh. Not content with individual gains, our municipal rulers also wished to turn occurrence to public advantage; accordingly, the town of Haddington, which holds a right to part of the anchorage of Aberlady, turned her eyes to the harvest that might be reaped from her sea-port; and, on the 6th October 1804, the town-council presented a memorial to Government, recommending the port of Aberlady as a fit place for a naval station; and requesting the Lords of the Treasury to cause a survey of the coast to be made for that purpose; a scheme which we are not aware met with any consideration, as its proximity to Leith could have rendered it of little utility. The plan of Dunbar new harbour, we believe, was at the time also suggested, which not only possessed greater natural advantages as a basin, but appeared pregnant with utility as a fishing station.

In 1805, Napoleon having made another overture for peace, the Earl of Lauderdale was despatched to Paris on the 2nd August, invested with full powers to conclude this desirable object, negotiations for which had been in progress by the Earl of Yarmouth; and he now joined that nobleman in the arduous task of treating with such equivocal diplomatists as Talleyrand and Bonaparte. The Earl of Yarmouth was recalled. It soon appeared evident that the French ruler's intention was only to gain time to pave the way to future aggrandisement,—the war between France and Prussia broke out in September, which led Napoleon to Germany; and, after much temporising, the object was abandoned, and Lord Lauderdale's last note to Talleyrand, on the 6th October, demanded his passport.

At this period, when such large drafts of men were required for foreign service, and the demoralising system of recruiting was pursued to its full extent, the army was necessarily composed of some of the very worst of characters; the sergeant, decked with his cockade of many colours, had only to bring

> "A Scotchman frae his hill;" and
> "To clap in his cheek a highland gill,"

To secure his victim; hence the denizens of the burgh had frequently reason to complain of the nightly forays in the neighbourhood. It appears that the barracks had been tenanted for eighteen months without the necessary adjunct of a wall. On the 2nd July 1806, the magistrates of Haddington considering that many depredations had been committed by soldiers wandering from the barracks under night, and that no wall had as yet been built to enclose them, recommended that a memorial should be transmitted to the Lord Advocate for the purpose of soliciting that such a desirable object should be obtained."

[Mr John Hay, tenant in Duncanlaw, was attacked by two soldiers at a plantation, on the Gifford road above the Nungate-toll. Being a powerful man, he succeeded in struggling with his adversaries till some of his friends came up to his assistance. The men were secured and punished, and a piece of silver plate was given to Mr Hay by the tenantry, as a mark of respect for his resolution and bravery.]

On the 17th July in the same year, on the motion of Mr George Haldane, seconded by Mr William Cunningham, a congratulatory address was voted to Lord Melville on his acquittal from the charge of "high crimes and misdemeanours" imputed to him by the

House of Commons; but as some of the councillors had only got eight hours' notice, Bailies Alexander Nisbet and James Simpson, and several councillors, paired off, after taking protest. In consequence of which, on next council meeting, it became a question. "Whether or not the provost might, on extraordinary occasions, call the council together on a less notice than twenty-four hours, which was decided in the affirmative by a majority of ten to eight.

In 1806, a plan had been introduced into parliament for new-modelling the army, and raising men for a limited time, instead of enlistment for life. A scheme similar to this was extended to the militia, which rendered the volunteer corps unnecessary.

In 1808, the Haddingtonshire Local Militia was embodied; the Right Honourable Lord Sinclair, colonel-commandant; and Lord Binning, lieutenant-colonel; upon which the volunteer regiments of the county transferred their services to that corps. The regiment was 686 strong; their clothing was scarlet, with yellow facings, and gray trousers; and in other points similar to the regular militia.

The chief military force was now concentrated at Haddington under Brigadier-General Hope. This place, from its situation between the capital and the coast, was the most centrical for any accidental movements; hence the garrison of Dunbar now consisted only of the 94th regiment of 696 men, while that of Haddington, which was composed of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, amounted to 2000 men.

The year 1809 was memorable for a jubilee in honour of George III., who entered into the 50th year of his reign. This event was celebrated by most ranks of people in a manner worthy of the nation, by social assemblies, fire-works, and illuminations. On this occasion the town-council of Haddington with their usual loyalty, authorised the "police committee" to draw up a congratulatory address to his Majesty; and, on the 25th October, butcher meat and bread were distributed to the poor in the town and neighbourhood. The address was presented by Sir George Warrander, Bart.

In the meantime Napoleon was pursuing life's mad career of unbounded ambition; and his first campaign in Spain was attended with his usual success. From the convention of Cintra to the retreat to Corunna, the British forces, from the inactivity of the Spaniards and the apathy of the Portugese, suffered the greatest disasters. These were, however, in some measure retrieved by the bold and honourable stand which the troops, under Sir John Moore, made at Corunna, when they successfully kept a superior number of the French at bay; and earned the advantages of a victory which they could not reap. Sir John Moore, when cheering the gallant 42nd, as the words "remember Egypt!" fell from his lips, was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, which carried away part of his shoulder; the command then devolved on our own hero, General Sir David Baird, as the next senior officer; but he had scarcely taken his post, when he was so severely wounded, as to cause the amputation of an arm. The charge of the army next fell upon Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope (afterwards fourth Earl of Hopetoun) to whose zeal and valour was attributed the success of the day, when the enemy were repulsed at every point of attack.

As a proof that the tide of loyalty continued unabated, on the 26th May 1810, it was agreed by the town-council of Haddington, "that the King's birth-day should be celebrated as formerly, and that the burgesses should be regaled with wine and toddy at the cross as usual, at the town's expense."

One of those summary and useless methods of acquiring fallacious fame occurred at this time in the garrison at Haddington, when a duel was fought, and Captain Rutherford of the 25th regiment of foot was killed. A similar accident happened at Dunbar barracks, which also proved fatal to an officer of the Edinburgh militia.

In 1810, a disastrous shipwreck of two of his Majesty's frigates happened in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. On the night of the 18th December 1810, about half-past 10 o'clock, some people on the quay of Dunbar were alarmed by the appearance of rockets to the eastward. This proceeded from the Pallas frigate, which, in company with the Nymph frigate, was returning from a cruise in the North Seas, when, mistaking the lights of some limekilns in the neighbourhood for the Isle of May, and the May for the Bell Rock, they both ran ashore to the eastward of the town. The Nymph landed so close up to the drawkiln below Skateraw, that the sailors landed by means of the masts when they went overboard. The tenantry, alarmed by the signal guns, had previously come to their assistance. The Pallas, however, was less fortunate. She had struck on a reef of rugged rocks a little to the east of Broxmouth park and the Vault shore; her keel was literally torn asunder, and from the rate at which the vessels were going, which was calculated at ten knots an hour, the shock must have been dreadful. From the pitchy darkness of the night, it was impossible to render the crew any assistance, or even to

ascertain their situation till the dawn of day, when they were beheld clinging to the wreck, and exposed to the breakers of a tremendous sea, while the strand was strewed with planks, beams, spars, casks, and all the machinery of a shipwreck.

A party of the Royals, then in quarters in Dunbar barracks, mounted guard over the wreck, and along with the inhabitants, who had come to the spot, gave every other necessary assistance. As soon as it was practicable, the life-boat was launched, under the direction of David Laing (shipbuilder in Dunbar), who succeeded in landing two cargoes of about 50 men. On taking in her third cargo, considerable confusion ensued, partly from the number of people crowding into her, by which she was overloaded, and from the difficulty of getting on board the captain, who had fallen down in a state of complete exhaustion. On observing this accident, Mr Laing, unfortunately quitting the important post of steersman, rushed to his assistance, when the boat, broaching-to, upset: and being, by this accident, thrown into water too shallow for her recovering, in consequence of her projecting stems getting entangled among the rocks, from which the tide had so much ebbed, that it was impossible she could regain her right position. Mr Laing himself made a narrow escape; he caught hold of a rope from the frigate, but a drowning man seizing it at the same instant, got his legs over Mr Laing's shoulders, and completely immersed him in the waves, from which with difficulty he extricated himself, and got on board the frigate.

Next to the exertions of Mr Laing, the conduct of the Duchess of Roxburgh was above all praise; the rooms of Broxmouth House were prepared with mattresses and hot blankets for the reception of the half-drowned crew, as they were carried from the shore in a helpless state; and through the unremitting attention of Drs Johnson and Turnbull, the whole, with the exception of the first lieutenant of the Pallas and two sailors, were so far recovered as to be able to leave Broxmouth in the evening. When the first lieutenant was brought on shore he was apparently dead, and an hour and a half elapsed before he was able to move from the beach. Ten of the seamen, and a man belonging to the port, perished; amongst whom were some of the best swimmers, who, in attempting to reach the shore, were dashed against the rocks. The Nymph mounted 36 guns, and the Pallas 32. The latter was taken from the French by Lord Cochrane in Basque Roads, who mounted two of his favourite brass guns on her bow. It is somewhat singular, that a ship of this name (probably the same vessel) belonged to the squadron of Paul Jones when he was off Dunbar. The Pallas was such a complete wreck that she was sold in lots on the spot; but the Nymph, being in a better condition, was purchased by a shipbuilder from Sunderland, who not only built a ship and loaded a brig from her remains, but got more from Government for the old copper, at a fair price, than he had paid for the whole lot! A small vessel, called the "Lovely Ann of Aberdeen," came ashore shortly after, and lay stranded between these vessels, upon which, in allusion to the Pallas, it was wittily observed that the goddess of Wisdom had led the two ladies astray. [History of Dunbar.]

On the 6th February of the same year, the Prince Regent, owing to the melancholy state of his Majesty's health, assumed the reins of the executive government, which he carried on with the same ministry that had been appointed by his father, the king.

On the 7th October 1813, Lord Wellington entered France with his victorious army. He crossed the Adour, and attacked Marshal Soult at Orthes, where a desperate conflict took place; but the enemy being at length compelled to retreat, Sir John Hope laid siege to Bayonne. The people in the south of France received the British as friends and deliverers from a yoke thrown over them by a soldier of fortune, which they were ready to cast off at the first opportunity. The Earl of Dalhousie was despatched with 5000 men to Bourdeaux, when the citizens immediately declared for the Bourbons, upon which deputies were sent to Louis XVIII., and the British invited to enter the town. The close of the campaign in the south of France was marked by one unfortunate event. In a sortie which the French made from Bayonne, about three in the morning, the picquets of the British were driven in, and General Sir John Hope was made a prisoner.

In the meantime the allied army entered Paris with the Emperor of Russia at its head; and on the 1st April 1814, Napoleon was deposed, and Louis XVIII. chosen sovereign in his stead. The conditions of peace gave great satisfaction to the country; and a day of general thanksgiving was appointed. On the 6th July, the town-council of Haddington voted a congratulatory address to the Prince Regent on this happy event; and at the same time entreated him to use his exertions at the approaching congress of the continental sovereigns, to obtain a total abolition of the slave trade.

The Earl of Dalhousie remained detached at Bourdeaux till the general peace was concluded: and superintended the return of the British army, which he brought

home in 1814. Such proceedings could not pass unnoticed by a burgh with which his lordship was in some degree connected. Accordingly, on the 11th August, the town-council of Haddington resolved that the freedom of the burgh should be conferred on the Earl of Dalhousie, on his return to his native country, as a mark of respect for his character, and the sense entertained by them of his distinguished public services; and that a dinner should also be given to his lordship on the occasion. Mr John Martine was then provost.

The voluntary abdication of Napoleon followed these successes. Marshal Marmont, previous to surrendering Paris, had stipulated for the personal safety of the ex-emperor, and, as a mockery of his former greatness, the sovereignty of the petty island of Elba was awarded to him, with a garrison of 400 men, and an annual revenue of two millions of francs. He was conveyed thither by British ships, under the surveillence of Colonel Sir Neil Campbell. Europe awoke as from a dream; and, in the energetic language of Byron, "wondered that she had been the footstool of a thing so mean. The revolution in the affairs of this astonishing individual, had a strange effect over the country. The destinies of mankind seemed to hang on his successes or his defeat. It is now ordained that the barracks, which had risen with so much celerity, as if the magic wand of Aladdin had been employed in their erection, should be as speedily removed; and, accordingly, on the 7th October, 1814, the magistrates of Haddington were authorised, on the approaching sale of the barrack material, "to buy the fire engine belonging to government; as also to make some arrangements with Mr Robert Vetch for purchasing the powder magazine, and getting a lease of it from him." On the 11th November, Provost Thomas Pringle stated to the town-council "that at the last sale of barrack materials, he had purchased the powder magazine for L.9 9s; but as the proprietors would not permit it to remain on that ground, it was proposed to remove it to the West-mill Haugh. Thus, after the brief space of eleven years, the barracks, both at Haddington and Dunbar, were disposed of by public auction, and as totally removed by the month of November as if they had never existed.

CHAPTER XXI.

Come, Haddington, the kind and gay,
You've graced my causeway mony a day;
I'll weep the cause if you should stay,—
Carle, now the King's come!

Come, Tweeddale, true as sword to sheath;
Come, Hopetoun, fear'd on fields of death;
Come, Clerk, and give your bugle breath;
Carle, now the King's come!

Come, Wemyss, who modest merit aids;
Come, Rosebery, from Dalmeny shades;
Breadalbane, bring your belted plaids;
Carle, now the King's come!

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

FIELD OF WATERLOO.—THE RADICALS.—THE EAST LOTHIAN YEOMANRY CALLED INTO SERVICE—RECEIVE THE THANKS OF THE COUNTY AND CITY OF EDINBURGH.—GEORGE IV.'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.—THE MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE.—THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.

A few months had only elapsed, when Napoleon, to the astonishment of Europe and the dismay of Louis, suddenly left Elba and landed at Frejus. He was immediately joined by Ney, and most of his old marshals and officers; and, as none opposed his progress, his return looked rather like a triumph than an invasion. He soon found, however, that his power had been irremediably shaken; and although he led a numerous army into the field, his raw levies, crippled as France had been by his former conscriptions, could not stand against the veterans of Prussia and Britain. In the meantime, the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher had marched towards the frontiers of France, and encountered Napoleon on the Belgian territory. After defeating the Prussians on the Sambre and at Lingny, he was opposed by the British on the field of Waterloo; and here the two greatest captains of the age were at last brought into personal conflict together. The result was that a complete victory was gained by the British, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to detail as they are familiar to our youth as household words: suffice it to say, that 40,000 of the French were killed, three hundred pieces of cannon taken, and 40,000 prisoners, while the Prussians lost 16,000 and the British 13,000 men. One feeling of commiseration and applause ran throughout the country,—commiseration for the families of the brave men who had fallen, and applause for their heroic courage. Taking this matter into consideration, on the 27th July 1815, the town-council of Haddington subscribed ten guineas in aid of funds raised for the relief of the widows and children of the British who fell at the battle of Waterloo.

[Captain William Frederick Browne, formerly of the Enniskillen Dragoons, distinguished himself greatly by his gallant conduct at the battle of Waterloo. He continued to charge the enemy at the head of the troop which he commanded after having received several wounds; nor did he quit his post on that glorious day till late in the afternoon, when his horse was shot under him, and, exhausted by loss of blood, he was laid prostrate on the ground. In this defenceless state a body of French

lancers rode over him, inflicting, as they passed, additional wounds, and left him apparently lifeless on the field. Captain Browne's health was so much impared by the injuries he sustained at Waterloo, that he soon atterwards was compelled to quit the army, and resided principally at North Berwick. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of the late Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet. He died at North Bedwick on the 10th March 1842.]

The sudden transition from the feverish state of war to a profound peace, left Britain in a similar state to the valorous man, who having nearly exhausted the last drop of his blood in defence of his property, or expended his last farthing in a vain speculation, feels after the struggle a heart-depressing weakness, while he is surrounded by a clamorous family. This depression was soon felt throughout the country, and pressed severely upon our agrieulturists and manufacturers. The foreign powers, whom we had saved by our arms, and supported by our subsidies, could now turn their spears into the pruning hook, and erect warehouses for themselves; and England found her markets glutted with goods for which there was no demand. The consequence was that the un-English system of staek-burning and frame-breaking commenced, and the ignorant classes took vengeance on their employers, who were suffering as well as themselves. The mechanic, who during the war had been earning enormous wages, never thought of providing for the day of adversity, and could not now brook to sit down in his lonely home surrounded by his weeping wife and famished family. He preferred rather to join the politieal crew in the marketplace, where some jaundiced demagogue fed him with seditious speeches; aseribing all their present miserics, not to the aets of former statesmen, but to their present rulers. In this country when any grievance starts up, the public voice is commonly raised against the leader of the dominant party; but now it fell with unmitigated severity on the Prinee Regent. Government, sensible of the embarrassment of the people, and of the disaffeetion which prevailed throughout the kingdom, met on the 28th January 1817, to adopt measures for granting relief, when, as the Prinee Regent was returning from parliament, he was not only most grossly insulted by the mob, but a stone or ball from an air-gun, perforated the glass of his state carriage, and endangered his life. This daring attempt to asassinate the representative of majesty, exeited alarm in the ministry, and called forth expressions of loyalty in the country. In aceordance with which, on the 8th February, a eongratulatory address was voted by the town-eouneil of Haddington to the Prince Regent, on his late narrow eseape from the daring outrage offered him on his return from the opening of parliament. Mr John Martine was then provost.

This political ferment which distracted the country, was in some measure allayed by the suspension of the habeas eorpus aet, whereby the seditious were prevented from holding their lawless meetings, after a few unhappy men, who were found guilty of eonspiracy, were executed.

On the close of 1817, the people of Great Britain were called upon to deplore heavier ealamities whieh befel the royal family; for, on the 13th December, it was the painful duty of the town-council of Haddington to vote addresses of eondolence to the Prince Regent and Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, on the death of the Prineess Charlotte of Wales, only daughter of the former, and to whom the latter had been married on the 2nd of May 1816. On the death of so young and so amiable a princess, publie respect and sympathy were shown to a eonsiderable degree by a general mourning. The following year, December 8th, 1818, the town-council of Haddington had also to vote addresses of eondolence to the Prince Regent on the death of Queen Charlotte, his royal mother.

A faction had arisen in the country, who, under the specious name of radical reform, sought to sweep away at one fell swoop every vested right, and to root up every ancient establishment. There may be "something rotten in the state of Denmark"; but it requires eautious hands to remove the leaky planks of the national vessel, and a skilful carpenter to supply timber of a better quality. The plausible doctrine of universal suffrage was also widely eireulated. A doetrine than whieh nothing can be more absurd; for as long as talent and industry eontinue to tread on the heels of imbecility and sloth, so long will distinetions in society necessarily exist.

In August 1819, a tumultuous meeting at Manchester, headed by the orator Hunt, had been dispersed by the yeomanry, whieh led government to adopt energetic measures to prevent the recurrenee of such disgraceful and bloody seenes as then followed, by passing acts against the people training and arming themselves for insurrectionary purposes. The town-council of Haddington watching the progress of sueh events, met on the 28th October, and voted "an address to the Prince Regent on the disaffeeted state of the country, aceompanied with assurances of their duty and loyalty, amidst the frantic clamours of faction, under the specious pretext of reform," whieh was transmitted to Lord Sidmouth. Mr Thomas Pringle was then provost.

The month of January 1820, was remarkable for the death of the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria; and of George III., at Windsor, in the 82nd year of his age and 60th of his reign, having swayed the sceptre of Britain for a longer period than any other monarch.

Treasonous practices still continued in England. A desperate party headed by Arthur Thistlewood, had formed the design of assassinating the members of the privy-council, who were to meet at the house of Lord Harrowby, which was happily frustrated; and Thistlewood and four of his companions tried and executed. Commotions followed, particularly about Huddersfield, where the insurgents were dispersed by the dragoons and the yeomanry. In Scotland the flame of sedition had spread to such an extent that the manufacturing classes in Glasgow and Paisley held regular drillings, and had the audacity to issue proclamations enjoining labourers of all descriptions to desist from work, and join their standard. Government, in consequence of these proceedings, issued orders that the yeomanry of the neighbouring counties should assemble at Glasgow; and in a few days 5000 troops were collected in that city. Overawed by this imposing force, the insurgents retired to their dark recesses, and durst not openly assemble in the streets; but an armed party of them proceeded to Bonnymuir, near Kilsyth, in the expectation of being joined oy numbers of their associates. A troop of hussars, however, under Lieutenant Hodgson, was sufficient to rout these deluded men, of whom nineteen were taken prisoners. Three of them were executed, and the rest of them pleading guilty were transported.

The zeal and energy of the yeomany cavalry, and the celerity with which they came into the field, was a great means of overawing the insurgents, and effectually quelling these disturbances, which immediately ceased. During these commotions the East Lothian yeomanry, under Sir James Gardiner Baird, having been ordered to Edinburgh, while the Berwickshire came to Haddington, the thanks of the city were conveyed to the former by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to the Earl of Haddington.

The thanks of the county of Edinburgh having also been transmitted to the East Lothian yeomanry cavalry, through the Earl of Haddington.

The Scots, like the Spaniards, are a grave and proud nation, fond of decorum, dress, and exterior show; "jealous of honour, and in reputation strong," hence many a time has the pensive eye rested on the towers of Holyrood, when musing that "a stranger filled the Stuart's throne," and that the regal glory of Scotland had departed. The last royal personage who had visited Scotland was Charles II. in 1650, with the exception of the unfortunate Prince Charles Edward in 1745. It is, therefore, impossible to describe the satisfaction that pervaded the "Land of Cakes," when Lord Melville communicated in a letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the intention of his Majesty, George IV. to pay a visit to the ancient residence of his ancestors. His Majesty embarked at Greenwick, for Scotland, on the 10th August 1822. The royal squadron appeared off St Abb's Head about nine o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 14th. On passing the shores of Dunbar, a salute was fired from the battery, and from some pieces of cannon placed on Doonhill by Mr Hay of Spott, where a bonfire was lighted in the evening. Several persons went off in boats, and had an opportunity of seeing the King, who bowed with his usual affability to the spectators. The squadron arrived in Leith Roads in the afternoon. We shall never forget the excitation of the moment, or the spectacle which the Forth presented (which we had the good fortune to witness from an elevated window of the telegraph coffee-room,) when the "adamantine lips" of every ship was tipped with fire, and Leith poured her heaviest ordnance in a royal salute, which reverberated from Salisbury crags to the farthest nook of Fife. From the bad state of the weather (for the rain fell in torrents) the King deferred landing that evening. Sir Walter Scott, who was amongst the first to strike his ministerial lyre to "Carle, now the King's come!" with several distinguished persons, went on board the royal yacht, and welcomed his Majesty to his Scottish dominions with his usual ingeniousness. [The song by Sir Walter Scott, first appeared, we believe, in the "London Courier." Some verses of a song, "Come list the pibroch's martial strain," or "George IV.'s welcome," by the author of the present volume, appeared at the same time in the Edinburgh papers, and was copied by them into the Leith "Royal Minstrelsy." This song, in an enlarged form, was printed in Oliver & Boyd's "Historical Account of the King's visit." and was afterwards published along with the author's poem of "St Baldred," etc.] Exactly at noon, a gun from the royal yacht announced that the King had embarked, and soon after the barge entered the harbour amidst the thunder of artillery, and the enthusiastic cheering of an immense multitude. At the landing place, which was a platform covered with scarlet cloth, his majesty was received by the Duke of Dorset, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Cathcart, the Earl of Fife, Sir Wil-

liam Elliot, Sir Thomas Bradford (commander of the forces,) the judges of the supreme courts, and the magistrates of Leith, all of whom he shook cordially by the hand. His Majesty then proceeded to his carriage, which was open at the top, and being seated with the Duke of Dorset and Marquis of Winchester, it drove off at a slow pace, guarded by the company of Royal Archers, under the command of the Earl of Elgin, and a detachment of the Scots Greys. The head of the cavalcade reached the barriers of Edinburgh about one o'cloek, when the lord-provost, accompanied by the magistrates, presented his Majesty with the silver keys of the city, which he immediately returned with a short and courteous speech. The procession proceeded by York Place and St Andrew's Square to Prince's Street, when turning eastward it moved by the Regent Bridge to Holyrood House. It was our good luck, after leaving the pier of Leith, again to witness this splendid pageant from the Calton Hill, which was literally paved with human beings, surrounded by all the romantic and architectural grandeur of "Scotia's darling seat"; and proud were we of the same feelings which animated his Majesty when he exclaimed, amidst the cheering of his subjects, and the clouds of waving hats and handkerchiefs, "How superb!" After receiving the congratulations of the authorities, the King went in his private carriage to Dalkeith House, where he resided during his visit. Fireworks were exhibited in the evening in the city, while beacons blazed on the summit of Arthur's seat, Traprene-law, Lammerlaw, Doonhill, Garleton, and every mountainous point of East Lothian; and on the following evening there was a general illumination.

From hill to hill the tidings fly,
Proud Arthur's crest is blazing high,
Traprene glowers up, and lights the sky,
To welcome royal Geordie.

Dunedin's streets are in a blaze,
As when great Nelson ruled the seas;
Is Wellington upon the breeze?
O no! it's royal Geordie.—Author's Song.

On the 17th his Majesty held a levee at the palace of Holyrood, which was numerously and splendidly attended. On this occasion a congratulatory address on his visiting Scotland, was voted by the town-council of Haddington on the 7th. Mr Peter Dods was then provost.

On Monday the 19th, the Berwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry went into quarters at Musselburgh; the next day the East Lothian Yeomanry assembled at Haddington. Both regiments, with about 3000 cavalry, chiefly yeomanry, were reviewed by his Majesty on Portobello sands, on Friday the 23rd August.

On the 29th his Majesty, after partaking of a splendid dejeune prepared for him by the Earl of Hopetoun at Hopetoun House, embarked on board the royal yacht at Port Edgar, near Queensferry, amidst the cheers and adieus of spectators assembled from all parts of the adjacent country. His departure was announced to our eastern shores by some guns placed on the Bass, about seven o'clock in the evening. A bonfire was immediately lighted at Dunbar pierhead, and a salute fired from the battery, which was replied to by the guns placed on Doonhill; but the wetness and darkness of the night precluded any view of the squadron, save the glimpse of a solitary light at one of their mastheads.

[The guns placed on the Bass Rock, were under the direction of the late John Martin, vintner in North Berwick, who had served in the royal navy, and who accompanied Captain Sir Edward Parry in his voyages to the arctic regions.]

To commemorate this event, on the 22nd November, the town-council of Haddington subscribed £10 10s to the fund for erecting an equestrian statue to his Majesty in memory of his late visit to Scotland. This statue, by Sir Francis Chantrey, (which is pedestrian,) was erected where Hanover Street crosses George's Street, Edinburgh.

On the 19th February 1824, the town-council of Haddington contributed £10 10s towards the fund raised for the relief of the Spanish refugees in this country.

On the 25th January 1827, the town-council of Haddington voted an address of condolence to the King, on the death of his royal brother, Frederick, Duke of York.

On the 26th February, the town-council conferred the freedom of the burgh on the right honourable Francis, Lord Elcho, with a vote of thanks for the eminent services he had rendered the town on various occasions.

The same year, three troops of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry were disembodied; viz. Salton Seton, and Gifford; but the officers were allowed to retain their commissions. The Dunbar troop, under James Hunter, Esq. of Thurston, continued to serve without pay.

The demise of George IV. took place at Windsor, on the 26th June 1830. On the 2nd of July the town-council of Haddington took the oath of allegiance to William IV. on his accession to the throne; and voted an address of congratulation on the event.

On the 20th June 1837, the town-council of Haddington voted an address to her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on her accession to the throne; and, on the 28th June 1838, the coronation of her Majesty was cele-

brated with great enthusiasm throughout the county.

Actuated by the spirit that had emanated from the metropolis of the British empire, it was the wish of the city of Edinburgh that Scotland should erect some national monument to record the splendid military achievements of Field Marshal his grace the Duke of Wellington, during a life exclusively devoted to the service of his country in various quarters of the globe. In aid of this great object, on the 10th January 1840, a large meeting of the nobility, landed proprietors, and tenantry of the county of East Lothian, was held in the assembly-room, Haddington, where men of every shade of political party mingled in unison to carry the object of this lasting testimonial of a country's gratitude into effect. Up to the close of the year, the munificent sum of £1153 8s 6 l had been subscribed; a considerable portion of which was contributed by the ladies of East Lothian.

In the beginning of 1840, an event occurred, which excited considerable interest throughout the united kingdom. On the 10th February her Majesty, Queen (Alexandrina) Victoria, was married to Francis-Albert-Augustus-Charles-Emanuel, Duke of Saxe, Prince Coburg and Gotha, which was celebrated with great rejoicings in Haddington and throughout the county. On this joyous occasion the burgh showed its ancient liberality in a propine to the burgesses. This happy event was further augmented on the 21st November 1840, by the birth of the Princess Royal of England, which was also celebrated with the greatest demonstrations of loyalty.

On the 1st September 1841, the right honourable Thomas, Earl of Haddington, was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty, on the formation of the new cabinet, submitted to her Majesty by Sir Robert Peel, Baronet. [During the administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1834, his lordship was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.]

On the 11th November 1841, great rejoicings took place in the county on the birth of his royal highness Albert-Edward Prince of Wales. At Haddington, on the arrival of the news, the bells rung a loud, long, and merry peal; and, in the afternoon, the magistrates and inhabitants met in the assembly-room, from whence they walked in procession to the cross, where, after pledging some glasses of wine to the health of her Majesty and the infant heir to the throne, they returned to the place of meeting, and spent the evening with that joy and hilarity which such an uncommon and happy occurrence was calculated to inspire.

The county had next to perform a pleasant duty in showing a public mark of respect to a nobleman, who had filled the office of lord-lieutenant for twenty years, and had patronised all the societies of any importance belonging to East Lothian. The Marquis of Tweeddale having been appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the presidency of Madras in the East Indies, the members and friends of the East Lothian Agricultural Society entertained his lordship at a public dinner in the assembly-room, Haddington, on the 20th May 1842. Upwards of 150 gentlemen were present: the chair was ably filled by Lord Elcho, with his noble guest on the right; supported by the honourable Captain Keith of Monkrig, Sir Charles Dalrymple Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bart.; Sir Charles Gordon of Drimnin, secretary of the Highland Society; Mr Trotter of Mortonhall, Mr Wauchope of Edmondstone, Mr David Milne, younger of Milne-Graden, Captain Hay of Belton, Mr Cadell of Tranent, Colonel Cadell, Mr Aitchison of Alderston, the Rev. Dr Cook, Mr Riddell, sheriff-substitute; Bailie Pringle, and the principal tenantry of the county, etc. Mr William Aitchison of Drummore, officiated as croupier.

Mr David Milne, Mr Trotter, Mr Claud Russel, Mr Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Mr Scott of Craigmory, directors, attended the dinner as a deputation from the Highland Society, of which the Marquis of Tweeddale had long been one of the most active vice-presidents.

The feelings of the meeting towards their noble guest cannot be better expressed than in the words of the chairman:—"I feel a deep consciousness of my own incapacity (observed Lord Elcho,) to convey the sentiments which every one of you entertain for our noble guest, and to express the great regret which we all experience at the loss we shall sustain by his departure from among us. But happily these feelings are counteracted by others of pleasure and satisfaction, when we consider that he is about to remove to that country where the hero of the age commenced his glorious career, and displayed those signal military talents that were afterwards developed in the Peninsular war, where the Marquis of Tweeddale had the good fortune to attract the attention of that illustrious commander, who repeatedly placed him in offices of trust and responsibility, and by his heroism gained that distinguished commander's good opinion, which, on a recent occasion, he took a public and memorable opportunity of expressing. The country has not been unmindful of the noble Marquis's services, but, placing the utmost confidence in his abilities, she has conferred upon him one of the highest honours in her gift, by conferring upon him a double appointment, where, his sound judgment and energy, in

unison with those combined with him, I trust the dark cloud which now hovers over our possessions in the East will speedily be dispelled, and the sun of British lory will again shine out in bright and unclouded lustre."

This just exordium of the noble chairman was received with the loudest expressions of applause, to which the Marquis of Tweeddale replied in the following energetic terms:—"When I call to recollection the cause which has induced the East Lothian Agricultural Society to pay me this mark of respect, by inviting me to this meeting in a manner so agreeable to my feelings, previous to my leaving my native country to occupy the high and important situation which has been alluded to by my noble friend,—when I reflect upon the kind terms in which my noble friend has introduced my health to this meeting, and the way in which your acclamations have received the toast, one would naturally suppose that the first question I would put to myself is, Why are you induced to leave the society of your kind friends? How can you make up your mind to leave the comforts of home? How can you deprive yourself of those pursuits which you enjoy so much, and in which, from what has been said, it would appear with such advantage to those whom I have the honour to address? The answer to these questions was taught me in early life. I then said to myself, go and serve your country while you have youth on your side—while you have strength of mind and vigour of constitution. . . . This going to India was no seeking of mine: I was commanded by my sovereign. I was asked by the East India company, in these times of difficulty, to serve them in a civil capacity, and also in a military capacity; and sorry would I be to think that any one bearing my name, when such a call was made upon him, would refuse the last drop of his blood in the service of his native country. My noble friend has alluded to the compliment paid me on a late occasion, as well as to my services under that great man whose career commenced in India. I, as a humble imitator, go to follow in his steps; and I feel that it is the greatest advantage which could have been conferred upon me that the people of the country over whom I am to preside should be made aware that in leaving my own, I possess the confidence, and carry with me the respect and esteem of those with whom I have been in the habit of living. . . . And I trust there is not a man in this country from the one end of it to the other, who will be so far led astray as to believe that in supporting the cause of her Majesty in India, he is supporting any other than the great cause of civil and religious liberty, as well as the civilisation and improvement of the millions that inhabit that interesting country.

Early in the summer of 1842, the intelligence of the Queen's intention to visit her Scottish dominions was received with the greatest satisfaction; and as no event since the days of George IV. had been contemplated with greater interest by the nation, while the just popularity of her Majesty gave a double zest to the anticipated pleasure, every effort was made to welcome her with the pomp and splendour due to her exalted station. As the time approached crowds of people from all parts of the country, and equipages of every description, from the blazoned carriage to the humble cabriolet, poured daily into the metropolis, where all was hustle, preparation, and anxiety, to witness the novel spectacle of a Queen in Caledonia. Inspired with the enthusiasm that animated all classes, the author of the present volume wrote the following verses:—

"TEN THOUSAND VOICES ON THE BREEZE!"

A Song,
on the Royal visit to Scotland.

Inscribed to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G.

Ten thousand voices on the breeze
Proclaim the Queen is coming,
With gallant warriors in her train,
And beauteous smiling women,
From Dee to Don—from Tay to Tweed,
Loud shoutings rend the welkin,
While Britain's Queen receives the meed
Of a right highland welcome.

CHORUS.

For, O, she's fair beyond compare,
To Freedom true, and a' that;
Her queenly smiles each heart beguiles
To guard her throne and a' that.

Since good King James his progress made,
To rule the British nation,
This land has ne'er such zeal display'd
In every rank and station;
No longer words, and hostile swords,
Our parties are dividing,
But north and south, from mouth to mouth,
Proclaim the happy tiding.

When proud Queen Bess, so fond of dress,
Led forth her court so gaudy,
Around her throne those chieftains shone,
Who beat the fierce Armada:
In latter days we've won the bays,
That grace our fair Victoria,
And Wellington, a host alone,
Has crown'd her line with glory.

O'er the dark caverns of Dunbar
The royal standard's streaming,
Where echoing to the notes of war,
The sea-bird's wildly screaming:

While, bursting on the raptured sight,
The yachts and barges looming,
Bid the old burgh blaze in light,
To tell the Queen is coming!

From Arthur's crest to far Cantire,
Where bagpipes blithe are bumming,
A thousand mountains tipt with fire,
Tell that the Queen is coming!
One heart—one soul—propels the whole,
With loyal, true, devotion,
They bless the gale which wafts the sail
Of her who rules the ocean.

She brings the consort of her choice,
To be our Prince and a' that;
And Albert's name, our bards of fame,
O'er a' the land will blaw that.
When sterling worth and rank combine
To raise the royal station,
We hail the sovereign gifts divine,
As blessings to the nation.

Old Holyrood's green solitudes,
Again beat high with pleasure;
And noble Scott may bless his lot,
Who holds the royal treasure.
Great Haddington and Hamilton,
In houour's paths so zealous,
Assume the rein, to please the Queen,
In royal park and palace.

Edina's crowded walks display
Fair Scotland's rank and beauty;
Dalhousie's archers, bold and gay,
With Roxburghe do their duty;
Great Lauderdale the standard wields,
While Elcho with his bowmen,
And Eglinton, in tournay fields,
Will beat each traitor foeman.

Within those awe-inspiring halls,
Where dwelt the Bruce and Stuart;
Where armour glitters on the walls,
That never graced a coward:
Old Scone resumes her regal smile,
With more than Gothic splendour,
And hails the Queen of Britain's isle,
In all her moral grandeur.

Breadalbane's plaided ranks appear,
Where lovely Tay's meand'ring,
His princely lawns are wild with cheer,
Where happy groups are wandering.
Great Erroll shews his mace of state,
Approved in peace or danger,
And Slaines's turrets gleam elate,
To hail the royal stranger.

Now Drummond's castled towers and shades,
In autumn's pride are blooming,
Where tartan clans and lovely maids,
Trip to the bagpipe's booming:
Lord Willoughby stands at his gate,
With all his lusty yeomen,
While cannon roar a loud salute,
To tell the Queen is coming!

Benvorlich's cavern'd echoes ring,
The deer starts from his grazing;
The eagle soars on lofty wing,
Where glitt'ring tubes are blazing.
No solitary hunter's horn
Among the hills is humming;
But lord and duke, in every neuk,
Proclaim the Queen is coming!

On Stirling high, the banners fly,
O'er silvery Forth far swelling,
Where Douglas wight display'd his might,
Even Snowdon's knight excelling.
Old Bannockburn heaves up her urn,
Immortal ranks are forming,
Of goodlike mein, to hail the Queen,
Their ancient haunts adorning.

Linlithgow's palace looks as gay
As when the royal blossom,
Those matchless charms did bright display,
Which rack'd Elizabeth's bosom:
How blest had been her hapless lot,
How blest the Scottish nation,
Had Mary ruled the waywar.l state,
With our young Queen's discretion.

