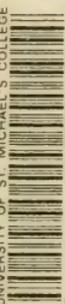


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THE
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THE GREAT HISTORIC FAMILIES
OF SCOTLAND.

VOL. I.



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THE GREAT
HISTORIC FAMILIES
OF
SCOTLAND

BY
JAMES TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., F.S.A.

“ Fortes creantur fortibus, et bonis.
Doctrina sed vim promovit insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant;
Utcunque defecere mores.
Indecorant bene nata culpæ.”

—*Hor.* B. iv. Ode 4.

“ 'Tis of the brave and good alone
That good and brave men are the seed ;
Yet training quickens power unborn,
And culture nerves the soul for fame ;
But he must live a life of scorn
Who bears a noble name,
Yet blurs it with the soil of infamy and shame.”

—*Sir Theodore Martin.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON

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PATERNOSTER ROW

1889

TO
THE MOST NOBLE
WILLIAM MONTAGU HAY,

MARQUIS AND EARL OF TWEEDDALE, EARL GIFFORD, VISCOUNT WALDEN, AND
BARON HAY, IN THE PEERAGE OF SCOTLAND, AND BARON TWEEDDALE
IN THE PEERAGE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,

THE HEAD IN THE MALE LINE OF THE ANCIENT AND CELEBRATED
FAMILY OF DE HAYA,

This Work

ON THE GREAT HISTORIC FAMILIES OF SCOTLAND

IS DEDICATED,

AS A MARK OF AFFECTION AND ESTEEM,

BY HIS FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

IN order to prevent that species of disappointment which arises from expecting in a book what it was not intended to contain, it is judged proper to intimate that it is not designed in the following pages to discuss difficult or disputed genealogical questions, but merely to give such sketches of the representatives and leading members of the great historical families of Scotland, as may exhibit their personal character, and at the same time throw some light on national manners and customs, as well as on warlike exploits and court intrigues. The valuable works, printed for private circulation, on the Douglasses, Scotts, Maxwells, Maules, Mackenzies of Cromarty, the Earls of Menteith, and other ancient and powerful families, together with the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, have furnished such an abundance of interesting information respecting these great old houses, that this work has extended far beyond the limits originally proposed. It has in consequence been found necessary to lay aside, in the meantime, the sketches of a considerable number of the most illustrious Scottish families, which were ready for the press. Should the present volumes meet with a favourable reception, these sketches may be published at some future time.



PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE author has gratefully to acknowledge the generous reception the first edition of this work has received from the public press, both metropolitan and provincial, which has far surpassed his utmost expectations. His friendly critics will observe that he has availed himself of their corrections and suggestions as far as it has been in his power to do so, and that he has added several anecdotes which they brought under his notice.

The favourable reception which the present volumes have met with has encouraged the author to proceed with the preparation of another volume, which is now far advanced, and, as it will contain sketches of the Bruces, Comyns, Stewarts, the Dukes of Queensberry, Athole, Roxburghe, and Sutherland, the Marquises of Lothian, Ailsa, and Bute, the Earls of Crawford, Stair, Selkirk, Elgin, Airlie, Glencairn, Eglinton, Dundonald, Haddington, and Hopetoun, and Barons Somerville and Napier, he hopes that it will be found not less interesting than its predecessors.



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THE GREAT HISTORIC FAMILIES OF SCOTLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

AT the Union of the kingdoms in 1707 the Peerage Roll of Scotland contained ten dukes, three marquises, seventy-five earls, seventeen viscounts, and forty-nine barons—in all, a hundred and fifty-four peers. There have been subsequently enrolled one duke, two marquises, two earls, and six barons. At the present time the Scottish peerage consists of only eighty-seven members, and of these forty-nine are also peers of England or of Great Britain, while three are peers of Ireland. Since the passing of an Act in 1847 ordering the Lord-Clerk Registrar, until otherwise directed by the House of Lords, not to call the title of any peerage on the Union Roll in respect of which no vote had been received during the present century, most of the dormant and extinct peerages have been struck off the roll; but fourteen, which are believed to be extinct, have been allowed to remain, on the ground that votes have been received in respect of them since the year 1800. There are altogether forty-eight dormant or extinct Scottish peerages, and sixteen are merged in other titles. Nine of the eleven dukedoms which appear on the roll are still in existence, though one of them—Queensberry—is united with the dukedom of Buccleuch. That of Gordon, which expired in 1836, has recently been replaced by a British title of the same rank conferred on the Duke of Richmond, who represents the elder branch of the family in the female line. The dukedom of

Douglas expired in 1761 on the death of the half-witted peer, the first and only possessor of that title; while the other dignities of that famous old house passed to its male representative, the Duke of Hamilton. The only dormant marquisate is that of the Johnstones of Annandale, last borne by the fatuous peer to whom David Hume, the philosopher and historian, for a short time acted as tutor. Of the dormant earldoms the oldest and most celebrated is the double earldom of Monteith and Strathern, of which Charles I., in the most arbitrary and unjust manner, deprived its last possessor, and by way of compensation conferred upon him the earldom of Airth, a title which is also now dormant. Next comes the earldom of Glencairn, long held by the powerful Ayrshire family of Cunningham, who fought in the cause both of the Reformation and the Covenant. The last of this illustrious race was a nobleman of a most amiable disposition and great personal attractions, whose untimely death was lamented by Burns in the most pathetic stanzas the poet ever wrote. In this list is the earldom of Hyndford, held by the Carmichaels, one of whom was an ambassador at the Prussian, Austrian, and Russian courts. Their estates but not their titles have descended to the present Sir Wyndham Carmichael Anstruther. In this list, too, are the Marchmont titles—an earldom, a viscounty, and a barony—which were enjoyed by a branch of the powerful Border family of Home. They were originally conferred upon Sir Patrick Hume, who, through the exertions of his devoted daughter, the noble-minded Grizel Baillie, escaped the fate of his fellow-patriot, Baillie of Jerviswood; was subsequently the associate of the Earl of Argyll in his ill-starred expedition in 1685, and finally became Lord Chancellor of Scotland after the Revolution of 1688. His grandson, Hugh, the third and last earl, was the friend of Pope, who makes frequent and affectionate mention of him in his epistles, and of St. John, Peterborough, and Arbuthnot, and the other members of that brilliant circle. The earldom of Marchmont, the viscounty of Blasonberrie and the barony of Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw descended to his heirs male and their heirs male, and as the two sons of Earl Hugh predeceased him the titles became dormant at his death. But a prior barony of Polwarth, created in 1697, was made to descend to the heirs male of the first peer and their heirs, and forty years after the death of Earl Hugh his grandson, Hugh Scott of Harden, presented a petition to the House of Lords claiming the title of Lord Polwarth, and his claim was admitted without opposition. The extinct earldom of

Forfar was created for a youthful scion of the Douglas family, whose life, if it had been prolonged, might have saved the dukedom from extinction. He fell fighting under the royal banner at Sheriffmuir, having received no fewer than sixteen broadsword wounds besides a pistol shot in his knee. The earldom of Stirling, conferred in 1633 on Sir William Alexander, an eminent statesman and poet, became dormant on the death without issue of Henry, fifth earl, in 1739, and none of the claims which have been preferred to the title have as yet been made good. Among the dormant but not extinct peerages is the barony of Somerville, the title of an ancient and at one time powerful Border family, which has not been claimed since 1870. The barony of Cranstoun, also celebrated in ballads, tradition, and story since the fifteenth century, became dormant on the death of the eleventh Lord Cranstoun in 1869. Heirs of both dignities are, however, believed to be in existence. The last representative of the 'Bauld Rutherfords,' Earls of Teviot and Barons Rutherford who bore a conspicuous part in Border forays, was the prototype of the Master of Ravenswood in Sir Walter Scott's tragic tale of the 'Bride of Lammermoor.' He died on the Continent without issue in 1724. The earldom of Newark, which was conferred on the celebrated Covenantee General David Leslie, who contributed to the victory of the Parliamentary army at Marston Moor, and defeated the great Marquis of Montrose at Philiphaugh, became extinct on the death of his son, the second lord, in 1694.

The most interesting of all the dormant or extinct titles are the peerages forfeited in connection with the 'Fifteen' and the 'Forty-five,' when the last desperate efforts were made to bring 'the auld Stewarts back again,' and gallant gentlemen and noblemen not a few perilled and lost their lives and estates in the Jacobite cause. One of the most noted of the noblemen who were 'spoiled of their goods' and their hereditary honours in 1715 for their adherence to the old Scottish dynasty was the eccentric Earl of Wintoun, the head of the ancient and powerful house of Seton, immortalised by Sir Walter Scott for their fidelity to the unfortunate Queen Mary. The earldom was revived in 1859 as a British peerage in favour of the Earl of Eglinton, but the extensive estates of the Setons have passed into other hands. The Kingston peerage, which was held by a cadet of the Seton family, was also forfeited in 1715, and has not been restored. Viscount Kenmure, the chief of the Gordons of Galloway, whose gallantry is commemorated in the well-known

ballad 'Kenmure's on and awa', Willie,' was closely associated with the Earl of Wintoun in the Jacobite insurrection, but, less fortunate than that nobleman, he forfeited his life as well as his titles and lands for the sake of the Stewart cause. The estate was bought back by his widow, and the family titles were restored in 1826, but became extinct on the death of the eleventh viscount in 1847. The Earl of Nithsdale, the chief of the powerful Border house of Maxwell, was to have suffered along with Viscount Kenmure, but escaped from the Tower through the agency of his heroic wife. His estates were regained, but the earldom has not been recovered. The titles and estates of the Keiths, hereditary Grand Mareschals of Scotland from the twelfth century downwards, were also lost in the fatal rising of 1715. A similar fate befell the Livingstons, descended from the Chancellor of James II., who possessed the earldoms of Callendar and Linlithgow. The gallant Seaforth, 'High Lord of Kintail,' chief of the powerful clan of the Mackenzies, was exiled and forfeited for his share in 'the Fifteen.' The titles and estates, however, were recovered, but the former became extinct on the death of the last Earl of Seaforth in very painful circumstances in 1815. Another great Jacobite noble who took part in that rebellion was the Earl of Panmure, who was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but was rescued by his brother Harry Maule, worthy descendants both of that brave Sir Thomas Maule, who in the War of Independence gallantly held out his castle of Brechin against a powerful English army and lost his life in its defence. The earldom has not been restored, but the Panmure estates were purchased from the York Building Company by the earl's nephew, and are now in the possession of the Earl of Dalhousie, the representative of the Maules in the female line.

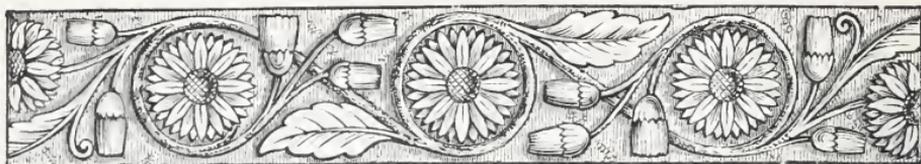
The forfeitures incurred in consequence of the rebellion of 1745 were much fewer and less important than those of 1715. Pitsligo, the prototype of the immortal Baron Bradwardine in 'Waverley,' lost his title and estates, but succeeded in making his escape to the Continent. The Earl of Cromarty's life was spared out of compassion for his numerous family, but his associates—Lovat, Kilmarnock, and Balmerino—lost their lives as well as their titles and estates in the Stewart cause, and were the last peers who were executed in this country for treason.

'Pitied by gentle minds, Kilmarnock died;
The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side.'

The earldom of Cromarty has lately been revived in favour of the present possessor of the estates, the Duchess of Sutherland, and her second son; and the chief of the Fraser clan recovered in 1857 the Lovat title forfeited in 1746 by the notorious Simon Fraser. The titles and estates of the Drummonds were forfeited shortly after the Revolution of 1688, when the Earl of Perth, the Chancellor, and his brother, Viscount Melfort, the Secretary of Scotland, fled to France after their master, James VII., and became naturalised subjects of the French King. The Duke de Melfort, a descendant of the Secretary, obtained in 1853, by a special Act of Parliament, the restoration of the ancient Drummond titles, but his efforts to recover the family estates have been unsuccessful.

A number of dormant Scottish peerages have been revived within the last few years, and there is good reason to believe that heirs to a good many more of this class still exist.





THE ANCIENT EARLDOM OF MAR.



THE original earldom of Mar has been pronounced by the Ulster King-of-Arms, the most ancient title in Great Britain, perhaps in Europe. The learned and accurate Lord Hailes remarks that 'this is one of the earldoms whose history is lost in antiquity. It existed before our records and before the era of genuine history.' It has been held in succession by members of the great historic houses of Douglas and Stewart, Drummond and Erskine; has been borne by the hero of Otterburn and by the victor in the critical battle of Harlaw, which finally decided the protracted struggle for supremacy in the Highlands between the Saxon and the Gael; by the sons of two of the Scottish kings, and by three rulers who governed Scotland with vice-regal authority, one of the three being the most sagacious and energetic statesman that ever held the reins of government in our country.

The province of Mar, from which the title is taken, lies between the rivers Don and Dee, and is the most extensive and interesting district in Aberdeenshire. The Highland portion of the earldom, termed Braemar, is noted for its wild and majestic scenery. It contains Macdhui, the highest mountain in Scotland, Cairntoul, Ben Avon, and Cairngorm, which are little inferior in height, and 'dark Lochnagar,' celebrated in the poetry of Byron. The Garioch, which in the olden time was connected with Mar and furnished a second title to the earldom, is an extensive and fertile valley, and used to be termed the granary of Aberdeen.

The ancient title borne by the governors of the province of Mar was 'mormaor,' a Pictish dignity inferior only to that of king. About the beginning of the twelfth century this designation was exchanged for the Saxon title of earl. Tradition has preserved a

curious story of a remarkable incident connected with the death of one of the mormaors of Mar, named Melbrigda, about the close of the ninth century. He fell in battle with Sigurd, the first Scandinavian Earl of Orkney, who had conquered the greater part of the northern counties of Scotland and invaded the province of Mar; but his death was revenged upon the victor in a most singular manner. Melbrigda was noted for a large and very prominent tooth, and Sigurd, having cut off the head of the fallen mormaor, suspended it to his saddle-bow and galloped in triumph across the battlefield. The rapidity of the motion caused the head of Melbrigda to strike violently about the saddle, and his prominent tooth inflicted a wound on Sigurd's thigh which festered and mortified and caused his death.

