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Mr. Robert Kirk's Note-book

THE MS. from which the following passages are extracted, is a small volume ($5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$), bound in vellum, beautifully coloured by use and age, and furnished with a flap which retains a piece of one of its cords. It contains 188 pages covered on both sides with closely-written, delicate writing. Some leaves have been torn from the end. The first page is inscribed: *First Manuscript | A | miscelany of occuring | thoughts on various | occasions | Ro : Kirk | Love and live | August i. at Balquhidder | 1678.* The inside of the flap bears the signatures of 'C. Kirk,' probably the writer's son Colin Kirk, W.S., and of 'Thomas Rutherford, 1698.' The volume bears evidence of being one of a series which probably included the 'little manuscript belonging to Coline Kirk' referred to by the transcriber of the *Secret Commonwealth* (if it be not the 'little manuscript' itself).¹ It was purchased by the writer of this note in a bundle of miscellaneous MSS. at a recent sale in London of part of the library of the late Professor John Ferguson, LL.D., of Glasgow University.

The writer of this *Miscelany* was clearly Mr. Robert Kirk, the author of *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies*, who was minister of Balquidder and afterwards of Aberfoyle, and departed this life in 1692, to become, according to popular tradition, the 'Chaplain to the Fairy Queen.'

¹ *D.N.B.*, s.v. and Andrew Lang's edition of the *Secret Commonwealth*. London : David Nutt, 1893.

The expectation of discovering a work of the character of *The Secret Commonwealth* vanished under the transcribing hand, but in its place there was disclosed an interesting picture of the mind of a worthy Scottish pastor of the school of Leighton. The Note-book, however, offers sufficient internal evidence to identify the writer with the author of that curious tractate. The following passage has Kirk's peculiar quality of grave reflection stumbling in an obscure field of observation.

The ancient tradition of evil spirits sucking of witches and dead carcasses (raising a storm while a magician's dead body is unburnt) as being together with darkness their proper element they are chained to (Jud. 6) and they smelling from the cold north a carcass meet for them as a raven doth a carrion afar off; those spiritual serpents triumphing over and feeding on that dust) also their magical treats and sips of sweet liquor; and the fame of their being fed with dews and savoury exhalations and incense (being mostly in the air intercepting souls' passage to heaven, which makes them need the conduct of angels to Abraham's bosom) lykewise the story of the human-shaped *incubi*, and stealing of children and nurses, give probable surmises that there are divers clans and kynds of spirits who make their vehicles seen to us when they please, though they are not so gross as terrestrial bodies, but most part aerial needing to be soakt and fed some way as well as ourselves. Such may be the fauns, fayries, satyrs and haunTERS of woods, hillocks, wells, etc. (for no thing nor place but is inhabited within of some creatures) and since many of these disappear at mentioning the name of God, and that they forsee evil rather than good, why may they not have a polity among themselves, some of them not so miserable as others, some of them reasoning and learning, others as yet obstinate, blinded atheists (for they but see the works of God to prove a duty as we do; yet are there atheists among us).

A further point of identification is found in the 'Irish' passages which the Note-book contains, and in a number of sympathetic references to the 'Scots-Irish.' The former are in some cases in old Irish script, and include a version of one of Kirk's elegies on the death of his first wife. It will be remembered that Kirk produced the first complete translation of the Scottish Metrical Psalms into Gaelic in 1684, and had a hand in a similar enterprise six years later.

'It is often and much wished,' writes Kirk,

It is often and much wished that for benefit of the Scotch-Irish that ancient law of England were in use, and that any thief or other malefactor were pardoned the first crime, providing he could read the bibl; for once coming to holy knowledge they would indeed surcease that base trade of life, which now among many tribes is scarce counted a sin or reproach, but a worthy martial and politic act. For bordering enemies to invade other so,

is no wonder ; but to bordering neebours, men of the same language and extract, 'tis barbarous ; mars all traffic and converse, as wel as religion, being a kind of secret civil war and unmanly treachery ; worse than the savageness of beasts who prey not on their own kind. Want of sound knowledge is much of the cause of this, which in time would root out the evil habit, which (as in any other sin) kills the sense of its vileness.

The years during which the oblong leaves of the Note-book were carefully filled were full of events of national importance, but it only contains one reference to them. The following account of the Battle of Bothwell Bridge has the value of contemporary hearsay :

On Sunday, June 22, 1679, the Southern Army of about 6000 Nonconformists or dissatisfied persons, led by one Hamilton, a gentleman and Mr Jo. Welsh, a minister, were betwixt Bothwell Brigg and Hamilton utterly discomfited (and about 1000 killed and taken). They taking flight after a few sore cann shot sent among them, leaving their own cannon and provision without tarrying to encounter with swords. They refused liberal conditions of peace, and to give or take quarter that morning. Their word notwithstanding was 'Kill and Take.' The King's Army's word was 'Heth.' These valiant shadowes and deceived rout, full of godly words but damnabl works, began their diabolic insurrection with the intended murder of Major Johnston at Edinburgh, and horrid assasination of Archbishop Sharp (who suppose an ill man got no fair justice or assize from them) continued it with cruelty at Rugland, giving no mercy to any of the King's troop when they once had the upper hand of them, and rifling the graves of the dead at Glasgow shewing their valorous feats of arms and singular dexterity in anatomy by slashing and carving of the dead corps (an inhumanity unheard of among infidels). These be the effects of their exalted Religion ; this their manhood in Battel ; and so vile an end would the just God bring on so abominabl a beginning ; what began with desperate rashness and want of head or wit ; ended with shame and want of heart and hand. Such a bolt and attempt as this was in the year 1667 and was then quell'd by General Daliell, as this under the conduct of the Duke of Monmouth. Our reflection hereon, is, that the Kingdom loses, whoever had gain'd the day : Therfor in civil and intestin Debates our sorrow should be doubled for the common vices that occasion such strokes ; wherein all of us have our own blame. And withal we are to pity such poor people that are deluded and hoodwinked by their vagrant corrupt teachers, to the disgrace of their nation and profession for ever, to the loss of their estates and lives and great hazard of their souls (dying in so blood-thirsty a temper).

In March of the same year, Robert Kirk's mother died, and he records the event in the following characteristic fashion :

Though I use not to notice dreams much, yet March 25, 1679, I viyels perceived and thought I felt a great tooth in my head break into two halves

part by part and com off; on the morrow (my father being removed twenty years before) my mother took bed and on Monday thereafter about 2 a clock, gave up the ghost. Who knows if some courteous angel gives us a warning by our imaginations or senses, of extraordinary accidents. I am sure at several slips, I have susteand immediately loss of goods or hurts of my body, or vexing reports of fama. Though God does observe and may manage every particular in this world by himself; yet he may use the medial ministry of angels toward men, as of man toward beasts.

Ignorant worldly men will boast of their kyndly calf-country and so. To do good specially to that place we breathed our first air into, we should take any argument to urge us; but t'is as absurd so to stick be it, as to imagine of no permanent resting but in it, as becaus t'is kindly for a man to go to Hell if he follow his predecessors. Therfor he himself is not to labour for heaven (our true home and lasting country).

The death of his wife is recorded in pedestrian verse :

Elegie on Isabel Campbel, sometime spouse to Mr Robert Kirk, minister of the Gospel at Balquidder, who departed December 25, 1680. Was married to her husband near 3 years, and left alive one son, Colin.

You winged choristers, appear,
 Chirp notes of grief in every ear.
 You sable-tribe, whose horrid groans,
 Would wrench salt tear from marbl stons,
 You fonts, you monts, whose wandering crew's
 Resound sad echoes to sad news.
 You, all that's female, scour your throats,
 Bewail this bride who left your cotes ;
 Whose Heart's chast flames were such that shee
 Chang'd husbands, one for one most High,
 She scorns the cut, the curt, the cringe,
 (Rare soul, that movd not on such hinge).
 Her ornament was loyal duty ;
 In soul, not boxes was her beauty.
 Her innocence and honestie
 Brought Paradyse before our ey,
 She beamd with brightness all her life,
 Now let her rest, away with strife.
 Two that's made one whilst they have breath
 No wise man parts¹ them at their death.

An epitaph on the same.

One piece of gold is tantamount
 To heaps of pennies on accompt.
 Here, one commends the ruby lips,
 There, one applauds her courtly skips.

¹ Some of her friends strove to remove her corpse to their own burial place.

The crouching back ; the simpering face,
 The wel-cut patch, the scrape of grace,
 The dainty pace, such minute things
 Men speak of friends, when their knel sings.
 Your ears with such I will not vex,
 This was the compend of her sex.
 What man should wish to have in her
 How soon required : yet made no stir.
 Christ came to fetch her, it appeared ;
 For He was born that¹ day she died.

Kirk has one discreet reference to Charles II. In the course of a strong enunciation of the doctrine of non-resistance, he observes : 'As Alberico Gentile said of women, we cannot want Kings that are not pleased with them.'

If Kirk is silent as regards the external events of the outer world, he offers us a sufficiently clear picture of the life of his isolated highland parish. He was alone under the eye of barbarians. 'When I hear,' he writes, 'of evil tales concerning myself in the country (endeavouring intirely to keep the commandment) only reply that I thank God they have not worse news to occupy them with.' The following somewhat bitter passage on pride of birth seems to indicate that the Perthshire notables did not give Mr. Robert Kirk the consideration which he expected :

Among the most barbarous tribes, riches or antiquity of riches in a house or family ; or numerosity of kinred though infamous for thefts or murders, make a gentleman, not considering that few houses can reckon geneologie but with the contemptibl Jews, even from Adam ; yet are they not the better. So old riches grows mouldy and becomes trash : nothing is so pitiful as bare antiquity. A stone is more ancient than any hous. The clay in each man's body is alyk ancient. Each reasonable man cam of the first man though he cannot reckon it, and so we all are brethren. So sirnames at first were not, only Adam, Laban, Abraham, David. The sirnames then cam only by some accidental act, some laudable, some infamous, as Hay, Armstrong, Douglass, Longshanks, Kenmore, Iscariot, &c. Nor can numerosity of clan gain honour, for the commons are in kinred as numerous as nobles, and beggars begat as many children as kings. Moreover by nature all blood is of one colour and alyke red, nor does death or dust distinguish betwixt clown and Caesar. The wise man then that gives verdict according to God's mind calls the only Righteous and Gody man more excellent than his neighbour ; wisdom only makes the soul and face to shine. He who has most knowledge, love and practice of divine things, of a prudent spirit, sober and just, is the gentile person, having the true and durabl accomplishments, and as the Bersans is nobl in

¹ On Christmas day.

mind before God and of most candid and acceptabl behaviour before all good men ; while those that are the offscouring of their kinred and yet boast of their gentility usually despuse others and so become a scorning themselves notwithstanding of all their barren nobility.

He suffered in a more material fashion from the thieving proclivities of his parishioners. In a moment of exaltation, he wrote

Does another rob you? Sure you but quit to the common use of the world what was the world's both before and when you had the use of it yourself. Your brother makes use of what you do not. So, if you be a citizen of the world, you will not much grudg ; for both prime nature and perfect Christianity are for community. Envy and sin and narrowness of heart occasioned property.

But he changed his tune when he became a victim :

As 'tis more haynous to act villany on Sunday than another ; in the church than private house, so to wrong a churchman and his goods than any other man's as being more nearly and wholly dedicate to God for his immediate service, and so a touching of himself and unhallowing of his sacred name by a great contempt unheard of among infidels to their pagan priests : so as robbing and stealing from ministers is a visibl token of atheism and total decay of the sense of God and religion, for they would just do so to God himself their master, if they could ; and to secure them God joynd them to Kings, saying, Touch not mine anynted and do my prophets no harm. Ps. Indeed nature made all things common, but God and reason restricted to properties, that sinful man might not turn all slothful in hopes to live on one another's industry, and so the world be unlaboured.

He deplored the clan feuds which distracted the country side :

What narrow-spiritedness is in men voyd of the love of God and (man) his image ; when if a difference arise betwixt two of divers sir-name, instead of a common endeavour of the rest to reconcile them, it shall create an *odium*, a feud between both the clans, each espousing their kinsman's interest. How can the world stand and the voyce of religion be heard in the throng of such barbarous impieties. How true is it, *homo homini lupus* ? No creatures prey on their own kind but man. Look through tame and ravenous, none make it their own profit or glory to kill or steal from those of their own feather or keel.

and the bitterness with which a litigation was conducted :

'Tis great weakness to pursue a Law quarrel and yet not be friendly to one another. Let the lawyiers plea for justice, let the two contrary parties keep Christian charity ; else they lose much more than any of them can gain by the Bargain. This is an universal infirmity now among all ranks. That a plea of a shilling or two breaks all Christian bonds and makes a base feud and reproachful tak among the parties.

Sharp practice in money matters was not unfamiliar to the Parish minister :

Many would enrich themselves by borrowing and give papper for a kingdom, in hopes by tricks of Law to over-reach and compound with the creditor. Heretofore a word was enough for the borrower and his posterity; now oaths and bonds cannot have clauses to ty the false and slipping debtors fast enough with, but they will find some subterfuge to escape by, or beg and force the creditor to quit the most part.