There's pleasure in the fields of fame,
There's pleasure on the ocean;
There's pleasure in a virtuous dame,
There's joy in pure promotion;
"But all the pleasures mortals know,
Are three times doubled fairly,"
While Scotland hails, with smiling brow,
The sovereign she lo'es dearly.

On the 31st August 1842, so early as five o'clock in the morning, the burgh of Dunbar announced the commencement of their demonstrations to welcome her Majesty by the ringing of bells. On the old castle a flag-staff was erected, and the Union Jack of England fluttered in the breeze. From this eminence, and from the pier during the day, many an anxious eye was turned towards St Abb's Head; but it was seven in the evening before the Queen's yacht was descried from this lofty promontory. The squadron passed Dunbar about eight o'clock, when a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the castle, which was answered by a beautiful flight of rockets from her Majesty's fleet. Fires were immediately lighted on Doonhill, the Vault point, the kirkhill and castle of Dunbar, the estate of Ninewar; and every elevated point in East Lothian was soon shrouded in smoke and flame. And, indeed, among the many modes which Scotland adopted to testify her loyalty to her Majesty, none were of a more imposing nature than the large bonfires lighted on the summits of her lofty mountains. From the Garleton hills, which are nearly in the centre of the county, and which were also lighted up, as many as thirty of these colossal fires were observed. Amongst which the high conical peak of

North Berwick Law shone conspicuous—Craigleith island on the adjacent coast—the promontory of Seacliff house—Doouhill and Blackcastle—Traprene Law—Lammer Law; and the whole range of these pastoral hills which stretch from Dunglass to their termination at Soutra.

In the expectation that the royal fleet would have appeared in the Firth by noon, most of the prominent heights of the county were also covered with spectators, anxious to catch the first glimpse of the squadron; and, during the day, many a telescope and eager eye were turned towards North Berwick Law in the hope of obtaining a view of the signal which was to intimate to the metropolis the approach of her Majesty. It is calculated that one-third of the population of Haddington visited the highest top of the Garleton Hills for this purpose, and many a quegh of "mountain dew" was quaffed in anticipation of the joyful event. The shades of an autumnal evening rapidly closing in, a few accidents happened to some of the lingering spectators in hurrying or frolicing down the steep sides of the hill; but which were happily unattended with any serious consequences.

On the morning of the 1st September, 1842, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert landed at Granton pier from the royal steamer at nine o'clock, and proceeded to the palace of Dalkeith.

On the 2nd, the city of Edinburgh was brilliantly illuminated.

On the 3rd, the Queen and Prince Albert made a public entry into Edinburgh, accompanied by Sir Robert Peel and a long train of the nobility, amidst the most enthusiastic acclamations.

On the 5th her Majesty held a levee at Dalkeith Palace, when an address, from the town-council of Haddington, was presented by Provost Lea of that burgh.

The council remitted to the magistrates at the same time to prepare an address to Prince Albert, in the name of the provost, magistrates, and councillors of the burgh of Haddington, and authorised it to be subscribed by the provost; with a recommendation that he should present these addresses in person. The council also agreed that the vacation of the town's schools should be continued a week longer, owing to the Queen's visit to Scotland.

On the 6th her Majesty and Prince Albert left Dalkeith Palace on a tour to the Highlands, and returned on the 13th.

The burgh of Dunbar, with a similar loyalty, forwarded two addresses: one to her Majesty, and the other to his royal highness Prince Albert. The first was presented through the Earl of Aberdeen, the foreign secretary, and the other by Mr Anson, the treasurer of his Royal Highness's household; to whom they were conveyed by the Earl of Lauderdale, treasurer of the burgh of Dunbar, when on a visit to Taymouth Castle, while her Majesty was spending a few days with the Marquis of Breadalbane.

These addresses were most graciously received by her Majesty and Prince Albert; and, on their return to Dalkeith palace, answers of acknowledgment were transmitted to the town-council of Dunbar, couched in the most flattering terms.

On the 14th September, Provost Lea of Haddington reported that he had attended the Queen's levee in the palace of Dalkeith, on the 5th of the month, and presented in person the address of the council to her Majesty, which was graciously received. The provost further stated, that an address had been also presented to Prince Albert.

The council unanimously agreed to a vote of thanks to Provost Lea for his conduct in the presentation of the town's address to her Majesty, and that his official robes and incidental expenses should be defrayed by the burgh. [The presentation robes were a black silk tabby gown, faced and trimmed with crimson silk velvet; a cocked hat; and a set of court-dress knee and shoe buckles.]

On the 15th the Queen and Prince Albert embarked at Granton pier, at half-past nine o'clock morning, and landed at Woolwich on the 17th, at fifteen minutes before ten morning, both highly gratified with their visit to her Majesty's Scottish dominions.

THE

HISTORY OF HADDINGTON.

PART II.

ECCLESIASTICAL ANNALS.

CHAPTER I.

"There is a temple in ruin stands,
Fashion'd by long-forgotten hands.
Out upon Time! it will leave no more
Of the things to come than the things before!
—What we have seen our sons shall see,
Remnants of things that have pass'd away,
Fragments of stone, rear'd by creatures of clay!"
—BYRON.

Towards the end of the fifth century, St Colme preached the faith of the cross in Lothian. Kentigern, afterwards St Mungo, the tutelary saint of Glasgow, having heard him preach before Brudeus, king of the Picts, was so charmed by his divine words that he was instantly converted. Kentigern was the son of Thametis, daughter to Loth, king of the Picts, by Eugene the Scottish king.

Kentigern was succeeded in Lothian by Baldred, one of his disciples, who, in Keith's catalogue of the Saints, is designated "priest and confessour," and is the first Christian priest or missionary stationed in East Lothian of which we have any record. —According to Boece, he was of Scottish descent; and during the reign of Brudeus, king of the Picts, held his pastoral charge in East Lothian, which then formed part of the kingdom of Pictland.

The Breviary of Aberdeen contains some particulars with regard to Baldred, which have not been met with elsewhere, in which it is stated, that "this suffragan of St Kentigern flourished in Lothian in virtues and in illustrious miracles. Being eminently devout he renounced all worldly pomp, and, following the example of John the Divine, resided in solitary places, and betook himself to the islands of the sea. Among these he had recourse to one called Bass, where he led a life, without all question, contemplative and strict, in which, for many years, he held up to remembrance the most blessed Kentigern, his instructor, in the constant contemplation of the sanctity of his conduct." [Dr Jamieson's Hist. Culdees.]

While residing in this sublime solitude, Baldred died on the 6th March 607-8. [Boece's Chron. and Keith's Cat.] He was held in such veneration by the natives, that on his demise the three neighbouring parishes of Aldham, Tyningham, and Preston, laid claim to his remains. It being impossible to satisfy the multitude without supernatural agency, the enraged embassy were on the point of deciding their right by blows, when a Pictish sage judiciously advised them to spend the night in prayer, that the bishop of the diocese might have an opportunity of settling their dispute in the morning.—"When day dawned, (says Holinshed,) there were found three biers with three bodies decently covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance that no man might perceive any difference. Then by command of the bishop, and with great joy of all the people, the said several bodies were carried severally unto the said three several churches, and in the same buried in most solemnwise, where they remain unto this day, in much honour with the common people of the countries near adjoining."

[Such was the credulity of the people that this event was advanced as an irrefragable

proof of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Camerarius gravely observes that the dispute between these parochial churches was at last effected by the prayers of the saint himself, while John Major asserts the doctrine to be supported by the fact.—For a further history of the saint, see the author's poem of St Baldred.]

A Saxon monastry of St Baldred was established at Tyningham at an after period, whose diocese comprehended the whole of East Lothian, and whose lands says Simeon, the monk of Durham, extended from Lammermoor to Inveresk. "Et tota terra quæ pertinet ad monasterium Sancti Balthere, quod vocatur Tyningham a Lambermore usque ad Escemuthe." Two Saxon arches, the remains of an old chapel, still ornament the beautiful domain of Tyningham. [In 941, Anlaf, the Dane, spoiled the church, and burnt the village of Tyningham, which Chalmers observes, is a very early notice of the kirktown of this place.]

Amidst the darkness of the sixth and seventh centuries, when stray rays of truth must be gathered and separated from legend and fable, the immediate successors of the worthy Baldred cannot be traced. The year 635 was the epoch of the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, which extended over the ample range of Lothian till the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom. On the cession of Lothian in 1020, to the Scottish king, the jurisdiction of the bishop of St Andrews was established over that district, and the Archdeacon of Lothian, who derived his power from his bishop during the reign of David I. and Alexander I., exercised his authority over the whole clergy of Haddingtonshire. Of old the three Lothians, and the eastern part of Stirlingshire, formed the two deaneries of Linlithgow and Lothian, which lay within the diocese of St Andrews. The latter, at the epoch of the ancient Taxiatio, in 1176, included the whole parishes of Haddingtonshire, and nearly the half of the churches of Mid-Lothian.

Previous to 1275 the deanery of Lothian had changed its name to the deanery of Haddington, which it retained till the Reformation. The Dean of Haddington, and the archdeacon of Lothian, were ecclesiastical persons of great authority under the bishop of St Andrews, as can be proved from the ancient chartularies. [There is a charter of Richard bishop of St Andrews to the monastry of Haddington, in which Andrew, the archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness, and others of a similar purport.—"Trans. Scots Antiq."] For the governance of the clergy, the bishop of St Andrews used to call "episcopal synods;" which for the accommodation of the monks of Northumberland were held at Berwick; but which were recently held at Haddington. [The bishop sometimes granted dispensations from attending these meetings. According to Bede, he granted an exemption to the monks of Durham from attending his synods at Berwick; and, in 1293, Bishop Lamberton exempted the abbots of Dryburgh from attending synodial meetings at Haddington, except on urgent occasions, in which case a pension was to be paid them by the Dean of Haddington.—"Chart. Dryburgh."]—In 1245 there was a composition between the prior and chapter of St Andrews on the one part, and the monks of Haddington on the other, in which the chapter "Orientali Laudoniœ" of East Lothian is distinctly stated. The authority of the bishop of St Andrews continued till the bishoprick of Edinburgh was established by Charles I. when his power was transferred to the latter. By this new arrangement the ministers of Tranent, Haddington, and Dunbar, were constituted three of the nine prebendaries of Edinburgh. And such continued to be the ecclesiastical state of Haddington till the Reformation placed it under the jurisdiction of presbyterian synods.

The first notice we have of the church of Haddington, is in the ancient taxatio of Lothian in 1176, where it is assessed at 120 merks, while the church of Dunbar "cum capella de Whytingeham" is rated at 180 merks. The following churches of the deanery, which now constitute the presbytery of Haddington, were thus rated:—Ecclesia de Hadintun, 120 mercas; Capella, St. ——, 5 mercas—[The name of this chapel is not apparent; but the chapel of St. Laurence, which belonged to Haddington, was rated at five merks. So early as 1202, Laurence, the Archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness to a charter of Bishop Malvoisin.];—Ecclesia de Golyn (now Dirleton), 80 mercas; Ecclesia de Travernent, 65 mercas; Ecclesia de North-Berwyk, 60 mercas; Ecclesia de Penkatland, 40 mercas; Ecclesia de Bothani (Yester, which was dedicated to St. Bothan), 30 mercas; Ecclesia de Saltoun, 30 mercas; Ecclesia de Keth-Hundby (Humbie), 30 mercas; Ecclesia de Keth-Marschall (now merged into Humbie), 12 mercas; Ecclesia de Barwe, (now merged into Garvald), 20 mercas; Ecclesia de Garvald, 15 mercas; Ecclesia de Bolton, 20 mercas; Ecclesia de Morham, 20 mercas; Ecclesia de Setoun (now merged into the adjacent parishes), 18 mercas; Ecclesia de Ormistoun, 12 mercas; Ecclesia de Elstanford, 10 mercas.

Aberlady parish, notwithstanding its local situation in the deanery of Haddington, and diocese of St Andrews, was included in the bishoprick of Dunkeld.

Gladsmuir parish did not exist till 1695, when it was formed by abstractions from those of Haddington, Aberlady, and Tranent.

Prestonpans parish was created in 1606, by dismembering Tranent.

The following churches, now in the presbytery of Dunbar, complete the list of those belonging to East Lothian:—Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whytingeham, 180 mercas; Ecclesia de Lintoun (Prestonkirk), 100 mercas Ecclesia de Haldhamstok, 60 mercas; Ecclesia de Tyningham (now merged into Whitekirk), 40 mercas; Ecclesia de Aldham (which also belongs to Whitekirk), 6 mercas; Ecclesia de Innerwyk, 30 mercas; Ecclesia de Hanus, or Petcoks (now merged into Stenton), 10 mercas.

The church of Cockburnspath (anciently Coldbrand's-path), does not appear in the ancient Taxatio. As it seems never to have been connected with any religious house, it was perhaps only a chapel.

Spott was a "rectoria" belonging to Dunbar. There was also a chapel at the prebendary of Pinkerton, and at Hetherwick (Ninewar).

St Mary's Church.

"Mony Pape are passit by,
Patriarkis, prelatis, and preistis,
Sen nocht has leif that heir ma last,
This world is bot a vanite."—Glassinberry.

The ancient church of Haddington was dedicated to St Mary, who, according to Chalmers, was the common patroness of similar establishments in this district. [Chalmers's Cal. ii. 514., who quotes Diplomata Scotiæ, pl. xvi.] About the year 1134, David I. granted to the priory of St Andrews, in perpetual alms, the church of St Mary at Haddington, with its chapels, lands, tithes, and other emoluments belonging to it within the same parish. This pious monarch afterwards gave to the church of St Mary at Haddington and to the priory of St Andrews, the lands of Clerkington, according to their true boundaries on both sides of the Tyne, to ascertain which the limits had been perambulated. He also conferred on those churches a toft in Haddington near the church, with the tithes of the mills and other subjects within the whole parish. The grants were confirmed by the grandsons of David, Malcom IV. and William the Lion. They were also confirmed by the successive bishops of St Andrews.

[The tofts of the burgh seem to have been liberally parcelled out amongst the religious orders, which leads the scrutinising George Chalmers to remark, that "the Scottish kings had a court at Haddington, to which they were studious to reserve certain services. Malcolm IV., in 1159, granted to the monks of Kelso a toft in Haddington. David I. granted to the church of St Mary in that place a toft in Haddington. David I. granted to the priory of St Andrews a toft in Haddington. David one granted to the monks of Dunfermline "unam mansuram" in Haddington. David I. granted to the monks of May a full toft "in burgo meo de Hadintun, free of all custom and service." William the Lion granted a toft in Haddington to the monks of Coldingham. Roger de Quincey, the Earl of Winton, gave the canons of Dryburgh a toft "in villa de Hadintun."]

It appears that the monks of Haddington had occasional disputes with their superiors; for, in 1245, a meeting was held at the church of Lauder, when a convention was entered into between the prior and convent of St Andrews, and the master and monks of Haddington, for settling reigning disputes in regard to tithes and other ecclesiastical dues.

The patronage of the church of Haddington belonged to the prior of St Andrews.

Ancient Chapels.

There was a chapel, dedicated to St Laurence, which belonged to the mother-church of Haddington, and was rated at 5 merks. The patronage of this chapel belonged to the nuns of Haddington. A village, about a mile from the west of the burgh, goes by the name of St Laurence house, where it probably stood.

The town of Haddington contained the following chapels:—

A chapel dedicated to St John, which probably belonged to the Knights Templars.

[A tenement belonging to the Knights Templars stood opposite John Hume's house, at the custom-stone, Haddington. This tenement has been recently removed to make room for projected improvements on that corner of the street. The house, belonging to the family of the Earls of Winton, also stood in this neighbourhood, where Sir William Seton died. The Knight-Templars were brought into Scotland by David I. They possessed immense riches, and had above 9000 houses in Christendom; and in Scotland there was scarce a parish wherein they had not some lands, farms, or houses. This order was instituted about the eleventh century, ostensibly for the defence of the Christian religion.]

A chapel dedicated to St Catherine. On the 29th October, 1577, a deputation was sent from the town-council of Haddington to Edinburgh, to consult the Regent Morton "on St Katherine's chapel and the Kirk anuel, and to compone with his Grace as they best might." [Council Reg.—A chapel stood on the west side of the north-east port, where a tenement has been built

by Mr Andrew Pringle. A quantity of human bones were discovered in clearing away the rubbish to make the new found.]

A chapel of St Ann, which has escaped the notice of former antiquaries. On the 12th November 1804, the town-council of Haddington purchased the tenement called St Ann's chapel, which belonged to Thomas Shanks, wheelwright, in order that it, and the contiguous tenements, might be taken down, and an open area formed as an ornament to the street. The town paid £155 sterling for this ruinous tenement, and an equal sum for one adjoining, belonging to Widow Borthwick. This projected improvement, however, was not carried into effect, and the ruins of St Ann's and Borthwick's tenement were sold in 1813, to Mr M'Watt, late builder in Haddington, in whose hands the author has seen the title deeds. Mr M'Watt erected those substantial buildings, called St Ann's Place, on the spot.

There was also a chapel within the barony of Penston, which formed the western extremity of Haddington parish, till it was annexed to Gladsmuir in 1695.

The Abbey of Haddington.

"I hear the still small moan of Time
'Mong the ivied ruins play,
Where the palace in its glory's prime,
Stood by the fair Abbaye."—"Ballad."

Ada, countess of Northumberland, [This pious lady gave rise to the proverbial expression of "the grace drink." Many of the nobles of Scotland, who had the honour of dining at the royal table, were in the habit of going away, individually, as each had finished his repast. She promised them that if they would stay till dinner was over, and hear a grace said, that she would give them an additional drink. Since that time this proverb has been used in a sense very different from what the pious matron intended.—Sir G. Buchan Hepburn.]—daughter of the Earl of Warren in England, widow of Prince Henry, son of David I., king of Scotland, and mother of Malcolm IV. surnamed "the Maiden" from the fairness of his complexion; and William surnamed "the Lion," kings of Scotland; founded a priory of nuns at the Abbey, near dington, in 1178, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was situated about a mile to the eastward of the burgh, on the banks of the river Tyne, where there is still a village of that name; but the monastery itself is entirely demolished: the ruins having been gradually trenched on by agricultural improvements.

[A small portion of the old churchyard of the Abbey still remains, which has been used as a burial ground within these last twenty years. In an old farm-house near this spot, an atrocious murder was committed in 1829, by one Emond, a pedlar, who belonged to North Berwick, on the body of Mrs Franks, his sister-in-law, and her daughter, for which he was executed in Edinburgh.]

The foundress bestowed on the convent the lands of Begbie, Clerkington, and several other temporal lands in the vicinity of Haddington. Hugh de Giffard of Yester bestowed on the priory the lands of Nunside or Nunlands, now called Huntington. —Richard, bishop of St Andrews, with the consent of the prior and canons of that diocese, bestowed on it the church of Athelstaneford, with the teinds of that parish, and of the lands of Byres, Barns, and Harperdean. It was afterwards enriched with many other benefactions, and was (says John Major, who was himself a native of this county,) "Monasterium pulchrum et opulentum." The priory was of the Cistertian of Bernardine order. [A Cistertian nunery, the beautiful ruins of which still remain, were founded at North Berwick, by Duncan, Earl of Fife, about 1154.]

Eva, the prioress of Haddington, was a subscriber to Ragman's roll in 1296, and, on submitting to Edward I., along with the prioress of North Berwick, she had her rights restored. There is a charter of James II., dated 31st August 1458, confirming one granted by William bishop of St Andrews, to the prioress and monastry of the nuns at Haddington, on the 21st May 1349. This charter, from the bishop, proceeds on a narrative, that, in consequence of the destructive wars that had long subsisted between Scotland and England, not only the rights of many religious houses had been destroyed, but even the monasteries themselves burned and laid waste; and that particularly the monastery of the nuns at Haddington, being situated near the marches of England, had been frequently plundered by the English, and its charters, bulls, and muniments destroyed, and that therefore, in consequence of a humble supplication made to him, and after a strict inquisition concerning all ancient writs and evidences relating to this monastery, and, particularly a search into the ancient registers belonging to the archbishop of St Andrews, and on the uncontroverted testimony of many witnesses, both clergy and laicks, he had clear and undoubted evidence, that the prioress and nuns of Haddington possessed the churches, teinds, lands, tenements, and others, therein particularly specified.

In 1358, on the nativity of the Virgin Mary, a most extraordinary inundation nearly destroyed the nunnery. The rivers, swollen by excessive rains, swept away villages, houses, and bridges; and many lost their lives in attempting to save their pro-

perty. Not only cattle, but oaks and large trees were carried down by the torrent to the sea. Sheaves of corn were brushed off the adjacent fields. The suburb of Haddington, called Nungate, was levelled to the ground. As it approached the Abbey, a certain nun snatched up the statue of the Virgin, and threatened to throw it into the water, unless Mary protected the house from destruction. At that moment the river subsided, and gradually retired within its ancient limits. An anecdote is related by Fordun of John Birley, an inhabitant of the Nungate. When the waters approached his dwelling, he got upon the roof, where having constructed a raft, he floated towards the bridge, and clung safely at anchor till the waters decreased. An expression, said to have been used by him on the occasion, afterwards became a proverb in the neighbourhood: —

"Row we merrily, quoth John Birley."

The extensive manors and wealth of the monastery tempted the rapacity of the neighbouring barons; and, in 1471, the injured nuns of Haddington were under the necessity of appealing to the privy-council against the lairds of Yester and Makerston, for forcibly seizing their lands of Nunhopes, without the least shadow of justice. Such, indeed, was the anarchy of the times, that at their grange of Nunraw they were compelled to raise a fortification: a plan which was generally followed by the convents. And so far from things taking a more favourable turn, more than seventy years afterwards, in 1547-8, the prioress, dame Elizabeth Hepburn, was summoned before the regent Arran in council, and came under an engagement either to keep the fortlet of Nunraw from their "auld ynimies of Ingland and all utheris," or cause it to be razed.

During these troublous times a new scene was witnessed at the Abbey of Haddington, where the Scots had established their camp. On the 7th July 1548, a parliament was convened within its sacred walls, when, through the influence of the Queen-mother, the French general Dessé, and the ambassador D'Oyssel, it was agreed that the young Queen should be educated at the court of France preparatory to her marriage with the Dauphin.

In 1561, when the reformation took place, dame Elizabeth Hepburn was required to give a statement of the monastic estates, with a view to their confiscation and the suppression of the house, when it appears that the convent then consisted of eighteen nuns, who were allowed £4 yearly for clothes; 4 bolls of wheat, and 3 bolls of meal; with 8d a day for flesh and fish. The revenues appear from the books of assumption to have amounted to £308 17s 6d annually: besides 7 chalders, 11 bolls of wheat; 40 chalders, 1 boll, 2 firlots, 3 pecks, of bear · 42 chalders, 4 firlots of aitts (oats); 11 chalders of meal,—paid out of the temporal lands of Haddington and Crail; with the lands of Begbie, Garvald, Newton, Carfrae, Newlands, and Snawdon; the kirklands of Bara; with the tithes of St Martin's kirk, the lands of Barns, and the half of Harperdean; and of the kirks of Garvald, Athelstaneford, and Crail.

The Prioress, with the consent of her chapter, in 1567, disponed the greatest part of the lands belonging to the monastery, which Queen Mary conferred on her secretary, William Maitland, younger of Lethington. They were afterwards erected into a temporal lordship in favour of John, Master of Lauderdale.

St Martin's Church.

This church, the ruins of which still remain, was a chapel belonging to the abbacy of Haddington. It is situated on a gentle eminence, at the eastern extremity of the suburb of the Nungate; and although its structure bears evident marks of antiquity, it has been rather a substantial than an elegant building, measuring in length about 60 feet by 15 wide; and, what is rather remarkable in a Catholic chapel, the principal entrance is by the east. The churchyard contained some very ancient monuments, which have either been destroyed or dilapidated. Several persons who died of the cholera in 1832, were interred on the north side of the church, as those who claimed the burying ground on the south protested against their kindred being mixed with infected dust. Since then it has not been used as a burial ground.

It appears from the records of the presbytery of Haddington, that so economical was the reformed church, that the cure of the churches of Haddington, St Martin's, Bolton, and Athelstaneford, were served by the same clergyman, Mr James Carmichael, from 1592 to 1602, and probably for several years before that period. Carmichael (of whom we shall have much to say hereafter,) was also master of the grammar-school. To him succeeded Mr George Grier, who was ordained minister in 1602. He appears to have had no successor in this chapel, as the parish church was afterwards apparently sufficient for both congregations.

Grier was a man of a bold spirit, and had many formal bantlings with King James's prelates. At the meeting of the general assembly at Perth in 1620, the acts of which afterwards created so much discussion, Mr Spotswood, bishop of St Andrews, placed himself in the moderator's chair

without elcetion, upon which Mr Grier requested that the order of free election might be kept, when the bishop answered sancily, that "The assembly was convened within the bounds of his charge, wherein so long as he served, he trusted no man would take his place!" [Calderwood's Hist.]

The founder of St Martin's church is unknown; but the name of the saint was an honourable term in East Lothian. During the reign of William the Lion, Alexander de St Martin, granted to the monks of Newbotle, a peat-moss, called Crumberstruther in this county; and, Magistro Alexandro de St Martino, is a name frequently appended to its clerical charters.

Dominican Monastery.

There was a monastery of Dominican, or Black Friars, in Haddington, who were also called "Fratres Prœdicatores," because of their frequent preaching. These monks came into Scotland during the reign of Alexander II. in 1219. The time of the establishment of this monastery is unknown; but one of the same order was instituted at Edinburgh by this monarch in 1230. A convent stood nearly on the same spot where the Episcopal chapel of Haddington is built; its ruins having been cleared away for that purpose about 1765. This present year (1843) several human bones and the vestiges of some coffins were discovered in making the found of a new building immediately behind the chapel park.

[In 1218, Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery of Red or Trinity Friars in Dunbar. And, in 1263, Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery for Carmelites, or White Friars, at Dunbar.]

Franciscan Monastery; and Lucerna Laudoniæ, or the Lamp of Lothian.

There was a monastery of Franciscans, or Grey Friars, in Haddington, who were also called Minorite (Fratres minores), or "Cordeliere" Friars. Their superiors were called "custodes" or wardens. This order was established by their patriarch, St Francis, a rich merchant of Assise in Italy, in 1206, and they came into Scotland during the reign of Alexander II. The precise time of the foundation of the monastery is unknown. According to the Rev. Dr Barclay, it stood on the same spot where a house was built by John Henderson, Esq. of Leaston, about 1785. [Now called Elm House.] That the monastery was not only richly endowed but of considerable antiquity, is evident from their church being so magnificent, when it was almost destroyed by Edward III. in 1355, that we are told by Fordun and John Major (who flourished at that period) it was styled "Lucerna Laudoniæ," either from its beautiful structure and the enlightened character of its inhabitants, or more probably from its lofty quire being constantly lighted up, and seen at a distance by the lonely pilgrim during the night. Major, after indulging in an invective against these holy fathers for building so costly an edifice, makes this laconic observation:—"Fortasse in eorum et villæ peccatum voluit Deus omnia incendio dare. Opus certé quod sumptuosum erat, ac totius patriæ illus solatium singulare, cujus chorum quidem, ob luminis claritatem, Lucerna Laudoniæ vocabatur."

This sumptuous church was early used as a place of sepulchre for the noble and the pious. It is thus noticed in the appendix to Keith's Catalogue:—"At Haddington there was also a monastery of Friars, where William, first Lord Seton, was buried, to whom he founded six laid of coals, to be tane of his coalpit of Tranent weekly, and forty shillings of annual, to be tane of the Barnis." This place of sepulchre, according to Sir Richard Maitland, who lived in the neighbourhood, in his MS. History of the House of Seton, was the "Cordelere Frieris."

About the time that the celebrated Captain Grose (the bon vivant of Burns) published his Antiquities of Scotland, it had become a matter of doubt whether or not the present venerable pile now used as a parish church, was in reality that of the Franciscans, or one erroneously supposed to have belonged to the nunnery founded by Ada. To satisfy these doubts, this acute antiquarian published a letter which he received from a clergyman resident near the place.

A further proof of this being the Franciscan church arises from the circumstance of that house having suffered by a flood; an event very likely to happen from its vicinity to the river.

It appears from other M.S. histories that upon the festival day of St Ninian, in 1421, the waters by constant rains swelled to such a height, that many houses in the town were entirely defaced or demolished, and that the people went into the church in a great boat; and also that the sacristy, with the fine library and ornaments for divine service, were spoiled.

We have, however, been able to trace notices of at least fourteen altars, which existed in the parish church of Haddington, which seem decidedly to prove that this structure was the costly edifice alluded to by Fordun and John Major.

1. The altar of St Duthacus.—In 1314, Sir John Congalton, styled "nobilis vir

dominus de eodem," in devotion to the souls of his father and mother, gave a donation to the Minorites of Haddington, for furnishing bread and wine to the altar of St Duthacus, which stood in the nave of the church, on condition that while three brethren remained in the convent that they should celebrate the anniversary of the donor, his father, mother, ancestors, and successors.

2. St Peter.—"The 28th day of May, the zer of our Lord 1426, John of the Furde gaife a sylver chalys, weyand xij. vnce and viij d. to Saynt Peteris altar," in the kirk of Haddington.

3 and 4. St John the Baptist and Our Lady's altar.—1454, 30th July, these altars are noticed as being situated in the parish-kirk of Haddington.

5. St John.—This altar is noticed as being situated in the parish-kirk of Haddington.

6. St Michael the archangel.—1470, June 27th, this altar is noticed as being situated in the parish-kirk of Haddington.

1530, September 20th, Friar Adam Harlaw is mentioned as warden (superior) of the "Freir Minouris" of Haddington; and Sir William of Cokburn as chaplain to St John's altar in the parish-kirk of Haddington. At the same time Patrick Hepburn, master of Hailis, Thom Sinclair, and Alexander Hepburn, were chosen bailies for a year.

7. St Crispin and Crispinianis.—1531, July 4th, this altar is noticed as being situated in the high church of Haddington.

8. The Baxter's altar.—1532, November 5th, an act ratified, "which was made amang the baxteris (bakers) anent the uphaldyn of their altar," etc.

9. The Holy Cross.—In 1535, June 15th, "The which day it was found that Sir Patrik Mauchlyn, rud-priest (or holy cross,) should have four l. x.s. for findyn of the barirns and books in the queir (choir) in the year."

10. The Holy-Blood altar.—1544, April 29th, Sir John Crosar is mentioned as chaplain of the Haly-blud altar within the kirk of Haddington.

At the same date Sir William Cokburn is mentioned as chaplain of St John he Baptist's altar; and Sir Thomas Mauchlyn as lady-priest of the burgh of Haddington.

The family of Mauchlyn appear to have held several offices at this period in Haddington church. In January 1531, Sir James Mauchlyn is noticed as curate in the kirk; Sir Thomas Mauchlyn as lady-priest there; and Sir Patrick Mauchyn, count kirk-master in the same: And on the 20th January, 1534-35, Sir Thomas Mauchyn, chaplain, appointed Mr Patrik Cokburn, Mr Jhon Lytill, and George Kerynton, his procuratoris in all actions.

11. The Holy Rood.—1544, June 23rd, Sir Archibald Borthwick was appointed chaplain of the Rood in the college-kirk of Haddington.

12. Three Kings of Colognes' altar.—1554, October, Sir Thomas Kerington is noticed as chaplain of the "Thre Kingis of Culan's altar, situated in the paroche-kirk of Hadington."

13. St James.—1558, April 28th, Sir James Mauchlyne was chaplain of St James's altar, situated within the college-kirk of Haddington.

14. The Holy Trinity.—1563, September 12th, the chaplainry of the Trinity aisle (probably altar), in the parish kirk of Haddington, was granted to Mr Patrick Cokburn.

15. The Flesher's altar.—1572-73, July 11th, this altar is noticed as situated in the kirk of Haddington.

Such then was the magnificence of this venerable establishment, which was scarcely inferior to any in the diocese of St Andrews. In the number of its endowments, it approximated to the church of St Giles in Edinburgh, which is equalled nearly in the extent of its structure. For although the cross aisle of Haddington is nineteen feet less, the building is four feet longer than the former. In the church of St Giles it has been ascertained that there were 36 altars, many of them dedicated to the same patrons as those in the Lamp of Lothian: such as St Duthacus, St John, St Michael, St Crispin, the Holy Cross, Holy Blood, etc.; but as there is a blank in our "Burrow Court Register," from which the above extracts are copied, of more than five years, many interesting entries must be lost. The chapter of these collegiate churches consisted of a provost, curate, so many prebendaries, a minister of the choir, four choristers, a sacristan, and beadle. As the altars of such churches had commonly more than one chaplain, besides inferior functionaries employed in other parochial duties, a body of at least sixty persons may be computed to have been employed in this establishment, who were supported by mortifications, oblations, and donations.

It appears from the many charters and other documents in the cartulary of the priory of St Andrews, that the parish church of Haddington, and most of the teinds of the parish, belonged to that priory. The following very ancient charters are preserved, but as few of them have dates, these are supplied by the time when the bishops who granted them filled the see of that diocese:—Carta Ricardi Episcopi (St And.) de Ecclesia de Hadintun, cum terra de Clerchetune (Clerkington), Ecclesia St Andrae et Canonicis. [Richard, chaplain to Malcolm IV. He

was elected in 1163, and died 1173.—Keith.] Carta Rogeri Episcopi, de Hadintona. [Roger, son of Robert third Earl of Leicester. His cousin, William the Lion, preferred him to be Lord High Chancellor in 1178. He was consecrated Bishop of St Andrews in 1198, and died in 1202.] Carta Wilielmi Episcopi, Vicariae de Hadingtoun. [William Malvoisin, preferred to be Lord High Chancellor in 1199. He was translated to St Andrews in 1202, and died in 1233.] Carta Davidis Episcopi, de Ecclesiis de Hadintun, et Lynlithcu, data anno gratiae 1253. [David Benham, or Bunham, Bishop of St Andrews.] Carta Davidis Regis, de Ecclesia de Hadinton. Carta ejus de terra Clerchetune, data Ecclesiae de Hadinton. Confirmatio Comitis Henrici, de Eccl. de Hadintun, et de Clerchetune. Carta Comitissae Adae, de Tofta in Hadintuna. Carta Wilielmi Regis de Ecclesia de Hadintoun. Inter Priorem Sancti Andreae et Conventum ex una parte, et Magistrum, Priorissam et Moniales de Hadinton, ex altera parte compositio, data A.D. 1240. [The curious reader will find copies of the above charters, which are written in Latin, printed in the Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, (vol. i. p. 212.) to whom they were communicated by the Rev. Dr Barclay of Haddington.]

The Earl of Morton whilst he was regent, appointed the Bishop of Caithness commendator of St Andrews; but, to use a cant phrase well known at that time (observes Dr Barclay,) he was only a Tulchan prelate, for he immediatelv granted a lease to Morton and his heirs male during their lives, and for five nineteen years after his decease, of the whole revenues of the Priory, for a very paltry tack-duty. [Tulchan was a calf's skin stuffed with straw, to cause a cow to give milk. He was, therefore, called a "Tulchan Bishop," who caused the bishoprick to yield its revenues to the lord or patron who procured it.—Petrie's Church Hist.]

The Priory reverting to the Crown by the Earl of Morton's forfeiture, James VI. erected it into a temporal lordship, in favour of his cousin Esme, Duke of Lennox. His son, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, disponed the patronage of the parish kirk of Haddington, with its whole teinds, parsonage, and vicarage, on the 2nd November 1615, to Thomas, Lord Binning and Byres, who was afterwards Earl of Haddington; and who obtained a charter of them from the Crown, on the 1st August 1620.

The Earl of Haddington, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, sold that patronage along with his property in the parish, to Charles first Earl of Hopetoun, in whose family it is now vested.

It seems evident, therefore, from the "Burrow Records" and other authorities we have quoted, that the present high-church, although it had changed its original masters, was undoubtedly the "Lucerna Laudoniæ" of Fordun. It does not appear, however, like St Mary's Church, to have borne the name of any particular saint; for it is uniformally called, the "parish-kirk" —the "he kirk"—or the "college-kirk." But this may occur from its having been early wrested from the Franciscans. It was no uncommon thing for the English invaders to remove such friars as were inimical to their government, and to substitute English monks in their convents. Edward I. protected those orders who swore fealty to him in 1296; but, in 1333, when Edward III. entered Scotland as a conquerer, he removed several preaching friars, and placed others in their stead, who in their turn were destined to feel the effects of the torch and the ravages of the invader. This church, however, continued to flourish in the reign of James IV.; for, on his marriage with the Princess Margaret of England in 1503, while she lodged at the Abbey of Haddington, her company and horses were "ordonned provvsyon at the Gray Freres" for two days. [Leland's Collectanae.]

The church of Haddington is a beautiful Gothic fabric, of a chaste style of architecture, which harmonises well with the nature of the adjacent scenery. It is quite divested of that excess of floral embellishment, which in Melrose and Roslin leads the imagination of the vistor to the studio of the artist; but it is sufficiently rich to interest the eye of the traveller. The nave of the church is 210 feet long from east to west and 62 feet broad. The transept or cross aisle, from north to south, is 110 feet wide, surmounted by a square tower, 90 feet in height, of figured stonework, and almost entire; each right angle, in the upper storey, containing niches for two saints, with an escutcheon in the centre. The chancel, or western part of the building, is still used as the parish church. The principal approach by this door has been richly chiselled. The capital of the pillar, which divides the porch, exhibits the hands and feet of the martyr, tied with cords, and pierced with the nails of the cross. The fabric is built of a fine reddish freestone, which is supposed to have been brought from a quarry in the neighbourhood of Garvald.

[Tradition asserts that the labourers were placed in a line, and conveyed the stones in this manner, one to another, from the quarry to the church. In an age when there was nothing but founderous roads, this assertion might be believed, had there been no horses to carry burdens, or joiners

to instruct the people how to make sledges. There is also a tradition, that the fine bells of the Franciscan church of Haddington were carried to Durham by the English invaders.]

Before proceeding to the modern history of the parish church of Haddington—its early ministers, scholars, and teachers—we shall, for the sake of connecting events, take a short view of the proceedings of the presbytery of Haddington after the Reformation, in asserting their rights and resisting prelacy.

CHAPTER II.