The first mormaor of Mar whose name has come down to our day in a written document was Martachus, who in 1065 was witness to a charter of Malcolm Canmore in favour of the Culdees of Lochleven. His son, Gratnach, who about fifty years later witnessed the foundation charter of the monastery of Scone by Alexander I., appears to have been the first of the great hereditary rulers of Mar who bore the title of earl. From this period downward the heads of the house of Mar filled a most influential position at the Court and in the national councils; they held the highest offices in the royal household, and took a prominent part in most of the great events in the history of the country. They were connected by a double marriage with the illustrious line of Bruce; the restorer of Scottish independence having taken to wife a daughter of David, sixth Earl of Mar, while Gratney, seventh earl, married Christiana, sister of King Robert, and received as part of her dowry the strong castle of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, which was long the chief seat of the family. His son Donald, eighth earl, was taken prisoner in 1306, at the battle of Methven, in which his royal uncle was defeated, and did not regain his liberty till after the crowning victory of Bannockburn. On the death of Randolph, the famous Earl of Moray, Earl Donald was chosen Regent in his stead, August 2nd, 1332. But only two days thereafter he was killed, at the battle of Dupplin, in which the Scots were surprised and defeated with great slaughter by the 'Disinherited Barons.'

Thomas, the ninth earl, or, according to another mode of reckoning, the thirteenth who enjoyed that dignity, was one of the most powerful nobles of his day. He held the office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and was repeatedly sent as ambassador to England. He died in 1377, leaving no issue, and in him ended the

direct male line of the Earls of Mar. His sister Margaret was, at the time of Earl Thomas's death, the wife of William, Earl of Douglas, nephew and heir of the 'Good Sir James,' the friend of Robert Bruce. On the death of his brother-in-law he obtained possession of the historical earldom of Mar and transmitted it, along with his own hereditary titles and estates, to his son James, the hero of Otterburn, 'the dead man that won a fight'—one of the most renowned in Scottish history. The Douglas estates were inherited by Archibald 'the Grim,' the kinsman of Earl James, while the earldom of Mar passed to his sister, Isabella, wife of Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of Annabella, Queen of Scotland, wife of Robert III. About the year 1403, Sir Malcolm was suddenly surprised by a band of ruffians, who treated him with such barbarity that he soon after died, leaving no issue. This outrage was universally ascribed to Alexander Stewart, natural son of the Earl of Buchan, the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' fourth son of Robert II. After the death of her husband the Countess was residing quietly and in fancied security at her castle of Kildrummie, when it was suddenly attacked and stormed by Stewart at the head of a formidable band of Highland freebooters and outlaws, and either by violence or persuasion the young Countess was induced to become the wife of the redoubted cateran, and to make over to him, on the 12th of August, 1404, her earldom of Mar and Garioch, with all her other castles. In order, however, to give a legal aspect to the transaction, Stewart presented himself, on the 19th of September, at the gate of the castle of Kildrummie, and surrendered to the Countess 'the castle and all within it, and the title-deeds therein kept; in testimony thereof he delivered to her the keys to dispose of as she pleased.' The Countess, holding the keys in her hand, declared that deliberately and of her own free will she chose Stewart for her husband, and conferred upon him the castle, pertinents, &c., as a free marriage gift, of which he took instruments. It appears that even this formal transaction was not deemed sufficient to give validity to the transaction, for on the 9th December following, the Countess, taking her station in the fields outside her castle, in the presence of the Bishop of Ross, and the sheriff and *posse comitatus* of the county, along with the tenantry on the estate, that it might appear that she was really acting without force on Stewart's part or fear on hers, granted a charter to him of her castle and estates duly signed and sealed.

Strange to say, this lawless freebooter afterwards rendered most important services to his country by repressing the disorders of the northern counties and repelling the attacks of English invaders; and he obtained high renown, both in England and on the Continent, on account of his valour and skill in the exercises of chivalry. He was repeatedly sent on embassies to the English Court, and, at one time, held the office of Warden of the Marches. His restless spirit and love of fame carried him abroad in quest of distinction; and Wyntoun states that, during a residence of three months in Paris he kept open house, and was highly honoured for his wit, virtue, and bravery. From the Court of France he proceeded to Bruges, and joined the army which the Duke of Burgundy was leading to the assistance of his brother, John of Bavaria, the bishop-elect of Liège, 'a clerk not of clerk-like appearing,' who was in danger from the rebellion of the people of his diocese. The subsequent victory at Liège was mainly owing to the skill and courage of Mar, who slew in single combat Sir Henry Horn, the leader of the insurgents. He was the 'stout and mighty Earl of Mar' who gained the battle of Harlaw, in the year 1411, defeating Donald of the Isles with terrible slaughter, though outnumbered by ten to one, and thus terminating the protracted contest for superiority between the Celtic and the Saxon races. The ostensible and immediate cause of this sanguinary conflict was the claim to the earldom of Ross, which had been held by the Earl of Buchan, Mar's father, in right of his wife. Alexander, Earl of Ross, the son of the Countess by her first husband, married Lady Isabel Stewart, eldest daughter of the Regent Albany. The only issue of this marriage was a daughter, named Euphemia, who became Countess of Ross at her father's death. She afterwards entered a convent, and entrusted the management of her estate to her grandfather, the Regent, with the intention, it was supposed, of resigning it in favour of her mother's brother, the Earl of Buchan, Albany's second son. Donald, Lord of the Isles, who had married Euphemia's aunt, Margaret, the only sister of the deceased Earl Alexander, insisted that Euphemia, by becoming a nun, must be regarded as dead in law, and demanded that his wife should be put in possession of the earldom. The Regent, however, refused to accede to the claim, and Donald took up arms to enforce it. At the head of ten thousand men, he suddenly invaded and took possession of the district. He was encountered at Dingwall by Angus Dow Mackay

of Farr, at the head of a large body of men from Sutherland. The Mackays were routed with great slaughter, their leader was taken prisoner, and his brother was killed. Elated with his success, Donald pressed on through Moray, laying waste the country with fire and sword, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire, for the purpose of executing his threat to burn the town of Aberdeen. He was encountered at a place called Harlaw, in the Garioch, about fifteen miles from that city, by the Earl of Mar, at the head of the chivalry of Angus and Mearns—the Ogilvies, Maules, Lyons, Lindsays, Carnegies, Leslies, Leiths, Arbuthnots, Burnets, &c., who, though few in number, were better armed and disciplined than the Highlanders of whom Donald's host was composed. In the words of old Elspeth's ballad, in the 'Antiquary'—

'If they hae twenty thousand blades
And we twice ten times ten,
Yet they hae but their tartan plaids
And we are mail-clad men.'

The battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, 1411, was long and fiercely contested, and night alone separated the combatants. The Earl of Mar lost one half of his force, and among the slain were Sir James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, the Sheriff of Angus, with his eldest son; Sir Thomas Murray; Sir Robert Maule of Panmure; Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum; Leslie of Balquhain, with six of his sons; Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, and Sir Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen. The Earl of Mar and the survivors of his little army were so exhausted with fatigue that they passed the night on the battlefield, expecting the contest to be renewed next morning; but when the day broke they found that Donald and the remains of his force had retired during the night, leaving a thousand men, with the chiefs of Macintosh and Maclean, on the battlefield, and, retreating through Ross, they gained the shelter of their native fastnesses. 'It was a singular chance,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'that brought against Donald, who might be called the King of the Gaels, one whose youth had been distinguished as a leader of these plundering bands; and no less strange that the Islander's claim to the earldom of Ross should be traversed by one whose title to that of Mar was so much more challengeable.'*

* The battle of Harlaw was long remembered in Scotland on account of the number and rank of the slain in Mar's force. It was commemorated in contemporary

After the death of the Countess of Mar, the title and estates should have devolved on the heir of line, Janet Keith, wife of Sir Thomas Erskine, and great-granddaughter of Earl Gratney, but Earl Alexander, who had only a life interest in the earldom, resigned it in 1426 into the hands of the King, James I., and received a grant of the titles and estates to himself for life, and after him to his natural son, Sir Thomas Stewart, and his lawful heirs male. Earl Alexander died in 1435, and his son having predeceased him without issue, the earldom, in terms of the recent charter, reverted to the Crown. Sir Robert Erskine, the son of Sir Thomas and Lady Janet, claimed the earldom in right of his mother, as second heir to the Countess Isabel, 22nd April, 1438, before the Sheriff of Aberdeen, and, in the following November, was invested in the estates. He assumed the title of Earl of Mar, and granted various charters to vassals of the earldom; but, in 1449, James II. obtained a reduction of his service before an assize of error, and took possession of the estates, no doubt in order to carry out the favourite policy of himself and his father, of weakening the dangerous power of the barons. It was subsequently conferred on John, second son of James II., who was put to death in 1449 for alleged treason against his brother, James III. The next possessor of the earldom was Cochrane, one of the favourites of that monarch, who was hanged over the bridge at Lauder in 1482. It was then granted, in 1486, to Alexander Stewart, Duke of Ross, a younger son of James III. On his death it reverted to the Crown, and in February, 1561-2, it was conferred by Queen Mary on her natural brother, Lord James Stewart, afterwards the celebrated Regent; but he speedily resigned it, preferring the dignity of Earl of Moray. The Queen then, in 1565, bestowed the title on John, fifth Lord Erskine, the descendant and heir male of Sir Robert Erskine, who had unsuccessfully claimed it a hundred and thirty years before. From that period downwards the Mar honours have followed the varying fortunes of the family of Erskine, one of the most illustrious of the historic houses of Scotland. The greater part of the extensive estates which in ancient times belonged to the earldom had, by

verse: the 'Battle of Harlaw' is one of the old ballads whose titles are given in the 'Complaint of Scotland' (1548). Mr. Laing, in his 'Early Metrical Tales,' speaks of an edition printed in the year 1668, as being 'in the curious library of old Robert Myles,' but no copy is now known to exist of a date anterior to that which was published in Ramsay's 'Evergreen.' A tune of the same name, adapted to the bagpipes, was long extremely popular in Scotland.

this time, passed into various hands, and could not be recovered ; but the remnant which still remained in the possession of the Crown was gifted to the new earl.

On the death of John Francis, sixteenth Earl of Mar and eleventh Earl of Kellie, in 1866, his cousin, Walter Coningsby Erskine, inherited the family estates along with the earldom of Kellie, which were entailed on heirs male ; while the ancient earldom of Mar was claimed by John Francis Goodeve, the only son of the late earl's sister, who thereupon assumed the name of Erskine. His claim was at first universally admitted. He was presented at Court as Earl of Mar, his vote was repeatedly received at the election of representative peers, and his right to the title was conceded even by his cousin, Walter Coningsby Erskine, the new Earl of Kellie. By-and-by, however, Lord Kellie laid claim also to the earldom of Mar, but he died before his petition could be considered by the House of Lords. It was renewed by his son, and was in due course referred to the Committee for Privileges. In support of the claim it was pleaded that the title of Earl of Mar, conferred by Queen Mary on John, Lord Erskine, in 1565, was not the restoration of an ancient peerage, but the creation of a new one ; that the original earldom of Mar was purely territorial, one of the seven ancient earldoms of Scotland, and was therefore indivisible ; that this dignity terminated at the death of Earl Thomas in 1377 ; that William, first Earl of Douglas, his sister's husband, must have obtained the earldom by charter and not by right of his wife, as at his death the title and estates descended to their son James, second Earl of Douglas, while his mother was still living ; that her daughter, Isabella, became the wife of Sir Malcolm Drummond, who was styled Lord of Mar and of the Carioch, not earl ; that her second husband, Alexander Stewart, obtained possession of the territorial earldom of Mar in right of his wife, but did not become earl until he obtained seizen under the Crown ; that he survived the Countess for many years, and acted, and was treated by the Crown, as the owner in fee of the earldom, and that on his death the Crown entered into possession of the estates in terms of the charter granted to the earl by King James I. ; that from this period downwards the lands had been broken up and disposed of by the Sovereign at his pleasure, different portions of them having been granted at various times to royal favourites, and that the title had been conferred in succession upon several persons who had no connection with its original possessors. The

territorial earldom, it was asserted, was indivisible, and could not be separated from the title, and as the former had ceased to exist, the ancient dignity could not be revived. It was, therefore, contended that Queen Mary must have created a new dignity when on her marriage to Darnley in 1565 she raised Lord Erskine to the rank of an earl; that the fact that throughout Queen Mary's reign he ranked as the junior and not the premier earl, as must have been the case if the title had been the old dignity revived in his person, shows that his earldom was a new creation, and that as there is no charter in existence describing the dignity conferred upon Lord Erskine, the *prima-facie* presumption is that it descended to heirs male.

