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## Story of the King of Ireland and his Two Sons

[This story was written down in Gaelic and translated into English by the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell, of Tiree, who is also the author of the notes. See *The Story of Conal Grund* in *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. I. p. 300; also *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; collected entirely from Oral Sources*, Glasgow, 1900, and *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1902.—Ed. *S.H.R.*]

THERE was a king of Ireland, and he had one son by his first wife and one son by his last wife.* One day 'Trouble the House' came in and said to his wife, 'You better put the oldest son out of the way, for when the children grow up he will have everything, and your son will have nothing.' The mother said she was quite as well pleased at that as though her own children would have it. She, 'Trouble the House,' began at her, and went on till she persuaded her to agree to the destruction of the boy, but the stepmother said she did not know how to get it done. 'I will not be long finding a way,' said 'Trouble the House.' 'Have you not always a warm drink for him when

* This story is to be fallen in with in fragments under various names, some of which have made their way into books. Portions of it have been called 'The Knight of Riddles,' some 'The Lad with the Skin Covering,' and some 'The Hero of the White Shirt.' The following version is adopted as giving in an intelligibly consecutive form the incidents which have been thus handled; and will be of value as showing how a *sgeulachd* or work known to be pure imagination is distorted or twisted to suit the narrator's or audience's fancy. It is difficult to affix any date or even probable date to the origin of this story. We hear in it of the King of Ireland, 'the Knight of the Harvest Field, Fionn MacCumhail,' the leader of the Fian host, of the Druids and their enchantments, and it may be as old as the origin or activity of the human race.

he returns from school?' 'Yes, I have,' she said. 'I will make for you a drink and we will put poison in it, and whenever he drinks it he will be dead,' said 'Trouble the House.'

The young brother was overhearing, and took good notice of what he heard, and was looking out for his brother's return. When he saw him coming, he ran to meet him. He met him in the middle of a snow shower, and said to him, 'Brother, dear, sit down, for I have a story to tell you.' 'I will not,' said the brother, 'walk home, and the day so stormy.' 'I will not walk home,' said the youngest, 'Sit down, do you know what my mother is going to do to you? she is going to poison your drink to-day, and you will not go in any more; they are for killing you, and you must not for all you ever saw take a drink.' 'Why is she going to do that?' said the older brother. 'It is,' said the younger brother, 'lest you get the whole estate, and that I have nothing when my father dies.' 'Go you away home, my good lad,' said the older brother, for I will not go home any more.' 'I will not,' said the youngest, 'but wherever we are there we shall be,' and, said he, 'I will put the drink past you, and you will not get it to drink it.' They went home. When they reached home, the step-mother rose to meet them with the drink. 'Drink that, darling!' she said, 'for you are cold.' He was going to take it, but the young brother rose, caught the dish, and threw it out with everything it contained. His mother went after him, but did not catch him.

Night now came, and they went to sleep. They were not long asleep, when the young brother rose. 'Are you awake, brother?' he said, 'it is time for us to get on our clothes' (lit. to be drawing to us). They rose, and the younger brother took with him as much gold and silver as he could. When they went out they saw three ravens that were killed by the poison in the drink. The young brother said, 'Brother, mine, we will take these with us; we will not be the worse of them in our company,' and they went away, taking with them the birds. They reached a house where there was only an old man, from whom they asked a kettle to boil the birds. They got this, and when the birds were ready, the young brother took the kettle, and broke it against the wall of the house. 'Hoot! hoot!' said the old man, 'why did you do that?' 'Never you mind,' he said, 'I will give you its value,' and he gave him a handful of silver. He tied up the birds, and went away with his brother, the old man wishing them success.

They were journeying and ever moving on, when they came to a cave, in which there was every precious thing that could be thought of. They went in, but found no one there, but were not long until they saw a large band of men coming. 'Oho! brother mine,' said the young brother, 'they are coming, and if we were never dead before we will be now if they catch us, but I will go to meet them, and if you see that they kill me, you will make your escape.' He ran to meet them. 'Have you come?' said he, 'I am tired looking and searching for you.' 'Why are you looking for us?' said the leader. 'I heard,' he said, 'that you were heroes and brave men, and I wished to see you; and more than that, I knew you would be cold and hungry, and I wished to have food ready for you.' He took them in, and put them sitting at the table. There were twelve of them, and he made the birds into twelve pieces, and said that it was the way in his father's house to take the meat first, each one with his piece ready, waiting for word to begin. 'That is right enough,' said the leader. They had no sooner tasted the meat, than one fell here and another there of them dead. 'Out now, older brother, dear, and if we ever had now or before enough of this world, we have it now.'

They returned to the cave again, and passed the night cheerfully and joyfully. Next morning they went away, taking with them as much gold and silver as they could, and close upon dusk they saw a pretty white house, and the young brother said to the older, 'Do you know what house that is down there?' 'I do not.' 'That house is the house of the Knight of Riddles; it is there that we shall be to-night; he will set a puzzle for us, and if we are not able to solve it, our head will be on the stakes in front of his house in the morning.' 'Well, we will not go at all.' 'This is how it will be. I will be your servant lad, you will go with the knight, and I will go with the men-servants, and if he sets a question before you, say that it is beneath you to solve it, but that your servant lad will solve it.' They did this. The knight set the older brother a question, and he said that he had a man-servant with him who would solve the question. 'Get your servant lad up here.' He came instantly, and solved the question. 'Well,' said the knight, 'my head is now as white as lint, and many a one had his head put on the stake for the question, but I never got it solved till to-night.' 'I will now set you a puzzle; try if you can solve it,' said the young brother. 'Let me hear it,' said the knight.

'A wife made a drink for one, the drink killed three, the three killed twelve, and two escaped.' The knight began to think. He went through the questions and through the books, and though he would be going through them to the day of judgment, he would be unable to make anything of it. 'If you have not the question solved before twelve o'clock to-morrow, your own head will be on the stake,' said the young brother. The king had only one daughter, and he sent her to them to say that they would get this much of gold and the same of silver, and the half of his kingdom as long as he lived, and his daughter if they would tell the solution of the question. The young brother said to her that they were only throwing gold and silver on the highways, and that that would not solve the question, and 'brother, it will be as well for you to marry the daughter, we are only wanderers, and in trouble here at any rate.' 'I suppose,' said the elder brother, 'that that is as well.'

The end of the matter was that they settled at this, and a day was set apart for the marriage. When the entertainment was going on an ugly creature came in, and went past the table. The young brother rose, and said to the oldest, 'Rise, brother, and let us tear it in pieces for daring to come to disparage us.' After it they went, and one of them took hold of it by the ears and the other by the tail. It rose up in the air with them. The eldest brother looked down, and he could only see the ground as small green specks. He let go his hold, and where did he fall but in the park of the fed wild boars of Fionn MacCumail. He was greedy for food, and he killed one of the boars and skinned it whole. He had steel for striking fire, and flint. He put the red side of the skin inside and the hairy out. When he had kindled a fire he began to roast the meat. Fionn was lying sick, and he asked the overseer of the wild beasts to look out. When he did so, he saw that it was the best boar that Fionn had that was killed, and he told Fionn this, and that under its skin was a bothy, with smoke from it, and the appearance of the man. 'Out,' said Fionn, 'twelve men of you, and bring him here with you, whoever he may be.' When they reached, they called to him to come out, till they would put him in a coil of rope. He said he would not, till he ate enough of the boar to satisfy him. They then went in with the coil of rope to take him out. He jumped up, caught the coil, opened it, threw it round them, tightened them altogether like a bundle of straw, and threw them at the back of the bothy. Fionn was feeling it long; they were

not coming back. He asked the man beside him to look out to see what was keeping them. When he returned, he said, 'The smoke the one in the bothy had was getting larger and larger.' 'Out,' said Fionn, 'other twelve of my men, and whoever it is, bring him here.' They went, and called on him to come out. He said he would not till he ate enough, and he caught them, tied them together, and threw them at the back of the bothy. When Fionn was told the smoke was still increasing, he said, 'He must be a powerful man-at-arms.' He rose, went at once, and found his own warriors tied. He put in his hand, got hold of the man who was inside, and took him out to the waist. The other then caught hold of Fionn, pulled him in the same length, and threw him on the other side of the fire in the bothy. Fionn thought he was far from his friends and near his enemies, and said to him. 'Hold on your hand, strong lad, you may take of the food as much as you like,' and asked his name. 'My name,' he said, 'is the Lad of the skin covering.' 'Take service with myself,' Fionn said. 'I will only ask you to do what you like, and that you will let my men home safe.' He untied the men, and let them go away. When he himself reached Fionn's house he was well, and very well received. They were passing the time that way, and agreeing well. When he went to the barn the work he had was throwing the men from hand to hand over the rafters, one on the palm of each hand.

One day then who should come in but 'Trouble the House.' She said to him, 'Are you not the one man who has the biggest wages, and is of the smallest use, that any one ever saw or heard of?' He gave her a slap in the face with the tip of his finger, and she went off with a querulous cry where Fionn was. 'Did I not tell you to avoid that man; that he was dangerous?' Fionn said. 'Kill him then,' she said. 'How can I do that?' Fionn said. 'I will send him to a place that he will never return from,' she said. 'Where is that?' said Fionn. 'To the "Master of the Field of Glass," to find out why he was for seven years without speech or cheerfulness or laughter.' Fionn was very desirous of hearing this, and he went to him to see whether he would go. 'I will do that, if any one will go to shew me the way.' 'I will send any one but "Trouble the House."' 'I will not take any one but her.'

They were going together when she said, 'There's the house before you, and go to it yourself.' 'Will you not go yourself any further than that?' 'No,' she said. He saw a peat-bog a

gun-shot distance before him, and he gave her a lift and threw her into the pond until there was only the two eyes and the two eyebrows to be seen of her. 'Be you there,' he said, 'and whatever happens to me, you will know what will happen to yourself before you leave that.' He went on, and found the 'Knight of the Field of Glass'[1] sitting at the fireside. They attacked each other, and where the ground was hardest they sank to the calfs of their legs, at the next throw to their knees, and in the softest place to their waists. He began to think he was far from his friends and near to his enemies, and he gave a joyous, lightsome lift to the 'Knight of the Field of Glass,' put him on the broad of his back, drew over a block and axe, and said to him, 'If you will not tell me why you are without speech, humour, or laughter for seven years, I will chop your head off on the block.' 'Hold your hand, and I will tell you that.' 'Let me hear it.' 'I will then.'

'I myself and my men were playing chess (?), when a mean, ugly creature came in past. I and my men caught hold of it, and it took us away till it left us in the Red Island near Iona.[2] They sent out my men to bring in a wild boar. It put its venom in them and killed them. The man of the house then put a griddle on the fire, and when it was hot, he put me sitting on it until I was burned to the bone, and that was what has kept me for seven years without speech, humour, or laughter.' 'It is a pity the creature would not come at this moment,' said the other. He hardly said the last word when the creature came in. 'Rise now,' said he. 'I will never rise after it,' said the 'Master of the Field of Glass.' 'Rise, or I will twist your neck like a hen's.' They both took hold of the creature, and it took them with it till it left them again in the Red Island near Iona. He sent the servantmen of the master of the island out to bring in a wild boar. The boar killed them, and he then put the griddle on the fire. When it was at white heat, he put the master of the house sitting on it till he was burned to death. He then saw three or four red women in a corner of the house, and he took an iron

[1] The knight here denoted is no doubt ice, and the effects of heat melted it and caused its disappearance.

[2] 'I' was taken by the reciters to be the island of Iona, and one reciter said 'Red Island' was near the west of it, but there is no islet large enough near the west of Iona to justify that supposition. Ai, Eye, or I is said to be the Nores name for an island, in which case the locality may be very distant, but the story being pure imagination, it may be any place or anywhere.

prong to kill them, but they called out, 'Forbear, and we will give you what will restore your men to life; we have a life-restoring stoup that will bring the men of the man who is with you to life.' They got the stoup, and said to the other, 'Tell me where your men are.' When he found them he sprinkled it on them, and they rose to life as they were before. They returned joyously, taking the men with them, and when they were parting, the 'Master of the Field of Glass' said to him, 'Whatever strait or difficulty comes to you, seek me, and there is not in the four red divisions of the globe any one who will withstand us both.' He left him, good-bye. Fionn looking out, whom should he see coming but the young man, and he said, 'It is I who might lay my wager on him, when I and my men could not manage him that all the world might give it up.'

He told Fionn what kept the 'Master of the Field of Glass' without speech, humour, or laughter for seven years, and went out to the barn as before, and began playfully to toss the men over the rafters as before. 'Trouble the House' came in, and said the same as formerly. He gave her a slap, and she went in, learning where Fionn was. He said to her, 'Did I not tell you to avoid him?' 'I will not avoid him,' she said, 'but I will send him this time to a place that he will not return from.' 'Where is that?' said Fionn. 'To the "Knight of the Yellow[3] Field," to seek the warrior's cup. No one, weak or strong, that ever went there came back alive.' Fionn sent for him. 'What is your wish, Fionn?' he said. 'That you go to the "Master of the Yellow Field," to ask for a while of the *ceatharnach* cup.' He said as before, that he would go, but would take no one alive but 'Trouble the House,' to show him the way. 'Now,' she said on parting, 'the house is up above you; I will not go any farther.' He did as before, and threw her into a peat-bog, but for all that happened to her, she got out of it. He kept on, and at an old ruin that was there he met a beggar, who asked him where he was going. He told him the place. The beggar said, 'Well, that is where I was last night, and when they see your appearance they will try to kill you, for these are a powerful, strong people, and no one ever went on the same errand that you are going on

[3] "The Yellow Field" is probably enough the Harvest Field. When the fields are yellow and ripening for ingathering one crop succeeds another, so that, like John Barleycorn, "They grow up again and sore surprise them all." The most powerful and longest lived man will in the course of time be worn out at such work.

that came back with a story, but they are very kind to beggars, and do you put my ragged clothes on and pretend that you are a poor man, and you will get in.' He did this, and went on, with a step now and then, jogging from side to side. When the 'Knight of the Yellow Field' saw him coming, he called to his men to go to meet him, for the beggar they had last night was nothing to this one, 'who has the appearance of having been at one time a warrior, though he has now fallen off so much.' One of the men went under each arm to help the poor man to the house. When he got a chance, he leant heavily on them, and broke and pounded their bones.

'The Knight of the Yellow Field' then asked his wife to bring the warrior's cup to give the beggar a drink out of it. 'It is as well for you to leave the warrior's cup where it is,' she said. 'Bring it as I ask it,' he said. The cup was brought, and the beggar with his hands and head trembling was taking a mouthful. When he got a chance, he jumped up, shook the house, and away he went. The other one cried out, 'Men, if you ever did it, try and get hold of the young man'; but there was not a sod of the green sward that he threw after him with his feet but was blinding those behind him, and they returned home; it defied them to get at him. He found the beggar where he left him. 'You have returned, brave man.' 'Yes,' he said, 'and I had need of your help.' He gave the poor man a handful, and they parted.

As Fionn was taking a look out, whom should he see returning but him. 'May I not be here,' said Fionn, 'if this is not himself returning; I might well wager that I could trust him.' He said to 'Trouble the House,' 'Did you not tell me that not one ever came alive from that place?' 'But I will send him,' she said, 'to a place that he will not return from.' He came, handed the cup to Fionn, and went to the barn as before. This day he gave 'Trouble the House' a bigger pelt, so that she was hardly able to stagger back. Fionn pitied her in the same way. 'Good Fionn,' she said, 'do you send him to the "Hero of the White Shirt"[4] to see what condition he is in, for he never wears but a white shirt on the coldest day of the year, when he goes to the deer forest and hunting hill.' The young man was sent for, and

[4] The Knight of the White Shirt is most probably snow, under the protection of which the earth is at all times safe. Game under its influence takes itself to the high hills, and is followed in all weather by the Knight of the White Shirt.

having asked Fionn what he wished with him, was told, and had the one to whom he was to go described to him. When he asked for some one to go with him, he was told he would get any one to guide him but 'Trouble the House,' who was nearly dead. 'I will not take but her.' 'She must go then,' said Fionn. They reached a ferry. 'There,' she said, 'is a coracle; it will take you across, and when you reach the other side, turn its face backwards and it will return itself.' 'And you will not go any farther?' he said. 'I will not,' she said, 'I am far enough.' He caught her and thrust her under the green sward, put a huge boulder over her to keep her down, and said, 'Be you there; you cannot now send me to another place.' He went over to the other side, and when he reached it, found two wives sitting at the highest part of the fairy hillock. He asked them where the 'Hero of the White Shirt' was. They told him that he was in the fairy hunting hill, and asked him to await his return. When the knight returned, he said to the women, 'You have a stranger to-night,' and when he got some food, he threw the stranger over six rafters, and the stranger threw him over eight; then he threw him again over seven, but the other threw him over ten. When the 'Knight of the White Shirt' saw that the stranger was the strongest, he had a large iron rod for singeing the birds, and he pulled it out of the fire to put it in him. The women cried out, 'Arrest your hand, "Knight of the White Shirt," it is your brother you have.' 'Is it my brother whom I have here?' he said. 'Yes, and we are long enough trying to keep you separate, we are the creature (huge monster) under spells that was at the marriage feast in the house of the "Knight of Riddles," and carried you and the "Knight of the Field of Glass" to the red isle of Ai, and restored the men to life. Your brother has always continued with us. We now part from you, and bid you good-bye.'

He then told his young brother the history, and how Fionn sent him away every time at the request of 'Trouble the House.' 'Here is a rod of gold,' said the 'Knight of the White Shirt,' 'and drive me before you to Fionn's house.' When Fionn saw them both coming, he and his men trembled with fear. He said to 'Trouble the House,' 'Did I not say to you that he could not be killed?' He welcomed them, and said, 'It is I that might trust my servant man,' and told him to come in and get his wages. 'Where is the warrior's cup?' the young man asked. 'Did you not leave it with myself?' Fionn said. Fionn then gave it to

him. The brothers returned to the house of the 'Knight of Riddles,' and a wedding feast that lasted a year and a day was provided. They then returned home, and found their father had become blind and deaf through grief. But he recovered one-third of his sight and hearing when they were first seen coming, the second as they came nearer, and all when they reached the house. The kingdom was settled on them. That was what happened to them on that occasion.

## Margaret Nairne;

### A Bundle of Jacobite Letters

THE national crisis that produced in Scotland the great-hearted men of Montrose and of the '15 and '45, produced also great-hearted women. Soldiers of a desperate cause, these mothers, wives, and daughters showed not only courage in hours of acute danger, but the resolute spirit of self-sacrifice that never shrunk under a life-time of adversity and of broken fortunes. True to the settled purpose of their lives, they accepted all hardships, all disabilities, all yielding of domestic security, as fruit of the high destiny to which they were called. Bright among the honoured names of those women who thus took part in the troubles of their country, is the name of Margaret Nairne. The daughter, the wife, the mother of men who bore distinguished part in the great struggle for the Stuarts, from the cradle to the grave all her interests, all her associations centred in the fortunes of that unfortunate family. Heroic blood ran in her veins, for she was the grand-daughter of Patrick Graeme of Inchbrakie, the gallant and faithful 'Black Pate' who followed in such splendid enthusiasm the sad and brilliant fortunes of Montrose. She was born to an inheritance of loyalty, to those traditions of honour and chivalry, which she was not only to exemplify in herself, but was to hand on to another and yet another generation.

Her father was Robert Nairne of Strathord. Born about 1620, he joined the Royal troops in 1651, and falling into the hands of the government at Alyth was imprisoned in the Tower of London for ten years. At the time of his capture he was betrothed to Margaret Graeme—a daughter of Black Pate. He endured six years of his imprisonment alone; but in 1657, she joined him, and they were married in the Tower, remaining together there till his release at the Restoration in 1661. On his return to Scotland he was made one of the Lords of Session,

and twenty years after he was granted a Peerage and the title Lord Nairne of Strathord.

All authorities agree in saying that the only child, Margaret, was born twelve years after the marriage of Robert Nairne and Margaret Graeme—and though I find a note in her own handwriting giving the date of her birth April 7th, 1673—sixteen years after her parents' marriage,—the register of Edinburgh gives the date of her baptism on October 17, 1669. The little daughter must have received a joyful welcome. No other child was born, so that when the title was bestowed on Robert Nairne —she being then eleven years old,—it was granted to her after her father 'and thereafter to any heir of her body by marriage with Lord George Murray,' or any of Atholl's younger sons. Robert Nairne died two years after, in 1683, and for seven years little Margaret was Baroness Nairne in her own right. We may suppose the child knew little of all the projects and disputes that went on during those years between her mother and the Atholl family regarding her marriage. Probably no choice would be given, or consent asked, even in the later stages of the negotiations. She was only seven years old when first she was contracted to the three-year-old Lord George Murray. The marriage was broken off some time later, on account of the bad state of the prospective bridegroom's health. He lived till his elder brother, Lord William, married the young Lady Nairne in 1690—dying the following year. Margaret was twenty-one at the time of the marriage, Lord William, who then in right of his wife, came into the title of Lord Nairne, was six years older. The marriage appears to have been a very happy one, and Margaret in the years that followed enjoyed the serenest moments her life was to know—before the enterprise of 1715 drew her husband into the activities of the Jacobite party.

Between 1690 and 1714 twelve children were born at Nairne —ten of these lived to take an active and distinguished part in the adventures of the '45. Devoted as was her own part in all that concerned the Stuarts, Margaret Nairne transmitted her principles of loyalty and self-effacement to her many children. The noble strain bequeathed by Black Pate of Inchbrakie met in these children with the equally heroic blood of Charlotte de la Tremouille, and of the gallant Lord Derby who laid down his life for the cause in 1651, of whom William Murray was the grandson. The Nairnes proved true to the traditions of their race. The exploits of John, the eldest son, born in 1690, are well

known to history both in the '15 and the '45. He paid for his loyalty with life-long exile. Robert was killed at Culloden. James, the only Whig of the family, was the only source of trouble to his mother; her letters speak of him as her 'lost sheep.' Of the daughters, Margaret married Lord Strathallan, a staunch Jacobite like herself. She suffered imprisonment after the '45. Amelia became the wife of Laurence Oliphant of Gask, who staked his all for the cause. Catherine married Lord Dunmore, one of those Jacobites sentenced and reprieved in 1746. Marjory married Duncan Robertson of Struan, and suffered with him a long exile. Charlotte was the ardent Lady Lude known to history. Louisa married the Jacobite Graeme of Orchill. Mary and Henrietta[1] died unmarried at Gask, and from their choice of such a home it can well be guessed what their principles were likely to be.

Brought up at Nairne by such parents, all thought, all tradition, all education were centred in developing their minds in one direction. Lord Nairne had never taken his oath to the government, or his seat in Parliament. He is described as a 'mighty stickler against the Union,' but the activities of his life did not begin until he joined the famous hunting party at Braemar, and threw himself heart and soul into the attempt of 1715. To his wife and his children such action must have seemed the only natural course, though it meant the sacrifice of the home, the beginning of broken fortunes and lost security.

A bundle of old letters,[2] long long ago put away and forgotten, throw here and there a side-light on the history of the Nairne family. Their interest lies in their domestic simplicity—a charm of far-off lost days brought nearer by an intimate personal note.

In 1709 Lord Nairne and his wife were building a new house —the old one had been partly destroyed by fire in 1706, 'everything lost except one looking-glass.' This new house, according to family records *(Jacobite Lairds of Gask)*, cost £5000, but as it was a large house, with a window for every day of the year, this estimate must be much under the real cost. It only stood till 1768, when it was destroyed—but Margaret did not live to see the day.

In March, 1711, Lord Nairne writes the following concerning his children's marriages:—'I have yours of the 5th March with

[1] Henrietta, born in 1714, lived till 1803.

[2] Now in the possession of the writer, and (with one possible exception) not hitherto published.

my brother Atholl's letter, and the list of the designed Justices of the Peace. I wish you had sent me your opinion about it, which should have been mine, for I am unacquainted with many of them, only I'll object against one, provest Rtson, who I know to be a tricky companion, and has lately given new proofs of it, as your son Willy will inform you, and how he has used me very ill in particular, aboute a man I designed for my brother Edward's company.

'I hope in God your son John will recover well of the Small-pox, my wife says tis a good signe they appear Red or firy. I'll send one of these days to enquire how he is, and then pray let me have your advice aboute the Justices of the Peace for I would write accordingly to my brother Atholl. Your son and daughter came here last week, and we have kept them till now, they go from here to-morrow morning and are to wait on you very soon. My wife and I have spoake to them fully about what we discoursed with you, they both appear to have a great desire to please and obey you in everything, being sensible 'tis much their duties, and I'm convinced their inclination, for they have both a large share of sense and goodnature. My wife undertakes for our Katherine and I no less for our Willy, that in everything they will make it their study to satisfy you and your lady, to whom both my wife and I sends our humble service, and I am ever, your most affate. cusin and humble servant,

NAIRNE.'

The Katherine here spoken of was born in 1702, and her brother William in 1700; it is evident that the father's allusions refer to projected marriages for these two children with their cousins.

Across the path of Margaret Nairne lay already the shadow that was to darken her days. Yet when the call to arms came, she would have been the last to withhold either husband or son—that they should be first in the field must have seemed a fulfilled ambition. On November 14, 1716, Lord Nairne and his eldest son were taken prisoner at Preston; on the 28th it is known that Lady Nairne left Edinburgh for Preston to see her husband and son; we must suppose she had her place in the pathetic procession which, to the lasting shame of the English Government, passed with ignominy through the streets of London to Newgate and the Tower. Fortunately Lord and Lady Nairne were assigned quarters in the Tower—John was sent to fever-stricken Newgate. The trial and condemnation of father and son

are matters of history. Some historians say that Lady Nairne was with Lady Nithsdale when she made her frantic appeal to the King. But it was by the intervention of Nairne's cousin, Lord Derby, that a reprieve was granted both for father and son.

Lord Nairne writes from his prison, on February 25, 1716, to the Duke of Atholl:

'Until I be really Dead I can never be nearer it than I thought myself yesterday, for just an hour before the time apointed for my going to execution, I got an account that ye King had been pleased to give me a reprieve to the 7th March; this I believe is much owing to my cusin Derby who has shewed himself a true friend to me.'[3]

Lady Nairne writes to her daughter, Lady Strathallan, on the same day, giving a very moving account of her husband's bearing under the terrible strain. She herself brought him the reprieve. Two of her daughters[4] came in while she was writing, greatly to her surprise, as since Lord Nithdale's escape 'all is keept with double strictness.' Lord Nairne writes again to the Duke on March 16th, 'I have twice escaped my execution, and Wedensday nixt is apointed for ye third time. What my fate is then to be, God only knows.'

The terms of the pardon seemed to Lord Nairne, thinking of his twelve children, the youngest only three years old, too hard to be accepted. The following letter is endorsed 'Copy Letter to the Earl of Derby by my dear Lord.' It is in the handwriting of Margaret.

Jully 17, 1716.

My Dear Lord,

Since I have not had the honour of seeing your Lordship I thought fit by this line to acquaint you with the reasons made me desire your favour. I understood there is a Bill passed ye House of Comons and twice read in ye House of Lords that disables the King from shewing any compassion to ye wives and children of any who have drawn forfeiture upon themselves. I can never think my wife and children ought to be put in a worse condition especially since the estate came to me by her. No man is more sensible how much I owe to your Lordship for your saving my life. But if I can hold it no other way, but by seeing my wife and children starve, I'll choose much

[3] *Chronicles of the Atholl Family.*

[4] One was Charlotte, afterwards Mrs. Robertson of Lude.

rather to loos it, than live a Witness to the Misery of my Famyly, and be as much indebted to your Lordship for using your endeavour to have my head struck off, as I was, formerly, to have it keapt on,—and when I have the honour to see your Lordship I'll convince you it is no flash but a firm and steady resolution, but while I have life I shall ever be, my dear Lord

Your Lps. most obliged and most obedient servant

W. MURRAY.

An Act of Parliament was passed in 1717 'to enable His Majesty to make provision for Margaret, Lady Nairne, out of her paternall estate, forfeited during the life of William Murray, late Lord Nairne, her husband.'

Lady Derby writes the following letter to Lady Nairne in the Tower:

Halnaker, Oct. 4th.

MADAM,

I was very glad to hear by your Ladyships kind letter that your good Lord and selfe with the rest of your good family, are well under your close confinement; if it were any way in my power to serve you, your confinement would soon be over. I do not know when my Lord intends to be in town. I hope Lady Collchester has bin so good-natured as to make you some visits in the Tower. I am glad that my cosen Nairne also continues well in his worse confinement. With my humble service to your Lord, your son and daughters is all from, dear Madam,

your most obliged humble servant

M. DERBY.

From this letter it appears as if the members of the Nairne family who had travelled from Scotland to bid their condemned father adieu, were now detained with him in the Tower. The unfortunate John Nairne was endeavouring to get his wretched quarters changed from one end of Newgate to the other, as he was confined in a room with four others, one suffering from malignant fever. His aunt, Lady Lovat, writes some particulars in a letter to Mr. Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre.

Edin., May 30, 1716.

I had a letter from my sister Nairne who desired with her service to you that you would be pleased to inquair what Robin Murray is doing and to give him your advice that he may be

diligent to gett up Rents quickly. She writes to my Lady Strathalan and me to advise our friends to make all the interest they can while ye Justice Clark is at London, for they think one thing he has gone for is to gett instructions about ye Gentlemen's tryalls here, which she says will be like ye laws of ye Meads and Persians, unalterable. My nephew Nairne has gott his indictment and was to appear yesterday and Mr. Bassell Hamilton, with 5 others. Philiphaugh went to Townsend to desire his brother-in-law might have leave to put in the other end of Newgatt from ye fever. He said he would if ye Phisitions would declare it was malignant, but next day when he went,—he refused it. . . . . . Curie has made his escape yesternight and was not mist till to-day at ten o'clock. Your son is sume better, but his Stitches comes and goes. Etc., etc.

Your most affate. humble st.

A. LOVAT.

This lady was Amelia, sister of Lord Nairne, wife of Hugh, 10th Lord Lovat, who was carried off by force by Simon, 12th Lord Lovat in 1697—for which he was outlawed. She writes another long letter to Lady Nairne in the Tower in July.

Edin. July 3rd.

I have two of yours, deare sister, which I was glad of, after your longer silence than usual, but especially your last to my Lord Strathalen with your good news of my dear Brothers getting a month reprieve, which I hope in God is a forerunner to his liberation. . . . . . Our Ministers were all silenced, soe last Sunday we had noe prayers nor sermon, but in one Meeting House one Minister was sike when the others cald. I think we are little obliged to the English Clarge that lets us be soe used, etc.

Ever yours.

Lord Nairne was set at liberty in August, 1717, and returned to his own house in Scotland in July, 1718. The family life began again, but under sadly impoverished conditions, the fearful strain of his condemnation and imprisonment must have been severely felt all the rest of his life. He was destined never again to strike a blow for the cause he loved. In 1722 he writes to his brother the Duke that he and his wife were just setting out for Glen Derby, his new house on the estate in the parish of Moulin, once called Glen Gynate. Another letter

concerns a curling match, another thanks for young trees for Glen Derby. Business letters seem to have been left to Margaret to write. He lived till 1726—it is almost certain his death occurred in February of that year. He was buried at Auchtergaven, the family burial-place.

Margaret Nairne outlived him for twenty-two years. Five of her children were already married, and the years must have been full of interest. She seems to have lived sometimes at Glen Derby and sometimes at Nairne House. Another letter from Lady Derby, undated, is addressed to her at Nairne House.