The vices and shortcomings with which Kirk had to deal were those common to weak humanity such as drunkenness, lust, superstition, non-church going, neglect of family worship and the religious instruction of the young. He was no extremist. 'A kindly motion,' he wrote, 'towards a person present, or taking occasion to remember some absent for mainteaning of Christian familiarity and society in our moderate entertainments, is not unsuitable. But tipling at Christenings, Bargainings, visits, Light-wakes, are unchristian and unsuitable.' Again, 'Pray also for the King's health and drink for thy own.'

Provided the services of the Church were attended, Kirk was willing to leave the disposal of the rest of the Sunday to what he describes in another passage as 'the masculine liberty of the Christian.' 'Plowmen,' he writes, 'sit still in Church on Sundays. Some need relaxation that day, to others it were neither necessary, pious, nor prudent.' But church services must not be neglected.

Those who stay in churchyard and taverns doing secular business on Lord's days as Gallios and Laodiceans, are spewed out of God's house from among his peopl and oft are furthest behind both in business of soul and estate according to Math. vi. 33.

He approved of public penance, but it was not a sufficient deterrent. 'Many of you weep to the minister, but wantonly laugh and sport immediately in other company.' 'O, what a confused ravening world wold it be if only Religious bands ruled it, without the Civil Laws !'

I would particularly recommend to those of my charge to use constant family prayer, and forbear swearing, as rare characters of painful Christians. Prayer draws Heaven to our aid in all that is difficult for us against we com there. The negativ duty of not breaking the third command (so universally violate) shows we take pains to share a common vice. Otherwise by usual oaths none will trust us much in a solemn oath. Besydes shall we leap on a man's throat if he say, 'You lie,' or (Lamb . . .) & be enraged at men's prophaning our Earthly father, and ourselves so gracelessly despyse the

sacred name of our Heavenly father? Will God at last bring such a person to be in one lodging with him: Oh think on! I know some who speaks of God oftener than any in the parish yet are debauchter than the most of the parish: How speak they of Him? Not by praying to Him, but at every paltry talking and errant lie, takes His name in vain, sporting with and making a laughing stock of that divine name and majesty; disgracing his maker to grace his talk. Bringing down that glorious name from Heaven for every common beastly business (as if he behove have a cabl to try a fly's leg with).

Again,

Many think they pray sufficient in their families if they sit and say grace to meat, morning and evening, but are there not other benefits to be thankful for? & blessings spiritual? Are not sins to confess and crave pardon for? Are not increase of graces and virtues to seek? And not intercessions to be made for others? Are we not to bow the knee in prayer solemn to the God of our life? To show he is far above us and not our companion to sit with when we speak to him?

Preaching appeared to have little effect:

In country parishes where few get their children to schools, or retean or use what they learned in youth, so much as to make them understand the Holy Scriptures, which are the foundation of all piety and honesty (if well remembred in its several precepts and examples) makes that so very few or none understand sermons tho' dayly acquainted with them, so that many thousand good discourses are spent among deaf stones and men and timber every day. Great therfor must be the pains in kindling som sparks of knowledge by catechising and rooting the youth in the principls of religion e'er they can atteen to be attentive to a sermon, and not only gaze (but not understand) like bruits.

The only remedy was to be found in the faithful exercise of the pastoral office:

Tho' a peopl were convoyd and helpt up to heaven by two faithful united pastors' pains, one on every hand of them, I suppose *abundantia non nocet*. Barbarous peopl's necessity (had they eyes to see it) requires all that can be done for their information and reformation.

It is clear that Kirk was a moralist, something of a casuist, and a wise spiritual physician. The following passages are typical:

Fear is the scrupolous man's disease and that is infinit but unreasonabl fear is easiest cured and laid aside. Use prayer and fasting. Fear great known sins most. Avoid excess in mortifications. Interest not in intricate questions. (Things practical are the hinges of immortality). Have your religion as near the usages of common life as you can. Make no vows of any lasting employment. Avoyd companies, employment and books that raise clouds as phantastic legends anent rare saints. Bring body in a fair

temper, kind in mind a high esteem of God and His mercy. Pursue the purgativ way of religion against vice before the illuminativ. Be instructed in practical general lines of life and pursue axioms of Christian philosophy, so these impertinent flies of conscience will slide off. Hold that which is certain and let what's uncertain go.

There is a cunning in porter-craft and mystery. Who bears a burthen or cross, must compact it well. Lay it well on (use it, which is as oyling). Go steady, and be cheerful; the mind delighted suffers not the body to feel the weight.

It is possible that Kirk turned for relief from isolation and depression to the *Secret Commonwealth*, but apart from this relaxation, he appears to have been blessed with a good digestion, and to have been free from 'the stone,' that rock upon which so much of the spiritual life of Scotland was built. No dispeptic could repeat the following pious ejaculation as Kirk does. It has the pointed brevity of a patent medicine advertisement:

With great ease hath God's wisdom appoynted the many divers parts of man's body to be fed, only by putting some meat down his throat; God himself and his servant nature doe the rest.

Kirk was an episcopalian of the school of Leighton, and while he had no admiration for the Roman communion, he had no illusions regarding the Scottish Reformation:

The Scottish Reformation became deformed in ruining Babel and rearing up Jerusalem, by making the minister's coat too short and Gentries too wide. The clergy lost their temporals when the gentry became spiritual. But it was the sweetness that many of them found in God's bread called Babel's spoils that edgd their jehu-like zeal against the idolatry. For now how soon all is parted and no more is expected for kything religions, their devotion is become key-cold and contentions furious. Thus reformation as wisdom is only likd with an inheritance and dowry. And those who left not a loaf in Rome, but compleated pure religion in all its numbers, have almost lost all religion immediately after seeking of all.

Of the Presbyterian he wrote:

Presbyterians say that a definite discipline is as essentially requisite to a church as a church to Christian religion. Where then is their Church now 1680? They first preach Christian liberty, purity of ordinations &c., but whenever they make up a competent number out of other churches, down goes liberty, and oaths and covenants must be invented to bind them all in a fraternity together lest they scatter away again as mist to nothing; then is toleration decryd, order, unity and government cryd up, no more free use of indifferent things. Lo how their simpl followers are mocked!

the crocodile weeps and devours ; provender is pretended but the bridle intended to hold them fast to be ridden as they please. O subtil guydes, and blind followers !

His judgment of the covenanting extremists was acute :

Papists and campites (or hill-side clergy) like Sampson's foxes, look sundry ways from one another, but are ty'd together by their tails, rudders and errors ; and both do grin and bark at the orthodox, church and state : Both hold, or practise as if sacraments had efficacy from the quality of ministrators. Both hold resisting and excommunicating the lawful supreme powers. Both maintain prophecy and miracls in these later times notwithstanding of the surer word of prophecy. Also, both value success beyond martyrdom.

Again,

Our schismatics look more on the pomp than purity of religion ; may they go as throng to heaven as to preaching-houses. In their martial attempts for promoting their cause, the prove first a viper, rent their mother ; then a wasp, sting their brother ; and fall as he, *animasque in vulnere ponunt*. I do lykewise suppose much of their disease is natural and easier cured by a chirurgion than a divine. They are impatient of superiors in church or state, and think nothing God's word or worship but preaching, albeath it receives from, but gives nothing to God. They are Mahometans, would propagate their religion by the sword and carnal weapon. They still practise as if the efficacy of sacraments depended on the administrator, not author.

It is interesting to find that the Quakers seem to have attracted his attention, and he writes of them at some length, with indignant severity.

For his own part, he believed strongly in a fixed form of service, if wisely used

The English service appoynts the auditors to follow the preacher audibly and methodically in the petitions of prayer, all rehearsing the same words for consents' sake. This is far from the indolent custom among the vulgar of Scotland (which yet is not amended) when all in the house, master and servants, men and women, blates and speak confusedly, not one knowing what another says, nor two speaking the same words to the God of order ; can this be in faith, or can it be with common understanding ? How then can God grant when we know not what nor how we seek ?

Hold to form of ancient sound words of the Church and that will introduce you to the faith and works of the ancients.

The first invention of ceremonies being ill and papish (as an error in first conviction) whatever be the after-glosses they readily turn men to their original at last. Shun then suspension, in a sacred act be tender and do not ill-lyke.

The tolerant meditative spirit of Kirk would have the Church as wide as is consistent with the preservation of essential truth. 'Rites,' he wrote, 'are but shadows to the body of substantial religion Jesus revealed for renewing the Mind and reforming the Life.' Again, he notes, 'Nothing should be urged as conditions of all Churches' communion but what is generally necessary to salvation.' And again, 'Unless a man be a Christian he cannot be a heretick. A church may be true as to being absolutely, though not perfectly; essentials may be, and integrals be wanting. Even uncharitableness to dissenters in small things, is damnable.' The struggle towards the Christian ideal must not be distracted by side issues :

This world is the place where we must provide for a better world; and we must be as lyke the place we wish to go unto as we can; for thereby we fit ourselves for it; and therefore has this midl world a mixture of evil and good, that the gallantry of the right chuser may be known; and so heaven may have only the best, men of heroic and generous spirits; choice persons severd from the Rouf.

There are only two prayers in the Note-book. One must suffice :

Jesus, our great advocate, suffer us not to shame our religion by our life. Such as suffer for good-doing, uphold; such as suffer for evil, let them not think they are thereby martyrs. Confirm in the belief of enjoying better company such as those removest from this life, who shall also meet with all their faithful friends they left here. If ought temporal please, what will the eternal.

If it be true that Mr. Robert Kirk was chosen as her chaplain by the Fairy Queen, Her Majesty is to be congratulated on her good taste.

The foregoing extracts give but a partial idea of the quality of Kirk's Note-book, as they leave the greater part of it untouched. He deals at some length, and with the occasional felicity of phrase which he possessed, with the question of Free Will and Predestination, the Metaphysics of the Stoics, Astral influences and omens, the Jewish dispensation, the failure of the Churches, the Roman controversy, Faith and Works, with a reference to the Jesuits, Church ceremonies, the office of the Christian Prince in religious matters, Church government questions of exegesis, the Neo Platonists, the philosophy of Descartes, which he approved in some respects, War, and Missionary enterprise, which he would only sanction if assistance

were invited by the Civil power of the country concerned.¹ He knew something of the Fathers, of the classics, of the contemporary controversial writers, of foreign theologians, and writers such as Bodin and William of Paris. There are also some ten pages devoted to curious observations on the habits of moles and farriery, and the last page contains the familiar Latin metrical version of the prohibited degrees.

The interest which the Note-book offers is to be found in its intimate quality. Its pages contain the private reflections and judgments of a mind which was at the same time pensive and curious, austere and tolerant, limited and undistinguished and yet within its province wise and understanding.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

¹ A few examples may be given :

‘Edification having a comliness as that of fair birds . . .’ ‘spiritual and of eternal decency.’

‘As some women are wiser than men, yet men are the more understanding sex.’

‘But even this excellent liberty has trembling and weakness, as the need of a dial.’

‘The will coyns the bullion, and sets a figure to ciphers and governs the rest.’

‘If man’s individual actions were restrained by the cut-throat of necessity, Reason were locked up and could not stir.’

‘There is no infidell in Hell.’

‘A maule with the ministry never prospered.’

‘Wise fervency in prayer is the fire that burns the odors.’

‘A cold leiturgie galopt over, or cast through a seive with parat-like tautologies or lukewarm lip labour, sayes one, gets a lean blessing.’

‘’Tis some solace to be vanquisht by one worthy to command.’

‘Lament not a good man dying. He but goes home from his exile.’

‘For we bind not absolutely but respectively, not as to the victory, but as to the wrestling, not as the event, but as to the means.’

The Appin Murder, 1752

COST OF THE EXECUTION

AN Account of the Cost of the execution of James Stewart of the Glens, which is preserved in the Treasury Board papers, may not be without interest. The story of this judicial murder is too well known to require much recapitulation. It is the theme of R. L. Stevenson's romances, *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*, and has been much written about in recent years by Andrew Lang and others.

Colin Campbell of Glenure, who was the acting factor on the forfeited estate of Ardshiel, was found murdered in the wood of Lettermore not far from the ferry of Ballachulish in Appin on May 14th, 1752. Suspicion fell on two kinsmen of Ardshiel, Allan Breck Stewart as the actual murderer, and James Stewart of the Glens (whose home at Duror was about two miles from the spot of the murder) as an accessory. Allan escaped, but James was arrested and tried at the Circuit Court at Inveraray. The Duke of Argyle, Lord Justice General, was the presiding judge. In the jury there were eleven Campbells. The Lord Advocate prosecuted, an almost unheard of thing at a circuit criminal court. The trial had become a political and a tribal struggle. A Campbell had been killed in Stewart territory, and a Stewart must be sacrificed. With the head of the Campbells as presiding judge, along with a jury of Campbells, James Stewart had no chance. He was found guilty on September 25th, and the sentence pronounced on him was as follows :

'The said James Stewart to be carried back to the prison of Inveraray, and therein to remain till the fifth day of October next, according to the present stile¹; and then to be delivered over by the Magistrate of Inveraray and keeper of the said prison, to the sheriff-depute of Argyleshire, or his substitutes; and to be by them transported to the shire of Inverness, and

¹This refers to the "New Style" or Gregorian Calendar introduced in Great Britain on September 14th, 1752, seven days before Stewart's trial began.

delivered over to the sheriff-depute of Inverness, or his substitutes; and to be by them transported to Fort William, and delivered over to the governor, deputy-governor, or commander in chief, for the time, of the said garrison, to be by them committed to prison in the said fort, therein to remain till the 7th day of November next, according to the present stile; and then again to be delivered over to the sheriff-depute of Inverness-shire, or his substitutes; and to be by them transported over the ferry of Ballachelish; and delivered over to the sheriff-depute of Argyleshire, or his substitutes, to be by them carried to a gibbet to be erected by the said sheriff on a conspicuous eminence upon the south-side of, and near to the said ferry: and decern and adjudge the said James Stewart, upon Wednesday the 8th day of November next, according to the present stile, betwixt the hours of twelve at noon and two afternoon, to be hanged by the neck upon the said gibbet, by the hands of an executioner, until he be dead; and thereafter to be hung in chains upon the said gibbet; and ordain all his moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought to his Majesty's use, which is pronounced for doom.'