On the other hand, it was pleaded by Mr. Goodeve Erskine, who opposed Lord Kellie's claim, that inasmuch as the earldom of Mar was enjoyed by two countesses, mother and daughter, it could not be a male fief; and that as Sir Robert Erskine is admitted to have been second heir 'of line and blood' to the Countess Isabel through his mother, Janet Keith, great-granddaughter of Donald, third earl, he was *de jure* Earl of Mar, though excluded from the title and estates by an act of tyranny and oppression on the part of James I., who was at this time bent on breaking down the power of the nobles, and for that reason illegally seized the land and suppressed the dignity of this great earldom; that the Erskines never relinquished their claim to the earldom, while it remained 'in the simple and nakit possession of the Crown without ony richt of property therein,' and made repeated though unsuccessful efforts to recover their rights; that Queen Mary had in express terms recognised the right of Sir Robert Erskine's descendant, John, Lord Erskine, to the earldom of which his ancestor had been unjustly deprived, as she said, through 'the troubles of the times and the influence of corrupt advisers,' and had declared that, 'moved by conscience, as it was her duty to restore just heritages to their lawful heirs, she restored to John, Lord Erskine, the earldom of Mar and the lordship and regality of Garioch, with all the usual privileges incident and belonging thereto, together with the lands of Strathdon, Braemar, Cromar, and Strathdee.' Queen Mary, therefore, it was contended, did not create a new peerage but *restored* an old one; and even if the title conferred upon Lord Erskine had been a new creation, the presumption is that, like the original dignity, it would have descended to heirs female as well as male. With regard to the assumption that Queen Mary must have granted a patent or charter conferring the 'peerage earldom' on Lord

Erskine, it was pointed out that there is no proof that any such document ever existed, that there is not the remotest allusion to it in any contemporary history, and that Lord Redesdale's suggestion that the deed may have been accidentally destroyed, or that the Earl of Mar may have destroyed it to serve some sinister purpose, is a mere conjecture, wholly unsupported by evidence. When it was proposed to restore the forfeited title, in 1824, to John Erskine of Mar, it was remitted to the law officers of the Crown, one of whom was Sir John Copley, afterwards Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, to investigate whether he had proved himself to be heir to his grandfather, the attainted earl. They reported in the affirmative, and the attainder was reversed in his favour. It was noted as an important fact that John Erskine was declared in the Act to be the grandson and lineal heir of his grandfather through his mother—a striking proof, it was said, that the earldom restored by Queen Mary was not limited to heirs male. Mr. Goodeve Erskine rests his claim to be the heir of his uncle on the very same ground on which his grandfather based his claim to be the heir of the Jacobite earl, viz., through his mother; and it was argued that, since the claim was regarded as valid in the one case, it ought to be so held in the other also. Great stress was laid on the position which the earldom occupies in the Union Roll, as showing that it has all along been regarded as the original dignity, and not a new creation. In 1606 commissioners were appointed by James VI. to prepare a roll of the Scottish peers, according to their precedence, and the document prepared by them, which was corrected by the Court of Session, is known in Scottish history as the 'Decreet of Ranking'—the official register of the peerage of Scotland—the basis, in fact, of the Union Roll. Now in this nearly contemporary document the earldom of Mar has a much higher antiquity assigned to it than the date of 1565, the earl being placed above several earls whose titles were conferred in the fifteenth century. On the Union Roll it has the date of 1457 prefixed to it.

These arguments, however, failed to satisfy the Committee for Privileges, consisting of Lords Redesdale, Chelmsford, and Cairns, who decided that the dignity conferred by Queen Mary on Lord Erskine was a new and personal honour, and is held on the same tenure as the other peerages possessed by the Erskine family, all of which are limited to heirs male. This decision has not given universal satisfaction. A considerable number of influential Scottish

peers, including the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres, Stair, Galloway, and Mansfield, the Marquis of Huntly, Viscounts Strathallan and Arbuthnot, and Lord Napier of Ettrick, have repeatedly protested against the Earl of Kellie's claim to vote as the Earl of Mar, whose name stands fifth on the Union Roll. An elaborate work in two volumes octavo was prepared by the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres to prove that a miscarriage of justice has taken place in consequence of the decision of the Committee for Privileges on the Mar peerage case. Mr. Goodeve Erskine, who has at last regained the title of Earl of Mar and Baron Garioch, asserted that though the Committee for Privileges had unwarrantably authorised the Earl of Kellie to assume a title which never had an existence and is a mere figment of their own imagination, their decision had no bearing on his right to the ancient earldom of Mar, which is claimed by no one but himself, and of which he is the undoubted lineal heir.

The feeling that injustice was done to Mr. Goodeve Erskine by the decision of the Committee was so strong that a Bill, entitled 'Earldom of Mar Restitution Bill,' was brought into the House of Lords, by command of the Queen, for the purpose of restoring the ancient earldom to Mr. Erskine. It was read a second time on the 20th of May, 1885, and referred to a Select Committee, who reported that the preamble had been proved. The Bill passed through both Houses of Parliament without opposition, and became law before the close of the session.





THE EARLDOM OF MENTEITH.



THE district of Menteith, situated partly in Perthshire, partly in the county of Stirling, is celebrated for the beauty of its scenery and its traditionary and historical associations. It has been depicted by Sir Walter Scott both in prose and verse—in the 'Lady of the Lake' and in 'Rob Roy,' and the 'Legend of Montrose,' and is probably more familiar to Englishmen, Americans, and Continental visitors than any other part of Scotland. The earldom of Menteith, which takes its name from the district, is one of the most ancient of the Scottish titles of nobility, and dates from the beginning of the twelfth century, while the oldest English earldom—that of Shrewsbury—is two hundred years, and the oldest barony—De Ros—is a hundred and fifty years, later. This famous earldom has been borne successively by three of the most distinguished families of Scotland—the Red Comyns, the royal Stewarts, and the gallant Grahams—and is associated with a great part of the most important and interesting events in the history of the country.

Of the original line of the Earls of Menteith only three are known—Gilchrist, Murdoch, and Maurice. On the death of Earl Maurice, about the year 1226, his title and estates descended to his daughter, Isabella, the wife of Walter Comyn, second son of the first Earl of Buchan. Comyn, who became Earl of Menteith in right of his wife, was one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, the leader of the national party, and one of the regents of the kingdom during the minority of Alexander III. He is described by Fordun as a man prudent in counsel, valiant in battle, whose foresight had been obtained by long experience. He founded the Priory of Inchmahome, on the island of that name in the Lake of Menteith, in 1238, which for upwards of three centuries flourished as a religious house,

and afforded a place of refuge to the infant Queen Mary after the battle of Pinkie. He was the builder of the famous castle of Hermitage in Liddesdale, the stronghold in succession of the Soullis family, the Douglasses, Hepburns, and Scotts. He also erected the castle of Dalswinton, in Galloway, long one of the chief residences of the Comyns. His sagacity and influence were conspicuously shown at the accession of Alexander III. to the throne in the eighth year of his age. The leaders of the English party endeavoured to postpone the coronation of the youthful monarch, on the plea that the day fixed for the ceremony was unlucky, and that it was unprecedented to crown the king before he became a knight. But the Earl of Menteith, 'a man of foresight and shrewdness in counsel,' says the old chronicler, 'urged the danger of delay, as the English King Henry was intriguing at Rome to procure from the Pope an interdict against the coronation of the young prince, alleging that Alexander, being his liegeman, should not be anointed or crowned without his permission.' 'He had seen a king consecrated,' the Earl said, 'who was not yet a knight, and had many a time heard of kings being consecrated who were not knights; further, that a country without a king was beyond doubt like a ship amid the waves of the sea without a crew or steersman. So he moved that this boy be raised to the throne as quickly as possible, seeing it is always hurtful to put off what may be done at once.' The prompt and wise counsel of this great noble silenced the objections of the English partisans, and induced the barons and bishops to proceed at once with the coronation of the young king. 'The bold baron of Menteith,' says Chalmers in his 'Caledonia,' 'deserves lasting praise for having thus exploded a scruple which might have involved an irascible nation in civil war.'

By a dexterous stratagem Alan Durward, the High Justiciary and the leader of the English party, obtained possession of the King's person and the castle of Edinburgh in 1255, and with the assistance of King Henry, Alexander's father-in-law, the regents were supplanted by others who were favourable to the English interests and supremacy. But the national party refused to acknowledge the new regents, who, in consequence of their oppressive treatment of the Bishop of St. Andrews, were excommunicated by the Pope. The Earl of Menteith availed himself of the favourable opportunity to overthrow this unpatriotic faction, and suddenly seized the young king while he was holding a court at Kinross, rescuing him, as he

said, from the hands of excommunicated traitors ; and Alan Durward and the barons who supported him immediately fled to England.

Soon after the new government was established, the national party lost their leader. He died suddenly, without male issue, in 1258, and it was believed that he had been poisoned by his wife, in order that she might be free to marry an English knight, named John Russell. There was no satisfactory evidence adduced to prove her guilt 'at her marriage to Russell, which took place shortly after, gave colour to the charge. She was in consequence deprived of her earldom, and imprisoned, along with her new husband, and was ultimately expelled the kingdom in disgrace. The Countess appealed to the Pope (Urban IV.) against the injustice which she alleged had been done to her, but the Scottish King and his nobles indignantly repelled the interference of the Roman Pontiff with the affairs of the kingdom. Isabella, daughter of the Countess by Walter Comyn, married her cousin, William Comyn ; and after long contention a compromise was effected in the year 1285, and the vast domains of the earldom were divided between the Lady Isabella and the husband of her mother's youngest sister, WALTER STEWART, a son of the High Steward of Scotland, who obtained the title. The new Earl of Menteith, surnamed Bailloch, or 'the Freckled,' was a famous warrior. He joined the disastrous expedition under St. Louis of France, called the Third Crusade, for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and fought with great distinction at the battle of Largs in 1263, at which his elder brother defeated the Norwegians under King Haco. He took a prominent part in the proceedings connected with the contest for the Scottish crown after the death of the 'Maiden of Norway,' and was one of the commissioners nominated by Robert Bruce in his competition with John Baliol. The Earl left two sons, who dropped their paternal surname of Stewart, and assumed that of Menteith. The younger of the two, Sir John Menteith of Ruskie, is the 'false Menteith' who is branded by Scottish tradition and history as the betrayer of the patriot Wallace. Lord Hailes, who sometimes carried his scepticism respecting the statements of the old Scottish historians a great deal too far, discredits the story, which he asserts rests only on tradition and the allegations of Blind Harry. Sheriff Mark Napier, a descendant of Sir John Menteith, has made an elaborate defence of his ancestor from the charge of betraying Wallace ; and Mr. Burton designates it as a part of the romance of Wallace's career that he was betrayed by a fellow-countryman and

an old companion in arms. 'Menteith,' he adds, 'held the responsible post of Governor of Dumbarton Castle, and it seems likely that he only performed a duty, whether an agreeable one or not.'

There is conclusive evidence, however, afforded by documents recently discovered that the charge brought against Menteith is not without foundation. Dr. Fraser, who has discussed this question very fully and impartially in the 'Red Book of Menteith,' and has carefully examined all the documents bearing on the subject, is of opinion that the accusation that Menteith basely betrayed Wallace *as his friend* rests upon evidence too insufficient to sustain such a charge. But the documents which Dr. Fraser has examined show that Sir John Menteith fought on the patriotic side at the battle of Dunbar in 1296, where he was taken prisoner along with his elder brother; that he afterwards made his peace with Edward I., and supported the claims of that monarch; that he again returned to the patriotic party; that he once more submitted to the English king, and obtained from him the sheriffdom of Dumbarton and the custody of the castle to which Wallace was conveyed after his capture, and that he obtained a share of the reward which Edward had promised to the persons who should be instrumental in delivering the Scottish patriot into the hands of his enemies. It is impossible to speak with certainty as to the extent of friendship that may have existed between Wallace and the vacillating turncoat noble, but there can be no doubt that they must have had 'intercourse and familiarity.' In the 'Relationes Arnaldi Blair,' it is mentioned that in August, 1298, Wallace, Governor of Scotland, with John Graham and *John de Menteith*, and Alexander Scrymegour, Constable of Dundee and Standard-bearer of Scotland, acted together in an expedition into Galloway against the rebels who adhered to the party of Scotland and the Comyns.

There is abundant contemporary evidence to prove that Sir John Menteith was the chief agent in the capture of Wallace. In the 'Chronicle of Lancaster,' written in the thirteenth century, it is stated that 'William Wallace was taken by a Scotsman, namely, Sir John Menteith, and carried to London, where he was drawn, hanged, and beheaded.' In the account of the capture and execution of Wallace contained in the Arundel manuscript, written about the year 1320, it is stated that 'William Wallace was seized in the house of Ralph Rae by Sir John Menteith, and carried to London by Sir John de Segrave, where he was judged.' Fordun, who lived

in the reign of King Robert Bruce, when the memory of the exploits of Wallace must have been quite fresh, says: 'The noble William Wallace was, by Sir John Menteith, at Glasgow, while suspecting no evil, fraudulently betrayed and seized, delivered to the King of England, dismembered at London, and his quarters hung up in the towns of the most public places in England and Scotland, in opprobrium of the Scots.' Wyntoun, whose 'Metrical Chronicle' was written in 1418, says—

' Schyre Jhon of Menteith in tha days
Tuk in Glasgow William Walays ;
And sent hym untill Inglannd sune,
There was he quartayrd and undone.'

The English chronicler, Langtoft, states that Menteith discovered the retreat of Wallace through the treacherous information of Jack Short, his servant, and that he came under cover of night and seized him in bed. A passage in the 'Scala Chronica,' quoted by Leland, says, 'William Walleys was taken of the Counte of Menteith, about Glasgow, and sent to King Edward, and after was hanged, drawn, and quartered at London.' But the most conclusive evidence of all that Menteith took a prominent part in the betrayal and capture of Wallace is afforded by the fact that while very liberal rewards were given to all the persons concerned in this infamous affair, by far the largest share fell to Menteith: he received land to the value of one hundred pounds.

ALEXANDER MENTEITH, sixth Earl of Menteith, elder brother of the 'false Menteith,' fought on the patriotic side in the War of Independence, and in consequence lay for a considerable time in an English dungeon. His son, ALAN MENTEITH, seventh earl, a staunch supporter of Robert Bruce, was taken prisoner at the battle of Methven, in 1306, when the fortunes of the patriot king were at the lowest ebb, was deprived of his estates by Edward I., and died in an English dungeon. He was succeeded by his brother, MURDOCH STEWART, who was killed at the battle of Dupplin, 12th April, 1332. His niece, LADY MARY, only daughter of Earl Alan, who appears to have been under age at the time of her father's death, now became Countess of Menteith. She married Sir John Graham, who is supposed to have been the younger son of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, ancestor of the Montrose family, and became Earl of Menteith apparently by courtesy through his wife. He accompanied

David II. in his invasion of England in 1346. He was present at the battle of Durham, and, when the archers were almost within bowshot, earnestly urged the King to send a body of cavalry to charge them in flank. His advice was unhappily disregarded, and when the archers were about to direct their deadly volleys on the serried ranks of the Scottish spearmen, the Earl exclaimed, 'Give me but a hundred horse and I engage to disperse them all; so shall we be able to fight more securely.' His appeal was, however, unheeded, and hastily leaping upon his horse, and followed only by his own retainers, he rushed upon the advancing bowmen. But his gallant attack was not supported. His horse was killed under him, and after bravely, but vainly, striving to arrest the advance of the enemy, he was compelled to retire to the main body of the Scottish army. After a stout battle, which lasted for three hours, the Earl was taken prisoner, along with his sovereign, and was imprisoned in the Tower of London. By the direct orders of King Edward, he was tried and condemned as a traitor, on the plea that he had at one time sworn fealty to the English King, and was drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered.