Halnaker, Jan. 19.

I take it as a great favour from good Lady Nairn that she will let me have the pleasure of hearing how it fairs with her and her good family. I am allso glad to hear that your Episcopal congregations increase and are so good Christians. I wish I could say we were so in South Britain; hear is great work in Treating and making interest for the choice of the next Parlimente and I believe it may be much the same with you in Scotland. It is to be hoped it will not be long before the Elictions are to be, for the continual feastings I fear will kill half the nation, besides the making the common people so very idle. . . . . I am glad to hear you have the satisfaction of seeing your daughters live in a happy comfortable way. Give my humble service to those I know and with my most hearty wishes for the prosperity of yourself and yours, I am, dear Madam,

your obliged cosen and humble servant

M. Derby.

The following letter is written by Margaret Nairne, Lady Strathallan, June 15, 1737, to her mother at Nairne House. Evidently the young sons of John, 3rd Lord Nairne, were staying with their grandmother, and some opposition was expected to their returning to their school at Perth. 'Nephew Harry' was John's eighth son, born in 1727.

'I have my dear Mothers. My Brother has grown every day easier than he was since Munday tho he halts still and cant walk much. My side thank God has been pretty easie. . . . . I told Sister Nairn* about Nephew Harry if he has got your dose of physick to-day, she thinks he may get the other in Perth and she begs your Ladyship will send them both into Perth to-

* Katherine Murray, wife of 3rd Lord Nairne.

morrow for she says it was her greatest grudge of coming here till once she got them sent to Perth. Both my brother and her desires your ladyship to send them in to-morrow, and the dose of physick to their Landlady to give Nephew Harry, and if 'tis not possible for your Ladyship to get them sent to Perth, Sister Nairne says she hopes you will send them to Stanley. I wish they were sent to Perth, for I think 'tis hard they should be from the Schooll longer. Both Brother and Sister Nairne wants much to have them in to Perth, and hopes your Ladyship will send them there to-morrow. Cultequhey will tell your Lordship how my brother is, he is to be at Dunkeld to-morrow night. I shall be sure to writt by Perth. I hope your Ladyship will do so too that we may hear how you gett up, and sister Hariot and how all at Lude are. I forgot to tell your Ladyship that last night they say it was a foot deep of snow on ye hills in our view. Brother Nairne is glad to hear there was rain at Stanley, we could not get him to believe it last night when our rain came on, that there was any.

Your Ladyships most humble duty
My dear Mothers,
most dutyfull and obedient Daughter

M. Strathallan.

It is interesting to know that Nephew Harry survived the physicking, as administered by his grandmother and his landlady, and lived to his 90th year.

The Duchess of Gordon, wife of the 3rd Duke Cosmo and daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen, writes the following letter to Lady Nairne in 1743:

Haddo House, Dec. 24.

'I only had the honour of your letter of the 7th instant some days ago. I am glad to hear that you are well and that Mrs. Murray is so well recovered again. I think myself very much obliged to your Ladyship for the particular concern your so good as to take in asking about the Marquess. I thank God I left him in good health on Thursday morning. He is bathed every morning in cold water, it seems to be quite easie to him, for he never cries or appears to be in the least disturbed with it. He gets meat in the morning and at night, either Bread Berry or Ale Berry but he hardly ever tastes it, but milk which is the only thing that he is fond of. I should make an apologie to your

Ladyship for writing so particularly about him, if you had not desired me to do it. The Duke and his sisters and I came to this place yesterday to keep our Xmas and we designe some time in Jan. to go to Edinburgh for a few weeks, so I hope to have the honour of seeing your Ladyship in the Spring, as the Duke and I intends to come home by Perth Shire. I am sorrie that we could not go, on that road, for the Duke has some business to do at Edin. which requires his being soon their. The Duke desyres to make his compliments to your Ladyship and family . . . . your Ladys most obedient

humble servant.

H. GORDON.

As for the news your Ladyship writes me of a Cationer, it is more as I know forgive this bad write Adieu.

The little Marquess was born June 18, so was six months old when this account was given. His strong sense in declining the Bread and Ale Berry may partly have contributed to the good old age he attained—he lived to be 83.

James, the 2nd Duke of Atholl, nephew of Margaret Nairne, had married Mrs. Lannoy. Their eldest child, Marquess of Tullibardine, was born and died in April, 1729. Two girls were born in 1730 and 1731. Four years later came another son and heir, born in March, 1735—the last of their children. Great were the rejoicings over the birth of this boy. 'The child is as tall as ever anybody seed a new born infant, and a very strong cry,' Lord George Murray writes. The neighbouring Lairds write to the Duke a round robin congratulating him on the 'thumping boy.' Dunkeld was illuminated, and a Procession of Freemasons celebrated the event 'the fraternity in their aprons made a circle about the Bonfire, crosst arms, shook hands, repeated healths, and a Marquess for ever.' [5] He lived only a few months. The following letter from his Mother to Lady Nairne is dated from London, Feb. 24th, 1736:

MADAM,

I cannot express the agony of my soul for the loss of my Dearest Boy. I have not only the heart breaking sorrow of a Mother's heart but the grief and anguish to see my dear lord oppressed with affliction, which adds to my sorrow. Almighty God enable us to bear this great triall with due submission to

[5] *Chronicles of the Atholl Family.*

his Divine Will. We lookt upon the Dear child as a gift and blessing preserved by the imediate interposition of Gods great mercy to us, but now alas he is knatcht from us and our fond hopes are blasted its impossible for me to say more on this melancholy subject, its a point to tender for me att present. I return your Ladyship a thousand thanks for your tender care and concern of my dear children and beg you'll make my thanks and most humble service to lord Nairne and all your young ladys. Miss Lannoy [6] begs leave to offer her compliments to your Ladyship and family, and I am with the greatest respect

Madam, your Ladyships
most obedient and
most humble servant

J. ATHOLL.

Margaret was evidently the tender friend to whom many turned in the hour of trouble, but she was also a woman of strong character and influence over men. It was from the living influence of their Mother that the Nairnes drew their Jacobite principles, and the fortitude to put these into practice. All her life she had drawn men to follow the hazardous path on which her own feet were so stedfastly set. The Duke, her brother-in-law, writing to Lord James Murray of Garth, says: 'I hope you will have as little to do with my Lady Nairne as possible, for there cannot be a wors woman. I impute the ruine of my 3 sons to her artifices.'

It is not easy to-day to sympathise with the Duke's point of view, but he thought he witnessed in the career of William Lord Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murray, the disgrace of the name and lineage that we now think they covered with glory. Had the eyes of Margaret Nairne been fixed upon the future verdict of history, instead of singly on the fortunes of the Stuarts, she could not have better trained the heroic band of her sons and daughters. Although she saw misfortune overtake family after family, as they fell in the general ruin that followed the '45, she could have suffered no pang of regret for the training that made it possible. Her life, which had flowed evenly since the death of her husband, knew all its bitterest sorrows at its close. She lost none of her twelve children till 1743, when the sailor son, William, died at sea off the coast of St. Helena; and she had the humiliation of knowing that her son James fought on the wrong side. But hope and joy came in old age too—she

[6] A daughter of the Duchess by her first marriage.

shared in the passionate enthusiasm of the '45, and welcomed Prince Charlie himself at Nairne House, the day before he entered Perth. She saw two of her sons, John, Lord Nairne, and Robert throw in their lot with the gallant and perilous enterprise. Her lofty spirit could never have stooped even to an unspoken wish that they had chosen differently. She saw John, attainted and ruined, passing into an exile that, for him, was never to be at an end. She knew that Robert died at Culloden—where he lies now in the indistinguishable moorland graves. There fell also her son-in-law, Lord Strathallan. Another son-in-law, Laurence Oliphant, ruined and attainted, went into exile. A third, William Murray, was arraigned and condemned for high treason. The families of both her daughters Marjory, Mrs. Robertson of Struan, and Charlotte, Mrs. Robertson of Lude suffered an exile that lasted over thirty years. Not the least of her bereavements was the death of William, Lord Tullibardine, in the Tower—he whose loyalty and self-surrender in the cause had perhaps been first set alight by her own example and influence. His sister, Lady Mary Murray, writes her the following letter:

18 July, 1746.

DEAR MADAM,

We are very sensible of your Ladyship's sympathy with us. The Marquess was indeed all your Ladyship says of him which may give his friends great comfort as we are sure of his happiness and makes us less regret his leaving a world of troubles. Mama offers her most humble service to your Ladyship, and our sincere compliments to the young ladys who I hope are well and the rest of your Ladyship's friends. I am with duty and respect your Ladyships

most obt. humble servt.

MARY MURRAY.

Mama got a letter yesterday from London acquainting her of my Dear Brother's death on the 9th, and that the Governor had offer'd the Chapel for the corps to be deposited and the Lieutenant Governor takes on him the management of the funeral in a private way. We were very well assurred that had it pleased God to spare his life he would never have suffered. But he is far happier.

Margaret Nairne did not long survive the bitter griefs of her old age. She died at Nairne House in 1747. 'You're not to

lament her,' writes Laurence Oliphant to his wife, 'as she is happy, free of the solicitous cares of this worthless world, and I believe now knows the events that are to happen to our country and what regards it, which I pray God may be, and they *will* be, suitable to his infinite Goodness.'

The countless descendants of Margaret Nairne may boast a strain of blood as heroic as any that made the olden Scotland the scene of perilous and unforgotten deeds. Not in one generation, or in two, was quenched the stedfast light she set burning. Even when the Cause to which her life had been devoted had taken its tragic place in history among the lost Causes, one of her blood and her name [7] sang the sad and beautiful songs that were to help to make it immortal. She had learned in suffering what another voice was to teach in song.

E. MAXTONE GRAHAM.

[7] Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, was *doubly* the great-granddaughter of Margaret Nairne.

# The 'Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray

*The Reign of Edward II., as recorded in 1356 by Sir Thomas Gray in the 'Scalacronica,' and now translated by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., continued.*

FROM this time forward[1] the King made a truce with the Scots for thirteen years. He kept himself quite quiet, undertaking nothing [in the way] of honour or prowess, but only acting on the advice of Hugh le Despenser so as to become rich, he [Hugh] keeping for himself as much as he could seize of the lands of the aforesaid forfeited barons.

In his [Edward II.'s] time the commons of his realm were wealthy and protected by strong laws,[2] but the great men had ill will against him for his cruelty and the debauched life which he led, and on account of the said Hugh, whom at that time he loved and entirely trusted. Nevertheless, the said Hugh by their influence was arraigned before a parliament at York in presence of the King, [but] against his will; also others of his intimates whom he loved [were] removed from their offices by them, who then by their decision caused him [Hugh] to be banished from the realm, when he in his exile captured two carracks full of merchandise,[3] which cost the realm of England dearly thereafter. The King caused him to be restored to office not long after, without their consent, and, after his example, did everything that wholly unfitted him for chivalry, delighting himself in avarice and in sensual pleasures, disinheriting his subjects who had rebelled against him, and enriching himself with their great property in lands.

And at the same time war broke out in Gascony with the King of France, upon which the King of England spent much treasure as on account of the country and nation which he loved

[1] 13th May, 1323. [2] *Maintenuz en reudes loys.* [3] *Auoir de pois.*

best. Accordingly he sent his brother, the Earl of Kent, and other nobles, who scarcely achieved anything, but lost much territory, for it was a disastrous period for the English, which lasted all the time of this King. The King gave the duchy of Guienne to his elder son, the Earl of Chester,[1] but the barons of the duchy would not submit either to him, or to any other living, but only to the Crown of England. He sent his said son to Paris, with his mother Queen Isabel, sister of the King of France, to perform his homage to his uncle and to put an end to the war of Gascony. So when they arrived in France, the mother and the son, they refused to return to England, but entered into another conspiracy against their liege-lord, husband and father, with the support of the people banished from England, [namely] the Lord of Mortimer and others; also with the adhesion of the Earl of Kent, the King's brother, who hastened from Gascony to Paris to join this conspiracy, abandoning his brother's war; also by treaty of alliance between the Count of Hainault and the Queen [providing for] the marriage of her son with Phillipa, daughter of the said Count, which afterwards took place.

MS. fo. 212b.

The said Queen and her followers moved into Zealand; because, had she remained in the realm of France eight days longer than she did, she would have been sent back to the King of England with all the other partakers in this conspiracy. [For] so greatly had Hugh le Despenser affected the policy of France by his conduct,[2] that her brother the King would have sent her back to her husband, on the pretext that she had come from her liege-lord on a mission of friendship to the King of France, and upon his safe-conduct; and that the said business,[3] the cause of her coming, had been abandoned, as well as other disputes covered by the said safe-conduct. She was warned of this; wherefore she moved into the dominion of the Count of Hainault: which Count sent his brother John of Hainault with a strong force of men-at-arms [to escort] them. They arrived at Orwell in warlike array[4] without sustaining damage from the great fleet which, by the King's command, lay ready arrayed against them at Yarmouth.

They gained England without striking a blow; for all the

[1] Afterwards Edward III.

[2] *Par son auoir.* The usual meaning of the noun *auoir* is riches, property.

[3] The war with Gascony.

[4] *Au furre de guere.*

lords and commons rose for them against the King, who, at the time they arrived, was in London, and went off towards Wales, where Hugh le Despenser[1] thought [to find] refuge and support, which altogether failed them. At Chepstow the King dismissed his suite,[2] and embarked suddenly on the river Wye, intending to have fled with Hugh le Despenser to a foreign country, because his people had deserted him, but wind and tide[3] were so contrary for him that during fifteen whole days he could not venture out of the Severn for the storm.

MS. fo. 213 In the meantime came the Queen and her son and Roger de Mortimer, then chief of her council, which Roger was formerly in accord with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and the barons, but he left them and placed himself at the King's mercy [as] the primary cause of their [the barons' ?] disaffection.[4] By advice of Hugh le Despenser he was placed in the Tower of London, then a long time after he escaped from prison and went to France, one of the prime instigators of this enterprise.[5]

They [Queen Isabella, Mortimer, etc.] came to Bristol with the foreigners and all the great nobles of England, where Hugh le Despenser, the father, Earl of Winchester, was captured, and drawn and hanged on the spot.[6]

Donald, Earl of Mar,[7] [who had been] reared with the King of England, was at that time with the King, and had charge of the castle of Bristol by the King's commission. He surrendered it to the Queen and went to his country of Scotland. The whole of the King's suite came from Chepstow to the Queen and her son at Bristol, [where they were] holding the King's court. Men-at-arms in the Queen's cause embarked when the storm abated to pursue the King, who still lay on board ship before them in the Severn. The King, perceiving all these misfortunes which had come upon him, landed in Glamorgan, where he bargained with a Welshman[8] of the country, in whom Hugh le Despenser put trust, for great reward[9] to conceal the said Hugh, who was not over courageous, seeing that they had failed two or three times in attempting [to escape] by sea, which

[1] The younger. [2] *Gerpy sa meine*, or was deserted by his suite.

[3] *Marray*. [4] *De primer mesconfourt de lour meschief.*

[5] *Vn dez plus graunt embraceour de cest veage.* [6] A.D. 1326.

[7] Grandson of Donald, 10th earl, and nephew of Robert the Bruce. Elected Regent of Scotland in 1332, and died the same year.

[8] *Vn galay* : a Welshman or native of *Galis*. [9] *Pur grant garnison.*

Welshman treacherously delivered the said Hugh to the Queen, and he was hanged and drawn at Gloucester.[1]

The Earl of Arundel[2] was beheaded on the Welsh border at this time, being of the King's party.

The King, who apprehended no danger to his own life, sent word to his wife that he was willing to make amends by good conduct for all the ill he had done her and hers, and that he would be found in a certain place, expecting that she would come to him as a wife ought to her husband. But Henry, Earl of Lancaster, went to find him, and brought him to Kenilworth as a prisoner, so to speak. The Queen caused a Parliament to be summoned in London, where, with assent of the prelates, earls, barons and commons and citizens of London, on the arrival of the Queen in the middle of Chepe, these Londoners[3] beheaded the King's Treasurer, the Bishop of Exeter.

The King was deposed by their common assent, and they renounced their homage in a deed under their seals drawn by the Bishop of Hereford, who made known the same to the deposed King at Kenilworth. With bitterness, as one who heartily detested the King because of the special injury he [the King] had done him, he announced to him the articles [in which] the commons, his subjects, had set forth the cause of his deposition.

MS. fo. 213b

He [the King] took this matter very patiently, giving to his son God's blessing and his own, and praying God that he would make him [his son] a good man, and grant him greater favour and goodwill from the people than he himself had found.

He was taken from Kenilworth to Berkeley, where he died, in what manner was not known, but God knoweth it. He was buried at Gloucester, and reigned nineteen years. He was wise, gentle, and amiable in conversation, but indolent[4] in action. He was very skilful in what he delighted to employ his hands upon. He was too familiar with his intimates, shy[5] with strangers, and loved too exclusively a single individual. His

[1] He was executed at Hereford.

[2] Edmund Fitzalan, 2nd Earl, Justice of Wales and Warden of the Welsh Marches.

[3] *Queux Loundrais.*

[4] *Mesoeurous en fait* may signify something more actively evil than indolence.

[5] *Soleyn.*

son was crowned by common assent at the aforesaid Parliament, during his father's life, and received the homage of the nobles and the obeisance of all the commons, who were delighted at the change of government [both] because of the misdoing of the [King's] father, and because of their fickle habit, so characteristic of a medley of different races. Wherefore some people are of opinion that the diversity of spirit among the English is the cause of their revolutions,[1] which are more likely to happen in Great Britain than in other countries; for, in the time of every king since Vortigern, aliens of all nations, having diverse customs, have received great advancement there; so that when they happened to differ in purpose, each one desired to be lord, because the lordships in that country follow not birth, but fortune. Wherefore they desire change, for each one thinks that the luck will be his; as it is said that running water is the most powerful thing that can be, although so gentle and soft by nature, because all the particles of water take effect equally in the current; wherefore water pierces the hard rock. Just as it is with a nation which exerts itself with a single spirit to maintain the dignity of its lords, who desire nothing but the welfare of the community, and individually follow no other design. In such a people a revolution is seldom seen, at least an overthrow of the estate of their lords, [which is] the greatest dishonour to the people.

This Edward the Second (after the Conquest) had two sons and two daughters. The elder son, Edward, was constituted king during his father's life;[2] the other was named John, was Earl of Cornwall, and died at the town of St. John,[3] and had no offspring. The elder daughter, Isabel, was afterwards married to the Count of Guelders, who afterwards became Duke; the second daughter, Joan, was afterwards married to David, son of Robert de Brus, King of Scotland.

MS. fo. 214 This Edward the Third (after the Conquest) was not more than fourteen years old at his coronation at the feast of Candlemas,[4] and was in all things governed, and his realm also, by his mother and by Roger de Mortimer, at that time Earl of March. In the first year of his reign the Scots wrought great destruction in his territory on several occasions. The Earls of Lancaster and of Kent, with the Lords Wake, Ros,

[1] *Lez chaungementz du siecle.* [2] 25th Jan., 1327.
[3] Perth. [4] *I.e.* The Purification of the Virgin, 2nd Feb., 1327.

Moubray, and Beaumont, and other great barons, with a thousand men-at-arms, were sent to Newcastle-on-Tyne to defend the March; where James de Douglas went before them, at a distance of four leagues, burning and wasting the land in open sight of them all; for none of them dared to go forth, so grievously were they demoralised and unprepared for war. Soon after this all the chivalry of England were assembled, with a large contingent of foreigners; which foreigners fought at York with the followers of the earls, of whom a large number were slain there. They [the English] had attacked in drunkenness the foreigners, who were lodged in the suburbs of the said town. This mellay was stopped by action of the Council, because these foreigners had been sent to assist them; and all marched against the Scottish enemy, which was again upon English territory.

The said young King, with his great army, took the road to Stanhope, where he was informed that his Scottish enemy lay. As he was on the march thither, the scouts of his advanced guard came in to inform him that the enemy was in full and disorderly retreat; but indeed it was not so, for they were only shifting camp and choosing for themselves the best ground to await attack. The commander of the said King's army, believing that the scouts had made true report, left the road to Stanhope. Advised by some men of the Marches that they could intercept the enemy, whom they believed to be flying towards their own country, they rode at speed with all this great army a whole summer day, a good six and twenty leagues between Annandale and Tynedale, encamped at Haydon Bridge, where they remained eight days, and received no word of the enemy. It was proclaimed in the army that he who should bring to the King certain news of the enemy should receive one hundred pounds in land. Thomas de Rokeby brought word that they were lying quietly at Stanhope where they [the English] had left them.[1] He received the said guerdon and was dubbed knight.

The King broke up his camp and marched back with all his great army upon the enemy. In the meantime Archibald de Douglas,[2] having overrun with the foragers of the enemy almost all the bishopric of Durham and brought in much booty to their MS. fo. 214b

[1] Rokeby was taken prisoner by the Scots in the last week of July, 1327, and frankly told them his errand. He was sent back to his master with a message that Douglas and Moray had been waiting eight days for him in Weardale desiring nothing so much as a battle.

[2] 'The Tineman,' youngest brother of Sir James of Douglas.

army, fell in at Darlington with a great body of common people [marching] towards the English army, and killed them nearly all.

This great army of the English found their said enemy ready at Stanhope, [formed] in three divisions on a fine plain. They were but few in number, with only three chief commanders—the Earls of Moray and of Mar and James de Douglas. The King took up a position before them on the river Wear for three days. On the fourth night the Scots broke up and moved a short league thence [to] within the park of Stanhope, where they waited six days before this great army of English, Germans, and men of Hainault. They did no feats of arms, except that the Scots under James de Douglas rode one night[1] into the lines at one end of the camp, slew a large number of the people of the earls, and withdrew without loss.

The third night after this affair[2] the Scots broke up and marched to their own country, having done much damage in England. On the very day of their departure they fell in with Patrick, Earl of March, and with John the Steward, who called himself Earl of Angus, with 5000 men of the Scottish nation, who were marching to their relief, having heard say that they were beleaguered. It was said that if they had only had provender they would have returned [to Weardale], such fierce fighters they were.

The King, a mere boy, burst into tears; he broke up and retired towards York, engaging no more in this war so long as he was under governance of his mother and of the aforesaid Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March.

When Robert de Brus, then King of Scotland, had laid siege to the castle of Norham, whereof Robert de Manners was then constable, he [Manners] made a sortie with his garrison one day and defeated the watch[3] of the Scottish enemy before the castle gate, where a banneret of Scotland, William Mouhaud, was slain. The commander of the watch would not allow them to be rescued because of the flood, so that none of those in the town could get near them.

The Earl of Moray, with James de Douglas, had then besieged the Lord Percy in Alnwick, where there were great jousts of war by formal agreement; but these lords did not maintain the siege, but marched to Robert their King at the siege of Norham. At which time the Lord Percy, with the men of the Marches,

[1] Probably 3rd August. [2] Probably the next night, 4th August. [3] *Le gayt.*

made a raid upon the side of Teviotdale, remaining scarcely ten leagues distant. No sooner was James de Douglas informed of this, than he suddenly threw himself from Norham with his troops between the said Lord Percy and his castle of Alnwick; which forced him [Percy] to make a night march towards Newcastle, so demoralised were the English in time of war. MS. fo. 215

The aforesaid Council of the said King of England sent a man of law, William de Denoun, to the said Robert de Brus at Norham [to negociate] peace, and arranged a marriage between David, son of the said Robert, and Joan, sister of the King of England, which afterwards took place at Berwick.[1]

At the Parliament of York, where this King Edward of England took for his wife Philippa, the daughter of Count William of Hainault, this war with Scotland was ended, the relics were restored, and also the indentures of obeisance by the Scottish lords, which men called Ragman [because of] their seals hanging thereto, and which King Edward the First after the Conquest had exacted; and by the same deed the King of England renounced his right over Scotland, and [gave] 40,000 silver marks for the marriage of his sister, and [conceded] that all his adherents should lose their inheritance in Scotland, except the Lords Wake, Percy, Beaumont, and la Touche, concerning whose rights nothing was determined, whereby later they suffered much wrong. The King was not in accord with the whole of this transaction; but, by reason of his youth, the Queen and Mortimer arranged everything, [which was] one of the causes of their subsequent undoing.

To this same Parliament came the news of the death of King Charles of France, uncle of this King Edward of England on his mother's side. He died without heir of his body; wherefore, according to the judgment of some, the right to the realm of France descended to this Edward of England, his nephew, son of his sister, as to the nearest heir male; but on account of the King's youth and the bad, indolent, negligent counsel by which he was ruled in all things, no claim of the right to the crown of France was lodged at the time; so that Philip de Valois, son of the uncle of the deceased, was crowned, because he was born [native] of the realm, and had so many friends and supporters that, without regard to anybody's right, they chose him to be king through affinity, whence afterwards arose a great war.

[1] August, 1328.

The said Philip defeated the Flemish at Cassel[1] in the first year of his reign. For long after this nothing was spoken about the King of England's challenge of the right to the crown of France. Queen Isabella and Mortimer governed all England in such fashion as to displease many of the nobles of the realm, who ranged themselves with the Earl of Lancaster and others of that faction who were beginning to stir revolt in order to throw off this government. But those of the Queen's party had strengthened themselves so well with allies and adherents that the others were not strong enough to rise against them, as they perceived. Therefore, they settled this quarrel so as to place themselves at the King's mercy, because they had not rebelled at all against him; nevertheless they constituted themselves the King's party, as those who had him entirely under control. This obeisance was done at Bedford, where all were received to grace except the Lords de Wake and de Beaumont and Thomas Rosselin, who quitted the realm, and concerted with their friends on the other side for the invasion of England; but a revolution had taken place before the time of their enterprise.

MS. fo. 215b

At the same time as this rising of the barons there came knights and esquires in aid of the King's party out of Northumberland to Rothwell, where they had a great encounter in manner of war with the peasants of the neighbourhood, who were there slain and defeated by the aforesaid people of the Marches.

After that there was great display of jousts and tourneys for a long time. The Queen, with advice of the Earl of March, had everything in her governance. One of her confidential friends made the Earl of Kent, the King's uncle, believe that his brother the King [Edward II.], the father, was [still] alive, and that if he [Kent] would assist him [Edward], he could restore him to his [royal] estate. He [Kent] was delighted[2] [to hear] that his brother was alive, and declared that he would aid him to the death. Now this snare was laid to test the intentions of the said earl. So soon as he had spoken, the other went and told it all to the Queen. The said earl was arrested and arraigned upon this matter before a Parliament at Winchester. He admitted before the coroner of the King's household that he would have helped his brother, if he were alive, [so as] to restore him to his estate at his pleasure. They charged this against him as high treason, because restoration of the father

[1] Aug. 23rd, 1328.

[2] *Leez*, lætus.

would have been the dethronement of the son, to whom he was bound as to his liege lord. Wherefore, out of respect to his royal blood, they absolved him from the extreme punishment,[1] and caused him to be beheaded straightway.

The King began to grow[2] in body and mind, which was not agreeable to the authority of the Queen his mother and annoyed the Earl of March, by whose direction the Queen acted in everything. The King entered into a plot with the young people around him to overturn this government and to destroy the said earl. They did not keep this affair so secret as not to be discovered, so that at Nottingham the King and all those who were in the plot were examined as to this design before a council in session. Each of them, on being examined separately, denied that he knew anything, except William de Montacute, who stood upon his dignity,[3] declaring that he would return a sharp answer to any man who should accuse him of [being party to] any plot inconsistent with his duty, and justified himself with such words, nobody answering him except in general terms.

The council having been dissolved, the said William said to the King that it were better to eat the dog than that the dog [should eat] them; so he advised him to speak to the constable of the castle, charging him upon his oath and allegiance to keep the plan secret, and [directing] him to leave a postern open to the park that very night, and [warning him] that if he would not do so, he [the King] would cause him to be hanged so soon as he [the King] should have the upper hand. The said William arranged with his comrades to assemble by night at a certain thicket in the park to which all should come; but they missed the trysting place, except the said William de Montacute and John de Nevill with four-and-twenty men, who kept their appointment well.

MS. fo. 216

They were afraid that their comrades might miss them, and they durst not sound a call because of the sentries in the castle; and so, as bold and enterprising men, they declared that, as the matter had gone so far, they would risk the adventure by themselves. They went forward, and found the postern open, as the King had commanded. They entered the castle and mounted

[1] *Le haut jugement*, the cruel form of execution prescribed for those convicted of high treason.

[2] *Crestre*, misprinted *crescre* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

[3] *Se adressoit en soun esteaunt.*

the stairs of the second court without meeting anybody, for it was mirk night, and the followers of the [gentle] folk had left the castle for their lodgings. The Queen, Mortimer, and their confidential adherents were holding a council to take measures against this plot which had been discovered to them. They [the conspirators] entered the hall where the Queen was sitting in council. The usher cried out at their entry. Hugh de Turpington, who was steward of the King's household, [but] was of the Queen's party, rushed out of the council and met them in the middle of the hall, crying 'Down with the traitors!'[1] and made to strike the first [of them] with a dagger, when John de Nevill ran him through the body and slew him, and an esquire [also] who offered resistance.

Then they passed forward into the chamber, and seized Mortimer and those whom they wished to have; so that before dawn none remained in the town save those who were of the King's party, who had armed themselves when the conspirators entered the castle. He [the King] gave directions for [the custody of] his mother, and took the said Mortimer with him to Leicester, where he intended to put him to death; but he took other advice, causing a Parliament to be summoned to London, where Mortimer was drawn and hanged,[2] upon a charge of having been party to the death of the King, the father [Edward II.], and because of the death of the Earl of Kent, and for the renunciation of the right to Scotland, and for the dissipation of the King's treasure which had been entrusted to him by his [Edward's] father, and upon other counts with which he was charged.

The lords who had been banished were restored. For a long time after this the King acted upon the advice of William de Montacute, who always encouraged him to excellence and honour and love of arms; and so they led their young lives in pleasant fashion, until there came a more serious time with serious matters.

MS. fo. 216b

King Philip of France pressed to have the submission of the King for the Duchy of Guienne. The King's council, having regard to his nonage, the weather, and the scarcity of funds, caused him to cross the sea privily and do his homage at Amiens, for which they were blamed afterwards, and for the same reason the French declare that the submission of the King established

[1] *Treiturs pur nient.* [2] A.D. 1330.

the superiority of his suzerain as regarded himself at the time. But his [Edward's] nonage constituted his excuse.

So this King led a gay life in jousts and tourneys and entertaining ladies, until the lords who had been disinherited in Scotland for the cause of himself and his predecessors made supplication to him that he would restore to them their inheritance which they had lost on his account, or allow them to take their own measures.[1] The King referred this supplication entirely to the Earl of Moray, who was then Guardian of Scotland during the nonage of King David after the death of his father King Robert, who had died shortly before of a leprosy.[2] Which earl replied honourably by letters demanding that he [King Edward] should allow them to take their measures and let the ball roll.

When this message was received, the lords who had been disinherited in Scotland, the Lord of Beaumont, the Earls of Atholl and of Angus, Richard Talbot, Henry de Ferrars, John de Moubray, and all the others, on the instigation of the Lord de Beaumont, gave their adhesion to Edward de Balliol (son of John de Balliol, formerly King of Scotland by election of both realms), who had been kept out of Scotland more than thirty years. They took ship at *Ravenspur*[3] and arrived at Kinghorn, few in number, seeing that there were not more than 400 men-at-arms.