It was in fulfilment of this sentence that the costs in the following Account submitted by the Sheriff-Substitute of Argyle were incurred.

The gibbet was erected on a mound near the south slip of Ballachulish Ferry.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS
COMMISSIONERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS.

In obedience to your Lordships commands signified . . . Mr. Hardinge the 15th of August last past we did take . . . into consideration the Petition of Archibald Campbell deputy Sheriff of Argyleshire hereunto annexed and did order the Deputy Kings Remembrancer to examine the account and . . . of the money expended by him in the execution of James Stewart for the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure factor on the Estate of Ardsheal who did report to us that the whole vouchers . . . Disbursements charged by him and amounting to one hundred and eight pounds seventeen shillings and Tenpence were sufficiently vouched so that we are humbly of opinion he is justly entitled to payment of what he has so expended.

All which is Humbly submitted to your Lordships great wisdom by Your Lordships most obedient Humble

(Signatures illegible, much torn and faded.)

Edinburgh Exchequer Chambers 27th February, 1754.

The Appin Murder, 1752

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Account of Disbursements of Archibald Campbell Sheriff Substitute of Argyleshire upon the Execution of James Stewart who was hung in chains at Ballichilish the 18th November 1752 for the Murder of Mr. Campbell of Glenure.

To the Sheriff's Expenses in going to Fortwilliam with the prisoner to deliver him to the Sheriff of Inverness conform to the sentence per accompt.	Sterling. 9. 17. 1
To Wrights for making the Gibbet and coming from Fortwilliam to Ballichilish to put it up per Acc ^t . & Rec ^t .	10. 10. 0
To the Smith at Fortwilliam for Iron and making plates for the Gibbet and coming to Ballichilish to put on the plates per Acc ^t . & Rec ^t .	(torn)
To Mr. Douglas Sheriff Depute at Fortwilliam for one Executioner from Inverness, Timber to make the Gibbet Carrying the Gibbet to Ballichilish, Boats employed to Ferry the troops & sundry other articles per Acc ^t . and Rec ^t .	20. 13. 0
To Do. for a sail that was destroyed by the storm the day of the Execution it being made use of for a tent, and 16/- allowed further to the Boatmen being detained by Stormy weather per Mr. Douglas missive.	2. 5. 4
To the Sheriff's Expenses in going to Glasgow to engage an Executioner from thence not being sure of one from Inverness and not chusing to trust to one Executioner for fear of accidents.	1. 18. 6
To the Executioner from Glasgow and his Guard for their pains and expenses to Inverary the rest of their expenses being defrayed by the Sheriff per Acc ^t . & Rec ^t .	14. 10. 0
To the Smith at Inverary for making the Chains and going from thence to Ballichilish to put them on, His Expenses being defrayed by the Sheriff per receipt.	8. 0. 0
To the Sheriff's Expenses and his attendants consisting of 12 men and nine horses in going to Ballichilish and returning per acc ^t .	8. 12. 7
To paid the men hyred to guard the Chains, Sheriffs Officers expenses and diverse other Charges per Acc ^t .	(torn)
Postage of Letters from the Lord Justice Clerk and Kings Agent for taking precognitions anent the murther and proceedings	2. 0. 0
	£108. 17. 10

[Treasury Board Papers. Bundle 355 No. 184.]

The subsequent fate of the gibbet and the victim's body is told by Mr. David Mackay, who diligently collected the traditions of the district. 'The soldiers who guarded the gibbet used to allow friends of the victim to pay their respects to his mortifying remains. A very aged resident in Ballachulish

repeated to me the account given him in his early youth by an old Stewart lady of her pious attentions in wiping the dust from her clansman's dead face and of her terror in later months, when the bones were dry, at their clattering in the winds when she passed down the public road o' nights. The ghastly scene made day loathsome, and the restless bones—joined together with wire where Nature's joining had given way—made night weird in Ballachulish for several years. At last the old folks say a 'daft' lad determined to make an end of the local horror He overthrew the gallows, and cast it into Loch Leven, whence it floated down Loch Linnhe and up Loch Etive, finally landing, a strange piece of floatsam, near Bonawe. Here it found a humaner use, and was incorporated in the structure of a wooden bridge. The bones of its victim were secretly collected and buried by night, it is said, with the kindred dust of some of the Ardshiel Stewarts in Keil Kirkyard, in Duror of Appin. Bishop Forbes, in his journals of episcopal visitations, tells that young Stewart of Ballachulish carefully gathered the bones and placed them in the same coffin with the body of Mrs. Stewart.'¹

W. B. BLAIKIE.

¹ From Appendix XVII. of the admirably annotated modern edition of *The Trial of James Stewart*, edited by David N. Mackay. (Hodge & Son 1907.)

A Seventeenth Century Deal in Corn

‘A PICKLE land, a lump of debt, a doocot and a law plea’ is a proverbial saying in the kingdom of Fife, which describes with much accuracy the position of many of the lairds during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With a depreciated and scanty currency, considerable taxation, and a depressed and inefficient agriculture, their living was always a precarious one; and a bad season would frequently compel them to resort to the *facilis descensus Averni*, which commenced with a Band to a neighbouring laird, a Kirkcaldy merchant, or an Edinburgh Writer to the Signet, and ended in alienation of their ancestral acres.

The cadet branch of the family of Wemyss known as Wemyss of Bogie was typical of the small lairds in Fife, and indeed in Scotland generally. Their history, during the half dozen generations they lasted, from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, escaped the notice even of the late Sir William Fraser; and the considerable charter chest they left behind them passed into the possession of another family, by marriage, on the death of the last Sir James Wemyss of Bogie, Baronet, and have only recently become available for study.

They owned coal mines and salt pans at Kirkcaldy, and a large part of their revenue was derived from these sources. But the expenses of working were very great, and they were compelled to turn to other classes of business in order to raise funds for the development of their pits and for dealing with the ever-present danger of flooding.

The John Wemyss referred to in the correspondence below subsequently became the second baronet of Bogie, who inherited from his father a more than usually encumbered estate; at the time, in 1696, Bogie itself was alienated, and John Wemyss was occupied in deals in coal, salt and ‘victuall’ with certain Kirkcaldy merchants and partners.

On 1st April, 1696, John Wemyss, along with James Ross and Alexander Williamson, merchants, negotiated with one Nicoll Young, skipper of the *Elizabeth* of Findhorn, to take his vessel north and fetch a cargo of barley and meal from Inverbreackie to Kirkcaldy. The charter-party runs as follows :

‘That is to say, the said Nicoll Young has fraughted, and be thir presents setts and fraughts to the saidis Johne Wemyes, Alexander Williamsons and James Ross all and hail his Barke callit the Elizabeth of Findorne, and for that effect oblidges him to have his said Bark sufficiently lighted with ane skilfull companie of seymen for navigaiting of his s^d Bark from the harbour off Dysart to the Port of Inverbreckie in Ross and their to ly six dayes for intaiking of and loading of Bear and meall at the said Port, and from thence, winde and weither serveing, to saill and transport the saide shippe and loading to the Harbor of Kirkaldie and their to ly three dayes for intaiking such ane loading as the said fraughters shall finde convenient, to be unloaded in any port within the Murray Firth, and I, the said Nicoll, oblidges me not to suffer any of the saidis merchants goodis to be damnified through his or his companies default, sea hazard excepted.’

In return for his services the skipper was to receive :

‘eighteen pounds Scotts money, and that for each chalder of the s^d Victuall shall be measured out either at her Returne to Kirk caldie, or at any point she shal aryve at in Murray firth, and with ane barell of ale and ane boll of meall together also with Towadge and Rowadge and pittie pillitage and other dewties, conforme to the custoume of the sea . . . with the soume of Three pounds Scotts for ilka day y^e s^d Barke sall be longer detained at any of the ports than the lydays above said.’

The partners then decided that ‘Jeams Ross’ should travel north and meet the ship. On 30th April, 1696, instructions were given to him in the form of a ‘Comisione,’ which runs as follows :

Memorandum. The laird of Bogie and Alex^r Williamsons to Ja: Ross.

Imprimis. When you get to your port designed be cairfull to see y^e sufficiency off y^e hold of y^e weshell.

2. to tak good cair to see y^e victuall be good, weel dryit and holsome and good measure, and, for y^e meall I pray you look well to it.

3. y^t you advert with the skyper not to come out of any harbour without a bearing gell (*gale*) of wind for ye mair securitie ;

and fear all shyps at sea, you keeping y^e shoar aboard. Stand not upoune a little cost in harbouring at all convenient occasions.

4. If you can gitt a bargain of good bear, meall and outes, to be delyvered at Kirkcaldie free of all hazards and costs, we are satisfied to give Eight pounds Scots for each boll, paybell within a moneth after delivery, y^e quantitie not being above sex hundredthe bolls. Hope you may doe it cheaper.

5. If it should fall out, as God forbid, y^t you should be tucke by a french privitier, then and in y^t uncaise, you sall goe y^e lenthe of four hundredthe pounds Scotts for ransom of y^e meall and bear; but I hop you sall doe it cheaper. And, in cais it be that ye master be unwilling to ransome his shippe, then we allow you to pay y^e lenth of fiftie pound sterling money, qch we oblidg ourselves to pay, bill upon sight.

JOHN WEMYES.

ALEX^R WILLIAMSONE.

Kirkcaldie ye 30 April 96.

Armed with his 'comisione' James Ross started on 1st May, 1696, on his journey north 'to Inverbrekie in Ros,' and the 'accompt' gives in some detail the expenditure involved in those days in travelling on business to a place 155 miles from home.

The horse hire was at the rate of two shillings a mile, to which must be added the charge for a man and boy. The whole amounted to '1 lib 14s' daily while travelling. When not actually engaged in moving from place to place 'my awin chairges ech day was 1 lb 4s a day.' On arriving at Inverbrekie, Ross tells us he spent some days 'goieng through the Kuntray inqweiring for mor victuall, conforme to comition,' and eventually had to go to Fraserburgh. The meal, amounting to 34 bolls, was delivered in bulk for shipment; and the accompt includes an item of £8 Scots for '35 ells of secking at 5 shillings the ell to hold the meall.' Entertainment of 'the skipper and his crewe and those that put the victuall aboard' cost £7, and £2 was expended on 'information of privetteers.' When the coast was reported clear the *Elizabeth* left for Kirkcaldy and James Ross returned by land, with a total account of expenses amounting to £118.

On the back of the charter-party is endorsed a receipt by the skipper for freight at £10 Scots per chalder for a cargo of 250

bolles (sixteen bolles to the chalder), with the boll of meal for his own use 'in caplachin'¹ as arranged.

Meanwhile a letter had arrived from Isabel Countess of Seaforth, sister of the Earl of Cromarty, addressed to 'Jeams Ross at the shoarhead of Kirkadie' with the following instructions :

'to put aboard of skiper Youngs ship as many coalls as she can cairy. Since I am to pay at the rate of 18 chalder of victuall (*grain*) mak the bargain as well as ye can wi him, and let the condescendance be in writ.

Send half a last of whyt salt also try if you can get a good penyworth of linen cloth and advertte me at what rate. And if any of your aqwantances has good upright tyken (*ticking*) to mak lat them mak it lyk the patron I gave you.

Tak cair the coalls be good. I lou (*like*) not a dead heavy coall that burns not briskly.

I have only given you seven pounds sterling at this tym.'

This order was complied with and the Collector of Customs at 'Inverbrackie' certified, in due course, that William Young 'brought to the Road his bark loadened w^t coalls and lyvered the s^d coll for the Countes her use,' and took back another cargo of barley and meal.

In the account of this transaction James Ross states that he sent '15 dozens of colls at £6 Scots per dozen,' and 7 bolles of 'saltt' packed in 'barralls being all good oak stands.' The salt cost £2 per boll and the 'barralls' were £1 each, and the total due amounted to £105 13s. 4d. Scots.

The Dowager Lady Seaforth acknowledged receipt of the goods in August, 1696, and sent '3 pound sterlen' to complete payment. She adds: 'ye neided not sent oaken trees (*barrels*) with the salt for they are of no use to me after. the skiper said such as he had for eightpence good enough.' Finally, with the balance, after paying for the coal and salt, she asks 'Jeams' to 'by (*buy*) linen, about 18 penc the ell, and a bit harn to wrap it in,' and begs him to 'send me all your news publik and privat'; she signs her letter 'your assured frind Isobell Seaforth.'

The partners having taken delivery of their cargo of 250 bolles of bear and meall proceeded to divide it. After allowing for the one boll given to Skipper Young they should each have

¹"Caplachin" (variously spelt) is really an old German word; it is sometimes translated as "hat money." It means a tip to the master for care of the cargo, over and above the freight he receives.

received 72 bolls of bear and 11 bolls of meall; but they appear to have discovered an 'outcom' of one boll for each 20 bolls of bear laden.