"It is Iohne Knox in deid quhome of I mene,
That fervent, faithfull, servand of the Lord,
Quhome I dar bauldly byde at till have bene
Anc maist trew preicheour of the Lordis word.
I rak nathing quhat rebalds heir record—
Bot that this may be maid mair manifest:
I will discurs sum thing in speciall,
Tuiching this 'Lamp'"—M. Iohne Davidsone, Minister of Salt-Prestoun

THE REFORMATION.—JOHN KNOX — GEORGE WISHART.—THE PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON UNDER PRELACY, AND ITS CONTESTS WITH THE BISHOPS DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SIXTH.—PATRONAGE AND POPULAR ELECTION.—CRUELTY AND LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE AGE.—POPISH MUMMERIES.—JOHN HOME AND THE TRAGEDY OF DOUGLAS.

Within a humble cottage, and within view of that venerable church which we have just described, was John Knox, the hero of the reformation, born. At least tradition says so; and for a time we shall indulge in the idea. It was, at all events, when attending the grammar-school of Haddington, and musing in the shades of its monkish cloisters, and poring over his favourite St Jerome or St Augustine, that he imbibed these free ideas of church government which afterwards astonished the world.

The earliest destruction of the monasteries began at Perth, on the return of Knox from Geneva in 1559. From thence the ferment spreading over Fife and across the Forth, soon travelled through the whole kingdom. Fourteen years previous to this period, George Wishart had commenced the arduous task which his pupil completed; and, in his missionary tour through Lothian, preached at Haddington. This burgh at that time being completely under the control of the Earl of Bothwell, Wishart met with such an indifferent reception that he complained bitterly of the usage, and was led to rebuke the people for their contempt of the gospel, and foretold, what scarcely required prophecy in that anarchial age, that "strangers should possess their houses and chase them from their habitations." To this teacher Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his private instructions. During his last visit to Lothian, Knox waited constantly on his person, and bore a sword (a very unmeet symbol), which was carried before the preacher from the time that an attempt was made to assassinate him at Dundee. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal and talents of Knox, and seems to have presaged his future line of conduct, at the same time that he laboured under a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom. Wishart, after preaching at Haddington, went on foot, with Mr Cockburn of Ormiston and two of his friends to the house of Ormiston. Knox was anxious to accompany him; but Wishart, after taking his sword from the former, dismissed him with these words: "Nay, return to your bairnies (pupils), and God bless you: ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

[Knox having relinquished all thoughts of officiating in the church, which had invested him with clerical orders, entered as tutor into the families of Hugh Douglas of Longniddrie, and John Cockburn of Ormiston, two gentlemen in East Lothian who had embraced the reformed doctrines. That the people in the neighbourhood might derive advantage from his instruction, he catechised his pupils publicly in a chapel at Longniddrie, in which he also read to them, at stated times, a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks.—M'Crie's "Life of Knox." The memory of this fact has been preserved by tradition, and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called "John Knox's kirk."]

It was fortunate that Knox did not accompany Wishart. In the course of the night, the house was beset by the Earl of Bothwell, who demanded Wishart to be given up to him. Cockburn and his friends, however, refused to comply till the Earl gave the most solemn promises that he should be kept in safety, and not given up to his enemies. Cardinal Beaton was at that time at Elphingston Castle, a seat in the neighbourhood, anxious to get Wishart into his power. Bothwell refused to comply with the Cardinal's demand, and stood to his promise. But he was soon prevailed upon to give him up to the timid and irresolute Arran, who was then regent of Scotland. Solicited by the Queen-mother, Arran delivered up his unfortunate charge to the Cardinal, who carried him to St Andrews in the end of January 1546, where he was burnt at the stake, on the 1st March, in the view of Beaton and his friends, who beheld the martyr's sufferings from the window of that castle, where he soon after atoned for his savage cruelty beneath the assassin's dagger.

In 1560 the first general assembly of the reformed church was held at Edinburgh; and, in March 1561, Mr John Spottiswood was appointed superintendent of Lothian. In the third head of the policy of the reformed church it was ordained: That all monastic places of public worship, cathedrals canonries, colleges, etc., should be destroyed, with the exception of those used for parish churches or schools. "Thereupon (says Archbishop Spotswood), ensued a pitiful devastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm. No difference was made; but all the churches were either defaced or destroyed."

In 1571, November 30th, the town-council of Haddington ordained all anuellis of the chaplainries and altars within the burgh to be collected and applied to a master of the school, or to a reader, for teaching of bairns, and exhorter in the kirk, so that there be a qualified man gotten with advice of the council," etc. [Haddington Council Reg.] In the following year Mr James Carmichael was admitted minister; and at the same time received a gift of the common school of the burgh. These pluralities he only enjoyed till 1576, when it was thought proper that the double offices should be separated.

After the defeat of the plot to seize the young king, James VI. at Stirling, on the 6th May 1584, he came with his whole army to Edinburgh. At his Majesty's coming, some persons, suspected as partakers in the surprise of Stirling, were charged to appear before the King and council at Holyrood. Several ministers suspecting themselves to be pointed at for trafficking in the conspiracy, fled the country before any charge was brought against them; especially Mr Andw. Polwarth, subdean of Glasgow; Mr Patrick Galloway, minister at Perth; Mr James Carmichael, minister at Haddington; and Mr John Davidson, minister at Liberton (afterwards of Prestonpans); and so by that means apparently taking the crime upon themselves. And upon the 8th of June, Mr James Lawson, and Mr Walter Balcanquhal, ministers of Edinburgh, also took the alarm and fled from their flocks to England, unpursued or unsuspected.

Patronage, versus the right of popular election, was early viewed with a jealous eye by the presbytery of Haddington. On the annexation of the temporalities of the bishopricks to the crown, the patronages connected with them were disposed of to different noblemen and gentlemen; but as the church courts exerted themselves in obtaining the presentation for the person who was most acceptable to the parish, few objections were offered to a practice, from whence few evils resulted. The general assembly at the same time held a ruling power over the presbyteries; for on the appointment of a second minister to the town and parish of Haddingtn, the presbytery claimed the right of nomination; but Mr Carmichael, having produced and read the act of assembly in 1562, they relinquished their claim. The King's prerogative was sometimes found fault with, of which the following is an example:—Mr Andrew Forrester, minister of Corstorphin, having laid before the presbytery of Haddington a demission of the vicarage of Tranent by his father, and a presentation of it to himself by the King, confessed, after some interrogatories, "that bayt (both) ye dismission and presentation foirsaid wer taken be (with) his foir knowledge, and accepted be his consent." The presbytery therefore found that they could not proceed to collation and admission, because he had not obtained license of transportation, and "because be his foirsaid dealling he is fallin vnder danger of ane act of the generall assembly decerning sic persons as takes giftes of ony benefices of cure wtout foirknowledge and consent of the kirk, to be 'rei ambitus,' of the quilk fault he is to be tryit befoir his judge ordinarie." [Record Presbytery of Haddington.]

The next case was that of Aberlady. The parishioners requested the presbytery "that ane lite myt be made of qualifeit men and sent to teache in their paroche kirk upon several sabboth dayes per vices, to the end yt ye Brethrene of the Presbyterie wt their consent myt out of that number chuse ane fittest for the rowme." Mr Andrew Blackhall, younger, being put on the leet, was suspected to be "reus ambitus," and ordained to make his purgation. Having satisfied the presbytery, after a strict examination, that he did not know of the presentation "till it was past the seallis, and as yet had not acceptit of the same, nather yet was myndit to accept of the same wtout ye special advyse of the presbyterie," they found "the said Mr Andro not to be 'reusambitus'"; bnt still they exercised their power over the incumbent by the following resolution:—"At Hadingtoun, ye 24 Martij 1602. The quilk day ye brethrene being to nominate and elect ane of the thrie yt was vpon ye lite for Aberladie, t obe placit as pastour thare, before yt ye said mater sauld be put in voting thot meit yt Mr Andro Blakhall suld subscryve ye submission following:—I, Mr Andro Blakhal, younger, am content to put, and presëtlie puts ye gift and presëntatoun of ye vicarage of Aberladie, obtainit in my name, in ye hands of ye presbyterie of Hadingtoun, to use it as they think gude.—"Sic subscribitur, M. A. Blakhall."

A curious instance of procedure is quoted by Dr M'Crie, in the case of an unpopular

presentee, which occurred in the same presbytery long after the introduction of episcopacy. In 1621, Mr Michael Gilbert having obtained from the king (Charles I.) a presentation to the parish of North Berwick, the presbytery appointed him to preach in that church, and the people to send commissioners to testify what was "ther lyking or approbation of him." Commissioners, accordingly attended next meeting of the presbytery, and reported "in name of the whole people, that they were not content wt Michael Gibbert, and that universallie ye people had no lyking of him, and thawcht him not meit for that place. [Record of the Presbytery of Haddington, August 15th, 1601.]

The presbytery were, however, perfectly satisfied with Mr Gilbert's abilities; but under the circumstances of the case, craved the advice of the Bishop of St Andrews. His lordship seemed willing, in the first place, to yield to the wishes of the people, as, according to the opinion of Chrysostom, he deemed it necessary to consider the qualities of men in regard to their prudence as well as in their teaching; but, after some delay, the presbytery received instructions from the Bishop to proceed with Gilbert's settlement. [Ibid, Oct. 5, 1597.]

It appears that the consent of the people was signified in different ways. When it was proposed that Mr John Davidson (regent of St Leonard's college, St Andrews), should be settled minister of Salt Prestoun and the Pannis, "ane gritt multitude of the honest men of bayth the touns foirsaids came and shew thair gude lyking of Mr Jhone and his doctrine to us of the presbyterie (met at Tranent) desyring us maist earnestly with ane voyce." etc., while at the same time thanks were returned to my Lord of Newbotle, whose concurrence had been requested and obtained by the presbytery.

Another novel feature of the times exhibited itself in the general assembly, which began on the 31st March 1589, appointing all the ministers of the church to fight their examination battles over again, and to be tried "de novo," nominating certain individuals as assistants to each presbytery in this work. In consequence of this decree a rigid examination commenced, from which the ministers in general escaped with a gentle admonition.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there was as great a struggle between episcopacy and presbyterianism in Scotland as there had been formerly betwixt the latter and popery, and which at length led to fields of blood "in either Charles's reign." With a view of gradually introducing prelacy, it was proposed that "constant moderators" should be admitted to the general assembly; in other words, that bishops should be moderators of provincial assemblies, and that the moderators of presbyteries should be constant members of the general assembly. This led to a deal of cavaling in the church, and while some obeyed willingly, others yielded through dread. In the month of March 1607, several presbyteries were charged, under the pain of horning, to admit constant moderators. The commissioners from the secret council to the Synod of Lothian, were Walter, Lord Blantyre, Sir Thomas Hamilton of Monkland, and John Preston of Pennycuik. The presbyteries of Peebles, Haddington, and Dalkeith, delayed accepting; but Edinburgh, Dunbar, and Linlithgow, were persuaded to satisfy the King's commissioners.

On the 18th August, the synod of Lothian was held at Dalkeith. Mr George Grier, (minister of St Martine's) Haddington, the last moderator, had the exhortation. He alleged out of "Beza de Gradibus" that a "constant moderator" was the first step to the popedom;—that when they were to choose a new moderator, the King's commissioners produced their commissions, together with a copy of the act of Linlithgow, recommending constant moderators in provincial synods, as well as in particular presbyteries; but that the words of that act were obscure and ambiguous, and referred the same to the next general assembly.

To unite more closely the Scottish with the English church, James prevailed on John Spottiswood, archbishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, bishop of Galloway; and Lamb, bishop of Brechin, to accept consecration from the hands of the English bishops.

A general assembly was held at Glasgow, on Friday, the 8th June, 1610. George Home, Earl of Dunbar, had come to Scotland as commissioner from the King, and along with him Drs. Hampton, Mirriton, and Hutson, with whom he had three days' serious conference how to order matters at the meeting. Spottiswood was chosen moderator. It was reported that money was given largely to such as served the purpose of the King and the Bishop, under pretence of covering their travelling charges. The constant-moderators, who were present, got each their £100 Scots; but John Lauder, minister of Cockburnspath, coming rather late, was content to take £10 40 pennies less. Of this assembly the Earl of Dunbar was the commissioner: among the nobility were Lords Lindsay and Blantyre; Mr James Carmichael from Haddington, and Messrs Edward and Thomas Hepburn, and John Lauder from Dunbar; and the Lairds of Waughton and North Berwick.

Amongst other regulations drawn up for the discipline of the kirk, it was thought

expedient "that the bishops should be moderators in every diocesan synod, and that these synods should be held twice a year in April and October, and that where the dioceses were large, two or three synods should be held in convenient places for the accommodation of the clergy."

Bishop Gladstones was appointed to hold the diocesan synod of Lothian in Haddington, on the 1st day of November 1610. In his missive to the presbytery of Haddington, he required as many of their number as were of that diocese to be present, accompanied with two or three commissioners from every parish, assuring them, that he could do no less than award the penalty, appointed by the last assembly, for the wilful answer of any of the ministers. To this arrogance the presbytery of Haddington could not accede. They, therefore, resolved upon a gentle request or supplication to the Bishop, which Mr James Carmichael, their moderator, should present, subscribed by him and the clerk in their names; craving that in order to preserve themselves and their flocks from inconstancy and perjury, that they might not be pressed to accept any other discipline or government of the kirk than that which they already possessed.

On the day appointed, the bishop, after preaching from Judges, xi. 12. "came down to the table, and gratified the presbytery by allowing them to choose their clerk. When the Bishop was asking votes for the clerk, Mr James Carmichael, moderator of the presbytery of Haddington, was silent, notwithstanding his brethern had given him many signs to discharge his commission. Being assembled, Bishop Gladstones asked Mr John Ker, minister of Prestonpans, whom he thought most meet to be appointed clerk? He answered, "Sir, there is another matter, which must go before the choosing of a clerk." The Bishop demanded what it was? Ker boldly answered: "That their presbytery had given commission to Mr James Carmichael, to present some few lines in their name, which he trusted the assembly would find reasonable." The Bishop replied, "That nothing could be received conveniently, either by word or writ, without a clerk, and therefore prayed him to give his vote. The other answered: "I will not stand to give my vote except under protestation, that it shall not be prejudicial to what may be said or done by me or my brethren afterwards." The clerk being chosen, Mr Ker again urged the matter, which the Bishop perceiving, called upon Mr Carmichael to speak. "He made (says Calderwood,) a tedious and unprofitable harangue, hindered the reading of their smooth protestation or request, which was more sharp and pertinent than his speech. At last he came to that, which was committed to him by the presbytery, but uttered it well sparingly, and omitted the last clause." Mr Andrew Makgie assisted Mr Carmichael, and Mr Archibald Oswald followed, when the Bishop perceiving by his preface, that he meant both in his own name, and in that of the presbytery, to renounce his lordship's judicatory, he raise in a fury, and said, "What is that I am doing? I am not come here to reason or contend with words, but to execute laws; and, therefore, I will not hear you, nor any man speak more so in public," and commanded him to be silent.

Upon which Mr Oswald said, "If ye will not hear me, but command me silence, I shall be always silent."

"I mean not to hinder you," said the Bishop, "to speak in right time and place. Ye shall be heard in the privy conference with your bills and protestations; and if they be reasonable, they shall have a reasonable answer." He then commanded silence till the names were called over, and so choosed the conference. None disaffected to him were chosen, except one. The three ministers above named, found no assistance, although it was promised both by their own brethren and by the presbytery of Dalkeith. An accident happened to Bishop Gladstones while going out of the church, which was considered by the superstitious as a just visitation. "While the Bishop was going to dinner (says Calderwood,) he had almost broken his leg: for a great stone at the entry of the kirk door, almost six quarters square, steeped within, and fell down with him; howbeit two or three hundred had gone out before him; whereupon was made a pretty epigram in Latin."

In the afternoon the matter proponed by the three brethren was treated of in the privy conference, when a deal of altercation ensued on both sides. "Obey it, or not obey it, upon your own peril," said the Bishop, "for ye know the consequences." None of the presbytery of Haddington were, however, called upon to appear that night except James Carmichael, who being distinguished as a man of business as well as a preacher, sat, voted, and reasoned on the matter in question.

It was intimated to Bishop Gladstones on the day following, that the presbytery of Haddington would reject either his censure or trial. He was, however, disinclined to meddle with them in any case, till he was forced in a matter concerning the plantation of North Berwick. Some of the ministers having gone out before the names were called, the rest would not vote. Mr James Reid, one of their number, removed himself, and came in again to be tried. There was afterwards no more op-

position in this synod. The bishops overawed the majority of the other synods by their wealth, their influence, or the King's assistance; and although there was much murmuring and discontent, yet there was little resistance.

Every art was used to assimilate the Scotican church as nearly as possible to that of England. Mr John Home of Dunbar, Mr George Grier of St Martin's, Haddington, and four other ministers, were summoned to appear before the high commission at Edinburgh on the 26th January, for not preaching on holidays, and of not administering the communion (kneeling) agreeable to the forms prescribed by the Perth assembly. There were none present on the day appointed but the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and the Isles, and Mr Walter Whiteford. They were therefore dismissed, and warned to appear again before the same tribunal in March; and in default of this mandate, that they must renounce their ministry. Through the interest of the Earl of Melrose (Haddington), the name of Grier was excluded from the summons, while Home ascribed some reason for his conduct, which the Bishop of St Andrews undertook to answer betwixt and Pasch. His answers, however, were very frivolous, and rather confirmed Home in his opinions. Mr John Scrimiger, minister at Kinghorn, was less fortunate; for having celebrated the communion conform to the former practice of the kirk, without kneeling, he was deprived of his living.

But the various ways in which the conscientious presbyterians were now persecuted by the lordly prelates, at the instance of the British Solomon, who was a pope in every thing but the name, were truly ridiculous. The ministers were exhorted to make every concession to the King's pleasure—to shorten their communion tables, and to give the elements out of their own hands. Every means continued to be employed for the gradual introduction of the English forms of worship. The introduction of the Five Articles, however, was carried by a small majority, several of whom voted by proxy, which was considered a new mode of procedure in Scotland. [The grounds of the Five Articles, to which so much importance was attached, were that communicants should celebrate the Lord's supper on their knees, —that, in the event of sickness, the pastor might administer the sacrament in the invalid's house,—that children should be baptised the first Lord's day after their birth; and, if possible, openly in the church, —that children of eight years of age should be catechised by the priest, and presented to the bishop for his blessing,—that the festival days commemorative of the nativity and sufferings of Christ should be observed.] Sir Robert Hepburn and the Laird of Preston were commissioners for the county of Haddington; Mr James Cockburn for the burgh of Haddington; George Purves for Dunbar; and George Bailie for North Berwick. The Earls of Melrose and Winton voted for the measure; the Lords Yester and Elphingston dissented; and the Lords Blantyre and Lauderdale were either absent or their votes uncertain.

It was afterwards ordained, "that ministers should teach no other doctrine in the Lord's day afternoon, but some part of the catechism," with a view, as was conjectured, of preventing their indulging in invectives against the doctrines of those who differed from them in opinion. To these arbitrary acts against the clergy were added the imposition of fines, and the imprisonment of the laity who countenanced them. This was followed up by a proclamation against holding conventicles, or meeting privately, for the purpose of preaching and exhortation; a measure which afterwards paved the way for the downfall of the unfortunate house of Stuart.

George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who had been the chief instrument employed in enforcing the new discipline of the presbyterian church, died at Whitehall on the last day of January 1611.

["So he was pulled down from the height of his honour, (says Calderwood,) when he was about to solemnize magnificently his daughter's marriage with the Lord Walden. He purposed to keep St George's day after, in Berwick, where he had almost finished a sumptuous and glorious palace, which standeth as a monument to testify, that the curse which was pronounced against the rebuilders of Jericho, was executed upon him. Of all that he conquished in Scotland, there is not left to his posterity so much as a footbreadth of land." A splendid monument was erected to his memory in the church of Dunbar. It was repaired in 1820 by Mr St George, for which the Duke of Roxburgh contributed £100.]

The death of the Earl of Dunbar did not heal the wounds of the presbyterian church; but James, from the plausible duplicity of his conduct, succeeded in quietening the people. His death happened on the 27th March 1625. Charles, urged by his own bigoted and inflexible character, went a degree of despotism beyond his father while the mercenary and unprincipled ministers of Charles II. hurried the drop-scene of the drama of persecution, from the ashes of which religious toleration arose with healing in its wings. As the measures pursued during the reign of the two Charles's have already been amply detailed,

it is unnecessary to recapitulate the subject.

The following are the names of the ministers in East Lothian, who were nonconformists to prelacy in 1633, and who were either banished, confined, or turned out of their parishes:—Presbytery of Haddington—Mr Robert Ker of Haddington; John Macghie of Dirleton; and Thomas Kirkaldy of Tranent. Presbytery of Dunbar—Mr John Baird of Innerwick. Presbytery of Dalkeith—Mr John Sinclair of Ormiston.

In 1633, the church of Haddington was appointed one of the twelve prebends of the chapter of Edinburgh. At an Episcopal visitation on the 16th September 1635, it was agreed, in presence of the Bishop of Edinburgh, the magistrates of Haddington, and several of the heritors, that a second minister was necessary for the kirk of Haddington. In consequence of this decision, in the year following, Mr William Trent was collated to that charge. His stipend consisted of 600 merks, payable out of the revenues of the burgh. The town claimed the right of patronage to this second minister, whom they had established. This pretension was contested by the Earl of Haddington, then proprietor of the barony of Byres in the parish, which gave rise to a remarkable law-suit in 1680, between his lordship and the burgh, which was decided in his favour. There is an elegant pleading of Sir George Mackenzie in support of the town's right, published by him in his specimen, "Eloquentiæ Forensis Scotiæ," a decision which was afterwards regarded as a precedent in the House of Peers.

It will now be necessary to take a short view of the manners of the age during the period we have described until the revolution; so far, at least, as they came under the cognizance of the church courts.

Sir Richard Maitland (who flourished previous to 1586) in his "Satire on the Toun Ladyes," attacks the wives of the Burrowstoun on the laxity of their morals; by which it appears that the servants did not profit much by the example of their mistresses, which he ascribes to that root of all evil in the fair sex, their love of dress, or "newfangilnes of geir." [Sir Richard, however, was forced to confess, that between them and nobles of blood, there was "na difference but ane velvet huid!"]

In reforming abuses, it seems to be the fate of mankind to rush from one extreme to another—from a state of callous, and often dangerous indifference, to one of punctilious severity. The penancies and absolutions of the Romish church were scarcely more absurd and antichristian, than the rigour and cruelty with which a deviation from the path of virtue was now visited on those unfortunate wretches who were viciously inclined, which in latter times drew forth the lash of Burns, who had smarted under them. Idolatory and licentious conduct were now beheld with equal abhorrence, and incurred the penalty of banishment, the pillory, or burning on the cheek.

In 1587-8, the licentiousness of the people was such as to excite the reprobation of our burgh authorities. On the last day of February, the following resolution was entered into by the town-council of Haddington. "Forsameikle as sundrie young licentious and unmarried women, abstract themselves from service party among themselves, partly also coming from other places, and taking up house within this town without any certain or lawful vocation to the effect they may live more easily in freedom than they could as servants, whereby they are compelled to exercise divers and ungodly means to sustain themselves; and, in special, oftentimes expose their bodies to be sold, if they may find buyers, where, through the state of servants' decays, the town is replenished with beggarly harlots; which, at length, it is to be feared, shall ultimately destroy all civility among us, and make us odious and detestable to all men, besides the pouring of God's plague upon our whole commonwealth, for overseeing and suffering of such enormities." All such unmarried women were, therefore, ordered to fee and enter themselves in service, in some honest house, against the next Whitsunday, etc.; certifying, that after eight days were past, those that did not obey this mandate, should be "banished the town for ever." etc.

In 1609, April 5th, "the bailies, town-council, and deacons of Haddington, understanding the pillar of repentance is 'ower little,' and the number of adulterers and fornicators daily [increasing]; therefore ordained the treasurer to make another new pillar of repentance, and to set it at the west end of the kirk, and that for the adulterers."

We shall just notice a case which happened eighty years afterwards. In 1691, Alexander Marshall did penance on the pillar of repentance in Prestonpans church for fornication; and Marion Scott was imprisoned in the steeple-head of the church till she made confession of the same crime. Persons convicted were compelled to fall on their knees before God, and to confess their sins to the kirk-session!

The church did not rest satisfied with reforming the domestic morals of the people, but turned its attention to their popular amusements; some of which, however absurd, were at least harmless. In the general assembly held at Edinburgh in March 1575,

it having been considered that "the playing of clerks's plays, comedies, or tragedies, upon the canonical parts of scripture, induceth and bringeth in with it, a contempt and profanation of the same; ordained that no such plays be acted either of the new or old Testaments, on the Sabbath or work days, in time coming, and that the contravenors, if they be ministers, be deprived of their functions; if others, that they be censured by the discipline of the kirk. And that an article be given in to such as sit upon the policie, that comedies, tragedies, and other profane plays, which are not made upon authentic parts of scripture, may be considered before they be acted publicly; and that they be not acted upon the Lord's day."

Among the first religious spectacles exhibited, were representations, in dumb show, with short speeches intermingled, representing the most interesting scenes in the history of our Saviour. These representations, from the nature of the subject, acquired the name of "Mysteries," in which allegorical personages, such as Sin and Death were introduced. By degrees dramatic pieces were formed from such personifications, and these were entitled "Moral Plays" or "Moralities." In the course of time humorous subjects were introduced; and hence the distinctions of tragedy and comedy arose. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, these performances became so popular and common that the church complained of them as a nuisance. In the houses of the nobility the chaplain was commonly the author of these holy plays, from which they got the appellation of "Clerk's Plays," and the menial servants or retainers of the family, were the performers. The taste for Clerk's Plays prevailed to a considerable extent at Haddington. In the last sermon which George Wishart preached in that church, in 1544, he inveighs violently against the people for their love of these amusements, which it appears from his observation were attended by thousands of persons, while the reformer could not obtain a hundred auditors.

Among the graver observances of our ancestors, was the annual commemoration in honour of the dead. The death of our Saviour, and of their favourite saints and martyrs, each of whom had his consecrated altar, was religiously observed, (hence arose the procession on Corpus Christi day); and at an era when, according to common belief, the prayers of the faithful were not breathed in vain for those who had passed the dark portals of this world, we may readily concieve that these ceremonies were observed with a becoming solemnity.

In reference to these ancient usages, it appears that in the months of May and June 1532, there was a dispute between the incorporations of the masons and wrights of Haddington, as to the order of precedency in the procession, etc. on Corpus Christi day.

1540, March 30th, "The which day the bailies and community ordained, that whoever might be made 'Abbot' this year, that he should take the same on him within 24 hours next after he was chosen and charged therewith; or then to refuse the same, and pay their 40s ilk ane after other, as they refuse; and this to be observed in time to come."

"The which day, James Horne was chosen by the bailies and community Abbot of Unreason for this year; but failing of him, Patrick Dowglace, flesher; and failing of him, John Dowglace, mason; syne Philip Gipson; syne Robert Litstar; syne James Raburn; syne John Dowglace, baxter; and George Vaik."

The first person mentioned (Horne) must have refused this office, as it is stated, July 20th, "The bailies and assize will (resolve) that the first burgess that beis made, except burgess-air, be given to Patrick Dowglace, [that is, the fees paid when a person was admitted burgess,] for this Abbot of Unreason—that he should have; and which will relieve the town of the bond that they are bound to him therefore."

The "Abbot of Unreason," who was also styled the "Lord of Misrule," presided over Christmas gambols with dictatorial authority, and with an address or epilogue closed those scenes of festivity. He sometimes assumed a farcical character in the interlude, and, in the garb of a dignified clergyman, entertained the rabble with his ceremonies. Our present guisards or masks, during the "daft days," (who still have their Judas) are the only remains of these mummeries.

The Duke of York (James VII.), as if he had sought by the gaiety of novel sports to make the people forget the real grievances of his administration, was the first that introduced a regular company of comedians into Scotland. It was about the same time that he introduced the iniquitous test act, which might be a good reason for the presbyterians long looking with no complacent eye upon the stage.

In 1681, December 20th, several members of the town-council of Haddington refused to take the test oath; and, in 1682, Mr James Gray, one of the ministers of the 2nd charge, demitted his office as pastor on the same head. This troublous period has already come under our observation.

But after the presbyterian clergy had railed against the stage upwards of a century and a half, observes Arnot, "it was a matter of no small mortification to them to

behold a play written by one of their own order, acted in presence of several of their number, and received with universal applause." The tragedy of Douglas, by Mr John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, was performed first at Edinburgh on the 14th December 1756. It was acted for numerous successive nights, before persons of all ranks and professions, and had a run unprecedented in any theatrical piece ever exhibited in Scotland.

The presbytery of Edinburgh alarmed, or apparently shocked at the circumstance, called before them such ministers within their own district as had witnessed the performance of the play, and passed upon them a sentence of temporal suspension from the pastoral office. They wrote circular letters to those presbyteries in which any clergyman resided who had been present at the theatre on the performance, recommending rigorous proceedings against them. While they attacked the play itself, on account of its irreligious and immoral tendency; bringing forward, in support of their charge, selected passages, containing what they considered impious invocations, mock prayers, horrid swearing, and sentiments calculated to encourage suicide.

The presbytery also drew up an act and exhortation to their flock, which was read from all the pulpits, and afterwards appeared in some of the periodical publications; in which their zeal went beyond the truth in asserting, that the Christian church, in all ages, condemned dramatic representations. The presbytery of Glasgow also joined in the hue and cry, "lamenting the melancholy fact, that there should be a tragedy written by a minister of the church of Scotland."

The earliest opportunity was used in communicating with the presbytery to which the author belonged. In January 1757, the presbytery of Edinburgh addressed a letter to the presbytery of Haddington, informing them: "That a gentleman of their number had attended the playhouse in Edinburgh, for a number of nights successively, during the representation of a profane play called 'Douglas,' of which that gentleman was commonly reported to be the author; and that as the scandal happened within the bounds of the presbytery of Edinburgh, that body had thought themselves bound in duty to give regular intimation of the same to the presbytery of Haddington."

Before the presbytery of Haddington, however, could enter into an examination of this heresy, the "Noble Shepherd" had been acted on the London stage. Mr Home had set off for the metropolis in the beginning of February, and did not return to his charge till the 4th of May. It does not afterwards appear from the presbytery records of Haddington, that any measures were pursued relative to the communication they had got from Edinburgh, nor with respect to Mr Home's long absence from his parish; it being generally understood that after the ensuing term of Whitsunday he intended to resign his charge, which he accordingly did at a meeting of presbytery held at Athelstaneford, on the 7th June 1757. Mr Home had evidently no violent attachment to his profession. He had previously, in 1755, been admonished by the Presbytery of Haddington, for being absent from his parish for the space of three months at one time, without leave asked or given; and, what is rather a singular trait in the character of a presbyterian clergyman, although he had been ten years minister of the parish, he had never taken up his residence in the manse.

CHAPTER III.

"Hail to the state of Britain! And conjoin
With this a salutation as devout,
Made to the spiritual fabric of her church,
Founded in truth—by blood of martyrdom
Cemented—by the hands of wisdom rear'd
In beauty of holiness, with order'd pomp,
Decent, and unreproved. The voice that greets
The majesty of both, shall pray for both;
That, mutually protected and sustained,
They may endure long as the sea surrounds
This favoured land, or sunshine warms the soil."
—WORDSWORTH

RENOVATION OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF HADDINGTON. — THE CHURCHYARD — ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF THE NOBILITY AND OTHER EMINENT PERSONS.—THE HISTORY OF THE MINISTERS OF HADDINGTON—ITS EARLY SCHOLARS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

The doctrine was inculcated by John Knox, that "the best way to keep the rooks from returning, was to pull down their nests:" a maxim which, in too many instances, was literally applied to several of our cathedrals and monasteries. But such destructive measures we are bound to confess, were neither countenanced by the government, nor by the early reformers themselves. The former commanded their emissaries "to tak doun the haill images thereof, and bring thaym furth to the kyrkzayrd, and burn them oppinly. And siclyk cast doun the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye." But at the same time they were cautioned to "tak guid heyd that neither the dasks, windocks, nor durris, be ony ways hurt or broken—either glassin wark or iron wark." Robert Pont, commissioner of Murray, and one of the lords of session, observes: "A great many, not only of the raskall sorte, but sundrie men of name and worldly reputation, joyned themselves with the congre-

gation of reformers, not so much for zeale of religion, as to reap some carthly commoditie, and to be enriched by spoyle of the kirkes and abbey places. And when the preachers told them that such places of idolatrie should be pulled downe, they accepted gladly the enterprise; and rudely passing to worke, pulled down all, both idoles and places where they were found. Not making difference betweene these places of idolatrie, and many parish-kirks, where God's word shuld have bin preached in many parts where they resorted, as in such tumultes and suddainties useth to come to passe; namelye, among such a nation as we are. [Pont's Sermons against Sacrilege.—Edin. 1599.]

In compliance with such a spirit, the eastern part of the parish church of Haddington was unroofed—the quire destroyed—the arches that canopied its storied windows broken—its altars cast down—every thing that bore the figure of a saint demolished,— and even the angels, with mutilated faces, shorn of their wings. It was probably from the influence of the Earl of Bothwell in the first part, and latterly to the Maitland family, to whom part of the church lands were disponed, and who resided in the neighbourhood, that any part of the fabric was saved from the general ruin.

From the conflicting state of public opinion at the era of the reformation, the congregations of the parish churches must have been comparatively small, and their ministers but ill provided. Accordingly we find that the first reformed clergy of Haddington added the task of schoolmaster to that of preacher; and in some places they pursued less honourable and less useful employments. In the progress of time when the church grew more stablished, it was joined by many of its secret friends, who from necessary or prudential motives had hitherto stood aloof, and increased in numbers and respectability. The consequence was, that pew was added to pew, and gallery to gallery, till the parish church of Haddington exhibited as crowded a house of prayer as would have gladdened the heart of Wishart or Knox to have witnessed, and from which many hundreds were excluded from want of accommodation. What made this grievance more apparent, several respectable dissenting chapels and meeting-houses had arisen, which, in point of comfort, were superior to the church, and but little inferior in regard to preachers.

Taking all these important matters into consideration, on the 13th March 1806, the provost (Mr Banks) reported to the town-council of Haddington, that there was a plan in agitation to repair and improve the parish church, which had been long complained of as uncomfortable and inconvenient, and that a meeting of heritors was to take place for this purpose. The council appointed the Provost and Bailie Nisbet to attend the meeting, and support the proposition, agreeable to such a plan as should seem to them most conducive for the convenience and accommodation of the inhabitants.

At a future meeting, on the 16th October, at which were present the Hon. Baron Hepburn; Alexander Houston of Clerkington; Robert Steuart of Alderston; John Martine, provost of Haddington; James Deans, bailie; George Banks, dean of guild: —Baron Hepburn, preses:—The heritors were of opinion, that before any specific repairs were agreed on, it would be proper to ascertain what proportion of these expenses were to be paid by them, and in what manner the area of the church should be divided. In particular, that the town of Haddington should previously declare with what proportion of that area they should be satisfied, and whether they were willing to pay in the same proportion for the repairs now made, and in time coming;—as also to consult the incorporations as to their claims for seats in the church. Agreeable to the recommendation of the meeting, a permanent committee was appointed by the council, consisting of Messrs Banks, Cunningham, and Convener Nisbet, to attend, along with whatever magistrates might hereafter be in office, to the interest of the town till the repairs of the church should be settled. In consequence of this necessary measure being still delayed, the town entered a complaint to the presbytery, who were decidedly of opinion that the church was unfit to accommodate the congregation, both on account of its ruinous state, and the want of a sufficient number of seats. The council, therefore, appointed a list to be made up, of the "examinable" persons in Haddington and Nungate, of twelve years of age and upwards, to ascertain what share of the area of the church the town was entitled to by law, when it was found that no less than 644 persons, entitled to accommodation, were excluded.

After the exertions of Provost Martine and the committee had brought matters near a settlement, and an elegant plan was furnished by Mr James Burn, Haddington, a new obstacle was started by the incorporated trades of the burgh, (September 1808), who had severally occupied seats and galleries from time immemorial, and some of them upon written titles, who now laid in their claim for a proportion of the church, which was urged by the heritors as a plea for longer delay. After a strong representation by Provost Martine, the council de-

cided, that an action should be instituted in the Court of Session, at the instance of the magistrates, as representing the community, against the whole heritors, or such as did not concur in supporting the motion proposed, and that the Provost, Bailie Roughead, and Mr Banks, should be appointed a permanent committee to see the process carried into effect. At a future meeting of the heritors, Governor Houston proposed, that to avoid further disputes between the landward heritors and the town of Haddington, that a proportion of the area of the church after it should be repaired, corresponding to one half, should be allotted to the magistrates and town-council of Haddington, as representing the community; provided they agreed to pay one-half of the expense of repairs, and relieved the landward heritors of all claims that might be made by the incorporated trades, burgh heritors, etc. This proposal was agreed to by the council; but it was recommended to the committee to use their utmost endeavours to get a new church built, rather than the present one renovated, particularly as the congregation would be deprived for a considerable time of a place of worship while the other underwent repair. Fortunately for those who admire the preservation of the ruins of monastic grandeur, this plan was not adopted; and it was at length agreed that the west end of the church should be repaired.

After another tedious delay of seven months, on the 27th April 1809, the town-council of Haddington were under the necessity of raising an action against the whole heritors for their tardiness in fulfilling their promise; at the same time they sent letters of thanks to the Earls of Hopetoun and Wemyss, and to Mr Steuart of Alderston, for the interest they had shown in getting the matter forwarded, and ultimately amicably arranged.

The heritors being thus urged, by the 11th October 1811, the repairs of the church were nearly completed. In the interior the old seats were removed—the arches cut up, and raised, to make room for the new galleries,—and the floors relaid, etc., by Peter Begbie, wright in St Lawrence House, and Francis Buchan, North Berwick, the contractors. The western fabric was to a great extent renovated, and the delapidated walls were restored, by Alexander Ireland, mason, Butterdean, according to a plan by Mr Archibald Elliot, Edinburgh, architect. The expenses were paid in equal proportions by the town and the heritors, leaving it for after decision how the church should be divided.