LADY MARGARET GRAHAM, only child of the heroic Sir John Graham, Earl of Menteith, and Lady Mary his countess, inherited the earldom about the year 1360. She was four times married, twice before she had attained the age of twenty years; and she received five dispensations from the Roman Pontiff to enable her to enter into her successive matrimonial alliances. Her first husband, to whom she was married when she was fourteen, was Sir John Moray of Bothwell, son of Sir Andrew Moray, who was regent of the kingdom during the minority of David II. He died about the close of the year 1351 without issue. The hand of Lady Margaret was next sought in marriage by Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar, the last male heir of the ancient race of that house, to whom she was married in 1352; but she was soon after divorced by him, Fordun says by the instigation of the devil and on pretences that were utterly false.

'The true reason for this action,' says Mr. Frazer, 'is no doubt to be found in the fact that the Earl of Mar, naturally desirous of having children of his own to succeed to his old and historical earldom of Mar, and finding himself disappointed in this after his union with Lady Margaret Graham, as it is recorded that

there were no children of the marriage, separated himself from her, in the hope that by a new matrimonial alliance he might have an heir. He afterwards married Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus, who was the eldest daughter and heiress of Thomas Stewart, second Earl of Angus. But he was again disappointed, and he died without issue in 1377.'

Lady Margaret, who was still little more than twenty years of age, was induced to take for her third husband, in 1359, John Drummond, of Concraig, for the sake of healing the fierce feuds that raged between the Menteiths and the Drummonds. He died, however, probably in 1360, for his widow married again in 1361. Her fourth and last husband was Sir Robert Stewart, third son of Robert Stewart, Earl of Strathern, Hereditary High Steward, afterwards King Robert II. of Scotland; and by this marriage she carried the earldom of Menteith back to the race of her maternal ancestors, the Stewarts. ROBERT STEWART was created Earl of Menteith on the 26th of March, 1371, the day on which his father was crowned, and on the 30th of that month the Lady Isabella, Countess of Fife, recognised the Earl as her true and lawful heir-apparent in virtue of the entail made by her father, Sir Duncan, Earl of Fife, in favour of Alan, Earl of Menteith, grandfather of Earl Robert's wife, and of the entail made by Lady Isabella herself and her late husband, elder brother of Sir Robert, in his favour. A meeting of Parliament, held at Scone in April, 1373, ordained that, failing the eldest son of the King and his heirs, the succession to the Crown should devolve on the EARL OF FIFE AND MENTEITH, who was to take precedence of the younger sons of the sovereign. He received numerous grants of land from his father, with whom he seems to have been a favourite, and he was appointed in 1382 to the office of High Chamberlain, left vacant by the death of Sir John Lyon of Glammis.

In consequence of the advanced age of his father, Robert II., and the physical infirmity of his brother, the Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert III., the Estates deemed it necessary in 1388 to appoint the Earl of Fife and Menteith Guardian of the Kingdom, and he was virtually its ruler thenceforth to the end of his life. In the year 1398 he was created Duke of Albany, at the same time that the King's eldest son, the Earl of Carrick and Athole, was made Duke of Rothesay. Albany was crafty and ambitious, but he was possessed of great administrative ability, and his pacific policy secured for Scotland under his sway a happy exemption from those wars which

for many years had exhausted the resources of the country and retarded all social improvement. His administration was undoubtedly popular; the people regarded him as their friend, the nobles were friendly to him, and his liberality to the Church procured for him the grateful eulogies of the clergy. Wyntoun, the Prior of St. Serf's, in his 'Metrical Chronicle,' descants in glowing terms on the Regent's goodly person and lofty stature; his strength, wisdom, chastity, sobriety, and affability; his piety, hatred of Lollards and heretics, and liberality to the Church. He has, however, in various ways received scant justice at the hands of the later historians of Scotland, and has long lain under the evil repute of having been accessory to the murder of his nephew, the dissolute and ill-fated Duke of Rothesay. Sir Walter Scott's romance of the 'Fair Maid of Perth' has contributed not a little to deepen the unfavourable impression formed of Albany's conduct in this matter. Lord Hailes, after quoting the remission drawn up under the royal seal granted to Robert, Duke of Albany, and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, for the part they took in the apprehension of the prince, says—

'From this instrument the following circumstances may be collected:—

'1. The death of David, Prince of Scotland, occasioned a parliamentary inquiry.

'2. His uncle, Robert, Duke of Albany, and his brother-in-law, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, were at least suspected of having confined him and put him to death.

'3. The result of the inquiry was that the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas avowed that they had confined him, and justified their conduct from the basis of public utility.

'4. The King did not hold it as expedient or necessary to publish these motives to the world.

'5. It appeared that the "Prince of Scotland departed this life through Divine Providence, and not otherwise." The reader will determine as to the import of this phrase. If by it a natural death was intended, the circumlocution seems strange and affected.

'6. The Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas obtained a remission in terms as ample as if they had actually murdered the heir-apparent.'

Mr. Frazer, in his 'Red Book of Menteith,' has very carefully

investigated the charge against the Regent and Douglas, and has come to the conclusion that the story of Rothesay's death by starvation in a dungeon in Falkland Palace, which was first told by Hector Bocce, is not supported by any evidence of the slightest value. The eminent genealogist puts great weight on the facts that the charges were judicially investigated by Parliament, with the result that the Duke and the Earl were completely vindicated from the accusation made against them; and that the King himself, Rothesay's father, declared publicly and explicitly in Parliament, that they were innocent from every charge of blame in connection with the Prince's death.

Albany died in peace on the 3rd of September, 1419, in the eightieth year of his age, having virtually governed Scotland for thirty-four years, though his actual regency extended to only fourteen. He was succeeded in his titles, estates, and office by his son Murdoch, who was most unjustly and cruelly put to death, along with his sons, and his aged father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, and their estates forfeited, by James I., on his return, in 1425, from his long captivity in England. The unrelenting severity with which the King wreaked his vengeance on the house of Albany excited deep and general indignation.

The earldom of Menteith, on the execution and forfeiture of Earl Murdoch, became vested in the Crown, and a moiety of it was conferred in 1427 upon MALISE GRAHAM, son of Sir Patrick Graham and Euphemia, granddaughter of Robert Stewart, as some compensation for the loss of the earldom palatine of Strathern, one of the oldest and most illustrious of Scottish dignities, which he had inherited from his mother, and which the King had appropriated on the plea that it was a male fief. The other portion was reserved to the Crown, and was afterwards known as the STEWARTRY OF MENTEITH. The second son of Earl Malise, named 'Sir John with the Bright Sword,' upon some displeasure having arisen against him at Court, retired with a large number of his kindred and clan to the English Border, during the reign of Henry IV., where they became the most formidable of the freebooters resident in the Debateable Land. 'They were all stark moss-troopers and arrant thieves,' says Sandford, 'both to England and Scotland outlawed, yet sometimes connived at because they gave intelligence forth of Scotland, and could raise four hundred horse upon a raid of the English into Scotland.'

Sir Walter Scott describing—

‘ Old Albert Græme,
The minstrel of that ancient name,’

says that—

‘ His hardy kin,
Whoever lost, were sure to win.
They sought the beeves that made their broth
In Scotland and in England both.’

From ‘John with the Bright Sword’ descended the Grahams of Gartmore, West Preston, Norton Conyers, Yorkshire, and of Netherby, lately represented by Sir James Graham, the distinguished statesman, whose tall and stalwart form and vigorous intellect were worthy of his ancestry.

Earl Malise was succeeded in 1490 in the earldom of Menteith by his grandson, ALEXANDER GRAHAM, whose father seems to have been Patrick Graham, third son of Malise. Of him nothing deserving particular notice is recorded. WILLIAM GRAHAM, eldest son of Earl Alexander, succeeded his father in 1537. He lost his life in a sanguinary fight with a party of marauding Highlanders—the Stewarts of Appin. On their retreat from a raid into Stirlingshire, through the lands of the Earl, in 1543, headed by the Tutor of Appin, surnamed ‘Donald of the Hammer,’ the Stewarts happened to pass by the Lake of Menteith at the time that preparations were making for a marriage feast at the Earl’s castle, which stood on an island in the lake, while the outhouses were on the shore. The hungry and not over-scrupulous marauders ate up all the provisions, which consisted mainly of poultry. As soon as intelligence of this outrage reached the Earl, indignant at the affront offered him even more than at the injury, he pursued after Donald and his men, accompanied by his retainers and the wedding guests, and overtook them, according to one account in the gorge of a pass near a rock called Craigvad, according to another at Tobanareal, a spring on the summit of the ridge which separates Menteith from Strathgartney, between Loch Katrine and the Lake of Menteith. A sanguinary engagement ensued, in which the Earl and nearly all his followers were killed, and ‘Donald of the Hammer’ escaped under cover of night with only a single attendant. From the cause of this fight the Highlanders ever after gave the name of the ‘Grahams of the Hens’ to the Menteith family.

JOHN GRAHAM, fourth Earl of Menteith, succeeded his father in 1544, while still a minor. He was one of the nobles who escorted the young Queen Mary to France in 1550, and was probably selected to be one of her guardians during the voyage in consequence of her having had a temporary refuge in one of the islands on the Lake of Menteith in the immediate vicinity of his residence. He received in 1554 from the Queen-Dowager, Mary of Guise, a commission as justiciary over both the earldom and the Stewartry of Menteith; but he afterwards became dissatisfied with her policy and proceedings, and in 1558 he joined the Lords of the Congregation. He was one of the leaders of their army at the siege of Leith in 1660; he sat in the Parliament which ratified the Scottish Confession, and he subsequently subscribed the first Book of Discipline. He died in 1560. The earldom remained for upwards of seven years after his death in the hands of Queen Mary and James VI. on account of the minority of his son—

WILLIAM GRAHAM, fifth Earl. He was a zealous supporter of the Protestant cause, took part in the proceedings connected with Queen Mary's resignation of her crown and the accession of her infant son to the throne, and was present at the battle of Langside, in May, 1568. At the time of his death, in 1568, his son and heir—

JOHN GRAHAM, sixth Earl, was a boy of seven or eight years of age. Little is known of his personal history, as he was in minority during the greater part of the nineteen years during which he was in possession of the earldom.

WILLIAM GRAHAM, seventh Earl, who, like his father, succeeded to the family title and estates while in his boyhood, was the most distinguished of all the earls of the house of Graham. Unlike his father and grandfather, he was a staunch Royalist and a great favourite of Charles I. He rose rapidly from comparative obscurity to be the most influential nobleman in Scotland, and held the important offices of President of the Privy Council, Justice-General, and an Extraordinary Lord of Session. Charles placed great confidence in the tact and capacity of the Earl of Menteith, and consulted him freely on all the questions which then disturbed the northern part of the kingdom. A considerable number of the letters which the Earl received from the King have been brought to light and pub-

lished in the second volume of the 'Red Book of Menteith,' and serve to show both the state of the country at this time and the feeling which his Majesty cherished towards his faithful servant. The Earl was served heir-of-entail in 1630 to David, Earl of Strathern, eldest son of Robert II. by his second wife, and in the following year the King ratified by patent this service to the Earl, and authorised his being styled Earl of Strathern and Menteith. The other nobles, however, seem to have regarded the favoured nobleman with great envy and jealousy, and one or two of their number appear to have been actuated by apprehensions that some of their own estates which had formed part of the ancient earldom might be reclaimed. They, therefore, organised a cabal against the Earl, of which Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, Director of Chancery, 'a busy man in foul weather,' was the guiding spirit, and they contrived by false and insidious accusations to excite the suspicion of the King against the potent and ambitious nobleman. The validity of the marriage of Robert II. to Elizabeth Mure, his first wife, from whom the royal Stewart family are descended, had been long and keenly disputed; and if it had been set aside, David, Earl of Strathern, the ancestor of the Menteith family, would have been the eldest legitimate son of that sovereign. In allusion to this claim the Earl of Menteith is alleged (though he affirmed untruly) to have boasted that he had 'the reddest blood in Scotland.' The hostile intriguers, among whom it is matter of regret that Drummond of Hawthornden, the poet, was included, succeeded in persuading Charles that the Earl of Menteith had uttered certain treasonable speeches, claiming to have a better right to the throne than the King himself. Drummond had previously stated to the king that 'a more serious blow could not be given to the Earl of Menteith himself than allowing his descent and title to the earldom of Strathern;' and so it proved. The unfortunate nobleman was deprived by Charles not only of the earldom of Strathern, but also of his hereditary title of Menteith. To aggravate the injustice thus done to him, he was at the same time stripped of all his offices. As some small compensation for the grievous wrong inflicted on him, he was in 1632 created Earl of Airth, and he was subsequently allowed to resume his family title of Menteith, but he passed the rest of his days in poverty and obscurity.

To add to his miseries, this ill-fated nobleman, like many a good man, was sorely troubled with a bad wife, and he gave vent to his

feelings in a most amusing paper detailing his sufferings at the hands of that 'wicked woman' and her 'wise devices,' which seemed somehow always to run counter to those of her husband, whether the affair in hand referred to the purchase of a house or the marriage of a daughter. The money given as a portion to his second daughter, who, during the Earl's absence in London, was married by 'my prudent wife,' as he styles her, to the eldest son of the Earl of Galloway, amounted to twenty-seven thousand merks. 'I am sure,' he said, 'I might have married three of my daughters to three barouns living besyd me with that portion I gave to Galloway, any one of which would have been more useful to me than the Earl of Galloway. They had children, but they all dyed; so that money was as much lost to me as if I hade castin it in the sea.' So with regard to the house which he says his 'wyse wiffe' induced him to buy much against his will, as he alleges. 'This *woeful wyse wife of mine,*' he says, 'made propositione to me that she conceived it not honourabill for me to pay rent for ane house as I did then for a little house I dwelled in beside the churchyard, bot that I should rather buy ane house heritable; which foolish design of *that wicked woman's* I refused, and taulde her that I knew not how long I should stay at Edinburch, and would not give my money to buy ane house thair. But she replied that it would serve for ane house for my lands of Kinpoint, which foolish answer of that *wicked woman's* showed her vanitie, and the great desyre she had to stay still in Edinburch, for the like was never heard, that the house standeth sevin mylls from the lands, Kinpoint being sevin mylls from Edinbruch. Alway ther being some things between the Earl of Linlithgow and me, he did offer to dispoun to me his house. The earl and I for the pryce of the house, yairds, and grass yairds, at the price of 8,500 merks, did agrie, and he disponed them to me. Presently after this I went up to London, and I was no shooner gone bot my wyfe sette to worke all sorte of tradesmen, such as quarriers, maissions, sklaitters, vrights, smiths, glasiere, painters, and plaisterers, and I may say treulie that the money which she bestowed upon the re-edifieing of that house and gardens was twyse so much as I gave for the buying of them.' To crown all, in the end 'that house took fyre accidentallie, and was totallie burned, and so became of everything this unhappie woman my wyfe lade her hand to.' This curious paper, in which the poor Earl sought to relieve his feelings, affords an amusing contrast to the heavy

and rather doleful document connected with his other trials and sufferings.