Trouble then began. They had already entered into a contract with Andrew Ross, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, to pay for the original cargo of '250 bols meall & Bear, good and sufficient Clean Coller, weel dight, to be measured with the old accustomed measure or firloft' and to dispose of it to them at the price of £6 13s. 4d. Scots per boll. The money was to be paid by the first of July, under a penalty of 500 merks. The Laird of Bogie and his partners failed to implement this agreement, with the result that Andrew Ross got letters of 'horning and poinding' against them on the 15th July.

After detailing the history of the case, this document charges 'our lovitts . . . messengers and sheriffs' that 'incontinent, thir our letters seen, you pass and, in our name & authoritie comand and charge the saidis John Weemes, Alex^r Williamsone & James Rosse personally or at their dwelling places, to pay the amount due, together with the penalty of 500 merks, under the pain of Rebellion & putting of y^m to the horne, wherein if they failzie that incontinent thereafter yee denunce y^m our Rebels & put y^m to the horne and moving all y^r moveable goods and gear to our use for their contemt and disobedience.'

The instructions were of course carried out 'incontinent' by George M'Farlane, messenger, and the Laird and Alex^r Williamson were formally charged. James Ross was away and the messenger 'affixed ane Instrument upon his most patent door after six severall knocks given be me y^rupon, as use is.'

As no further reference appears in the dossier of this case to the debt to Andrew Ross it must be presumed the amount was paid. But for many years afterwards the division of the grain on the one hand and of the costs on the other occupied the attention of the partners. James Ross died a year or two afterwards; but at least ten years after Skipper Young had safely navigated the bark *Elizabeth* to the harbour of Kirkcaldy we find correspondence between Alex^r Williamson and 'my dear gossop' the laird—now Sir John Wemyss, Bt.—suggesting a final settlement of the accounts.

Judging by the list of debts left by Sir John at his death in 1712 it seems unlikely that Alex^r Williamson ever got his money.

The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary

IT is remarkable that with the unabating interest which gathers round the person and fortunes of Mary Stewart little regard has been paid to one whose career touched hers, sometimes very closely, during a period of more than twenty years. Bothwell is notorious. Arran, a man of nearly the same age, a prominent figure in the rebellion which ended in the Scottish Reformation, upon whom for many months the eyes of Protestant Europe were fixed, has been relegated to obscurity or caricatured as a shiftless idiot. The portrait of him in *The Queen's Quhair* is not a distinguished achievement in historical verisimilitude, if verisimilitude was intended: the brief sketch in the *Scots Peerage* is both inadequate and inaccurate: only in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is there any attempt to narrate a story which, apart from an almost tragic character of its own, has an important bearing upon events already familiar to the reader of history.

One or two striking facts in the life of Mary during the months which immediately followed her return to Scotland in 1561 suggest a closer examination of Arran's career. The Queen had not been three weeks in the country when there was a proposal to establish a body-guard. Besides casual references to the matter in the diplomatic correspondence, there are express statements in the pages of Knox and Buchanan which connect it with the ambition of the Hamiltons, and prove, if that were necessary, that the plan was no mere imitation of usage at the court of France, but the precaution of suspicion and fear. Information more detailed comes from an unpublished record in the Register House. The thirds of benefices, as is well known, were allotted to the Crown in order to meet an expenditure which had for long outgrown the patrimonial revenue, and which had prompted Mary's father and grandfather, with the connivance of the papacy, to appropriate on occasion the rents of the Church. Among the items of expense entered by the Collector for 1561, including the first assignation to the Reformed clergy, is the

cost of maintaining the guard ; and we learn that there was a body of eighteen archers in pay from January to March, 1562 ;¹ that on April 1 the whole guard was permanently ' erected,' drawing annual salaries amounting to £9000 Scots. Extracts from this record relative to the guard were printed by the Maitland Club in the first of its miscellany volumes ; but in those days editors were too modest to offer explanations, and it does not seem to have occurred to the contributor that the erection to full strength coincided exactly with the revelation of a plot against the person of the Queen, involving both Arran and Bothwell, or that the growth of the guard during the winter had been due to suspicions founded mainly upon the attitude of Arran and the Hamiltons, as the historians most clearly show.

Another fact cannot fail to arrest the attentive reader of this manuscript. Arran was consigned to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he lay for years. Warded nobles were expected to find their own living expenses. In this case the Collector of the Thirds was directed to allow a sum of forty shillings a day during the imprisonment. Why this departure from ordinary usage ? Was there anything in the situation, beyond Arran's periodical derangement of mind, to warrant exceptional treatment ?

To understand the meaning of Mary's body-guard and the peculiar circumstances of Arran's incarceration we must go back to the death of James V. in 1542 and follow a very strange career. The landmarks and the figures are familiar enough : the track is new. The way has its own interest, even though the general prospect is little altered ; and at points we shall find it worth while to have left the trodden path.

At the death of James V. only the uncertain life of an infant girl separated the Hamiltons from the throne. James Hamilton, eldest son of the second Earl of Arran, was some five years older than Mary ; and gossip among the patriotic immediately destined the one for the other. What more natural than that Cardinal Betoun should support Arran, son of a kinswoman and heir presumptive, and should look forward to an alliance between the children ? But Arran had been dealing with England, and was not sound in the faith. At the death-bed of James the Cardinal sought to exclude him from his lawful guardianship. Henry VIII., working upon Arran's resentment, gained a temporary success. Betoun was imprisoned ; and the little Queen seemed to be almost within the English grasp. At once

reaction began. Arran saw that he was on the verge of political suicide : Lennox, of the house which stood next to the Hamiltons, was brought from France as at least a hint of what might befall : John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, upon whom the English wasted some diplomatic hospitality on his way from the continent, speedily corrected the views of the Earl his brother : Arran himself began to waver. The Cardinal, passing by easy stages from imprisonment to complete freedom, beguiled Henry by a show of conversion—until he had made his preparations and was ready to strike. While Henry expected a ratification of his treaty, Betoun broached to Arran the policy which gossip suggested at the beginning. What if his heir were to become the husband of Mary ?

The campaigning season of 1543, as was intended, passed away without resort to arms : the Scots engaged in diplomatic play-acting : Henry impatient, but sanguine. He did not get his treaty, or Mary, or young Hamilton. In November the Cardinal showed his hand : the boy was safe in St. Andrews Castle, pledge for the father and a subtle encouragement of his hope. Henry raged exceedingly in 1544. If it was necessary to deposit Mary at Dunkeld during Hertford's invasion, St. Andrews would be no place for the Master of Hamilton, and he was doubtless taken as carefully as she out of harm's way.¹

Arran was committed ; but under the military pressure, to be renewed in 1545, Betoun had to consider the question of an appeal to France and the possibility that Mary might have to be transported to the continent. The campaigning of 1545 did not compel this final resort : it served chiefly to confirm opposition to an English agreement and to strengthen the position of the Hamiltons.² Yet the Cardinal was seeking, it was said, to have Mary, as well as the Master, in his Castle, looking prudently to France and telling Arran he would keep her for his son.³ Betoun could not make up his mind. Francis I., still at war with Henry VIII., might be disposed to seize an opportunity for action in favour of Scotland.⁴ As for the boy, we learn that he was pursuing the study of Latin with a book of rudiments and a text of Aesop's fables.⁵

¹ *Hen. VIII. Cal.* xix. 510 ; *Tr. Accounts*, viii. 319.

² Bond by Huntly, Oct. 1545 (*St. Papers*, Reg. Ho.) ; letter of John Somerville to Mary of Guise (*Corr. of Mary of Guise*, Reg. Ho.).

³ *Hen. VIII. Cal.* xx. (2), 535.

⁴ *Ibid.* 926.

⁵ *Tr. Accounts*, viii. 440.

In the spring of 1546 the diplomatic situation was still unresolved. Some believed that France would consent to the Hamilton plan: others, including Henry, who had made peace with Francis, still hoped for a contract with Prince Edward.¹ The assassination of Betoun in May, while it weakened Scotland, had obvious advantages for the Regent Arran. The primacy stood vacant for his brother: he was himself delivered from an irksome control, and might prosecute more unreservedly the policy of his house. Unfortunately, however, the heir of Hamilton was at St. Andrews in the hands of the Cardinal's assailants, and might be given up, with the Castle, to Henry, who was at the same time using Lennox to obtain control of Dumbarton. Mary of Guise resolved to combine, for the moment, with the Hamilton party against England: Angus, sworn to Henry, was bribed by a promise of the Cardinal's vacant Abbey of Arbroath, and brought over his following.² The next step was to get possession of St. Andrews Castle by peaceful accommodation. As a precaution, young Hamilton was excluded by Parliament from his rights as third person of the realm so long as he remained a captive with its enemies.³ Negotiation failed: a siege became inevitable: the French anticipated the English: at last the Castle fell, and the Regent had his boy restored.

The restoration was but for a few months. Pinkie, a winter campaign, and an almost desperate situation, placed the French party in power: Arran failed to come to terms with England and keep Mary at home: Henry II., now ruler of France, would not give effective support until he held in pledge the heir of Hamilton.⁴ Out of the wreck Arran, by compliance, saved in the meantime his regency.⁵ Parliament authorised the French marriage, momentous for Mary and for Scotland:⁶ James Hamilton, the young Master, was already in France:⁷ his father, sick with sheer vexation, made a will resigning his children to the care of Henry II.⁸ To an avaricious man, who, as was afterwards said, more than money had neither faith nor

¹ *Hen. VIII. Cal.* xxi. 391, 439.

² Cf. *ibid.* 1043.

³ *Acts*, ii. 474; cf. Knox, *Works*, iii. 410.

⁴ *Sc. Cal.* i. 197, 218, 228.

⁵ *Ibid.* 336.

⁶ *Acts*, ii. 481.

⁷ *Tr. Accounts*, ix. 185; *Span. Cal.* ix. p. 269; *Sc. Cal.* i. 238.

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Rep.* (Hamilton), 53.

God,¹ the duchy of Châtelherault was some consolation.² As for his heir, there was written promise of a great marriage in France;³ and many things might occur within half a dozen years.

In 1550 the Master was put in fee of the earldom of Arran and lordship of Hamilton, with liferent reserved for his father, and became known thereafter as Earl.⁴ He followed the French court, as the boy captain of a company of men-at-arms, mostly Scots.⁵ We hear of him on active service in 1557, when his company took part in a gallant defence of St. Quentin against the Imperial troops.⁶ He would have an allowance, perhaps not too generous,⁷ from the revenues of Châtelherault, where he occasionally resided. In one letter from Mary to her mother in Scotland Arran is mentioned. It was in the summer of 1557, within a year of her wedding.⁸ Her own destination is taken for granted. Diana of Poitiers wishes that her granddaughter, Mlle. de Bouillon, who attends Mary, should be given to Arran. This would be very pleasant. Mlle. is a good girl: so fond of the Queen as to welcome any union which will not separate them; and Arran likes her. The plan appeals also to King Henry, for he undertook to find a lady for the Earl, and Mlle. de Montpensier [the lady of the original agreement] is now promised to another. But, for the honour of Scotland, please to make Arran a duke and speak of the matter to his father, to whom she has written a little note.

There is every sign of patronising good-will to her cousin in this girlish letter: he is not within her orbit, to be sure; yet quite a proper fellow for her faithful de Bouillon. To Arran the matter appeared in another light. It had never been perfectly certain that Mary should wed Francis. There was a party opposed to the Guises, and alive to difficulties with England arising out of French domination in Scotland. In 1551, for example, there had been talk of an Anglo-French marriage; while among the Scots there was a steady under-current of regret

¹ *For. Cal.* iv. 630 n.

² It was valued at 12,000 livres, and was granted Feb. 7, 1548-9 (see prints in the Châtelherault case (French, 1865) in the Lyon Office).

³ *Herald and Genealogist*, iv. 98.

⁴ *Acts and Decrees*, vii. 195; cf. *Reg. Ho. Charters*, 1621-2, 1427.

⁵ Forbes-Leith, *Scots' Men-at-Arms*, i. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.* 98-9.

⁷ *For. Cal.* i. 870.

⁸ *Labanoff*, i. 42.

for the decision of 1548. When Mary of Guise finally contrived to oust Châtelherault from the regency in 1554, her triumph was not merely personal. She had gained a political and imperial success for her house, if she could hold her ground ; but she had also disposed the Duke for reaction and revenge.

Young Arran was on familiar terms with his cousin. After all, the marriage with Francis was an affair of state, and on romantic grounds no entrancing prospect. Her regard for 'a comely young fellow'—as the Spanish ambassador in London described Arran¹—may have been sufficient to cause misunderstanding in one who never cherished inadequate ideas of himself. And it may not have been all misunderstanding.