Formerly the town had paid one-fifth of the repairs. Each of the nine incorporations of the burgh had a separate seat, on which were painted or gilt their armorial bearings in every honourable shape; and as it is the common desire of mankind for every one to ride foremost, considerable altercation took place, where there were so many interests to consult, in the division of the church. The sheriff-depute of the county (Mr Law), to whom a remit was granted by the Lord-ordinary Robertson, to divide the church, ordered all parties having, or pretending to have interest, to lodge their claims with him. One-fifth was allotted to the magistrates and incorporations, being the proportion formerly paid by them in repairing the church, and in building and repairing the ministers' manses, etc.; and four-fifths to the landward-heritors. The Earl of Hopetoun, as patron, had a right to the principal seat in the gallery, whether he had been an heritor or not; but this, on his own motion, he handsomely conceded to the magistrates. And, at a former meeting of heritors, on the 19th November 1807, on the motion of the Earl of Hopetoun, it was agreed "that the pulpit should be placed on the south side of the church, between the two centre pillars, and that the magistrates gallery should face the pulpit."

On this important work being completed, the town-Council voted thanks to Mr John Martine for the great perseverance and attention he had uniformly paid in getting the measure accomplished.

The area of the church was divided by the sheriff, according to the interlocutor, in the remit by the Court of Session, at Edinburgh, in October 1811. Accordingly, on the 2nd May 1812, a division of the church seats took place, when it was agreed that each of the sittings of the first class of seats should be 2s 6d, the second 1s 6d, and the third 1s.

The total number of seats in the church are 94, which accommodate sitters in the following manner:—In the area of the church, 716; in the gallery, 517; total, 1233. Of which only 228 sitters occupied seats belonging to the town of Haddington.

THE CHURCHYARD.

The improvements of the church having thus been satisfactorily effected, the heritors suggested the propriety of heightening the churchyard wall, at this time a very necessary measure. Previous to that motion (30th May 1809,) a public road led through the churchyard to the meadow, called the Hangh, which converted the resting-place of the dead into a common thoroughfare, and exposed the ruins of the church to that species of delapidation, which in Scotland forms too much of the mobile character, and where a "champ

elysees," if laid open to the people, would scarcely escape injury. It was very properly agreed that, in future, all communication should be cut off with the cemetery, except for burial, or as a road to the church. The town-council immediately agreed to bear their share in the expense of this useful improvement, and to give up the town's right to what they called "a walk in the churchyard." They also agreed to run a cross wall along the bottom of the foot road on the west end of the sacred enclosure at their own expense. The churchyard since that time has been kept in better order, and has now much the clean appearance of the English places of sepulture, where duty and affection often decks the grave with a bouquet of flowers.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

"I see nothing now
That minds me of old times, except the stones
In the churchyard."—SOUTHEY.

There is a most superb monument erected to the memory of John, Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, chancellor of Scotland, and his lady, Jean, only daughter and heiress of James fourth Lord Fleming, and other members of their family, situated in an aisle on the north-east side of the church of Haddington, belonging to the noble house of Lauderdale.

This monument is 24 feet long, by 18 feet wide, and is 18 feet high. There are two compartments, supported by three black marble pillars, 5 feet high each, with capitals of white alabaster, of the Corinthian order, arched above. Below the west of these arches, under the marble bust of a lady, surrounded with nine coats of the armorial bearings of the family, having the Virgin Mary, with the infant Saviour in her arms on the west side, and St John the Evangelist on the other, is an inscription upon black marble, in memory of Lady Anne Maitland, the daughter of the Chancellor, who married Robert, second Earl of Winton.

Below which, lie the full length figures of Lord Chancellor Maitland and his lady, with their coronets on their head, in white alabaster, close to each other, in a recumbent posture. And below these statues, on another compartment of black marble, is a Latin inscription on the Baron himself.

On the top of the monument, which was defaced previous to 1785, and the black marble broken in pieces, was the subjoined epitaph, written by James VI. on his favourite minister:—

HAEC JACOBUS REX SEXTUS:

Thou passenger that spy'st with gazing eyes
This trophy sad of Death's triumphant dart,
Consider when this outward tomb thou sees,
How rare a man leaves here his earthly part,
His wisdom and his uprightness of heart,
His piety, his practice in our state,
His pregnant wit, well versed in every art,
While equals all were ever at debate;
Then justly hath his death brought forth of late
A heavy grief to Prince and subjects all,
Who virtue love, and vice do truly hate;
Though vicious men be joyful at his fall:
But, for himself, must happy doth he die,
Though for his Prince he most unhappy be.

In a vault, east from the monument, the body of John, Duke of Lauderdale, is deposited in a leaden coffin, with a Latin inscription, upon a brass plate, of which the following is a translation:—"In the hope of a blessed Resurrection, here is interred that most illustrious and noble Prince and Lord, John, Duke of Lauderdale, Marquis of March, Earl of Lauderdale and Guilford, Viscount Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, Musselburgh, Bolton, and Petersham; often commissioner for holding the Parliaments and Conventions of the orders of the realm; from the restoration of the kingly power, for twenty years sole Secretary of State for the kingdom of Scotland to Charles II., the best of kings; President of the secret Council to the same most powerful King; in the kingdom of England a Privy-councillor, and one of the Lords of the Bedchamber; in Scotland, one of the four extraordinary Senators of the college of justice; Constable and Governor of the royal castle of Edinburgh; Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. Born on the 21st May 1616, at Lethington. He died on the 24th day of August, near Tunbridge Wells, in the year of the salvation of man, 1682, in the year of his age, 67."

A large square vase or urn, also of lead, enclosing the Duke's brain and viscera, stands near the coffin, on which in Latin is inscribed: "In this vase is deposited all the intestines, except the heart, of John of Lauderdale, who died on the 24th August, A.D. 1682."

Interred in the same vault are the remains of James, eight Earl of Lauderdale, Viscount Maitland, Baron Thirlestane and Boltoun, Baronet of Nova Scotia, hereditary standard bearer of Scotland, LL.D. K.T. His lordship died at the family seat of Thirlestane Castle, Berwickshire, on the 13th September 1839, in the 81st year of his age; and his obsequies took place at Haddington, on the 20th September. The coffin is simply elegant, enclosed in a leaden case, covered with crimson velvet, and a plate, on which is engraved the titles and age of his lordship. The coffin was lowered into the vault and placed near to that of the Duke of Lauderdale.

At the north-east extremity of the church the aisle belonging to the noble family of Amisfield is situated. Here is interred

Francis, Fifth Lord Elcho, who died at Amisfield-house, on the 20th January 1808, in the 59th year of his age. His lordship was born at Edinburgh on the 31st January 1749, and was chosen member of Parliament for the burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, etc., at the general election in 1780, and rechosen in 1784. His lordship's attention in his later years was in a great measure devoted to agricultural pursuits.

In the south-east corner, within the ruins of the old church, under a flat grave stone, supported by balusters, and ornamented with a spread bible, the founder of the library of the town of Haddington is interred. The grave is marked by the following lines: —Here lyes Mr John Gray, born at Haddington, in 1646; minister at Tulliallen, near Culross, in 1667—thereafter minister at Glasgow, from 1672 to 84—then minister of Aberlady from 1684 to 1689—then deprived upon a publik.....Died October 24, 1717, aged near 71. "Mihi vivere est Christus mortuus, fuge nite quod moribus agas, deo gloria amen." Translation.—Christ has died that I may live. Shun depending on what thou canst accomplish by mere morals.

In the centre of the churchyard an obelisk monument is erected to an eminent theological writer of the secession church, Mr John Brown, author of the self-interpreting Bible, etc.

THE MINISTERS OF HADDINGTON.

"A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a-year."
GOLDSMITH.

Mr Patrick Cockburn, son to Cockburn of Langton, was the first protestant clergyman settled at Haddington after the reformation. He entered into holy orders at an early age, and went over to the University of Paris, where he taught the oriental languages with great applause. On returning home he embraced the reformed religion, and officiated as minister of Haddington till his death in 1568. Dempster characterises him as being the most learned and moderate of all the Scots reformers.

In 1563, Mr Cockburn was appointed chaplain of the Trinity aisle in the parish kirk of Haddington. In 1564 and 65, a complaint was made against him for absenting himself from the meetings of the general assembly.

It appears from the following entry, in the council register of Haddington, that Cockburn also held the rectory of Petcox, in the parish of Stenton:—"1567, October 9.—Tenor Cartæ feudi-firme Wm. Brown, facte duorum tenementorum et acre terre subscripte—granted by Patricius Cokburn, rector de Pettikky, ac minister verbi infra burgum de Hadingtoun." (Written and signed by Cockburn,) Mgr. Patricius Cokburn, manu mea.

The church of Haddington had apparently no settled minister for two years after the death of Mr Cockburn. On the 31st March 1570 the town-council of Haddington ordained John Ayton, the provost; and Barnard Thomson, bailie; "to pass to Edinburgh, to mein (apply) to the session for a minister." On the 13th April, in the same year, the council ordained the provost, and "ane othair honest man with him," to pass to the assembly of Edinburgh at midsummer next to get an answer to the giving of a minister to the town. And, on the 14th June, they were ordered "to speik the kirk for obtaining a minister, and his stipend."

On the 27th July, the town-treasurer of Haddington was authorized "to pay to Andrew Simpson xxv. merks of byrunnis." The person who is here alluded to was probably Mr Andrew Simson, who was then vicar and exhorter at Bolton; and who probably supplied the place of a minister at Haddington in the interim, as he was succeeded in his office at Bolton by Mr Carmichael, of whom we have now to speak.

Mr James Carmichael was admitted minister of Haddington on the 25th August 1570, when the town-council ordained John Douglas, bailie, to pass to Edinburgh, "to convoy the minister to the burgh against Sunday next."

On the 10th January 1571-72 the town-council authorized the treasurer "to deliver to Mr James Carmichael, minister, x merks to pay his chalmer maill for one year, from Martinmas, in the year of God 1571 years, alanerlie."

As a proof of the poverty of the clerical endowments at this time, Mr Carmichael was also appointed schooolmaster. On the 16th April 1572 the magistrates and council of Haddington ordained a gift of their common school to Mr James Carmichael "with all duties, commodities, and profits, thereto pertaining, and used to pertain; and that during their will alanerlie; and anent his stipend he was referred to the town's will." Accordingly, on the 11th July, the treasurer was ordered to pay to the minister-schoolmaster, as stipend, "xl. pounds (Scots) yearly; beginning the first payment at Martinmas next and that during pleasure."

In the ensuing year, Mr Walter Balcanquall, who afterwards became a celebrated preacher in Edinburgh, was appointed assistant to Mr Carmichael. On the 28th February 1572-3 the town-council of Haddington "conducit Mr Walter M'Canquell to read the common prayers in the kirk at vii. hours before noon in summer, and viii.

hours in winter, and that on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, and to be clerk in the session and doctor in the school; and that during the space of one year from the date hereof [interlined Martinmas next]: and, therefore, the council obliged them to pay to the said reader, fifty merks in the year, at two terms, by equal portions."

In 1574, Mr Carmichael had the laborious charge of Haddington, Bolton, Athelstaneford, and St Martin's kirk in the Nungate. He resigned Bolton about 1586.

It soon, however, became requisite that the office of schoolmaster should be separated from that of the minister. On the 28th May 1574 the provost, bailies, and council of Haddington, with advice of the deacons, stated and ordained "that in no time coming the minister of the kirk should be admitted schoolmaster of the burgh." It does not appear that this measure was carried into effect till two years afterwards. On the 15th November 1576 an agreement was entered into with Mr Carmichael that the offices should be separated.

In 1578 we find that Mr Henry Chapman was appointed reader in the church of Haddington.

In 1582 all ministers and masters of colleges and schools were required to subscribe a bond, in which they engaged to obey the late acts of parliament, and to acknowledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, under the pain of being for ever deprived of their benefices and salaries. The most of the ministers refused compliance with this mandate. Amongst those who fled from the episcopal tyranny of the court was Andrew Melville, the celebrated scholar, and ex-principal of St Andrews, who went to London with Mr James Carmichael, and had several interviews with Walsingham, Bowes, and Sydney, and found these statesmen inclined to befriend them. It appears that Carmichael remained some time in London; for, in 1585, in a letter written by him to the Earl of Angus, he mentions that the "King's Poesies" had just arrived; some sentences and verses of which were not well liked of."

Mr Carmichael did not return to Haddington till 1587. On the 11th December, "the town-council understanding that Mr James Carmichael, minister of the word of God, was to repair and come again to the using of his functions at their kirk as before, 22 merks to be paid him in his house maill."

During his absence his place had been supplied by Mr John Ker, schoolmaster. On the 19th November 1588, the town-council ordered "one hundred merks money to be paid Mr Ker, in full satisfaction for the parts of the said burgh alanerlie, of his service done in the function of minister of the word of God, at the kirk of the said burgh, to the haill parishioners there, of these divers years bygane." In the month following, December 9th, "an act was passed respecting a manse for the minister." Previous to this period, the minister, schoolmaster, and others, were lodged in the same house.

Andrew Melville being at length placed under surveillence in London, on the plea of "scandalum magnatum," the Scottish bishops posted home to hold a packed assembly; but after all their preparations they durst not allow a free election of representatives of the church. Missives were sent by the King to the various presbyteries, desiring them to send such persons as he named to Linlithgow on the 10th December, to consult with the privy council on the means of preventing the increase of popery and curing the distractions of the church. In some presbyteries three and in others six individuals were picked out, according as each had members favourable to the measures of the court; and private letters were addressed to them commanding their attendance at Linlithgow, whether they received a commission from their constituents or not. Feeling this as an insult, as well as an invasion of their rights, some presbyteries refused to give any commission to the nominees of the court, while others positively interdicted them from taking part in the judicial decision of any ecclesiastical question. Mr James Carmichael was summoned to appear at Linlithgow.

Mr Carmichael was not only a zealous preacher, but was highly esteemed as a scholar. Like Andrew Simson of Dunbar, he was also author of some elementary books, which were at that time used in the grammar-school, one of which was "Grammaticæ Latinæ, de Etymologia, liber secundus." As a proof of his abilities, when Sir John Skene published his notes to the "Regium Majestatem," on its being put to press, the Lords of the Privy Council had such a high opinion of the abilities of Carmichael, that thep applied to the presbytery of Haddington to excuse his absence for "the space of tua months of thereby, finding non so meit as Mr James Carmichaell, to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults yrin as vsuallie occurres in every printing that first cumis from the presse." There is a poem by Mr Carmichael at the end of the Scottish translation of that work.

Mr Carmichael died in 1628, and closed a long, useful, and laborious life.

Mr Alexander Hamilton was collated by the Bishop of Edinburgh, on the 2nd December 1629, to the church of Haddington. He died in December 1645.

Mr William Trent, who was the first minister appointed to the second charge, was ordained in July 1636. He died in February 1675.

Mr Robert Kerr, translated from Prestonpans, was admitted to the first charge on the 21st April 1647. He died in 1677.

Mr James Forman was admitted to the second charge on the 20th April 1676, and was translated to the first charge in 1676 He died in November 1702.

Mr James Gray was ordained to the second charge on the 20th January 1681, and demitted because of the "test oath" in 1682.

Mr William Denune, ordained to the second charge on the 26th April 1683, and translated to Pencaitland in 1685.

Mr George Dunbar was admitted to the second charge on the 12th November 1685. He died in 1713.

Mr John Currie was admitted to the first charge on the 29th June 1704. He died on the 18th June 1720.

Mr Patrick Wilkie of Rathbyres was ordained minister of the second charge, Haddington, on the 5th May 1714, and translated to the first charge in 1720. He was minister of Haddington for the long period of fifty-seven years, and died in August 1771.

Mr Wilkie was born in Edinburgh. He was father of the late James Wilkie, Esq., of Rathbyres and Gilchriston, J.P., whose son, the late Rev. Daniel Wilkie, of the Grey Friar's Church, Edinburgh, was eight years minister of Yester.

Mr Robert Patoun was ordained minister on the 18th January 1722, and was translated to Renfrew in January 1731.

Mr Edward Steedman was ordained minister of the second charge on the 16th September 1731. He died on the 9th June 1756.

Mr David Wark was ordained minister of the second charge on the 9th June 1757. He died on the 14th January 1766.

George Barclay of Middleton, D.D., minister of Hutton, was presented to the second charge of the church of Haddington, on the death of the Rev. Dr Wark, by the Earl of Hopetoun. Against this presentation the town-council remonstrated, on account of the "disagreeable character" of Dr Barclay, and authorized the magistrates to meet with the other heritors of the Parish, to petition his lordship against this presentation, and concur with them in every step that might be taken for the good and peace of the parish. Provost Lundie communicated with his lordship on the subject, on the first March an answer was received, and here the matter appears to have been dropt, as Dr Barclay was admitted to the second charge on the 17th July 1766, and was translated to the first charge on the death of Mr Wilkie, on the 17th March 1772.

Dr Barclay was a man of considerable ability. He drew up the Statistical Account of the parish of Haddington, which was communicated to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1785, and was published in the second volume of their Transactions. According to his epitaph, which we have quoted, he died "after a life of edifying virtue" in the 66th year of his age, on the 2nd December 1795.

Mr Robert Scott was ordained minister of the second charge on the 25th October 1772. He died on the 17th August 1807 in the 72nd year of his age. His remains are interred near those of his son, Major-General Sir Robert Scott, K.C.B., a few yards south from that of Dr Barclay, and adjoining the burial ground of the pious a learned family of the Cockburns.

Robert Lorimer, LL.D., was admitted minister of the first charge in 1796. He resigned in consequence of the schism in the church of Scotland in May 1843. He preached his farewell sermon on Sunday afternoon, 28th May. His text was in Hebrews, xi. 25. Psalm xli. and Paraph. xxix. The doctor had been zealously engaged in the ministry of that parish for forty-seven years, and seemed much affected on parting with his parishioners who felt a similar regret.

William Sibbald, D.D., was translated from Johnston, Dumfriesshire, to the second charge in August 1808. Compelled by the infirmities of age, he preached his last sermon in the church of Haddington from John iii. 16., on the 30th October 1825, and was succeeded in his pastoral labours, with much ability and satisfaction, by his assistant, Mr John Robertson, now minister of Houndwood, till the time of his death.

Dr Sibbald was born at Wright's-houses, parish of the Westkirk, Edinburgh, on the 15th June, 1760. He was licensed by the presbytery of Glasgow in 1784, and ordained minister of Johnstone on the 22nd December 1785. The degree of doctor of divinity ws conferred on him by the university of Edinburgh on the 11th June 1800. He died at Haddington on the 4th June 1833, in the 73rd year of his age.

Mr John Cook was inducted minister of the second charge, Haddington, on Thursday the 19th December 1833. The Rev. Wm. Stark of Dirleton preached on the occasion from Isaiah, lii. 7. On the Sunday following Principal Hill of St Andrews

preached in the forenoon, from Matth. vi. 10, and Mr Cook in the afternoon, from Deut. iv. 1. On the resignation of the Rev. Dr Lorimer, Mr (now Dr) Cook was translated to the first charge in May 1843.

Mr James Bell was ordained and admitted minister of the second charge of Haddington on the 22nd August 1843. The Rev. Robert Balfour Graham of North Berwick presided on the occasion, and preached from Ephesians vi. 11-18. On the Sunday following Mr Bell was introduced to the congregation by the Rev. Hugh Dobie of Kirkmichael, who preached in the forenoon from 1 Peter, i. 25. Mr Bell discoursed in the afternoon from Galatians vi. 14.

John Wallace Wright, A.M., was ordained minister of St John's church, Haddington (which had been built partly from the extension fund and partly by subscription) on the 18th April 1839. On the Sunday following Mr Wright was introduced by the Rev. John Sym, of the old Grey Friars, Edinburgh. He resigned, on the chism of the Church of Scotland, in May 1843; and is now, conjunctly with the Rev. Dr Lorimer, one of the ministers of the "Free Church," Haddington.

Ministers' Stipend.—The highest stipend of the presbyterian clergy at the reformation was L.600 Scots: the fourth minister of Edinburgh had only L.60; being little more than L.5 sterling, while the priest of Haddington had only L.40 Scots, with ten merks to pay his "chalmer maill," and 12d quarterly for the town children as school fee. According to the Tabular state of Mr George Chalmers, the stipends of the ministers of Haddington in 1755 were 1st charge, L.100 13s 4d; 2nd, L.66 2s 2d; and in 1798, 1st charge, L.202 10s 9d; 2nd, L.171 9s 4d strling. The stipends are now nearly equal: the minister of the first charge, Haddington, having 8 chalders of barley, 8 chalders of oats, and 3 chaldrs of wheat, with L.10 for communion elements; and the minister of the second charge, 17 chalders of victuals, with L.33 6s 8d sterling from the town with L.10 for communion elements.

Minister's Manse.—On the 15th April 1735 the town-council agreed "that the kirk should be repaired with the first and second minister's manses." It appears that it was not till the 9th December 1588 that the council passed "an act respecting a manse for the minister',' who was formerly (if not then) lodged in the same house with the schoolmaster. Both ministers have now commodious manses with glebes. The manse, now possessed by the Rev. James Bell (which was first tenanted by the Rev. Dr Sibbald) was built in 1810; and that of the Rev. Dr Cook in 1821.

EARLY SCHOLARS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

"Hard is the scholar's fate, condemned to sail
Unpatronized o'er life's tempestuous sea."
—SHENSTONE.

There is a charm in the "long withdrawing aisles of the cloistered hall," and in the retirement of learning, which we have often felt, yet can scarcely describe. It arises from that association of ideas which creates an ideal world within itself, and to which the sentimentalist and moralist owe much of their present enjoyment. Cold must be the heart that does not meditate with melancholy pleasure where an Addison or Johnson strayed, Shakespeare rambled, Newton studied, or Milton sung; or to come to our own precincts, and while musing o'er the glorics of the mighty dead, to pause, and cast a lingering look towards the spot, where Blair wrote his inimitable poem of "the Grave;" Home, his celebrated dramatic compositions; or Robertson, in the retirement of Gladsmuir, dipped his elegant pen into historic lore, to delight and instruct the world. But while talent and genius shall ever claim our regard, we must not forget the stepping stones that led us smoothly over the streams of literature. Next to Guttemberg, the inventor of moveable types, mankind are more indebted to the heaven-inspired Grecian (Cadmus), who first arranged the letters of the alphabet, than to all the Alexanders and Napoleons that ever existed. In the words of honest Dilworth, whose portrait graced our arithmetics some fifty years ago:

"'Tis to the press and pen we mortals owe
All that we have, and almost all we know."

It is, therefore, with pleasing ideas, we revert to the early instructors of youth,—to the worthy men whose delightful task it was, in the words of our favourite Thomson:

——— "To rear the tender thought,
And teach the young idea how to shoot."

Of the scholastic history of Haddington previous to the reformation little can be gleaned; but it is evident that the town produced some eminent scholars, and among the first was Walter Bowar, abbot of Inchcolm. The "Scotichronicon," the earliest general history of Scotland that has reached us, was written in Latin during the reign of Robert II. by John de Fordun, a native of Kincardineshire. He was a priest of the diocese of St Andrews, a chaplain of the church of Aberdeen, and flourished about the year 1380. When Fordun was too infirm to continue the work himself, he committed his historical collection to Walter Bower, a native of Haddington, who was born in 1385, during the reign of Robert II. The name of John Bower, or Bowmaker, a bailie of the burgh of Haddington, appears

in the chamberlain's rolls in 1395: from whence it is probable that Walter was either the son or relation of this person. Bower assumed the religious habit at the age of eighteen, and having finished his studies at home, repaired to Paris, that he might perfect himself in the learning of the times. Returning from this celebrated university, he was elected abbot of Inchcolm in 1418; and, about 1441, after having shared in the civil as well as the ecclesiastical government of his own country, he retired from his public pursuits in order that he might pursue his favourite studies in tranquillity. Besides being the friend and disciple of Fordun, he was indebted to the friendship of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, for many chronicles and papers connected with the Scottish history.

Andrew de Wyntoun, Prior of Lochleven, was contemporary with Bower. He composed his Metrical Chronicles of Scotland about the year 1420, during the regency of Murdoch, Duke of Albany. From the designation of Winton, he is apparently the native of a neighbouring parish.

John Mair, or Major, a distinguished writer in scholastic theology, was born at Gleghornie, near North Berwick, about 1446. He studied at Oxford and Paris, and became a professor in the Sorboune in 1509. On his return to his native country, he was appointed principal of St Salvator's college, St Andrews. His Scottish history, though scholastic, is more free from credulity than that of his predecessors, and it revived an important study, which had slumbered from the time that Bower had closed his labours in 1437. He died in 1530.

In 1559, the establishment of the presbyterian form of church government was nearly perfected; and schools were generally established throughout East Lothian. The schoolmasters of Dunbar and Spott, Haddington and Prestonpans, particularly distinguished themselves.

Mr Robert Dormont is the first presbyterian schoolmaster mentioned in the records of Haddington. In 1559, October 6th, "the town-counell thought it expedient to fee Mr Robert Dormont to be skoillmaster of the burgh, with 24 merks in the year, payable of the common gude; and allowed for 'ilk toun bairn' 12d termly of school-house fee, and 4d termly from the parents or friends of the bairns, as use and wont was. The council to find Mr Dormont 'ane chalmer and skoillhouse, maill free.'"

Mr Thos. Cumyng was appointed schoolmaster of the burgh of Haddington in December 1563.

In 1571, as we have already noticed, the office of minister and schoolmaster were conjoined; and the gift of the common school was granted to Mr James Carmichael with all commodities and profits pertaining to it, and that during their pleasure; and, in the February following, Mr Walter Bancanquall was appointed reader in the church, clerk of the session, and doctor in the school.

Such were a few of the early distinguished scholars of Haddington, where the Maitlands—the Cockburns—and Knox were educated; and, in later times, Witherspoon and Mylne, men alike distinguished for their literary talents as well as their learning.

In 1574, however, it was found necessary to separate the offices of minister and schoolmaster, as Mr Carmichael, through his great burden in the ministry, could not attend to the double offices, and through the remissness of his doctors, the "bairns were abstracted" by more artful competitors.

Mr James Pantoun succeeded the Rev. James Carmichael. He was appointed on the 15th April 1577. He was allowed by the town of Haddington "ten pounds money of fee, quarterly, for his stipend, with a chalmer free, and a school free; and the said Mr James to have of ilk toun bairn, xiid. of stipend in the quarter, and the doctor to have iiij l; and the said Mr James to be at his advantage of 'outlandis bairnis'; and the doctor to have his meat of all the bairns their day about; and that he shall find a suffieient doctor under him in the school for teaching and holding of them in good order; and in case the town finds any faill or fault in the said Mr James he shall remove at the quarter end—his entry to be at Whitsunday next to come."

In June 1579 John Ker was appointed schoolmaster. His salary was threescore pounds Scots, yearly, with 4s money of stipend for ilk bairn, at four terms. He was bound to keep a sufficient doctor, who was to have his meat of each scholar in rotation with 4d termly. In the November following it was ordained "that the doctors should have their day's meat of the boarders as well as of the town scholars, and 4d of fee quarterly." It appears that this feeding of the assistants was not generally relished; for, in July 1580, the magistrates found it necessary to levy a fine of 8d on such of the inhabitants of the burgh as should refuse to furnish this necessary repast when it fell to their share."

Mr Ker having given great satisfaetion as a teacher, on the 17th August 1582 he was appointed master of the grammar school for the space of five years, with threescore pounds Scots of salary; and, on the same day, as a mark of respeet, he was made burgess and freeman within the burgh.

During the absence of Mr Carmichael from his charge, as we formerly had occasion to notice, Mr Ker acted as minister, and was remunerated by the burgh for his services. On the 19th May 1591 Mr Ker demitted his charge; and, on the 28th, the town-council ordered the treasurer "to pay his haill year's stipend, extending to 100 merks, and 10 libs. for house maill; and to pay him, at Martinmas next, 100 pounds for his support, to help to pay his debts."

He was succeeded by Mr John Callender, son to Robert Callender of Bauclo, on the 29th July 1591, who was "conduceit and feed as teacher of the grammar-school of Haddington, for the space of fifteen months." It was enacted that "the said Mr John should diligently, lelelie, and truly, learn and instruct the said school and haill bairns to be put to him, sufficiently in their Latin and Greek grammar affairs, and in all classic authors necessary; and to sustain a qualified doctor under him, to have 125 merks of stipend and fee for his said service during the 15 months, besides the usual scolage from the bairns." And, on the 9th of August 1592 George Sprot, son to Richard Sprot in Jedburgh, was "feed and conducit to be doctor to the school; and to take up the psalms in the kirk in times convenient, for the space of one year from Hallowmas next; and to serve diligently under Mr John Callender; and to obey him as becomes a doctor to the master, for teaching the haill bairns, etc., and to have of stipend 50 merks yearly."

His successor was Mr George Lichtbodie. On the 23rd May, the town-council having considered "the long, good, and thankful service done by Mr Lichtbodie, doctor of the grammar-school, now and being purposed to remove himself, ordains the treasurer to advance and deliver him xx lb. for his reward and propine, in token of his long and good service, 'desuper act.'"

1619, November 5th, Thomas Paterson was master of the grammar-school of Haddington.

1623, November 10th, Alexander Setoun was "conducit and feed to be master of the grammar-school within the burgh."

1673, February 22nd, William Skien was master of the grammar-school. He had a salary of 400 merks. He was obligated to keep a doctor or assistant, who was to receive 50 merks of the salary.

It is somewhat singular that the salary of the rector of the grammar-school has been nearly the same for 200 years, which is an evidence of the early respectability of that seminary.

As a proof of the last circumstance, and the gaiety that then prevailed, on the 22nd July 1682, it was intimated that a play was to be performed on Friday the 28th, by the noblemen and gentlemen's children (attending the grammar-school) in the bowling-green house. For their accommodation, the town-council authorised the treasurer "to take out a door in the said house for an entry, with a stair thereat."

During the residence of the Duke of York at Holyroodhouse, one half of the London company of the Duke's theatre performed there: hence Dryden, in his poetical address to the university of Oxford, on their giving an academical jubilee, alludes to the circumstance.

"Discord and plots, which have undone our age,
With the same ruin have o'erwhelmed the stage.
Our house has suffer'd in the common woe:
We have been troubled with Scots rebels too.
Our brethren have from Thames to Tweed departed,
And of our sisters, all the kinder hearted,
To Edinburgh gone, or coach'd, or carted.
With bonny blue cap—there they act all night
For Scots half crowns—in English, threepence height."

The taste of the court communicated itself to the gentry, and the academical youth of Haddington imitated their brethren, who might be pursuing their studies a "stage" farther at Oxford.

Previous to this period the high school of Haddington had been convened at six o'clock in the morning, summer and winter. On the 14th December 1699, the town-council ordained, for the health of the children, "that, from Hallowmas to Candlemas, the school should in future meet at nine morning."

On the 6th June 1710, Mr James Dods was sent to Edinburgh, by the town-council of Haddington, to consult the regents (professors) and schoolmasters, about a proper person for teaching humanity (Latin) in the grammar-school, then vacant; and who might also be capable of supplying the office of precentor and session-clerk in the parish.

In 1724, John Leslie was master of the grammar-school of Haddington. On the 8th March a play was performed by Mr Leslie's scholars, when he claimed the expense of the erection of the stage, which is thus noticed in the minutes of the burgh: "Thereafter there was a petition given in to the council by John Leslie, master of the grammar-school, humbly shewing, that some time ago, he having caused to be erected a stage for the scholars acting a play, which was done with a general applause, he was obliged to give this bill to Mr Anderson for the damage done to the trees and dales made use of in that way; and, albeit, the timber was given back, and part of it made use of by the Treasurer since, yet his bill is not delivered up; therefore humbly craving the council, to recommend it to the Treasurer, and take up

the petitioners bill from Mr Anderson, and relieve him from payment of the contents thereof, as the said petition, subscribed by the petitioner, bears." This petition being considered by the town-council, they referred the consideration of it to the magistrates, with power to relieve Mr Leslie of the expense, which was accordingly done, as the deliverance on the back of the petition, signed by Bailie Smith, in presence of the council, bears testimony.

Mr Leslie continued to indulge his scholars in their dramatic amusements; and enlisted the most celebrated Scottish poet of that time, the author of the pleasant pastoral comedy of the "Gentle Shepherd," to introduce his young Thespian heroes to their auditors with an address.

The town-council seem to have been actuated with the spirit of their teacher; for, on the 5th August 1729, they recommended to the magistrates "to commune with Mr John Leslie, anent a stage for the schoolboys, to act a comedy upon, before the vacation, and to report." Thereafter, the magistrates reported to the council, "that they had communed with Mr Leslie anent a stage, conform to their recommendation; and that they found it would be needful to cause make the stage." The council, therefore, authorised the treasurer "to provide trees and dales, and other materials for the stage, at the sight of the magistrates."

In 1738, David Young was master of the grammar-school.—On the 5th September ther was a dispute betwixt him and the master of the English school, which was referred to the council, who found, "that Mr Young and his doctors might teach writing to their Latin scholars, but not to those of the English school."

A proper English schoolmaster was still a desideratum. It was found necessary, on the 15th December 1747, to appoint a committee to consider the best way of providing the town with a proper person to teach an English school in the burgh, when Mr Young and others, were authorised to inquire after a proper person. In furtherance of this object, it was agreed by the town-council, on the 28th February 1748, that the English teacher should receive of salary 100 merks yearly. Fees, (for the child of a burgess) for English reading, 1s 3d per quarter; for English, writing, and arithmetic, 2s; and for writing, arithmetic, and vocal music, 2s 6d sterling. If the candidate were a proficient in book-keeping, to meet with suitable encouragement. By the 13th January 1750, no proper candidates having offered themselves, Mr Young was authorised to engage a teacher on what terms he might think proper; and that he should be allowed the terms offered by the council to himself. Alexander Smart was admitted 11th August 1750.

In 1752, 8th November, Alexander Smart was the exclusive master of the English school. He received a salary of 100 merks annually, with an allowance of £3 sterling, additional, to pay an assistant, as he had upwards of 60 scholars.

John Rae, one of the masters of the high-school of Edinburgh, was appointed master of the grammar-school of Haddington, on the 20th January 1759. He was allowed a yearly salary of 400 merks, with a large new house and garden. The fees (for the son of a burgess), for Latin and writing, was 2s 6d per quarter, with 1s 6d to the assistant or doctor. The town-council to have the liberty of presenting one or two poor boys, sons of burgesses, yearly, to be educated gratis.

On the 6th August, Alexander Smart demitted his charge, on being appointed to the school of Tynningham. At the same date, it was ordained that the grammar school should be examined by the presbytery and magistrates. The latter were empowered by the council to give the former an entertainment, with the usual compliment of sweetmeats to the scholars.

1759, on the 1st November, William Leyden, schoolmaster of Bedrule, was appointed master of the English school of Haddington.

1763, on the 28th June, James Watson, schoolmaster in Selkirk, was appointed rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, after the death of Mr Rae.

1765, on the 24th October, John Abernethy, formerly schoolmaster of Gifford, and then in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was appointed master of the English school "during good behaviour," in place of Mr Leyden resigned, to whom a compliment of £5 sterling was awarded. His salary £100 Scots.

1783, James Johnstone, schoolmaster of Bathgate, was elected rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, on the 30th October, on the resignation of Mr James Watson on account of ill health, who retired on an annuity of £25 per annum.

1792, James Brown, teacher of English in Edinburgh, was elected master of the English school in room of Mr Abernethy deceased. He was allowed the same salary as his predecessor, provided he kept a proper assistant. On his resignation,

1794, James Kirk, schoolmaster of Athelstaneford, was appointed on the 24th May. He resigned on being elected to the grammar-school of Hawick.

1798, Richard Hay was appointed master of the English school, on the 28th July,

"during pleasure," either parties being free of the settlement on giving six months' previous notice.

1800, William Graham, schoolmaster of Dirleton, was elected rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, on the resignation of Mr Johnstone.

Mathematical School.—The overburthened state of the English school, having excited the reprehension of the presbytery, a committee was appointed to inquire into its situation, when it was recommended that a separate seminary should be established for teaching arithmetic, mathematics, and geography. The town-council accordingly, on the 16th February 1809, wrote to John Leslie, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, craving his advice on the subject, with a request that he should recommend to them a proper teacher. A sub-committee was also appointed, consisting of Provost Deans, Mr John Martine, and Mr George Banks, to wait upon the presbytery, with a recommendation for them to urge the heritors of the parish, to establish a parochial school, an endowment which, by law, they were bound to support. They also recommended to the presbytery of examine, from time to time, the assistants in the grammar and English schools as to their qualifications for their office.

After some further correspondence with Professor Leslie, he recommended to the notice of the town as a teacher, "a lad of good character and of superior abilities." This lad was no other than the after-to-be-celebrated Edward Irving, A.M.

Mr Irving was elected teacher of mathematics (including mensuration, algebra, geometry, trigonometery, and navigation,) and also geography and arithmetic, on the 27th March 1809, during the council's pleasure. His salary was £20, with the fees of 15s per quarter for mathematics, and 10s for geography.

On a representation from Mr Graham, that clergymen and others trenched on the rights of the grammar-school, he was allowed to teach the English language; and, on a further representation that there had been no alteration in the fees of the grammar-school since 1673, it was agreed that they should be raised to 8s per quarterly term, and that English should be taught at the rate of 5s, with the reservation of afterwards restricting his number of English scholars if necessary.

1812, October 22nd, Mr James Brown, student of divinity, was appointed master of the mathematical school of Haddington, on the removal of Mr Edward Irving to Kirkcaldy. It being now ascertained that the mathematical school by itself, was inadequate to support a separate teacher, unless he had liberty to teach other branches of learning, Mr Richard Hay was induced to resign on receiving an annuity of £30 per annum during life. On the 12th October 1814, the English school was, therefore, conjoined to the mathematical, under the management of Mr Brown. On the 24th June 1815, Mr Brown tendered his resignation, on being appointed a minister of the Scottish church at Calcutta.

Thomas Cumming, his assistant, was appointed master, on the 17th August, on the trial of one year. On the recommendation of the Rev. Charles H. Terrot, A.M., episcopalian minister, Haddington, his appointment was confirmed, on the 22nd August 1816, with Patrick Hardie as his assistant.

Mr Hardie succeeded Mr Cumming in June 1822, with William Young, afterwards schoolmaster of Bolton, for his assistant.