LORD KILPONT, the eldest son of this ill-assorted couple, was the young and gallant nobleman whose exploits occupy a prominent place in the 'Legend of Montrose.' Sir Walter has, however, considerably softened and altered the catastrophe, for Lord Kilpont unfortunately did not recover, but was struck dead on the spot by Stewart of Ardvourlich.

Various accounts have been given of the causes which led to this murder, but all that is known with certainty is that, though his family had certainly no great reason to support the royal cause, Kilpont, who, like his father, had steadily refused to subscribe the Covenant, or to take part with the Covenanters, joined the Marquis of Montrose with a body of five hundred men, when he took up arms for the King in 1644, and at the battle of Tippermuir commanded the left wing of the Royal forces. A few days after, while the army was lying in the fields, near the Kirk of Collace, the young nobleman was assassinated by Stewart of Ardvourlich, his intimate friend, whose tent and bed he had shared on the previous night.

Wishart, the chaplain and biographer of Montrose, states that Stewart had resolved to abandon the Royal cause, and to assassinate Montrose, and tried to induce Lord Kilpont to be 'accessory to the villainy. Therefore, taking him aside into a private place, he had discovered unto him his intention, which the nobleman highly detested, as was meet. Whereupon the murderer, fearing he would discover him, assaulted him unawares, and stabbed him with many wounds, who little suspected any harm from his friend and creature. The treacherous assassin by killing a sentinel escaped, none being able to pursue him, it being so dark that they could not see the end of their pikes. Some say the traitor was hired by the Covenanters to do this, others only that he was promised a reward if he did it. Howsoever it was, this is most certain that he is very high in their favour unto this very day, and that Argyle immediately advanced him, though he was no soldier, to great command in his army. Montrose was very much troubled with the loss of that nobleman, his dear friend, one that had deserved very well both from the King and himself; a man famous for arts and arms and honesty; being a good philosopher, a good divine, a good lawyer, a good soldier, a good subject, and a good man.' Wishart's account of this tragic

incident is in part corroborated by the Act of Parliament, passed in March, 1645, confirming the pardon granted by the Privy Council to James Stewart, for the slaughter of Kilpont. It stated what was no doubt the murderer's own story, which there is little doubt was framed in such a way as was most likely to conciliate his new friends, and obtain an amnesty for his foul deed. The Act sets forth that James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, along with his son and four friends, 'repenting of their errors in joyning with the saides rebbles, and abhorring their cruelty, resolved with his saide freendes to foirsake their wicked company, and impaired this resolution to the said umquhile Lord Kilpont. Bot he, out of his malignant dispositione opposed the same, and fell in struggling with the said James, who for his owne relieffe was forced to kill him at the Kirk of Collace, with two Irish rebels who resisted his escape.'

A different version of this sad story is given from tradition by the descendants of Ardvoirlich, who object to the account given by Wishart on account of his partiality, and his questionable authority when dealing with the motives or conduct of those who differed from him. According to the Stewarts, a quarrel had arisen between their ancestor and Alister Macdonald, surnamed Colkitto, on account of some excesses which the Irish troops under the command of the latter had committed on the lands of Ardvoirlich, and he challenged Colkitto to single combat. Before they met, however, Montrose, by the advice, it is alleged, of Kilpont, put them both under arrest, and compelled them to shake hands in his presence, when it is said that Ardvoirlich, who was a very powerful man, took such a hold of Macdonald's hand as to make the blood start from his fingers.

A few days after the battle of Tippermuir an entertainment was given by Montrose to his officers, in honour of the victory which he had gained. Kilpont and his comrade Ardvoirlich were present, and on their return to their own quarters Stewart began to blame the young lord for the part he had taken in the quarrel with Colkitto. Kilpont of course defended himself, till the argument came to high words, when Stewart, who was a man of violent passions, and was probably heated with wine, broke out in great fury, and with his dirk struck his friend dead on the spot. He immediately fled, and, under cover of a thick mist, escaped pursuit, leaving his eldest son Henry, who had been mortally wounded at Tippermuir, on his deathbed.

Stewart's followers immediately withdrew from Montrose, and no

course remained for him but to throw himself into the arms of the opposite faction, by whom he was well received. His name is frequently mentioned in Leslie's campaigns, and on more than one occasion he is referred to as having afforded protection to several of his former friends, through his interest with Leslie, when the cause became desperate.*

WILLIAM GRAHAM, the son of Lord Kilpont, who succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Airth and Menteith in 1661, died without issue in 1694. This last representative of 'a great old house' lived and died in impoverished circumstances. Having been obliged at one time to retire to the sanctuary of Holyrood for protection against his creditors, he applied to his kinsman, Malise Graham of Glaschoil, on the shores of Loch Katrine, for such a supply of money as might relieve him. Faithful to the call of his liege lord, Malise instantly quitted his home, dressed like a plain Highlander of those days, travelling alone and on foot. Arriving at the Earl's lodgings, he was knocking at the door, when a gentleman, commiserating his apparent poverty, tendered him a small piece of money. Malise was in the act of thankfully receiving it when the Earl, coming to the door, perceived him and reprovved him for doing so. The Highlander, with the utmost *nonchalance*, took from his bosom a purse, and handing it to his lordship, said in Gaelic, 'Here, my lord, see

* James Stewart of Ardvoirlich was the prototype of Allan McAulay in the 'Legend of Montrose,' and the story which Sir Walter ascribes to that moody and partially insane Highlander actually occurred in the case of Ardvoirlich. His mother was sister of one of the Drummonds, surnamed Drummond-Ernock, who was royal forester in the forest of Glenartney, in the reign of James VI. About the year 1588 he was murdered by a party of the MacGregors, known by the title of MacEagh, or 'Children of the Forest.' They cut off his head and carried it with them, wrapped up in the corner of one of their plaids. They stopped at the house of Ardvoirlich, and demanded refreshments, which the lady (her husband being absent) was afraid, or unwilling, to refuse. She caused bread and cheese to be placed before them, and went into the kitchen to order more substantial refreshments to be made ready. On her return to the room she saw on the table the bloody head of her brother, with its mouth filled with bread and cheese. The poor lady, horrified at the sight, shrieked aloud and fled into the woods, where, notwithstanding strict search, she could not be found for some weeks. She was at length discovered in a state of insanity, but, after giving birth to a child of which she had been pregnant, she gradually recovered her faculties. The boy—James Stewart—grew up to manhood, uncommonly tall, strong, and active, but with a moody, fierce, and irascible temper; and there is every reason to believe that he was not free from a taint of insanity. He led a hard life after his murder of Lord Kilpont, as the Grahams held him at mortal feud. He had often to be in hiding, and even when he died his friends were obliged to conceal his body for some time till they could bury it safely in an old chapel.

and clear your way with that. As for the gentleman who had the generosity to hand me the halfpenny, I would have had no objection to accept of every halfpenny he had.' The story adds that the Earl's necessities having been thus, for the time, relieved, he immediately returned with his faithful vassal to his castle on the Lake of Menteith.

Some time before his death the Earl disposed of his whole landed property to the Marquis of Montrose and Graham of Gartmore, his nephew. The beautiful Lake of Menteith, with its islands—Talla, on which the ruins of the old castle of the family may still be seen, and Inchmahome, the 'Isle of Rest,' where the infant Queen Mary found refuge from the English invaders after the battle of Pinkie—together with Aberfoyle and the district which Sir Walter Scott's 'Rob Roy' has rendered so famous, thus passed into the possession of the chief of 'the gallant Grahams,' from whom the last Earls of Menteith sprung, while their memory, even in their own country, is now but 'the shadow of a name.' LADY MARY GRAHAM, the sister of the last Earl of Menteith, was brought up at Fetteresso by her grandmother, the Countess Marischal, and there married Sir John Allardice, the head of an old Kincardineshire family. The great-grandson of this lady left an only daughter, who, in 1777, married Robert Barclay of Urie, a descendant of the author of the well-known 'Apology for the Quakers,' and father of Captain Barclay, the celebrated pedestrian. Lady Mary's husband, when he represented Kincardineshire in Parliament, always *walked* from Urie to London. He was a very powerful man, and could walk fifty miles a day, his usual refreshment on the road being a bottle of port wine, which he poured into a bowl and drunk off at a draught. Lord Monboddo, the well-known eccentric judge and philosopher, his neighbour, on the other hand, always travelled on horseback, and when he went to London he rode the whole way. George III. was much interested in these performances, and said, 'I ought to be proud of my Scottish subjects when my judges ride and my members of Parliament walk to the metropolis.'

Captain Barclay laid claim to the earldom of Menteith and Airth in right of his mother, and it greatly perplexed him whether, if he succeeded in gaining the earldom, he would have to give up his favourite amusement of driving the 'Defiance' coach between Aberdeen and Edinburgh. On this point he consulted his friend

the Duke of Gordon. 'Why,' replied his Grace, 'there is not much difference between an earl and a marquis; and as the Marquis of Waterford drives the Brighton 'Defiance,' I see no reason why you may not drive the Edinburgh 'Defiance.' At all events, if there be any objection to your being the coachman, there can be none to your being guard.'

Mrs. Barclay Allardice, the claimant of the Airth peerage, is lineally descended from this aristocratic coach-driver. Her claim is opposed by Mr. Graham of Gartmore, who contends that the titles of Airth and Menteith cannot be dissevered, and that as the latter is unquestionably limited to heirs male, so must the former. Whatever may be the decision of the House of Lords on this subject, every Scotsman will cordially join in hoping that we shall soon witness the restoration to its rightful heir of one of the oldest and most famous titles—

. . . . Of a race renowned of old
Whose war-cry oft has waked the battle swell,
Since first distinguished in the onset bold;
Wild-sounding when the Roman rampart fell,
By Wallace' side it rung the Southron's knell,'

and has been heard on many a battlefield since, from Bannockburn to Barossa.

LADY ELIZABETH GRAHAM, younger sister of the last Earl of Menteith, married Sir William Graham of Gartmore, and bore to him a son and a daughter. The former died 12th July, 1708, without issue; the latter, who became the wife of James Hodge of Gladsmuir, had one daughter, who was married in her fourteenth year to William Graham, son of John Graham of Callingad. Their son William Graham, who was born in 1720, assumed the title of Earl of Menteith, and voted at the election of the Scottish representative peers, 5th May, 1761, but his vote was disallowed by the House of Lords. He died without issue in 1787.*

* See ADDENDA, vol. ii., p. 423.



THE DOUGLASES.

N the story of Scotland,' says Mr. Froude, 'weakness is nowhere; power, energy, and will are everywhere;' and this national vigour, determined will, and indomitable resolution seem to have culminated in the 'Doughty Douglasses.' Their stalwart and tough physical frames, and the strong, resolute, unbending character of such men as 'William the Hardy,' 'Archibald the Grim,' and 'Archibald Bell-the-Cat,' the types of their race, eminently fitted them to be 'premier peers'—leaders of men. From the War of Independence down to the era of the Reformation, no other family played such a conspicuous part in the affairs of Scotland as the Douglasses. They intermarried no less than eleven times with the royal family of Scotland, and once with that of England. They enjoyed the privilege of leading the van of the Scottish army in battle, of carrying the crown at the coronation of the sovereign, and of giving the first vote in Parliament. 'A Douglas received the last words of Robert Bruce. A Douglas spoke the epitaph of John Knox. The Douglasses were celebrated in the prose of Froissart and the verse of Shakespeare. They have been sung by antique Barbour and by Walter Scott, by the minstrels of Otterburn and by Robert Burns.' A nameless poet who lived four hundred years ago eulogised their trustiness and chivalry. Holinshed, in the next century, speaks of their 'singular manhood, noble prowess, and majestic puissance.' They espoused, at the outset, the patriotic side in the War of Independence, and they contributed greatly to the crowning victory of Bannockburn. They sent two hundred gentlemen of the name, with the heir of their earldom, to die at Flodden. There was a time when they could raise thirty thousand men, and they were for centuries the bulwarks of the Scottish borders against our 'auld enemies of England.' They

have gathered their laurels on many a bloody field in France, where they held the rank of princes, and in Spain and in the Netherlands, as well as in England and Scotland, and—

‘In far landes renownit they have been.’

They have produced men not only of ‘doughty’ character, but of the gentle and chivalric type also, like the ‘Good Sir James,’ and the William Douglas who married the Princess Egidia, justifying the exclamation of the author of the ‘Buke of the Howlat’—

‘O Douglas, Douglas,
Tender and true!’

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that their haughtiness and turbulence and ambition often disturbed the peace of the country, and imperilled the stability of the throne. On the whole, however, setting the good and the evil against each other, it may be said, in lines which were old in the days of Godscroft, and were then, he says, ‘common in men’s mouths’—

‘So many, so good, as of the Douglasses have been,
Of one sirname were ne’er in Scotland seen.’