The first day of their arrival they fought with the Earl of Fife and defeated him, where Alexander de Seton, the son, was slain. They held their course to Dunfermline, where they found and took all the newly-made iron pikes which Thomas, Earl of Moray, had caused to be made, he having recently died within eight days of their coming.

They held their course toward the town of St. John,[4] when they found the enemy before them in great force on the water of Earn ; for the lords of Scotland had assembled, upon their coming, to choose themselves a Guardian. They chose the Earl of Mar, who had caused this great army to assemble, and occupied the great height[5] above the ford of the Erne before these people arrived, they [the disinherited lords] being in the

[1] *Lez lesser couenyr.* [2] 7th June, 1329.

[3] A port on the Humber, at that time of some importance.

[4] Perth. [5] *Tertre* = territoire.

vale on the other side of the Earn, making a very small appearance compared to the others.

These people[1] of the Earl of Mar's army were ensnared like a hare; and they intended on the morrow to send a strong force round them, to attack them on all sides, which would greatly increase their own advantage.

MS. fo. 217

These disinherited lords were so much dismayed by the great multitude of the enemy that they began to reproach the Lord of Beaumont very angrily, accusing him of having betrayed them, and of having made them understand that they would receive much support in Scotland.

'By no means, my lords,' quoth he, 'but since the affair has gone so far, for God's sake, let us help ourselves! for no man knows what God has in store for us. Let us think of our great right so as to show that we are descended from good knights, and of the great honour and profit to which God has destined us, and of the deep disgrace that will come upon us if we do not show ourselves [to be men] in this business.'

The result was[2] that, owing to the brave words of the worthy gentleman and the inspiration of God, they agreed to pass the ford by night, outflank the enemy, ascend the height above them, and run their chance during the night. They forded the water, where Roger de Swinnerton was drowned. The enemy, taking alarm at their crossing, hastened down on foot; but the others had passed over before they could reach the ford, surrounded the ridge, and fell suddenly upon the grooms and horses of their enemy, putting them to flight, and believing that they were the main body of the enemy. They pursued them hither and thither, so that by daybreak there were not forty of them left together. But by the light of a house which was set on fire they drew together again like partridges; and, as the day began to lighten, they beheld the enemy in two great columns, having stood all night in that formation, so that scarcely were they [the disinherited lords] able to put themselves in array before the enemy advanced to the attack.

Their advanced guard was stopped for a little on feeling the lance-points and arrows, when their rearguard charged in such disorderly fashion that, in their furious charge, they bore to the ground a great number of their advanced guard between them-

[1] *Cestez gentz.* [2] *Apartice issi.*

selves and the enemy,[1] who fell upon them so fiercely that they fell back one upon the other, so that in a short time you might see a heap of mens' bodies growing[2] as the strangers[3] surrounded them. So were they defeated in this manner by a miracle of God; and there perished the Earl of Mar, Alexander Fraser, Robert de Brus bastard son of King Robert, and a great number of barons, knights, and esquires, who were nearly all smothered, for each one lay beneath another, and died in the manner described without any stroke of weapon.

MS. fo. 217b

This day's work accomplished, they held their way to the town of St. John, where they found much provision of every kind. They enclosed the town by repairing the old works, so that each one repaired his post with palisades. Within eight days of the battle there came against them such a multitude of people from all parts of Scotland as was marvellous [to see]. For eight days they lay before them, till for want of provender they departed each man to his own country.

The siege having been raised, the stranger lords caused Edward de Balliol to be crowned King at Scone.[4] Then they left the town of St. John and went through Kyle and Cuninghame towards Galloway, where the people on the hither [east] side of Cree rose to join them.[5] Thence they took their way by Crawfordmuir towards Roxburgh, where, near Jedburgh, Archibald de Douglas[6] lay in ambush. He was discovered and defeated, Robert de Lawder the son, and others being captured.

King Edward de Balliol was quartered at Kelso, and his army in Roxburgh; but he [Edward] moved his quarters to Roxburgh on the same day for fear of the river rising. Andrew de Moray, at that time Guardian of Scotland for King David de Brus, having reconnoitred the quarters of the said King Edward de Balliol at Kelso, perceived the water of Tweed rising, and was near at hand in strong force. He posted himself at the end of Roxburgh bridge and began to break down the said bridge, intending to surprise the said King Edward; when the alarm was sounded among the troops in the said town,

[1] *I.e.* the disinherited lords.

[2] *Crestre*, misprinted *crescre* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

[3] *Cestes gentz aryues.* [4] 24th Sept., 1332.

[5] Eastern Galloway was Balliol's own land.

[6] 'The Tineman,' youngest brother of Sir James of Douglas, d. 1333.

and all [stood] to arms, both horse and foot. Then they took the bridge from the enemy, and the cavalry swam the river and defeated these fellows, whose commander, Andrew de Moray, was captured.

Soon afterwards the King of England held his Parliament at York,[1] whither went the chief officers of Edward de Balliol's army. To which Parliament came envoys on behalf of David de Brus, beseeching the King that he would assist their lord as an ally ought to do, seeing that he had his [David's] sister to wife. Without dealing with any other consideration, the King's council was of opinion that he was not bound so to act against his own subjects who had been disinherited in the cause of himself and his predecessors, and had voluntarily began to reconquer their inheritance.

In the meantime, during the parliament aforesaid, King Edward de Balliol broke up from Roxburgh and marched towards the west March at Annan; where at dawn one day Archibald de Douglas surprised and defeated him with a force of the enemy. He [Edward] escaped with much difficulty to Carlisle, many of his people being slain, and all his followers being driven out of Scotland, to begin their conquest all over again.

MS. fo. 218

Then Edward de Balliol began to treat with the King of England, which King was of opinion, and his council also, that he was free to look after his own interest, seeing that in the peace concluded with Robert de Brus it had been specially excepted and stipulated that the alliance with France should hold good with the Scots [only], and that the King of England should be bound to them by no tie; and because the Scots by advice of Thomas, Earl of Moray, declined to dissolve the alliance with France, which was the open enemy of the King of England; [and because] no other condition was specified except that the King of England surrendered the right which he had over Scotland (which [right] had fallen to the crown of England in the time of his grandfather by the forfeiture of John de Balliol, at that time King of Scotland, who repudiated his tenure from him [Edward I.], although he himself [John Balliol] had become his vassal by his homage to the suzerainty of Scotland, and became his [Edward's] man by a formal condition in his *clesement* when there was dispute about the said realm between

[1] *A Euerwik*, omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

the said John de Balliol and Robert de Brus, the grandfather of that Robert who called himself King of Scotland, and John de Hastings; which John de Balliol renounced his homage by two Jacobin friars with a sharp sword, declaring that he [John] held nothing as from him [Edward]), wherefore the King was of opinion that a new war was [justified by] a new situation. Now this Edward de Balliol made over to the King of England the town of Berwick with five counties, [namely] the sheriffdoms of Berwick, of Roxburgh, of Edinburgh, Peebles, and Dumfries, and would do homage for the rest of Scotland, on condition that the King should support him, maintain him, and restore him to his [royal] estate.

(*To be continued.*)

# The Witches of Alloa.

IF James the Sixth of Scotland gave special attention to the detection of witches and their punishment, as well as to a study of the black art itself, he was not left far behind in the succeeding years of the seventeenth century when many ministers of the Church of Scotland identified themselves as adept witch finders. One of these, who figures conspicuously in connection with the examination of a number of persons, mostly women, 'apprehended for witchcraft' at Alloa, was the Rev. Matthias Symson. He studied at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated *Artium Magister* on 30th July, 1646, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Skrey in Kent on 2nd January, 1648, as minister at Mardine. Mr. Symson was afterwards translated to Kirkandrews in Cumberland, and on the recommendation of Mr. James Hamilton, minister of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and seven other ministers of that city, was admitted minister of the second charge of Stirling on 19th November, 1655. 'When the presiding minister was about to read his text, Captain Goslen of the garrison came in and interrupted him, desiring there might be a forbearance of admitting any minister until that matter could be decided by the Council of State, before whom it was depending. A deputation waited upon the Governor, who allowed the sermon to be preached. The Session find that albeit the ceremony of joining hands was impedit, yet they stand obliged in conscience to own and adhere to him, by virtue of their call, which was given before the said interruption was made.' He was presented to the first charge by Charles II., in 1661, and died in November, 1664. He is said to have been 'as headie and bold' as his predecessor, Mr. James Guthrie, who was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on 1st June, 1661, and his head placed on the port at the Nether-bow. Mr. Matthias Symson was only 39 years old when he died.

The prosecution of the Alloa witches was commenced at Stirling on 19th May, 1658, during the time of the Commonwealth.

On this date the Presbytery of Stirling met, and appointed Mr. George Bennett, minister of Saint Ninians and proprietor of East Livilands, and Mr. Matthias Symson to go 'to Alloway and confer with the persons who are there apprehendit for witchcraft and to endevor to bring them to confessioun and convictioun.' A meeting of the Presbytery was subsequently held at Alloa on 23rd June for the purpose of trying and examining the suspected persons. The sederunt were 'Messrs. Archibald Muschett [Gargunnock] Moderator *pro tempore* (in absence of Mr. Johne Craigingelt, eldar, last chosen moderator who is now seik) [Alloa], George Bennett, Robert Wright [Clackmannan], Matthias Symson, Johne Craigingelt, youngar [Dollar], ministers. The Laird of Clackmannan, the Lairds of Menstrie and Tullibodie and Mr. Robert Bruce of Kennett, Justices of peace, who were present be virteu of their offices anent the trying of the witches, and Thomas Mitchell of Coldon ruling eldar for Alloway. Also Mr. James Cunningham and some other gentlemen being present.' The meeting considered 'ane paper under the hand of Mr. James Meldrum, Sessioun clerk of Alloway, bearing the confessioun of Margaret Duchill (who is now dead) of witchcraft and dilating others the tennor of which paper is heirby appoyntit to be insert and is accordinglie done as followes: At Alloway the elevint day of Maii 1658 zeires, Margaret Duchill indwellar in Alloway for syndrie dilationes agaynst her to the minister be severall eldars of her scandalous cariage in the sinne of witchcraft wes cited before the Sessioun. She denyit them all except that she confessed that she had said to William Moresone, eldar, that if they sould tak and burne her there sould better wyves in Alloway nor herself be burnt with her. Upon which confessioun with many presumptions against her the minister and eldars sends ane letter to the Justices of peace with ane of the eldars and clerk of the Sessioun, who returned ane order direct to the constables of Alloway to secure her persone in closs prison, and ane guard night and day attending her, and eftir severall visits maid be the Minister and some eldars with many gude exhortatiouns and pithie prayers with several demands concerning that sinne of witchcraft, she did at last confess as followes.'

The first point in this confession was to the effect that she had been in the devil's service for twenty years bygone, and being asked where she first met him she answered 'in Isobell Jamesones little house where she dwelt herself all alone, and

who came in to me to the said house in the likeness of a man with broune cloathes and ane little blak hatt, who asked her, What ailleth you? She ansorit, I am ane poore bodie and cannot gett whereon to live. He said, Ye sall not want if you will doe my bidding, and he gave me fyve shilling and bade me goe buy ane peck of meill with it, and I went to the tron and bought ane peck of peiss meill with it, and it wes gude money. I brought it home and bakit bannoks, and he sent me for ane chopine of aill, and we did eate and drink togither and thereafter I went to the calsey and span on my rok till night. And when I came in he was in the house.' She relates how her uncannie visitor passed the night with her, giving some details which are best passed over. 'Thereftir he said to me, "Maggie, will ye be my servant?" and I said I would be his servant. Then he said, "Ye must quyte God and your baptisme," which I did; and he gave me his mark on my eyebrie by ane kiss, and bade me whensoevir I wold have me call upon me by name Johne and I sall nevir leave you, but doe anything to you that ye bid me. Thereftir in the groof of the morning I convoyed him doune the bowrig where he vanished from me.'

In the second part of her confession Margaret Duchill admitted that the first wrong she did was to Bessie Vertie, whose life she took. Being asked for what cause? she answered, 'She and I discordit at the pow of Alloway bearring coalles, and I went to the divell and sought amends of her, and he said to me, "What will you have of her?" and I said, "Her lyfe." Then said he, "Goe to her house the morne and tak her be the hand and she sall nevir doe any more gude," which I did and she presentlie took seiknes whereof she died.'

The third point was causing the death of Jonet Houston, 'spouse to John Duthie, wobster.' This woman owed Margaret ten merks and refused to pay. On complaining to the devil and seeking her life, she was told to go and crave the woman again, and if she refused to pay she was to 'tak her a dunsh upon the back and she sall nevir doe no more gude, which I did and she pyned away ay and till she died.'

The fourth item in her confession was 'the death of Johne Demperstones daughter, who wes about twelf zeirs of age or thereby, who being asked what ailled her at that young lass, she ansorit, I going allongs the bridge of Alloway she cuming by me touched me, and I said, "What ailleth the lass to touch me?" She ansorit, "Away witch-theiff." I went to the Divell and

socht amends. He bade me the first tyme I saw her to tak ane tug of her arme and she sould blood to death; and she being asked be the minister how could ane tug of ane arme or ane dunsh on the back or shaking of hands be the death of any bodie, she ansorit, "That eftir she gatt the word from Johne her master she wold have done it to the greatest man or woman in the world."'

On being asked who were the women that if she were burned should be burned with her, she implicated Elspett Black, who met the devil along with her at the crofts of Alloway, and also Bessie Paton, Margaret Talzeor and Catherine Rainy, who also seized William Moresone and did violently draw him by his arms and shoulders through ice and snow to Walter Murray's barn, 'where we thought to have drowned him in ane hole, but he crying, "God be mercifull to me!" they all fled from him but myself, who came home at his back lyke a black dog, but he saw me not. All which the said William Moresone did diverss tymes long tyme before this declair that he wes mightilie fearit but never knew till this confession.'

Margaret Duchill also confessed that she had been at a meeting 'in the Cunningar' with Jonet Black, Bessie Paton, Margaret Talzeor, Catherine Rainy, Margaret Demperston, and Elspet Black, 'where they dancit in others hands with the divell present going up and doune among them, some of them singing, and some of them dancing, and Bessie Paton leading the ring. She did lykewyse declair that the haill said women above mentioned haid many severall meittinges in the crofts of Alloway with the divell, and that Elspet Black warnit them ay to their meittinges, and their last meitting wes at Androw Erskynes brewhouse doore within this ten dayes, and being chased be ane James Moreis about elevine a cloak in the night we went by Walter Murrayes barne and went all home. She confest ane meiting in the Cuningar of all the sevine with the divell in the likeness of catts, who went to the Grange and destroyed ane cow to Edward Turner. Ane other meiting one night and they went to Tullibodie and killed ane bairne. Another meiting and went to the Bow house and killed ane horse and ane cow to William Menteith. Ane other meiting and they went to Clackmannan and killed ane chyld to Thomas Bruce. Another meitting and they went in to Coldones and wes the death of two bairnes of his. Subscryvit thus J. Meldrum Sess. Clerk of Alloway.'

Another paper was presented to the Presbytery by Mr. John

Craigengelt, younger, minister of Dollar, bearing the confession and examination of Margaret Talzeor, Bessie Paton, Jonet Black, and Kathrine Rainy, all in the parish of Alloway, who were apprehended by order of the Justices of the Peace, partly on the deposition of the said deceased Margaret Duchill, and partly on presumptions and partly upon *mala fama*. 'At Alloway the third day of June 1658. Present, the Laird of Clackmannan and the Laird of Kennett, justices of peace, Mr. Harie Guthrie, Minister of Kilspindie, Mr. Robert Wright, Minister at Clackmannan, Mr. Johne Craigingelt, Minister at Dollar, wreitar heirof, Mr. James Cunningham and Thomas Mitchell of Coldon eldars of the Kirk Sessioun of Alloway, and Johne Kerrie, Elder of the said Sessioun.'

Margaret Talzeor, on being asked whether she was guilty of the sin of witchcraft, 'ansorit yes. And it wes about three yeires since in the winter tyme in the day tyme, without the house in the way to the heuch Margaret Duchall being with her at Bagrie burne, the divell appeired in the likeness of ane young man in blak cloathes, and bade her renounce her baptisme, which she condiscendit to doe, whereupon he promised that she sould nevir want, and bade her call upon him when she stood in neid, by the name of Johne.' She acknowledged that she renounced her baptism upon her knees, after which he gave her his mark. The devil appeared another time, in the presence of the other women already named, and that Margaret Duchall 'came to her in the likeness of ane catt,' and afterwards appeared in her own shape. The next meeting was at midnight in Bodsmeadow, about a quarter of a year since, when certain immoral transactions took place, and the witches danced, 'and that James Kirk at the back of the greine wes present and played on ane whistle, and that their language wes not our ordinarie language.' Along with Jonet Black and Bessie Paton Margaret Talzeor went to the Bowhouse and 'went in at ane holl in the byre door and that the nixt day ane horse and ane cow died, and that she wes in the Cuningar (yaird) this winter, in the tyme of snow, the divell being present in his former likeness as ane man, and there wes present Bessie Paton, Jonet Black, Kathrine Rainy and Margaret Duchall. Jonet Black, she affirmes, said that she wes the death of ane bairne in Tullibodie of Marie Moreis, and that Margaret Duchall told her that they were at Clackmannan and killed ane bairne to Thomas Bruce. And that when they mett Sathan calls the roll and her name wes Jonet given to her

at the first when she renouncit her baptisme and interest in Jesus Chryst. And that Satan mett with her in the likeness of ane rouch dog that night when Jonet Grott died, and Margaret Duchall, Kathrine Rainy and Jonet Grott wes with him and they came to her in the night in the last where she lay, and they went in to Androw Thomsons house at his back door and they took out the fusson [strength] out of his wheat bread, and that Jonet Groatt, who died that night, took the bread and gave evrie one of them ane peice bread, which she took with her and did not eat nor ken what came of it, and that she wes at the head of Thomas Mitchells yeard eftir that they haid comed from the burne, being present Bessie Paton, Kathrine Rainy, Margaret Duchall, Jonet Black, and that the divell went first up in the likeness of ane little man, Bessie Paton nixt, and Kathrine Rainy and Jonet Black in at ane holl of the back door, and that she and Margaret Duchall stayed doune the stair and went not in; and that also there wes ane gentlewoman with ane black pok whom she knew not and wes nixt the divell, and that Bessie Paton knew her; and that the divell appeired lyke ane bissome to her since she came to this house, and that he promised that she sould not be burnt. That she wes there but once, and that Jonet Blak haid the meall to be casten first on the dog then on the bairnes. And that Jonet Millar in Tullibodie told her that the divell haid appeired to her, yet the said Jonet knew not that she was ane witch. And being furder prest concerning that gentlewoman that haid the blak pok, greine waistcoatt and gray tailles, ansorit that she could not tell what she wes, because her face wes covered, but that Bessie Paton knew her, because she wes nixt to her.' Being again pressed to tell the name of this mysterious gentlewoman and if she was afraid to tell it out publicly to whisper it 'in the Laird of Clackmannan's ear and the Laird of Kennett's, she ansorit that she could tell nothing but what others said to her, and that she would whisper which she did.'

Bessie Paton denied that she was a witch, and repudiated what had formerly been written. Jonet Black denied using charms, but told of certain meetings referred to by the others, at Bodsmeadow and Dickie's Land. The third time of meeting was before the Kirk door, 'and danced throuch the zeatt' (gate). Two nights after they met at Bagraburne 'and that Bessie Paton brought her, and that they danced there and did no more that night.' Kathrine Rainy confessed she met with Bessie Paton,

Jonet Black and Margaret Duchall, and 'they went to Thomas Mitchell's house and returned to Bodsmeadow, and there she saw ane man in gray cloathes, with ane blew bonnett, and that she saw ane woman with ane blak pok and gray gowne and ane greine waist coatt, but knew not what she wes, because she wes covered with ane blak creape over her face, and also that there wes ane gross woman with ane whyte coatt, but that she knew not what she wes except that she might guess, and that it wes lyke Elspett blak, but could not say that it wes she. . . . She confessit that the man with gray cloathes and the blew bonnett took her by the hand and asked her if she wold be fied. She said that she cared not. This wes at that meeting up in bods-meadow, and that his hand wes cold, and when she fand it cold that she wes fearid, and took out her hand agayne. She thought he wes not righteous. She thought that it wes the divell, and she said that she sained herself. This is the truth of what wes confessid by the saids persones before the foirnamit judges and persones present, which I, Mr. Johne Craigingelt, Minister at Dollar, appoyntit by this meeting to write, doe testifie by this my subscriptioun. Subscryvit thus Johne Craigingelt.'

The four women mentioned were re-examined by the Presbytery. Margaret Talzeor repeats her former statements, and admitted that she renounced her baptism 'by putting her one hand on her head and the other on her foote and renuncit her baptisme from God to that Man which she knew not at first to be the divell, but that she knew him to be the divell before they partit at that tyme.' Bessie Paton denied having 'made any pactioun with the devill.' She admitted having gone to a certain 'Sybie Drummond and desyrit her to come and helpe Elspett Bryce, who wes then travelling in chyld birth about 19 zeires since, and that the said Sybie refusit to goe with her because, said she, the said seik woman wold doe no gude. But bade putt a look salt in her mouth and a sowp south running water, and a look of a mole hill on tilled land, and give her. And that the deponer told this cure to Jonet Baxter, servant to the said seik woman, and David Carron her husband, and that the seik woman forsaid died shortlie there aftir.' Bessie Paton and Margaret Talzeor were confronted with one another, and the latter asserted 'in the said Bessie her face' that she had been at certain meetings with other witches, but Bessie maintained 'she was never at any of these meetings bodilie.' She confessed, however, that 'she wes once on a Sabbath day in James Kirk's

house, the Sabbath before the said Bessie wes tane. The quhilk James is dilated *ut supra.*'

Kathrine Rainy tells her story, mentioning the woman with 'the black poke,' and the 'gross round woman,' who was dressed in a white coat, and how the man in grey clothes asked if she would be feed. On being brought face to face with Bessie Paton, Kathrine Rainy affirmed she was one of them which the other as stoutly denied. Margaret Talzeor was also brought in and averred 'that the said Kathrine wes with the devill and her at a meeting in the Cuninghar and dancit with the rest, which wes on hallow evine, and James Kirk did whistle to them. Neverthe-less the said Kathrine denyit the same.'

Jonet Black confessed to having meetings with the other alleged witches, and details the circumstances. 'Also confest that she fand at Bograburne about 20 dayes before zule last a little living blind beast lyke a moidewart whilk she brought home with her and keipt it in her house 25 dayes at her fyre side, but it wold eate none, and that she nevir loott any sie it, but thereaftir she took it away and laid it in a thorne bush and a broad stane on it, and thought it haid beine dead, but eftir two dayes it mett her besyde her owne house, and then she took a mell and feld it als bread as a bonnett and buried it in a watt fur in the waird. Furder she said that Bessie Paton trystit her to all the said meetings, and being confrontit with her averred the same in her face. Yet the said Bessie denyes the same. Furder she said that Jonet Blak confest that she haid sinned in going to these meetings. Furder the said Bessie Paton declaired that David Vertie, James Maknair and James Nicoll did torture her by putting stones on her bak and feete and burnt her legs with fyre (which she sayes ar not yet whole) and that they did it to mak her confess.'

The Brethren of the Presbytery and the Justices of the Peace, above named, having considered the confessions and declarations, found that Margaret Talzeor had clearly confessed withcraft and express paction with the devil 'and some malifices,' and that the three other women were guilty of witchcraft. They agreed to send a letter 'to the judges competent in criminall causes repre-senting the case forsaid unto them, and desyring that they may tak course with the saids women as accords of the Law.' Mr. Matthias Symson was instructed to do this, and Major-General James Holburne, Laird of Menstrie, was also instructed to sign it. Mr. George Bennett and Mr. Archibald Muschett were recommended to visit the said four women apart, and seriously

and gravely, by prayer and exhortation, to deal with them towards confession, and endeavour to convince them of their heinous offences, and report their diligence next day.

At a meeting held next day (for other business), there is the following minute:—'Report maid that Mr. George Bennett and Mr. Archibald Muschett went and dealt seriously with the witches towards confessioun, as they were desyrit yester night, but fand no word from them more than wes formerlie confest be them.'

The judges, before whom the case was tried, were the Rev. Matthias Symson, minister of the Second Charge, Stirling; Major-General James Holburne of Menstrie, who had been Governor of Stirling Castle, and fought against Oliver Cromwell; Sir Charles Erskine, 4th son of the Seventh Earl of Mar by his second wife, Lady Marie Stewart, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox; Mr Robert Bruce of Kennet, and David Bruce of Clackmannan, all Justices of the Peace for the County of Clackmannan. The trial took place in June 1658, and it is incidentally disclosed that one of the witches died in prison, while three were burned.

*Note.*—The *Cuningar*, or Cuninghar, is the sloping ground extending from the old Kirk of Alloa down towards the shore. It is now built on, and the name survives in Cuninghar Close. On this ground the tent preaching at Communion times took place, and this, no doubt, commended it as a suitable place for witch dances. It would be interesting to discover the derivation of the word.

R. MENZIES FERGUSSON.

## The Scottish Parliament, 1560-1707

PROFESSOR TERRY in his recent treatise has ably elucidated the form and working of the Scottish Parliament during the last century of its existence, and has traced the rise in earlier times of its burgh and shire members. He confines himself, however, to constitutional developments as they appear in the records, and does not include in his survey the external causes to which these effects were due. In this paper I propose to view the subject from without rather than from within, and to sketch in outline the action of political and ecclesiastical forces in moulding Parliament from the Reformation to the Union.

The Scottish Parliament was a feudal, not a national, legislature, and its three estates—prelates, barons, and burgesses—sat together in one House, as it was natural that they should, since till the reign of James VI. their right of attendance was one that was common to them all as the King's vassals. Lands held of a subject superior conferred no such right, and the only burghs represented were, in virtue of their charters, the 'free burghs royal.' The Reformation did not directly affect this system, but it set in motion certain tendencies which in the course of half a century were to alter materially both the constitution of Parliament and its relations to the Crown.

The barons, and not, as might have been supposed, the prelates, were the first of the Estates to be re-organised under the new conditions. All freeholders or tenants-in-chief had legally the right—it was regarded rather as an irksome obligation—to attend the King's court, but the privilege was exercised almost exclusively by those of their number whose fiefs, without altering their parliamentary status, had been erected into earldoms or lordships. James I., in order to keep the nobles in check, attempted without success to enforce a general muster of his vassals; and, influenced no doubt by what he had seen during his captivity in England, he sought to compass the same end by instituting a representation of shires as well as of burghs. According to an Act passed in 1427, prelates and temporal lords were henceforth to be

summoned by special writ, whilst 'the small barons' were released from attendance on condition that two or more of them, or one in the case of Clackmannan and Kinross, were elected as commissioners for each shire; and it was probably intended to establish two Houses on the English model, for the shire members, on behalf of the Commons, were to choose a 'speaker of the parliament.' No part of this scheme was ever put into force. The freeholders did not elect representatives—perhaps because they had to pay their expenses; and their reluctance to discharge the alternative duty of personal attendance is shown by the statutory exemption accorded in 1457 and 1503 to those of the poorer class. During the reign of James III. the small barons never mustered more than thirty; and, after the early years of James IV., when a dozen were occasionally present, they all but ceased to appear at all.[1] Their apathy was, however, dispelled by the Reformation, of which in its doctrinal aspect they and the burgesses were the most zealous friends. In 1558 the gentry of the west saved their preachers from a prosecution for heresy by appearing in arms at Holyrood; and in the Parliament of 1560, which abolished the old religion, the smaller freeholders asserted their right, which had almost been forgotten, to have voice and vote, and the names of no fewer than 106 are entered in the roll. Seven years later, when the Reformed Church was to be established, an unsuccessful attempt was made to revive the scheme of James I.; and this scheme was at last inaugurated in 1587 by an Act which assigned the county franchise to all freeholders of forty shillings' value and of less than noble rank. James VI. was no less interested than his ancestor in curbing the power of the nobles; but the gentry were now eager to be recognised as a separate order in the State; and this change in their temper must be ascribed to the effect of the Reformation in consolidating the middle class. 'Methinks,' wrote an English observer in 1572, 'I see the noblemen's great credit decay in that country, and the barons, boroughs, and such-like take more upon them.'

The admission of shire members did not in itself infringe the feudal constitution of Parliament, for these members, as we have seen, were to be elected by the royal vassals, but indirectly it produced this innovation through its effect on the nobles. Hitherto Crown tenure in one shape or another had been practically the sole qualification for a seat, and an earldom,

[1] Keith's *Church and State*, i. 316.

whatever its social pre-eminence, conferred no more political power than an ordinary fief. Now the common freeholder had the right only to be chosen, or to vote in choosing, a representative of his shire, and the privilege of sitting in Parliament without election depended on a title which was no longer inherent in the lands constituting an earldom or lordship, and might be retained though these were lost.[2] Parliamentary peerages had, in short, been introduced, honours, hitherto territorial, having become personal.[3] The shire members, who now monopolised the term 'baron,' had a distinct place in Parliament and on the Committee of the Articles; but their original status as individuals was not altogether lost; and the best proof that lairds and nobles were still legally one Estate is that the former continued to serve on the jury which tried a peer.[4]

Meanwhile, despite its incompatibility with a Calvinistic Reformation, the spiritual Estate still remained nominally intact. Had the abbots and priors, who formed the great majority of that order, been genuine clerics and loyal Catholics, they could not have stood their ground, but they were mostly laymen of royal or noble birth, whose lucrative sinecures had eaten the heart out of the Church, and who had been the chief agents in overthrowing the papal power. The bishops were indeed Churchmen, and only four out of thirteen conformed; but more than half of them were scions of the aristocracy,[5] in whose favour they had in many cases dilapidated their sees; and, as Parliament still required their services, Queen Mary had no difficulty in gaining assent to an ordinance which permitted prelates of all denominations to retain their dignities and two thirds of their revenues for life. When Mary had been deposed and the Reformed Church established, the bishops were exposed to attack; and several sees—the Isles, St. Andrews, Glasgow and Dunkeld—were soon

[2] Prof. Terry seems to overlook this point when he says (p. 53) that 'throughout its whole existence the Scottish Parliament remained rigidly feudal in its composition.' Lord Stair in 1701 put the matter more accurately when he said that 'the *representation* here was feudal.'—Hume of Crossrigg's *Diary*, p. 51.

[3] Personal honours were known before 1587, and it has been suggested that men so ennobled may have sat in Parliament, even though they possessed no land—Wight's *Rise of Parliament in Scotland*, i. 55, note. But this argument, if valid, would prove no more than that certain nobles had anticipated the position occupied by the whole order after 1587.

[4] Wallace's *Nature and Descent of Ancient Peerages*, 2nd edition, *passim*.

[5] Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*.

assigned to Protestant divines, who were to do duty in Parliament, whilst noble patrons enjoyed all but a portion of their rents. It was the anxiety of the Church to stop this abuse, and not, as so often asserted, the desire of the nobles to initiate it under legal sanction,[6] which gave rise in 1572 to the Convention of Leith, providing that archbishops and bishops should have some ill-defined spiritual jurisdiction, and that even the abbot and prior should be recognised in so far at least as such a dignitary was needed to 'supply the place of one of the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament';[7] for it was expressly stipulated that all 'feus, rentals or tacks' to the prejudice of spiritual livings should be void; and the temporalities of Dunkeld, which had been bestowed on the Earl of Argyll, were, after some delay, restored. In the teeth of this agreement, however, the 'Tulchan' scandals went on as before; Episcopacy, discredited in practice, was repudiated as unscriptural by the Church; and in 1592 it was abandoned by the civil power. But the ghosts of a defunct hierarchy continued to haunt the scene of its departed greatness; and in the Parliaments which met after Presbytery had been established we find, not only abbots and priors, but bishops 'voting in name of the kirk, contrare to the laws of the countrie.'