There are perhaps few public institutions more fluctuating in their popularity than boarding schools, or depend more upon the exertions of the master. In 1796, the grammar-school had declined so considerably that Mr Johnston, the rector, applied to the magistrates for liberty to let his house! while, in 1801, Mr Graham applied to get his house enlarged. After the lapse of thirty-seven years more, it was found necessary that the burgh schools should be re-organised, when Mr Graham was induced to retire on the liberal annuity of £50 per annum.

In March 1838, Mr William Maxwell Gunn, of the Edinburgh southern academy, was appointed rector, in conjunction with Mr Robert Burns Nichol as English and French teacher, and John Davidson as mathematical and writing-master. The salary of the rector was £25, and £10 each to the English and mathematical masters.

Mr Gunn resigned in September 1843, on being appointed one of the masters of the high school of Edingurgh.

In 1839, Mr John Barclay was appointed master of the writing and mathematical school, on the resignation of Mr Davidson.

The Rev. William Whyte, formerly classical master of George Watson's hospital, Edinburgh, was elected rector of the grammar school of Haddington, on Wednesday the 4th October 1843; and Mr Archibald Mackenzie was appointed assistant to him for the English department.

Burgh Schoolhouses.

On the 9th May 1600, "the treasurer was ordered to bigg and repair the house of the old school." And, in 1673, July 19th, the school having been spoiled by the last great flood, it was appointed that it should "be redd and cleansed by the treasurer, and rafts provided for the bairns to sit on." In

1674, May 4th, £5 sterling was granted to build desks in the schools.

In 1753, December 4th, it was decreed by the town-council that a new school and school-house should be built.

Parochial School.

On the 22nd November 1822, the plan of adopting a parochial school met with the approbation of the heritors; but the town of Haddington, under the act of parliament then existing, did not consider itself liable to contribute to the expense. On the 19th February 1824, the establishment of a parochial school was again agitated; but the town was still of the same opinion in regard to its assessment; yet authorised Provost Hislop to enter into a reference for any claim the heritors might have upon the burgh. In 1826 the parochial school was at length established, which is supported by the landward heritors at the maximum salary.

James Johnston was the first master appointed. He died in 1837. He was succeeded by William Young, schoolmaster of Bolton, now of Lasswade. In 1838, Thomas Henderson, formerly schoolmaster of Morham, was appointed master.

Sunday Schools.

In 1791, a Sabbath School was established in Haddington. On the 27th December, the town-council "taking into consideration the utility and advantages of the Sunday School lately established, agreed to contribute two guineas annually towards its encouragement. Mr James Banks was then provost.

Music Masters and Precentors.

After the "kist fu' o' whistles" (the organ) was banished fro mthe church, vocal music formed a material part of the presbyterian worship. Ono of the earliest works of the reformed clergy was the translation of the Psalms of David into Scots metre, for the purpose of being introduced into the kirk, and sung to the old church tunes. The book of Psalms, by John Knox, containing the common tunes, is still extant, and the harmony of the measure shows that their masters were complete adepts in the art. To enlarge the psalmody, several parts of the Scripture, and some old Latin hymns, and other pieces, were soon after added; and as there were no objections to the old music, an effort was made to reclaim some of those tunes from the profane ballads into which they had been burlesqued. A collection of these pieces was printed at Edinburgh, about 1590, under the title of "A conpendious Book of Dodly and Scriptural Songs, etc., with sundrie other Ballads, changed out of prophane Sangs, for avoiding of sinne and harlotrie," etc.

On the 17th June 1583, "John Buchan was feed and conducced to serve in the office of master of a sang school, and also to uptake the Psalms in the kirk; and to serve at the baptism and communion, as he should be required. To have fourscore merks of money yearly, a house furnished, with a chamber to teach the bairns in, mail free," etc.

1619, September 13th, James Dunbar, son of the late Patrick Dunbar, who was master of the "Sang scole of this burgh," was continued in his father's place.

In 1677, December 27th, Walter Gray was appointed music master, for instructing men as well as children, to sing music, and to play upon instruments; for taking up the psalms in the kirk on Sundays and other preaching days; and for reading the prayers and scriptures. His salary to be £100 Scots, with house maill, besides perquisites. His charge not to exceed 2s sterling per quarter, for burgesses.

On the 1st July 1728, Charles May, a famous musician, was engaged for one year. "The provost (Alexander M'Call) represented to the council, that seeing John Oswald, the piper, had left the town, it was proper to instal another in his place; and that at present there was one, Charles May, a good musician in town, who could play on hautboy, violin, base, German flute, and other instruments; that he had been communing with him, but found that he would not serve at the ordinary fee; and, therefore, he desired the council's opinion anent engaging with him, which being considered by the council, they recommended to the magistrates to settle with Charles May, but not to promise him more than five pounds sterling of fee, for one year after this date."

In 1730, December 8th, the town-council finding that the salary of one hundred pounds Scots, had of late been misapplied in being granted to unqualified persons, for teaching music, deposed Patrick Begbie, and appointed Mr David Young, first doctor of the grammar-school, and his successors, keepers of a music school, provided they appointed proper persons."

In 1732, February 6th, James Erskine, late provost, was appointed music-master and precentor, with power to choose a deputy.

In 1753, November 17th, William Ray, merchant in Haddington, was appointed music-master on the death of James Erskine. His salary was 100 pounds Scots (£8 6s 8d). The precentor of Haddington church has now £13 per annum.—St John's church £10. The sum of from £5 to £8 is paid in country parishes.

CHAPTER IV.

DISSENTING CLERGY.—THE EAST LOTHIAN BIBLE SOCIETIES.—CHURCH EXTENSION.—ST JOHN'S AND OTHER NEW CHURCHES.—SCHISM IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. — EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH.

It is not the province of this work to enter into any minute detail of the various schisms, which have, from time to time, agitated our national church; for

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

But we shall, as briefly as possible, notice the denominations which have sprung from them. About the year 1732, Ebenezer Erskine and a few ministers, having openly decried patronage and other acts of the general assembly, came under the censure of that body, and were expelled from the Scottish kirk. The expulsion of these individuals laid the foundation of the secession church, which now extends over the greater part of Scotland.

Original Seceders.—Mr Robert Archibald may be considered as the father of the secessation church in East Lothian. He was ordained minister in Haddington, in 1744; and died in 1762, in the 58th year of his age. He was succeeded by Mr Lawrence Weatherspoon, who was ordained July 10th 1766. He died in August 1779, at the early age of 37. Mr Robert Chalmers was his successor. He died on the 29th December 1837, in the 82nd year of his age, and 58th of his ministry. Mr William White was appointed his assistant and successor in 1836. Messrs Archibald and Weatherspoon afterwards joined the Antiburghers, on the schism in their church respecting the old burgess-oath. The late eminent Professor Paxton, of the original secession church, was born at a farm steading called Clacherdean, (which does not now exist,) near Coalston House. His father was the blacksmith of the place.

United Associate Synod.—There are two meeting-houses of the united secession church in Haddington. The first congregation was established about 1751, of which Mr John Brown, author of the Self-interpreting Bible and Dictionary, and several other popular religious works, was 36 years minister, and 20 years professor under the same synod. He died on the 19th June 1787, in the 65th year of his age. The Rev. John Brown was born in the small village of Kerpoo, in Perthshire, in the year 1722. Mr Brown's parents, of whom he was deprived at an early age, were in humble circumstances: but such was his zeal and application, that he acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, almost without a teacher; and in such an unaccountable manner, that his superstitious neighbours imagined that he had acquired his learning (to use his own words) "in some sinful way." Notwithstanding his learned acrequirements, Mr Brown was distinguished for his great humility throughout life, and resignation in distress. Talking about death, a few weeks before that event occurred, he observed it might be written on his coffin—"Here lies one of the cares of Providence, who early wanted both father and mother, and yet never missed them." Among the celebrated characters that came in contact with Mr Brown, were the Rev. John Logan, the poet, who was sometime under his tuition; and Robert Fergusson, the Scottish bard, whom he met in the churchyard of Haddington, and to whom he gave a friendly and seasonable admonition. Mr Brown was licensed to preach in the year 1750. His stipend was from £40 to £50 a year.

Mr Benoni Black was ordained minister in 1798. He died in 1828, in the 39th year of his ministry. Mr Joseph Young succeeded Mr Black, and was ordained in 1829. The present church stands on the site of the old meeting-house, and was built in 1806.

Antiburghers.—William Hogg, A.M., was ordained minister in 1809. This church now forms the 2nd congregation of the United Secession.

A Relief Church was built about the end of the eighteenth century. Mr Gellatly was minister in 1794. He was succeeded by Mr Reid.

The Congregational Church was established in Haddington, by Messrs Robert and James Haldane, about the year 1798. They purchased the west meeting-house, which then belonged to the Relief body, whose congregation had either returned to the establishment or joined the dissenters. The church was not properly organised till the 22nd November 1801, when Mr Dunn and others officiated. Mr James Hill, their first pastor, was ordained, 11th December 1804. He continued to preach in that chapel, which was then called the "Tabernacle," till 1808, when the Messrs Haldane having embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, the congregation, with their minister, afterwards met for worship in a house in one of the south closes of the High Street, which was fitted up as a chapel. Mr Hill died in 1812. He was succeeded by Mr William Ritchie, in January 1813. Mr Robert Ferguson was ordained in 1830: removed to London in 1832. Andrew Russell, A.M., ordained 1833; removed to Dundee in 1840.—Mr Thomas Drummond Thomson was ordained 16th June 1841.

Methodists.—A congregation of Wesleyan methodists was established here in 1806, by Mr James M'Cullagh, who is still their

preacher. Mr Donald Fraser was the first minister appointed by the Conference, in 1811. Mr Jackson was appointed in 1814. Daniel M'Callum, M.D. in 1817. Mr Joseph E. Beaumont, (now M.D.) in 1820. Mr S. Thomson, 1824. Mr Maclean, 1825. Mr Edward Usher, 1827. A vacancy occurred for some years, during which the Dunbar preachers officiated. Mr Bond was appointed in 1834. Mr J. Innes, 1836. Mr John Harland, 1838. Mr Bromford, 1841. The methodist chapel was built, partly by subscription, in Sidegate Street, in 1816. It cost £600, and contains upwards of 300 sittings.

East Lothian Bible Societies.

The exertions of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had early in the present century contributed towards printing editions of the Bible, or part of it, into no less than twenty-six different dialects or languages, seventeen of which were spoken on the continent of Europe, led to the formation of a similar society in Edinburgh. Stimulated with the same fervour, a respectable meeting was held in the Town Hall, Haddington, on the 24th October 1809, when the Rev. Dr Sibbald being called to the chair, a series of resolutions were entered into, which led to the establishment of the East Lothian Bible Society.

The chief features of this society were:—That the poor of the county should be sufficiently supplied with the Scriptures;—that the subscription of half-a-guinea annually should constitute a member; and the payment of ten guineas a member for life;— that each subscriber should be allowed to purchase Bibles or New Testaments at the society's price, to five times the amount of his annual subscription;—that twenty directors, a secretary, and treasurer, should manage the business of the society,—one half to go out annually by rotation. The general meeting to be held annually in the month of June.

No cause was ever more popular than the establishment of the Bible Society at its commencement. There was something pleasing to the devout, in the idea of converting the sunburnt Indian and the swarthy Moor, and of levelling the blood-shod wheels of Juggernaut; while, in place of the sword of the Crusaders, the more powerful and searching weapon of the printing-press was employed, and effected those revolutions in religious opinion among foreign castes, which the steel of all the Cæsars could never have produced.

The parent institution of the East Lothian Bible Society immediately gave rise to auxiliary Bible and Missionary associations in Haddington and the other towns and villages of the county. The success of the Bible Society was followed by a rival in the same field, "the East Lothian society for propagating the knowledge of Christianity." This society soon became popular, as the subscribers had the power of nominating what particular mission their donations were intended to aid.

In the course of time these societies gave way to the Bible Society of East Lothian, of humbler pretensions, the sum of 4s 4d per year constituting a member.

Church Extension.

The next object that engaged the attention of the religious public was the church extension scheme in Scotland. In furtherance of these views the East Lothian Society for Church Extension was established at Haddington in 1837.

The town of Haddington, as formerly observed, has only one-fifth of the area of the church, while its population amounts to about three-fourths of the parish; consequently there had long been a complaint of the want of church accommodation. In 1837, a survey was made by a visitation of families in the town and suburbs, and of the tenants of the ground that hold of the town as superior, to ascertain the amount of this destitution, when it was found that there were about eighteen hundred persons above seven years of age, professing they belonged to the establishment, who could not obtain a sitting in the parish church.

As the heritors were neither legally bound to build a new church, nor enlarge the old one, there appeared no other alternative but to have an additional church, to accommodate so large a proportion of the unprovided population. Accordingly, the kirk-session, with the sanction and concurrence of the Presbytery of Haddington, resolved that a church, in connection with the establishment, should be built by subscription, to which most of the members liberally contributed. The subscriptions of the parishioners, the heritors, and others connected with the parish, for this object, soon amounted to £890; the General Assembly's fund contributed £250; and the county Church Extension Fund two donations of £100 each.

St John's Church.

A site having been obtained in a park on the north vicinity of the town, the church of St John's was erected from a plan of Mr Bryce, architect, Edinburgh, by Messrs Balsillie, Haddington. The length of the church is about 70 feet, by 57 in breadth, and contains 872 sittings; 514 in the area, and 358 in the gallery. The edifice cost £1600; the gas fittings about £70.

On the 9th September 1838, St John's church was opened for public worship, by the Rev. Archibald Bennie, of Lady Yester's church, Edinburgh. The Rev. Dr Lorimer preached in the afternoon, and Mr Bennie again in the evening.

On the 15th October, the Rev. Dr Chalmers, the zealous advocate of the church extension scheme, delivered an eloquent address for this object in St John's church. The same day a public dinner was given to this distinguished individual, at which the Earl of Dalhousie presided.

Under the same auspices a new, or what was termed a quoad sacra church, was also built at the fishing village of Cockenzie, in 1838; and another at Belhaven, near Dunbar, in 1839.

Schism in the Church.

In 1785, the law of church patronage was apparently agitated for the first time in the burgh. On the 26th February a letter was received by the town-council from the committee of the general sessions of Edinburgh, with a printed copy of the resolutions of the ministers, elders, and deacons of Edinburgh, of date 18th August 1784, respecting the law of patronage, or presentation of ministers to vacant churches, which was carried by a majority of ten to three, in favour of inquiry. Several, however, declined to vote, and Provost M'Clarren protested against the town of Haddington's funds being applied in procuring any alteration of the existing law.

This spirit, however, was not allowed to slumber; for during a long period the general assembly has been divided by two parties, of which the right of patronage formed the grand touchstone. This feeling communicating itself to the laity, a body was formed, under the title of "Non-intrusionists," with a view to maintain what they considered the rights of the church, independent of the control of the civil power. These sentiments becoming extremely popular, ultimately led to a violent disruption of the church, when about 250 parishes were vacated by their ministers, under the folowing circumstances:—On the 18th May 1843, the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, having met as usual in St Andrew's church, Edinburgh, before making up the roll, David Welsh, D.D., the old moderator, read a protest signed by 120 ministers and 72 elders, against the constitution of the assembly, in consequence of the rejection by the legislature of the claim of right adopted by the previous general assembly. A copy of the protest being then delivered to the clerk, the protesters left the church, and with their adherents proceeded to Tanfield, Canonmills, where they formed themselves into "The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland," and chose Thomas Chalmers, D.D., as their moderator.

Scottish Episcopal Church.

The present Episcopal chapel of Haddington was built in 1770. To the erection of this edifice the Earl of Wemyss was a munificent subscriber, having contributed about £400 sterling, which was nearly one half of the expense of building. It was not till 1842 that instrumental music was used in this place of worship, when a fine organ was introduced, which cost £100.

It is uncertain at what time the first Episcopalian congregation was formed in Haddington. The Rev. John Gray, founder of the Haddington library, was probably among its first preachers. Being deprived of his church of Aberlady, when episcopacy was suppressed at the Revolution in 1688, he resided afterwards in Haddington, where it appears from some notes in his own handwriting, he occasionally preached in the humble meeting-house of Poldrate, which, according to his own etymology, signifies "Peau-droit," (i.e., Malt Street).

Mr John Wilson was minister, and preached in the same place, in 1714. He was author of "An Essay on National Love and Unity;" and of a poem, entitled "Lamentation for Church Divisions," which was dedicated to the Queen, and printed at Edinburgh in 1702.

The following are a list of the ministers from the existing records:—Mr George Mylne, appointed in 1735. Mr Patrick Coutts, 1739. Mr Joseph Robertson, 1748. Mr William Richard, 1749. (The three last ministers officiated alternately.) Mr Abraham Larwood, 1758. Mr William Bisset, 1760. Mr John Buchanan, 1762. Mr John Wilton, 1795. Mr William Terrot, 1799.

Mr Miles Jackson, (the first secretary of the East Lothian Bible Society,) appointed 1806.

Charles H. Terrot, A.M., appointed 1814. Now Bishop of Edinburgh and D.D.

Mr Thomas Scott, appointed 1817. James Traill, A.M., 1819.

In 1843, the chapel was wholly renovated. The exterior of the walls heightened with a new cornice, and a handsome portico built at the door. The interior was entirely new seated, additional galleries erected; the windows new glazed, those near the altar with stained glass; the ceiling handsomely panelled; and the edifice altogether improved and beautified. The alterations cost above £800.

The congregation is in the highest degree respectable, including some of the principal nobility and gentry in the county. It was placed, with the minister, under the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1815.

THE

HISTORY OF HADDINGTON.

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PART III.

CIVIL AND DOMESTIC ANNALS.

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CHAPTER I.

"Three times drowned, and three times burned,
Haddington, thy fate I've mourned!
Now thy sculptured piles arise,
Pointing fairer to the skies:
Now thy rural scenes expand,
Shining, scathless from the brand.
Blooming by thy peaceful strand."—"Author."

PARISH OF HADDINGTON.—BOUNDARIES.—THE TYNE AND OTHER RIVULETS.—REMARKABLE FLOODS.—GEOLOGICAL APPEARANCES.—MINERALS.—COAL.—LANDS OF GLADSMUIR.—TOPOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THE PARISH.

Haddington, the county town of East Lothian, or Haddingtonshire, lies in 55 degrees, 57 minutes, north latitude, and 17 miles east from Edinurgh, on the great post road to London. The name, though apparently of Saxon origin, is of difficult etymology. In a charter of Richard, the Bishop of St Andrews, who died in 1163, (as we formerly observed in our introductory chapter,) there is a grant "re Ecclesia de Hadintun." This was followed by a confirmation of Earl Henry in the same terms. In a charter of David I. the same place is called Hadintun. By a charter to Dunfermline, a mansion was granted by the same king, "in burgo de Hadingtoun." This was also the Hadina of Camden, and the Hadintona of Fordun and Buchanan, while the inscription on the common seal of the burgh is "Sigillvm cawsarvm bvrgi Hadinœ." The toun and ton of the Scoto-Saxon are obviously the tun of the Anglo-Saxon, which signifies a dwelling-place, village, or town; the latter term being often applied still to farm steadings in Scotland. From such data the author of Caledonia supposes Hadintun to have derived its name from a Saxon settler, because Halden, the son of Eadulf, was a witness to the Inquisitio Davidis; but, as according to Somner, Hading signifies, in the Anglo-Saxon, ordinatio consecratio, a giving holy orders, it seems evident from this etymon, as well as the ancient religious character of the place, that Hadingtun derived its name from being the Town of Ordination. [In Speed's map of Northumberland, (published in 1610,) there is a place named Haden-bridge. There are Haden-ham in Cambridgeshire, Hadden-Hall in Derby, Haddon in Huntingdon, and Haddon in Northampton. Adington, which often appears in the topography of North and South Britain, is the same in substance with the Saxon aspirate (h) prefixed; and there is a place named Hadington in Lincolnshire.—See "Chalmers Caledonia." Agreeable to the last hypothesis, by dropping the cockney's aspiration of the "h" before the vowel, we might transfer Hadington to the dwelling-place of the Princess Ada, who, in 1139 acquired it as her marriage portion.]

The parish of Hadd'ngton is six and a half miles in length from east to west, about the same from south to north, except in the eastern parts, where it is much narrower. To indulge in a fanciful idea,

its shape may be compared to that of a frog, of which the woods of Coalston are the head; the plantations of Letham and Stevenson are the limbs, and the lands at its extremity, between Ballencrieff and Drem, the tail. The parish covers about 22½ square miles, or contains about 12,000 Scots acres of land. It was formerly of much greater extent; but in 1674, it having been represented to the commission appointed for the plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds, that while the parish of Haddington was spacious and populous, that of Athelstaneford was inconsiderable, the village of Drem, Drem Hills, Muirton, Clackmae, and Garleton, were disunited from Haddington and annexed to Athelstaneford. In 1692 a further spoil was made of the lands of Haddington, when the new parish of Gladsmuir was erected, composed from the former and Tranent. The lands taken from Haddington were the barony of Penston, belonging to Mr Bailie of Lamington; the barony of Samuelston, belonging to the Earl of Haddington; and the village of Trabroun, together with Coates, Laverock Law, and Merryhatton. The lands annexed to Gladsmuir contained more than 500 inhabitants.

The western part of the parish, which is bounded by Gladsmuir, formerly consisted of a large tract of moorish ground which went under that name, and was held by the burgh of Haddington as a commonty. The rulers of the burgh were advised to enclose and plant this district about the beginning of the eighteenth century, which might have yielded a considerable revenue; but instead of complying with this advice, it was feued out in small parcels to favourite citizens, who, in general, were losers by these grants; for, after spending much money in inclosing and liming, the lands for the most part proved sterile and unproductive. On the failure of the original feuars, great part of the commonty was acquired by Mr Buchan of Letham, who planted about forty acres with oak, fir, and birch, which in general throve well, and were soon of considerable value.

The northern part of the parish is bounded by the lands of Gladsmuir, Aberlady, and Athelstaneford. It is chiefly composed of the barony of Byres, which is esteemed one of the finest estates of its extent in the county.

The parish is bounded on the east by Prestonkirk and Morham; and on the south by Yester and Bolton.

THE RIVER.

The Tyne is the only river in the parish, which runs through it from west to east, and nearly divides it into two equal parts. This stream rises in the parish of Crichton, in Mid-Lothian, about fourteen miles to the westward of Haddington. After winding its gentle way by the banks of Oxenford Castle and Prestonhall, it increases as it flows by Ormiston, Winton Castle, and the holmes of Pencaitland, and receives the tributary rivulets of Salton at Spilmersford, and of Coalston below the parks of Lethington. Passing by the haughs of Haddington, the Tyne divides the burgh from the suburb of Nungate, and proceeding through the lawns of Amisfield and Stevenson, washes the ruins of Hailes Castle; and, after foaming and boiling o'er Linton Linn, falls into the sea below Tyninghame House, the seat of the Earl of Haddington.

Though generally of moderate breadth, averaging ten or twelve yards, and two or three feet in depth, yet being as a trough to a large extent of sloping grounds, particularly the Lammermoor range of hills to the south, the Tyne sometimes suddenly swells to a great height, and, overflowing its banks, does considerable damage to the labours of the husbandman.

We have already alluded to a remarkable flood, on the nativity of the Virgin, in 1358, when villages, houses, and bridges were swept away. It appears also from our MSS. histories, that upon the festival of St Ninian, 1421, the waters, by constant rains, swelled to such a height that there were many houses entirely defaced in the town, and the people went to the church in a great boat. The sacristy, with the church's fine library and ornaments for divine service were destroyed.

It appears from the town-council records that, in July 1673, there was another great flood, when the schoolhouse was so much damaged by the inundation that it was found necessary to provide new seats for the children; or, in the homely language of the times, "for the bairns to sit on." One hundred years previously, on the 24th October 1572, the town treasurer was ordered by the council "to lay to the west pier the great and small stones borne down by the flood, at the town's expense."

On the 4th October 1775 a dreadful inundation of the Tyne took place, when it suddenly rose at two o'clock afternoon seventeen feet perpendicular above the bed of the river. The whole suburb of the Nungate, and more than half of the town, were laid under water, while the mansion house of Clerkington (which then stood in the valley below the present site) and the wooden Chinese bridge, opposite the Woollen Manufactory, were swept away. According to the town-council record, "the water was level with the third step of the Cross (which stood about the middle of the High Street) and with the threshold of the door of Bailie Moffat's house, next the Tolbooth, possessed

by Robert Roughead." To commemorate this remarkable flood, the council resolved, on the motion of Provost Dudgeon, "that a stone should be put up at the end of John Hume's house (the low story of which was filled with water) near the Custom-stone, describing the height of the flood and the day and year of God thereon," etc. The following is the inscription, which is engraved upon a plate and inserted in the wall:—"On the fourth day of October, MDCCLXXV, the river Tyne, at three o'clock afternoon, rose to this plate. Quod non noctu deo gratias nemo enim periit."

It was conjectured that this inundation proceeded from the bursting of a waterspout to the southward, amongst the ridge of the Lammermoor hills, as the day was not very rainy, and the inhabitants to the northward could scarcely believe what had happened till they saw the effects of the inundation. The main branch of the Tyne, which rises to the westward, in the parish of Crichton, was not much increased. It was chiefly from the rivulet called Gifford water that the immense flood poured into the Tyne. About five o'clock in the afternoon the waters began to subside though it still rained violently and continued so all that night. The greatest devastation was done on the banks of the river; vast quantities of corn, hay, trees, and all sorts of household furniture were carried down by the current. Upon a medium the water rose up to the second story of the houses from the bridge westward to the foot of the High Street. In the Nungate the inhabitants were obliged to retire to the house tops. Mr Forrest, at Gimmer's Mills, had one of his mills entirely carried off besides a considerable loss in the rest of his houses, corn, hay, etc. He and another gentleman were in his garden observing the rapidity of the torrent, when suddenly they were surrounded with the water, which laid the garden dike on its back. They had no other shift left but to get up to the top of one of the fruit trees, and there they were obliged to remain five or six hours under the most dreadful apprehension of being carried down the current, tree and all. The inhabitants abandoned their houses and took shelter in the fields. Had it happened later in the day, or during the night, many lives must have been lost, as several of the aged and infirm were saved with difficulty.

While it was the opinion of some that this remarkable inundation arose from the bursting of a waterspout, others supposed it arose from a violent convulsion of the earth. A labourer at work in the neighbourhood of Kidlaw stated that a rumbling noise was heard, and the waters seemed to burst into innumerable crevices where formerly there were no springs.

The next severe inundation happened on the 28th October 1791 when considerable damage was done to the damhead and breaches were made in the haughs and town mills which the treasurer was authorised to repair.

In 1797, October 24th, the damhead and banks of the river were again damaged.

The last inundation of the Tyne of any consequence happened 7th September 1810, when the "west weir," at the "lang cram," was materially injured, and a stack was carried away from Millfield, while the haugh, resembling a lake, was covered with water.

Besides the Tyne this parish is watered by a beautiful rivulet on the south, called Gifford or Coalston water, which pays its tribute to the Tyne a little west of Grantsbraes. This rivulet is formed by various small streams, which descending from the Lammermoor hills, unite about a mile from its base, and flowing through the strath of Yester, passes by Coalston into the Tyne.

Bridges.

There are four stone bridges over the Tyne in Haddington parish, the two first of great antiquity.

The Abbey Bridge, about a mile below Haddington, must have been coeval with its religious establishments, as there is no convenient ford at that part of the river. It consists of three arches, of very rare architecture, being pointed Gothic, defended by strong projecting abutments. It is 12½ feet broad in the centre, with a gentle ascent. It is built with that reddish stone so prominent in the monastic buildings of this neighbourhood.

The Nungate Bridge, which connects Haddington with that suburb, is also a building of a remote date. It consists of three arches of the common half circular form, with strong projecting abutments. It is only 11½ feet wide in the centre; and being on the principal carriage road to the south-east several accidents have occurred, particularly on market days, a girl having been crushed to death a few years ago. In short, this fabric is a disgrace to the burgh in everything but its antiquity.

Part of the Nungate bridge was broken down during the memorable siege of the 16th century; and was rebuilt with stone of a different colour and texture from the rest of the fabric.

In 1672, August 27th, the town of Haddington's arms were appointed to be placed on the east end of the bridge.

Towards the west end of the bridge, at the head of the arch, on the south side, there is a strong iron cleek, from which it was wont to hang malefactors. The last use said to have been made of this in-

strument was after 1745, when a man's hand was suspended for ten years, for being engaged in the cause of Prince Charles, a circumstance by no means unlikely, as when Philip Stanfield was executed for the murder of his father in 1687, his head was placed on the East Port, as being nearest to the public place where the deed was committed.

In 1758, April 17th, it was found necessary that the Nungate bridge should be repaired. The county contributed £60, and the town of Haddington £50 for this object.

The Waterloo Bridge consists of one spacious arch, which connects the East-mill Haugh with the Lethington and Salton roads. The foundation stone was laid, with masonic honours, by the Marquis of Tweeddale, on the 18th June 1817, being the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. It is built with an iron textured stone from Seggarsdean quarry.

In 1680, March 10th, the bridge at the North-east Port was repaired and widened. This improvement cost £131 14s 2d.

In 1732, August 3rd, a timber bridge was built at the East-mill haugh. This bridge stood a little above the present Waterloo bridge, near a ford which led to the Salton road.

Begbie or Samuelston Bridge.—This is a good bridge over the Tync, of one arch, on the borders of the parish. It was built by Mr James Burn, Haddington, about 1793.

Bearford Bridge.—In 1776, July 17th, the town-council subscribed £5 5s to aid in building a bridge over Bearfoot burn, at the foot of Bearfoot path. This bridge was much improved and widened, and the ascent on both sides modified about 1818.

There is also a stone bridge over Coalston water, and another on the turnpike road below Lethington.

Geology.

There are few sections of rock in the parish, from which the disposition and direction of the strata can be ascertained. The rock of which the Garleton hills are composed is apparently a secondary trap, approaching to what is called clinkstone, contemporaneous with North Berwick Law and Traprene, the two principal heights in the neighbourhood. Heavy spar is found near the west end of the hills. In the lower grounds sandstone is found of different colour and quality. The alluvial matter in the bed of the Tyne is the debris of secondary trap, with nodules of quartz.

Minerals.

Attempts to discover the minerals of the lands of Gladsmuir have cost the burgesses of Haddington as many anxious thoughts as ever the fruitless hiding place of the philosopher's stone distracted the studies of the inventor of the logarithms. More than 300 years ago this enterprise excited the attention of the burgesses with more or less success; and the church was called upon to contribute its share to the expense of the undertaking. In 1531, July 11th, we meet with the following entry in the council record:—"The which day the council ordains and delivers the kirk to pass as easily as it may; and all the laif of the common gude to be warit (spent) on the wynning of a coal-pit on Gladsmuir, and to na other use; and if need be the town to be taxed for mair money."

In 1675, April 10th, the town-council appointed that coal should be sought for in Gladsmuir by an engineer. On the 31st July it was agreed to be bored for by John Ronaldson, smith. In 1676, June 10th, places were again to be marked for boring; and, on the 2nd October, Rottenraw was the place fixed on for this purpose, at the expense of 100 merks for 15½ fathoms. It appears afterwards that 20 fathoms were bored.

Notwithstanding the failure of former attempts, on the 31st August 1748, it having been again suggested that as there was a great probability of coal being found in the town's common of Gladsmuir; and as it might tend to the advantage of the county in general, and the town in particular, the council, by a majority of votes, after taking the opinion of a number of burgesses, who were called to their table, agreed to make another trial for this useful mineral; and to advance a sum not exceeding £30 for the undertaking. On the 29th October, the digging was carried on, agreeable to a scheme of William Wemyss, Esq. of Cuthilhill, to the depth of sixteen fathoms; the colliers being allowed £15 Scots for each fathom. On the 9th January 1749, Provost Ray reported that coal was found; but after boring 14 inches through the seam, the workmen were stopped by an influx of water. It was now necessary to provide a horse-gin; William Ferrier was appointed overseer; and £200 voted and borrowed in course of the year in furtherance of the object. This work was still carried on, under the advice of Mr Wemyss, till the 9th January 1750, by which time 25 fathoms had been bored. The spirit of the enterprise and the funds being exhausted, an application was made to the inhabitants for a voluntary subscription to carry on the work three weeks longer; and on the 10th February the scheme was abandoned. Alexander Waldie, town treasurer, was allowed 6s weekly while he superintended the work. The money collected and borrowed by him was £3264 6s Scots, above which £3084 7s Scots were expended.

What a public body could not effect, private individuals were foolish enough to undertake; and, on the 29th August 1757, Mr Andrew Hendrie, Lasswade, was allowed to make trial at his own risk; and, in 1764, Lord Elibank obtained leave to work for coal on his own feu at Gladsmuir for 20 years.

In 1793 the magistrates and council, on the application of about seventy of the burgesses, took into consideration the minutes of a tack granted to Lord Blantyre in 1719, and former minutes respecting trials for coal in Gladsmuir; and as it was the wish of these burgesses to form themselves into a coal company, the council with a view to encourage their object, granted them a lease for 57 years, with an exclusive right to what coals and minerals they might find; but, in the event of coal not being found in ten years, their right should cease. A pit of 12 fathoms was accordingly sunk on the town's lands of Gladsmuir, in a field near Clay Barns. Coal was found of variable thickness, from 20 inches to 3 feet; but not being of sufficient consequence to liquidate the speculators, the project was abandoned.

Yet notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, a fourth attempt was made by the town-council in 1826, in a field at a small distance from the former. Coal was found at a depth of nineteen fathoms, but only 18 inches thick, with a foul coal and bastard parrot coal next the roof, of about 2 feet in thickness. On the coal being pierced through, a strong feeder of water came off, and overpowered the windlassmen. The pit had been sunk by a common windlass; and was comparatively dry till the above accident occurred. It was inspected by Mr Robert Bald, mining engineer, Edinburgh, on the 21st January 1827, who recommended, in the first place, that a horse-gin should be applied to dislodge the water; and, secondly, in order to ascertain if the coal was thicker and profitable for working, dip-head levels should be set off both to the north and the south in a true level course direction, and also a mine direct to the rise from the pit bottom. These mines to be from five to six feet wide. He was, however, of opinion, that no workable coal would be found under that to which the engineers had now approached · and he, at the same time, apprehended that the great bed of limestone found at Salton and Pencaitland should also be found betwixt Gladsmuir and Haddington, as in those parishes it lay under the strata of their coals. This attempt was now abandoned. It cost the town about L.1800 sterling; and went to establish the fact that the thinness of the coal seam would not repay the work, nor remunerate the proprietors.

Mineral Spring.—The only one in the parish is a Chalybeate, at Dobson's well, about half a mile west from Haddington, on the Pencaitland road. In a summer's morning it is a favourite walk of the valetudinarian to quaff its gently impregnated spring. There is an iron cup, chained, for the service of the traveller.

Topographical Appearance.

The appearance of the parish is that of a rich agricultural district, which is diversified by a waving irregularity of surface, well enclosed and highly cultivated fields, extensive parks of verdant pasture, and elegant seats of the nobility: hence East Lothian has been aptly termed by tourists the Northampton of Scotland, while the town of Haddington situated by the Tyne, with its cathedral-looking church, gives it much the appearance of an English town of the second class. Belts of plantation wind up to the skirts of the Garleton hills on the north, which in their bosom exhibit a miniature specimen of Highland scenery; towards the west the Hopetoun monument forms a prominent object; and on the south the ancient woods of Coalston exhibit oak, hazel, birch, and other indigenous trees, which seem a remnant of that species of copse, which in early times covered the southern district of Scotland.

Climate.

The climate is salubrious, and for a considerable time has been remarkably free from fever and endemic diseases, with the exception of the visitation of the cholera in 1832. In early times the ague was a visitor in the spring; but every corner of the soil being now so well drained, it has entirely disappeared.

In 1838, on the 20th January, during an intense frost, which continued for nearly seven weeks at Haddington, the thermometer stood as low as 4 deg. at eight o'clock in the evening; and at twelve the same night, it was 2 deg. below Zero, or 34 below the freezing point. On the 10th of February it stood at 7 deg. above Zero at nine o'clock morning; and, on Friday the 15th, at eight o'clock morning, it was at 11, and the day following it was 10, or 22 deg. below the freezing point.

Since this period the seasons have been uncommonly mild,—our harvests in general early and abundant,—and our winters, with so very little snow, that they were apparently "tempered to the shorn lamb."

CHAPTER II.

"Musselburgh was a burgh when Edinburgh was nane."

CREATION OF THE BURGH BY DAVID I.—CHARTERS OF KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.—ANCIENT EVIDENTIS.—CHARTER OF JAMES VI. OLD SET OF THE BURGH.—ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE MAGISTRACY.—CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

The town of Haddington is a burgh of great antiquity; for, when the "Curia Quatuor Burgorum" subsisted, there was an appeal from the sentences of burgh courts to the Chamberlain at Haddington, who was empowered to summon an assize, which consisted of three or four respectable burgesses from the towns of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh; and after the two last were possessed by the English, Linlithgow or Lanark. The sentence of this assize was final. At what precise time Haddington was erected into a royal burgh is uncertain; for the town having been several times burned by fire, and often laid waste by the inroads of the English, its most ancient records are lost or destroyed.

In 1141, David I. besides the establishment of several monastic orders, which were then regarded as the chief seats of religion and piety, where learning was taught, and science preserved, turned his attention to the regulation of civil communities for carrying on commerce and manufactories, whereby his revenues and power were greatly increased; as the numerous and wealthy bodies of men incorporated by royal charter in cities and burghs, yielded a powerful aid to the sovereign against the turbulence and overgrown power of his vassals; the necessary consequence of feudal kingdoms, where the lord was allowed to exercise the laws of life or death on his servants or clan. It was about this time that Louis de Gros introduced these establishments into France, and it is related that David framed his burgh laws from the information of certain learned men, whom he sent to other countries to observe the constitution that they had introduced. Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling are supposed to have been among the first; for, in an ancient M.S. copy of the burgh-laws, which are universally ascribed to David as their author, the titles describe them to be the laws of these four burghs. The chamberlain's court was called "the court of these four burghs," and consisted of three or four delegates from each of the above towns, who, by virtue of a summons from the Chamberlain, assembled once a year at Haddington; and by this court all appeals from the courts of particular burghs were tried and finally determined.