The cradle of the race was in Douglasdale, but their origin is hid in obscurity. ‘We do not know them,’ says Godscroft, in his ‘History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus,’ ‘in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stem: for we know not who was the first mean man that did raise himself above the vulgar.’ The traditionary account of the descent of the family from ‘a dark-grey man’ (Sholto-Dhu-Glas), who rescued Solvathius, a mythical king of the Scots in the eighth century, from imminent danger of defeat in a battle with Donald Bane, is evidently fabulous. It is alleged by Chalmers that the founder of the family came from Flanders, about the year 1147, and was named Theobald the Fleming, and that he received from Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, a grant of lands on Douglas Water (Dhu-Glas), the dark stream, from which the family name was derived. But this is mere conjecture, not supported by any evidence; and it has been ascertained that the lands granted to Theobald are not those of which the first known Douglas, in the next generation, was in possession, and that these lands never formed a part of the barony of that name. Wyntoun is of opinion that the Douglasses had the same origin as the Murrays, either by lineal descent or by collateral

branch, as they have in their arms the same stars set in the same manner.

Through the innate energy of their character, the Douglasses seem to have sprung almost at a bound into the foremost rank of the Scottish nobles. The first mention of their name in any authentic record is in a charter by Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, to the monks of Kelso, between 1175 and 1199, which was witnessed by William of Dufglas, who is said to have been either the brother or brother-in-law of Sir Freskin de Kerdale in Moray. Sir William was a witness to a charter in 1240, and, along with Sir Andrew of Dufglas, to another charter in 1248. His great-grandson, surnamed the 'Hardy,' from his valour and heroic deeds, fought on the patriotic side in the War of Independence. He was governor of the Castle of Berwick in 1296, when that town was besieged and taken, after a resolute defence, by Edward I. The garrison of the castle on capitulating were allowed to march out with the honours of war; but Sir William Douglas was detained for some time a prisoner in one of the towers of that fortress. On regaining his liberty he rejoined the patriotic party, but fell once more into the hands of the English, and died in confinement in the Tower of York in 1302. He was the father, by a sister of the High Steward, of—

SIR JAMES DOUGLAS, the 'good Sir James,' the friend of Robert Bruce, the most illustrious member of the Douglas family, and one of the noblest of the band of heroes who vindicated the freedom and independence of Scotland against the English arms. The romantic incidents in the career of this famous warrior and patriot would fill a volume. On the imprisonment of his father he retired to France, where he spent three years, 'exercising himself in all virtuous exercise,' says Godscroft, and 'profited so well that he became the most compleat and best-accomplished young nobleman in the country or elsewhere.' On the death of his father young Douglas returned to Scotland. His paternal estate having been bestowed by King Edward on Lord Clifford, he was received into the household of Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, with whom he 'counted kin' through his mother. He was residing there when Robert Bruce assumed the crown in 1305-6, and took up arms against the English invaders. Douglas, who was then only eighteen years of age, on receiving intelligence of this movement, resolved to repair at once to Bruce's standard. According to Barbour, he took this step secretly, though with the knowledge and approval of the patriotic

prelate, who recommended him to provide himself with a suit of armour and to take a horse from his stables, with a show of force, thus 'robbing the bishop of what he durst not give.' Lesley, Bishop of Ross, however, makes no mention of force, and says Douglas carried a large sum of money from Lamberton to Bruce. He met the future King at Erickstane, near Moffat, on his way to Scone to be crowned, and proffered him his homage and his services, which were cordially welcomed. From that time onward, until the freedom and independence of the kingdom were fully established, Douglas never left Bruce's side, alike in adversity and prosperity, and was conspicuous both for his valour in battle and his wisdom in council. He was present at the battle of Methven, where the newly crowned King was defeated, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He was one of the small band who took refuge, with Bruce and his Queen and other ladies, in the wilds first of Athole and then of Breadalbane, where for some time they subsisted on wild berries and the scanty and precarious produce of fishing and the chase. Barbour makes especial mention of the exertions of Sir James Douglas to provide for the wants and to promote the comfort of the ladies:—

' For whiles he venisoun them brocht,
And with his hands whiles he wrocht
Gynnes to take geddys (pikes) and salmonys,
Troutis, eelys, and als menonys (minnows).'

Bruce himself was often comforted by his wit and cheerfulness.

At the encounter between the small body of men accompanying the King and the MacDougals of Lorn, at Dalry in Strathfillan, Douglas was wounded, and Bruce freed himself only by his great personal strength and skill in the use of his weapons from a simultaneous attack made upon him by three of the followers of the Lord of Lorn. It was Douglas who discovered the small leaky boat in which the remnant of Bruce's followers were ferried, two at a time, over Loch Lomond. He spent the subsequent winter with the King on the island of Rachrin. On the approach of spring he made a successful descent on the island of Arran, and succeeded in capturing a large quantity of provisions, clothing, and arms. Shortly after, while Bruce was engaged in an effort to wrest his patrimonial domains in Carrick from the English, Sir James repaired secretly into Douglasdale, which was held by Lord Clifford, surprised the English garrison on Palm Sunday (1306-7), took possession of Douglas Castle, destroyed all the provisions, staved the casks of wine and other liquors, put his

prisoners to the sword, flung their dead bodies on the stores which he had heaped up in a huge pile, and then set fire to the castle. This shocking deed, which we may hope has been exaggerated by tradition, was no doubt intended to revenge the atrocious cruelties which Edward had perpetrated on Bruce's brothers and adherents, and especially the death of Douglas's faithful follower, Dickson, who was killed in a conflict in the church. It was long commemorated in the traditions of the country by the name of the 'Douglas larder.' Sir James continued for some time after this exploit to lurk among the fastnesses of Douglasdale, for 'he loved better,' he said, 'to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak.'

Douglas Castle was speedily rebuilt by Clifford, who placed a garrison in it under the command of a brave soldier named Thirlwall, and then returned to England. After his departure, Douglas determined to expel the enemy again from his patrimonial estates. For this purpose he had recourse to stratagem. 'He caused some of his folk,' says Godscroft, 'drive away the cattle that fed near unto the castle, and when the captain of the garrison followed to rescue, gave orders to his men to leave them and to flee away. This he did often, to make the captain slight such frays, and to make him secure that he might not suspect any further end to be on it; which when he had wrought sufficiently (as he thought), he laid some men in ambuscade, and sent others away to drive such beasts as they should find in the view of the castle, as if they had been thieves and robbers, as they had done often before. The captain hearing of it, and supposing there was no greater danger now than had been before, issued forth of the castle and followed after them with such haste that his men (running who should be first) were disordered and out of their ranks. The drivers also fled as fast as they could till they had drawn the captain a little way beyond the place of ambuscade, which when they perceived, rising quickly out of their covert, they fell fiercely upon him and his company, and so slew himself and chased his men back to the castle, some of whom were overtaken and slain; others got into the castle and so were saved. Sir James, not being able to force the house, took what booty he could get without in the fields, and so departed. By this means and such other exploits he so affrighted the enemy that it was counted a matter of such great jeopardy to keep this castle that it began to be called the adventurous (or hazardous) Castle of Douglas. Whereupon Sir John Walton, being in pursuit of an

English lady, she wrote to him that when he had kept the adventurous Castle of Douglas seven years [the real period prescribed was a year and a day], then he might think himself worthy to be a suitor to her. Upon this occasion Walton took upon him the keeping of it, and succeeded to Thirlwall; but he ran the same fortune with the rest that were before him. For Sir James having first dressed an ambuscade near unto the place, he made fourteen of his men take so many sacks and fill them with grass, as though it had been corn which they carried on the way towards Lanark, the chief market town in that country; so hoping to draw forth the captain by that bait, and either to take him or the castle, or both. Neither was the expectation frustrate, for the captain did bite, and come forth to have taken this victual (as he supposed). But ere he could reach these carriers, Sir James and his company had gotten between the castle and him; and these disguised carriers, seeing the captain following after them, did quickly cast off their upper garments, wherein they had masked themselves, and throwing off their sacks, mounted themselves on horseback, and met the captain with a sharp encounter, he being so much the more amazed that it was unlooked for. Wherefore, when he saw these carriers metamorphosed into warriors and ready to assault him, fearing (that which was) that there was some train laid for them, he turned about to have retired into the castle, but there also he met with his enemies; between which two companies he and his followers were slain, so that none escaped. The captain afterwards being searched, they found (so it is reputed) his mistress's letters about him. The castle also fell into Douglas's hands, and its fortifications were levelled with the ground.*

Sir James continued to take a prominent part in the struggles of the patriots to expel the English from the country, and was concerned in all the most perilous enterprises of that protracted warfare. He defeated a detachment of the English while marching from Bothwell into Ayrshire, under the command of Sir Philip Mowbray, and he cleared the wooded and mountainous district of Etrick Forest and Tweeddale of the enemy. It was his skilful strategy that inflicted a crushing defeat on the Lord of Lorn at the Pass of Brander, near Loch Awe, in Argyleshire. On March 13, 1313, he captured the important fortress of Roxburgh and took the garrison prisoners.

* This incident is the foundation of Sir Walter Scott's last romance of *Castle Dangerous*.

He commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at the battle of Bannockburn. His chivalrous behaviour towards Randolph, on the evening before that memorable conflict, shows the true nobility of his character. Randolph had failed to notice the movement of a strong body of horse under Sir Robert Clifford, who had been detached from the main army of the English, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison of Stirling Castle, and he being apprised of this movement by Bruce himself, had hastened at the head of an inferior force to arrest their march. Douglas, with great difficulty, induced King Robert to give him permission to go to the assistance of Randolph, whose little band was environed by the enemy and placed in great jeopardy. But on approaching the scene of conflict, he perceived that the English were falling into disorder, and ordered his followers to halt. 'These brave men,' he said, 'have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by claiming a share in it.' 'When it is remembered,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'that Douglas and Randolph were rivals for fame, this is one of the bright touches which illuminate and adorn the history of those ages of which blood and devastation are the predominant characters.'

After the defeat of his army at Bannockburn, King Edward was closely pursued by Douglas in his flight from the battlefield. He came up with the fugitive monarch at Linlithgow; but as he had only sixty horsemen with him, while the royal escort numbered five hundred men, he could not venture to attack them. He continued the chase so closely, however, as not to give the fugitives a moment's rest, killing or taking prisoners all who fell an instant behind, and did not cease from the pursuit until Edward found refuge in the Castle of Dunbar, sixty miles from the field of battle.

Douglas continued to take an active part in the measures adopted after Bannockburn to clear the country completely of the English, and during the expedition to Ireland, undertaken by King Robert and his brother, Edward Bruce, the government of the kingdom was intrusted to Sir James, in conjunction with Walter Stewart, Bruce's son-in-law. Hostilities between the two kingdoms at this period were for the most part confined to occasional Border forays, in which the Scots were almost always successful, mainly through the activity and skill of Douglas. He inflicted a severe defeat on the Earl of Arundel at a place called Linthaughlee, near Jedburgh. The line of march of the invading army lay through an extensive wood, and

Douglas having twisted together the young birch-trees on both sides so as to form a kind of abatis impenetrable by cavalry, posted a considerable body of archers in ambush at the narrowest part of the pass. The English advanced in careless security, and on reaching this spot they were assailed by the Scots both in front and on the flanks, and driven back with great slaughter. In the first onset Sir Thomas de Richemont, one of the English leaders, was slain by the hand of Douglas, who took as a trophy of victory a furred hat which Sir Thomas wore above his helmet. The estate of Linthaugh, which King Robert bestowed upon Douglas as a reward for this victory, is still in the possession of the family.

Shortly after the defeat of the English in Jedburgh Forest, a Gascon knight, named Edmund de Cailou, governor of Berwick, made an inroad into Teviotdale, but while returning through the Merse loaded with spoil, he was attacked by Douglas and killed, along with most of his men. A similar fate befell Sir Robert Neville, who at that time resided in Berwick. He boasted of his willingness to encounter this puissant Scottish leader if he would display his banner before that renowned stronghold. On receiving notice of this bravado, Douglas marched to the neighbourhood of Berwick, and sent out a detachment to burn some villages within sight of the garrison. Sir Robert on this issued out at the head of a force more numerous than the Scots. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which the English were defeated with the loss of their leader, who was slain in a hand to hand encounter with Douglas, and Sir Ralph Neville and various other persons of distinction were taken prisoners. In consequence of these and other similar exploits, Sir James excited such dread among the enemies of his country that all along the Borders the English mothers were accustomed to quiet their children by threatening that they 'would make the Black Douglas take them.'

From this time onward Douglas and Randolph were almost always conjoined in the enterprises which the Scots undertook against the English. They carried out successfully the plan which King Robert arranged for the capture of the important Border fortress of Berwick in 1317. Two years later, while King Edward, at the head of a powerful army, was making a vigorous effort to recover that place, these two noble brothers in arms crossed the Borders with a well-appointed force of fifteen thousand men, and laid waste the northern counties with fire and sword. The Archbishop of York, to resist these ravages, hastily collected a large but ill-assorted and

undisciplined force, composed of archers, yeomen, priests, clerks, monks, and friars, and gave battle to the Scots at Mitton. As might have been expected, they were completely defeated after a very brief conflict, and four thousand men are said to have fallen in the battle and the pursuit, among whom were three hundred priests. In allusion to this circumstance and to the clerical leaders of the defeated army, this rout was named by the Scots, in the savage pleasantry of the times, 'The Chapter of Mitton.' On the failure of the invasion of Scotland by King Edward in person in 1322, Douglas and Randolph grievously harassed the English in their retreat; and in retaliation for the ravages committed by the invaders, they laid waste the north of England, and, in company with King Robert and his son-in-law, inflicted a severe defeat on Edward at Biland, in Yorkshire, and captured his camp baggage and treasure, the King himself with difficulty escaping to York.

The last and most successful of the invasions of England by these two redoubted warriors took place in 1327, after the accession of Edward III. to the English throne. Crossing the western Border at the head of twenty-three thousand men, they plundered and laid waste the country as far as the Wear, and completely baffled the attempts of the young King, at the head of sixty-two thousand men, to arrest their progress. While the two armies were lying opposite each other, Douglas crossed the river at midnight with a chosen body of four hundred horse and penetrated into the English camp, which appears to have been carelessly guarded. He even forced his way to the royal tent, and would have carried off the young King but for the brave resistance of his chaplain and other members of the household, who lost their lives in their master's defence, and thus gave him time to escape. Having failed in his attempt on the King's person, Douglas cut his way through the gathering crowds of his enemies, and with inconsiderable loss returned in safety to the Scottish camp. A few nights later the Scots quitted their encampment unperceived by the English, passing over a morass in their rear, and were several miles on their way homewards before it was known that they had left their position. Pursuit was hopeless, and, unmolested by the enemy, they regained their own country in safety. The successful result of this expedition contributed not a little to bring about the recognition of the independence of Scotland by the English Government, and the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms.