The Kirk was naturally indignant, and the words just quoted are taken from one of its many protests. Monastic superiors were dying out, no more bishops were to be appointed, and the temporalities of both had been annexed to the Crown; but neither King nor Church was prepared to see Parliament revolutionised through the extinction of its first Estate, and there could, therefore, be no reluctance to consider an alternative scheme. Such a scheme had been devised, or at all events prepared, by Lindsay of Balcarres, Lord Menmuir, a most able, accomplished, and patriotic statesman, who was anxious to assist the clergy in their efforts to procure a more substantial livelihood than the wretched pittance assigned to them at the Reformation. It was he who

[6] A reference to Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 226, would have prevented Mr. Gardiner and Prof. Hume Brown from giving their sanction to this popular error. The latter says that the Regent Morton showed 'how he meant to utilize the new arrangement' by nominating Douglas to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, which had been vacant since the execution of Hamilton; but Douglas had not only been appointed Archbishop in the previous year, but had voted as such in the Stirling Parliament. He was now re-appointed in terms of the Convention, and admitted by the Church. See Botfield's *Original Letters of the Reign of James VI.* pp. x-xiii.

[7] He was also to be eligible as a Lord of Session.

had drafted the Act of 1587 in favour of the small barons; and, applying the same representative principle, he proposed that the presbyteries should choose commissioners, that a sufficient number of these should be selected by Parliament to complete the spiritual Estate, and that, when the last prelate had died, they should constitute the whole. Consideration of this proposal was delayed, but not at all prejudiced, by the ecclesiastical crisis of 1596; for a strong reaction now set in against the extravagance of the Melville school, and the moderate spirit of the Church solicited attention to its claims. At the close of 1597 the clergy petitioned to be admitted to Parliament; but the nobles and surviving prelates, the former of whom had opposed the representation of shires, were not inclined to give way; and an Act was passed which provided merely that any minister whom the King might appoint a bishop, abbot or other prelate should be entitled to vote, and that bishoprics in future should be bestowed on actual preachers. The Church, on the other hand, stood equally firm. It agreed that its representatives should be 51, this apparently being the number of the ancient prelacies, and that the King should choose each of them out of a leet of six; but the representatives were to be chosen annually, were to propose nothing without consent of the Assembly, and were to be no more than ordinary pastors. James tried hard to relax the rigour of this decision, declaring that he could not dispense with one of his Estates, and insisting that the clerical commissioners should be called bishops, and should be elected for life; and he succeeded at last in practically carrying his point. The restrictions, indeed, were not withdrawn; but in a convention of delegates from the various synods he nominated three ministers to the sees of Caithness, Ross and Aberdeen; and the Assembly of 1602 endorsed this proceeding by choosing ministers 'to be adjoined to these,' and by recommending that all the prelacies should be filled.[8] The King, however, had no intention of making Protestant divines abbots and priors; and the spiritual Estate, in its greatly reduced compass, was finally re-constituted

[8] If this was a new scheme, as apparently it was, Gardiner (i. 305) is mistaken in saying that James appointed more bishops 'without the slightest pretence of conforming to the mode of election prescribed by the Assembly.' The bishops, when called to account by the Covenanters in 1638, repudiated the representative scheme—justly, I think: 'As for that Act at Montrose, let them answer to it that have their calling by that commission.'—Charles I.'s *Large Declaration*, p. 261.

in 1606, when the lands of bishoprics, so far as still held by the Crown, were restored, and seventeen prelacies were erected or confirmed as temporal lordships.

The constitutional importance of this change can be appreciated only in its effect on the committee known as the Lords of the Articles, or, more shortly, the Articles. This body comprising an equal number, usually eight, of each Estate and certain royal officials, whose number in 1617 was also fixed at eight, had long engrossed the whole process of legislation, and Parliament in ordinary times had no more to do than to elect the Committee and, having adjourned during its deliberations, to give a formal assent to its Acts. In 1612 the Lords of the Articles for each Estate were recommended by the Crown, and, though such dictation was resented by the nobles, who insisted on altering the royal list,[9] the Committee was henceforth chosen—notably in 1633—in a manner which made its election a mere farce. The nobles chose eight bishops, these chose eight nobles, and the sixteen thus elected chose eight barons and eight burgesses.[10] The method was only partially new, and the effect it now produced was due mainly to the transformation of the spiritual Estate. Before the Reformation the Crown had succeeded in obtaining the practical disposal of all great benefices, but it had still to reckon with some elements of ecclesiastical and papal power; and for many years after 1560 there were so many pseudo-ecclesiastics in Parliament that the nobles when called upon to choose eight prelates could easily find men of the same interest as their own. Now their choice lay between thirteen genuine bishops, appointed as such by the King; [11] and the eight on whom their votes fell, having the whole nobility to choose from, could hardly fail, as Mr. Gardiner observes, to find eight suitable peers. Moreover, the Act of 1587 had connected the

[9] *Maitland Miscellany*, iii. 115.

[10] Mr. Gardiner and Prof. Terry, following the records (*Acts*, v. 9) say that the barons and burgesses were chosen by the whole body of bishops and nobles. I submit that in this case the records are wrong; for, when the usage of 1633 was avowedly revived after the Restoration, the barons and burgesses were chosen by the eight bishops and eight nobles, and Balcanquhul's correspondent (*vide infra*) expressly says that this was the method in use. So, too, Hill Burton; but he cites as his authority the very passage in the Acts which supports the other view.

[11] In 1612, when the Crown submitted its list of nominees, the nobles 'by plurality of votes changed as many of the roll of the prelates as they had men to make change of.'—*Maitland Miscellany*, iii. 115.

nobles more closely with the Crown; and the King, having parliamentary peerages in his gift, could bestow them on Englishmen who voted by proxy, as in the case of Viscount Falkland, father of a more famous son.

It is possible, however, to exaggerate the extent to which Parliament at this period could be manipulated by the Crown. The functions of the legislature as a whole were rather dormant than obsolete, and anything in the nature of a crisis might recall them to life. Prof. Terry in his recent book (p. 156) has arrived at the startling conclusion that before 1640 the House, so far as not comprised in its Committee, did not vote at all. He points out that the shire members and burgesses had 'lost even the power to vote upon the election of the Articles'; that the bishops and nobles elected the Committee, and 'their sanction to its findings may therefore be held as given in advance'; and he refers to a case in 1639, when an Act was read in the Articles providing that every shire member should 'have a separate vote to be markit *per se*,' and the King's Commissioner opposed it as 'contraire to the perpetual custom inviolably observed. . . . and never acclaimed before by the barons.' How we are to interpret this incident, which seems to imply merely that the barons had not hitherto voted as individuals, I do not pretend to know; but it is impossible to agree with Prof. Terry that the reasons alleged by the Commissioner 'entirely harmonise with ascertained facts.' The facts, indeed, point quite the other way. In Calderwood's *History of the Kirk*, vii. 498, will be found a complete division list showing how the members of all Estates in 1621 voted for or against the ritualistic innovations known as the Six Articles; and in the Parliament held by Charles I. in person during his visit to Scotland in 1633 the Government was once in such danger of defeat that the King and most of those who were present marked down the response of each member as he answered to the roll. The Opposition complained that they were allowed merely to vote, not to speak.[12]

The protests made in 1633 were the first mutterings of a storm which was to sweep away the whole machinery by which legislative freedom had hitherto been restrained. The causes of the Puritan revolution were mainly religious and social; but Balcanquhal, the author of the King's *Large Declaration*, was assured that nothing had been more fatal to the bishops than the invidious

[12] Charles I.'s *Large Declaration*, p. 12; Gardiner, vii. 294.

function assigned to them in Parliament.[13] At the outset of his reign Charles had estranged the nobles by threatening to take away their monastic estates and by restricting their power as tithe-owners to coerce the gentry; their fears were revived in 1636 when a clergyman was presented (without effect) to the abbacy of Lindores; and they were therefore prepared to head the popular outbreak provoked in 1637 by the imposition of an Anglican prayer-book. In 1639, after a futile campaign in which there was no actual fighting, Charles assented to an Act of Assembly, deposing the bishops; and, before their places in Parliament had become legally vacant, the question was raised whether and how they should be filled. Charles wished to substitute Presbyterian ministers, but nobody would listen to this; and Montrose and others, in order to avert the development of an ecclesiastical, into a political, revolution, vainly urged that an equal number of laymen should be nominated by the Crown. It was at length agreed that the King's Commissioner should choose eight nobles as Lords of the Articles, who were to choose eight barons and eight burgesses, but that in future each Estate should make its own choice; and an Act to this effect was carried in the Committee, constituted in a manner so favourable to the Crown, by a bare majority of one. Charles prorogued Parliament, but in the following year it assembled in defiance of his prohibition, and adjusted in detail the new constitution. Nobles, barons and burgesses were henceforth to be the three Estates. Lords of the Articles might or might not be chosen, but, if they were, each Estate was to choose its own; and the Committee was required merely to give its advice with regard to measures which had originated in Parliament, and were there to be discussed and voted. 'No Reform Bill in our own day,' says Gardiner, 'has ever brought about anything like the political change which was the result of this decision.'[14] The Crown had no longer the right to control Parliament, and the nobles, far from helping to choose the Lords of the Articles, were outnumbered in that body, so far as it survived, by the barons and burgesses.

This invasion of the royal prerogative occasioned what is known as the Second Bishops' War; and, the defeat of Charles in that contest having precipitated a revolution in England, he

[13] Hailes's *Memorials of the Reign of Charles I.* p. 47.

[14] *History*, ix. 53. The working of Parliament from 1640 to 1651 may be studied in Sir James Balfour's *Historical Works*, vols. ii.-iv. Business was prepared by temporary and specific committees drawn equally from the three Estates.

had to accept such terms of peace as the Long Parliament was able or willing to procure. Charles, however, was anxious—vainly, as it proved—to detach the Scots from their English allies; and he consented without much reluctance to accept the new constitution and even to choose his Ministers with the advice of Parliament—a concession which exposed him to much worry and humiliation during his second visit to Edinburgh in 1641. It was not from Charles, but from a much less likely quarter, that the legislature was to receive a fatal blow. The same religious movement which had emancipated Parliament had recalled to life the General Assembly of the Church, which had been in abeyance for twenty years, 1618-1638. So long as the struggle could be regarded as a defensive one against the Crown, Assembly and Parliament worked together in perfect accord; but when Charles had been practically deposed and the nation had committed itself to an aggressive war for the propagation of Presbytery in England, the superior fanaticism of the Church threatened to bring it into conflict with the State. A crisis arose in 1648 when Parliament resolved to send assistance to Charles, then a prisoner, in consideration of his promise to make trial of Presbytery in England for three years. The Assembly Commission denounced the 'Engagement' as a violation of the Covenant; but Parliament contrived to raise a large force, 'contrary,' wrote an astonished divine, 'to the utmost endeavours of the Church,' and the Duke of Hamilton invaded England. A disastrous campaign, culminating in the capture of Hamilton and most of his troops, enabled ultra-Presbyterianism to retrieve its defeat. Under the protection of Cromwell the fanatical minority, known as Anti-Engagers or Whiggamores, formed themselves into a Rump Parliament, and passed the notorious Act of Classes excluding all but themselves from power; and theocracy enjoyed a short-lived triumph till, having made a Covenanter of Charles II., it was itself overthrown by Cromwell at Dunbar. The Act of Classes was first ignored in practice, and then formally repealed, and Charles had the support of a really national legislature when he invaded England in the August of 1651. A few days before his defeat at Worcester, the Committee of Estates, appointed by Parliament to conduct the war at home, was captured by General Monk; and during the next nine years, extending through the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the history of the Scottish Parliament is an entire blank.

During all but one or two years of its Puritan epoch, 1639-1651, Parliament had practically supplanted the Crown, and, directly or through its Committee of Estates, had exercised executive as well as legislative functions. Monarchy reasserted its privileges at the Restoration; but the old system was not at once fully restored, chiefly for want of the bishops, who formed, as it were, the keystone of the constitutional arch. Parliament had no sooner assembled in January, 1661, than, with a view to making its proceedings 'as conform as conveniently may be to the ancient customs,' it repealed the Act of 1640 which required overtures to be brought directly before the House; but, as a temporary expedient, the Lords of the Articles were to consist—in addition to the King's Ministers [16]—of 36 persons chosen in equal numbers by nobles, barons and burgesses. In 1662, Episcopacy having been restored, nine bishops who had just taken their seats were added to the Committee; and in the following year the Estates acquiesced in an intimation of 'his Majesty's express pleasure' that the Lords of the Articles should then and henceforth be chosen in the order 'which had been used before these late troubles, especially in the Parliament of 1633.' The Crown thus recovered its power; and meanwhile the political legislation effected during ten years of its usurped authority had been repealed. It is a common but inaccurate expression to say that the so-called Act Recissory of 1661 expunged all parliamentary proceedings, except private Acts, from 1640 to that year. There were two Acts of this purport—the first annulled wholly the Whiggamore Parliament of 1649, the second, passed more than two months later, annulled for political purposes the Parliaments, 1640-1648; but nothing was or could be done against the Parliament, 1650-1651, which Charles II. had held in person, and the Committee of Estates appointed by which, and taken prisoners by Monk, had been revived at the Restoration.

When we turn from these outlines of the Restoration Settlement to its details, we realise at once that the ground gained by Parliament during the Puritan revolution had not been altogether lost. In resigning the initiative in legislation to the Lords of the Articles, the House had reserved the right to receive any overtures which the Committee might fail to present; and Prof. Terry, without going beyond the records, is able to show

[16] These had been excluded in 1640, unless elected as individuals.

that Parliament was no longer the subservient body which James VI. and Charles I. had manipulated through their Episcopal nominees. He points out that, instead of being summoned only at the beginning and close of the session, it met several times a week; that it adopted rules of debate formulated in 1641; that it examined, voted, and even amended measures which the Articles had approved; and Mr. Porritt mentions as proof of a growing interest in politics that in 1678 persons not qualified by residence or profession were anxious to represent burghs, and that in that year a committee was appointed for the first time to determine controverted elections.[17]

These facts, however, afford but a faint indication of the independent, not to say mutinous, spirit disclosed in Sir George Mackenzie's *Memoirs*. The House, we find, is sometimes 'overawed,' sometimes 'gained to a compliance'; to interrupt a speaker and threaten him with the King's displeasure is denounced as a breach of privilege; Acts are passed 'after much debate'; the Commissioner, doubtful of success, prolongs a discussion, the motion is carried only by the Chancellor's casting vote, and the dissentients demand a recount. In 1673 the Duke of Hamilton formed a regular Opposition in Parliament, known as the Party, and made the startling proposal that the grievances of the nation should be considered, not by the Lords of the Articles, but by a special committee. The truth is that what one may call the modern phase of Parliament during the period under review began, not at the Revolution of 1689, but as soon as the ancient constitution was re-established under the new conditions introduced by the overthrow of theocracy at the battle of Dunbar. Material interests, fostered by Cromwell and imperilled by the English Navigation Act of 1660, were henceforth to be dominant in the national life. The ecclesiastical question was indeed revived by the fraudulent and summary imposition of Episcopacy in 1662; but the conflicts of Rullion Green, of Drumclog, and even of Bothwell Bridge, absorbed much less attention than is commonly supposed; and the Estates, intent on reviving decaying industries and trade, were roused to opposition by fiscal, not religious, grievances. 'It is the duty of every member of Parliament,' wrote Sir George Mackenzie, with unconscious humour, 'to oppose all impositions upon what commodity soever.'

[17] *The Unreformed House of Commons*, ii. 46, 47.

It is usually assumed that the Lords of the Articles as at present constituted were no more than an instrument of the royal will; but the Governments of Charles II. met with considerable opposition even in this packed committee; and the religious crisis which preceded the Revolution is memorable for the signal defeat which both Articles and Parliament inflicted on the Crown. James VII. in 1686 was anxious to get rid of the anti-Catholic laws, and, as the price of this concession, he offered to the Estates a long list of commercial benefits, and assured them that he was endeavouring 'with all imaginable application' to open up the English and colonial trade. In a reply to this request, drafted by the Lords of the Articles and adopted only after a division by the House, Parliament declared that it would 'go as great lengths therein as our conscience will allow.' This answer was deemed so unsatisfactory at Court that it did not appear in the Gazette; and a conflict now began in which the King spared neither bribes nor intimidation to gain his end. The Lord Advocate, a Lord of Session, and three Privy Councillors were dismissed; one bishop was deprived, and another forbidden to preach; pensions were stopped; and a systematic attempt was made to break up the Opposition by challenging elections and by calling away members to civil or military posts. Nevertheless, Parliament stood firm. The Articles would consent only to a measure providing as a bare exception to the penal laws that Catholics should have the right of private worship; but this overture was rejected by the House, and the Articles amended it by inserting an express provision that the proposed Act should not release office-holders from the obligation to take the Test. The measure was then dropped.[18] The venerable machinery for controlling Parliament was to disappear with the Stewart kings, and the last time it was employed was probably the first occasion on which it had publicly failed.

The Revolution of 1689 put an end to religion as a political issue and enabled Scotsmen to devote themselves unreservedly to those material interests which had been more or less dominant in Parliament for thirty years. William of Orange, on accepting the Crown, found that the Lords of the Articles had been voted a grievance; and, the Jacobitism of the bishops having frustrated his schemes for their retention, he was forced, after a vain attempt at compromise, to consent to the abolition of the Committee, of

[18] For this incident, see Wodrow, and Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*.

which they formed the most essential part. It was impossible, however, that two fully independent legislatures, estranged by commercial antagonism, could exist under a common head; and William, anticipating the policy which was to be pursued by the British Government in Ireland after it had been deprived of the initiative in legislation through the repeal in 1782 of Poynings' Law, lost no time in devising, or rather in developing,[19] a substitute for direct control. As early as 1690 he assured his Commissioner that he would make good 'what employment or other gratifications you think fit to promise'; and in the *Carstares State Papers* may be seen how extensive was the political traffic, sometimes in money, but more frequently in offices, sinecures and pensions. It was to arrest this corrupt influence of the English Court that Fletcher of Saltoun proposed his twelve 'limitations' of the royal power; and Nationalists more cool-headed than Fletcher were fain at last to give up legislative independence when they found that under such conditions it could never be more than a 'name.' Towards the close of the reign a Court party in Parliament had been so well organised by the Duke of Queensberry and Carstares that, after a temporary break-down, it was able to withstand the enormous pressure brought to bear upon it by the Darien agitation, and, had William lived a year or two longer, the Union, which was not then unpopular, might have been easily achieved. Queen Anne, the new sovereign, disliked the Whigs; and at the elections of 1703 Queensberry won an overwhelming but fatal victory over the Country Party, which was almost wholly Whig and Presbyterian, by appealing to the Jacobites. As might have been foreseen, a coalition of Jacobites and official Whigs proved unworkable; the former went into opposition, taking with them not a few of the Government corps; and Queensberry, having lost all control of the House, could only refuse the royal assent to the Act of Security, which provided that Scotland, unless its demands, political and commercial, were conceded, should become independent at the Queen's death.

With a view to retrieving its position in Parliament, the Crown now fell back on what remained of the original Country Party; and this group of about twenty members, popularly known as

[19] Corrupt influence had already been employed in the two preceding reigns to check the growing independence of Parliament, and under James VII. attempts were made, particularly at Dundee, to manipulate the burgh franchise. See Porritt, ii. 55.

the Squadrone, agreed to form a Government in the interest of Sophia of Hanover, the English successor, on condition that, like Charles I. in 1641, she should choose her Ministers with the advice of Parliament. Such a change of policy, as it involved the dismissal of Queensberry, was extremely offensive to his friends; and the Crown, having lost as many votes as it had gained, was again confronted with the Act of Security, and ventured no longer to withhold its assent. Meanwhile, the Whigs in England had almost recovered their ascendency, and, on the failure of the Squadrone Ministry to secure the Succession, they insisted on the recall of Queensberry, and set themselves in earnest to promote a Union. Jacobites and extreme Nationalists, such as Fletcher and Lord Belhaven, might be trusted to oppose this project, and placemen and pensioners to support it; and victory was assured to whichever side should be joined by the Squadrone. These men had hitherto been as strongly Nationalist as their Hanoverian sympathies would permit, and they could not reverse their policy without supporting Queensberry who had defeated them on the Darien question, and in the present reign had thwarted, and finally supplanted them, in office. Not till November 4, 1706, when they mustered all their available strength in support of the first article of the Union, was it known what course they had decided to pursue. The private correspondence of Lord Roxburgh, the real leader of the Squadrone, shows with what anxious deliberation, in how serious and disinterested a spirit, he addressed himself to this momentous issue; [20] and the best proof that he and his friends were actuated by no sordid motives is the apprehension of an independent Unionist that their personal antipathies would cause them to vote against the Government. 'God be thanked,' wrote Lord Marchmont, 'they have not done so, for which all who wish well to our Queen and to Britain owe them thanks, kindness and esteem, for they have carried themselves and concurred, as became persons of honour, understanding, and lovers of their country, without the least appearance of resentment toward those who are now employed.' [21]

WM. LAW MATHIESON.

[20] 'Roxburgh was never in so great anxiety as now: his thoughts have been entirely taken up these eight-and-forty hours about Union, and a torment to him which he has a mind you should have a part of.'—Roxburgh to Baillie of Jerviswood, in cipher, November 28, 1705; *Jerviswood Correspondence*, p. 137.

[21] *Marchmont Papers*, iii. 309. See also Burnet, v. 287.

## Glimpses of old Scots Parish Life

A PERUSAL of the eighteenth century books of the Kirk-session of Montrose raises a broad question of the value of such records in the story of Scots life and character. They hold nothing that enters into the national ideal; to look into them for exemplary martyrs to virtue and duty were idle; they are devoted to the sinful, and ignore the saintly. They are, in fact, chiefly concerned with the shadows that lend variety to parish life as reflected in the laws and usages of the Kirk.

Looking further, another limit is met. In one respect the Kirk minute-book resembles a diary to which the writer resorts after the manner of a sinner to the confessional. It tells at once too much and too little—too much of formal peccadilloes and breaches of Kirk discipline, too little of life's wider issues and more important interests. A cynic might find a subject for satire in the succession of microscopic sins and intrinsically innocent vices; but it is certain that, out of the archives of the Kirk, the typical Scot cannot be constructed. The fragmentary character-sketches they hold partially picture strictly parish figures, and, at the best, are a kind of antiquarian footnotes to the pages of history; or, like a border of archaic arabesques on an old manuscript, they may occasionally pertain to and illuminate a larger, more complete, and more enduring truth. The occasions, however, are rare upon which personal idiosyncrasy can be said to touch national character, and the local usage to illustrate an outstanding national trait.

The Kirk-session minutes furnish, amongst other things, convincing evidence that graver, more corroding sins, were begotten of the methods devised by the Kirk to suppress sin. To take one instance, the parishioners in the lower strata of the social scale were not above resorting to eavesdropping, and to the most despicable methods of playing the spy upon their neighbours. So, to substantiate an actual case of immorality, evidence was given, and received, which had avowedly been

obtained by 'keekin' through a chink in a partition.' Under such circumstances, in the matter of self-respect, the distinction becomes somewhat shadowy between Court, witness and panel. The following is a specimen of neighbourly informing:—'25th April, 1727, David Buchanan informs that Margt. Milne, spouse of James Peart, was yesterday, being the Lord's Day, betwixt nine and ten hours in the morning Walking along the back side of the town with a big kit in the one hand and a lapfull of peats held up with the other.'

This was judged scandalous, and the accused having confessed that she had done on the Sabbath that which she had forgotten to do on Saturday—gathered household fuel, to wit—and professed sorrow, and promised that she would never do so again, was dismissed with a rebuke. Turning men into informers was assuredly not conducive to the cultivation of the religious spirit. Yet it was part of the intolerable system of clerical espionage under which the Parish existed. In a hundred ways it is made clear that, men regarding their brother men with suspicion as perchance their special watchmen, few sins actual or suspected escaped the lynx eye of the Kirk: at what loss of Christian feeling may not be computed. The Kirk made the suppression of sin its first duty regardless alike of the degradation of its witnesses and of the feelings of a supposed sinner. It dragged sin into the light of day, and sent the sinner to 'the pillar,' or pillory, to be gazed at by men and women, perhaps only less openly impure. The practice familiarised the people with the sin it was intended to teach them to abhor.

The Kirk-session itself was practically a detective agency. Its members went after cases of Sunday drinking. On 4th April, 1774, they appointed 'the elders at the church door, with a Town officer, to go thro the Town between the Lecture and Sermon, and to take up the names of such disorderly persons as they shall find upon the streets, in order to be given in to the Magistrates, that they may be properly punished.' A similar instruction was issued in 1781, except that the plate-elders were to be accompanied by both a Town and a Kirk officer 'to observe and report such as shall be found breaking the Sabbath.' The discharge of such a function may have been helpful to the conservation of public morality, but it could hardly have been elevating to those who performed it. Any lowering effect it may have had upon

their status in public respect must needs, moreover, have been ultimately prejudicial to the authority of the Kirk.

That the system of church discipline had pernicious effects upon the character of the people goes without saying. To discuss the question whether they have been transient or permanent might, however, involve the assumption of their continued existence, and a critical analysis of Scots character is not here contemplated. Be its results what they may, the parish mechanism for securing the good morals of convention lasted long. It was not till after the middle of the eighteenth century that a more lenient spirit began to pervade the Session. The lesser sinners were rebuked and exhorted to repentance, and the earlier forms of 'discipline' were generally reserved for the more heinous order of offenders. Many instances also occur of kindly compassion and charitable generosity. At length came an unmistakable token of the incoming of a kindlier sense of justice. On 25th July, 1771, it is written: 'The Session appoint Alexander Smith, their Wright, to fill the vacant space where the Repentance Seat formerly was, with Pews, and that immediately.' The very memory of the 'stool' was best so committed to oblivion, that the place that had known it might know it no more. In the following month the Montrose Session further did well to shake off the mystery that had attached to some of its proceedings, by deciding neither to hold session in private houses, nor to take the confessions of scandalous persons in them: an exception was made only of 'extraordinary cases,' as to which the majority of the Session were to be consulted and to consent.

To show that there was room for improvement in both manners, and the methods taken by the Kirk to purify them, let us take a few of the cases occurring in the previous half-century. In August, 1728, Elizabeth Paul, spouse to Alexander Innes, Haberdasher, was found gathering keall upon the Lord's Day, and gave very rude language to one of the Elders who reproved her in the fact. For so doubly heinous an offence she was sharply rebuked. Some admitted 'the great sin of Sabbath breaking in going out to the country to visit friends and drinking ale unnecessarily in ale houses.' A singular case was that of John Milne, horsehirer, who, on 26th June, 1727, confessed the sin of shearing bear on the Lord's Day. His plea in extenuation was that his horse had come home

unexpectedly from a long journey, and 'he could not let him starve.' The Session thought differently, and judged that he ought to be taken engaged to abstain from the like in time coming. It may have been intended to give John a lesson in forethought and preparing for the unexpected. It may also have been that the Session deemed it better for him to let his horse starve, than to endanger his soul by breaking the Sabbath in getting it food.

The more completely sinners realised the small quantum of their sins, the more inclined were they either to defy the Kirk or to make a joke of its solemn rebuke. In no other respect did Burns more thoroughly represent his people. By driving petty faults under the surface, the Kirk-session went near to suggesting that hypocrisy be placed among the virtues. The hidden sin gave rise to no *fama*, and it came to be held that not the sin but the scandal it gave rise to composed the offence, and wrought the injury to morals and religion. Citation, however, followed upon the merest rumour, and if the person cited was guiltless, the judgment took some such form as this: you are dismissed; there is no evidence to convict you; but don't do it again. Here is a case in point: In 1732 the two parties to a charge of immorality, but against whom none was proven, 'were severely rebuckt and admonished to avoid each other's company and were dismiss'd.' An innocent girl who had an honest lover might, upon the vilest 'surmises and whisperings,' be dragged before the Court, and subjected to unspeakable degradation. Her innocence established, the only satisfaction she received was a Sessional testimonial signed by her clerical judge—sometimes her only accuser—to the effect that she was free of 'all publick scandall' and fit to be a member of any Christian congregation. It is, accordingly, not surprising to read of one contumacious young woman telling the Session that she would not return to it again unless carried in a cart!

The system led wronged virtue into vice, and gave opportunity to spiteful lying and perjury, to the bearing of false witness, and to the bringing of false accusations; nor was it successful in promoting Sabbath observance in any but a Scoto-Jewish sense.

To exemplify this:—About forty years ago two women were charged in the Police Court of Montrose with disorderly conduct on Sunday. One was found guilty of assault, but

the judge was lenient. It was shown in the course of the trial that she had cried out to the other—'An' gin it wasna the Sabbath day I would ca' in your skull.' The judge probably could not think her wholly wicked who showed so nice a feeling of respect for the Sabbath!

An incident of the same sort, though with slightly varying details, may be found in the folk-lore of many Scots parishes; in the following it is run to earth in the pages of authentic local history. In the Kirk-session records of Montrose, for 1725, a case appears in which that Court had sat four times upon two Sabbath-breakers, who had been brawling in the street. A witness stated that one of the accused had threatened the other 'with a pair of *tongues*, and said that *if it were not the Lord's Day* he would knock him down.' A woman made oath that she 'saw David Ogilvie with a pair of "tongues" in his hand, calling to John Reid, "Come here till I knock you, and heard him bid his Maker curse his blood he would beat him down were it not the Lord's Day, and called him beggarly lown and rascall and fairy-bitten toad, and would throw him down upon the street. To which he replied that he would not allow him, and that he would answer him upon a week-day."' It prepares a reader for the climax. At a fifth diet they were rebuked, exhorted, and then they 'struck hands, giving mutual promises to live in peace and amity.' At the same time, the Sabbath was broken in many ways both open and secret. One was reproved for selling wilks, others for 'cutting of keall' and frequent absence from sermons. In the following the subject is generalised:—'25th February, 1734: This day the Session taking under their serious consideration how much the Sabbath Day is neglected and contemned by sheaving and Dressing of Wiggs, bearing of burdens, Drawing of Water unnecessarily, Drinking in Eale houses, buying and selling of snuff and other things, Idle walking in the streets and feilds, and many other such unlawful practices: The Session also Considering that the poor suffer greatly by giving in of bad money and Uncurrant coin at the Church Doors . . . enact and ordain that no bad money be given at the church door in charity to the prejudice of the poor, And moreover, unless the Sabbath day be more religiously observed, and people abstain from the unlawfull practices a-mentioned on that day, some more severe course will be taken to crubb these abuses of the Sabbath Day.'