In 1306, Robert I. gave to this town and people of Haddington a grant of their liberties, political and commercial.

In 1371, Robert II. confirmed "a grant of the bailies and community of the town of Haddington to Hugh de Selkyrk," which shows the regimen in elder times of this ancient burgh. For these advantages the sum of L.15 sterling were paid into the king's exchequers. Several pensions were granted by Robert I. and succeeding monarchs, from the great customs of the burgh.

In 1531, July 11th, the "Borrow Register" makes mention of a charter granted by King Robert the Bruce, in the 17th year of his reign (1323), "of the fredome of the bruche of 'Haidinton,'" as then being in the hands of Thome Synclair. Various other old charters are also enumerated.

There is a charter to the town of Haddington amongst the public records from James V., of date 1542. Ten years afterwards Mr Robert Maitland and some of the magistrates were sent as a deputation to Edinburgh to procure copies of these instruments.

The most ancient charter now known to be in the possession of the burgh is one from James VI., of date 13th January 1624, confirming all the town's ancient rights and privileges, which was ratified by the parliament of Charles I. in 1633.

The town of Haddington, previous to the new municipal act, was governed by a provost, two merchant and one trades' councillor, and seven deacons of crafts. The old provost (who remained on the council), was commonly elected dean of guild; thus constituting a board of twenty-five members.

The magistrates also elected one of the council baron-bailie of the Nungate, and another over their dependencies in Gladsmuir, with two Burlaw (boorlaw) bailies in the town (the latter not always of the council) to settle minor affairs in their jurisdiction. The election of the magistracy took place in the beginning of October. It was customary to continue them two years in office, though instances to the contrary have sometimes occurred.

The Hepburns of Nunraw had a grant from the Prioress of the abbey of Haddington of the office of Bailie of the Nungate. In 1708, October 2nd, the bailiary of the Nungate was adjudged with the laird of Nunraw. Mr James Dods was installed by the magistrates.

Haddington, along with Jedburgh, Dunbar, Lauder, and North Berwick, is one of the five united burghs, which return a representative to Parliament; and during the close system which governed many of the elections in the country, this ancient town

acted as independent a part as any in Scotland. This was in a great measure owing to the liberal nature of its set,which gave the trades' deacons an opportunity of checking their more aristocratic brethren; and, on many occasions, the nine had only to raise the standard of opposition to shake the magistracy to its foundation. This consequently led to many disagreeable, and even ludicrous scenes, which shall be narrated as briefly as possible. In the first place we shall give an example of the arbitrary power of the government at one period, in the appointment of magistrates; and, secondly, the no less arbitrary power of the magistrates themselves.

It is portentous of woe to a government when she assumes the appointment of the civil magistrate, accordingly it was on the verge of the Revolution when we meet with the following entries in the council record:—

1686, Sept. 20.—"The magistrates and town-council of Haddington received a letter from the Earl of Perth, lord high chancellor of Scotland, discharging them from electing any new magistrates or counsellors within the burgh for that year. The present magistrates and council to be continued until his Majesty's further pleasure was signified."

On the 30th November the magistrates and town-council were nominated by the Lords of Council, agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure. Sir William Paterson, Knight, clerk to his Majesty's privy council, was appointed provost of Haddington.

The following are examples of the arbitrary power of the magistrates in regard to the trades:—

In 1702, February 14th, a tailor, who was imprisoned by one of the bailies for keeping up a coat, was liberated by order of the Convener of the Trades, upon which the convener was censured and imprisoned himself, besides two tradesmen, who refused to assist the town-officers in taking up the convener. The conduct of the bailie was approved of, and declared to be no breach of the privileges of the craft.

In unison with such proceedings, on the 2nd March 1703 Thomas Reid was imprisoned for refusing to act as treasurer.

To disobey the orders of the Provost incurred the deprivation of burgess-ship. In 1728, April 18th, Alexander Burnet and James Outerside, fleshers, asknowledged their fault in disobeying the order of the deceased Provost Smith, and craved to be restored to their burgess-ship, which they had forfeited. The town-council, on considering the matter, reponed the petitioners to their office, and ordained Mrs Higgins, the wife of their late treasurer, to give up the bill which was granted by them, for the penalty incurred by the breach of the burgh-oath, on their begging pardon of the magistrates for their transgression. Their deliverance was subscribed by the Provost on the back of the petition.

In 1730, Oct. 6th, there was a contested election, in which Archibald Millar and Jas. Erskine were both brought up, by opposing parties, as provost. This led to a law process before the Court of Session, which lasted about nine months, when the election of Provost Millar was sustained. Amongst the votes objected to, was that of Patrick Begbie, town's musician.

The next election of a representative to serve in parliament was a fruitful opportunity for giving rise to the most violent proceedings, which will form the subject of next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

"When civil dudgeon first grew high,
And men fell out they knew not why."
—HUDIBRAS.

"With pipes and drum, their colours flying,
To the town-hall the 'Nyne' are hieing."
—ANON.

"THE CONGRESS;" OR, "BURGH POLITICS IN 1734."—FALSE ELECTIONS.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE REAL MAGISTRATES.—RESULTS OF THE MOCK PROCEEDINGS.

In 1734 considerable turbulence existed in Scotland on the forming of a new parliament. This, as a matter of course, led to divisions and contested elections in the burghs, of which the "faithful" town of Haddington had rather more than its due share. At this time our politicians were divided into two parties; those supposed to favour the ministry were styled the "Court Party," while the more popular, who had the suffrage of the community, were designated the "Country Party," or, in plainer terms, "Jacobites:" for the smothered hopes of the rebellion were not yet extinguished.

The rival candidates for the burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, Dunbar, Lauder, and North Berwick, were Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, and Captain Fall, Dunbar; and as each had their partisans equally divided in the town-council, it led to the most virulent contention.

Bailie George Erskine was delegated, on 14th May, to go to Jedburgh on the 18th, to vote for a member of parliament. [On the 16th, Mr James Erskine, his brother, received a Burgess-ticket from the magistrates and council of Dunbar, for "the good services done, and to be done" for that burgh. He, with other Haddingtonians, left Dunbar on horseback, having their burgess tickets, with the seal attached to white

and blue ribbons, pinned into their blue bonnets. Provost Fall and the rest of the council, waited on them to the stairfoot of the Town-house, and gave them three cheers. Captain Fall was the successful candidate. The Congress, whose bacchanalian exploits are celebrated in song, were of his party. The following satirical verses, which were written on the occasion, were copied from the recitation of an old member of the merchant-council:—

SONG.—ON "THE CONGRESS."

Katty Maekie's lying siek,
And wat ye what will mend her?
Fifty shillings in a purse,
That Captain Fa' has sent her.
His love to her love,
Locked in a coffer—
My service to the bonny lass,
Katty Maekie's daughter.

The wabsters went unto Dunbar,
To sell their claith at venture;
But 'twas nae for to sell their claith,
But see their Parliamenter.
The captain made them welcome guests,
Invited them to dine,
And, after dinner, did not spare
To treat them well with wine.

CHORUS.

O fie upon ye, Congress,
O fie upon ye, fie;
Had Tyne been made o' claret wine,
Ye wad hae drank it dry.

Here's your health, my Charlie, lad,
Take aff the other bottle!
Drink aff your glass right heartily,
'Twill gar you drive the shuttle.
'Twill gar you drive the shuttle,
And sae will it the spule,
If we had wanted your vote,
O we had lost the dule!

Now Charlie raise to drink his health,
But louted doun sae low,
He brak his nose upon the floor,
And brak the glass also!

There's wabsters and there's ean'le-makers,
And tailors wi' tree legs;
There's dirt drivers and eabbage eaters,
And Sandy B—— that begs.
O Simon Sawers got earts and horse,
And Laurie he got looms;
And Bairdie he got leather gude,
A' for to mend their shoons.]

This was the watchword of discord in the burgh; for, on the 22nd of the following August, Bailie G. Erskine presided, in consequence of the provost, Andrew Dickson, refusing to attend. It was then agreed that Mr Dickson should be prosecuted for exhibiting a bond from Sir James Dalrymple, and other noblemen and gentlemen in the shire, for considerable sums granted to the town.

On the 5th October, controverted elections of Deacons and Crafts' Counsellors followed, when it became a ground for argument whether the old or new Deacons should vote in these contests? And amongst the votes objected to in the merchant council on the 8th instant, was that of James Erskine, late provost, who, from holding the offices of music-master and precentor, was considered a servant of the town. The following were elected magistrates:—George Herriot, provost; Alexander Hepburn, Richard Robertson, and James Forrest, bailies; Alexander Walker, dean of guild; George Young, treasurer; and John Hay, bailie of Nungate. These were opposed by a well supported party, headed by John Herriot, a flesher, who was joined by Convener Sawers, and the majority of the "nync." The contest was plied with such vigour on both sides that Provost Herriot, backed by the mob, assembled before the Convener's door to demand his vote; but he found him, like Willie Wastle, invulnerable in his castle.

From the Convener's Book.—"Haddington, 12 October 1734. The which day George Herriot, late bailie of Haddington, compearing with a mob of people at his back, and at the entry of the Convener's door, he required access with the said mob to enter the Convener's house, the said Simon Sawers, convener, asked the said George Herriot what he wanted in his house with the mob at his back,—who answered, that they had come in order to qualify him and the other members in order to the electing of a Convener,— to which the said Simon Sawers replied, that he had a Magistrate already in order to qualify him, his deacons and colleagues; and so required him to remove his mob alongst with him, excepting James Forrest, deacon of the tailors; James Bartram, deacon of the baxters; George Walker, deacon of the skinners; and their sealed colleagues, who had right to vote in the said election; and protested against them if they should secede, and make a separate election, that they and each of them might be liable to the pains and penalties contained in the late Act of Parliament anent the regulation of elections; and thereupon took instruments in the hands of John Gray, notary publick, and also in the hands of James Smaill, clerk to the meeting."

The same day Deacon Sawers was put on the leet by Bailie Andrew Wilson, and re-elected convener.

1734, December 4.—"The same day James Bartram, deacon of the baxters, in obedience to the Convener's warning, delivered up his key of the box, and consented that the same should be broken open, in order to inventor the money and papers in the

box,—and the Convener paid for the last election dinner." The election dinner then amounted to £51 9s 6d Scots.

1738, September 2.—To prevent debates or doubts in future, it was appointed that the old Deacons should be continued in the council till the lect day of the Magistrates, when the new Deacons were to be received.

The following are specimens of the fines imposed upon the contumacious deacons:—

1734, November 27.— "The which day James Bartram, James Forrest, and George Walker, who had separated from the other deacons, having failed to appear, were fined each in the sum of £5 Scots, and ordained to be imprisoned till payment." Simon Sawers convener.

1738, March 24.—The incorporation of wrights seized from Andrew Dickson six chairs made for him by an unfreeman in the country.

1741, December 28.—John Learmouth, painter, who had assumed the office of Convener, with four other Deacons, were deprived of their burgess tickets, and fined for creating a riot,—and for breaking open the Tolbooth door, and forcibly ringing the bell for a Convener's meeting.

1745, November 7.—It was ordained that the Councillors absent without relevant excuse, should be fined 1s each time.

David Anderson, a slater, was fined half a merk by the deacon, for not attending a funeral of one of the craft; and, on refusing payment, he was imprisoned.

Meanwhile the "opposition," who were nick-named "The Congress," not only managed with wonderful dexterity to bring up a Mock Magistracy, but had the skilfulness or plausibility to obtain a warrant from Lord Milton, to imprison the whole of the real magistracy and council in Dunbar jail. The following letter which is printed in "The Thistle," an Edinburgh newspaper of that date, gives a full account of these uncommon proceedings, which are tinctured with the spirit and inveteracy of the feudal ages:—

To the Author of "The Thistle"—Sir John de Graham, Knight. Wednesday, Oct. 30, 1734. "Sir John,—As I find that the late remarkable incident at Haddington makes a good deal of noise, I beg you will so far indulge me as to give the following narrative of the facts concerning it a place in the "Thistle."

"Some months before the last elections for Parliament, thirteen, out of twenty-five Connsellors of Haddington entered into an association, called by themselves The Congress, whereby the whole number engaged to vote as the majority of that thirteen should carry in their private meeting: so that, in other words, seven became the majority of twenty-five. What sort of cement they used, to keep together a body so unreasonably connected, is only guessed at; but so it is, that only one man, who saw the artifice and injustice of it, left it, and his place was supplied by another, so that they still continued to have the appearance of a majority in the council.

"The Burgesses of Haddington, generally speaking, were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Congress, and as the Magistracy was to be changed at Michaelmas, the sixteen merchants in the council, who alone, in that burgh, have the choice of four new Merchant Councillors, chose persons not to the mind of the Congress. [Robert Forrest, Thomas Crombie, William Begbie, and Alexander Waldie. Waldie resigned, on which William Brown was elected in his place.] The incorporations were to choose their Deacons; and it was plain, to such as knew the town, that the Congress had little to expect there, and the majority of the Incorporations was against them. However, they resolved to have a struggle for it, and therefore made the show of a controversy in two incorporations, the Hammermen and Weavers. [Robert Sawers, deacon, hammermen; Charles Lawrie, weavers.] This was in order to carry the election of Magistrates, in which the electors are thirty-one in all, by the addition of four new Merchant-Counsellors and two new Trades-Counsellors to the twenty-five of last year. Who were the legal Trades-Counsellors depended upon the question concerning the two Deacons: so that these two Deacons, going the one way or the other, made a difference of eight upon the whole.

"At the meeting of the Magistrates, on Saturday, the 5th day of October, the Council, for reasons unknown to me, did not that day give judgment upon the merits of the two controverted elections, but allowed the two Deacons and two Trades-Counsellors on each side to give their votes. But upon the election day, Tuesday, the eighth of October, they determined both questions against the Congress.

"The short state of the question, concerning the Deacon of the Hammermen was this: The freemen met were ten; but of these ten, one was the Town's Bellman, having a salary, and as such was disqualified by a particular Act of Council. [Robert Dagger's vote was sustained though a town-officer.—Sept. 30, 1732.] He did, indeed, in the meeting of the trade, verbally offer to resign his office, but that could only be done in council. The artifice was too gross to pass. The man owns he made that offer in jest, and continues to officiate at this date. Another of the ten had not paid up his quarterly dues, and was disqualified on

that account by an express act of the incorporation. The Congress reckoned these two, who, with three more, made them equal to the others, and brought it to the second or casting vote of the former Deacon; as there can be no doubt, that one, if not both of the two controverted freemen had no vote, it is evident the Congress lost it.

"In a meeting of the incorporation of Weavers, the Congress had but seven to seventeen, that majority was too strong to be brought down by cavils; therefore the Deacon (Laurie) who was of the Congress. told the meeting that he had no business with the trade at that time. The seventeen expressly demanded, If the election was to be that day? To which he answered, That it was not. He now says, that he ordered the Officer to adjourn the meeting to a private house. Which words, the Officer says, he pronounced; but seventeen of the meeting affirm they heard no such thing. However that may be, it now appears that the Deacon, with six more, made what they call an election in that private house. They denied this for some hours; but when, at last, they owned it, the other seventeen of the incorporation met, having first required the Deacon to meet with them, and there made an election, otherwise the incorporation must have been unrepresented in Council. I fancy, Sir, not one of your readers will hesitate between these two.

[Here follows a verbose paragraph "justifying the possession" of the Magistrates.]

"On the day of election the Congress made a separation. They brought there an exceeding curious piece, in form of a Protest and an Act of Election jumbled together, so full of the most ridiculous blunders, that I believe it would be a good entertainment to print it at large. This protest is given in, in the name of nine Merchant-Counsellors as present, though three of that number were not there, and one was not then in Scotland. Not to mention particulars, it is plain, by this extraordinary piece of stuff, that the election was made before they came there, for so it imports. However, they made a farce of doing it over again, acting in a separate meeting, one Heriot, a butcher, lately a Bailie, officiating both as Provost and Clerk. No wonder that this was quickly over; and, before the Council had filled up their sederunt, or possibly could begin their business, the Congress had finished theirs, and straight left the room. They posted to the Cross and proclaimed themselves Magistrates; thence to the court-house, and held what they called a court. And all this before the election was over in the council-room. Next morning they went out to Nungate and installed their Baron-Bailie. Immediately afterwards they broke open the door of the council-room, and were about holding another court, when the true Magistrates arrived.

"These pieces of childishness the Congress call possession. The possession of the real Magistrates was of another sort. Their act of election, extracted by the uncontested Clerk from the council books; the custody of the Town-Seal; and, what is above all, the countenance and obedience of the Burgesses. This is actual possession—all others are but symbols of it. And were it otherwise in such a case, the best runner would always be the legal possessor.

"The Magistrates called to the Town Officers to fence the court. This they refused to do. Then the Provost and Bailies signed a warrant to strip them of their livery-coats (the badges of their office), for their manifest contempt; and, with an audible voice, required the Burgesses to assist as in duty they were bound, in executing the warrant, which was immediately done notwithstanding the opposition of the Congress and their few friends.

"From that day, (the 9th instant) till the 25th, their possession was quiet and undisturbed. It seems the council for the Congress lay at some distance, so that their advice could not be had in less than a fortnight; but at last they thought fit to complain and by an information (in which they pretended to be the undoubted Magistrates, and asserted many other falsehoods in fact,) to a Lord of Justiciary they obtained a warrant to imprison the Provost, two Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer, almost all the Council and Deacons, and as many other persons as make up forty in all, in the next uncontroverted sure prison. The crimes charged are, "That they did in a tumultuary mobbish order, (Query What is a tumultuary order?) enter the Court-house where the (pretended) Magistrates were sitting in judgment; and having cried out to the Burgesses to give help, did attack the four Town-Officers, threaten to strip, and stripping them of the town's livery coats. That, in doing this, they did drag and twist the officers' bodies and arms, and invaded them with their staves and fists. That they did leap upon the council table, and shaking staves over the pretended Magistrates' heads, threatened and menaced them;—That they particularly threatened the pretended Dean of Guild, with stripping off his cloaths, beat him on the breast, squeezed him by the throat, and twisted his body and arms;—That they justled and beat another pretended Magistrate, and pulled off his hat and wig;—That they invaded a third by fixing their thumbs and fingers about his throat:—That they laid

heavy strokes upon, and pulled the hair of a fourth;—And all this aggravated by being done in presence of the (pretended) Magistrates and against their remonstrances; and openly, violently avowedly, of forethought, with a convocation, etc. And thus (concludes the information) the said Magistrates (meaning the pretended ones) have been insulted in the lawful exercise of their office, by threats and menaces, part of them actually invaded, their Officers beat and abused; and by open and avowed insolence, stript of their cloaths,—some of the inhabitants maltreat without any cause, and all this in face of Court; wherethrough a plan is laid down, and encouragement given to those of a mobbish disposition, to join in and promote the like violence and disturbance within the Burgh,—the Magistrates authority contemned, and endeavour to be suppresst, to the subversion and overthrow of government, and good policy of the town, and danger of the inhabitants' lives.

"The warrant is directed to all concerned, both Civil and Military; and, as I am informed (but I hope it is not true,) was attended by an order from proper authority to the Commanding Officer of the Troop there, to assist in the execution. On Friday, in the afternoon, the provost, Mr George Heriot, and four of the Council, were seized by a Macer of Justiciary; and how soon the Congress would have used their warrant, to leave neither Magistrates nor Council, nor any body in the town but themselves, I know not. It is impossible for a judge to know a true from a false allegation, when he hears it. How great then must be the guilt of such as impose, by a false narration, upon persons entrusted with all our valuable concerns, and who cannot be supposed to know the particular circumstances, but by the suggestions of partial, and often designing and malicious informers? The remedy of so great an evil seems to lie only in correcting such vicious dispositions; for, if people are bent to give way to intentions so malevolent, at that rate, it is a very short receipt, if any man whatsoever, without the shadow of right, but his own assertion, desires to imprison a whole town, and to put them to the charges of finding bail, (which in this case, by the usual fees of the office, wou'd be 27s 6d a man, or £55 sterling in whole,) he can do it. And if such a sum as 40,000 merks should startle a friend, so as he would not care to be bail for it, the innocent accused person must lie in prison for about three months, besides the charge of running their intimations. And, by the same rule, the adverse party, assuming the same titles, may obtain the same thing against their accusers; so that, by mutual accusations, a trading and manufacturing borough might be desolated in a few hours.

"I make no commentaries on this history. Only, to finish it, I shall inform you, that the Right Honourable Lord Dun, admitted all of them to bail on Saturday; and, on Sunday, about four in the morning, they were set at liberty;—and came time enough home to go to church with all their formalities; the Congress having made a vain attempt to get some sort of possession in their absence. On Wednesday they intend to drink his Majesty's health at the Cross, like loyal and zealously well affected subjects, as they have always been. And, on Saturday night, John Heriot, one of the Bailies of the Congress side last year deforced a Messenger, who had apprehended him for a civil debt. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"A Burgess of Haddington."

On the 31st January 1735, the council books were sent to Edinburgh, to be produced in the processes brought by William Ray and others of the "opposition" for reducing the magistracy, where their cause was lost; while, on the other part, the real magistracy, after petitioning parliament on the plea of illegal imprisonment, met with no redress. The following notices detail the concluding acts of this ludicrous affair:

From the London prints—"London, February 1.—Yesterday the House of Commons heard, and referred to the committee of privileges and elections, a petition of Sir James Dalrymple, Bart.; another from the Magistrates of Jedburgh, and of Robert Whiterope, George Seougal, and John Porteous, counsellors of said burgh; another from the Magistrates of Haddington; another from the Magistrates of Lauder; another from the Magistrates of North Berwick; also a petition of John Haswell, common clerk of Jedburgh, concerning the election of the district of burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, Dunbar, Lauder, and North Berwick." London, March 13.—"The 12th instant, a petition of George Heriot, provost of the royal burgh of Haddington; Robert Forrest, brewer there; John Hay, saddler there; George Hunter, wheelwright there; and George Walker, skinner there; was presented to the House, and read: alledging that upon application made the 24th day of October last, by James Erskine, John Cluddel, Andrew Wilson, and others, assuming to themselves the names of Magistrates in the said burgh, and complaining that the petitioners had disturbed them in the pretended execution of their offices, the Hon. Andrew Fletcher of Milton, one of the judges of the Court of Justiciary, and also of the Court of Session in Scotland, though there was evidently no

foundation for such a complaint, without any jurisdiction to judge of the merits of election of Magistrates for the burgh, without any evidence laid before him, without any notice given to the petitioners, or any of the persons concerned, and so without hearing them or calling them before him, gave forth a summary warrant, directed to all officers whom it concerned, civil or military, to search for, seize and apprehend, the persons of the petitioners, and many others, to the number of forty Burgesses or inhabitants, whereof seventeen were acting as Magistrates or Councillors of the said Burgh, wherever they shall be found in Scotland; and to imprison them within the nearest sure prison;—that this warrant was lodged in the hands of Humphry Colquhon, one of the macers or messengers of the court of justiciary, without the privity of any other of the judges of that court; and, as the petitioners have reason to believe, the said Andrew Fletcher ordered the said macer to take directions from Patrick Lindsay, provost of Edinburgh, as to the manner of executing the warrant; and such directions were accordingly given, as the petitioners have reason to believe, in writing;—that this warrant was accompanied by an order from Brigadier Moyle, then acting as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland to the commanding officer of the Dragoons quartered in Haddington, to assist with his Dragoons in the execution of the warrant;—that upon the 25th of said month, the petitioners were seized, and though the next sure prison was that of Haddington itself, or that of North Berwick; and though the petitioners desired to be committed there, or to be carried to Edinburgh, the seat of the court of justice, where they might apply for redress, yet the said Humphry Colquhon told them, his orders were to carry them to the prison of Dunbar, and no other place; a place 20 miles (28) distant from Edinburgh, and 8 miles (11) from Haddington;—and though the pretended crime was bailable, and Alexander Hepburn, the Sheriff-Substitute, to whom the petitioners applied, was by law empowered and willing to admit them to bail, the said Humphry Colquhon told, That he could not dismiss them upon bail, his express orders being to take no bail, but to commit his prisoners to the prison of Dunbar,—where they were accordingly imprisoned, from the 25th to the 27th of October, till by a warrant from the Hon. David Erskine of Dun, another of the judges of the said court of justiciary and session, the petitioners were set at liberty, and execution of the warrant was staid against the rest upon bail given by the petitioners and them; and that, since that time, no criminal prosecution has been moved for any of these pretended crimes;—that these proceedings, as the petitioners apprehend, and are advised, were utterly illegal and oppressive, tending to destroy personal liberties and freedom of royal burghs, and the consequence of the freedom of elections of Members of Parliament; and as the petitioners can hope for no redress but from the justice of Parliament, therefore praying to take the premises into consideration, and to grant relief."

A motion having been made that the above petition should be referred to a committee of the whole House, it passed in the negative.

The following consolatory verses were addressed to the magistrates on their recent defeat:—

ON THE FAITHFUL TOWN OF HADDINGTON.

Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
Omnibus est vitæ, sed famam extendere factis,
Hoc virtutis opus.—VIRGIL.

"O worthy Haddington, unrivall'd Town!
For honour, in an age corrupted, shewn:
While o'er fair Caledonia's fruitful soil,
Each Royal Burgh falls a venal spoil;
While even Edina's once unblemish'd breast,
Is by the violating monster prest,
Do thou, untouch'd, and self-defended, stand,
A beauteous pattern to a purchased land.
Though malice may thy conduct now defame,
And slaves of power thy honest zeal may blame,
Fear not the justice of thy cause should fail;
For everlasting truth will still prevail.
The time shall come—Oh soon may it arrive!
That to thy choice shall lasting praises give;
That shall repay, in equitable coin,
The wrongs of Glasgow's magistrates and thine.
This *Congress* then, like that of Soissons broke,
Shall, after all their farce, dissolve in smoke,
Still may thou flourish, Haddington, and thrive,
And all thy honest sons in plenty live;
May wealth within thy walls forever wait,
And Peace and Freedom guard your hospitable gate:
Long may true patriots rule your happy town,
Long keep the chastity of fair renown,
Long boast the prize of faith and virtue won,
And give a title to a HAMILTON."

—From *The Thistle*, July 30, 1735.

The Country Party now enjoyed their civic honours unmolested,—drank Queen Caroline's health at the Cross amidst the firing of dragoons, while the "ladies were blooming with joy,"—and were again successful in keeping themselves together at the next election.

CHAPTER IV.

"A motley thing made up of shreds and patches,
Full of old saws and modern instances."
—SHAKSPEARE.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS IN THE COUNTY.—PARLIAMENTARY AND BURGH REFORM.—NEW MUNICIPAL ACT.—ELECTIONS.—PROVOSTS OF HADDINGTON. — SHERIFF COURT — SHERIFFS OF HADDINGTONSHIRE. — COUNTY AND BURGH POLICE — CRIMES — WITCHCRAFT—MURDER—SMUGGLING—FIRE-RAISING.

The next matter that agitated the burgh was the appointment of delegates to elect a member of parliament. This happened on the 30th March 1768, under very particular circumstanees. Jedburgh was the returning burgh, but the Court of Session having reduced the magistracy of that town for some illegal practices, considerable contention arose in regard to where the meeting should be held. The Sheriff of Haddington issued a precept, appointing the burgh of Dunbar to the presideney, while the Sheriff of Berwickshire appointed Lauder as next in rotation, to name the place where the member should be chosen. The town of Haddington jealous of the right of the Sheriff of Berwick to name a place at all, and considering that by law, in absence of a delegate from the presiding burgh, she was entitled to a casting vote in the case of equality, and, as a matter of expediency, and to assert her rights, three commissioners were appointed, viz., John M'Laren, Esq., of Dreghorn, advocate, to go to Jedburgh; James Dudgeon, Dean of Guild, to attend at Haddington; and David Rae, Esq., advocate, to appear at Dunbar; with provision, that wherever the election might be sustained, the vote of their commissioner should be held valid. The result was that Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Warrender was elected representative in parliament for the classive burghs.

There was a further eontest, at the election of the Hon. Colonel John Maitland, on the 31st October 1774, who was opposed by a party in favour of Mr Kinloch, younger of Gilmerton.

[This election was opposed by a party headed by Thomas Pringle, deacon of the skinners, who were anxious to support David Kinloch of Gilmerton, Esq., as commissioner or delegate, to vote at the ensuing election at North Berwick, which was the presiding burgh for the classive districts. Provost Burton was elected by a majority of 18 against 5. The protests were conducted with great aerimony, in which the town-counell were accused of being influenced by a certain Peer, or his factor and agents; and tho trades-bailie and deacons of being corrupted by those aneient tools of bribery—meat, drink, and entertainment. Robert Cunningham, deacon of the masons, who was ordered out of the council chamber, voted at the door. On the 6th April following, we find Franeis Kinloch, Esq. of Gilmerton, voted as representative of the burgh to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland.]

Burgh Reform.

This measure, which has engrossed so much attention in our times, seems to have been first agitated on the 8th March 1787, when a letter was submitted to the town-council, from the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, of date the 3rd March, as preses of the convention of Royal Burghs, respecting

1. A proposed reform in the constitution of the burghs of Scotland;
2. The encouragement of the Linen Manufacture; and
3. The subscribing to the fund for extending the Fisheries, and improving the sea-coast of the kingdom.

[It is astonishing how much corporate burghs were guided by selfish motives, in opposing public measures, which, when ultimately carried, did them no material injury. Thus, on the 1st March 1785, in reply to a letter from Mr Charteris, M.P., respecting a treaty of commerce betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, the town-council authorised him to oppose the measure by every means in his power, as injurious, if not ruinous, to the trade of Scotland in general.]

This letter being considered the council recommended that their representative in parliament should be instructed to support the second head; but with regard to the other two points, that they be allowed to lie on the table.

In 1819, on the 29th May, Lord Archibald Hamilton, as chairman of the select committee on the Scots Royal Burghs, applied to the town-council of Haddington, for a return to nine separate orders, of which he also presented a draft, and a copy of the schedules to which reference was made, which was granted.

At the same time a letter was presented from Mr William Wilkie, as preses of a committee, requesting the council to concur with them in forwarding the object of their petition to parliament; viz., "An amelioration in the constitution of the Royal Burghs." This request, however, was considered unnecessary, as the matter was already before a committee of the House of Commons.

In 1819, a petition was presented to the council, on the 28th October, signed by all the dissenting ministers, and many of the most respectable inhabitants, praying that the old burgess-oath, which had been considered as unnecessary by a late deed of the

convention of Royal Burghs, and had been long disused by several respectable towns, might be set aside, as involving declarations offensive to many, and inconsistent with the spirit and liberality of the times. This petition having met with the favourable consideration of the council, on the 19th February 1820, the old oath of "allegiance, assurance, and abjuration," was abrogated, and a more modified one substituted in its stead.

[The old Burgess-oath.—In 1708, May 24th, the oath of abjuration was taken by the town-council, and recorded. The following is a transcript of that used in the reign of George III.:—"I hereby acknowledge, profess, testify and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King George the Third is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and all others his Majesty's dominions and countries thereto belonging, and I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that not any of the descendants of the person, who pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James the Second, and since his decease pretended to be, and took upon himself, the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth, or the style and title of King of Great Britain, hath any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other of the dominions and countries thereto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to them or any of them;—and I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be made against him or any of them. And I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend, the succession of the crown against tho descendants of the said James, and against all other persons whatsoever, which succession, by an Act entitled, 'An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subjects,' is, and stands limited to the Princess Sophia (Granddaughter of James VI.), Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. And all these things I do plainly acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, abjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian,—so help me God."]

The corporation and test acts were repealed during the short administration of the Duke of Wellington, on the 9th February 1828. This paved the way for the renewed agitation of burgh reform; and, on the 25th November 1830, the town-council of Haddington agreed that a petition should be sent to the House of Lords for a reform in the representation of the burghs.

The reform bill was introduced by Lord John Russell in March 1831; and, on the 14th, petitions were forwarded from the council of Haddington in favour of the measure. The bill passed the House of Commons; but was rejected by the Peers in the month of October following.

In the meantime, while these measures were in progress, considerable exertions were made by the two great parties that ruled the commons, to bring up their own candidate on a new general election. In 1831, Robert Steuart, Esq. of Alderston, (whig,) entered the field against Sir Adolphus John Dalrymple, Bart. (tory). The burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, and Lauder, voted for Mr Steuart at Jedburgh, on the 23rd May; but owing to the abduction of one of the voters at Lauder, on the choosing of a delegate on the 4th May, his election was nullified by the House of Commons.

[Bailie Simpson was forcibly placed into a Haddington postchaise and carried off by the mob. The examination of witnesses afterwards led to scenes of riot in Haddington, which ended in the imprisonment of parties unconnected with the abduction at Lauder.]

The reform bill was again brought forward in December; and, on the 30th April 1832, the town-council of Haddington petitioned the House of Lords to pass the lingering measure; and again, on the 15th, a petition was sent to parliament in favour of the same object. The bill ultimately passed the House of Lords, through the exertions of Earl Grey, on the 4th June, 1832; and the Scottish burgh reform bill received the royal assent on the 28th August 1833.

The first election of a member to represent the county of Haddington in the reformed British parliament, (which met on 29th January 1833,) led to a severe contest between the Whig and Conservative parties, the former of which was represented by Sir David Baird of Newbyth, Bart., and the latter by James Balfour, Esq. of Whitting-

ham. Out of a constituency of 617, in which 503 voted, Mr Balfour was returned by a majority of 39.

The following was the state of the poll:—Mr Balfour—Haddington district, 170; Dunbar district, 101; total, 271. Sir David Baird, Bart.—Haddington district, 198; Dunbar district, 34; total, 232;.

[A superb testimonial, in the shape of a silver epergne, was presented to Sir David Baird, as a mark of respect by his party. "This expression of public feeling (says the inscription) emanated from 7000 individuals in the county of East Lothian, whose voluntary contributions were limited from one penny to one shilling.—A.D. 1832."

At the election of a member to represent the burghs a similar contest took place, in which Mr Stuart was successful.

On the 5th November 1833 the election of the new councillors took place under the Act 2 and 3 William IV. cap. 76.

At the next election for the county, in January 1835, the Whigs had the ascendency, a very popular gentleman having entered as a candidate. The following was the poll:—For Robert Ferguson, Esq., of Raith, 268; for John Thomas Hope, Esq., Luffness, 231; majority, 37.

Mr Steuart of Alderston was again returned for the classive burghs, without opposition.

On the 31st July 1837 the Conservative party prevailed, when James Andrew Lord Ramsay was elected representative of the county by a majority of 93. The state of the poll was:—Lord Ramsay, 301; Robert Ferguson, Esq., of Raith, 208. The result of the election for the burghs was:—Mr Steuart, 263; Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart., 237; majority, 31.

On the death of the Earl of Dalhousie, Lord Ramsay was called to the House of Peers, when a new election became necessary.

On the 14th April, 1838, Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton, Bart., was elected for the county without opposition.

In 1841 the Conservative party once more gained the ascendency of the burghs. On the 2nd July, 1841, Mr Steuart and James Maitland Balfour, younger of Whittingham, were the candidates, when the latter gained the election by a majority of nine. The following shows the result of the poll:—Mr Steuart—Haddington, 97; Jedburgh, 82; Dunbar, 44; Lauder, 15; North Berwick, 26; total, 264. Mr Balfour—Haddington, 66; Jedburgh, 112; Dunbar, 60; Lauder, 29; North Berwick, 6; total, 273.

On the 6th July, 1841, Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart., was re-elected member of Parliament for the county.

The municipal affairs of the burgh are now managed by a council board of twenty-five persons. The constituency, in 1843, amounted to 233 burgesses. There are now no distinctions in regard to trades' bailies and counsellors; but the magistrates appoint (as formerly) a baron-bailie of the Nungate and of Gladsmuir; and two burlaw-bailies for settling minor differences. Agreeable to the terms of the new act the magistrates and councillers remain three years in office, eight of them going off annually by rotation.

Provosts of Haddington.

1296—Alexander le Barker (the tanner).
1454—William Clerk and James of Ayton, balzies.
1530—Patrick Hepburn, master of Hailes; Thomas Sinclair, and Alexander Hepburn, bailies.
1532—Patrick Lawson, bailie. (1)
1552—James Oliphant, provost. (2)
1568—James Puntoun.
1570—John Ayton.
1597—Sir William Seton. He succeeded the Earl of Bothwell or his agents.
1649—John Cockburn.
1658—William Hatton.
1661—William Seatoun.
1681—Henry Cockburn. (3) July 14th, he was commissioner to the Scots parliament.
1686—Sir William Paterson, knight, clerk to his Majesty's privy-council, nominated by the Lords of council.
1689—William M'Call.
1691—James Lauder.
1698—Henry Cockburn. (4)
1700—Alexander Edgar.
1701—William M'Call.
1703—Alexander Edgar.
1705—Richard Millar.
1707—Alexander Edgar.
1708—Richard Millar.
1710—David Forrest.
1712—Richard Millar.
1714—David Forrest.
1715-17—A blank.
1718—Richard Millar.
1719—Alexander Hay.
1720 David Forrest, sen.
1722—James Dods.
1723—Alexander M'Call, by poll election.
1725—George Smith.
1728—Alexander M'Call.
1730—Archibald Millar (contested with James Erskine).
1732—James Erskine, cordwainer.
1733—Andrew Dickson, merchant.
1734—George Heriot, sheriff-clerk, (contested by The Congress). (5)
1736—Robert Forrest. (6)
1738—William Ray, merchant. (7)
1739—Charles Cockburn of Clerkington.
1742—James Rutherford.
1746—James Lundie, M.D.