In the year 1329, when King Robert was on his deathbed, after giving some general instructions to his most trusted barons and lords, Froissart says, ‘He called to him the brave and gentle knight Sir James Douglas, and said before the rest of the courtiers: “Sir James, my dear friend, none knows better than you how great labour and suffering I have undergone in my day for the maintenance of the rights of this kingdom, and when I was hardest beset I made a vow which it now grieves me deeply that I have not accomplished. I vowed to God that if I should live to see the end of my wars, and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person and carry on war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour to the best of my power. Never has my heart ceased to tend to this point, but our Lord has not consented thereto; for I have had my hands full in my days, and now at the last I am seized with this grievous sickness, so that, as you all see, I have nothing to do but to die. And since my body cannot go thither and accomplish that which my heart hath so much desired, I have resolved to send my heart there in place of my body to fulfil my vow; and now, since in all my realm I know not any knight more hardy than yourself, or more thoroughly furnished with all knightly qualities for the accomplishment of the vow in place of myself, therefore I entreat thee, my dear and tried friend, that for the love you have to me you will undertake this voyage and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that whatever you undertake I am persuaded you will successfully accomplish; and thus I shall die in peace, provided that you do all that I shall teil you. I will, then, that as soon as I am dead you take the heart out of my body and cause it to be embalmed, and take as much out of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey both for you and your companions, and that you carry my heart along with you and deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, since this poor body cannot go thither. And it is my command that you do use that royal state and maintenance in your journey, both for yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands or cities you may come all may know that you have in charge to bear beyond seas the heart of King Robert of Scotland.”

‘At these words all who stood by began to weep, and when Sir James himself was able to reply, he said, “Ah! most gentle and noble king, a thousand times do I thank you for the great honour you have done me in making me the depository of so great and

precious a treasure. Most faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, shall I obey your commands; albeit, I would have you believe that I think myself but little worthy to achieve so high an enterprise." "Ah, gentle knight," said the King, "I heartily thank you, provided you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight." "Assuredly, my liege, I do promise so," replied Douglas, "by the faith which I owe to God and to the Order of Knighthood." "Now praise be to God!" said the King, "for I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish."

Soon after the death of King Robert, Sir James Douglas prepared to execute the last injunctions of his beloved master. He had the heart of Bruce embalmed and enclosed in a silver case, curiously enamelled, and wore it suspended from his neck by a silver chain. Having settled all his affairs and made his will, he set sail from Scotland, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and anchored off Sluys, where he lay for twelve days, keeping open table on board his ship, and entertaining his visitors with almost royal magnificence. Froissart says that Sir James had in his train a knight bearing a banner, and seven other noble Scottish knights, and was served at table by twenty-six esquires, all 'comely young men of good family; and he kept court in a royal manner with the sound of trumpets and cymbals. All the vessels for his table were of gold and silver, and whatever persons of good estate went to pay their respects to him were entertained with two sorts of wine and two kinds of spice.'

While lying off Sluys, Douglas learned that Alphonso, the young King of Leon and Castile, was carrying on hostilities with Osmyn, the Moorish King of Granada. As this was reckoned a holy warfare Douglas resolved, before proceeding to Jerusalem, in fulfilment of his own mission, to assist Alphonso in his contest with the enemies of the Christian faith. He accordingly sailed to Spain, and shortly after his arrival at Seville a battle was fought with the Moors near Theba, on the frontiers of Andalusia. Douglas, to whom the command of the vanguard was assigned, fought with his usual bravery and put the enemy to flight; but he and his companions, pursuing the fugitives too eagerly, were separated from the main body of the Spanish army. The Moors, perceiving the small number of their pursuers, rallied and surrounded them. Douglas,

who had only ten men with him, cut his way through the enemy, and might have made good his retreat, had he not turned back to rescue Sir William St. Clair of Roslin, whom he saw surrounded by the Moors and in great jeopardy. 'Yon worthy knight will be slain,' he exclaimed, 'unless he have instant help.' And putting spurs to his horse he galloped back to St. Clair's assistance. But, in attempting to save his friend, he was surrounded and overwhelmed by the crowds of the Moors, who were twenty to one. When he found himself inextricably involved, he took from his neck the casket which contained the heart of Bruce, and throwing it before him he exclaimed, 'Now pass thou onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die!' He then rushed forward to the place where it fell, and was there slain, along with Sir William St. Clair and Sir Robert and Sir Walter Logan. On the following day the body of the hero of seventy battles was found on the field beside the casket, and by his few surviving friends sorrowfully conveyed to Scotland and interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors in St. Bride's Church at Douglas. The heart of Bruce was buried by Randolph, Earl of Moray, in Melrose Abbey.

The portrait of Sir James Douglas has been drawn in very graphic and pleasing terms by the friendly hand of Barbour, from the testimony of persons who were personally acquainted with the hero. He was tall, strong, and well-made, though lean, broad-shouldered and large-boned, and of swarthy complexion, with black hair. He lisped a little in his speech, but, says the metrical historian, 'that set him right wonder weel.' He was pleasant and affable in his manners; his countenance had a modest and gentle expression in time of peace, but he had a very different aspect in the day of battle. Notwithstanding the perils to which he had been exposed and the numerous engagements in which he had fought, his face had escaped without a wound. There was a knight of great renown at the court of King Alphonso, whose face was all over marked with the scars of wounds received in battle, and who on meeting with Douglas, expressed his astonishment that a knight so famous for his warlike exploits, and who had seen so much hard service, should have no marks of wounds on his countenance. 'I thank God,' Douglas modestly replied, 'that I had always hands to protect my face.' He was universally beloved by his contemporaries for his kindness and courtesy, as well as admired for his bravery and chivalrous deeds, and he is affectionately remembered among his countrymen

by the name of the 'Good Sir James.' Godscroft, who dwells with peculiar complacency on the daring exploits and many virtues of this great ornament of the Douglas family, winds up his eulogium on him in the following characteristic terms: 'We will not omit here to shut up all the judgment of those times concerning him, in an old rich verse indeed, yet such as beareth witness of his true magnanimity and invincible mind in either fortune, good or bad:—

" Good Sir James Douglas,
Who wise, and wight, and worthy was,
Was never over glad for no winning,
Nor yet over sad for no tyneing; [losing]
Good fortune and evil chance
He weighed both in one balance."

Godscroft states that Sir James was never married, but Dr. Fraser has discovered that he was married, and left a legitimate son, who fell at Halidon. Archibald the Grim, his natural son, became third Earl of Douglas. Sir James was succeeded by his next brother—

HUGH DOUGLAS. 'Of this man,' says Godscroft, 'whether it was by reason of the dulness of his mind, or infirmity of his body, we have no mention at all in history of any of his actions.' The true reason was that he was a canon of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, youngest brother of Sir James, succeeded to the territorial estates and title of the Lord of Douglas by virtue of the resignation made by his brother Hugh, the churchman. He was chosen Regent of Scotland in 1333, after the capture of Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell at Roxburgh Castle—an unfortunate choice, as succeeding events proved. In his attempt to relieve the castle and town of Berwick, then besieged by Edward III., Douglas rashly and imprudently attacked the English army drawn up in a strong position at Halidon Hill (July 22, 1333), and was defeated and killed, along with a large number of the leading nobility of Scotland and several thousands of the common soldiers. This disastrous battle for a time laid Scotland prostrate at the feet of the English monarch. In this extremity the struggle for the independence of the country was maintained by a small band of gallant leaders, conspicuous among whom was—

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, the Knight of Liddesdale, known also in

history by the title of 'The Flower of Chivalry.' He was supposed by Tytler and other historians to have been a natural son of the 'Good Sir James;' but this is a mistake. He was the lawful son of Sir James Douglas of Loudon, and came into possession of the lands of Liddesdale through his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Sir John Graham of Abercorn. He took a distinguished part in the expulsion of Baliol and his English partisans from Scotland, after the young King David Bruce had taken refuge in France. He was unfortunately taken prisoner in 1332 in an encounter with an English force at Lochmaben, and was confined in iron fetters by the orders of Edward III. himself. He was detained two years in captivity, and was released only on paying a large ransom.

On his return to Scotland the Knight of Liddesdale exerted himself more energetically than ever to expel the English invaders and to vindicate the independence of his country. He took part in the conflict with the Earl of Athole at the Forest of Kilblane, in which that powerful but rapacious and unpatriotic noble was defeated and killed. He captured and demolished the Castles of Dunnotar, Kinclaven, and Laurieston, which had been garrisoned by the English. He encountered, near Crichton, the Lords Marchers of England, who had come to the relief of Edinburgh Castle, then besieged by the Regent, and drove them across the Tweed, but was himself severely wounded in the contest. He expelled the enemy from Teviotdale, captured Sir John Stirling at the head of five hundred men-at-arms, intercepted a convoy of provisions on its way to Hermitage, and succeeded in reducing that fortress; defeated Roland de Vaux, a celebrated warrior in the English interest, and in a fierce and repeatedly renewed engagement with Sir Lawrence Abernethy, a Scotsman who had espoused the cause of Edward Baliol, he succeeded at the fifth encounter in capturing that knight and dispersing his followers. In 1339 he was sent to solicit assistance from the French Court, and brought back with him from France five ships of war, having on board a body of men-at-arms under the command of an experienced French officer, who contributed largely to the reduction of Perth, at that time held by the English. Shortly after he succeeded, by a dexterous stratagem, in recovering the Castle of Edinburgh. He tarnished his laurels, however, and his reputation, by the cruel murder of his friend and companion in arms, Sir Alexander Ramsay. (See sketch of the RAMSAYS.) Such was the weakness of the Government at this time, that King David was

obliged not only to pardon the savage murderer, but to bestow upon him the office on account of which he had perpetrated the atrocious crime. The assassination of David de Berkeley shortly after, at the instigation of Douglas, is supposed to have been connected with a plot for the restoration of Baliol to the throne. It is certain that Edward at this time appointed commissioners with full powers 'to treat of and to conclude a treaty with William Douglas, to receive him into our faith, peace, and amity, and to secure him a reward,' and that Douglas accepted the terms which they offered. But, for some unknown cause, the conspiracy was laid aside for the time.

The Knight of Liddesdale commanded the right wing of the Scottish army at the battle of Neville's Cross (17th October, 1346), and was taken prisoner along with his sovereign. He was induced to purchase his liberty at the expense of his loyalty and honour, and promised to transfer to the English monarch that allegiance which he owed to his own sovereign. He bound himself by a secret treaty to allow the English to pass unmolested through his estates at all times and for all purposes; neither openly nor secretly to give counsel or aid to his own country, or to any other nation, against the King of England; and to keep on foot a body of men for his service. In return for this treasonable compact he was liberated from prison, and received from Edward a grant of the territory of Liddesdale and the Castle of Hermitage, with some possessions in Annandale. But his treachery was discovered and his intrigues baffled by his kinsman, William, first Earl of Douglas, by whom, shortly after his return to Scotland, he was waylaid and slain while he was hunting in Ettrick Forest. Some contemporary writers ascribe this deed to revenge for the murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay and Sir David Berkeley, which, however, does not appear at all probable. Others affirm that it was owing to domestic jealousy, and Hume of Godscroft has preserved a single stanza of a ballad composed on the murder of Douglas which conveys this impression:—

'The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly then did she call:
It is for the lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears down fall.'

It is probable, however, that the treachery of Douglas to his country, and his attempt to deprive his kinsman and chief of his patrimonial inheritance, led to his violent end.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, son of the Regent who fell at Halidon Hill, and nephew of the 'Good Sir James,' returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, soon after the battle of Neville's Cross and the captivity of the Scottish king, and, with the hereditary valour and energy of his house, succeeded in expelling the English from Douglasdale, and in the course of time from Ettrick Forest, Tweeddale, and Teviotdale. He was created Earl of Douglas by King David in 1357. He faithfully supported the cause of national independence, and even went so far as to unite with the Steward and the Earl of March in a formal bond to compel David to change his counsellors and to give up his intrigues for altering the succession to the crown in favour of one of the sons of the English king. He made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas-à-Becket in the year 1363; but, unlike some others of the great Scottish barons, who made such pilgrimages a pretext for treasonable intrigues with the English Government, Douglas continued steadfast in his adherence to his country's cause, and resolutely opposed the attempts of the unworthy son of Robert Bruce to betray it to the enemy. On the accession of Robert II., the son of the Steward and Marjory Bruce, the Earl of Douglas unexpectedly put forth pretensions to the crown, but abandoned them on finding that they were not likely to meet with public support. As a reward for the promptitude of his submission, the King's eldest daughter was promised in marriage to his eldest son, and the Earl himself was appointed Justiciar of Scotland south of the Forth, and Warden of the East Marches. This great noble, one of the best of his race, died in 1384 at an advanced age. He was succeeded by his eldest son by his wife the Countess of Mar.