From the context it would appear that putting 'uncurrant coin' into the plate was considered intentional. In 1733, in any view, it was deemed expedient to 'advertise to give into the plate nothing but good money.' The subject comes up so often in the Minutes that judgment and charity alike lean to the view that the offence was, at least sometimes, committed either through carelessness or ignorance. Under date 25th May, 1770, this occurs:—'In regard a number of bad half-pence are circulating thro' the town, the Session appoint an Intimation to be made over the pulpit Sabbath first that none of the congregation may give bad money at the Church door.' On 20th October, 1779, out of a sacrament collection of £21 11s. 7¾d. stg. three shillings and one penny consisted of bad half-pence. In a collection for two foundling children, 'the sum collected amounted to £13 1s. 10¼d. besides two bad shillings.' The evil fluctuated, apparently, according to the amount of base coin in circulation, for on 14th May, 1785, from a collection on a Sacrament Sunday of £20 12s. 11d., it was found necessary to deduct £2 3s. 4d. for bad half-pence. The extent of the annoyance may best be gathered from a report by the Treasurer on 7th September, 1780, 'that he has sixty-three pound weight of bad half-pence of the Poor's money on hand, and desired the advice of the Session how he should dispose of them. The Session order him to dispose of them to the best advantage for the behoof of the Poor, with this restriction that the Purchaser must oblige himself either to cut or run them down.' The prevailing carelessness of the interests of the poor is further evinced by the frequent difficulty the Kirk-session encountered in collecting sundry minor dues allotted to charitable purposes. In 1725, a decision is minuted to the effect that funeral charges be paid within fourteen days of interment, and those for children's burials before breaking of the ground. Three years later it was found necessary to appoint 'that in all time comming non shall have any bells rung in the steeple for their burrialle without their friends give suficient security to the Treasurer for paymt. of the Ordinary Dews.' Shortly afterwards the Kirk-session is found suing for the dues exigible upon the use of the 'mort cloath for childring.' After all the trouble, the legal destination of some of these fees became matter of dispute, and the point came up in a suit brought by the Magistrates of Montrose against the Kirk-session in 1730.

The Court of Session decided that burials in the church and bells at burials did not belong to the poor's fund, but were appropriated for the support of the church fabric, and that, if that fund was not sufficient, the Session 'may have recourse according to law for the deficiency without touching the poor's fund.' The suit suggests an interesting subject of investigation for the proposed Commission to enquire into the working of the poor law in Scotland—how much of the money collected for the poor has been spent in litigation.

To revert to the customs brought to light in connection with Sunday desecration, it appears that the brewers and barbers long held a bad pre-eminence as Sabbath-breakers. On one occasion there was a great outcry over two brewers who were found 'boiling worts between nine and ten o'clock in the morning' of the Lord's Day. To prevent the recurrence of such a 'scandal' all the brewers in the congregation were cautioned against brewing upon Saturday, lest they run the hazard of working upon the Lord's Day, and of being prosecuted as Sabbath-breakers. The warning did no good, as, twenty years later, it was repeated, and, on that occasion, the brewers were coupled as co-offenders with persons who haunt ale-houses, especially in time of divine worship, and the keepers of such houses where entertainment was given. There was obviously a good deal of Sunday drinking, and two instances may be given as illustrating the detective system. On 9th October, 1749, two elders reported having found two different companies drinking in an ale-house in time of divine service. The drinking does not appear to have been condemned, unless it interfered with the ordinances of the Kirk, or was carried to excess. On 10th May, 1758, the Session examined into a flagrant report concerning some persons, both men and women, sitting drinking in William Sandyman's on Sabbath afternoon, until 10 p.m. Those who appeared and confessed were sharply rebuked, and exhorted to 'circumspection.'

The barbers were more difficult to deal with, by reason probably of the burghers' tenacity in adhering to an old custom. It is more than likely that a presumably religious desire, on the citizens' part, to make a good appearance at Church brought about the barbers' breach of the commandment. Their offence is detailed under date 8th November, 1725: 'The Session, considering that the scandalous practice

of Shaving and Dressing Wigs on the Lord's Day is severely prosecute in other places, as being dishonourable to God, and contrary to the Law of the Land, therefore appoints all the Barbers in Town to be advertised by the Elders of the Several Quarters where they reside, that in case they be found guilty of such practice hereafter they will be rigorously prosecute according to Law.' On 6th February, 1727, six barbers appeared and promised to bind themselves under pains and penalties to shave no more and dress no wigs in all time coming, between midnight Saturday and midnight Sunday. This appears to have proved insufficient, as the Ministers next addressed the Magistrates as to obtaining 'an Act of Council for the Barbers associating themselves in a Bond for preventing breach of Sabbath by their Barbarizing on the Lord's Day.' On 12th July, 1731, the aid of the civil authority was again invoked, the Session having appointed the Moderator 'to apply to the Magistrates anent taking an effectuall course to prevent shaving and dressing of wiggs and selling of snuff on the Lord's Day.' For some reason not stated, the Magistrates were unwilling to interfere, and appear to have thought voluntary steps taken by the barbers more likely to be efficacious. In November, 1731, at all events, it was reported to the Session that the Magistrates 'seem to be of opinion that the barbers ought to enact themselves so as to pay a considerable fine for Sheaving and Dressing of wiggs upon Sabbath, as also that an Act of Council should be made to fine such as sell snuff or other commoditys unnecessarily upon Sabbath.' The truth, as already hinted, may have been that, while a Magistrate could replenish his snuff-mull on Saturday, it was below his dignity to appear in Church on Sunday without a properly dressed wig.

So years passed without any abatement of the evil. On 10th April, 1738, the Kirk-session admitted 'that the scandalous practice of sheaving and dressing and carrying wiggs through the streets upon the Lord's Day is as comon as ever.' It was accordingly decided to threaten the guilty with prosecution, and again to seek the concurrence of the Council. The latter was intimated towards the end of the year, but that it led to no improvement is shown by the records of 1741. On 14th December of that year, the Session decided that a more effectual restraint upon the barbers was necessary, and appointed elders to perambulate the streets, so that delinquents might be prosecuted forthwith. Two were detected, 'And the Session

finding that the Town Council upon a Representation from the Min[rs] At their last meeting had appointed the whole Barber Trade to Enact themselves under the penalty of ten pound Scotts for the first fault, and twenty for the second, that they should forbear Sheaving and Dressing wiggs on the Lord's Day. The Session therefore recomends it to [three of the Bailies] to apply the Council to see the said Act signed by all the barbers and made effectuall.' Meantime, the two culprits were to be reproved and admonished by a Committee of the Session. The Ministers accordingly had them up and, besides rebuke and admonition, laid upon them a strait injunction 'to be more cautious of their conduct in that particular for the time to come, to which they submitted and promised so to do.'

Attention to such matters could not be expected to conduce to breadth of view or sectarian charity. When the Roman Catholic Disabilities measure came before the Session on Christmas Day, 1778, the state of feeling towards it may be inferred from what followed. Within a month the Session ordered the publication of its views and decision. As an index to the toleration of the day, the resolution arrived at is here given verbatim :

'Montrose, Jan[y] 23rd, 1779. This day the Kirk Session of this Parish met to deliberate concerning an Act passed in last Session of Parliament, relieving Papists in England from certain Penalties and Disabilities therein specified, and which it is generally fear'd is proposed soon to be extended to Scotland. After mature deliberation the members of Session were unanimously of opinion that an Act giving such unbounded Toleration to Papists, whose Principles and Practices have been long known and experienced to be Pernicious to Protestant States, would expose not only the Protestant interest but our civil and religious liberties to much danger ; and that no asseverations nor even the most solem oaths, made by them, can be considered as sufficient security on account of the easiness with which Dispensations from Oaths are obtained in the Roman communion. As this is the oppinion of the Kirk Session and of the great body of the People consisting of more than 5000 inhabitants, they judged it incumbent on them as office-bearers in this church and friends both to the Established Religion of this kingdom and the Protestant succession, publickly to make known their sentiments with regard to this matter, and to declare that tho' they are no friends to Persecution for conscience sake, it is their sincere

desire that such an Act in favour of Papists may not be past into a Law, and their firm Resolution, if it shall be brought into Parliament, to oppose it by every Constitutional method in their Power, and they order this their Resolution to be published in the Edinburgh Advertiser and Mercury.'

The subject which the Session considered next was that of absence from its services. Its office-bearers were not always above reproach. In 1752 the Moderator was appointed to commune with those members of Session 'who have absented themselves for some years past from their meetings.' On 20th August, 1733, mention is made of some half-dozen elders whom it was found necessary to summon, by reason of their having absented themselves from the Session 'for a long time past, all of them more than a year.' Some were deposed, one upon the ground of contumacy and of refusing to have his child baptized. One elder was deposed in 1740, for vice practised within a month of his ordination. In 1759-60, another case ended in deposition by the Presbytery. The culprit was charged by his father-in-law with turning his motherless children out of doors 'almost in a naked condition' at ten o'clock at night, refusing either to give them their clothes or to do anything towards their maintenance. In yet another case, the circumstances were peculiar. On 15th November, 1769, George Cowie, Shipmaster, one of the Elders, was accused of entering 'sale cloth' under the name of 'sail cloth,' in order to secure the Government premium for transportation of the latter. It was seized and detained. Cowie admitted the charge, and resigned his eldership.

From the special instances quoted, the opening sentences of this paper may now be better understood. The contrast between the pages of the Session books and those of national history, say of Hill Burton and Hume Brown, is sometimes so strong as to be ludicrous. They might reflect two different races. The people of the one are seen in the other as marionnettes through an inverted telescope. It is impossible to identify the Lilliputians of the local register with the fighters in the great wars of political and religious independence. The reason, of course, is that the local records show only one facet of the varied life of a many-sided people. They focus vision mainly upon men as errant members of an alert and censorious kirk, and the Scot is neither always discernible, nor seen to advantage, in the Presbyterian under discipline.

EDWARD PINNINGTON.

# Bishop Norie's Dundee Baptismal Register, 1722-26

IN December, 1904, when the library which had belonged to the Grahams of Duntrune was being arranged for sale, a MS. was found inserted loosely within a Note-book bearing the name of James Graham, dated 22nd May, 1666, and used first in that year for Memoranda as to the purchase and sale of yarn and cloth; afterwards, in 1675, as a record of sheep delivered to David Newall, shepherd in Claverhouse; and finally as the Family Register of David Graham of Duntrune (fifth Viscount Dundee, but for the attainder), and of his children and grand-children, the dates being brought up in different hand-writings till 1824. The MS. within the Note-book is written on 8½ pp. measuring 9 inches by 4 inches, and is a holograph record of baptisms in Dundee by Robert Norie (afterwards Bishop Norie), covering the period from 21st June, 1722, till 8th October, 1726. This Record is important in various ways. It supplies genealogical particulars as to Forfarshire families which are not to be found elsewhere; and it also shows that the adherents to Episcopacy were more numerous in Dundee and its vicinity than one might imagine from the Presbyterian histories of the time. Notes as to the leading families might have been supplied, but it has been deemed advisable to print only the text of the Register. Among the families represented either as parents or sponsors are the following: Kid of Craigie, Kinloch of that Ilk, Fothringham of Bandean, Hay of Murie, Crawford of Monorgan, Graham of Duntrune, Baron Gray of Gray, Balfour of Forret, Brown of West-Horn, Greenhills of Banchrie, Ogilvy of Newhall, Crichton of Crunan, Ogilvy of Temple-hall, Kinloch of Kilrie, Clayhills of Invergowrie, Wedderburn of Blackness, Forrester of Millhill, and Graham of Fintrie. The MS. is in the possession of Mrs. Ida Clementina Graham-Wigan, of Duntrune, with whose consent it has now been printed.

The writer of this MS. was a notable personage in his day. He was born about 1647, and was (probably) the son of Robert Norie, M.A., minister of Fearn and of Stracathro, 1607-10. He studied at St. Leonard's College, and graduated M.A. on 27th July, 1667, pursuing his studies in Divinity as a bursar of Brechin in 1669. On 30th May, 1678, he was licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews, was presented by Charles II. to the Parish of Dunfermline, and was admitted in September of that year. In May, 1681, he complained to the Privy Council against certain Justices of the Peace who sought to interfere with the fines taken by the Kirk Session. 'Being obnoxious to some of the more violent Presbyterians, who had intentions concerning him in December, 1684, not for his benefit, he had wisdom to keep out of their way' (Scott's *Fasti Eccles. Scot.* ii. p. 568). In 1686 he was translated to Dundee, and admitted as pastor of the South Church on 14th June. On 29th August, 1689, he was deprived by the Privy Council for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates, and refusing to pray for William and Mary; and on 26th December, 1716, he was formally deposed for disloyalty. In July, 1717, he was prosecuted before the Lords of Justiciary for intruding into parish churches, leasing-making, and 'praying for the Pretender'; but the Solicitor-General (Robert Dundas of Arniston) deserted the diet in respect of the Act of Grace. Norie continued to serve as Episcopal minister of Dundee, as is proved by the MS. Register, and took an active part in the affairs of the church even at his advanced age. In 1724 the Episcopal College recommended the consecration of four additional bishops, and, through Lockhart, obtained the consent of the exiled King James. Robert Norie was one of the four, and he was consecrated by the Primus (Dr. Fullarton, Bishop of Edinburgh) on 25th July, 1724. This is confirmed indirectly by the Register, for Norie describes himself as 'minister of Dundee' on 24th June, and as 'one of the Bishops of the Church of Scotland' on 15th August, 1724. He was appointed to the Episcopal charge of Angus and Mearns and part of Perthshire, but the Primus insisted that this should only be done by the clergy and laity of the district, and a majority objected to Norie's appointment, preferring Dr. Rattray of Craighall. A dispute arose, the cause of Rattray being supported by Lord Panmure and the majority, and that of Norie by the Earl of Strathmore and Lord Gray. Ultimately some of the

votes of the majority were disallowed, and Norie retained the episcopate. His death took place in March, 1727, when he was in his 80th year (Grub, *Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, iii. 395; Stephen, *Hist. of Scot. Church*, ii. 493; *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 124 *et seq.*)

A. H. MILLAR.

## REGISTER OF BAPTISMS.

Clementina Dugalla Kid, daughter of Mr. George Kid, eldest son to the Laird of Craigie was baptised at Woodhill June 21, 1722, (The Laird of Craigie, her Grandfather stood God-father and Madam Maitland and The Lady Craigie her two grandmothers God-mothers) by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ at Dundie.

John Grahame and Robert Grahame sons born at one birth to David Grahame vintener in Cowties Winde at Dundie, were baptised in his own house June 24—1722, by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ at Dundie, Westhal and James Young, surgeon apothecary being witnesses.

Cicil Kinloch daughter to Doctor Kinloch, Dr. of medicine in Dundie was baptised June 20—1722, in his own house in Dundie by Mr. Robert Norie, min$^{r.}$ at Dundie. Mr. John fothringham brother German to the late George fothringham, laird of Banden, stood Godfather and Dr. fothringhame, his lady and Mrs. Bell Hay daughter to the late Sir John Hay of Moorie, God-mothers.

David Miller son to James Miller in Logie was baptised July 18—1722, by Mr. Robert Norie, min$^{r.}$ att Dundie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Patrik Mathew son to David Mathew dyer in the Murray-gate was baptised August 14—1722 by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ at Dundie in Mr. Norie's own house befor witnesses.

Thomas Speed son to James Speed merchant in Dundie was baptised October 20—1722 by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ att Dundie in Mrs. White's house befor witnesses.

James Fife son to David Fife merchant in Dundie was baptised November 7—1722 by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ att Dundie in his own house befor witnesses.

Robert Watson son to William Watson maltman in Dundie was baptised the 23 day of November, 1722, by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ at Dundie in Mr. Norie his house befor witnesses.

Henry Crichton son to Mr. Thomas Crichton Chirurgeon apothecary in Dundie was baptised in his own house the 7 day of December 1722, James Kinloch of that ilk and Henry Crawford, Laird of Monorgan standing God-fathers and Lady [blank in MS.] Mr. Thomas Crichton's sister, God-mothers, by Mr. Robert Norie min$^{r.}$ at Dundie.

Alex. Grahame son to Walter Grahame merchant in Dundee was baptised the eleventh day of December 1722 years, Walter Grahame his two brothers Alex. and John Grahame standing Godfathers and Christian

Graham their sister God-mother, in his own house by Mr. Robert Norie minr. at Dundie.

George Greenhill son to Mr. Patrick Greenhill indweller in Dundie was baptised December 19—1722 years in his own house befor witnesses by Mr. Robert Norie minr. att Dundie.

Christian Miller daughter to William Miller in Whitfield was baptised januarij 12—1723—by Mr. Robert Norie minr. at Dundie in Mr. Norie his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

James Guthrie son to John Guthrie merchant in Dundie was baptised in his own house in Dundie februarij 3—1723—by Mr. Robert Norie minr. at Dundie befor witnesses.

Jean Maurice Daughter to William Maurice, weaver in the Seagate of Dundie was baptised februarij 25—1723—by Mr. Robert Norie minr. att Dundie in Mr. Norie's house befor witnesses.

Charles David Grahame son to Mr. David Grahame in Duntrune was baptised att Duntrune the 27 day of March 1723 the Mr. of Gray and John Grahame merchand in Dundie being Godfathers, and the Mistress of Gray God-mother, by Mr. Robert Norie, minr. at Dundie.

Margaret Bruce, Daughter to Patrick Bruce in the Seagate of Dundie was baptised March 27—1723—by Mr. Robert Norie minr. at Dundie in Mr. Norie's house befor witnesses.

David Crichton son to Alex. Crichton in the Seagate of Dundie was baptised on Aprile 9th. 1723 years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie in Mr. Norie's house befor witnesses.

John Murray son to Henry Murray in Dundie was baptised in [erasure in MS.] May 8th. 1723 years, in his own house Westhal, And. Ogilvy of temple hall being God-father and the lady Westhall, God-mother, by Mr. Robert Norie, minr. of Dundie.

Jean Donaldson daughter to William Donaldson merchant in Dundie was baptised in Walter Grahame merchant there his house on May 26—1723 years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie.

John Balfour son to [blank in MS.] Balfour younger of forret was baptised on June 5—1723 in the laird of Banden his house in Dundee by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie befor witnesses.

Christian Low daughter to Abraham Low maison in the hill of Dundie was baptised on June the 6—1723 by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie in Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Isobel Car daughter to John Car baker in the Murrygate in Dundie was baptised June 24—1723 years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie in Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Jean Martin daughter to William Martin in Logie was baptised July 3—1723 years by Mr. Robert Norrie minr. of Dundie in Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

James Crawford son to the laird of Monorgan was baptised in Monorgan's house in Dundie by Mr. Robert Norie minister of Dundie on July 12—1723 Mr. James Paton minister of Catness and Mr. Thomas Crichton apothecary in Dundie being Godfathers, and Mr. Paton's wife Godmother.

John Gib son to Robert Gib Taylour in the Neithergate of Dundie was baptised July 13—1723 in Thomas Davidson's house in the Neithergate of Dundie by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie befor witnesses.

Agnes Zeaman daughter to James Zeaman in the parochin of Mains was baptised July 26—1723 by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie in Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Barbara Goldman daughter to Mr. James Goldman minr. of the Gospel in Dundie was baptised Aug. 13—1723 years in Mr. Goldman's house in Dundie, Dr. George Rait Dr. of Medicine in Dundie being Godfather and Barbara Rait, daughter to Mr. William Rait minr. of Monikie, and Barbara Goldman daughter to Alex. Goldman in Dundie being God-mothers.

John Johnston son to James Johnston writer in Dundie was baptised in James Johnston his house in Dundie Agust 13—1723 years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundee befor witnesses.

Grisel Brown Daughter to the Laird of Horn was baptised Agust 16—1723 years in Horn his house in Dundie by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie befor witnesses.

Clementina Anna Margareta Crichton daughter to Thomas Crichton surgeon apothecary in Dundie was baptised in Mr. Crichton's house in Dundie November 28—1723 by Mr. Robert Norie minr. of Dundie the Laird of Monorgan being Godfather, and Mr. Crichton his mother and Doctor fothringham his lady being God-mothers.

Christian Guthrie daughter to John Guthrie merchant in Dundie was baptised in John Guthrie his house on January 7—1724 years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. att Dundie befor witnesses.

Robert fothringhame son to James fothringhame merchant in Dundie was Baptised in Master fothringhame's house on January the 19 day jmvijc and twentie four years by Mr. Robert Norie minister att Dundie Robert Graham eldest son to the laird of fintrie and James Clephan son to Colonel Clephan being Godfathers and the lady Balinshaw God-mother.

Elizabeth Grahame daughter to Walter Grahame merchant in Dundie was baptised in his house in Dundie february twentie fift day jmvijc and twentie four years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. at Dundie John Grahame the said Walter Grahame his youngest brother being Godfather and Mrs. White and her daughter Provost Guthrie his lady being Godmothers.

Helen Greenhils daughter to Mr. Patrick Greenhils of Banchrie was baptised in his house in Dundie on february twentie-fifth day jmvijc and twentie four years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. at Dundie befor witnesses.

William Moffat son to William Moffat in the ground of Balgay was baptised March 10 jmvijc and twentie four years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. att Dundie in Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Margaret Ogilvy daughter to [blank in MS.] Ogilvy deceased son to Ogilvy of Newhall was baptised April the 9th. day jmvijc and twentie four years by Mr. Robert Norie minr. att Dundie in the Lady Dowager of Monorgan her house in Dundie The Laird of Monorgan being Godfather and Mr. Thomas Crichton surgeon apothecarie in Dundie his Lady and

Mrs. James Pilmor daughter to the said Lady Dowager of Monorgan being Godmothers.

Alexander Fife son to David fife merchant in Dundie was baptised on April 14—1724 years in David fife his own house in Dundie by Mr. Robert Norie minister of the Gospel att Dundie befor witnesses.

Janet Mathew daughter to David Mathew dyer in the Murraygate in Dundie was baptised upon May 25th. day 1724 by Mr. Robert Norie minister of the Gospel at Dundie in the said Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Thomas Ogilvy Son to Henry Ogilvy of Temple hall was baptised in his own house in the Murraygate in Dundie on June 2nd. 1724 years by Mr. Norie minister of Dundie befor witnesses.

William Johnston son to Peter Johnston in the Murraygate baptised June 20—1724 by Mr. Robert Norie min[r.] of the Gospel at Dundie in Mr. Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

John Kinloch son to Dr. John Kinloch Dr. of Medicin in Dundie was baptised June 24—1724 in his own house in Dundie by Mr. Robert Norie minister of Dundie Master Patrick Crichton of Crunan—and Mr. John fothringham brother German to the deceased George fothringham of Banden standing Godfathers and Dr. David fothringham Dr. of Medicin his Lady standing Godmother.

John Kinloch son to the Laird of Kilrie was baptised in Dr. John Kinloch brother germain to the Laird of Kilrie his house in Dundie Agust 15—1724 by Mr. Robert Norie one of the Bishops of the Church of Scotland Dr. John Kinloch and Dr. David fothringham standing Godfathers and Dr. John Kinloch his Lady Godmother.

David Crawford son to the Laird of Monorgan was baptised in Mr. James Paton minister of Catness his house in Dundie Agust 19—1724 by Bishop Norie one of the Bishops of Scotland the s[d] Mr. Paton and Thomas Crichton Surgeon Apothecary in Dundie standing Godfathers and Mr. Paton's lady Godmother.

Clementina Grahame daughter to David Grahame in Duntrune was baptised in Duntrune September 3—1724 by Bishop Norie one of the Bishops of the Church of Scotland Alexander Grahame merchant in Dundie standing Godfather and my Lady Dundie and her Daughter Mrs. Alison Grahame standing Godmothers.

John Kiel son to Alex. Kiel in the hill of Mains was baptised September 27—1724 by Bishop Norie in Bishop Norie his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Isobel Johnston daughter to James Johnston at the back of Powrie was baptised October the 13 day 1724 by Bishop Norie one of the Bishops of the Church of Scotland in Bishop Norie his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Robert Miller son to James Miller in Logie was baptised October 15—1724 years by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Isobel fife daughter to Alex. Fife in Cadgertoun was baptised December 28—1724 years by Bishop Norie in his own house in Dundie befor witnesses.

John Rait son to David Rait in Wallace of Craigie was baptised January 3d 1725 years by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

George Guthrie son to John Guthrie merchant in Dundie was baptised in his house on the 25th. day of January 1725 by Bishop Norie befor witnesses.

Margaret Brown daughter to the Laird of Horn was baptised in Horn's house in Dundie on the 28th. day of January 1725 by Bishop Norie befor witnesses.

Elizabeth Crichton daughter to Thomas Crichton Surgeon Apothecary in Dundie was baptised in Mr. Crichton's house in Dundie on the 3d day of february jmviic and twentie five years by Bishop Norie the Laird of Monorgan standing Godfather and the Lady Kinloch and Mr. Crichton's mother Godmothers.

David fothringham son to James fothringham merchant in Dundie was baptised in James fothringham's house in Dundie on february 15. 1725 by Bishop Norie Archibald fothringham of Drumlochie and John Strachan merchant in Dundie standing Godfathers and Mrs Helen Miln daughter to the Laird of Milnfield Godmother.

Henry Couper son to James Couper in the cotter toun of Craigie was baptised by Bishop Norie in his own house in Dundie on february 28. 1725 befor witnesses.

David Cook son to James Cook dyer in Dundie was baptised by Bishop Norie in James Cook's house in the Murraygate in Dundie upon March 4—1725 befor witnesses.

Elizabeth Corsar daughter to Frederick Corsar merchant in Dundie was baptised in the Laird of Invergowrie his house on March 12. 1725 by Bishop Norie the Laird of Invergowrie standing Godfather and his Lady and Mrs Margaret Clayhils his daughter standing Godmothers.

James Goldman son to Mr James Goldman minr. of the Gospel in Dundie was baptised in his own house on Aprile 1. 1725 by Bishop Norie Dr. George Rait Dr. of medicine and George Dempster merchant in Dundie standing Godfathers and Dr. Rait his Lady Godmother.

James Gray son to James Gray in the Cottar-toun of Craigie was baptised by Bishop Norie in Bishop Norie's house in Dundie on June 27. 1725 years befor witnesses.

Robert Souter son to Robert Souter Tailour in Dundie was baptised by Bishop Norie in Bishop Norie his house in Dundie on July 27. 1725 years befor witnesses.

Elizabeth Grahame daughter to John Graham merchant in Dundie was baptised in his own house by Bishop Norie Walter Graham merchant in Dundie John Graham his brother standing God-father and Wallace of Craigie his Lady and Milnhil his Lady Godmothers on July 30. 1725 years.

Margaret Wedderburn daughter to John Wedderburn Eldest son to the Laird of Blackness was baptised at Blackness on the last day of Agust 1725 years by Bishop Norie John Wedderburn Doctor of medicine in Dundie standing Godfather and the Lady fullarton and the Lady blackness Godmothers.

James Tasker son to William Tasker Smith in cottar-toun of Craigie was baptised on the fourth day of Septembr by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses 1725 years.

[A blank equal to nine lines of the MS. is left between above entry and the succeeding entry.]

James Craighead son to James Craighead in the parochin of the Mains was baptised on October the 15 day 1725 by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Agnes Robertson daughter to James Robertson in the hill of Dundie was baptised by Bishop Norie the first day of Novembr 1725 in Bishop Norie's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Patrick Crichton son to Mr Patrick Crichton of Crunan was baptised in his own house in the seagate in Dundie Novembr. 20—1725 years by Bishop Norie Dr. David Fothringham and Dr. Kinloch standing Godfathers and Mistress Landels Godmother.

George Graham son to Walter Graham merchant in Dundie was baptised in his own house in Dundie Decembr. 19 1725 years by Bishop Norie George Dempster and George Ramsay merchants in Dundie standing God-fathers and Mrs Grisel Graham sister German to Walter Graham God-mother.

James Kinloch son to Dr. John Kinloch Doctor of Medicine in Dundie was baptised January 1, 1726 in his house in Dundie by Bishop Norie the Laird of Kilrie and Dr. David fothringham Doctor of Medicine in Dundie standing Godfathers and the said Doctor [erased in MS.] fothringham his Lady God-mother.

John fife son to David fife merchant in Dundie was baptised in David fife his house January 13. 1726 by Bishop Norie befor witnesses.

Isobel Muffet daughter to William Muffet in the ground of Balgay was babtised [*sic*] January 21, 1726 by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Margaret Millar daughter to James Miller in the cottar-toun of Diddup was baptised by Bishop Norie in his own house in Dundie January 27. 1726 befor witnesses.

Grisel Rind daughter to David Rind in the ground of Balgay was baptised by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie february 1. 1726 years befor witnesses.

John Crawford son to the Laird of Monorgan was Baptised in Mr James Paton minr. of Catness his house in Dundie by Bishop Norie on february 3d. 1726 Dr. John Blair and the Laird of Milnhill standing God-fathers and Thomas Crichton surgeon apothecary in Dundie his Lady God-mother.

Susanna Lyon daughter to James Lyon merchant in Dundie was baptised in his own house in the Neithergate of Dundie february 7th. 1726 by Bishop Norie Provost Douglas in forfar standing Godfather and Provost Douglas his Lady and Mistress Malcom God-mothers.

Peter Richie son to George Richie in pitcarrow was baptised March 23. 1726 by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Margaret Burnet daughter to George Burnet wig-maker in Dundie was baptised March 24. 1726 by Bishop Norie in Bishop Norie his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Robert Zeaman son to James Zeaman in the parochin of Mains was Baptised April 12. 1726 years by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Anna Crichton daughter to Thomas Crichton Surgeon apothecary in Dundie was baptised in his house by Bishop Norie May 5th. 1726 the Laird of Monorgan standing Godfather and the Lady Thomas Crichton's mother and Mrs Ogilvy Relict to [blank] Ogilvy of Newhall younger standing God-mothers.

Jean Johnston daughter to Patrick Johnston tenant in the Morrays was baptised June 25. 1726 by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses

Margaret Ogilvy daughter to Henry Ogilvy of templehall and merchant in Dundie was baptised June 25, 1726 by Bishop Norie in Henry Ogilvy's own house in the Murraygate in Dundie befor witnesses.

Anna Grahame daughter to David Grahame in Duntrune was baptised att Duntrune June 28. 1726 by Bishop Norie James Ramesay Merchant in Dundie standing Godfather and the Lady Duager of Dundie and the Lady fintrie Godmothers.

Barbara Gib daughter to Robert Gib Taylour in Dundie was baptised by Bishop Norie in his own house in Dundie July 17. 1726 befor witnesses.

Thomas Madison son to Robert Madison at the miln of Mains was baptised by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie July 18. 1726 years befor witnesses.

Anne Corsar daughter to Frederick Corsar merchant in Dundie was baptised by Bishop Norie in Mr Corsar his house July 18. 1726 the Laird of Invergoury standing Godfather and his Lady and his daughter Mrs an Clayhills standing Godmothers.

Helen Broun daughter to the Laird of Horn was baptised july 26. 1726 by Bishop Norie in Horn's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

John Henderson son to Thomas Henderson merchant in Dundie was Babtised [*sic*] Agust the 17 day 1726 by Bishop Norie in Thomas Henderson's house in Dundie befor witnesses.

John Towson son to John Towson Giager in Dundie was baptised Agust the 23 day 1726 by Bishop Norie in Bishop Norie's house befor witnesses.

Jean Hill daughter to Alexr. Hill in the Murrays Cordiner was baptised Septmbr. 23 day 1726 by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses

David Rait son to David Rait in Wallace of Craigie was baptised by Bishop Norie October 4 day 1726 in Bishop Norie his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

John Maiden son to John Maiden weaver in the cottar-toun of Craigie was baptised Octobr. 7. 1726 by Bishop Norie in his house in Dundie befor witnesses.

Alexander Crichton and Elizabeth Crichton two children born at one birth to Mr Patrick Crichton of [blank in MS.] were babtized [*sic*] in his house in the Seagate of Dundie October 8. 1726 by Bishop Norie Mr James Fothringham merchant in Dundie and James Johnston writer there standing Godfathers and Dr David fothringham his Lady and Robert Man merchant in Dundie his wife standing God mothers.