1748—William Ray.
1750—Andrew Dickson.
1752—William Ray.
1754—Andrew Dickson.
1756—Robert Thomson.
1758—Andrew Dickson.
1760—Robert Thomson. (8)
1762—James Lundie, M.D.
1764—Henry Hepburn.
1766—James Lundie, M.D.
1768—Robert Thomson.
1770—James Lundie, M.D.
1772—James Dudgeon, surgeon.
1774—Robert Burton, tobacconist.
1776—James Dudgeon.
1778—Robert Burton.
1780—James Dudgeon. (9)
1781—John Martine, tanner.
1783—Patrick M'Clarren, merchant.
1785—David Smith, candlemaker.
1787—James Banks, merchant.
1789—Richard Somner, surgeon. (10)
1791—James Banks.
1793—Richard Somner. (11)
1795—Alexander Hislop, draper.
1797—Alexander Maitland, surgeon.
1799—Robert Roughead, innkeeper.
1801—James Roughead, merchant.
1803—William Cunningham, merchant.
1805—George Banks, merchant.
1807—George Martine, jun., currier.
1809—James Deans, painter.
1811—George Haldane, manufacturer.
1813—John Martine.
1815—Thomas Pringle, tanner.
1817—John Martine.
1819—Thomas Pringle, tobacconist.
1821—Peter Dods, nurseryman.
1823—Alexander Hislop.
1825—William Dods, seedsman.
1827—Archibald Dunlop, distiller.
1829—William Dods.
1831—Archibald Dunlop.
1833—John Ferme, banker and writer.
Under the New Municipal Act.
1834—Samuel Brown, ironmonger.
1836—Thomas Lea, draper.
1839—Thomas Lea, re-elected.
1842—Thomas Lea, re-elected.

(1) With the exception of Alexander the Barker there are no mention of provosts previous to 1552. In 1533, May 21st, Mr Bertyll Kello was notary publik and common clerk of the burrow book of Haddington.

(2) In 1552, December 23rd,—"The which day the council statute and actit, that the Provost have na mayr fee but vj. merks. The which day the provost, James Oliphant, protested, that there be ne mayr fee given to na provost in time coming, and that every honest man be made provost in time coming his year about." From a chasm in the records it is not apparent whether or not annual provostships were attended to. In 1556 the provost of Edinburgh was allowed L.100 Scots for clothes and spicery, with two hhds. of wine; and he was sometimes re-elected twelve years running.

(3) In 1671, August 9th, Henry Cockburn, dean of guild, was allowed L.68 Scots for his charges at Dundee and Edinburgh when commissioner to the convention of Dundee. In 1681, July 14th, Provost Cockburn, while commissioner to the Scots parliament, was allowed for himself and man £5 Scots daily. On the meeting of parliament, the members went to the house in great solemnity; and the procession which they formed, on account of the predominance of equestrian figures (for all except inferior servants were on horseback,) was called the Riding of the Parliament. This scene of splendour was long remembered in Scotland.

(4) The office of chief-magistrate seems, in the olden time, to have been rather an honourable than a lucrative concern. In 1698, May 16th, Mr Henry Cockburn, late provost, being in great distress, was supplied with "clothes, shirts, gravats, hat, and shoes." He had been formerly, on the 19th February, allowed 30s Scots, weekly, as an aliment. Another respectable family suffered from the vicissitudes of fortune. In 1773, June 23rd, the daughters of Provost Ray resigned their aliment of £2 10s which they had received from the town, on succeeding to a small fortune on the death of their brother in France. On the motion of Mr Dickson, this sum was afterwards to be applied to the relief of Bailie Thomas Crombie's widow and family in great poverty; also, on the motion of Bailie Waldie, 20s of aliment, yearly, were to be paid to Margaret Erskine, daughter of James Erskine, late provost.

(5) On the 8th July 1735 Provost Heriot and Robert Forrest were allowed £2 13s 6d of expenses, on being sent prisoners to Dunbar by Lord Milton. It was not till 1747 that the litigious lawsuit which originated with "The Congress" was adjusted, when Sir James Dalrymple (their supporter) sought for a friendly meeting to have an accommodation with the town. Accordingly, on the 21st December, the parties agreed that Sir James Dalrymple and Mr Chalmers should grant a discharge to the town, and vice versa that the town should discharge them.

(6) 1736, October 15th, 30s were allowed Andrew Dickson for being five days assessor to the provost, at the convention of burghs; and 39s to the provost himself.

(7) In 1738, November 9th, the town-council renewed all former acts anent members attending the magistrates to the kirk, under the penalty of 6d sterling for the absence of a merchant councillor, and 3d for a deacon or crafts councillor. This very ancient practice was abrogated by a major-

ity of dissenters, in the town-council of Edinburgh, on the 16th November 1843, when it was resolved "to discontinue their official attendance at church, and discharging the officers from carrying the mace or other insignia to any place of worship in time to come, or of the council appearing in their robes," etc. We are not aware that this example has been followed, but rather the reverse; some burghs, which had laid aside their church paraphernalia, on the passing of the reform bill, having resumed it. This act of the Edinburgh council was followed by a petition to her Majesty from Provost Middlemass and the other magistrates of Dunbar, reprobating the measure.

(8) 1761, November 17th, it was appointed by the town-council, that gold medals, hung with blue and gold cord, should be worn by the magistrates, as badges of distinction. These have long been superseded by gold chains.

(9) At the election of magistrates on the 14th October, Mr Dudgeon was not put on the leet for provost the second year, which was contrary to the usual practice; and as Provost Dudgeon, Dean-of-Guild Burton, and Treasurer Carfrae, were among those discharged from the new council on the 24th, these proceedings, so different from use and wont, were afterwards remembered by the undignified name of "The damnable purge."

(10) In 1790, October 19th, Simon Sayers, bailie, objected to the vote of Mr Alexander Hislop, (who was on the provost's leet,) in consequence of his having offered William Marshall, deacon of the shoemakers, a bribe of 15 guineas, to vote contrary to his inclination.—"Coun. Reg."

(11) In 1793, January 5th, Mr Richard Somner, provost, was required to accept or demit his office, as he had never attended the meetings of council since his election in October! He accepted.

Sheriff Court.

The sheriff-court is held in the county buildings, Haddington, every Thursday, at ten o'clock, during session; and the ordinary sheriff-court, under the small debt act, every alternate Thursday. There are also small debt circuit courts held at Dunbar, Tranent, and North Berwick. The history and respectability of the sheriff court will be best learned from a list of its official personages.

Sheriffs-Principal of Haddingtonshire.

1124—Durand is mentioned as sheriff, in a grant by David I. of the lands of Clerchetune.

1184—Alexander is mentioned as sheriff of Haddington.

[In 1200, Hugh Giffard of Yester had also his sheriff, who likewise bore the favourite congomen of that period—Alexander. The Morvilles of Salton had also their sheriffs in this county. Henry Sinclair of Herdmanston was the sheriff of these opulent barons.]

1305—Edward I. appointed Ive de Adeburgh to be sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington, and Linlithgow.

1334—Edward Baliol assigned to Edward III. the sheriffdom, when John de Kingston was appointed keeper of Edinburgh Castle, etc.

1337—Laurence Preston was appointed sheriff of Lothian. In the reign of David II. Symon de Preston was sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington, etc.

1382—Adam Forrester of Corstorphin was sheriff of Edinburgh and Lothian.

In the reign of Robert III. William Lindsay of Byres was granted, during life, the office of sheriff of Edinburgh and constable of Haddington.

1482—Alexander Hepburn was sheriff of Edinburgh and Haddington.

1489—Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, was sheriff of Lothian and constable of Haddington.

1508—Adam Hepburn (who fell at Flodden,) was sheriff of Haddington.

1545—Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, was sheriff from the Avon to Colbrandspath.

1556—James, Earl of Bothwell. Forfeited in 1557.

1584—Francis, Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington, and Berwick; bailie of Lauderdale, and great admiral of Scotland. Forfeited 1594.

1607—Sir William Seatoun of Killesmure, (brother of Robert, first Earl of Winton,) appointed sheriff-principal. Died 1634.

1677—John, Duke of Lauderdale, sheriff-principal. Died 1682.

In the first parliament of King William, Haddington and Edinburgh are first mentioned as separate shires.

1689—John, Lord Hay of Yester. Afterwards, 1697, second Marquis of Tweeddale.

1689—Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenstoun, Bart., appointed 7th December. Died 1713.

1714—Charles, third Marquis of Tweeddale. (Lord-lieutenant.) Died 1715.

1716—Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington. (Lord-lieutenant.) Died 1735.

1736—John, third Lord Belhaven. Died 1764.

Sheriffs-Depute.

I.—Appointed by Sheriffs-principal.

1663—John Hay of Baro, sheriff-depute of Edinburgh and Haddington.

[John Hay was paid £800 sterling for the bailliery of Dunbar; and John Hamilton had £500 for the regality of Drem. In 1669, October 5th, John Hay of Baro, burgess of Haddington, was appointed commissioner to the convention of burghs, and also to the parliament; and allowed 6s 8d per day.]

1670—Patrick Broün of Colstoun, appointed 8th December. Created Baronet 1686.

1681—George Halyburton of Egliscarno (Eaglescairnie), appointed 8th November.

1682—Adam Urquhart of Meldrum, (then in command of the Earl of Airlie's troop,) was appointed a special sheriff-depute (5th January), by the Estates of Parliament, relative to the suppression of conventicles.

1683—Sir John Ramsay of Fawsyde, knight, sheriff-depute.

1690—John Sinclair, younger of Stevenston, appointed by his father, 7th June.

1692—John Veitch of Dawick, appointed 6th June.

1695—William Baillie, advocate.

1697—Alexander Hay, advocate (1697), afterwards of Huntington, and principal clerk of session. Died 1745.

1714—John Hay of Hopes, appointed 18th August.

1715—Charles Brown of Colstoun, appointed 24th Jan. (Married the heiress of Colstoun.)

1718—Thos. Menzies of Lethame, advocate.

1725— John Hamilton, advocate (1708 or 1718)

Charles St Clair, advocate, 1722, (of Herdmanston 1728;— or (the second son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington, advocate 1725); de jure Lord Sinclair.

1736—Hon. James Hamilton, advocate (1728), brother of John Lord Belhaven.

Francis Kinloch, advocate (1730), second son of Sir F. Kinloch third Baronet.

1744—David Kinloch, writer, third son of Sir Francis, afterwards fifth Baronet, 1778.

II.—Appointed by the Crown in virtue of the Heritable jurisdiction abolition act.

1747—Hon. James Hamilton of Frierland, advocate, resigned 1762. Succeeded to Lord Belhaven 1764—died 1777.

1762—William Law of Elvingston, advocate (1737), appointed 16th February. Resigned 1803. Died in 1606 aged 92.

1803—John Burnett, advocate (1785). Resigned in 1810, on being appointed judge-admiral of Scotland.

1810—Alexander Maconachie, advocate (1799). Resigned 1813, on being appointed solicitor-general; lord-advocate, 1816; lord of session (as Lord Meadowbank), 1819—resigned 1843.

1813—William Horne of Stirkoke and Scouthel, advocate (1806).

SHERIFFS-SUBSTITUTE.

1607—Alexander Seatoun, sheriff-substitute. Andrew Gray, appointed 12th March.

1690—William M'Call (late provost of Haddington,) appointed 9th October.

1692—Alexander Smyth, late bailie of Haddington.

1693—James Lauder, late provost of Haddington.

1695—John Carmichael.

1697—Richard Millar. (Afterwards provost of Haddington.)

1704—Robert Gray. 1729—Alexander Hepburn.

1736—George Cunningham, merchant.

1748—William Law of Elvingstone, advocate, appointed 4th April. Mr Law held this office, and afterwards that of sheriff-depute, about fifty-four years. The county was indebted to this excellent and upright judge, for the judicious method he adopted of striking the fiars.

1803—Thomas Fairbairn. 1827—Thomas Graham.

1830—Robert Riddell, advocate.

SHERIFF-CLERKS.

1663—James Lauder.

1695—John Midlemas.

1695—William Johnstoun.

1699—James Tweedie, 5th December.

1702—Thomas Reid, 13th July.

1718—George Heriot, (formerly provost.)

1753—William Alston and John Heriot, joint-clerks, 10th February.

1774—Alexander Fraser, 1st February.

1807—Henry Davidson, 26th March.

1829—Henry Marshall Davidson, 20th January

The commissary court, of which the sheriff is also the principal official, is held in the County Buildings, Court Street, each day when the business of the other court is closed.

Here the Justices of Peace, Trustees of the Great Post Road, and Commissioners of Supply, also hold their meetings at stated periods.

There are at present 13 procurators before the Sheriff-court belonging to Haddington, and 1 to Dunbar; seven of whom are notaries public.

[The sheriff-court was occasionally held in the houses of the magistrates. In 1694, it met in the "high dining-room of Mr James Lauder's house, in regard that the

Tolbooth of the burgh, where the sheriff-court used to hold, was full of soldiers for the new levy."—"Dunbar Coun. Record." Provost M'Call's house was frequently used for the same purpose.]

County Police.

"It is better to prevent crimes than to punish them."

The superintendent of the police establishment for the county, Mr G. H. List, resides at Haddington. The county is divided into eight districts, which are served conjunctly by about 33 constables.

Mr List is also the principal criminal-officer. Of the 33 constables, eight are full paid district constables, the remainder are parochial constables, who receive a small retaining fee, and act when called upon. In 1840 the establishment was augmented to its present number in consequence of the increase of crime.

The police establishment of the county was miserably deficient till about the year 1832. Previous to this period Haddingtonshire was divided into six districts, with a superintendent and twelve or sixteen constables, where now there are eight districts, which require 32 officers to do the duties in an effective manner. If anything was wanting to prove this deficiency, it was completely established in 1821-22, when although there were a series of fire-raisings in the neighbourhood of the burgh of Haddington, for the discovery of which £935 sterling of reward were offered at different times by the justices of peace and gentlemen of the county, and £500, with his Majesty's pardon, except to the actual perpetrators, the incendiaries were never discovered.

In 1831, a new and extended system of police was introduced; and the constabulary force placed under a zealous and talented officer, Mr Alfred John List, now superintendent of Edinburgh. Previous to this period the agriculturists were very much annoyed by numerous bands of gipsies and low Irish, who were distinguished by similar propensities, and were to be found encamped during great part of the year in the retired roads and green loanings of the county. As these wandering hordes were necessarily nurseries of thieves, one of the first objects of Mr List was to get rid of these vagrants; and it will be seen that James IV. was not more successful in curbing the thieves of Eskdale than the new superintendent was in banishing the gipsies and muggers from the county.

The following extracts, chiefly from the burgh records, are a specimen of some of the minor offences of the two last centuries:—

1570, July 27th, "The council ordained, that if a vagabond, called David, be apprehended within the burgh, that he be taken and presented to the provost and bailies to be incarcerated at their pleasure."

1697, May 8th.—It was ordained by the council, that beggars found in the burgh should be imprisoned eight days, and fed on bread and water; and afterwards to be sent out of town by the hangman. If found transgressing again, to be imprisoned fifteen days and scourged.

1722, September 11th.—Great abuses took place, such as insulting and beating people on the streets, and breaking of windows, chiefly occasioned by a tumultous part of the inhabitants assembling under pretence of visiting one another with music, and drinking healths at the Cross; all which were discharged under a penalty in time coming.

1730, December 14.—Barbers were forbidden to shave or dress wigs on Sundays, under the penaty of £10 Scots,—the one-half to be given to the informer, and the other half to the poor of the parish. The same to be intimated by tuck of drum.

1738, March 28.—In consequence of damage done to corns in the neighbourhood, and several accidents also occurring thereby, swine were prohibited from going on the streets.

April 15th, six of the most respectable burgesses were appointed as constables of the burgh for the suppression of vice and immorality. Among the items the constables were empowered "to challenge any person within the burgh or liberties thereof that shall be found wearing pistols or daggers,—to apprehend all vagabonds, sturdy beggars and Egyptians, and imprison and punish them according to law,—to search all public houses after ten o'clock, and nine on the Sundays,—to apprehend all drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, blasphemers," etc.

1769, December 19th.—Riding horses at full speed through the streets, to and from the water, disallowed. The nuisance of swine going on the streets again prohibited. Proprietors to be fined in 6d sterling for every individual of the swinish species that should thereafter be found at large.

1761, October 21.—Swine were again banished from the streets; dunghills and carts ordered to be removed; and horses, driven loose, prohibited.

1761, November 17th, the land-labourers at the West Port, having remonstrated against removing their dunghills, were indulged on certain conditions.

1825—June 19th, the town-council prohibited fowls from being allowed to go at large on the public streets.

The Juggs.—1781, December 15, the whole of the town-officers were dismissed for refusing to tie the hands of a woman convicted of theft, and thereafter to walk with her through the streets to the Tron, where she was condemned to stand in the juggs, in terms of a sentence of the magistrates. By this disobedience of the officers the culprit got off without the proper punishment and disgrace. Only one of the officers was reinstated on account of his age.

As a contrast to the above, in 1824, a town-officer was compelled to resign one of his offices for obeying the magistrates. On the 17th May, the bellman and grave-digger having officiated as public executioner, by whipping a man through the town, a riot took place, wherein the sexton was very roughly handled. A petition was afterwards sent in by a few burgesses and the Churchyard Association, praying that the sexton might be dismissed from the office of grave-digger, as "they considered that office should be in the hands of a person of trust and respectability; particularly in the present alarming state of the country, when the unhallowed practice of lifting the dead was so general." The town-council dismissed the petition; as although it was rather an awkward situation for a gravedigger to be placed in, yet he could not disobey his orders as a town-officer. He, however, resigned.

Among the last culprits who stood in the juggs was a servant to David Gourlay, distiller. On the 15th September 1785 he was indicted at the instance of the procurator fiscal of the sheriff-court, and tried at Haddington, for stealing from his master's cellars various quantities of aquavitæ. On his trial Mr Buchan Hepburn sat as substitute along with Mr Law, the sheriff-depute, and gave "a very genteel and short charge to the jury." The panel having been found guilty, the sheriff passed sentence upon him, that he should be put into the juggs for an hour, upon Friday, September 30th, with a label on his breast, in large letters, "infamous thief of his master's property," and that upon Friday, October 7th, he should be pilloried again in the same manner; to be continued in the tolbooth of Haddington till Thursday, 13th October, (being Haddington fair-day) and then to be whipped through the town, and within 48 hours after to depart from the county and never to return, under the pain of being imprisoned within the tolbooth of Haddington for the space of six months, and again whipped through the town of Haddington the first Friday of each month, and banished again under the like penalty.

A prison-board was established at Haddington in 1841, of which the lord-lieutenant, or his deputy, is chairman and convener; and the sheriff vice-deputy. It is governed by eight directors, with a clerk; and is served by a surgeon and chaplain. James Beattie is keeper, assisted by a matron and warder.

In ancient times the burgesses performed a species of personal service for defence of the town, called watching and warding. By this arrangement, tradesmen were bound, in person, to keep watch alternately during the night, to prevent or suppress occasional disturbances. In the progress of manners this personal attendance became so extremely inconvenient, that the burgesses became convinced that the town would be more effectually protected by a commutation of their services into money for maintaining an organised police; hence arose the city guard in the metropolis and the town-officers in the burghs. In Haddington the tolbooth head was the selected station where the sentinel trod his weary round. As illustrative of these remarks we observe

In 1532, October 22nd, "the town-council ordained Matho Huntar to 'waik' on the tolbooth head nightly, and to have vj. pennys ilk night of the common good, at the will of the bailies."

In 1538, September 21st.—"The which day the town-council ordained that the town should fee four sufficient men to waik (watch) at the four ports of the town during the day, on the town's expense; and that the bailies shall put four men on the night, of the nychtbouris of the town, as that few gangand about the town be warning of the officers; and ordains the ports to be hung and cled with burdis (boards.)"

In 1572-73, February 28th, it was ordained that "a watchman should be feed at the town's expense, to walk nightly on the Tolbooth-head, and to enter at ix. hours, and to leave at iij. hours in the morning."

In 1578, November 7th, "Nicoll Clark alias Laird of Paddowhall, was conducit and feed to be lockman, and to inter the bodies of condemned persons. To have four pounds money of fees in the year, or 20s quarterly."

It may be well imagined that the Lockman was more indebted to his perquisites than his meagre salary. Accordingly, on the 8th February 1766, owing to a small quantity of meal brought into the market, it was represented that the Lockman lost a considerable perquisite enjoyed by him and his predecessor, (who were allowed something in the shape of multure, to make a dip, or take a certain quantity from each sack,) the council agreed to allow him the sum of 20s sterling yearly, by way of compensation, to commence from Candlemas last; providing, however, that should he neglect to perform any part of his duty, the said gift should be withdrawn. This grant

to be allowed without prejudice against his drawing his ordinary dues for what meal might still be brought to the market for sale.

The other officers were also in the habit of extorting fees from the inhabitants.—August 7th, 1733, it was represented to the magistrates that the Town-officers or Serjeants were in the practice of demanding alms or presents from the counsellors and other inhabitants; and from gentlemen at their houses in the neighbourhood at the time of the holidays yearly, to the discredit of the town,—upon which the council discharged the officers from levying such contributions in time coming, and, in lieu thereof agree to augment their yearly salary £4 Scots each, and also to add £2 Scots to the town drummer's salary, on condition that he kept his drum in repair in time coming.

There are at present 4 town-officers—the principal officer is also inspector of weights and measures, and has a salary of £30 sterling yearly. The other officers have £5 each, and are allowed to follow other vocations. Some of them also acting as sheriff-officers; and one being letter-carrier, another town crier, and the last the gravedigger.

The town-drummer, or swascher has been an ancient fixture of the burgh. In 1572, March 9th, Archibald Kyle, treasurer, was ordered " to buy a swasche for the town." In 1598, April 14th, "William Strawquhan (Strachan) was feed and conducit swascher for the space of one year."

Haddington had also its town-piper from time immemorial; but our limits will not allow us to enter into the history of these grey-plaided and interesting musicians. Among the last was James Livingstone, who, having been deposed for some small misdemeanour, was reponed to his office (Oct. 5th, 1768,) and ordained to play every morning at five, and in the evening at seven—to have a salary of 40 pounds Scots yearly. Old Livingstone was a favourite with the authorities, and shortly afterwards received a cloak as a gift from the town-council. He was eulogised in some verses by Gall:—

"Whan the grey morn began to keek,
And 'boon the town is seen nae reek,
Jamie wad rise, an' his pipes eleek,
An' then wi' speed
He'd rouse the town-fouk frae their sleep,
But now he's dead!

O but it was right droll to see,
At e'en, come east the town the three,
Than Jamie wad some Scots tune gi'e,
Fu' queer indeed:
He'd hit ye'r taste just to a tee,
But now he's dead!"

Ancient Crimes and Superstitions.

The limits of this work only allow us to introduce a few instances of the imaginary crimes and dark superstitions of the seventeenth century, which led to the most revolting scenes, and consigned many a luckless wretch to the faggot. Had the monstrous idea been confined to the vulgar, less surprise might now be excited when we consider that general education had not then shed its "light from heaven;" but princes and priests, country gentlemen and the judges of the land, swelled the catalogue of those who were arrayed against the accused.

In 1649, the Estates of Parliament granted a commission to the magistrates, ministers, and elders of Haddington, on the recommendation of the Presbytery, for the trial of Agnes Hunter, Margaret Dickson, and Isabel Murray, residing in Painston, on the borders of the parish, who had confessed several points of the crimes of witchcraft, and, if found guilty, "to cause strangle them and burn their bodies to death," and for that purpose hold justice courts one or more.—See Scots Acts reign of Charles I. The result before the provincial court is not known.

In 1661, April 3, the lands of Samuelston were so much infested by the daughters of necromancy, that John, Earl of Haddington, to appease his tenants, was under the necessity of presenting a petition to his Majesty's commissioner, for the purpose of getting them tried by a court of judicature. A commission was, accordingly, granted, when four women made confession, and dilated 11 others, men and women. Tradition points out the field in Samuelston where the ill-starr'd wretches were burnt, which went by the name of Birlie Knowe, and which is now ploughed up. Sandie Hunter, alias Hattarick, drove a lucrative trade as a warlock in the same district.

[The particulars of the commission granted for this trial, with a concise History of the Witches of East Lothian, may be found in the notes to the author's poem of the "Lost Drave."]

In 1677, April 20th, Elizabeth Moodie, a poor hypochondriac servant-woman in Haddington, was imprisoned as a witch, and as usual made confessions, and accused others. In allusion to which we meet with the following entries in the council records:—"The whilk day John Sleich, younr. being commissionat to consult with my Lord Advocate anent Elizabeth Moodie, imprisoned as a witch, judged it convenient that the prisoner should confess before a fenced court, and to subscrvie before two notars and four witnesses, whilk accordingly is done; and she having delated oyrs, the

councill ordaines them to be apprehended and searched, and refers the way thereof to the magistrates.

The counsell appoints John Sleich, younr., to be their commissioner to go to Edinburgh, with the confessions and delations of the witches, and obtain from the secret councill commissions for trial and assisse."

Mr Sleich, the younger, who figured in these transactions, is characterised in a Latin epitaph, inscribed on his monument in Haddington churchyard, as "being notable for entire honesty and constancy of mind, undaunted and venerable for the very majesty of an august personage; and having left a great affection of himself in the minds of all good men, he removed to his heavenly country, 12 Dec. 1689 of his age 58."

At Haddington, 2nd June.—"The whilk day John Sleich, younr., having given his report of his going to the secret council for the commissions for the persons suspect of witchcraft; and having given in his account, extending to fourtie-two pounds, nineteen shillings, four pennies (Scots) is allowed.

The samen day the councill appoints John Sleich, younr., yr commissioner to go to Edinburgh, to the secret councill, anent ye report of the justices for the persons suspect of witchcraft."

1677, June 30th—"The whilk day John Sleich, younr., commissioner, appointed to go to Edinburgh to the Secret Council, anent the report of the justices for the persons suspect of witchcraft reported, that having spoken with my Lord Advocate and the Clerk of Councill, answered that they gave him yr advise that they could not relieve ym; but that the friends of the person imprisoned might supplicate for their relief as the practice of other places is."

The concluding part of these barbarous proceedings are detailed in a note to "Law's Memorialls," who quotes Lord Fountainhall's MS.

"There is one Margaret Kirkwood (says he) in Haddington, that hangs hirselfe; some say she was so strangled by the devill and witches. The same happened on a Sunday, in the afternoon; shee hes a serving woman in the church, called Elizabeth Moodie, who makes some disturbance and noise during the sermon, and numbers till shee reach fifty-nine, which was her mistress's age, and then cryes, the turne was done, which was found to be the very instant in which her mistress was making away hirselfe; upon this, being apprehended and examined, shee denied until she was searched and pricked; and after the alledged marques were found upon hir, shee confessed hirself to be a witch, and the particular circumstances of it, as I heard her acknowledge them. The said Margaret Kirkwood who hanged hirselfe, being wealthie, there were severalls who put in for the gift of her escheat, amongst others, the Toune of Haddington, etc. That miserable bodie, Lissie Mudie, who confessed hirselfe to be a witch, did also dilate five other women in the town of Haddington, two of them midwifes, and a man as guilty of the same villanie; and being confronted with them, I saw her constantly (though some, without any ground, alledged she was hypocondriack) abide at delation, and bind them with particular tokens and circumstances, but they denied all. I did see the man's bodie search't and prick't in two sundrie places, one at the ribs and the other at his shoulder; he seemed to find no pain, but no blood followed, though the pins were the length of one's finger, and one of them was thrust into the head; the marks were bluish, very small, and had no protuberancy above the skin! The pricker said there were three sorts of witches' marks; the horn mark, it was very hard—the brief mark, it was very little—and the feeling mark, in which they had sense and pain."

[In 1649 John Cincaid was employed as pricker, at the examination of some witches in the great hall of Dirleton Castle. The same year, in an account given out by Alexander Louddon, factor on the estate of Burncastle, for the burning of Margaret Dunhome, are the following items:—"Item, mair to Jon Kinked for brodding of her vi. lib. Scotts. Item, to ye hangman in Hadingtoun, and fetching of him, thrie dollores for his pens, is iiij. lib. xiiii. sh. Scotts."]

This sage judge concludes with this ludicrous observation:—"The most part of the creatures that are thus deluded by this grand imposture and enemy of mankind, are of the meanest rank, and are either seduced by malice, poverty, ignorance, or covetness: and its the unspeakable mercy and providence of our good God that the poor devill has not the command of money (though we say that he is master of all the mines and hid treasures in the earth) else he would debauch the greatest part of the world."—Lord Fountainhall's MSS.

In "Satan's Invisible World" there is a further account of Elizabeth Moodie, agreeing in most particulars with the preceeding.

In 1661 the Bailie of Broughton got a grant of the goods and chattels of women condemned for witchcraft, their effects in this instance thus falling to their judges.

Murder.

In 1687, Sir James Stanfield, who held the rank of colonel in the parliamentary

army, established a woollen factory at New Mills, (now Amisfield,) near Haddington, under the patronage of Cromwell. It is said, that while residing in the neighbourhood, the latter formed the plan of this establishment, in the same manner as he established the manufacture of knitted hose in Aberdeen. The pastoral situation of Lammermoor very naturally suggested the idea to an enterprising mind. Colonel Stanfield, with great success, continued to carry on the manufacture after the Restoration and Charles II. not only granted him many privileges, but conferred on him the honour of knighthood. But, alas! his prospects were soon blasted; for, he was found murdered, and the suspicion fell on his son, who was a profligate youth. Philip Stanfield was tried and condemned for the murder of his father, and his head was placed on the East Port of Haddington, as nearest to the spot where the unnatural crime of parricide was committed. Lord Fountainhall seems to have had doubts on the perpetration of so horrid an act. There are some very silly things in the indictment; such as Mr John Bell, minister of Haddington, heard great noise that night, etc.;—that the mother of Philip had the dead-clothes ready;—that he drank the king's confusion, etc.—which shows that political matter was mixed up with the subject. [Mr John Bell, minister of Gladsmuir, wrote a MS. Discourse on Witchcraft, in 1705; in which are not only stories of witchcraft and magic, but "Helps against them."] In the defence it was urged, that the unhappy youth was intoxicated when he drank the King's confusion, with which he linked the Pope's, the Chancellor's, and the Devil's; yet the justices found it treason! It is remarkable that the indiscreet zeal of this period, or shortly after, filled our church records with accounts of session courts held on blasphemers. The most singular thing in young Stanford's trial, and that which had most weight with the jury, was the bleeding of the body on being touched by the unhappy youth. A thing not unlikely to happen on a bruised body being moved.

Fireraising.

In our article under the head of "County Police," we alluded to the incendiary fires of 1821-22, the perpetrators of which were never discovered. The first happened on the 15th March 1821, when the stackyard at Rosehall, near Haddington, belonging to Dr Howden, was almost consumed by fire. This was the prelude to a series of fireraisings in the early part of 1822, a calamity unknown in our neighbourhood for some hundred years.

On the 25th February, the stackyard belonging to Mr Davidson, near the north-east port toll, was discovered to be on fire about nine o'clock in the evening; and, from the wind blowing in a direction too favourable to the destructive element, little was saved. This was followed in a few weeks by the destruction of Mr Davidson's barn, in the old flesh-market port,—an attempt on Hawthornbank stables and Letham stackyard, which was timeously prevented; and, lastly, Yellow Craigs' cottages were burned to the ground,—the inmates driven almost naked to seek shelter in the fields,—and what rendered this circumstance more systematic and diabolical, the only well near the cottages was choked up with whins.

Although a reward of five hundred guineas was offered by the county, and his Majesty's pardon to informers, the incendiaries were never discovered. Four accidental fires also occurred during the same period in the burgh; viz., a carrier's stable, at Poldrate mill; a brewer's malt kiln, and a dwelling-house.

Smuggling.

About sixty years ago, smuggling was carried on to a considerable extent on the sea-coast of the county, and many a keg of "Hollands" and French brandy were deposited in the rocky recesses of the Cove shore and the Bass Rock. In fact no crime was more lightly esteemed than cheating the "gauger," which as a matter of course led to deeds of a darker die. The suppression of this traffic it appears engaged the attention of the authorities at an early period:—

In August 1744 the magistrates and council of Haddington having observed with great satisfaction the spirit that universally prevailed over the kingdom to suppress the pernicious practice of smuggling, as fatal to the true interests of the country, and to encourage the consumpt of their own home-made malt liquors and spirits in place of French brandy, came to a resolution to discourage to the utmost of their power, all manner of smuggling whatsoever.

Resolutions similar to those of the council of Haddington had been adopted by the various corporations, societies, and private clubs throughout Scotland. Acting up to this spirit the heritors of the shire of Haddington met on the 1st May, and subscribed resolutions to the following effect, in which not only liquors, but the spinster's favourite beverage was interdicted: "That an expensive and luxurious way of living had shamefully crept in (observed they) upon all ranks of people, who neglecting the good and wholesome produce of their

own country, had got into the habit of an immoderate use of French wines and spirits in public houses and private families, which liquors were in a great part clandestinely imported and smuggled through the country, in defraudence of the revenue; as also that the drinking of tea, and especially among the people of lower rank, had arrived to such an extravagant excess, that during the war with France they should not drink French wine in any public house, etc., or use any way in their private houses, brandy or French spirits; and that they should moderate or discourage the drinking of tea in their families." [Tea was then retailed at 10s per pound.]

When beef and ale on the board were spread,
Our men were stout, and our women bred;
And glorious old Bess would have laughed with me,
At the sight of an Englishman sipping tea.

Accidental Fires.

In 1593 the town of Haddington and other burghs were nearly consumed by fire. The calamity is thus alluded to in the town's records: "On the 23rd May the town-council thought good that the Provost and Mr James Carmichael, should travel with the King's Majesty and counceil, the burghs, and other noblemen, for support, to repairing of the burghs presently and destroyed upon the 18th of May instant. Thomas Spottiswood and Paul Lyle to ride with the Provost and Ministers' first voyage." This conflagration tradition affirms to have been occasioned by the carelessness of a maid-servant in leaving clothes to dry at the fire; but as other towns were burnt in the same night, it more likely arose from the emissaries of the enemy. Since that period the curfew or town-crier perambulates the streets about eight o'clock in the evening during the winter season; and, after tolling a bell, repeats the following rhymes:—

A' gude men-servants where'er ye be,
Keep coal and can'le for charitie,
In bakehouse, brewhouse, barn and byres,
Its for your sakes keep weel your fires;
Baith in your kitchen and your ha',
Keep weel your fires whate'er befa';
For often times, a little spark
Brings mony hands to meikle wark;
Ye nourices that hae bairns to keep,
Take care ye fa' na o'er sound asleep,
For losing o' your gude renown,
And banishing o' this Burrow's town.
Its for your sakes that I do cry,
Take warning by your neighbours by.

John Johnston, the celebrated scholar, alludes to this calamity in some Latin verses:—

Planities prætensa jacet prope flumina Tinæ,
Fluminis Arguti clauditur ista sinu
Vulcani et Martis, quae passa incendia fati
Ingemit alterno vulnere fracta vices.

Translation.—"A plain, spreading near the stream of Tyne, encircled by the winding of the shrill-sounding river, having suffered from the violence of Vulcan and Mars, and been severely harrassed by these alternate ravages, bewails the vicissitudes of Fate."

The following entry in the council record, shows the success of the minister and provost's mission. December 8.—"The collection which was given by the city of Edinburgh, to those who had their houses and geir burnt within the burgh in May last, was ordered for distribution."

Gunpowder Accident.

A fatal accident, arising from an explosion of gunpowder, happened at Haddington on the 22nd December 1773. About five o'clock in the afternoon, as a young man, apprentice to Messrs Brown & Crombie, merchants, was engaged about the business of the shop, with a lighted candle in his hand, a spark from it unluckily fell into a cask where some gunpowder was kept which instantly blew up and killed the lad on the spot. A servant maid, who happened to be near him, was so much scorched that her life was for some time despaired of. On the first notice of the accident the water engine was immediately set to work and every assistance given by the provost and magistrates and a party of the military, which were quartered in the town, to save the goods in the shop and the building; but notwithstanding all their efforts the house was much damaged and many of the goods destroyed. This house, besides the shop, which was long occupied by the late Mr John Croumbie, ironmonger, contained also the trades' hall. It belonged to the incorporation of wrights and masons, and stands next to the George Inn at the foot of the High Street. The Sunfire office, with whom the house was insured, shewed great liberality on the occasion, for although the building was not entered as hazardous, yet as it belonged to a charity fund, the company voluntarily agreed to put it in the same condition as it was before the accident happened, which drew forth a letter of thanks from that (at that time) numerous incorporation.

CHAPTER V.

How bonny spreads the Haugh sae green,
Near yonder haly ruins seen!
The Briery Bauk how sweet at e'en,
Wi' music's sound,
Whare weel the wandering e'e may glean
Ilk landscape round.
—Gall's "Address to Haddington."

HADDINGTON — ITS ANCIENT AND MODERN STREETS PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND IMPROVEMENTS.—THE TOWN-HOUSE.—THE ASSEMBLY ROOM.—THE COUNTY BUILDINGS. EMINENT MEN.