When Francis died in 1560, Arran had in his possession a ring which, according to Knox, the 'Quene our Soverane knew well yneuch.'² Another scrap of information appears from a curious source. The Venetian and the French ambassador at the court of Spain were chatting about the escape of Arran from Henry II. in 1559, of which we shall presently hear. Religious heresy, the Frenchman held, was not the primary source of trouble : the heresy arose from personal resentment rather than from conviction. 'He had persuaded himself that the Queen of Scotland was to be no one else's wife but his.' Seeing Mary wedded to Francis, he was 'in despair and rabid,' more especially because Henry made no attempt to appease him from the disappointment. From that time he favoured the preachers, and entered upon correspondence with Elizabeth.³

Analysis of motive is a hazardous employment. From his very childhood Arran must have heard enough of his ambitious destiny ; and if love came in, love and ambition would commingle inextricably. To these Mary's marriage was a blow. As to religion, it was easy for the ambassador to be disparaging ; and it was true that Arran's Protestantism developed suspiciously after the wedding of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth. Yet the Protestantism, if it had a mixed and a factious origin, like much aristocratic Protestantism in France at the time, had more reality than that of the adaptable Châtelherault. Knox does not seem to have questioned it :⁴ Buchanan described Arran as in

¹ *Simancas Cal.* i. 39.

² *Hist.* ii. 137. Châtelherault sent a number of rings and other jewels to Mary in 1556 ; these seem to have been in his hands as Regent (*Stoddart, Girlhood of Mary*, 395).

³ *Ven. Cal.* vii. 140.

⁴ *Hist.* ii. 156.

1561 'the single defender of Gospel teaching':¹ long afterwards, in 1580, the Reformed Church remembered with solicitude his services to the cause.² An old engraved portrait of the Earl bears an inscription in French, dwelling upon the love, the ambition, and the barrier imposed by irreconcilable religious convictions.³

When it was seen that England would be a Protestant power again under Elizabeth, events began to move in Scotland and in France. The Reformers, threatened by Mary of Guise, took counsel with Châtelherault, who met Sir Henry Percy at the Border in January, 1559.⁴ Maitland of Lethington was welcomed in London; and he crossed the Channel⁵ with one object, at least, which we may conjecture. In February Arran established a small Protestant congregation at Châtelherault, for which he procured a minister from Poitiers.⁶ In the middle of May, after the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, diplomatic relations were restored, and Throckmorton went as English ambassador to Paris.⁷ Then it was that Arran received 'great offers' from the French King, if he would come to court,⁸ and that his Protestantism became seriously offensive. Henry II. was beginning to grasp the situation. On June 18 Mary, whose health was causing anxiety, took alarmingly ill. Peremptory orders went out at once to fetch Arran, alive or dead.⁹ The whole policy of France during these eleven years was in danger of being undone. The Earl was not found. He had taken warning: slipped out of the house in the darkness three days before the messengers arrived.¹⁰ One of the gentlemen sent to execute the command expected Mary to resent this usage of her cousin. No apology was needed, she said: he could not do her a greater pleasure than handle the Earl as an arrant traitor.¹¹ Here was the definite parting of the ways. Arran had professed to love her: now he was unmasked. To himself the affair appeared in a different light. He was the victim of persecution by the hated Guises, destined, as he firmly believed, for an

¹ *Hist.* xvii. 29.

² Calderwood, iii. 467.

³ Henderson's *Mary*, i. 226; where the engraving is reproduced.

⁴ *Sc.* 1558-9.

⁵ Russell, *Maitland of Lethington*, 35.

⁶ Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 198; cf. *For. Cal.* ii. 45 n.; *Ven. Cal.* vii. 114.

⁷ Forbes, *Public Transactions*, i. 91.

⁸ *For. Cal.* i. 789; cf. 870.

⁹ *Ibid.* 868.

¹⁰ Beza, *ibid.* 319.

¹¹ *For. Cal.* i. 888.

exemplary execution.¹ When Francis died it was not mere obtuse vanity which encouraged him to offer Mary his hand : if he had rebelled against her, if his conduct was a menace to her crown of Scotland, there was something to be said in his defence.

Arran disappeared, with the connivance and the help of Throckmorton.² Elizabeth had suggested that he might cross to Jersey, and so to England ;³ but his portrait had gone to the harbours on the Channel, which were closely watched.⁴ In reality, the fugitive lurked for fifteen days in a wood near Châtelherault, subsisting upon fruit ; then, according to the plan which had been devised in Scotland,⁵ fled eastwards for Geneva, which he reached early in July.⁶ Probably he had time and opportunity to make the acquaintance of Calvin.⁷ Elizabeth and Cecil sent directions for a journey in disguise, by way of Emden, to England, and provided 1000 crowns for expenses.⁸ Of Arran's stay in Geneva, or of the vicissitudes of his travel to the sea-board, we hear little. It was not until late in August that Antwerp was reached. Cecil had commissioned Mr. Thomas Randolph to help him out⁹ —the beginning of Randolph's long connexion with Scottish affairs. How and where the two foregathered is not stated ; but they are said to have posed as merchants.¹⁰ On August 28 they appeared suddenly and secretly at Cecil's house in Westminster. M. de Beaufort, gentleman of the French King, obtained an interview at Hampton Court, received the requisite funds, and on September 1 departed for the north in charge of 'Thomas Barnaby.'¹¹ The Spanish ambassador was completely at sea : his French colleague could not certify Mary of Guise in time.¹²

Beaufort and Barnaby rode by night. They were at Alnwick early on September 6 : at three o'clock next morning they were secretly admitted into Berwick Castle.¹³ There Arran lay,

¹ Buchanan, *Hist.* xvi. 40 ; *Sc. Cal.* i. 871.

² *Sim. Cal.* i. 82 ; *For. Cal.* i. 870 ; ii. 385.

³ Forbes, i. 166.

⁴ *Sim. Cal.* i. 40.

⁵ *For. Cal.* i. 848, 974.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1075, 950 ; Forbes, i. 173.

⁷ Cf. Teulet, *Papiers d'état*, ii. 13 : where Knox seems to imply that they were personally known to one another.

⁸ *For. Cal.* i. 995, 998.

⁹ Randolph was at Bruges, August 24 or 25 ; *ibid.* 1203.

¹⁰ *Sim. Cal.* i. 40 n.

¹¹ *For. Cal.* i. 1274, 1290, 1293 ; ii. 71 n. ; *Sim. Cal.* i. 63.

¹² *For. Cal.* i. 1351.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1321, 1323.

awaiting the governor's arrangements. After dark one evening he was conveyed out of the Castle to the south bank of the Tweed. A gentleman met him: rode with him into Teviotdale; and about one or two in the morning handed him over to a friendly Scot, who conducted him through the hills to Hamilton.¹ There Arran remained but one day: long enough to convince his father that he must throw in his lot with the Lords of the Congregation.² After despatching a message to summon Randolph³—things were going aright—he hastened to Stirling, brought the insurgent lords to Hamilton, and obtained his father's signature.⁴ Then he was off to St. Andrews, and back again early in October to mobilise 700 or 800 horse, 300 of them Hamiltons.⁵

Arran and Lord James were the military leaders of the rebellion against the government of Mary of Guise; but they lacked the money to confront the French with a standing force. At the end of October a sum of £1000 sterling in the disguise of French crowns was on its way from Berwick under the charge of Cockburn of Ormiston. In the vicinity of Traprain Law Bothwell pounced upon the convoy, and rode off to Crichton with the money. Arran and Lord James left operations at Leith: missed Bothwell and his plunder by a few minutes: finally were compelled to evacuate Edinburgh. Bothwell, irritated by the loss of his valuables and charters, to obtain which Arran had made a special expedition to Crichton, was glad to have the opportunity of proclaiming his enemy a traitor, and sent a challenge to single combat. He was ready to defend his honour before French and Scottish, armed as Arran might choose, on horse or on foot: he would offer, God willing, to prove that his antagonist had not done his duty either to authority, as a nobleman should, or to the challenger. Arran replied that he had never threatened any true subject. Bothwell deserved what he had got: his deed, which was that of a thief, did not entitle him to seek combat with a man of honour. 'And quhen soevir ye may recover the name of ane honest man, quihilk be your lasche⁶ deide ye haif lost, I sall ansueir you as I awcht, bot nocht befor Franche, quhom ye prepon in rank to Scottis,

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 136.

² *Sc. Cal.* i. 599; incorrectly dated Dec.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1356, 1365.

⁶ Cowardly.

³ *For. Cal.* i. 1351.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1416; ii. 73.

for thair is na Franche man in this realme with quhais judgement I will haif to do.' As for duty to authority, 'albeit I am nocht bund to gif you accompt, yit will I meyn teyn that thairin ye haif falslie leyt.' Thus was established a momentous enmity.¹

What had passed at Hampton Court between Arran and Elizabeth we do not know. The French story was that he sold the independence of his country—obviously a mere fabrication for his discredit.² Elizabeth had been very careful indeed: he must not, she said, misinterpret her kindness.³ Arran himself had a shrewd suspicion that he was a tool; and he had his own views, as the English Queen doubtless knew. He was a Franco-Scot, after all: his eyes were still fixed upon Mary: if she died, there were his rights in the crown of Scotland: if Francis succumbed—and his was a precarious existence—both love and ambition might be satisfied. It was the common talk of Protestant Europe that he would gain the hand of Elizabeth, if the revolution in Scotland prospered. Sufficient then unto the day was the evil thereof.

It is needless to follow in detail the military operations of the winter. Depressed by the loss of Edinburgh and the doubtful prospects of the insurrection, Arran was offended when Knox preached at him as too 'close and solitary,' not mingling freely with his men for their encouragement.⁴ Yet in actual fight he was no laggard, and brave to recklessness. Huntly thought he should not adventure too far in skirmishes; for the whole weight of the matter stood on him.⁵ Knox, referring to the foolish boldness of some, mentioned with anxiety 'these two young plants,' Arran and Lord James.⁶ Randolph wrote enthusiastically to Cecil of his loyalty to the cause, and of his 'daily hazards.'⁷ Something may have to be deducted from the language of those who looked for a Protestant King, to vindicate the cause and, possibly, become the husband of Elizabeth; but there can be no question that Arran was a strenuous leader and a loyal coadjutor with Lord James.

In April, 1560, the pace at last began to tell, and we have the first hint of a breakdown. Arran was forced to leave the camp before Leith and rest in his father's lodging in Holyrood.⁸

¹ *Sc. Cal.* i. 558-566; cf. 1092; Knox, i. 454 ff.; ii. 3.

² *For. Cal.* ii. 467, 524 n.

³ *Ibid.* i. 1022.

⁴ Knox, ii. 9.

⁵ *For. Cal.* ii. 594.

⁶ *Sc. Cal.* i. 638.

⁷ *Ibid.* 713.

⁸ *Ibid.* 722.

Mental pre-occupation and lack of repose seemed to be the cause, as well they might. Elizabeth's vacillation was at the moment causing Maitland of Lethington the gravest apprehension: he 'never had greater fear' since he was born.¹ Arran's position was even more distracting. Francis and Mary had been trying to detach him from England: there were offers from the French Protestants:² if Elizabeth failed, and the power of the Guises in Scotland was not crushed, what were his prospects of the throne? Of Mary? Even of personal immunity?

The Treaty of Edinburgh realised his fears. The French were not driven into the sea, nor was Mary deposed. When Cecil came north to the negotiations it was Lord James Stewart, as he reported to Elizabeth, who had the personality and qualities of a king.³ The Hamiltons were left in the air; and Arran was now more than ever conscious that he had been the tool of England. Interest and prudence made Châtelherault stipulate, under the treaty, for restoration to his French lands;⁴ while Elizabeth sent a 'most gentle letter' to him during the diplomatic discussions, and promised to preserve the persons of himself and his son.⁵ The Duke feared Mary's resentment, and was inclined to cultivate Elizabeth. This brought him into line with Lethington and Lord James; but he had also to consider the Châtelherault property and his son Lord David, who had been in the hands of the French since Arran's escape.⁶ In the meantime he entered heartily into the plan that a Reformation Parliament should offer Arran in matrimony to Elizabeth. The threat to Mary's crown might extract from her a confirmation of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and so at least secure the lands.

Whether it was that Arran dreaded acceptance, distrusted Elizabeth, or was cajoled by the French⁷ and preferred to take a risk for Mary, the first obstacle to the match was the official bridegroom. Before Parliament met he wrote in French to the

¹ Russell, *Maitland of Lethington*, 57.

² *For. Cal.* ii. 758, 894.

³ *Sc. Cal.* i. 821.

⁴ Keith, i. 305; *Sc. Cal.* i. 856. The revenues were sequestered in 1559 (Châtelherault case, *ut supra*).

⁵ *Sc. Cal.* i. 877.

⁶ *Ibid.* 879 (p. 457). The lands were not released by March, 1561 (*ibid.* 983).

⁷ *For. Cal.* iii. 224.

English Queen, under the supervision, we may suspect, of his father and Lethington.

Madam—Though the nobles and people of this realm have good reason to thank your Majesty for their lives and all they have in the world, with this good peace, I myself am infinitely more obliged for your favour, never so little merited by one of my quality, in saving me from the hands of those who sought my death, and restoring me safe to my country, again possessed of its old liberty : above all, for once in my life having had opportunity to contemplate the singular graces which God has so liberally bestowed upon you. I can but offer your Majesty my most humble service in any way it pleases you to employ me, praying the Creator to grant whatever your noble heart desires.¹

There is little sign of enthusiasm on Arran's part. It was a curious circumstance that, when Lethington set off with his colleagues on embassy, Randolph at once proceeded to keep a very close eye upon his young friend, who flung himself into a short but arduous siege of Castle Sempill. Arran had his quarters with other lords in a barn, where the English agent was, as he related with rueful humour, 'the least of six that lay in one bed.'² Probably his duty was to keep the candidate for Elizabeth in a proper frame, and counteract the effect of communications which would be certain to arrive from France.