[End of MS.]

# Reviews of Books

STUDIES OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM, by W. T. Arnold, M.A., edited by Edward Fiddes, M.A., with Memoir of the Author by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and C. E. Montague. Pp. cxxiii, 281. Med. 8vo. Manchester: University Press, 1906. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book gives an account of the provincial administration of the early years of the Roman Empire, in Gaul, Spain, Arabia, Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor, and of the growth of the power of the Emperor, and more particularly of Augustus, at the expense of the Senate.

It is a fragment, and pretends to be nothing else. But it is a notable fragment, and a pathetic. The only chapters even proximately complete are the two first, in which the author deals with the Constitution. These do not contain much new material; they are a restatement in brief space of results already ascertained. But they are a most efficient restatement. They rest on wide, first-hand knowledge, they exhibit the industry, the caution, the self-criticism, and the sober judgment of the true scholar, and give the results of long enquiry in a style that is strong, clear, and most thoroughly competent.

The same qualities are shown in the chapters dealing with the several provinces of the Empire. 'He had made it his task,' says his editor, 'to show the condition of these lands before the coming of the Romans, and the conditions resulting from the contact of the two diverse elements, and to point out how Roman influence was deeper in one place and weaker in another, and what was the limit at which it ceased to exist.' And there were many causes which made for the performance of this task in a great way. He was devoted to it from his early years—as an Oxford student he had gained the Arnold Prize for an essay on Roman Provincial administration, 'which is still the best book in English on the subject'; throughout his life as a journalist he was intensely interested in all imperial questions, and so reminded by Rome of Britain, and by Britain of Rome, as to read each of them better in the light of the other; he was a diligent visitor of Roman sites; he had the strategist's imagination, 'the topographic vision' for the lie of a country, a gift for the picturesque presentment of its features, and a historian's grasp of the natural effects of physical conditions upon political events; he had the unwearying patience of the scholar in his search for details, and a power of grouping his results into clear, judicious, and decisive issues.

But it is only occasionally, as, for instance, in his account of the causes

by which Lyons became 'a Gallic Rome,' that these qualities show themselves with any fulness; and we are left with the impression of what might have been but for the author's early death. 'As a historian,' says Mr. Montague, 'Arnold lost. Dying at fifty-two, disabled at forty-four, unable during his twenty working years to give to history more than the leisure of an exhausting profession, he published very little, and scarcely any part of his main design had been carried, when he died, to the point at which he would have wished a work of his to be judged.'

'The aim of this book,' we are told in the preface, 'is to preserve the fragment of Roman history of the early imperial period which W. T. Arnold left behind him.' Perhaps its best result is that it has preserved the memory of its author. A third of the volume is given to this purpose; and, in every sense, this has been well done. Mrs. Ward's account of the more purely personal and domestic incidents of his life is skilful, restrained, affectionate; Mr. Montague's sketch of him as a journalist is masterly. He shows us a 'journalist who took anonymity seriously, who kept his name unknown with a kind of zest; bearing himself to his paper as a Jesuit to the order, he relished the reach it gave his powers, and relished the self-obliteration in their use'; and yet, one who, 'in the esteem of his profession,' took a place beside Bagehot, Greenwood, Morley, Barth, and Godkin. 'He knew what the experts were at; a civilian, he rode round the outposts; the journalist, passing and repassing between the firing line of knowledge and the base, or the non-combatants.' 'In his friends he liked a strong-lined temperament even more than learning'; 'liking moral non-conformity,' but hating intellectual impudence. A teacher to younger colleagues, without wishing to be a schoolmaster, he had some of the compelling qualities of one—a controlled, judicial impatience, a kind of wrathful affection for ignorance; he would scold like a guide who will not let you lie down in the snow. A man who lived strenuous and yet tranquil years, generously spendthrift of great powers, compelling affection, kindling zeal all around him for what is best, with 'little skill in suffering fools gladly, if they were at their ease,' but 'tender to the bashful and merciful to the absurd,' he seemed to keep a half-humorous liking for your 'true, unpresentable dull dog, trundling his own little hoop of a life, with no speculation in his eyes.'

The sketch given by Mr. Montague is charming, well-nigh perfect in its way, and reminds the reader of Bradley's account of Lewis Nettleship, who also left a sense of possible greatness on other workers at his craft, and besides, hardly more than 'heaped bricks and a pencilled plan.'

HENRY JONES.

ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF SCOTLAND. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul. Vol. VI., A.D. 1531-1538. Pp. lxxxi, 613. Roy. 8vo. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1905. 15s. nett.

THE Lyon King's informing preface is concentrated upon the matrimonial negotiations of James V. and his marriage—first to Madeleine de Valois, in 1537, and after her death to Marie of Lorraine, in 1538.

Allusions to these events occur only incidentally in the accounts themselves, and for his detailed narrative of the very curious and tortuous diplomacy antecedent to the successive marriages the editor is indebted to *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, by M. Edmond Bapst, whose volume contains the results of very extensive research in British and Continental archives and chronicles. The story thus pieced together by M. Bapst is very effectively retold by the Lyon King: it is a tale of high interest, almost as much for the diplomacy it traces as for its romance. For the brides proposed for James V., whether on Scottish, English, French, or imperial initiative, would make for the period a European court picture gallery of no mean significance. The list includes Mary Tudor, Catherine de Médicis, and Marie de Bourbon. King James himself displays in his courtships qualities of a resolute if flighty wooer, with a sufficient sense of what was due to himself and his likings, and latterly a diplomatic determination to be allied to Francis I. by his second marriage as well as his first. Not the least curious of the many turns of historical fortune is the appearance of Henry VIII. of England as unsuccessful rival of James for the hand of Marie of Lorraine.

The accounts themselves are, like those of earlier volumes, full of the most varied domestic interest and information. Whether the subject of finance be crown casualties, the king's dress, 'the Kingis stele bonnat quhilk come out of France,' or strings for the king's crossbows, whether it is the horse-hire of the king's greyfriar confessor, a payment to Bellenden for his translation of the 'croniclis,' or by way of pension to Hector Boece, an award to a pursuivant wounded by the thieves of Nithsdale, or the wage of a falconer going to the Hebrides for hawks, there comes out of it all the impression of an energetic personality such as Buchanan ascribes to the king. A varied social movement is registered in these entries concerning the relic of St. Duthac delivered to the king's grace, those pictures of Flanders bought for him, those charges for lutes and viols, bows and arrows, rapiers, and jousting spears, all for royal use. We have likewise two-handed swords and such-like gear, and among many allusions to firearms there comes a debit 'for ane kow quhilk the Kingis grace slew with ane culvering.' Literature is but faintly discernible, despite the mention of Bellenden and Boece and the yearly fee paid to 'Master George Buchquhannan' as tutor of the Lord James, son of the King. But it is worth while enquiring if the blanks of the following entry of 1534 cannot be filled:

> 'Item to ane servand of . . . Cocleus quhilk brocht fra his maister ane buyk intitulat . . . to his reward l li.'

The author can hardly have been other than that *Johannes Cochlæus* (Jean Cochlee) who flourished 1479-1552, and who according to an orthodox French account of him, 'combated Luther and the other heretics.' King James's handsome gift of fifty pounds to the bringer of the book is significant of the welcome offered to those who defended the faith. The precise volume, however, is still to be identified.

Presage of storm appears in the messenger's fee on a warrant to search

for those suspected of the hanging of the image of St. Francis in 1536, and a like payment next year for labours 'in serching of the heretics in the west land.' One of the latest items is for the 'powpenny' or herald's fee of Sir David Lindsay in 1538 among the 'expensis debursat uponne the Quenis saullmes and dirige, quhom God assoilye.'

GEO. NEILSON.

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. Edited and abridged by P. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D. Second Series. Vol. VI., A.D. 1635-37. Pp. xlvii, 880. Roy. 8vo. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1905. 15s. nett.

WHILE in 1636 and 1637 Charles I. was trying to force Laud's Service-book down the throats of his reluctant Scottish subjects and to displace the 'old psalms' by substituting the 'new psalms,' which represented the sacred minstrelsy of James VI. and Sir William Alexander in pious combination, the noblemen, barons, ministers, burgesses, provosts, bailies, elders, gentlemen and parishioners, presbyteries and congregations throughout the land were petitioning and protesting against the innovation with free-spoken vigour 'for the glorie of Jesus Christ and preservatioun of trew religioun for the hounour of King Charles and preservatioun of this his ancient and native kingdome.' The voice of Scotland was no uncertain sound; the only marvel is that even Charles could remain deaf to what it said. While he went blindly on to doom, his Privy Council in Scotland was the medium for the successive proclamations, prosecutions, and decrees which culminated in the 'Covenant' and the ecclesiastical revolution accomplished by the Glasgow Assembly of 1638.

But these matters were only a part of the varied national business transacted at the Council board, and the editorial introduction to the present volume of Privy Council records does full justice to its picturesque manysidedness. Professor Hume Brown, indeed, has to present a large body of stirring events, and his preliminary summary of the salient facts constitutes an entirely new chapter of Scottish annals in which the spirit of the impending Covenant strangely alternates with instincts of commerce and traditions of deadly feud. An outbreak of plague; reforms in the coinage, some of it struck from gold brought 'be the adventurers of Guinee'; regulations and recommendations about fisheries, salt, bridges; phases of the undying troubles of the Borders and the Highlands; these were recurrent on the agenda when the Lords of Secret Council met. A curious feature of the time was a wholesale emigration to Ireland, estimated by one observer at no fewer than 10,000 Scots in two years. On our side, *per contra*, there was complaint of a superfluity of 'Yrish beggers.'

One great abuse in the Highlands was a practice known as 'Taskall,' whereby property acquired under the good old rule might be restored to Lowland owners 'upon condition sometime of the halfe and sometime of more of the stollin goods.' An earlier age called it 'theft-bote.' Of course, Clan Gregor had its full share of repressive though ineffectual attention. Piracy by Turkish rovers inflicted heavy losses commercially

and caused great misery to captives held to ransom. Bad examples of 'wrecking' occurred on both east and west coasts. The ways of law were violent, especially on the Border: at one circuit at Jedburgh in 1637 over thirty persons were hanged. A medieval tradition (see *Scottish Antiquary*, Jan. 1901, p. 113) is seen still strangely persisting under Charles I. in the contract of assythment, whereby Laurence Bruce of Cultmalundie is to make amends for the slaughter of David Tosheoch of Monzievaird by submitting himself 'barehead and barefoote on his knees' to Andrew, son of the slain David, and is 'to deliver to him in signe and tokin theirof ane sword naiked by the point.'

GEO. NEILSON.

THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF BORDER BALLADS. By Lieut.-Col. The Hon. FitzWilliam Elliot. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1906. 10s. 6d. nett.

THOUGH unable to agree with some of Colonel Elliot's conclusions, I must regard his book with gratitude. In the first place his literary criticism of Scott's version of 'Jamie Telfer' is admirable; would that people wrote about Homer with the same knowledge of early poetry! Colonel Elliot not only detects Sir Walter's spirited interpolations by their poetic quality and *modernité*, but he notes that, in Sir Walter's version, the Homeric and ballad method of textual repetition is modified to avoid monotony. He is wrong in supposing that Scott knew Mrs. Hogg's version of 'Jamie Telfer' before he published the *Minstrelsy*; this is certain from Hogg's letter to Scott of June 3rd, 1802, and from Lockhart (vol. ii. p. 99). One almost regrets the amount of labour bestowed on topographical details, and estimates of how long it takes to drive ten kye from Dodhead in Ettrick to given points on the road to Liddel water. The Captain of Bewcastle never tried to achieve that adventure; and he was captured neither by Elliots (Elliot version, Child, Part ix. p. 249), nor by Scotts as in the *Minstrelsy*. 'Index learning turns no student pale,' and by using the Index to Bain's *Border Papers*, anybody can find out how and when the Captain of Bewcastle was taken, and where, and by whom; namely, by Kinmont Willie and the Armstrongs (July 3rd, 1596). Neither ballad is historical. In the Elliot version there is an 'auld Buccleuch' when Buccleuch was a man of thirty-one; and Martin Elliot's son Simmy is killed in the fray. He had a son, Simmy, but Simmy was not slain on that occasion. In the Scott version is an 'auld Gibbie Elliot of Stobs,' when there was no such person, only a Gavin Elliot of Stobs; and there is an 'auld Buccleuch' when Buccleuch was young, with a quite impossible son, Willie, who is slain. Colonel Elliot is severe on Professor Veitch for saying 'the Catslock Hill of the [Scott] ballad has to be sought in some locality between Coultart cleugh and Branxholm.' Here I thought I had found it, for Mr. T. F. Henderson writes (*Border Minstrelsy*, ii. p. 15): 'Catslock in Branxholm was bestowed on Buccleuch, 9th June, 1594 (*Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.*) . . . . It was tenanted by a Walter Scott.' Here,

thought I, is the 'William's Wat' in Catslock hill of Scott's ballad. A reference to *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, however, showed that this Catslock was not 'in Branxholm,' but on Yarrow. I find, however, in a copy of the first edition of the *Minstrelsy* (1802), annotated by Mr. James Grieve in Branxholm Park, a very intelligent contemporary of Sir Walter—the following remark 'The Catslochill (*sic*) stands upon the farm of Branxholmtoun, now better known by the name of Branxholm braes. It must have been a considerable place at one time, and strongly defended by nature, and there must. . . .' Here the binder's shears have cut off what followed. (Information from Miss M. E. Grieve, Branxholm Park, June 3rd, 1906). This 'Catslochill' is just where Prof. Veitch said that 'the Catslock Hill of the ballad has to be sought,' and, unless Mr. Grieve did not know the land at his own door, is the place intended by the Scott version. But all this is unessential; the story in both ballads is wholly unhistorical. Consequently there is no reason for discussing the conjecture that the Dodhead was at the head of the Dodburn, an affluent of Allan Water in upper Teviotdale. No remains of a peel at Dodhead are found, but documents speak of Upper Dodburn. Colonel Elliot does not say who are the advocates of the Dodburn site, or where their views are to be read. I conceive that I, on local information not wholly correct, suggested the Dodburn site to Prof. Child. 'The situation is a suitable one, fitting in very well with the story of the ballad,' says the Hon. George Elliot, in *The Border Elliots*, p. 504. But, as he adds, there are no remains of a peel there. About 1802 Mr. James Grieve notes that there are no signs of a peel at Prickenhaugh or 'Preskinhaugh,' except a slight swell in the ground, rather more green than the surrounding country, and we are not told that there is now any recognisable site of the Catlie Hill, or Catlock Hill of the Elliot version. Upper and Nether Dodburn were occupied by Elliots in 1607; no traces of Jamie Telfer are found in documents, the farm assigned to him was really occupied by Scotts.

Starting from the ballad of the Battle of Philiphaugh, which from its appalling anachronisms, must be very late, Colonel Elliot makes the most thorough criticism of that fight which has yet been produced. Like Mr. Gardiner and myself (*History of Scotland*, iii. 156-158), he accepts Patrick Gordon's evidence that the main of Leslie's force was at Sunderland, on the left bank of Ettrick at its junction with Tweed, on the eve of the combat. Local tradition places Leslie at Melrose and a local writer in the press seems to suppose that I invented the Sunderland position! In replying, I suggested that Leslie, on the morning of the battle, sent a force across Ettrick, and advanced up both banks. This is also the theory of Colonel Elliot (pp. 96-99). He works it out in very probable detail, though the contradictory contemporary versions leave us to conjecture as we best may. Colonel Elliot does not appear to notice a passage, which suits his hypothesis, in a letter of Buccleuch, Argyll, and others (Mitchell; *Commission of General Assembly Records*, vol. i. Introduction. Willcock; *The Great Marquess*, p. 387). The letter shows that two portions of Leslie's force were widely separated from each other. Leslie, writing to Argyll, after Dunbar, says, 'we

might as easily have beaten them' (Cromwell's army) 'as we did James Graham at Philiphaugh . . . .' (*Ancrum and Lothian Correspondence*, ii. p. 297). The success, then, was 'easy' and no wonder, considering the unequal forces engaged on both sides.

Colonel Elliot, unlike Scott and most writers, does not blame Montrose for leaving his main body on the left bank of Ettrick and retiring to Selkirk. If not careless, he was unfortunate, for, had he been with the army, Charteris of Amisfield's report of Leslie's presence at Sunderland would have received attention. In Colonel Elliot's book Charteris is 'Captain Hempsfield.' It must be confessed that the great Montrose was capable of being surprised: he just escaped at Auldearn by a happy accident.

The essays on the probable genuineness of 'Little Jock Elliot,' Bothwell's antagonist, Elliot of Park, and on Border traditions of Flodden are well worth reading. I have never been able to understand the conduct of Home's Borderers at Flodden. If they were on the ground, on the following day, as they were, where were they when the centre of James's army fell around him in their immortal stand? Colonel Elliot can find no satisfactory account of the battle. The best known to me is that of Mr. C. J. Bates, 'Flodden Field,' in *Archæologia Æliana*. Colonel Elliot proves that the Borderers suffered relatively little at and after Flodden. A fault in his book is the frequent absence of references.

ANDREW LANG.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, in 12 volumes. Edited by William Hunt, D.Litt., and Reginald Poole, M.A. Vol. XI., 1801-1837. By the Hon. George C. Brodrick, D.C.L. Completed and Revised by J. K. Fotheringham, M.A. Pp. xix, 486, med. 8vo, with three maps. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1906. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book had the misfortune to lose its chief author by his death before it was completed. But his surviving colleague, who, besides writing three entire chapters and part of a fourth, has had to recast the volume in order to meet the plan of the series, tells us he has been scrupulous in retaining the expression of Dr. Brodrick's views, and, where possible, his words. This is to the advantage of the work as literature, and the writing has for the most part, and in some places conspicuously, an individual distinction and charm. Mr. Fotheringham's chapters, dealing with foreign affairs, are admirably done.

In the spring of 1801 Ireland had just recently been united to Great Britain. The Irish catholics expected that they would be placed on an equality as citizens with protestants. Pitt thought it right and necessary, and prepared a measure for the purpose. But George III. refused to hear of such a thing. He believed the profession of faith in his coronation oath with all his soul. How, then, could he emancipate the catholics? The king still ruled in England, Pitt resigned, and Addington, a man after George's own heart and pattern, was made Prime Minister.

The history begins with Addington's administration, to an account of which the first chapter is devoted. There was no new election. None was needed. The country was dumb. The House of Commons represented less than a thousandth part of the people. Seats in it were private property, openly bought and sold, and his majesty's government had, as usual, secured a majority by the purchase of a sufficient number,—paid for out of the Civil List.

Addington proved too feeble to deal with the public danger—'the greatest and almost the longest war recorded in European history.' At the end of three years Pitt had to be recalled, and the next five chapters carry the history down to Napoleon's surrender after Waterloo and his banishment to St. Helena. One of them is entirely devoted to the campaign in the Peninsula. Another includes the story of the war with the United States, and describes once more the famous fight between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*.

In the wars on the continent Britain furnished troops and money to her various allies with a lavishness that amazes us. The war never touched her shores. It was her part then, as later, to 'Pay, pay, pay,' and Waterloo left her with a debt of 861 millions. Dr. Brodrick shows that the war enriched a small minority at the cost of the people in general, and that it was followed by a period of greater popular misery in England, which was never devastated by invading armies, than in France itself. He shows, too, that the recovery of the country was prevented by artificial trade restrictions and the resulting monopolies, that there was an immense accumulation of wealth, while the poor had never been so many and so wretched as in the years which followed the peace of 1815.

While Britain's part in the last fifteen years of the Napoleonic wars is the chief theme of the earlier part of the book, the reform of Parliament is that of the later. Dr. Brodrick quotes Mr. Goldwin Smith's succinct account of the state into which representation, or rather misrepresentation, had fallen. The description of the franchise in England in 1831 would be scarcely credible to us if we had not proofs of its accuracy. 'Of Scotland,' runs the concluding sentence, 'it is enough to say that free voting had practically ceased to exist both in counties and boroughs, as the borough franchise was the monopoly of self-elected town councils, and the county franchise of persons, often non-resident, who happened to own "superiorities."'

'The Prelude to Reform' is the title of chapter xiii., and in it the conflict is described as 'a life and death struggle between the great majority in the House of Lords and the Commons—the greatest that had been waged since the revolutions of the seventeenth century.' Four more chapters tell the story of the agitation in the country, the dissolution of Parliament over the first bill, the rejection of the second by the House of Lords, the carrying of the third, and of the Scotch and Irish reform bills which immediately followed, and the many beneficial laws made without delay by the reformed Parliament. The stories of these transactions have been told a hundred times, but their interest does not slacken as they are told again in these pages by a competent historian equipped with the

knowledge accumulated by his predecessors, and able to take the larger view, and to write with the calmness, of posterity in the third generation.

The history concludes with chapters on foreign relations under William IV., on British India, and a final one on the literature and social progress of the period.

The chapter on British India reminds us that, heavy as Britain's load was, her military enterprise was neither confined to Europe nor her reforms to these islands. It describes the conquests of the early years of the nineteenth century and the beneficent administrations of Wellesley, Hastings, and Bentinck, the adoption of the shortened route by Suez, the prohibition of widow-burning, the promotion of native education, the permission of native judges in courts of first instance, the adoption (by Bentinck) of the idea of governing India in the interest and by the agency of natives, the liberation of the Indian press, and the introduction of English text-books into schools for the people. But the wisdom of these last measures this history does not think even yet beyond dispute.

In the chapter on literature and social progress Scotsmen may read with interest that their country was far ahead of England in higher education in the early nineteenth century. All England had but two universities, and these had lapsed into lethargy and almost ceased to be seats of learning. Scotland had five universities, and aspiring English students resorted to them, as Scottish students had resorted centuries before to Bologna and Paris. London University was established, chiefly by Scotsmen, on the type of the Scottish universities, and in spite of the resistance of Oxford and Cambridge.

The volume has many excellencies. In accordance with the plan of the whole work, its long and complex story of thirty-seven years, with their multitudinous events, had to be told in a few not very long chapters. The facts are gathered together, sifted, selected, and skilfully fashioned into a continuous, clear, and sober narrative, with care and good taste. Although Dr. Brodrick was a journalist, there is a pleasant absence of 'smart' writing.

The book is so remarkable for its clearness, its accuracy, and its moderation that its lapses from these virtues are conspicuous. There are passages (a very few) which are neither lucid nor even grammatical, there are half-a-dozen almost inexcusable inaccuracies, and there is one subject on which Dr. Brodrick ceases to be moderate. It is when he deals with Irish affairs. Perhaps he has thought that

> 'On such a theme 'twere impious to be calm ;
> Passion is reason, transport temper, here.'

His frank hatred for Irish catholics is in keeping with his peculiar tenderness to George III., who prevented their emancipation while he lived. Thackeray's 'dull lad brought up by narrow-minded people,' Green's obstinate and bigoted ruler 'of dull and petty temper,' who 'had a smaller mind than any English king before him save James II.,' is for Dr. Brodrick 'a man who must ever stand high, if not highest, in our gallery of kings.'

It is a pity that the collaboration of four distinguished scholars should not have secured the trustworthiness of their book in small things. Here are a few inaccuracies taken almost at random from the last chapter.

We find it stated (p. 422) that 'the best work of Jane Austen was done in the early part of the nineteenth century.' This is not so, unless an author's 'best work' is the finding of a publisher, which is perhaps at present a maintainable thesis; but in that case some serious changes will have to be made in literary chronology. Miss Austen's best work was done several years before the end of the eighteenth century. *Pride and Prejudice* was already completed and offered to Cadell in 1797, and *Sense and Sensibility* was finished only a few month later. We are told on page 428 that 'Sir Humphry Davy began his researches in 1800.' Davy's *Researches, Chemical and Philosophical*, was published in 1799. On pages 416-17 it is said that 'the new metre of *Christabel*' 'is not the least of Coleridge's contributions to English poetry.' The metre of *Christabel* was not new, nor does English poetry owe it to Coleridge, although Coleridge appears at one time to have thought so. It was used in English poetry some five hundred years before his time, and again by Spenser in *The Shepherd's Calendar* and by Milton in *Comus*. On page 434 we read that 'it was not till well into the reign of Victoria that steam navigation was used in the royal navy.' There were several special service steamers in the navy as early as 1822, and by 1837 at least three war vessels, one of them, the *Gorgon*, of over a thousand tons and carrying six guns.

The volume is furnished with an appendix containing useful lists of authorities and of administrations, with an index, and with three maps.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE OF A LOAN COLLECTION OF PORTRAITS OF ENGLISH HISTORICAL PERSONAGES WHO DIED BETWEEN 1714 AND 1837. Exhibited at the Examination Schools, Oxford, April and May, 1906. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1906.

THE third and last Exhibition of Oxford Portraits represents the gradual rise and full dawn of what Mr. Lionel Cust, in his succinct but instructive introduction to the Catalogue, terms 'the golden age of British Portrait Painting.' The establishment of an academy of painting at Great Queen Street, London, in 1711 gave a considerable impetus to native art; and at a new academy started by Sir James Thornhill, who had succeeded Sir Godfrey Kneller as president of the Great Queen Street Academy, William Hogarth was a pupil. He married Thornhill's daughter, and having on that painter's death in 1734 become, as he says, 'possessed of his neglected apparatus,' started a new academy in St. Martin's Lane. Being a zealous advocate of the claims of English art to recognition in England, he gave to the new academy the best services he could, and writing in 1762 he affirmed that it 'is to every useful purpose, equal to that in France or any other.' Under his energetic and enlightened direction it, in fact, laid the foundation of the British School of Painting, though six years after he wrote and four after his

EDWARD GIBBON, BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS
*In the Collection of the Earl of Rosebery, K.G.*
*From the Oxford Catalogue of Historical Portraits*

See page 93

death, it was superseded by the more permanent Royal Academy of Arts, of which Sir Joshua Reynolds was the first president. Notwithstanding, however, the great work achieved by Hogarth, directly and indirectly, on behalf of English art, his fame rests less on his achievements as a portrait painter than on his humorous and satirical skill as a delineator of manners.

As regards the subjects represented in the last Oxford Exhibition, there were more notable blanks than in the two previous ones. None of the Jacobite claimants of the throne nor any of the Hanoverian sovereigns are represented, with the exception of George III. (by Allan Ramsay) and Queen Charlotte Sophia (by Allan Ramsay and Henry Robert Morland). As for other notabilities, the absentees are as many and illustrious as those who happen to find a place in the Oxford list. This of course could not well be otherwise. The satisfactory thing is that the Exhibition on the whole admirably exemplified the character of the art of British portrait painting during this remarkable period. The 'five great names of English portrait painting'—Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, Hoppner, and Sir Thomas Lawrence—are all well represented, as are also most of the more notable artists of lesser eminence, though the only example of Hogarth is 'An Assembly of Artists.'

A peculiarity of this period of English portrait painting is that it very nearly synchronises with the era of wigs. Whether the departure of the wig—gradually manifested in the later portraits of Lawrence and his contemporaries—had anything to do with the temporary decline of the art of portrait painting or not, it is ten thousand pities that we have really no male heads but only faces by any of the great triad—Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney—and that the heads of none of the illustrious men of that age are known to us *in puris naturalibus*. What would one not give for a wigless portrait of Johnson or Swift or Gibbon? Be it remembered that since the age of wigs was also an age of clean shaving, we know little regarding the hirsute characteristics of the illustrious men of that period except so far as that is manifested in the eyebrows. In regard to Swift, for example, we know—though not from this catalogue which, though supplying in each case the monotonous information in regard to wigs and clean-shaven faces, is in each case silent as to eyes and eyebrows—that he had blue-grey eyes and dark bushy eyebrows, but did he become bald, or brindled, or in his old age—he lived to 78—had he the white hairs which are a crown of glory? Or let us take Gibbon, depicted in four masterpieces. Of the famous portrait by Reynolds in the possession of the Earl of Rosebery and here reproduced, Samuel Rogers remarked that 'while the oddness and vulgarity of the features are refined away, the likeness is perfectly preserved.' The remark may be coloured a little by Rogers' characteristic malice. In the portrait by Romney the oddness and vulgarity are even more 'refined away,' though in an early portrait the oddness verges on the ludicrous. Doubtless Gibbon's was one of those faces that improve by age, through the refining influence of intellectual exercise. But did the wig add to its dignity, or did it accentuate its oddness and vulgarity?

T. F. Henderson.

A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY. By James MacKinnon, Ph.D. Vol. I. pp. xx, 398; Vol. II. pp. xi, 490. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 30s. nett.

No more inspiring theme than Liberty can well be imagined; and a heavy debt of gratitude is due to the historian who can make clear wherein consists its essential nature, or lay bare for our guidance the sources of its growth and decline. Freedom, unfortunately, is as hard to define as truth itself; and, for the profitable treatment of so wide and vague a subject, the first requisite is a clear conception of what is meant by liberty. Is it the freedom of the nation or of the individual: political, social, or economic freedom: freedom from the restraint of law, from ecclesiastical tyranny, or from the thraldom of tradition and social custom? To John Stuart Mill the word meant little more than the claim of the individual to be let alone—to be allowed to live his own life as he pleased apart from the meddlesome attentions of laws and magistrates, a purely negative conception, which the modern socialist would scornfully reject as utterly inadequate, resulting indeed in the hurtful freedom of the few, at the expense of the economic slavery of the many. The two handsome and learned volumes before us make no attempt to discuss the nature and sphere of liberty, or to elucidate the relations, always intricate and often mutually contradictory, of its various phases. They contain, indeed, no indication that such problems even exist. Sometimes, it is true, Dr. MacKinnon, in his zealous and elaborate descriptions of the rise of constitutional liberty in the various nations of modern Europe, would almost seem to identify freedom with the growth of representative institutions and responsible government. Taking his work as a whole, however, it is clear that his conception is a much wider one, and that no phenomenon, even remotely connected with any one of the varied aspects of liberty (or with the absence of liberty), escapes the meshes of his all-embracing net. Of this fact, one glance at the crowded table of miscellaneous contents will furnish sufficient evidence. It is the more necessary to emphasise this characteristic of a truly learned work, because the author's liberal interpretation of the field of his labours is not due to any accident, but is rather the central feature of a position deliberately taken up. While so expansive a view of liberty would appear to some readers to make a truly scientific treatment of the subject impossible, others may regard it as a natural and laudable result of reluctance to narrow unnecessarily the sphere of liberty, or to confuse the broader issues at stake by an insistence on unessential differences. It is impossible not to sympathise with the motto printed on Dr. MacKinnon's title-page:

> 'Liberty is the Life,
> Despotism the Death of Nations.'