The town of Haddington is situated at the foot of the Garleton range of hills on the north, and is bounded by the Tyne on the east and south, which divides it from the suburb of Nungate. [There is a view of the town of Haddington in "Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ." In 1673, July 19th, ten merks were given to the Lord Lyon for marticulating the Town's arms. The armorial bearing consists simply of a goat, on a plain shield. A plan of the town was drawn from a survey of John Wood, Edinburgh, and published in 1819.] The town consists of six streets. The entrance from the west is by Court Street, which leads into two parallel streets, called the High Street and Market Street. These are intersected at right angles by the Sidegate and Long Causeway, and on the left by Hardgate Street, which leads to the North-East Port and the London road. The other, which bears the significant name of Church Street, leads to the public schools, the Nungate, and the Parish Church. [The streets of Haddington were not materially improved till 1814, under the direction of Mr James Burn, to whom the thanks of the council were voted (7th Oct.) "for the particular attention he had paid to the repairs and alterations on the public streets." The streets at this time were considerably raised at the foot of the High Street, and large drains, common sewers, and cess-pools laid down. Previous to this period it was a regular occurrence to see the custom stone flooded on a heavy fall of rain, particularly a thunder shower. On one occasion it was necessary at a funeral to put the coffin into a cart while the people went round by the King's arms inn garden and met it at the head of Tyne close. In 1765, August 13th, from the imperfect state of the streets, several small bridges at the Custom-stone, foot of the High Street, were ordered to be removed. In 1766 the streets were so deplorably bad that part of them, from Mr Caddell's tenement, near the Tolbooth, to the West Port, required to be renewed from side to side, considerably lowered in the middle, and a paved canal or drain made on each side to carry off the stagnant water. The street from the North-East Port to the South Port was reckoned dangerous to travellers on horseback by reason of its height in the middle. In 1766, June 10th, the South Port, owing to its ruinous condition, was removed and the passage or entry made the full breadth of the street. The stones were to be used in making two new cells for the prisons. Previous to this decree, the North-East Port had also been removed as an obstruction, and the bridge there widened and repaired; the town coming under this obligation, on the provision that the county built a bridge over Laurence-house burn, where there was a ford. It was not till 1763 that outside stairs began to be removed as obstructions. We meet with the following notices of ancient streets which have in general merged into the others. The Sydgate and Middleraw still exist in name. More than four hundred years ago, A.D. 1429, heritable sesing was granted to John Patenson, cordwanar, "in feferme of a tenement lyand in the Sydgate on the Kyngis Wal." And, in 1440, a tenement of land is noticed as "lyand in the burgh of Hadyngton in the Medilraw." 1542-43, February 15th, the bailies, at my Lord Bothwell's request, ordained the Fish Market to stand at the Friar-wall. 1558, April 4th, a common gait, called Lydgait, is noticed "as lying betwixt the common lone passing from the town of Haddington to Aberlady, and the east lone, called the Barmy Lone, as being alluterlie telit doune and destroyed by the possessors," etc. In 1601, April 24th, the Lydgait is noticed as lying on the north side of the town, betwixt Harmaneflat and the Buttis passing fra the zairdis heidis. 1568-69, March 22nd, Thomas Myllar, in presence of the provost, bailies, and council, obliged himself to glaze the fore window of the hall of St James's Place with glass at his expense, "in respect that he was licensiate to theik his house and therewith has condemned the maist part of the south window of the said hall." 1572-73, February 28th, it was ordained that a "yett should be bigged in the Friar Gavel." Item, "ordained the Salt Market and Shoe Market to be used langis (alongst) the Friar Wall, from Packwood-house north—the ground to be rede betwixt that and Pasche next." 1674, February—Whinstacks stood close by the town-hall. 1682, July 22nd, they were discharged from being kept on the streets under the penalty of L.20 Scots. The north part of the town, leading from the wynd head at the tolbooth, was called the New-town. In 1747, March 26th, Bailie Forrest was fined for encroaching on the street at the back of the Smiddy-raw. In 1762, May 31st, the street from the West Port eastward (now Court Street) was planted with trees on both sides. Anciently called Tibbie's dale. In 1784, March 4th, we meet with a further notice of some old streets. Richard Purves's tenement is noticed as lying on the west side, near the bottom of St John's or Queen's Street of the burgh, bounded on the south by the

rivulet called the Lothburn, which, crossing this street, under a conduit, joins Myldsburn a little eastward. This street, with the ancient Sydegate, seems to have merged into the Long-causeway.—The good taste that named St Ann's place, shows where the Ladye's chapel stood. There were also streets of a less dignified appellation. 1764, October 24th, William Thomson's ruinous house in Strumpet Street was ordered to be rebuilt. In 1792, September 11th, painted boards were placed at the corner of the streets to point the way to strangers. The Cross, Tron, and lamp posts were ordered to be painted. The names of the streets, on the public corners, were not painted till 1839.] The streets are well kept, and have in general the advantages of a side pavement, and are lighted with gas. [In 1826 this immense improvement was made in the comfort of the streets, partly by private subscriptions. On the 11th November, the town subscribed £50 for this purpose; and, in January 1827, 150 yards of street, extending from the Westport to the town-house was Macadamised by way of experiment. 1675, July 31st, the causeway was laid at the rate of 4 merks per rood. £12 13s 4d was paid for stones and sand leading. In 1783, March 26th, a committee appointed to consider a plan and level for laying and paving the principal high-street.] [Haddington was lighted with gas for the first time in 1836. The work was erected upon a piece of ground purchased from the town, being part of a park called Peghdaleloan, for which the company paid £50. A contract was entered into with Shots Iron Company for the pipes and machinery; Mr James Dorward for the building; and Mr Francis Farquharson for the wright work. The company was formed in December 1834, with a capital of £2000, divided into shares, which were bought with avidity. It does not appear that the streets were lighted till 1749, when, on the 14th September the council authorised oil for the street lamps to be provided out of the money arising from the dung off the streets. In 1791, December 7th, the council appointed the lamps to be lighted on Sundays as well as upon other nights.] The houses are chiefly from three to four stories in height, and have a modern and regular appearance; many of the shops in the principal streets being equal to those in the metropolis. The approaches to the town from the west and east are beautified by elegant villas, luxuriant gardens, and extensive nurseries.

Public Buildings.

Town House.—The original part of this building, which faces market-street, was built from a plan of William Adam, the celebrated architect, in 1748. It appears matter of surprise to the moderns how such a small edifice could accommodate the sheriffs' court, town-council, and besides afford cells for the prisoners; but we find, at an early date, when the Tolbooth was occasionally filled with new levies of soldiers, that the judicial courts were in the habit of meeting in the spacious dining-room of Provost Lauder; and when every petty baron had his own lock-up house and the juggs at his village cross, less accommodation was required in the burghs for criminals. At that time also the turnkey's habitation was not within the precincts of the jail. The building of the assembly-room, about forty years afterwards, served in some degree to remedy that want of accommodation which began to be felt. Accordingly, on the 21st March 1825, it was thought requisite by the council, that from the deficiency of the town-clock a new one should be procured, and an improved steeple built;—[The first notice we have of a clock being placed in the Tolbooth was in the sixteenth century, when, previous to this period, it appears that this edifice was thatched. 1539, November 14.—"The which day the council think it expedient to complete the knok (clock) house, and the slating of the tolbooth this year; and the laif (rest) to be left while they be farther advised." 1540, October 12.—"The council ordained the treasurer to make diligens to set up the knok or Candlemass." 1559, June 9.—"The council ordained the treasurer to beit and mend all the faltis of the tolbooth." 1687, April 7—John Elliot, surgeon-apothecary, deposited 800 merks for buying a clock for the use of the burgh, to be set up in the tolbooth. It cost L25. The monument of John Elliot, chirurgeon, may still be seen about the north centre of the churchyard. 1732, October 4.—Owing to the ruinous condition of the tolbooth, the meetings of the council were held in the town-library; and, on the 17th of the same month, the steeple, town clock, and great bell, were ordered to be taken down as a measure of safety." Nothing can mark the poverty of the burgh more at this time than these extracts, for about ten years elapsed, till, on the 9th November 1741, subscriptions were solicited for a new tolbooth, when the town contributed L100 sterling. It was contracted for (June 10th 1742) by Robert Reid, mason, and George Pierie, wright, at an estimate of L500 sterling: and to be 60 feet in length, and 36 in breadth, conform to the elevation of Mr William Adam, architect.—To be finished by Whitsunday 1744. John Learmouth, painter, received five guineas as the price of the ground on which the new town-house was to be built. The subscriptions not

being made effectual the town borrowed L100 more to give to the contractors. 1745, June 10th.—The council agreed that a new clock should be provided for the town-house, to cost L30 sterling. This clock was made by Roger Parkinson, Edinburgh. It required winding up every twenty-four hours, which was performed by the bell-man. The present excellent clock, with chime quarters, which goes eight days, was made by the celebrated Mr James Clark, Edinburgh, and cost, with the fitting up in the new steeple, about L300. The clock still strikes on the fine old bell]—and, on the 5th April, it was further agreed, that the jail should be heightened on the south side. The frequent escape of prisoners, no doubt coupled with the strictures of the philantrophic Mrs Fry and Mr Gurney,—[Joseph John Gurney, the philantrophic quaker, visited the jail in 1819.]—had convinced the council of the necessity of rendering the prison both more secure and more confortable. A contract was entered into with Messrs Alexander Wilson and Peter Dickson, both of Haddington, for erecting that handsome structure, which now forms the south side of the town-house; and besides three cells in the under storey, contains in the second a spacious town-hall. This room is decorated with a portrait of Frederick, prince of Wales, which hung in the former hall, in the robes of a knight of the garter. In addition to the new building the foundation-stone of the new spire was laid in June 1830, and finished in September 1831. This spire is 150 feet in height, from a plan by Mr Gillespie Grahame, Edinburgh. In July 1843, the huge gilt vane of the town-house spire had got immovably fixed, and ceased to perform its duties as a weather-cock. A sailor boy, accidentally passing through the burgh, undertook the hazardous task of remedying this defect, which might have been attended with dangerous consequences to our slaters, which he accomplished by means of a rope ladder. [In 1783, May 3rd, through the inefficiency of the jail, a prisoner effected his escape by breaking through the partition betwixt the Sheriff-court and adjoining rooms. This called the attention of the council to make the upper parts of the prison more secure. —The town continued to be led into much trouble and expense through the same cause. In 1799, October 28th, David Smeaton, formerly farmer in Overfield, having broke prison, a summons was executed against the magistrates, as representing the town, for payment of a debt due by the prisoner to Robert Brydon of Redford-green; and, in 1800, January 20th, the town paid Mr Diddep, messenger, L11 14s 6d for expense in vainly endeavouring to apprehend Smeaton. To conclude this affair, on the 25th October, a summons was also raised by Robert Hay, Esq. of Drummelzier, against the magistrates, for a debt due him by Smeaton. The council recommended the town's agent to settle the business, which was referred by arbitration to the Lord Advocate and Mr Brown of Coalston. This Smeaton was a desperate character; being in the habit of cutting the throats of the sheep or cattle of his neighbours at whom he took umbrage.]

Assembly Room.—In 1774, it having become desirable that an assembly-room should be built in Haddington, for the use of the county gentlemen, the Hon. Mr Charteris applied to the magistrates for a piece of ground for the purpose, when it was at first intended that the house should be built at the Little Sands, and should measure 70 feet in length from south to north, by 30 broad. It was afterwards agreed that the waste ground at the town-house, where the bear and oat markets were held, should be feued for this object, "provided the said room was built on pillars, in order that the markets might still be held there."

The assembly-room, however, was not built till about fourteen years afterwards; for, on the 1st November 1788, the town of Haddington subscribed 25 guineas towards the building of the new assembly-room, which was then in progress, on the condition that an additional prison room should be built, and the ground flat be reserved entire for markets. The latter plan, however, on the recommendation of Mr Wilkie of Gilchriston, was abandoned, and a new sheriff-court room and chambers for the public records, were erected below the assembly-room.

The assembly-room is spacious and elegant, being about 60 feet long by 30 in width. It is decorated with a full-length portrait of Sir James Gardiner Baird of Saughtonhall, Bart., in the costume of commandant of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry, mounted on his charger, at a review on Tyne sands, with the Bass in the background, painted by John Syme, S.A., Edinburgh, 1827.

The County Buildings.—Notwithstanding the additions that had been made from time to time in the edifices we have described, the public courts were found inconveniently adapted for conducting business, and the place appropriated for the custody of the judicial records unfit for that purpose. It was, therefore, resolved, in 1831, to ereet a new court house to remedy these defects, and to obtain an act of parliament to assess the county for the expense. An act was accordingly obtained on the 6th June 1832, empowering commis-

sioners to assess the shire in a sum not exceeding L5250, on lands according to their valued rent, and on inhabited houses, at a rate not above 3d in the pound of the assessment for the house tax; and to purchase eligible properties in the burgh of Haddington, near the West Port, for a site to the building. This object being accomplished, the plan and elevation were designed by Mr William Burn, architect, Edinburgh, who subsequently drew the working plans.

[The site chosen was that of the remains of one of the oldest buildings in the burgh, which appeared to have been of considerable extent, and to which tradition assigned the importance of a palace. The ruins removed consisted of a vault, and part of an arched passage communicating with it. The pillars of the arches were of the Saxon order. In the fountain-stone of the new buildings is deposited a bottle, hermetically sealed, containing several current coins of the realm, printed extracts of the proceedings of the county in reference to the erection of the building, a copy of the Act of Parliament, and Miller's East Lothian Register.]

The foundation-stone was laid, with masonic honours, on the 27th May 1833, by Sir John Gordon Sinclair of Stevenson, Bart., in presence of all the beauty and fashion of the neighbourhood.

The building is in the anglo-gothic style. The front is of polished stone, partly from Culello quarry in Fife and Jerusalmen quarry, near Haddington. On the ground story is the justice-of-peace court room, 36 feet by 25; the justice-of-peace clerk's office and record room, with the housekeeper's rooms, besides three secure lock-up rooms, and officers' waiting room. An elegant staircase leads from the principal entrance to the second or upper storey, to which there is also access on the east side by a staircase. In the west front are the sheriff's room and precognition office; and, in the east end, the sheriff-clerk's office, with sheriff-clerk's room and two record rooms attached. Behind these is the sheriff court, 36 feet by 25, with a recess for the bench, 4½ feet by 15, and relative jury and witness rooms. The area of the court is seated like an amphitheatre with rows of seats above others.

The Marquis of Tweeddale, lord-lieutenant; Sir John Gordon Sinclair, Bart.; Sir David Kinloch, Bart.; David Anderson, Esq. of St Germains; James Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour; and Robert Riddell, Esq., sheriff-substitute, were the committee constituted to superintend the erection of the edifice.

The building was contracted for by Messrs Balsillie, and cost upwards of L.3000. The value of the properties retained for the site, as ascertained by a jury, was L.960.

Eminent Men.

Alexander II. was born in the palace of Haddington in 1198. The most distinguished families, however, who have either been born or resided in this parish, were the Maitlands of Lethington and the Browns of Coalstoun. The former as eminent statesmen and literary characters, and the latter as lawyers, of whom was the celebrated judge Lord Coalstoun.

Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who was born in 1496, and died in 1586, aged 90 years, was a man of distinguished merit and abilities. He was many years a Lord of Session and Lord Privy-Seal. James VI., in one of his letters, published by Sir David Dalrymple, states that Sir Richard "had served his grandsire, goodsire, good-dame, mother and himself, in many public charges, whereof he dutifully acquited himself." As James IV. the king's great-grandfather fell at Flodden, Sir Richard must have been employed in public offices about 70 years. He and his lady died on the same day.

William Maitland, younger of Lethington, the eldest son of Sir Richard, was secretary of state during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots. The character and fate of this accomplished statesman have already come under our notice. All his brothers were men of uncommon merit and talents; and reflect a lustre on the place of their nativity.

John Maitland, next brother of the secretary, rose to the highest offices and honours in the state. He was advanced to the dignity of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, which he held till his death on the 3rd October 1595. Such was the precocity of his talents, that he held the office of Lord Privy Seal when only 22 years of age. He is eulogised by Spottiswood as a "man of rare parts, deep wit, learned, and full of courage, and most faithful to his king." Robert Johnston, the Latin poet, accuses him of having instigated Huntly to the murder of the Earl of Moray; but had such been the case, the famous Andrew Melville would have been the last man to have celebrated him as he does in the "Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum" (tom. ii.) His superb and costly monument, in the family aisle at Haddington, has been already noticed.

Thomas Maitland, the youngest brother of the secretary, was highly accomplished as a scholar and gentleman. He is one of the Colloqutors in Buchanan's celebrated dialogue "De jure regni apud Scotos." Some of his Latin poems, published by Scotstarvet, in his "Del. Poet. Scot.," are extremely elegant, particularly one in praise of Lethington, the place of his nativity,

on his return home after many years absence.

John, first Earl of Lauderdale, son and heir of the Chancellor, was a nobleman of the greatest worth. He is celebrated by Dr Arthur Johnston.

John, Duke of Lauderdale, eldest son and heir of the preceding, was born at Lethington on the 26th May 1616. His merits and rapaciousness, which are familiar to the readers of Scottish history, have already been detailed.

Richard fourth Earl of Lauderdale, wrote a translation of Virgil.

John Knox, the celebrated reformer, was born in 1505, of honest parentage. He received the rudiments of learning in the grammar-school of Haddington, and afterwards studied divinity under John Major (also a native of the county), at St Andrews, where he completed his edueation, after which he engaged as a tutor in the family of Douglas of Longniddry. The energy of his character, and his zeal in the cause of the presbyterian church, are too familiar to every Scotsman to require any comment on this subject. He died at Edinburgh in 1572 in the 67th year of his age.

It has been generally imagined that Haddington was the birthplace of the reformer, in consequenee of a family of the name of Knox residing more than a century ago in a spot in the Nungate called the Giffordgate; but it is not evident that this family, even although they had been his relatives, dwelt in this place till twenty-six years after his death.

On the 18th February, 1598, Wm. Knox in Morehame, and Elizabeth Schortes, his wife, were infeft in subjects in Nungate of Haddington, in virtue of a crown charter. This charter (now in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss) eontains no statement of the warrants on which it proceeded further than that the lands formerly belonged to the abbacy of Haddington, and were annexed to the crown.—See M'Crie's "Life of Knox." There is a great probability that Knox was either born on the lands of Morham or the contiguous ones of Gifford. In a conversation with the Earl of Bothwell (when pleading for some favour) Knox gives the following account of his ancestors:—"My lord (says he) my great grandfather, gudeschair, and father, have served your lordship's predeeessors, and some of them have died under their standards; and this is a part of the obligation of our Scottish kindness." Mainshill, and the eastern part of Morham parish, belonged at the time Knox flourished to the Earls of Bothwell.

Beza, who was contemporary, and personally acquainted with the reformer, styles him "Joannes Cnoxus, Scotus, Giffordiensis," evidently meaning that he was a native of the town of Gifford. Spotiswood, who was born seven years before Knox's death, and who could gain information from his contemporaries, says that "he was born in Gifford, within Lothian;" and David Buchanan, in the memoir prefixed to the edition of "Knox's Historie," in 1677, gives the same account. In a Genealogical account of the Knoxes, in possession of the family of Mr James Knox, minister of Scoon, it is said the the reformer's father was a brother of the family of Ranferlie, and "proprietor of the estate of Gifford," which, although a palpable mistake, shews at least that he was connected with that district. We are told, on the other hand, by the advocates of awarding the honour of birth to Haddington, that Gifford, as a village, is of modern erection; but the same rule does not apply to the old term of Giffordha'. If it is necessary, however, that Knox should have been born at Giffordgate, on turning to the Peerage the reader will find one in the neighbourhood of Duncanlaw, which has escaped the notice of other writers on this subject. "Sir David Hay of Yester was served heir of his brother Thomas, (6th April 1434) and had a charter of Yester, Morham, Duncanlaw, and Giffordgate, in exchange for the barony of Teyling, in Forfarshire, from Robert Boyd, Kilmarnock, 10th January 1451-2." From all these circumstances we are led to believe that Knox was born on the lands of Gifford, wherever the hamlet might be situated.

Sir Peter Laurie, Knight, who some years ago was Lord Mayor of London, and is still distinguished as an active justice-of-peace in the courts of the metropolis, was born in the small farmhouse of Sandersdean, on the estate of Coalston, where his father was tenant. Sir Peter was bred a saddler; and it is believed that some favourable government eontract paved the way to his fortune. He early evinced considerable oratorial powers, with a talent for public business.

Richard Gall, a promising Scots poet, was born at Linkhouse, near Dunbar, in 1776, but received his education at the schools of Haddington, whither he had come at the early age of five years; and for which, in several of his poems, he breathes the warmest attachment. He was engaged at the early age of eleven as apprentice to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder, and who was shortly afterwards employed at the building of Gosford House. Gall, however, relinquished this business for that of a printer in the office of the "Edinburgh Evening Courant," where he was afterwards employed as travelling-clerk. Gall enjoyed the friendship of Burns, Macneill, Campbell, and other eminent Scotsmen, but he died before his promising

genius was fully ripened, in 1801, in the 25th year of his age.

Libraries.

Town of Haddington's Library.—This valuable library was established by Mr John Gray, episcopal minister of Aberlady, about the year 1717. As a mark of regard for the place of his nativity, he left the whole of his private library for the use of the community, together with 3000 merks Scots, the interest of which was to be devoted to charitable purposes, under the management of the magistrates and town-clerk. Of this sum 25 merks Scots was set apart for the support of the library. In 1807 the town-council voted a further allowance of L2 10s annually for the same purpose, when several additions were made; and, in 1828, the library was re-arranged and new catalogued by James Millar, and many valuable works added. The library (1843) consists of 1738 vols.

In 1738, April 18th, Hugh Bennet was allowed L1 1s sterling for cutting and setting up the town's arms on the library. A remarkable circumstance lately occurred in regard to one of the books which were amissing when the new catalogue was made. The "Westminster Hebrew Grammar," (Lond. edit. 1750) was returned to the librarian, under a post-office cover, after more than fifteen years absence.

Presbytery Library.—This library, which was the gift of a society of pious persons in London more than a century ago, is kept in an apartment of the parish church.—There is also a Parish Library established from the funds of the late Mr Andrew Begbie, farmer in Barnymains; and a branch of the East Lothian Itinerating Libraries, instituted in 1817, by the late Mr Samuel Brown.

There is an excellent Subscription Library, which contains upwards of 1000 volumes of miscellaneous literature.

CHAPTER VI.

"Commerce brought into the public walk
The busy merchant; the big warehouse built;
Raised the strong crane, and choak'd the loaded street."—Thomson.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—MARKETS—THE WOOLLEN TRADE — BANKING. — PRINTING.—DISTILLERIES.—REVENUE OF THE BURGH.—PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS — LIBRARIES — SOCIETIES.—CLUBS. — LODGES. — MUTUAL RELIEF ESTABLISHMENTS. — AGRICULTURE — GENTLEMEN'S RESIDENCES.—POPULATION.

Situated in a rich agricultural district, Haddington has been reckoned amongst the greatest markets in Scotland for all kinds of grain. It is held on Friday, when the crowd and bustle of that day form a striking contrast to the monotony of the rest of the week. The prices are not only published in the newspapers for the guide of other counties; but the method of striking the fiars, which was introduced by Mr Sheriff Law, has been held in such repute, as to be referred to by high judicial authorities in settling disputes. The modern traffic of Haddington, consequently, depends chiefly on its corn market.

In early times tanning seems to have been a trade of great importance in the burgh; for, in 1296, Alexander le Barker, the provost, swore fealty to the king. About the end of the seventeenth, and during the last century, the manufacture of woollens was entered into by many speculators with indifferent success. [During the protectorate of Cromwell, an English company, of which one Colonel Stanfield was the principal person, expended a considerable amount of money in establishing a manufactory of fine woollen cloths. For this purpose they purchased some lands formerly belonging to the monastery of Haddington, erected fulling mills, dyeing houses, etc., and called the name of the place New Mills. After the restoration, several Scots acts of parliament were made for the encouragement of this company; and Colonel Stanfield had the honour of knighthood conferred on him. Sir James Stanfield, as we have narrated, was found barbarously murdered. After his death the manufactory declined, and the affairs of the company going into disorder, Colonel Charteris purchased their lands and houses, and changed the name of it from Newmills to Amisfield. Under the auspices of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, (one of the senators of the college of justice), a company was established at Haddington in 1750, for carrying on the woollen manufactory; but the trade proving unsuccessful, the company was dissolved and a new one formed, consisting in part of the former members, by whom it was continued on a smaller scale. This company was also dissolved in 1775, and the business was then carried on by Mr Sawers, clerk to the former company. By him, broad cloths, flannels, and particularly blankets, were manufactured, which last were esteemed equal in quality to those of Whitney, in Oxfordshire. On the death of Mr Sawers in 1787, the house and utensils were purchased by Mr William Wilkie, by whom a manufactory of coarse woollens was begun. Many weavers in the Nungate also carried on a similar manufacture; but they soon diminished.] In 1815-16 an extensive distillery was erected in the West-mill Haugh, which promised to be of great benefit to the burgh; but, unhappily, from com-

mercial difficulties, this work was suspended about fourteen years after its erection. The immediate trade of the burgh now consists chiefly in the exportation of wool and in the tanning and currying of leather,—in the manufacture of agricultural implements and furnishing-ironmongery,—in the preparing bone and rape cake for manure, and the sale of seeds. There are also two extensive breweries in the town,—a coach-work in the neighbourhood, and an iron-forge at Rosehall. There is also a distillery for whisky in the Nungate, and a brewery. In conclusion, we may remark, as a criterion favourable to the trade of Haddington, that there are at present three banking branches, and three printing-offices.

[Haddington Distillery.—In 1806, 20th Feb., Mr Andrew Taylor, distiller at Linton, made offer of L20 per acre, for two acres of land in the West-mill Haugh, on condition that he was granted a lease of three nineteen years, for the purpose of erecting a distillery, with dwelling-house and other necessary buildings. This ground lay at the west end of the bleachfield, where the present distillery now stands; and he made a further offer of L6 per acre for the bleachfield. This offer not being accepted, Mr Taylor erected a distillery at Westbarns. In 1815, August 3rd, the town-council agreed to grant a lease of the bleachfield to Mr Archibald Dunlop, for the erection of a distillery, at a rent of L50 yearly, or of a conversion of wheat at the highest fiars, should the town think it advisable at the end of seven years. The lease to endure for 99 years certain, and to terminate at that period should the town pay the value of the buildings then on the ground; but should this arrangement be declined, the lease to extend to other 99 years, after which the buildings to be given up without any allowance whatsomeever. This extensive building was completed by January 1817, when it was inspected by the magistrates and a committee of the council, who highly approved of the improved principles on which the work was executed, and the suitable and powerful means adopted in the interior for carrying every operation into effect.]

The revenue of the town of Haddington averages from L1300 to L1500 per annum, arising chiefly from customs, tacks of corn mills, feus of land, etc. In 1843, it amounted to £1392 sterling.

The following is a comparative value of the Town's Patrimony for nearly 200 years back, in sterling money:—

	1669.	1833.	1843.
Two corn mills and kiln at the West-mill,.....	£177 11 6	348 0 0	392 6 0
Port and anchorage of Aberlady,.....	47 18 0	360 14 0	1 19 0
Tron weights, stands of Crossgate, and meal, salt, and fish markets,	38 16 8	27 5 0	15 7 6
Waulk mill and West Haugh,.....	32 6 0	78 0 0	
Feus of lands (including L70 for Distillery park),			110 6 0
Stands in the flesh market,.....	8 15 0	50 0 0	38 0 0
Shops in front of the flesh market,.....			12 0 0
Wheat and pease markets,.....	7 3 4	133 0 0	133 15 0
Bear, malt, oat, and pock markets,.....	10 0 6	49 10 0	70 7 6
Easter Haugh,.....	2 10 0	16 10 0	16 0 0
Bowling green (the ground not to be broken),.....	1 5 0		7 2 0
Customs — West Port L144 10s.—South and S. East L75 25s.—North and N. East ports L116 15s,.....	..	..	337 0 0
Steel-yard,.....	..	..	9 0 0
M'Call's park (nurseries),	..	..	47 13 10

Banks.—The Bank of Scotland was established in Edinburgh, by a charter from William III. in 1695; and first issued notes in 1704. A branch was established in Haddington towards the end of the last century, when Mr Wilkie of Gilchriston was appointed agent. He was succeeded by Mr Hay Smith. The agency next devolved on Messrs Alexander Fraser & Son, who were succeeded by Messrs Archibald Todrick & Son, the present agents. A branch of the East Lothian Bank was established here in 1810, under the agency of Mr George Banks. This company was dissolved in 1822, in consequence of Borthwick, the cashier at Dunbar, absconding with bills and specie to a considerable amount. The branch of the British Linen Company was then established at Haddington, under the management of Messrs William & John Ferme; and a branch of the Western Bank of Scotland in 1836, under the agency of Mr William Dods.

Post Office.—There is a branch of the Edinburgh Post Office in Haddington, under the management of Mr Peter Martine. The London and Edinburgh mails (1844) arrive and depart at midnight. The Haddington and Dunbar post-bags are also forwarded by the stage coaches.

Tax Office.—Mr Hugh Fraser, Haddington is collector of land and assessed taxes for the county and burghs, and distributor of stamps.

Excise.—The excise board, which sits at Haddington, where the collector resides, comprehends with the county, the districts of Dalkeith, Pennycuik, Kelso, and Dunse.

Public Markets.—The present Flesh Market was erected from a plan of Mr James Burn, in April 1804, and does credit to his talents as a useful architect. The estimate amounted to L1350; but in order that the front might be built with Craigleith stone, and the cornice and blocking course, etc.,

of Redhall stone, 140 guineas were added to the contract, making about L1500. The two shops in front (which are now let for L6 each) were at first let, conjunctly, on a lease of seven years, at L30 sterling per annum.

Haddington Mills.—The new West Flour Mill is a handsome building, and was erected in 1842-43 from a plan and specification of Mr Robert Bridges, engineer, North Berwick. Mr Thomas Hardie, Haddington, was contractor for the mason work, and Mr Robert W. Smiles for the carpenter work. The machinery was furnished by Messrs James Millar & Co., Edinburgh. The building, including mason and wright work, slater's, plumber's, and smith's work, quarried stones, paving, etc. cost L1377 16s 4d, of which L463 16s 2d was charged for the machinery, which is of a very superior description. The East Flour Mill, at Poldrate, has been renovated within the last two years, and also considerably improved. The new West Mill has let for L300.

Printing.—The first printing press in East Lothian was erected by Mr G. Miller, publisher, Dunbar, in 1795. It was removed to Haddington in 1804, from being a more centrical situation for the county. In 1813-15, a series of cheap publications issued from this press, which the Messrs Chambers, in their Gazateer of Scotland, consider "as undertakings in advance of the age." Of the Cheap Magazine, the first of these works, which was circulated through the whole of Scotland and in London, from 15,000 to 20,000 copies were printed; and Haddington beheld the novel scene of three printing-presses in motion. This publication, which was followed by the Monthly Monitor, was rather of an instructive than literary nature; both of which were written chiefly by the publisher himself, and Mrs Grant of Duthil (the sister of Sir Neil Campbell, who accompanied Napoleon to Elba), a lady who, from pure benevolence, lent her gratuitous services. As a proof of how much these publications were considered to answer the object they had in view, they gained the approbation of men of such opposite tenets as the celebrated Wilberforce and Robert Owen. In 1820 the East Lothian Register or County List was projected and published by James Miller, the "Remarkable Events" of which laid the foundation of the present History of Haddington. The county list is still continued by Messrs G. Neill & Son. In 1822 and 28, Mr George Tait published a monthly miscellany, entitled the East Lothian Magazine, which partook of a literary character; but the county town is situated too near the fountainhead of letters in the metropolis for such publications to succeed. In February 1836, Mr James Allan, Haddington, commenced the original East Lothian and Berwickshire Advertiser, a four-page quarto, devoted to advertisements, which is published on the first Friday of the month, and of which 2000 copies are circulated gratuitously. In January 1838, Messrs Neill & Son commenced a similar publication, which is issued on the last Friday of the month.

Stage Coaches.—The first coach of this description, which ran exclusively between Dunbar and Edinburgh, was started by Mr Henry Laidlaw in October 1804. Previous to this period, however, there were Haddington coaches, the first of which, "The Fly," started from the Blue Bell inn. This vehicle was met with a coach from Edinburgh, at Dolphingston, where they mutually exchanged their passengers. Mr Laidlaw's coaches were succeeded by Mr John Steele's "Enterprise" and other coaches. There are now two coach companies. The journey from Dunbar to Edinburgh, which formerly occupied five hours is now accomplished in less than three.

United East Lothian Agricultural Society.—The East Lothian Agricultural Society was instituted in 1819, by the exertions of several influential and talented agriculturists in the county. Previous to this period, in 1804, a Farming Society had been established at Salton by General John Fletcher, with a similar object in view; but after the death of its patron the object was neglected, and the place of meeting was found inconvenient to the generality of its members. The funds had also accumulated to the amount of L700. To form a junction with this society, therefore, became a desirable object with the new institution, which was effected through the consent of the present Mr Fletcher of Salton. The chief objects of this society are to encourage an improved system of cropping; the introduction of a superior breed of horses, cattle, and sheep; ploughing matches, improved cottages, etc.; and for the encouragement of competitors, public shows are held at stated periods, and premiums awarded. The Society's rooms are at Haddington, where they have a good agricultural library. The meetings are chiefly held at Haddington; and occasionally at Dunbar, Salton, and Gifford. The funds of the Society arise from the contributions of members, who are admitted by ballot, on paying, at least, 10s 6d yearly,—and from the interest of L500, originally bequeathed by General Fletcher. The Marquis of Tweeddale is president.

The New Club.—This club was instituted in 1810. The principal nobility and landed gentlemen in the county constitute its members, who are admitted by ballot, and pay L2 2s yearly. There are four meetings

in the year, held in the George Inn, Haddington. Amongst the honorary members were the late Earl Cathcart, K.T., and Lord Gillies, and Lord Meadowbank, of the court of session.

There is also a Haddington Bowling Club, instituted in 1709,—a Curling Club,—and an East Lothian Rifle Club, instituted in 1841.

Masonic Lodge.—The Haddington St John's Kilwinning Lodge, (No. 57) is of some antiquity, having a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 28th December 1599. It has had several respectable office-bearers, and is decorated with portraits of three of them—Sir John Sinclair of Stevenson, Bart., painted by Deans in 1777; Francis, fifth Lord Elcho, painted by Jamieson in 1807; and the late William Ferme, Esq., painted by Watson in 1823.

The Ancient Fraternity of Gardeners in East Lothian have a lodge in Haddington, which was founded previous to 1676. The annual procession of this once respectable body, accompanied by "Jock in the Green," was, in former times looked forward to with considerable interest by the juvenile part of the community, while the "hare feast" was contemplated with equal pleasure by the veterans of the lodge.

The modern East Lothian Horticultural Society has acquired much of the interest which was attached to the ancient institution.

School of Arts.—This institution was established in Haddington in 1821, with the view of promoting a knowledge of the arts and sciences. The town contributed L10 towards purchasing a chemical apparatus in aid of this laudable object.

Odd Fellows.—The "Tyneside Lodge (No. 3429) of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity," was instituted 24th January 1843.

The East Lothian Mutual Assurance, or Friendly Society, was established in 1830. —There are two "Yearly Haddington and Nungate Benefit and Savings Societies," which consist, one of 154, and another of 164 members.

Charities and Mortifications.—In 1735 William Wood left L50 sterling to the poor of Haddington. In 1737, Captain Seton bequeathed L160 for the same benevolent object. In 1742 a workhouse was opened for the poor, when seven directors were appointed. In 1774, John Hume, a native and carrier in Haddington, bequeathed to the magistrates that tenement at the foot of the High Street (which bears a plate marking the height of the flood) for the purpose of annually binding one of the inhabitants of the town as an apprentice, at the rate of L8 sterling,—the surplus of the rents to be applied to pious and charitable purposes. In 1801, Mr David Gourlay bequeathed the interest of L1290 to the parochial ministers in aid of the industrious poor. In 1822, Feb. 6th, Miss Margaret Burton, Linton, presented to the town-council a donation of L100 for the Haddington Female Society, at the rate of 5 per cent. interest. In 1812, 2nd May, it was agreed, that the magistrates, treasurer, and town-clerk, should distribute annually, between Christmas and Whitsunday, 12 guineas among reduced burgesses.—The sum to be augmented to 15 guineas when the property tax should cease.

Agriculture.—The system of husbandry pursued in the parish of Haddington, is in accordance with the most approved method adopted in the Lothians. The farms are considerable in size; as a proof of which they are farmed by one-half of the number of tenants which occupied them in 1789. Since the time that Andrew Meikle perfected the thrashing machine, and improved our town mills, the implements of husbandry have been considerably improved, and the plough which, in East Lothian, 300 years ago, was dragged by eight oxen, has long been forgotten, and has given place to the lighter iron instrument guided by two horses. Yet so difficult is it to wean men from their opinions, that it was not till the beginning of last century that any material improvement was made in the culture of the soil. Mr John Walker, tenant in Beanston, in this parish, first discovered the usefulness of fallow,—one Hay in Aberlady planted the potato,—Mr Wight, farmer, Ormiston, introduced horse-hoeing husbandry,— Lord Elibank and Sir Hew Dalrymple made known the practice of hollow draining,—the two Cunninghams were the first to straighten ridges,—and John, Marquis of Tweeddale, and Sir George Suttie were the earliest essayists of turnip husbandry,—while Rennie of Phantassie converted his farm into a garden in appearance, and Brown of Markle taught what the other practised. The improved rotation of crops sprung up amidst these improvements, and drainage and manuring followed in their train. The system of tile-draining, which has become so universal, was introduced by Mr John Howden, Ugstone, more than twenty years ago. The Agricultural Society called the attention of our farmers to the rearing and feeding of stock, in which Mr John Brodie, Abbeymains, and other gentlemen in the county, have been greatly distinguished. Mr Patrick Shirreff, formerly of Mungoswells, introduced the Hopetoun oat.

Gentlemen's Residences. — Amisfield House, the residence of Lord Elcho, is situated within a mile of Haddington, on the

south-east bank of the Tyne. It was built by the Earl of Wemyss about 1760; and afterwards enlarged from a plan of Mr John Henderson, in 1785, when the wings of the house and other improvements were added. The gallery contained several capital paintings, some of them having cost from 800 to 1000 guineas, amongst which is the Crucifixion of Imperiali. The pictures have been mostly removed to Gosford. Stevenson, about a mile eastward on the banks of the Tyne, is the seat of Sir John Gordon Sinclair, Baronet. Lennoxlove (the ancient Lethington), is the seat of Lord Blantyre. The old square tower of this mansion was built by the Giffards of Yester; and as a specimen of the strong and lofty is scarcely matched by any fortalice in Scotland. It rises from the ground perfectly level, and is surrounded by the minuter beauties of shrubberies and the flower-garden. This place was long the favourite residence of the Maitland family. Amongst the paintings a full-length portrait of Sir Francis Theresa, Duchess of Lennox (one of the beauties of Charles the Second's court), by Sir Peter Lely, has been much admired. There are also some admirable family portraits, two of Queen Mary, the admirable Crichton, the Marquis of Montrose, and Lord Belhaven. Southward from Lethington is the mansion house of Coalston, the seat of the ancient family of Brown of Coalston, now belonging to its representative, through the maternal line, the Earl of Dalhousie. This place is celebrated for containing a remarkable heir-loom of the family in the shape of an enchanted pear. Eastward is the elegant modern mansion of Monkrigg, the seat of the Hon. Captain Keith, R.N., which was erected in 1835. On the north of the Tyne is the beautiful estate of Clerkington, the seat of Sir Robert Houston, K.C.B.; the ancient barony of Letham, the property of Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart.; Alderston, the seat of James Aitchison, Esq.; and Huntington, the property of John Ainslie, Esq.