At last, on December 8, Elizabeth declined the Scottish offer, not absolutely, but with a hint that Arran should look elsewhere. Even if she did not know that the Queen of France became a widow on December 5, she had heard from her ambassador that the King was in a critical state, and that Arran's name was already mentioned in connexion with Mary.³ He was deeply committed to Protestantism both in France and Scotland.⁴ Could English policy settle Mary with a Scottish husband and remove her from the continental market ?

Lethington and the other envoys did not publish Elizabeth's answer ; for the next step required deliberate consultation.⁵ Meanwhile Arran had returned from some thorough work among the border thieves, not, apparently, very inquisitive about his chances with Elizabeth, but concerned more with the death of Francis. What a deliverance for the persecuted ! He heartily rejoiced, and took occasion to praise God.⁶ Lethington's apprehensions were soon justified. Without waiting for official proceedings and a consideration of Elizabeth's answer in a

¹ *Sc. Cal.* i. 871.

² *Ibid.* 196.

³ *For. Cal.* iii. 738.

⁴ *Cf. ibid.* 870-1.

⁵ *Sc. Cal.* i. 945.

⁶ *Ibid.* 934.

formal convention of estates, Arran took the bit between his teeth. Early in January, 1561, he mentioned to Randolph that he was sending to France: friendly letters to Navarre and the Constable,¹ and a message of loyalty in passing to Elizabeth, who might be suspicious now that God had opened so 'patent a way' for his alliance with the Queen of Scotland. Knox had been taken into confidence, and was no doubt aware of the real intention.²

Randolph thought there was more in the matter than was avowed. He was right. This was doubtless the occasion, recorded by Knox, when Arran, in the hope that Mary 'bare unto him some favour,' wrote his letter and sent the ring she knew.³ Was it megalomania? Or had he been misled by French diplomacy? Throckmorton was convinced that Mary hated Arran: yet she had been surprisingly cordial to his messenger.⁴ By January 24 her reply was given.⁵ On February 6 Lethington informed Cecil that the Earl was 'greatly discouraged'—by Elizabeth's answer, of course.⁶ The discouragement had in reality a different root. Knox adds that Arran took the answer as final, and made 'no farther persuyte,' though he bore it 'heavelie in harte,' more heavily than many would have wished.⁷

It had been comparatively easy to unite Parliament on the project of marriage with Elizabeth: when it came to a marriage with Mary—and the plan was actually discussed—there was an end to Lethington's cherished unity.⁸ According to Randolph, Arran was still corresponding with Mary, who kept him in play. His hopes were visionary, the Englishman thought.⁹ The old Duke expressed high disapproval of his son. Writing to Mary on his own initiative had ruined any prospect of his becoming candidate for her hand by the authority of the estates. Mary, too, meant mischief to the Hamiltons. He was himself disposed to retain the regard of Elizabeth.¹⁰

Lethington and Lord James now definitely dropped Arran. The basis of agreement with England was to be recognition

¹ His supporters for Mary's hand (*For. Cal.* iii. 870-1).

² *Sc. Cal.* i. 945; cf. 966.

³ Knox, ii. 137.

⁴ *For. Cal.* iii. 919.

⁵ *Ibid.* 928.

⁶ *Sc. Cal.* i. 958.

⁷ Lang (*Hist. of Scot.*) prints 'wotted' for 'wished,' which, from other instances, apparently = 'wished.'

⁸ *Sim. Cal.* i. 123.

⁹ *Sc. Cal.* i. 966.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 964, 966, 972.

by Elizabeth of Mary's right to succeed her, and on the other side, admission of Elizabeth's status by confirmation of the Treaty of Edinburgh. That recognition Elizabeth could not risk; yet she was intensely interested in Mary's matrimonial fate, and the fact that Lethington and Stewart avoided the point did not diminish its importance for her. Two years later Lethington told the Spanish ambassador in London that when Francis died Elizabeth would have had a fresh agreement with the Scots and Châtelherault, whereby Mary should be bound to marry in Scotland; but he himself and Lord James refused. Danger from France was over; and the Queen, they held, ought not to be constrained. Elizabeth, Lethington said, was dissatisfied: the Duke annoyed.¹ It is plain from this and other evidence that England was using the Hamiltons, with their interest in the confirmation of the Treaty of Edinburgh, to counter Lethington and Lord James. This fact has not been kept sufficiently in view by historians in connexion with Mary's passage to Scotland in August, 1561, and her unexpected arrival at Leith. There was something in the theory of the Spanish ambassador at Paris. He conjectured that Elizabeth designed to shepherd Mary towards the west, where the Hamiltons held Dumbarton and their main power lay.²

Lord James had gone officially to France in April, and had talked with Mary. There must have been interchange of views about the Hamiltons; but the dash for Leith took everyone by surprise. When the news spread, Châtelherault was the first important arrival, probably from Kinniel: then came Lord James: Arran third.³ If the Hamiltons had a plan to deal with Mary and checkmate Lord James, it was upset. On Sunday there was mass at Holyrood, Lord James keeping the door—what he had told Knox from the beginning that he would do.⁴ On Monday came the clever proclamation of Council, forbidding any public alteration in religion and any interference with the freedom of the household. Arran alone stood forth at the Market Cross of Edinburgh to protest.⁵ In July, Elizabeth had assured the Hamiltons that she would support their right, should Mary die without issue, on one emphatic condition—their adherence to the Protestant cause.⁶ The assurance was certainly

¹ *Sim. Cal.* i. 215; cf. 139.

² *For. Cal.* iv. 337 n.

³ *Sc. Cal.* i. 1010.

⁴ Knox, ii. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.* 270-5.

⁶ *Sc. Cal.* i. 992.

politic in the case of the Duke, who had been wavering : Arran, says Knox, ' stude constant with his brethrene ' : he even assisted at the burning of his uncle's Abbey of Paisley.¹

Thus we have Lord James and Lethington working with Mary : Elizabeth doubtful of their intentions : Knox thundering against the mass : Arran uncompromisingly Protestant : the Duke not sure of his line, inclined to curry favour with the Queen, but suspicious of her attitude to his house. At this juncture we hear first of the projected body-guard. James Stewart of Cardonald was to be captain ; but Lethington had gone to see what could be made of Elizabeth, and there was delay.² The mutual distrust between Mary and the Hamiltons is evident. They were excluded from their natural place in the realm. The Queen, said Randolph on September 7, ' takes great suspicion of fortifying Dumbarton, and has sent one to see it.'³ A day or two later she went to Linlithgow : whereupon Châtelherault and Arran betook themselves to Hamilton, for Linlithgow and Kinniel adjoined too closely.⁴ Arran was inexorably opposed to the mass : declined to come to court : cultivated the precise Protestants : was afraid of Bothwell : could not get funds from his father.⁵ The Duke, as acting Governor during the revolution, took the rents of St. Andrews from his brother the Archbishop, who was on the wrong side of politics, and allotted them, with those of Dunfermline and possibly Melrose, to his son. Bothwell now claimed Melrose by the Queen's gift, while the Council decided that Arran's tenure of the two others should cease.⁶ Though Randolph attributed Châtelherault's refusal of finance to mere ' beastlynes,'⁷ there was reason in it. Arran's love of Mary was notorious, and resources might lead to indiscretion.

How far the Duke was coquetting with the reactionaries against Lord James and Lethington it would be difficult to say.⁸ While Lord James was absent at the Border courts, the Catholic bishops, including the Primate John Hamilton, appeared at Holyrood ; and one night Mary ' took a fray.' The guard must

¹ Knox, ii. 156, 167.

² *Sc. Cal.* i. 1017 (Sept. 7).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 1018.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1035.

⁶ *Ibid.* index *sub voc.* ; Collector-General of Thirds, 1561, f. 69 ; Knox, ii. 298.

⁷ *Sc. Cal.* i. p. 563.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 1081 ; *Sim. Cal.* i. 143 ; *For. Cal.* iv. 713, 717, 750

be augmented: Arran was coming to take her.¹ Randolph saw no signs of a plot. Lord James, on his return, immediately discharged the watch. Yet the story of a plan to kidnap the Queen continued in circulation. In January, 1562, she had twelve halberdiers, and proposed to double the number.²

Arran's position had become intolerable; and there is little wonder that he turned his eyes towards France, where political and religious controversy was coming to a head. There could be no doubt of Mary's ineradicable dislike and suspicion; but neither she nor anyone else in Scotland cared to let him go. In December there had been a scandal. One of Mary's uncles, with Bothwell and Lord John Stewart, raided the house of an Edinburgh burgess which Arran was said to visit in pursuit of an intimacy with a young woman named Alison Craik. There were obvious advantages to be gained by compromising this Protestant champion and laying hands on him.³ The affair nearly ended in a full-dress battle of the 'Cleanse the Causeway' sort. For the public peace something must be done.

It was thought that a financial provision for Arran and, if possible, reconciliation with Bothwell should be arranged. The Duke was to make an allowance from his liferent interest in the earldom, and the Queen contribute some position or benefice.⁴ On January 17 Arran came over from Kinniel to Linlithgow, where he presented his service to Mary. The interview was protracted and apparently cordial: Randolph expected soon to see him great at court.⁵ In February he attended the wedding of Lord James, or Mar, as he now became, and showed himself to the Queen, but had no taste for the festivities, pleading indisposition. Nor had he ceased to communicate with France. Mary was annoyed to learn that a messenger had embarked without her knowledge or permission.⁶

The root of the trouble was in Bothwell and his favour with Mary. Hatred, fear, and jealousy tormented Arran, and were unhinging his mind.⁷ The Privy Council took the matter up, and promised protection to the Hamiltons under the Act of Oblivion.⁸ Knox was chosen as a suitable peacemaker.⁹ The

¹ Knox, ii. 293; *Sc. Cal.* i. 1049.

² *Ibid.* 1049, 1058.

³ Knox, ii. 315 ff.; *Sc. Cal.* i. 1056.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 1092.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1071.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1077.

⁷ Buchanan says that Bothwell proposed to Mar, who refused, to destroy the Hamiltons (*Hist.* xvii. 29); cf. *Sc. Cal.* i. 1081, 1083.

⁸ *Reg. Privy Council*, i. 203.

⁹ Knox, ii. 322 ff.

Reformer was delighted, if a little surprised. He improved the occasion by advising Bothwell to 'begyn at God': set himself to work; and after some effort procured a reconciliation on Tuesday, March 24, at Kirk-o'-Field. The Edinburgh people were astounded when Arran and Bothwell appeared in company at the Wednesday sermon in St. Giles'; while the Queen herself thought the sudden cordiality a little suspicious. On Thursday they dined together, and rode over to Kinniel with Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, to see the Duke. Next day Arran was at Knox's lodging with an advocate and the town clerk.¹ He was betrayed, he said, bursting into tears: Bothwell proposed to slay Mar and Lethington and carry off the Queen for him to Dumbarton—a plot to involve him in a charge of treason. He would write to Mary at once.

Knox, who suspected insanity, tried to soothe him. Better to hold his tongue. If he had repudiated the scheme, Bothwell would never risk laying an accusation. This advice Arran rejected, wrote his letter, and returned to Kinniel.² The Queen's reply, directed thither and confirming him in his honourable purpose, fell into the hands of the Duke. There was a stormy scene between father and son. The latter retired or was confined to his chamber. There he wrote in cipher to Randolph at Falkland: made a rope of his bed-sheets and other stuff: after dark descended from his window, a considerable height: walked up the south bank of the Forth to Stirling, and so round to Hallyards, the house of Kirkaldy of Grange at Auchtertool, where he appeared on Tuesday morning, exhausted.³

On Monday, meanwhile, the Queen had taken the field with Mar, Lethington and Randolph. The cipher was delivered to Randolph, who was able to make it out from memory, was somewhat staggered, gave the substance to Mar and, at his desire, to Mary. As they conferred, the Abbot of Kilwinning rode up from the Duke. No weight need be given to this fabrication. Within an hour after the Abbot had been placed in custody, Bothwell came in with a similar story, and shared his fate. Next morning Kirkaldy brought word that Arran was at Hallyards—had been raving 'as of divels, witches, and suche lyke,' in mortal

¹ Alex. Guthrie, who had been town clerk for some years, was at present acting as dean of guild (*Extracts etc. Burgh of Edinburgh, 1557-71, 302*).

² Randolph makes him write from Kinniel on Saturday (*Sc. Cal. i. 1089*). He also says that Knox advised revelation (1090).

³ The details are derived from Randolph (*Sc. Cal.*) and Knox.

dread of violent death. Mar rode over and brought him to Falkland, where he saw for himself—what Knox had already written to him—that the Earl was insane, under the hallucination that he was the Queen's husband.

On Wednesday, April 1, the day of the full 'erection' of the body-guard, the court passed to St. Andrews, Bothwell and Kilwinning sent on before to the Castle, Arran taken in the Queen's company.