Unfortunately, considered as a definition of freedom, such poetic outbursts are as vague as they are lofty; and the history of modern liberty, thus defined, is found equally to embrace all nations and epochs, all institutions and events, until it becomes at last coextensive with the history of

mankind. What the conception of freedom thus gains in extent, it loses in definiteness and coherence; and, indeed, it is difficult to discover in what respect Dr. MacKinnon's volumes are exclusively or specially concerned with liberty to any greater extent than are the less ambitious histories of Thucydides and Livy, Hume and Robertson, Hallam and Macaulay. Dr. MacKinnon's enterprise is the more remarkable in this commercial age of histories compiled on the co-operative principle, which requires the combined efforts of twelve specialists to produce a *Political History of England*, while the contributors to the *Cambridge Modern History* may be counted by the score. Dr. MacKinnon has set himself, single-handed, a much wider task, and one which might well seem hopeless for any man of ordinary abilities to achieve in a manner likely to satisfy the severe requirements of modern research. The efficient criticism of a work so vast and varied would itself require a syndicate of experts, but it may be said at once that in those portions in which the present reviewer is specially interested, the level of attainment is throughout high, in view of the extensive compass of the undertaking. It is perhaps unnecessary to add—since there are undoubtedly limits to the most encyclopaedic scholarship—that gaps have been found here and there in our author's knowledge. One example may suffice: on a minute and technical point of Anglo-Saxon land-tenure Dr. MacKinnon (Vol. I. p. 266) shows some acquaintance with the most recent theories. 'Folkland,' he rightly says, 'is land held without written title'; but he then proceeds to instruct us how such land 'becomes the King's land, and is practically undistinguishable from the royal domain,' thus unconsciously revealing a complete misunderstanding of the issues involved. This is a small matter, and one in which our author errs in august company. It is a more unfortunate defect, in a work which has for its subject an abstract idea such as Liberty, that there is no attempt to approach a philosophic standpoint, while the most essential terms of Political Science are often used with looseness, and sometimes apparently with recklessness. Thus George Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*—the purpose of which is to justify subjects in rebellion against their Sovereign, is characterised as not 'revolutionary' in spirit, apparently on the grounds that 'it appreciates a good King,' is dedicated to James VI., and contains a model for his conduct. (Vol. II. p. 479.) The revolutions recognised by history would be few, indeed, if all rebels who believed in the 'goodness' of the King they rebelled against were excluded from the list! It would be ungracious, however, to dwell on minute defects in a work which, from its very vastness and wealth of varied erudition, offers an unusually wide target for criticism. If it is difficult to decide what class of readers is likely to derive benefit adequate to such herculean labours, there can be no question of the enormous industry and massive scholarship that have gone to the making of these two volumes, to be followed in due course apparently by many others. Admirers of Dr. MacKinnon's earlier and more compact treatises on *Culture in Early Scotland*, on the Union of 1707, and on Edward III. may regret that he has been enticed from these narrower, if perhaps

more practicable and therefore more useful fields of research by the lust for universal empire; but few of his readers will withhold their admiration for the pluck with which he has begun, and the considerable measure of success he has already attained, in a task that proved too much for the unique abilities of the late Lord Acton, ripened as these were by leisure, wealth, and application, and every fostering circumstance. Lord Acton died, still collecting materials, before he had written a single line of his projected *History of Liberty*. Dr. MacKinnon must not be blamed if he fails to achieve the impossible.

WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Vol. IX. Napoleon. Pp. xxviii, 946. Roy. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1906. 16s. nett.

IT is perhaps too late in the day to make any general criticism of the Cambridge Modern History scheme; but this, its latest volume, stimulates what were formerly misgivings into active criticism. In accordance with the general editorial plan a volume has been devoted to that period of European history in which Napoleon, no longer merely Bonaparte, plays the one dominating part. If ever the Cambridge scheme was to succeed it should have been on such ground, for only want of knowledge and art (which in the present case may be ruled out), or some radical mistake in plan, can deprive the career of Napoleon of the most exciting interest.

Yet it is not too much to say that in the highest sort of historical interest this volume is lacking. Mr. Fisher brightens some pages with apt characterisation, a finely ironic touch and a style which makes the reader forget that he is reading a compendium; Professor Oman deals with the Peninsular War with full knowledge, and a capacity for lucid strategical description; and Dr. Rose maintains the reputation created by his articles in the 'Revolution' volume and his life of Napoleon. But the general mass of writing here is dull, and overwhelmingly so. The organisation of the French Empire, the subjugation of Europe, the very campaigns of Napoleon, all stifle rather than inform the ordinary intelligence. Yet the writers of the various chapters are authorities brought from the ends of Europe to give special and local information. The campaign of Moscow is described by a Russian, the war of Liberation by a German, and Mr. Wilson deals with naval affairs; and in each case, although least in that of maritime affairs, the subjects are dealt with dully and without historical imagination.

It is customary to contrast ourselves in this respect with the French and to say that we have not, as they have, the genius for composite historical scholarship. But that is merely a conventional parry to a criticism that ought to be faced. This is no way in which to write history, whether they be British or French who make the attempt. English historians of the old school stand where they do because their historical work was both the hard labour of the scholar and the expression of a point of view. They brought to history all their beliefs, even their prejudices,

STANFORD LIBRARY

JONATHAN SWIFT, ATTRIBUTED TO CHARLES JERVAS
*In the Bodleian Library*
*From the Oxford Catalogue of Historical Portraits*

See page 93

and wrote because they felt a certain living compulsion. Further, they made no pretensions to omniscience, but dealt only with such matters as a judgment, partly artistic, partly worldly wise, but in the main shrewdly political, told them had human interest. This Napoleon volume is a failure, because it thinks history a science, where facts have some value in themselves; because what can only be fitly written by a single mind keenly interested has been chopped into sections and handed over to experts to be analysed; because such mosaic work cannot, even by the most skilled editor, be given true artistic unity. To particularise, the reader is in almost every article pulled short with two or three intimations that the special aspect of the subject he has reached is dealt with elsewhere. There are too many laws of trespass to be observed here. Again, while everywhere facts are given fully and *ad nauseam*, the artistic and philosophic grouping which alone could justify the information is absent. This fault is peculiarly prominent in the military articles (always excepting Professor Oman's 'Peninsular War'), where campaigns are given fully enough to enable the student to complete his military itinerary; but never with the colour and elaborate detail without which the lay reader rightly abandons the subject as futile. There is here either too little or too much.

There are merits and defects that have been passed by for want of space; but our main plea is that where so many experts have failed, it is obviously not they who are at fault; and we would welcome a revival of that older school of English history which knew neither series nor compendia. Mr. Fisher's chapters, and especially that on St. Helena, point to the true leader of such a revival.

We must add that maps are excluded from the series; the reasons for their exclusion may be sufficient, but conceive of the 1813-14 campaigns with no illustrative plans.

JOHN L. MORISON.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT. By Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D. Pp. xiii, 233. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1906. 9s. nett.

THIS book has a two-fold interest. Primarily it is a contribution to the materials for the political history of the three kingdoms in the nineteenth century. In a lesser, but still considerable, degree it is also a volume of agreeable personal reminiscence. It is with its purely historical aspects that we are mainly concerned here; but we may note some features of interest which Sir Robert Anderson's recollections possess for the general reader. The author's position and environment, at first in Dublin Castle and later at Scotland Yard, brought him in contact with a number of interesting personages among the past generation of statesmen and politicians. Of such persons he has usually something to tell, and he can tell it with a pleasant mixture of genial good humour and not unkindly malice. Here are two pictures of the functions of a mid-Victorian Viceroy of Ireland which show the different ideas

which different occupants of that office entertained regarding their duties. 'The Earl of Carlisle . . . was much in evidence on festive occasions, made elegant little speeches at public functions, and ogled the pretty women. Not that he was a *roué*; he was only a fop' (p. 52). 'In November, 1864, Lord Wodehouse (the late Earl of Kimberley) succeeded Lord Carlisle as Viceroy. Though there was no precedent for such a course, the new Lord Lieutenant took to reading official papers, and interested himself generally in the state of the country. I recall a *mot* by which one of the clerks in the Chief Secretary's office gave expression to the surprise of the staff at such proceedings. . . . On my asking their opinion about the new Viceroy he promptly replied, "He's the best clerk in the office"' (pp. 53-54).

With Sir William Harcourt, the author was brought into very close and confidential relations, and although they differed sharply on more than one occasion Sir Robert's reminiscences of his eminent chief give the impression of a singularly attractive personality. One of Sir William's characteristics was an impulsive disregard of official reticence which must often have been trying to the head of the Criminal Investigation Department. The latter on one occasion had communicated to the chief of the Home Office the secret information he had just received concerning the meetings of the heads of the Fenian organisation in London. 'The same afternoon the information appeared in an evening paper, and when I tackled the Secretary of State about it he replied in the most matter-of-course way that "he had given it to ——— as he wanted to take a rise out of him"—naming one of the Irish M.P.'s who was supposed to be in the secrets of the conspiracy' (p. 90).

The true value of these 'Sidelights,' however, consists in the light they shed on the secret history of the Irish American conspiracies of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The story of the Fenian, Invincible, and Dynamite organisations has of course been told already by that strange product of the detective methods of our secret service, Henri Le Caron, the spy. Sir Robert Anderson not only adds some fresh information to the story told by Le Caron both before the Special Commission and in *Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service*, but he corroborates that evidence in the most striking way. It was a matter of surprise at the time that Sir Robert Anderson was not called as a witness at Sir James Hannon's celebrated Inquiry. He was himself keenly desirous of being called, and but ill satisfied with the reasons (which are explained in this book) assigned for declining to do so. The evidence which was withheld from the Special Commission is to a great extent given in these pages. The result is not only to corroborate Le Caron's story in the most striking way; but to add to that corroboration a remarkable testimony to that witness's character for veracity and disinterestedness. 'Of Le Caron,' Sir Robert Anderson writes, 'I formed a very high opinion indeed. He was a man of sterling integrity and honour. Many people are truthful, and some are accurate, but I have seldom met any one who excelled him in these respects. He was not an "informer." It was an almost quixotic desire to serve his country

that led him to enter on the task of thwarting the Fenian conspiracy' (p. 25). Sir Robert Anderson is justified in describing his book as a 'quota of the materials on which history of the (Irish Home Rule) movement may yet be based.'

C. LITTON FALKINER.

THE PAGEANT OF LONDON. By Richard Davey. With forty illustrations in colour, by John Fulleylove, R.I. 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I., pp. xxiv, 429; Vol. II., pp. 649. London: Methuen & Co., 1906. 15s. nett.

THE complex organism of London in which so many conflicting elements are fused into a more or less homogeneous whole, would appear to exercise an irresistible fascination on all who are able to appreciate its unique interest and charm, author after author, and artist after artist having treated it from pretty well every conceivable point of view. Yet that it is still possible to deal with it with freshness and originality is proved by the *Pageant of London*, the work of collaborators admirably fitted to do justice to their inspiring theme. The work is indeed worthy to rank with that masterpiece of literature, the *Highways and Byways of London*, by the late Mrs. E. T. Cook, for it enchains the attention of the reader from first to last, and is as full of graphic word pictures of the past as the latter is of realisations of typical street scenes of the present. More erudite than Mrs. Cook, who has touched but lightly on the historical associations of London, Mr. Davey shares her sympathetic imagination, that has enabled him to portray with really remarkable skill the various stages of the evolution of the capital, and which is perhaps the chief secret of the success of both writers, to bring out forcibly the influence of the characters of those who were mainly instrumental in making the capital what it is. In his Preface, in which he sums up succinctly the chief sources of his information, explaining that he has given due weight to legendary and traditional as well as to historical lore, the writer defines the word Pageant as 'meaning not only Coronations, Royal marriages, funerals and other pompous shows and spectacles, but as signifying the unrolling, as in a sort of procession, of the story of the British Capital from the day when Julius Cæsar appeared on the banks of the Thames to that which witnessed the funeral of Queen Victoria. Beginning with Londinium and the way in which conquerors and conquered lived in that already cosmopolitan town, he passes to the coming of the warriors of Aryan descent, whose arrival was the first step in the foundation of the world wide Empire of Great Britain, dwells on the benefits conferred on England by the monasteries and on the great wave of piety which swept over the land after, to quote St. Cuthbert's trenchant expression, the devil of paganism was well laid, and describes London as it was at the coronation of William the Conqueror, relating anew the tragic incident that attended the ceremony. With equal care and minuteness he passes in review the capital of the Plantagenets, describing the first formation of the various city guilds and Companies, tracing back to their first origin the

names of streets and alleys that are still retained, and at every turn bringing in curious information on ancient customs and costumes that, however apparently insignificant in itself, yet throws light on the side issues of history and will be of great value to future students.

Perhaps one of the most interesting chapters of the first volume is that on London in Chaucer's time, in which Mr. Davey has hit upon the happy device of imagining himself to be one of the company of nine and twenty pilgrims immortalised by the poet in his Canterbury Tales, who, attended by a trustworthy guide thoroughly explores the City byways as well as highways, concluding with a visit to St. Paul's Cathedral, from the tower of which he gazes down entranced upon the marvellous view of London, lying, he says, 'like a gem bedded in a circle of emeralds, the matchless woods and hills and green meadows that enfold the busy city. Every detail of the Cathedral precincts and of the town beyond, still girdled on three sides by walls, the Thames protecting it on the fourth, is noted before the imaginary wayfarer rejoins at the "Tabard" Master Chaucer, the Pardoner, the Somneur, and the rest of the famed travellers who with the rising of to-morrow's sun should set forth . . . to Thomas à Becket's shrine at Canterbury.' Scarcely less fascinating, however, is the story of London under the pageant-loving Henry VIII., in which the many wives of the 'great widower' cross the stage one after the other, moving amongst contemporary personalities so vividly realised against so carefully reconstructed a background that each is revealed as she was before her final fate was decided.

In the second volume the chapters on the Reformation will be read with bated breath, so full are they of enthralling but gruesome descriptions of what may well be called the Pageant of Death; one melancholy procession to the stake, the gibbet or the block succeeding another with melancholy rapidity, until the imagination becomes saturated with horror and the memory is haunted with visions of the chief actors in the terrible dramas. Now rises up the dignified figure of Sir Thomas More folding his beloved daughter Margaret in his arms for the last time, now the 'Nine Days' Queen' looks down from her window in the Tower on the mangled body of her young husband, or she is seen groping blindfold for the block on which to lay her own doomed head, murmuring 'Where is it? what shall I do?' or the aged Countess of Salisbury appears, overawing even her executioner for a moment, as she defies him to perform his office; succeeded perhaps by a whole batch of the condemned on their way to the fires of Smithfield; some wrapt away from present suffering in contemplation of the reward to come, others pleading in vain for mercy. Very specially noteworthy too are the accounts of the immediate results of the suppression of the monasteries, in which it is shrewdly suggested that that high-handed measure inaugurated the still unsolved problem of the unemployed, and the description of the destruction of ecclesiastical art treasures may well add weight to the writer's plea for a more reverent care of the heirlooms still left to the nation.

The book, which will probably take rank amongst standard historical works, closes with a eulogy of Queen Victoria, whose funeral is contrasted

with that of Queen Elizabeth, and whose death in the opinion of Mr. Davey brought to an end the most transcendent era in the story of the English race.

Amongst the beautiful water colour drawings which supplement the scholarly text the best from an aesthetic point of view are those of the Norman Transept of St. Bartholomew's Church; Westminster Hall, and the Victoria Tower, the Gate of St. James' Palace, the Elizabethan Hall in the Charterhouse, and the Houses of Parliament from the river, but antiquaries and archaeologists will also greatly appreciate the apse of All Hallows in the Wall, a very valuable Early Christian relic which, until it was unearthed in 1905, had been buried for many centuries.

NANCY BELL.

THE READES OF BLACKWOOD HILL IN THE PARISH OF HORTON, STAFFORDSHIRE: A RECORD OF THEIR DESCENDANTS, WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF DR. JOHNSON'S ANCESTRY, KINSFOLK AND FAMILY CONNECTIONS, by Aleyn Lyell Reade. Pp. xx, 283 and appendix. Large 4to. Privately printed for the author by Spottiswoode & Co., Ltd., London. With 18 plates and 29 large tabular pedigrees. 1906.

THIS elaborate volume must have been compiled from love of genealogy, and though needlessly long, is still, from the care and thoroughness with which it is compiled, a remarkable work. Beginning with an account of the family of Reade, which possessed Blackwood at least as far back as 1558, it gives a minute account of many families connected with the parish of Horton, compiled from family bibles, parish records and every available source, and of their ramifications. These, though put together with the utmost care, do not, as the author admits, contain very many figures known to fame. However, there is an account of Sir Thomas Reade who was at St. Helena in 1815 and was later Consul General at Tunis, and of the Rev. J. B. Reade, who is stated to have been a pioneer in photographic discovery. From the Reades the writer proceeded to examine into the genealogy of certain other families in the Potteries in the most painstaking way, and this led to the elucidation of, *inter alia*, that of the Fords, who were the maternal ancestors of Dr. Johnson.

It is the part of the book, therefore, which deals exhaustively with the ancestors of Dr. Johnson that is of the greatest general interest, and many facts which are brought to light, though they seem small in themselves, will interest Johnsonians, and the extensive pedigrees will allow many families to claim kinship to the Lexicographer. All the proofs tend to show that he was not of such 'mean extraction' as he stated. His father—a tanner—belonged to a family of which little can be stated definitely (pp. 209-216) though he possessed influential relations, while on his mother's side his pedigree is here traced back to Henry Ford, his great-grandfather, a yeoman and miller in West Bromwich who died about 1648. His son, Cornelius, was of some social standing, and allied through his sister, Mrs. Barnesley, to the lesser gentry, and he possessed a small evangelical library which, as detailed in his will, is of some interest.

It was his daughter, Sarah Ford, who became Dr. Johnson's mother, and her marriage settlement is printed for the first time. Perhaps the most interesting monograph among the many accounts of Dr. Johnson's relatives —Harrisons, Hickmans, Jessons and Skrymshers—is that of 'Parson Ford,' that Abbé Roué, a fragment of whose latinity is rescued from oblivion. We must say a word to commend the care with which the book is produced. It is well illustrated, well indexed, and carefully compiled with an absolute disregard of labour. We only wish the book could appeal to a larger section of the public.

A. Francis Steuart.

An Exposition of Browning's 'Sordello,' with Historical and Other Notes. By David Duff, B.D. Pp. xx, 224. Med. 8vo. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1906. 10s. 6d. nett.

Students of Browning will hail this book with delight. Mr. Duff has done a kinder service to readers of 'Sordello' than all the critics. Someone has compared Browning's poetry to a cathedral window, from the outside only dull and blotchy, from the inside clear, radiant, and beautiful. Mr. Duff takes us to the inside.

There is reason for believing that Browning, like Goldsmith, composed his poems first in prose. Between fifty and sixty years ago *The Pre-raphaelite Brotherhood Journal* stated, apparently on the authority of Browning's friend, Westland Marston, that he wrote on a slate in prose what he wanted to say, and then, condensing it as he turned it into verse, would make an exclamation stand for a whole sentence if he thought it would suggest his meaning. If that be true one may understand, by a sort of sympathetic comprehension, how the poet wrote quite sincerely after finishing 'Sordello,' that this time at any-rate the public should not accuse him of being unintelligible. Long afterwards, when perhaps he had forgotten the prose, he thought differently, and 'gave time and pains,' as he writes in his dedication to Milsand, to turn it into what might be less hard for his readers. He failed and abandoned the attempt.

There is much of Browning which can only be thoroughly enjoyed after the reader has with time and pains translated it. One has to know what the poet has wished to say before seeing how supremely he has said it. Mr. Duff has supplied the translation of 'Sordello' in pure, graceful, and adequate prose. He has done it so well that his book may be read by itself. But its best virtue is that with its help the ordinary reader can see the splendour of the original.

The ample notes are most interesting and historically valuable.

Andrew Marshall.

Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries. By Abbot Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. Pp. xl, 495. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons, 1906. 8s. 6d. nett.

The work of Abbot Gasquet on the dissolution of the English Monasteries is so well known and so widely appreciated that little may be said to

commend a new and cheaper edition. The criticism of nearly twenty years has served only to show that the views, expressed by the author in the original edition, are shared by every candid student of the events of that period. In his latest preface Dr. Gasquet calls to witness the monumental labours of Dr. James Gairdner, and the independent inquiries of Dr. Jessop in support of his conclusions on the main incidents in the drama of suppression. It was scarcely necessary. The letters and papers preserved in the Record Office, of which such free use has been made, are the evidences which must alone restore in public estimation the good name of the religious institutions which Henry VIII. had swept away. It is most satisfactory that another edition of this standard work has been so soon demanded. That it has been issued in a single volume is a distinct advantage.

JAMES WILSON.

THE OXFORD DEGREE CEREMONY. By J. Wells, Fellow of Wadham College. Pp. viii, 98. Foolscap 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 1s. 6d. nett.

THE aim of this little book is to explain the meaning of the ceremonies which still exist at Oxford, and to trace their origin and history. Drawing much of its information from the works of Dr. Rashdall and the Rev. Andrew Clark, it is needless to say that it is instructive, and it is too little to say that it is extremely interesting as well. The author traces the University as a place of organised study back to 1184, and since then, owing to its growth and progress, the ceremonies have naturally, as he shows, varied considerably from age to age. For example, the once important 'Act' has almost vanished except in the cognate 'Encaenia,' which was instituted in 1669; and many of the conditions preliminary to the Degree ceremony have wholly changed. The two elements in the Degree ceremony in early times, the consent of the members of the Universities and that of the Vice-Chancellor—who, originally representing the Church, grants the degree in virtue of his own authority—still exist; and the 'Proctor's Walk' is even now the representative of the formal taking of votes of the M.A.'s present at the ceremony. A fine instance of English Conservatism is shown by the statement that the refusal to recognise the University of Stamford—to form which there was an abortive attempt in 1334—was only removed from the Candidates' Oath in 1827. There is an interesting chapter on officers of the University, and on University Dress, and the latter is illustrated by prints of proctors and scholars *temp* Charles II. Among the illustrations of this excellent handbook is one of the University seal of the fourteenth century, and a picture, from the Chancellor's Book, *circa* 1375, of 'The Chancellor receiving a Charter from Edward III.', which will delight every Oxford man.

OF MISTRESS EVE: A TALE OF THE SOUTHERN BORDER. By Howard Pease. Pp. x, 301. Cr. 8vo. London: A. Constable & Co., Ltd., 1906. 6s.

THIS new historical romance, especially interesting to dwellers on the Southern Borderside, deals with the period of the Restoration of Charles II.,

and introduces us to the King himself and his Court. There is a pen portrait of the redoubtable Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery. The wealth of material in the book is sufficient to make, at least, two novels, and it would have gained strength by condensation.

CRANMER, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND: A HISTORICAL DRAMA. By Ralph Richardson. Pp. ii, 107. Foolscap 4to. London: Elliot Stock, 1906. 5s. nett.

IN the preface to the drama the author writes of his hero that, 'never had an Englishman risen so high, never had one fallen so low,' but that 'his glorious death saved the name of Englishman from dishonour.' He gives as his version of the Primate's last speech:

> 'I gladly go, for I rejoice to give
> One martyr more to Freedom's holy cause,
> A cause which none can stifle, for 'twill blaze
> All brighter by the fire which ends my days'.

The *Celtic Review* (April) has a very indefinite article about 'The Ruskins' of Muckairn, in Lorne. A discussion on Sutherland place-names establishes good points in the transmission of both Norse and Gaelic name-words.

*The Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* (July) describes and illustrates Norman churches, tombs, and architectural decorations. It also treats of early almshouses.

Among the contents of *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und literaturen* (June) is a search after sources of certain old English sermons. Another English theme is the Rawlinson MS. Song-book. More general subjects are folk-tale origins, Cervantes, and Victor Hugo.

To the 'motte' problem Mr. G. H. Orpen makes a first-class contribution in the *English Historical Review* for July. It is a detailed examination both of structures and place-name survivals, showing the diffusion of 'Mote' and 'Bretesche' in the antiquities of Ireland. The latter term indicates the timber work which once was the leading feature of the fortified earth mound.

Mrs. Armitage in the *Antiquary* has been doing stout battle with Mr. T. J. Westropp in maintaining 'the Norman origin of Irish mottes' as against his view that the thing was a native, not an exotic type. By analysing sixty-one castles known to have been in existence by the end of King John's reign, Mrs. Armitage concludes that in at least forty-four cases there were mottes, and that the evidence places the Norman origin of the mottes on a firmer basis than before.

*Northern Notes and Queries* (July) includes an abstract of Cumberland charters from the MS. chartulary of Fountains Abbey.

In *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (June) there is communicated a note from Mr. Falconer Madan concerning a MS. belonging to the

Carthusian priory of Witham. On the book is the name of a former owner, 'Stephanus Battmanus.' Mr. Madan may note that the Hunterian Library MS. T.3.10 has numerous additions from the pen of 'S. Batman,' probably the same person.

*Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. 25, fasc. 3, published in July, 1906, contains an unusually valuable text, of legend highly charged with history, on the life and miracles of Pope Leo IX., 1049-1054.

*The American Historical Review* (July) describes the Ecole des Chartes, and essays to explain its influence by its thoroughness of method. 'There are no superficial courses along the gilded margin of attractive subjects. The work is intensive and severe.' Mr. Temperley examines the diplomacy of Canning directed towards checking the Monroe doctrine.

The August issue of *Scottish Notes and Queries* rescues from forgotten hiding-places several poems by John Leyden.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July prints an important record of the War of 1812 in the Journal of Robert Lucas, an Ohio officer in the campaign. His feelings of indignation against 'our Detestable Enemy the British and their savage allies,' rise to fever heat occasionally, as, for instance, when he describes episodes of the surrender of Detroit, including the 'huzzaws of the British troops' and 'the yells of the Savages.' This day-to-day record was well worth printing, but why does not the editor state distinctly where the manuscript is? That it has been 'carefully preserved by the descendants of Robert Lucas' may be true enough: but the statement conveys no scientific information whatever.

In the *Revue Historique* (September-October) there begins an important study from the pen of Prof. Ch.-V. Langlois on the grievances laid before the 'inquisitors' appointed by Louis IX. to hear complaints against officers of the Crown for maladministration and corruption. Registers were kept setting forth these charges in considerable detail, and from them many typical examples are taken. It is gratifying to find that Prof. Langlois considers the results as far from unfavourable to the general efficiency and purity of French administration under St. Louis.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Jan., 1906, April, 1906) has been dealing with the 'Limen Ecclesiae' as anciently a place of special penance, with the False Decretals, with origins of permanent nunciatures, and with the question of predestination in the fifth and sixth centuries. Special interest attaches to an elaborate criticism—which almost combines a bibliography—of the course of recent study and controversy on the legend of St. Francis (*Legenda trium sociorum*) and the *Speculum Perfectionis*.

In the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (April, 1906, July, 1906) there is traced the career of a curious personage of the Revolution, the *sans-culotte* Pierre Philip of Nancy. It is an instructive glimpse of a demagogue's life in the days of the Terror.

*The Modern Language Review* (July) gives an Anglo-Norman poem on the Antichrist, and groups interesting data on continental acquaintance with Shakespeare two hundred years ago.

# Queries

MAJOR COLIN CAMPBELL OF STRACHUR. Who was the father of Major Colin Campbell, of Strachur, of the 60th regiment, who in 1816 succeeded his grandmother, Janet Campbell, of Strachur, in that estate? Who also was his mother? Major Colin died in 1824 at Edinburgh. Any other details about this Campbell family would be of use to me.

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

28 Clarges Street, London, W.

MR. NIALL CAMPBELL. Mr. Niall Campbell, minister at Rosneath, became Principal of Glasgow University in 1728, which office he held till 1761. He is described in the Sasines as the nepos (grandson ?) of ——— Campbell, of Clunaray, of which place with Auchindrein he obtained a Charter of Confirmation from Argyll on 22nd February, 1710. Was he the grandson of the Archibald Campbell, of Clenarie, who was a Commissioner of Supply for Argyll 1702-1704, or was he his nephew? Whom did he marry, and what posterity did he leave?

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

28 Clarges Street, London, W.

THE BACHULL MOR. I should be glad to have any particulars concerning the 'Bachull Mor'—the pastoral staff of St. Moluag, and of the family who were the hereditary custodiers thereof; or a list of the oldest references to it.

W. D. WOODROW.

42 Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh.

[See Notice of the Crozier of St. Moluach by Cosmo Innes, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* Vol. II., 1859, p. 12; also references by John Stuart, LL.D., *ibid.* Vol. XII., 1878, p. 136; and by Daniel Wilson, LL.D., *ibid.* Vol. VI., New Series, 1884, p. 80. *Ed. S.H.R.*]

DEDICATION OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL IN FALKLAND PALACE. To whom was the chapel dedicated? Lord Ninian Crichton Stuart has recently hung on its walls a complete 'room' of tapestry which came from an old house in Maarssen, Holland, which was built in 1400. The name of the house and estate is 'Ter Keer,'

formerly 'Tuylenburg,' and the tapestry has passed from family to family of those who owned the house, viz.:—Sir Vincent Maximilian van Lakhorst, the Baron van Tuyll van Zuylen, Die Marchie van Vanhuysen, Heer of Maarssen (Lord of the Manor), the Chevalier H. van Weede, Ambassador.

J. M. MACKINLAY.

CHAPEL IN DUNROBIN CASTLE. Sir Robert Gordon in his *Genealogic History of the Earldom of Sutherland, from its origin to the year* 1630 (page 8), remarks:

'Their is in Dounrobin one of the deepest draw-wells, all of aister work from the ground to the top, called St. John his well, which is within the castle, in the midst of the court.'

Was there anciently a chapel in Dunrobin Castle having St. John as its patron?

J. M. MACKINLAY.

# Communications and Replies

KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN, TWO CENTURIES AGO. The old documents in Tain, now being examined, have just yielded some fresh information on life at King's College in the early years of the eighteenth century, and, in view of the Quatercentenary of Aberdeen University, they are of special interest at the present time.

The burgh of Tain owns 33 parchments. The oldest documents were destroyed when St. Duthus' Chapel was burned in 1427. The minutes and accounts of the Council are complete from 1670, but between 1427 and 1670 there must have been great loss or destruction. There are many thousands of papers with some charters, the documents of the Commissary Courts held in Tain, Fortrose, and Cromarty. In old times—in fact, till the present Commissary Clerk Depute was appointed—these manuscripts were very badly kept, and suffered great loss and damage. Now, like the burgh documents, they are well kept in the Court-house buildings. Nearly all, including the oldest, have now been examined, and what appeared of historical import has been noted or transcribed. Their appearance in book form, however, awaits financial assistance of subscribers or of friends of historical investigation.