What was to be made of the whole business? As Arran gradually recovered it seems to have dawned on him that in his frenzy of hate for Bothwell he had compromised his own father. Randolph was sent to see him, and found him 'in all common purposes' perfectly sensible, but unsatisfactory on the subject of the plot. Mary herself paid a visit, and asked him to tell the truth. Yes, he would—if she would marry him. There must be no conditions, she replied: he must justify his letters or own that he did wrong in writing.¹ Reading Livy with George Buchanan one afternoon, the Queen came upon a saying which struck her as apposite: 'safer not to accuse a bad man than to accuse him and see him absolved.'² Still an effort was made to get to the bottom of the affair. In presence of the Council Arran insisted on the charge against Bothwell, and was prepared for single combat or a trial, whichever the Queen preferred: the accusation against his father he withdrew without qualification. A second examination was no more successful. The Duke now summoned up courage to appear at St. Andrews, wept before the Queen like a beaten child, and denied the whole thing in Council. So it was resolved to take the opportunity of obtaining the surrender of Dumbarton Castle, and to go no further. Only, as Randolph said, Arran was 'not yet like to escape.' Mary had no justification for taking his life; but she would not be content without 'good assurance.'³

That assurance she obtained. Arran was conveyed to Edinburgh Castle, kindly enough, in the Queen's coach;⁴ and there he remained for four weary years, suffering for the sins of his house as much as for his own. A week or two after his arrival, he had a visit from Mar and Morton. They found him, said Randolph, 'in good health, his wits serving him as well as ever they did,' and eager to be at liberty; but liberation was not expedient.⁵ Mar, it would appear, distrusted the Hamiltons

¹ *Sc. Cal.* i. 1090.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* 1095.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents.*

⁵ *Sc. Cal.* i. 1111.

too deeply to dispense with a hostage.¹ In the spring of 1563 Randolph definitely exculpated Lethington, and left Cecil to infer that Mar—or Moray, to be exact—was chiefly responsible.² Yet in him, the old comrade in arms, the captive had a pathetic faith. ‘My lorde,’ he wrote, ‘I am here in daynger of my lyf for revelinge the treason ment agaynst the Quenes Majestie and yourself: therefore succour me.’ ‘Have compassion on me as ye would God should have on you, my lord my brother; for so long as I live I shall be true to you, as you have some experience.’³ In December, 1563, he attacked his attendant: in 1564 he was seriously ill, but in the autumn his father found him well, melancholy, patient, desirous of liberty. The unfortunate man’s freedom was still inexpedient. Catherine de Medici had not ceased to regard him as a possible husband for Mary, or to hope that he might return to the faith and take vengeance on Moray.⁴ Twice in January, 1565, the Queen dined at the Castle—just before Darnley came upon the scene. The first time Arran did not ask to see her: the second, she spoke with him and kissed him, but his words were few, ‘scarce so much as remission for his offence or desire for liberty.’ In summer he was ill again, and suicidal: in autumn, worse: by the early spring of 1566 he had lost his speech.⁵

At the beginning of May, 1566, the long durance ended.⁶ Mary was already in the Castle, expecting the birth of an heir. Moray and Argyll, restored after the Riccio affair and ready now to conciliate the Hamiltons, became sureties in a large sum for Arran’s behaviour.⁷ He departed to his house, and to comparative obscurity till his death in 1609. And yet he was not entirely forgotten. In 1580, when the Hamiltons had been forfeited, we read among the articles of supplication presented by the General Assembly to James VI.: ‘that in respect of the good and godly zeale of James Lord Arran, alwayes showed in defence of God’s caus and commoun wealth, it will please your Hienesse and counsell to resolve upon some good and substantiall order, which may serve both for health and curing of his bodie and comfort of his conscience.’⁸

R. K. HANNAY.

¹ *Ibid.* 1129.

² *Ibid.* 1171.

³ *Ibid.* 1174.

⁴ Hay Fleming, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, 94.

⁵ *Sc. Cal.* ii. *passim*.

⁶ *Collector-General’s Accounts*, 1565; the *Diurnal* has April 26.

⁷ *Sc. Cal.* ii. 378; *Diurnal of Occurrents*.

⁸ Calderwood, iii. 467.

An Old Scottish Handicraft Industry

THE earliest mention of hand knitting in England appears to be a statute, passed in the reign of Henry IV.,¹ but no early records of the handicraft in Scotland are found. In 1564 the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland contains references to the importation of stockings; but coarse woollen ones were no doubt spun and knitted at home from much earlier times. The stocking frame, which was invented by Lee during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was rapidly taken up in England and the industry localised at London and at Nottingham; but no knitting machinery was introduced in Scotland until 1773, although there had been a considerable export trade in knitted stockings for over a hundred years before that date.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Aberdeenshire was peculiarly suited for the development of a handicraft industry. Owing to its troublous history, the system of land tenure in the northern part of Scotland was still largely feudal,² for as late as 1745 the power of a Highland chief depended upon the following of men he was able to bring into the field. Although the greater part of the county is Lowland in population and in the character of the terrain, it borders the Highlands proper and was therefore subjected to constant raids and spreachs: cattle lifting was only systematically put down after the '45, and the county was the scene of several pitched battles such as Harlaw and the fight on the braes of Corrichie. It was natural that the local landowners should have lived in semi-fortified houses and encouraged as large a 'tail' of retainers as their land could support, until about the end of the seventeenth century or even later.³

¹ David Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, p. 172.

² Matheson, *Awakening of Scotland*. pp. 17-18, also 278-9. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, p. 9.

³ *Report on the Agriculture of Scotland* (to the International Agricultural Congress, Paris, 1878). Watt, *County History of Banff and Aberdeenshire*, pp. 293-4; see also chapters ii. and ix.

The exceedingly wasteful system of agriculture—known as the ‘runrig’—which was almost universal in Aberdeenshire down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, also tended to encourage a large rural population whilst¹ producing little to maintain it.

Aberdeenshire was like many other parts of Scotland in having a population too numerous for the land to support² adequately, but she was more fortunate in her closeness to foreign markets. Scotland was at that time both poverty-stricken and backward;³ rents and wages were largely paid in kind; the population was principally agricultural, raising and preparing its own wool and flax, spinning and if need be dyeing the yarns at home, and employing a local weaver to turn them into tweels (coarse diagonal cloth),⁴ linen and blankets. The great industries of shipbuilding, iron work, tweed manufacture and others were in embryo.⁵ There was therefore neither a wealthy middle class nor a large artisan population to buy the produce of the countryside. An industry was thus dependent on export for any market beyond immediate domestic consumption, and so elementary were the means of inland communication that easy access to a port was a necessity in order to carry on such a trade. Lack of means of communication is given by Mr. F. Mill, Perthill Factory, Aberdeen,⁶ as the reason why the stocking industry did not spread through the interior of Scotland, and the history of the linen trade bears out this statement. All through the eighteenth century it slowly spread to less and less accessible places; and even during the boom, just before spinning machinery had become widely known, it had barely reached the remoter parts of the Highlands.

But Aberdeenshire was well situated in respect that the town of Aberdeen was the second or third largest port in the

¹ Alexander, *Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ch. iv. and p. 19.

² Scott, Preface to *Rob Roy*. Watt, *County History of Aberdeenshire*, pp. 293-4.

³ Graham, *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, ch. i. and v.

⁴ Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, p. 146. *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, Mrs. Smith (née Miss Grant of Rothiemurcus), p. 180. *Transactions of the Highland Society*, vol. ii. p. 244.

⁵ Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, pp. 32, 58, 145. *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 14th August, 1920.

⁶ A linen manufacturer who had been largely instrumental in opening up the Highland flax spinning industry, had travelled widely in the north of Scotland and won one of the gold medals offered by the Highland Society in 1799 for an essay on the development of Highland industries.

kingdom,¹ and had an important trading connection with Holland and Germany.

Stonehaven in the southernmost part of the stocking-making country, also had a harbour and was renowned for its smuggling activities. Although roads were bad or non-existent, the central northern and coastwise parts of the country are open and undulating, and even in the seventeenth century were constantly traversed by peddlers.

The stocking-knitting industry sprang into activity very rapidly in the second half of the seventeenth century. A Report on the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland in 1656 gives particulars of the export of a considerable quantity of coarse plaiding from Aberdeen, but makes no mention of the stocking trade. But in 1676 the industry was already established in the county, and Mr. Pyper, the principal merchant engaged in it,² employed four hundred women to knit and spin for him, and encouraged good workmanship by gifts of money or linen—'so that from five groats a pair he caused them to work at such fynness that he hath given 20s. sterling and upward for the pair.'

The industry must have been widely distributed by 1680, for in a letter written in that year and attributed to the Lady Errol of the day, the following passage occurs: 'The women of this country are mostly employed spinning and working of stockings and making of plaiden webs, which the Aberdeen merchants carry over the sea; it is this which bringeth money to the commons; other ways of getting it they have not.'

Five years later Bailie Alexander Skene of Newtile also mentions the trade. He says that the Aberdeen merchants brought the wool from the south of Scotland and sold it out in 'smalls' to the country people, who spun it and either wove it into fingrams or plaidings or knitted it into stockings.

These quotations taken together suggest that sometimes the workers were employed on commission and sometimes did their own purchasing and selling. As late as 1745 James Rae, in his *History of the Rebellion*, writing of Aberdeen says: 'The manufacture here is chiefly of stockings, all round the adjacent country, and every morning women bring in loads to sell about the town to merchants, who have them scoured for exportation

¹ Watt, *History of Aberdeenshire*, pp. 309-14.

² *Writings of Bailie Skene of Newtile*, quoted by Alexander in *Northern Rural Life*, p. 134.

to London, Hamburgh and Holland. They are generally all white from the makers and knit most plainly; some are ribbed and a great many with squares which greatly please the Dutch.' Another method of disposal was by means of the peddlers, who were a numerous and prosperous class at that time: Sir Henry Craik estimates that there were 2000 in Scotland in 1707 with 'considerable capital.'¹

A series of letters between one of these chapmen and his wife is still preserved. They are undated, but from internal evidence must have been written during the first half of the eighteenth century. The chapman was in the habit of travelling through the northern part of Kincardineshire, exchanging tea and other luxuries for eggs, butter and stockings, whilst his wife looked after their shop in Stonehaven and their little croft close by. Every now and then he crossed over to Holland to buy stock. Both Pennant and Francis Douglas, who travelled up the east coast towards the end of the century, only mention stockings worked on commission.

All authorities seem to agree that most of the wool used for stockings was brought from the South, which is not surprising, as neither Aberdeenshire nor the Highlands were at that time wool-raising countries. But a limited amount of the local 'tarry wool' was sent South to be treated and then brought back, and it has been suggested that it was of these fleeces of the fine scanty wool of the original highland sheep² that the very fine stockings were made, for which Pyper paid twenty shillings a pair, and similar ones which at a later date fetched four or even five times this sum. In the earlier accounts the wool was carded and spun by the women, originally with the rock or distaff, but after 1712 four times as quickly with the spinning wheel. By the³ latter half of the century the merchants had begun to give out the wool ready spun, and it is probable that from the beginning of the nineteenth century they bought the wool ready for knitting in the great wool-spinning centres of the south of Scotland.

There was considerable variety in the quality of the stockings made. Rae wrote that 'They make stockings here in common from one shilling a pair to one guinea and a half, and some are

¹ As early as 1695, 500 merks was not an unusual amount of capital for a peddler.

² Before the introduction of the coarse, long-fleeced blackfaced or more recently of the Cheviot.

³ Alexander, *Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 135.

so fine as to sell for five guineas the pair.' Pennant says that the rate of payment in northern Kincardineshire was about fourpence a day, and several travellers put the rate of production at two pairs to two and a half pairs per week. Douglas notes that the very fine stockings worth £3 to £4 a pair took a woman nearly six months to knit, if she worked constantly. By the end of the century earnings were said to average from two shillings to half-a-crown per week. It would appear, from the authorities quoted, and from the minister of Raynes' contribution to the first *Statistical Account*, 1792, that it was quite usual for the people to pay their rents by what they earned by knitting stockings; no doubt they subsisted upon the produce of their farms or crofts.

In 1779 Mr. Wright, in his report to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates in Aberdeenshire, writes that 'the women are so well employed in knitting stockings as scarce to undertake field work, even at sixpence,' and that the demand for knitters had raised servants' wages.¹ Mr. Wright described how the women knitted as they walked along the roads, and Pennant states that although they might have earned a penny a day more at flax spinning they preferred knitting as it left them freer to move about.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the industry had become strongly localised. Kincardineshire was divided; in the south the women all span flax, probably largely home-grown, for the good soil of the Mearns was well adapted for that 'scourging crop.' The northern part of the county was at that time very barren, and the stocking industry reigned supreme. Aberdeen itself was one of the principal spinning centres in the kingdom. In 1745 the Board of Trustees had given a grant towards² a spinning school and the wives and daughters of the artisans were soon filling spindles by the thousand. A certain amount of surplus yarn was produced in some parts of the county, as for instance in the Peterhead district, which afterwards started a thread industry of its own; but on the whole the women remained faithful to their worsted stockings, and the Aberdeen

¹ This is especially noticeable, for nearly all travellers in Scotland writing in the eighteenth century have commented on how much more field work the women were accustomed to do than in England. Simond likened them to the French peasant women, and an anonymous writer has recorded his disgust at seeing women carrying manure on their backs to the fields.

² D. Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, p. 228.

weavers drew most of their supplies from Moray, Ross and above all Caithness.

In Huntly many silk stockings were knitted, and Aberdeen also carried on this trade to a certain extent. Later on, when the spinning of weft had spread to Caithness, Aberdeen specialised in thread making, and Banff and Banffshire, to the immediate north of the stocking-making country, became even more eminent for their linen thread, which they exported to Nottingham for lace and thread stocking making.

Between 1750 and 1795 seems to have been the most prosperous time in the stocking industry. In 1771 there were twenty-two mercantile houses in Aberdeen engaged in it. In 1782 Douglas estimates that the annual value of the trade was £110,000 or £120,000 and that of this sum the merchants paid out about two-thirds for spinning and knitting, the remaining third being the cost of the material and profit. Pennant, writing a few years later, gives rather different figures, 'Aberdeen imports annually £20,800 worth of wool and £16,000 worth of oil. Of this wool are made 69,333 dozen pairs of stockings, worth an average of £1 10s. a dozen, for knitting. These are made by country people in almost all parts of the county, who are paid 4s. per dozen for spinning and 14s. per dozen for knitting, so that £62,400 is paid annually in the shape of wages. About £2,000 worth of stockings are made annually from wool grown in the country.' A writer quoted by Professor Scott in his Report to the Board of Agriculture for Scotland on the Home Industries in the Highlands and Islands estimates the value of the stockings exported from Aberdeen at £80,000 in 1758 and at £200,000 in 1784.

Sir John Sinclair, in his *Statistical Abstract of Scotland*, written in 1795, puts the annual value of the trade at between £70,000 and £90,000 per annum. He says the payment given to the women varied as a rule between tenpence and two shillings per pair of stockings according to size and fineness, and that they usually knitted two pairs or two and a half pairs a week.

At that date the manufacturers usually went round the country every four weeks, giving out the raw material and receiving back the finished goods. 'Had it not been for this employment, occupiers of small lots of land would not have been able to pay their rents, having hardly any other mode of earning money.'

This important trade, unlike other eighteenth century industries, seems to have been built up entirely without the aid of bounties,

protective tariffs, subsidies or philanthropic assistance. It is true that during the reign of George II. an Act was passed providing that 'all stockings that shall be made¹ in Scotland shall be wrought of three threads, and of one sort of wool and worsted, and of equal work and fineness throughout, free of all left loops, hanging hairs, and of burnt, cutted or mended holes, and of such shapes and sizes respectively as shall be marked by the several Deans of Guild of the chief Burghs of the respective counties.' But the Board of Manufactures was never entrusted with the careful supervision of the stockings, such as they exercised over the linens. In 1789 the newly established Highland Society offered a gold medal to the proprietor who 'shall have brought and settled on his estate, a person properly qualified to prepare the wool and knit and teach the knitting of stockings made of such wool, after the Aberdeen or Shetland method or both, and on whose estate the greatest quantity of stockings shall be made in proportion to the number of inhabitants.'

Prizes were also offered for the knitting of stockings, but the time of prosperity for the handknit stocking merchants was nearly over and many causes combined to bring about a decline in the trade.

One of the most direct causes was the closing of the continental market. The Central European War diminished the demand for stockings, and in 1795 when² France obtained the ascendancy she closed the Dutch ports to Scottish trade. The home market for knitted goods had however improved. Scotland had become a much richer country and a flourishing industrial life was rapidly developing. There can have been but little demand for better class women's stockings; for even school-girls with any pretensions to gentility only wore worsted hose in the mornings and when there was no 'company' present;³ and all through the eighteenth century the lower classes in Scotland mostly wore linen underware.⁴ Still a certain amount of trade grew up in fishermen's jerseys, in Kilmarnock bonnets and in hosiery for the home market.

A more serious rival had entered upon the field in the form of the Hawick frame-made stocking industry.

The first stocking frame was introduced from England in

¹ Alexander, *Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 139.

² Watt, *County History of Aberdeenshire*, p. 320.

³ An old letter in the possession of Col. Grant, C.B., Muchalls Castle.

⁴ Mrs. Smith, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, p. 189.

1771 by Bailie John Hardy.¹ So rapidly did the industry grow that by 1812 there were 1449 frames in that town and by 1844 there were 2605 frames in Scotland; but the machine industry did not tend to establish itself in the handknitting country, for no frames had, at that date, been introduced into Aberdeen or the county, and with the exception of 108 at Perth they were all south of the Forth.

But the local industry was not only affected by loss of a market and the introduction of machinery. The whole system of agriculture was undergoing a radical change and the rural population was correspondingly affected.² Enclosure, systematic drainage, scientific manuring, the introduction of the turnip, and with it five or seven shift rotations of crops were having a cumulative effect upon farming. Struggling tenants were giving place to the well-trained working farmer employing two or three or more full-time farm servants.

Better housing and metal agricultural implements gave employment to craftsmen specialised in the necessary trades, and the new industries developing in the towns tended to divert labour from the land. Mere figures do not represent the completeness of the change, for if the numbers of labourers on existing farms were reduced, many more were required to cultivate the new land that was reclaimed from the waste and to bring the 'outfield' portions of the older farms under regular tillage. The 1845 *Statistical Account* contains constant reference to the great alterations, and many writers comment on the economy of labour introduced by the new system.

The decline in the flax-spinning industry, which took place about this time, affected many districts, notably Banffshire and³ Caithness, where there was difficulty in finding workers willing to spin at the old rates. In Orkney the competition of machines killed the trade a few years later. And the very rapid adoption of spinning machinery rather points to shortage of hand workers, if it is compared with the leisurely progress of the power-loom, when there was a large supply of hand-loom workers.⁴ In Ayrshire, which is largely a dairy country, the Glasgow spinning mills did cause unemployment, but the surplus home workers were quickly diverted to hand embroidery.⁵

¹ D. Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, p. 174.

² Alexander, *Northern Rural Life*, pp. 4-6.

³ D. Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, pp. 225, 227.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 233, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 306.

There was however a considerably greater number of women workers upon the land than at present. Before the invention of the automatic binder, the turnip driller and other newer machines, women were constantly to be seen working in the fields in Aberdeenshire.¹ In certain parts of the country the rural conditions were also slightly abnormal, and it is in those districts that the stocking industry survived longest. The new *Statistical Account* published in 1845 states that in eleven out of forty-four parishes of Aberdeenshire and in the northernmost parish of Kincardineshire there was a considerable manufacture of stockings. They formed a fairly large group in the northern part of Aberdeenshire, but one or two are scattered further south. Fetteresso, in Kincardineshire, has poor soil, and at that time the richer portions nearer the coast were largely undrained, unfenced and divided up into uneconomically small holdings.² Alford and Tough were at that time much cut off from the outside world. The former was very backward, and an unusual number of women were employed on the land. The stocking trade did not amount to more than £200 per annum, but there was hand spinning for a local weaver of tweeds. In the adjoining parish of Tough the larger farms were said to be good, but the many small crofts were backward, and the minister writes, 'A number of the females employ themselves in knitting stockings for a mercantile house in Aberdeen. The worsted is furnished to them at their own houses, and they are paid for their work at the rate of 3½d. or 4d. a pair. About 3,000 pairs of excellent worsted stockings are in this manner made in the parish yearly.'

The parish of Birse also has a poor soil and consists of rough hilly ground; at that time it was mostly divided into crofts. Curiously enough the industry had not only survived, but had reverted to an earlier form. The women bought their own wool locally, had it carded at a mill and spun and knitted it themselves.

'Though the profits in this manufacture be extremely small, yet it affords occupation to a great many females who would otherwise be idle, and furnishes a ready employment for fragments of time. A very expert female will spin and knit a pair of stockings in two days. For these she receives generally from a shilling to fifteen pence when brought to market, of which sum, however, not more than one half is the remuneration for her

¹ Many older people resident locally have commented to me on the change.

² A pamphlet written by Mr. Paul, late factor to the Muchalls estates, and privately circulated.

labour, the other half being the price of wool, carding, and spinning. One individual will manufacture about three stones and a half of wool in a year, out of which she will produce from 120 to 130 pairs of stockings. Few of the females so employed are entirely dependent on this work for their subsistence, the profit of it being scarcely sufficient for this purpose. Many of them are partly employed in outdoor labour, where they can earn higher wages. In times however when such is not to be had, or when the season does not admit of it, or when age and infirmities have debarred them from it, the stockings are the never-failing resource. And so much is this the habitual employment of the females, especially the elder and unmarried, that, if a person were to go into the dwelling of such and find the shank absent from her hands, he might regard it as an unfailing symptom of indisposition.¹

In the northern part of the county, where the stocking industry was more generally prevalent, there is much bleak upland country, especially in the Cabrach district, and on the upper reaches of the Ythan and Urie. Fyvie and Rayne, in addition, showed great disparity in the size of their holdings, which varied from crofts to farms of 300 acres, and both these extremes tended to produce knitters; in the case of the crofts, a subsidiary employment to eke out subsistence was welcomed; the larger farms at that time employed several women field workers, who generally lived together in a sort of barrack on the bothy system and having no home occupations knitted in the evenings. Old Meldrum, which lies in lower country, was rather more industrial in character, and had a considerable number of hand-looms, which at that time were no doubt feeling the competition of the factories.

In almost every parish the industry is spoken of as a declining one in the middle of the nineteenth century. The younger women were said to be giving it up, only the old and less able-bodied, who were fit for nothing else, being said to carry it on in Kennethmont, Leochel and Cushnie, and Turrif. In Kieg, where 5000 pairs were made every year, it was evidently carried on by the married women, for the minister remarks, 'It may be observed that this is an employment which does not interrupt their attention to many of their domestic concerns in or out of doors.'

Most of the writers attribute the decline to the poorness of

¹ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 786, 1845.

the wages paid, the minister of Methlic saying that payment had been reduced from two shillings or three shillings per pair to fourpence halfpenny. But in this case there was probably a change in the work performed, for he says himself that the earlier rates were for spinning and knitting, whereas in 1845 the woman was probably only required to knit. The average payments seem to have varied from threepence halfpenny to fivepence a pair and weekly earnings were calculated at a shilling or eighteen pence per week. The industry had in fact reached a typical stage in the history of home-handicrafts and the Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Home Work, written in 1907 and referring to other industries in other parts of the United Kingdom, contains a passage that might exactly describe it: 'As the payment for Home Work is necessarily at piece rates, those who are slow, owing to age, feeble health, inexperience, incompetence, or lack of power, energy, or disposition to work, and those who for any reason find it difficult to secure and retain employment elsewhere, find it more easy to obtain this kind of work than any other, and they drift into it and settle down to it as a method of earning a livelihood.'

In 1845 there were nine hosiery merchants in Aberdeen,¹ and, with the exception of Birse, the work seems to have been invariably given out by agents, who visited the country districts every month, receiving and paying for the stockings and supplying more wool.

In the very early years of the nineteenth century the first representative of one of the largest and best known stocking firms settled at Huntly. His great-grandchildren still preserve one of his daybooks, dated 1812, and describe how he used to drive about in all weathers, in a dogcart, in the bleak upland districts round the Buck o' the Cabroch, giving out and collecting the work, which he shipped to London.

By about 1880 gloves and socks were the articles most usually made, and the industry had shrunk to the district immediately round Fyvie. Only one or two merchants were engaged in the trade, who employed collectors to call at the small scattered hamlets. They gave out the wool with directions how it was to be used, and in most of the villages there were groups of women, under the charge of the most experienced knitter. They were all widows or single women too old to work in the fields, who supplemented the 'Parish Money,' or what little pittance their

¹ *Statistical Account*, 1845, p. 39.

families or savings brought them in, by their earnings at knitting. An old man who used to be employed as a collector has told me that the usual rate of payment was eightpence for a pair of gloves. The picture he gave of the knitters' life was far from unattractive; in the afternoons and evenings they usually met to work together, and they would sit round the fire, while one member of the party was always employed in keeping the kettle boiling and the teapot replenished after its frequent rounds, and although the earnings seem scanty according to modern standards it must be remembered that the agents only earned about £1 a week, and a woman field worker usually received £2 per half year in addition to board and lodging.

No figures are available giving the exact amount of output, but up till about thirty years ago the industry continued in the Fyvie district to quite a considerable extent. About that time the fashion in knitted goods began to change, and lighter, thinner fabrics were preferred. The machinery used in the south had also been improved and was more fit to produce highly finished articles. Messrs. Spence therefore decided to build a factory at Huntly to cope with the growing demand, although they continued to employ a certain number of out-workers on the heavier hand-knitted articles and upon sock-making up till 1914. The more highly skilled work of knitting fancy hose tops continued to be a handicraft long after the shanks were usually machine knit. This branch of the industry was carried on by a comparatively few skilled knitters scattered over the county, and indeed beyond its borders. About ten years ago these elaborate tops ceased to be admired and much plainer stockings came into fashion and the fine fleecy hose which are now preferred can be better knit by machinery than by hand.

The practice of knitting socks for home consumption is also on the wane. About fifteen years ago every 'auld wife' and most younger women wore leather belts with a pad covered with perforated leather into which they could stick their knitting needles when they were not in use, but nowadays this is less common.

The final blow to the industry came through the War. Special sock machines were introduced to meet the sudden demand, and only about forty home hand-workers are now employed round about Huntly. Their work is entirely subsidiary to the machines, seaming the sides and the backs of the stockings, making the little tassels for 'rat-tailed' garters, and doing similar work.

This work is well paid, and although the home-workers, who are mostly girls who have left the factory to be married, seldom 'sit at their work,' their earnings often amount to more than two pounds per week. The old industry has not deteriorated in its change from hand-work to machine-made goods, for under the older conditions the beautiful textures of Lhama and Khashmere wool and the exquisite modern dyes were not available. And the newest machinery is so skilful and so much under the control of the worker that with a smoother finish it almost gives that sense of personality and distinction that the human hand alone can produce.

ISABEL F. GRANT.