There are two papers relating to the education of a young Ross-shire laird, the first, a receipt, as follows: 'Received from Mr. Daniel Forbes writ er in Edin^r in name of George Munroof Newmore four pnds nine sh. Sterling for a quarter's entertainment & school dues 16th June to 16th Septr in this present year for John Munro son to the said laird Geo. Munro of Newmore. I say received at Leith 16th June 1718 by me Jo. Forrest.' As John was heir to a good estate, the amount seems modest enough, even allowing for the value of money then, and the part for school dues—apparently fees paid for attendance at Edinburgh schools—must have been small. John's mother was sister of Lord President Duncan Forbes of Culloden. John was remarkable for his feats of physical strength. He was returned as a Member of Parliament in 1733, joined the army in 1740, fought at Fontenoy, and by his bravery gained remarkably rapid promotion. From school in Edinburgh he passed to King's College, Aberdeen, and another paper gives a complete and detailed account of his expenses there. It gives many sidelights on dress as well as education, and is headed 'Ane transcript of the accompt sent to Newmore Augt. 15th 1720, Old Aberdeen 12th, 1720—Ane account of money debursed since August the third 1719, for the use of John Munro younger of Newmore.' The money is Scots except marked stg., and the items, put consecutively to save space instead of in columns, are: 'Imprimis To five moneths' board

at the Colledge table at 100 merks per qtr, inde £111. 2. 4., To seaven moneths' board in Alex[r] Miln's at 44 lib per qt[r], £102. 13. 4., To ane year's bedding at 3 lib 6 shill 8 ds per q[r] chamber meall 6 lib and for ane iron grate to it £19. 16. 8. For cloathes as followes: 8th Oct 1719 To 3½ yeards drab cloath for a big coat at 10 shill. st[g] per yrd with furniture to it £29. 15. 0. To ¾ yd of cloath for breeches at 8 sh. st[g] per yd with furniture £5. 6. 6.; 24th May 1720 To 14 yds drogat at ½ crown per yd. with the furniture for a summer suite £38' (*the half crown must be sterling*) 'To four pair stockins £9. 15. 6. To nine pair shows (=*shoes*) £19. 3. 4th Agst. 1719 To a night gown and worsat cape (*cap*) £15. 10. 4th Nov[r] 1719 To sex yds freeze for a reed gown with furniture £10. 6. 4. To 3 pair gloves 1 lib 18 sh, & 2 napkins 1 lib 16 sh. To ane hat at 2 shill st[g] ane wigge at 13 sh st[g] a pock to ane other at 2. lib 8. sh Scots £16. 16. For making the said cloathes and for other taylor work throughout the year £10. 2. 6. For linnens as follows 4th Augst. 1719 To 4½ yds holland and for necks and sleives £10. To ½ yd muslin for cravats £3. 12. To 1⅛ yd for stock to the cravats £1. 12. 10. 12th Jully 1720 To 18¾ yds holland for shirts at 2 lib 1 shill per yd £38. 8. 8. To 18 yds linnen for shifts at 13 shill. 9d per yd £12. 0. 0. To making the s[d] linnens £6. 19. 6. To washing the s[d] linnens throughout ye year at 2 merks per qtr £5. 6. 8. To the barbar for shaving and powdering at ½ crown per qtr £6.' (The half crown is sterling and the £6 is Scots.)

To masters as follows: 'To the humanist and his subdoctor for ane quarter £4. 10. To the Greek regent £31. 10. To the fenceing master for three moneths £12. To the danceing master for two moneths £10. 16. To the danceing master's servant for playing at the danceing & for teaching to play on the fluit £4. 10. To the french master for three moneths £5. 8. To incidental expences and for clubs and balls £13. To books, Latine Greek and English and for sex maps and securing them with mullars as per particular a/t £60. 9. To M[r] Munro at severall times for pocket money £27. To fire and candle for the whole year £22. 10. To the Colledge servants viz the portar, cook, and what given to the oeconomous when all the masters dinn'd at the table and to the boys that served M[r] Munro in ye Chamber and at table £17. 2. To paper quills wafers and ink £3. 6. To postage to letters to & from Newmore £2. 14. To the servant the Lady sent to carry his charges home £6. To sugars &c to M[r] Munro when his throat was sore of ye cold 11 shill. Summa £697. 7. 0.' Next page is headed 'Additional Accompt since August when the within written was sent to Newmore,' but only those items which afford more information need be given: 'To nine weeks' bed and board £35. 10. To the Greek Regent for the summer time £25. 4.' (the fencing, dancing, and French masters also come in). 'To ane cover to the french bible 12 shill. To the dancing master for M[r] Munro's shane dance £1. 4. To expenses to M[r] Munro's shane dance £2. 8. To 2½ pnds candles and 2 loads peatts 16 sh. 6 d. To ane year of the newspapers £5. 12. 6. To a pair leather hose a pair spurs and a whip £1. 12. Given to M[r] Munro to bear his expenses home £18. To fee to M[r] Barron for fourteen moneths £120. Summa of the heall accpt. £968. 7.'—'Sic subs[tr] Jo: Munro Will: Barron.'

The latter certifies the account evidently as college agent, perhaps 'oeconomus'; the former as the father's agent, perhaps a relative, who held the purse-strings and 'debursed' for everything, even pocket money and 'sugars.'

Scottish, especially Aberdeen, University men will notice numerous points of contrast or correspondence with existing arrangements, such as: the residential arrangements, 'colledge table,' 'cook,' 'oeconomus,' 'chamber meall'—payment for an iron grate as a special luxury and for peat as the only fuel—red gowns worn by the students (and of strong material)—the summer session, really a very old institution, and then nine weeks long—the much smaller fee per quarter to the 'humanist' than to the Greek 'Regent' (though the mention of the 'subdoctor' suggests larger classes in Latin, which would redress the balance)—the rate of payment to the French master between these two in amount, but that to the fencing and dancing masters much higher. That 'masters' did not usually dine at the college table appears from the fact that a special tip to the oeconomus is necessary when they do so. There were other, and cheaper, boarding places than the college one, for the charge there works out at £5. 2s. 6d. Scots per week, at Miln's only £3. 7s. 8d. The summer charge, again, equals £4 a week, agrees with neither, and may have been at a third place. The poorer class of students must have had still cheaper places available, for not only the fencing and dancing, but many of the clothing items show that John was maintained, in accordance with his position, as a sort of aristocrat. Omitting all such items, and allowing a rate of £2 a week instead of £3 7s. 8d., we may say that, while John's total expenses were £697 Scots or £58 sterling, a common student's would be about half of that. The relatively high expense for books, when coupled with the significant item, 'a year of the newspapers' (which at the prices then existing could mean only a reading of them), indicates John's own mental activity. The item for clubs and balls (some older form of hockey or golf) also for spurs and whip indicates his physical activity. With classics, French, athletic and polite accomplishments, current literature and politics, the future M.P. and colonel was verily an all-round youth, and an all-round education he got in Old Aberdeen of two centuries ago.

Rose Place, Tain, Ross-shire. W. Macgill, B.A. (Lond.).

PHINN [*Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xv. p. 236]. Thos. Phinn, engraver in Edinburgh, was admitted a burgess there in 1768 in right of his father, John Phinn, wigmaker there, who was himself admitted in 1730, being then described as 'son to John P. in Aberdour,' probably a cadet of the Phins of Whitehill, Aberdour. John Phinn, wigmaker, and his wife Margt. M'Crae have a son James baptised in May, 1721, and a son Thomas in 1728. (Edin. Reg.). Thos. Phinn has a daughter Ester by his wife Agnes M'Brazer, baptised in 1753. Mrs. Phinn, sp. to Mr. Phinn, printer (or engraver), is buried in the Greyfriars, Aug., 1776. In 1781 John Phinn is served heir to his father Thomas, engraver in Edinburgh. A Thos. Phin, grocer, was living in Edinburgh up to about 1846, probably a grandson of the engraver, as he was certainly no relation

to the several other families of Phin in Edinburgh then, whose genealogy is known.

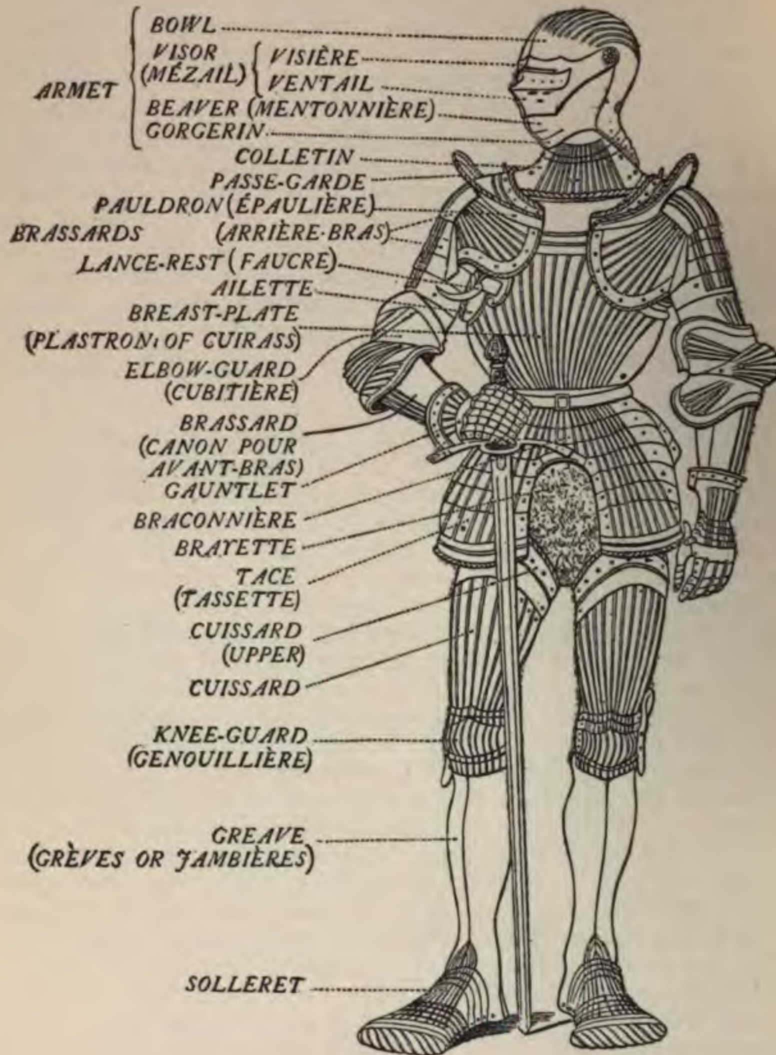
J. C. W.

HISTORICAL ABERDEEN (*S.H.R.* iii. 512). The word 'Mutton' in Mutton Brae is not—as suggested—connected with A.S. *mōt*, a meeting, and for two reasons. The Mutton Brae in Aberdeen never was a place of meeting, either in Anglo-Saxon or any other times; and it is not really an ancient place name. It is—so far as I have been able to discover, after very considerable research—no older than the second half of the eighteenth century. The suggestion illustrates a defect of most works on Scottish place names, namely, that seemingly probable derivations are so largely applied in ignorance of the actual history and associations of a particular place. Philology is too dangerously seductive to be used alone in dealing with place names. If the subject is to be placed on a really satisfactory footing men must be content, for a long time yet, to work patiently on the place names of a small area, with all the circumstances and conditions of which they are thoroughly familiar.

G. M. FRASER.

Public Library, Aberdeen.

TILTING IN TUDOR TIMES. The study of history is a continual process of revision. Viscount Dillon makes an important return to the Middle Ages, rectifying and revising Sir Walter Scott and the Eglinton Tournament, by his *Tilting in Tudor Times*, written as a souvenir of the Royal Naval and Military Tournament, Olympia, London, 1906. Illustrated with many drawings from old MSS., this pamphlet is as instructive as it is pictorial; and we have to thank Messrs. Gale & Polden for permission to reproduce the three accompanying illustrations. Older antiquaries considerably misunderstood the tilt, and accordingly both archaeologists and romancers made it a much more serious and dashing encounter than it really was. The name, in French *toile*, in English *tilt* (still used in wagon-tilt and similar connections), arose from the long cloth or screen hung up to divide the lists. Soon the 'tilt' gave place to a wooden partition, but, as the way is with names, the word has remained. The tilters rode along the opposite sides of this 'tilt,' each having it on his left hand, so that his spear was pointed at his antagonist across the horse's neck. Only at the moment of passing was the antagonist within reach. It was a game much more of skill, with well-drilled horses, than of force; the spears, with blunt heads or 'coronals' of metal, were slender, and broke readily on helm or cuirass. There was a long code of rules for marking degrees of merit. To strike coronal to coronal was good work, though not so good as to upset the opponent. 'Considering all things,' says Viscount Dillon, 'scoring points depended more on the adversary running against the lance point than on any skill on the part of the jouster.' The recent Olympia reproduction was a very faithful attempt at rendering the thing as it was in medieval times, a fact for which the committee in charge express their indebtedness to the learned guidance of Viscount Dillon, well known as one of the first European authorities on medieval arms.

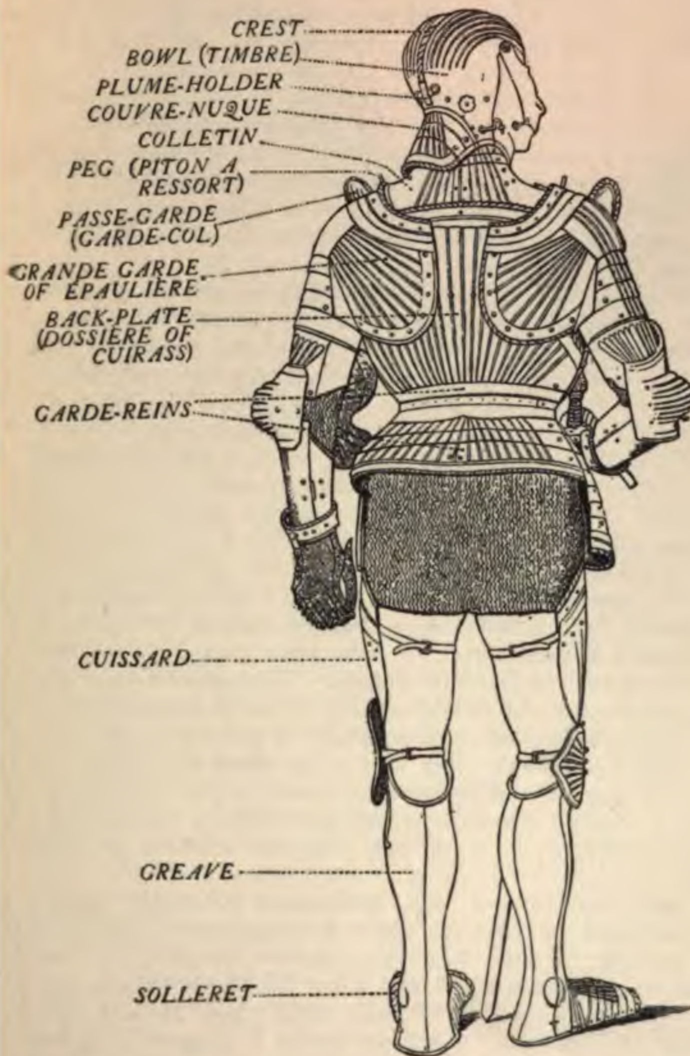



A Complete Suit of Armour of the Tudor Period.

JOUST AT ST. INGLEVERTS

*(Froissart MS., British Museum)*

See page 111




A Complete Suit of Armour of the Tudor Period.

PENTLAND RISING AND RULLION GREEN. Miss Sidgwick is to be congratulated upon her communication (*S.H.R.* iii. 449) of Drummond's despatch to Rothes announcing the defeat of the Whigs at Rullion Green. When I wrote my account of the Rising of 1666 a few months ago I was unaware of the existence of Drummond's despatch. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Sidgwick for her kind reference to my monograph, and my gratification at her conclusion, that the document which she has discovered 'does, substantially, nothing but confirm' the account which I was able to piece together from extant materials. At the same time, Drummond's despatch corrects or supplements the information available to me on more than one detail, though it leaves my main conclusions unchallenged. I venture, therefore, to point out in a brief note those passages of my book which require annotation in the light of Miss Sidgwick's new-found document.

In the first place, Drummond's despatch gives the first clear indication of the date of Dalziel's march from Glasgow—22nd November. His fore-party was reported at Mauchline on the 23rd (my *Pentland Rising*, p. 28), and a party of Whigs which ventured on the 23rd between Mauchline and Kilmarnock was captured (*Ibid*, p. 29, note). From Drummond's despatch it appears that Dalziel's cavalry were at Kilmarnock on the 22nd, and that his infantry were at 'Much adoe' on the 23rd. Where was 'Much adoe'? Miss Sidgwick says that Drummond spelt and wrote as a gentleman! I conclude, therefore, that his spelling is euphonic and his orthography not easily decipherable. 'Much adoe' is probably Meikle Earnock, a Lanarkshire village 2 miles S.W. of Hamilton. If my conjecture is correct, it is clear that Dalziel's infantry was sent along the road towards Lanark, while his cavalry skirmished on the extreme right wing towards Kilmarnock. My map (*Ibid.* p. 17) gives Kilmarnock as the southern limit of Dalziel's advance. Drummond's despatch, however, shows that he and the cavalry advanced from Kilmarnock to Mauchline on the 24th, before turning eastward in pursuit of Wallace and his rapidly marching force. On the 25th, when the Whigs crossed the Clyde at Lanark, Dalziel's advanced party was at Strathaven (*S.H.R.* vol. iii. p. 451). Drummond says the Whigs crossed the Clyde in two boats. Turner says that only one was available (*Pentland Rising*, p. 35).

For the events of the 26th, Drummond's despatch usefully supplements Maitland of Hatton's letter to Lauderdale (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 249). Hatton says that Dalziel's fore-party had reached 'the hill above the Hoorns of Clyde' when Wallace's force across the river was observed 'marching over Lanark Hill.' Mr. Osmund Airy suggested 'Ffoord' for 'Hoorns,' a reading which I adopted (*Pentland Rising*, p. 40, note 3). It should, however, be Howms, as has been pointed out to me by a correspondent. Drummond's despatch, while it confirms Hatton's account of the brief pursuit of Wallace by Dalziel's cavalry on the 26th, gives reliable information upon the position of the infantry. In the absence of any definite statement other than Turner's, I concluded that Dalziel's infantry was close in the rear of his cavalry, and as

Hatton speaks of the 'body' advanced in pursuit as far as 'the pass of Blackwood,' I supposed that the 'body' was the infantry (*Ibid.* p. 47), and inferred that Dalziel, after abandoning the pursuit, called back both horse and foot to Lanark for the night's quarter. From Drummond's despatch it now appears that Dalziel's inability to engage the insurgents was due to the tardy advance of his infantry, which was a day's march in the rear, and did not ford the Clyde and enter Lanark until night-fall.

On the events of the 27th, Drummond's despatch exactly confirms Hatton. In Miss Sidgwick's transcript, however, 'Huhthgour' or 'huhghour' should read 'Newbridge,' and 'tarfichens hather' is clearly 'tarfichens Calder,' Calder House, near Mid Calder. Drummond explicitly states what I had inferred (*Ibid.* p. 61), that Dalziel interpreted Wallace's change of route on the 28th as an attempt to 'gett of to Bigger,' and therefore cut across the Pentlands from Currie.

In regard to the battle itself, Drummond's despatch is inferior to Hatton's as a guide to the actual scene of the engagement. But it confirms other accounts as to the whereabouts of Wallace's force when Dalziel's fore-party first spied it (*Ibid.* p. 60). The Whigs, Drummond writes, were then 'on their march towards Linton the bigger way,' that is, on the road leading to Biggar, 'near a place called Glencors kirk.' Glencorse Church is at no distance from Rullion Green, the spot marked on my map as 'Wallace's Bivouack.'

Regarding the details of the battle, Drummond adds little to the evidence already available. Dalziel's fore-party of horse began the engagement. Hatton gives their number at 22 (*Ibid.* p. 69, note 1), Drummond at 'about 100.' The latter gives no hint of the manœuvrings of the fore-party (see *Ibid.* p. 69). He merely states that the fore-party were 'in a ground where they could not come of' (cf. *Ibid.* p. 69, note 2). Drummond adds a detail, however, in the statement that the fore-party held the enemy for two hours before the body of the cavalry arrived—about two o'clock p.m.—the infantry being then four miles in the rear. Hatton says that the infantry were only 'two myles behind' when the body of Dalziel's horse joined the fore-party (*Ibid.* p. 73, note 1). But as Dalziel's foot did not come up until two hours or more later (*Ibid.* p. 75, note 1) Drummond's statement probably is the more accurate.

Of the preliminary encounters between Dalziel's fore-party and Wallace's left Drummond admits that 'some sharpe charges past in this time, w[ch] the rebells gave & received with desperate resolucon to our prejudice' (cf. *Ibid.* p. 72, note 2). After the preliminary skirmish, and upon the arrival of Dalziel's body of cavalry, his fore-party thus reinforced retired, to quote my account, to 'high ground westward of Glencorse Burn,' awaiting the arrival of the infantry (*Ibid.* p. 73). Drummond confirms: 'Wee found it convenient to draw from that ground [marked 2 on my map] & gott of a little to a better ground where they made a fashion to annoy us without any gaine' (cf. *Ibid.* p. 74, note 1).

As to the actual locality of the battle Drummond uses a phrase which exactly fits the position which I was led to identify as the site of the engagement. 'Wee put Ourselves in order and embattled,' says Drummond,

'in a faire plaine upon their Noses, they upon the hill above,' clearly the plain having the Glencorse Burn in the rear and facing westward the steep ascent of Turnhouse Hill (see *Ibid.* p. 75, note).

Drummond's brief and concise account of the battle, I am glad to find, confirms my narrative. Of the preliminary attack by Dalziel's right, stoutly met by a party of Wallace's left, Drummond, like Hatton, speaks of the toughness of the struggle. 'They stuck in others birse for a quarter off ane hour,' says Hatton (*Ibid.* p. 79, note 1): 'they mixed like chess-men in a bag,' says Drummond. Hatton admits that Dalziel's party retired 'a little.' Drummond does not say so. Perhaps I have overstated somewhat the extent of Dalziel's repulse (*Ibid.* p. 79). Of the second attack on Wallace's left, Drummond says 'it was disputed toughly.' Wallace declares that Dalziel's party was routed. Hatton claims an equal success for his side. But Drummond conclusively supports Wallace, whose account I followed (*Ibid.* p. 79, note 2): he writes, 'then came a strong partie of foot from their body & forced our right wing back to the foot in some disorder.' This repulse, he adds, was 'instantly rectified,' and Wallace's left was drawn back to its position on the ridge (*Ibid.* p. 80).

On the final episode of the battle my conclusions were, that the repulse of Wallace's left had already unsteadied the small force of cavalry on his right; that observing the Whigs 'no longer solid and unshaken upon the height, Dalziel seized the moment to engage' their right; that Wallace's cavalry on the left endeavoured to reinforce his right, but threw the intervening foot into confusion in the attempt; and that a general advance of Dalziel's force completed the rout (*Ibid.* p. 81). Drummond's account is: 'Their right wing of horse came from their ground foolishly & crosses their foot, apprehending their left wing to bee in distresse, wherein they were mistaken, & soe gave our left wing their Slack, wch opportunity wee had hold on, & thene went their Cavalrie in disorder, Our whole body then advanced, & beat in their horse upon their foot, then confusion and flight followed.' It will be noticed that Drummond does not state specifically that Wallace's left threw the foot into confusion while attempting to strengthen the body of horse on their right. Hatton does say so (*Ibid.* p. 82, note 2), and Drummond's 'beat in their horse upon their foot' may be regarded as an equivalent statement. It seems clear that the Whig infantry lost the advantages of their commanding position through the desperate manœuvrings of the horse on their flanks.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

## THE OLD CROWN CUSHION AT EDINBURGH CASTLE.

The Crown 'alwayes stands upon an squair cushion of crimpson velvet adorned with fringes and four tassels of gold threed hanging down at each corner.'

I quote from the Instrument taken on behalf of the Earl Marischal on the historic occasion when the Regalia—or 'Honours' of Scotland as they used aptly to be termed—were deposited in Edinburgh Castle at the time of the Union in 1707.

The Cushion recently restored to the Crown Room, is, as I shall

attempt to shew, the identical one which was placed along with the Regalia in an oak chest at the Castle in 1707, and shared with them that long period of obscurity lasting until the year 1818, during which they lay hidden and almost forgotten. Although the Report of the Royal Commissioners, who broke open the chest in the last-mentioned year, contains no mention of the discovery of a cushion also, there seems little reason to doubt that it was there. In the first place, there is the evidence of the Instrument referred to above that the Crown always lay upon a cushion, the fashion of which is minutely described, and in face of this statement it is scarcely credible that upon such an important occasion there should have been a departure from the usual custom. In the second place, the Report gives but scanty detail of anything except the all-important Regalia—a not surprising fact considering that the whole nation was breathlessly waiting to be assured of the safety of the Honours, and the minds of the Commissioners were doubtless filled, to the exclusion of everything else, with the joy of being able to give that assurance. Lastly, it is distinctly stated in the *Historical Account of His Majesty's visit to Scotland*, published in 1882 by Oliver & Boyd, that after their resurrection the Regalia were publicly exposed to view at the Castle when the Crown stood upon 'the original square cushion of crimson velvet found along with it.'

The Cushion remained on exhibition with the Regalia for the four years between 1818 and the King's visit in 1822. It then passed into the possession of Sir Alexander Keith of Ravelston.

It must be borne in mind that the ancient office of Marischal of Scotland included the right of keeping the Regalia. This right was exercised by the holder of the office in a direct manner only *in times of* Parliament and on other State occasions, at which times they were actually in his own keeping. At other times the right was exercised indirectly by keeping the key of the strong place in which they were secured for the time being. This office of Marischal was hereditary in the family of Keith, and the head of that family, the then Marischal of Scotland, had been created Earl about the year 1455. Alexander Keith of Ravelston, at the time of the rediscovery of the Regalia, had presented a petition to the Prince Regent praying to be allowed to keep the Regalia. He based his claim on grounds too lengthy to be enlarged upon here, but his point was, that although the Earldom of Marischal had been forfeited by Act of Attainder in 1716, the office of Marischal had not fallen with it, and remained in his person as the existing representative of both earldom and office. His petition was only partially successful, for he was refused the entire guardianship of the Regalia at the time, but, on George the Fourth's visit to Edinburgh, he was created Knight Marischal of Scotland, and as such had the Honours in his keeping from the 12th to the 24th of August, 1822.

The receipt which Sir Alexander gave to the deputy keeper on receiving the Regalia on the 12th of August expressly mentions that he obtained the crimson cushion also, but the receipt which he got

in return on redelivering them on the 24th states that the King had sent a new cushion for the Crown, and that the old one accordingly remained in Sir Alexander's possession. This proceeding of changing the cushion was in accordance with an old custom, which seems always to have been followed, namely, that when the crown cushion required renewal, the Marischal was allowed to retain the old one. The mere fact that the cushion was changed and the old custom followed in 1822, is in itself sufficient to dispose of any suggestion which may be made of a change of cushion between 1818 and 1822.

Both of these receipts and the original Instrument of 1707 have been preserved, and are in my custody.

Sir Alexander Keith kept the cushion at Ravelston until his death, when it passed with his estates to the Murrays of Ochtertyre through the marriage of the late Sir William Murray with Sir Alexander's heiress. It was removed to Ochtertyre in 1871 or 1872. While there it narrowly escaped destruction on more than one occasion, for, through the mistake of some thrifty housekeeper it did duty for a time in the drawing-room like any ordinary cushion, and I blush to remember that it frequently figured in the pillow-fights of my boyhood! This period of rough usage has left it in a very dilapidated condition. It now lacks the gold fringe mentioned in the instrument before referred to, but still retains the tassels at each corner.

The cushion remained at Ochtertyre until June, 1905, when it was transferred to the Crown Room in the Castle.

In view of the frequent renewals of the crown cushions, I have not attempted to trace the history of this one beyond the Union. In all probability, however, it supported the Crown during the last session of a Scottish parliament, but it is impossible to say if it dates back to any occasion more remote.

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# Notes and Comments

*Ormulum: its author and date.*

WHO wrote the *Ormulum*, that fragment, almost Anglo-Saxon, of poetic scriptural paraphrase and exposition? This question of early English literature has evoked a valuable discussion in the *Athenaeum* (May 19-July 28). It began with a very tentative suggestion by Dr. Henry Bradley that Orm, brother of Walter, may have been a canon of Elsham in Lincolnshire, and that the *Ormulum*, which it is assumed from philological reasons must have been written about A.D. 1200 in the North-east Midlands, was his work. This supposition was followed by a much more definite proposal advanced by the Rev. Dr. James Wilson that the poem was a product of Carlisle, dating perhaps forty or fifty years earlier than Dr. Bradley's estimate. Without quite endorsing Dr. Wilson's bold statement that Dr. Bradley's hypothesis was to be dismissed as wholly imaginative, it is impossible to deny the much higher substantiality of the proposition Dr. Wilson himself offers. Orm, author of the *Ormulum*, had, as appears from the dedication of the poem itself, a brother Walter, 'after the flaeshes kind,' who was not only a brother 'i Cristendom,' in God's house, and under the rule of Augustine, but was also Orm's ecclesiastical superior. Dr. Wilson shows that in the Augustinian priory of Carlisle, founded in 1102, there was a prior Walter from about 1150 till about 1170; that the priory was much indebted to Alan, grandson of Earl Gospatric; that prior Walter was a near kinsman of Alan; and that, while one charter proves that Walter had a brother Ailward and a brother Gospatric, another proves that Ailward and Gospatric had a brother Orm. Although there is lacking direct proof that this Orm, brother of Walter, was a canon, it is plausibly argued that he may well have been so in view of his connection with his brother, the prior, as well as with the patrons of the priory, and also in view of his leaving no descendants. In these circumstances there seems good standing-room for Dr. Wilson's moderate contention that the ascertained facts when set into relation with the conditions of the origin and authorship of the *Ormulum* clearly point to Carlisle, and that with that Augustinian house the honour must remain till a better title is made out for some other place. Of course philological difficulties remain for the philologists, who have a way, however, of ultimately accommodating their views to historical certainties. Half a century in an estimate of date or a hundred miles in a speculation upon dialect geography must be accepted as degrees of error easily within the limits of pardonable miscalculation. Dr. Wilson dryly observes, moreover, that he is intelligent enough to know that philology should be the last of the sciences to claim pontifical authority for its conclusions.

*Archaeological Jubilee at Hawick.*

THERE are good reasons why honours should be paid while the veteran still holds the stage, and it was a happy idea to make the jubilee celebration of the Hawick Archaeological Society the occasion of a special tribute to its President, Dr. J. A. H. Murray, editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*. Dr. Murray, a native of Denholm, near Hawick, was fifty years ago one of the band who founded the Hawick Archaeological Society. On the membership roll his name alone now survives of the original list. The proceedings on 18th September took the form of a banquet in the Town Hall, at which Dr. Murray was formally presented with a casket containing his enrolment as an honorary burgess. Provost Melrose presided. Addresses from various Border societies were presented to the guest of the evening. Mr. Thomas Shaw, Lord Advocate, proposed the toast of the Hawick Archaeological Society, coupling the general interests of archaeology with a special eulogium of Dr. Murray, both personally and in relation to his services to the society. Dr. Murray, in his speeches, dwelt pleasantly on his youthful residence in Hawick and on his philological development, leading through his studies of the Scottish dialect to the editorship of the New English Dictionary. Throughout the evening an enthusiasm for this notable borderer was predominant. The Rev. James Oliver stirred emotion by his reminiscences of the comrade of his youth. Every speaker had his tribute of praise to offer, and notably Lord Rosebery, whose deep respect for the venerable lexicographer by no means restrained his instinctive sense of fun. Such a quarter hour of wit rarely falls to mortal audiences as his lordship's alleged reply for 'Kindred Societies'—a *tour-de-force* of banter, chiefly on spelling reform.

*Somerset Archaeological Society.*

THE *Proceedings* during the years 1903, 1904, and 1905 of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (third series, vols. ix., x., and xi.: Athenaeum Press, Taunton) record steady and substantial work in most lines of research. Ecclesiastical architecture, family history, and the annual tale of additions to the Taunton Castle museum are recurrent themes. Of broader interest are the accounts of various excavations at Castle Neroche, Small Down Camp, and Worlebury Camp, and the discussion of the problem of the pits, about five feet deep, associated with some such sites. Northern antiquaries, however, will be attracted perhaps still more by the detailed reports on the work being done on the site of the Glastonbury Lake Village, and the descriptive catalogues of bone, horn, glass, shale, bronze, and iron relics, besides handsome pieces of pottery, found there, examples of all of which are shown in admirable illustrations. Curious medieval representations of the Last Judgment illustrate a paper on the tympanum of a Rood-screen, and variously render such things as the weighing of souls, ascent into paradise, the converse process, the fiend in person, and the expansive jaws of hell as traditionally treated in art.