JAMES DOUGLAS, second Earl. He was a renowned warrior, and closed his brilliant career at the celebrated battle of Otterburn. At this period a close alliance was formed between the Scots and the French, and large sums of money were distributed by the King of France among the Scottish nobles to induce them to invade England. The great influence of the Earl of Douglas is shown by the fact that while the powerful Earl of March received four thousand livres, and the Earl of Fife (afterwards Duke of Albany, and Regent) only three thousand, no less than seven thousand five hundred (equal to thirty thousand pounds of modern money), were bestowed upon the Earl of Douglas. In opposition to the advice of the King, the Scottish barons resolved, about the end

of July, 1388, to make an inroad into England. A large army assembled at Southdean, near the Cheviot Hills,* and, after consultation among the leaders, it was arranged that the main body, under the Earl of Fife, should enter England by Carlisle, while a smaller division, commanded by the Earl of Douglas, should invade it by the Eastern Marches. The latter accordingly pushed rapidly through Northumberland, and ravaged the bishopric of Durham without opposition. On their return homeward a personal encounter took place at the gates of Newcastle between Douglas and Sir Henry Percy—the renowned Hotspur †—in which the latter lost his pennon. Douglas boasted that he would plant it on the tower of his castle of Dalkeith. ‘That,’ said Percy, ‘shalt thou never do; you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland.’ ‘Well,’ rejoined Douglas, ‘your pennon shall this night be placed before my tent; come and win it if you can.’ The Scots retired to Otterburn, a hamlet in Redesdale, about thirty miles from Newcastle; but it was not till the third day that Percy marched against them at the head of a greatly superior force, and attacked their encampment shortly after sunset. Froissart, whose account of the battle was obtained from English and Scottish knights who took part in it, says it was fought on a sweet moonlight evening, clear and bright. It raged for several hours with the utmost fury. At length the Scots, who fought against treble their number, began to give way, when Douglas, wielding a battleaxe with both hands, and followed only by a few of his household, cut his way into the thickest of the enemy, where he was borne down and mortally wounded. The tide of battle was for the moment setting against the Scots, and some time elapsed before the English were again forced to give way and the spot where Douglas had fallen was cleared. Sir James Lindsay, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, were the first to discover him as he lay bleeding to death. His banner lay on the ground not far from him, the bearer having fallen, and his chaplain, Richard Lundie, who had fought during the whole battle at his side, was found bestriding the Earl and protecting him from injury

* Tytler and other historians have represented Yetholm, the well-known gipsy village, as the place of meeting. But Yetholm is nearly fifteen miles from Redeswire, the place at which Douglas and his army were about to enter England. Froissart calls the place Zedon. Southdean, which is pronounced Sooden at the present day, is the place meant. It was only four miles from Redeswire.

† *The Chronicle of St. Albans* states that it was the Scots who gave Henry Percy this nickname, on account of the ardour with which he assailed them.

with his battleaxe. 'How farest with you, cousin?' asked Sir John. 'But so so,' replied the Earl; 'yet few of my ancestors have died in chambers or in their beds. There has long been a prophecy that a dead Douglas should win a field. I trust it will now be fulfilled. My heart sinks; I am dying. Do you, Walter, and you, John Sinclair, raise my banner and cry 'Douglas!' and tell neither friend nor foe I am lying here.' These were his last words.* The Scottish leaders raised the banner, and with cries of 'Douglas! Douglas!' assailed the English with renewed energy. Their followers, animated by the cry, and believing that their leader was still in the field, pressed on the enemy so fiercely that they gave way on all sides. Hotspur and his brother, Sir Ralph Percy, were taken prisoners, and scarcely a man of note among the English escaped death or captivity. This battle, celebrated in the well-known ballads of 'The Battle of Otterburn' and 'Chevy Chase,' was fought on the 5th of August, 1388. Froissart says, 'Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best-fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight, or squire who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy, without either stay or faint-heartedness.' In this memorable conflict the banner of Douglas was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the Douglasses of Cavers, long hereditary sheriffs of Teviotdale, amongst whose archives this relic is still preserved.† The Earl is said to have charged his son to defend it to the last drop of his blood.‡

The body of Douglas was carried by the Scottish army in solemn and sorrowful procession to the abbey of Melrose, where they buried him beneath the high altar. 'His obsequy was done reverently,' says Froissart, 'and on his bodye layde a tombe of stone, and his baner hangyng over hym.' §

* 'Hosts have been known at that dread name to yield;

And Douglas dead, his name hath won the field.'— *Home*.

† In Cavers House there are preserved what are called the 'Percy Relics,' consisting of a pair of gauntlets bearing the badge of the Percys, a white lion, embroidered in pearls and fringed with filigree work of silver. These gauntlets, according to unvarying and credible tradition, were attached to the handle of Hotspur's lance, and were captured along with it by Douglas, in his personal encounter with its owner at Newcastle.

‡ *Froissart*, book iii. chap. cxxix.; *History of the Battle of Otterburn*, by Robert White.

§ 'Full many a scutcheon and banner riven
Shook to the cold night-wind of heaven,
Around the screened altar's pale;

The hero of Otterburn was Earl of Mar, in right of his mother, as well as Earl of Douglas, but as the Countess had no family the earldom passed to her sister. (See THE ANCIENT EARLDOM OF MAR.)

At this period great celebrity was acquired by another member of the Douglas family—SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, the natural son of Sir Archibald, Lord of Galloway, the third Earl of Douglas. Wyntoun describes this famous knight as—

‘A young, jolly bachelor
Prized greatly was of war ;
For he was ever travelland
Whiles by sea and whiles by land.
To skathe his foes right busy
So that they dread him gettunly.’

And after mentioning several valiant deeds performed by Douglas, which bear no inconsiderable resemblance to those of King David’s worthies (see 1 Chron. xi. 12–23), the old chronicler thus sums up his description of this Scottish Paladin :—

‘So stoutly he was travelland
And put to sa hard assayis,
That to say sooth in to my days
I have not heard a Bachelor
Sa greatly prized far or near,
In to sa short time as was he.’

Sir William Douglas’s graceful person and warlike renown, combined with his generous disposition and a most winning gentleness of manners, gained him the hand of King Robert’s daughter Egidia, who, according to Wyntoun, was—

‘The fairest of fashion (form) and of face
That men might find that day living,
Though they had sought o’er all Scotland.’

Fordun says that the report of the beauty of the Princess so inflamed the King of France that he privately despatched a painter to Scotland to bring him her picture ; but he found, to the great disappointment of the King, that her affections were already engaged. Boece varies the story a little, and says the French king, on receiving the portrait of the Princess, ‘ was so enamoured thereof that incontinent he despatched ambassadors to desire her in marriage,

And there the dying lamps did burn,
Before thy low and lonely urn,
O gallant chief of Otterburne !’

Lay of the Last Minstrel, canto ii.

but all too late, for she was married to Nithsdale before their coming.' King Robert, along with the hand of his daughter, bestowed upon Douglas the lordship of Nithsdale, and also appointed him Warden of the West Border, and Sheriff of Dumfries.

The coast of Galloway was at this time infested by bands of Irish catterans, who ravaged and spoiled the country; and shortly before the battle of Otterburn Sir William resolved to punish them for their piracies. Having collected a force of five hundred spearmen, he effected a landing near Carlingford, and was proceeding to assault the town when the inhabitants offered him a large sum of money to ransom the place. Having thus obtained an armistice they secretly despatched a messenger to Dundalk and procured the assistance of eight hundred horse. Douglas, meanwhile, unsuspecting of treachery or fraud, was engaged on the shore in victualling his ships, when he perceived the approach of this strong body from Dundalk, and the inhabitants of Carlingford at the same time sallying out from the town to assist them in the assault upon his men. He immediately divided his troops into two bodies, and sent Sir Robert Stewart with the one to repel the attack of the citizens, while he with the other encountered the auxiliaries. After a stubborn conflict the Scots, though greatly outnumbered, completely defeated their assailants, ravaged and burned the town, demolished its castle, and loaded with their plunder fifteen merchant vessels which lay at anchor in the harbour.

A truce was shortly after made with England, and Sir William Douglas, 'that he might not languish in idleness,' joined the Teutonic knights in their crusade against the Pagans in Prussia and Lithuania, and was appointed admiral of their fleet. He is said to have been created Duke of Prussia and Prince of Dantzic for his services in raising the siege of that town and expelling the Pagans from the district. His countrymen were also thenceforth made free-men of Dantzic. He was murdered at Dantzic, about the year 1392, by a band of assassins hired by an Englishman, whom Fordun terms Lord Clifford, who had fastened a quarrel on him.

As Earl James, the hero of Otterburn, left no legitimate offspring, he was succeeded by a natural son of "the good Sir James"—

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS of Galloway, third Earl, surnamed the 'Grim,' from his swart complexion and stern expression of countenance. Before he succeeded to the earldom he fought with great

gallantry in the wars both of France and England. In 1356 he accompanied William, Earl of Douglas, to France, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers (13th September), but made his escape through a dexterous stratagem of Sir William Ramsay of Colluthie. In 1378 he inflicted a signal defeat, near Melrose, on a body of English spearmen and archers under Sir Thomas Musgrave. Before the battle began he knighted on the field two of the King's sons, who were under his banner, along with his own son. The conflict was keenly contested, but was quickly decided. Douglas, according to his general custom, as Froissart mentions, when he found the fight becoming hot, dismounted, and wielding a large two-handed sword, made such havoc among the enemy that they gave way on all sides. Great numbers were slain, and Musgrave and his son, with many other knights and squires, were taken prisoners. After the Earl became the head of the family, he was regarded as the most powerful subject in the kingdom. He was noted for his courage, firmness, and sagacity, and not less for his pride. Hume of Godscroft says, 'He was a man nothing inferior to any of his predecessors in any kind of virtue. In piety he was singular through his whole life, and most religious *according to those times.*' He founded the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, a part of which still remains to attest its former magnificence. Godscroft affirms that the Earl had a mind free from all ambition, but his conduct in regard to the marriage of his daughter Marjory to David, Duke of Rothesay, the heir-apparent to the throne, shows that he was scarcely entitled to that eulogium. The Prince was affianced to the daughter of the Earl of March; but Douglas, jealous of the aggrandisement of a rival noble, by the offer of a much more splendid dowry prevailed upon Albany, the King's brother, to get that contract set aside, on the plea that the sanction of the Estates had not been given to it, and to wed Rothesay to Marjory-Douglas. The result of this dishonourable transaction was highly injurious to the happiness of the Prince, and the peace of the country. Notwithstanding, the influence of the Earl was on the whole beneficial during the feeble reign of Robert III. ; and when he and the Queen-mother, Annabella Drummond, and the venerable Bishop Traill of St. Andrews, all died, A.D. 1400, within a short time of each other, according to Fordun it was commonly said throughout the kingdom that the glory and honesty of Scotland were buried with these three noble persons. The Earl was succeeded by his eldest son—

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, fourth Earl, immortalised both by Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott.* He was called *Tincman* (Loseman), in consequence of his having lost almost all the battles that he fought. 'It is true,' says Godscroft, 'that no man was less fortunate, and it is no less true that no man was more valorous.' He married Margaret, daughter of Robert III., and was even more famous and powerful than his father had been in the government of the kingdom. He was accused of having been accessory, along with the Duke of Albany, to the death of the Duke of Rothesay, his brother-in-law, against whom his resentment was said to have been roused by the neglect with which that unfortunate prince treated his wife, the Earl's sister. (See THE EARLDOM OF MENTEITH.) From his youth upwards Douglas showed great promptitude and activity in defending Scotland against the inroads of the English. In the year 1400 he gained a victory at East Linton over Hotspur and the Earl of March, who had renounced his allegiance to the Scottish king in consequence of the unjust treatment which he had received in the affair of his daughter's affiance to the Duke of Rothesay. The Earl also successfully defended the Castle of Edinburgh against the assault of Henry IV. on his invasion of Scotland, the last conducted by an English monarch in person. In September, 1402, however, Douglas was defeated and taken prisoner by Percy at Homildon Hill, near Wooler, where he displayed great courage, but was guilty of very grave errors as a general. He was wounded in four places and lost an eye in this battle, which was gained entirely by the skill of the English archers and the mismanagement of the Scottish leaders, many of whom were left on this fatal field.

A quarrel rose between the victors and Henry IV. respecting the disposal of the numerous Scottish nobles and knights taken prisoners at Homildon, and a conspiracy was set on foot by the Earl of Northumberland and his son against that King, whom they had been mainly instrumental in raising to the throne. Douglas and the majority of the captive Scottish knights were gained over to support the enterprise. The insurgent forces hastened to the South with a view of effecting a junction with Owen Glendower, who had also taken up arms against Henry; but they were encountered at Shrewsbury by a powerful army, which the King had assembled to intercept their

* *King Henry IV.*, Part I.; *The Fair Maid of Perth*; and the drama of *Homildon Hill*.

march. The conflict which ensued raged for three hours with varying fortune. The brilliant courage displayed by Douglas, which has been commemorated by Shakespeare, called forth the eulogiums of his adversaries, and his fierce attacks more than once placed the life of Henry himself in imminent danger and nearly decided the battle. According to the old chroniclers, Lord Stafford, Sir Walter Blunt, the royal standard-bearer, and two other leaders, who were arrayed like the King, were encountered and killed by Douglas, who, in cutting down the fourth man clad in royal apparel, is said to have exclaimed, 'Where the devil were all these kings born?' In the end the death of Hotspur, who fell pierced through the brain with an arrow, turned the tide of battle and gave the victory to the royal army. Douglas, in attempting to escape from the field, fell over a precipitous bank and was severely bruised. He was in consequence taken prisoner, quietly remarking, 'The man sits full still that has a rent in his breeks (breeches),' a homely saying which has passed into a proverb. He recovered his liberty in 1406 on payment of a large ransom.

During the protracted war in France between the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII.) and Henry V. of England, an auxiliary force went from Scotland under the Earl of Wigton, the eldest son, and the Earl of Buchan, the son-in-law, of the Earl of Douglas, to the assistance of the French, and rendered them important service in their desperate struggle for national independence. They defeated the English at the battle of Beaugé, A.D. 1420, in which the Duke of Clarence, King Henry's brother, was killed, along with a considerable number of English nobles. The Earl of Douglas was induced, by the promise of an annual payment of two hundred pounds, to engage that he would assist the English king in his French campaign with two hundred knights and two hundred mounted archers. But after the battle of Beaugé the Earl of Buchan returned to Scotland to recruit his forces, and succeeded in inducing his father-in-law to break off his agreement with King Henry, and to bring to the aid of France an auxiliary force of five thousand men. He performed some brilliant exploits, and was rewarded for his services with the Duchy of Touraine. But the usual bad fortune which procured him the name of Tineman continued to attend him. He was defeated at Crevant, mainly in consequence of the same neglect of military tactics which caused the loss of the battle of Homildon. In the following year (17th August, 1424) he fell at the battle of Ver-

neuil, along with the Earl of Buchan and the greater part of the Scottish knights who had accompanied him to France, and the auxiliary force under his command was almost entirely annihilated. The celebrated Scots Guard, who were for a long time the attendants of the French kings, originated with the small body of Scotsmen who survived the disastrous battle of Verneuil. The unfortunate Tineman was buried in St. Gratian's church at Tours.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, his eldest son, succeeded him as fifth Earl of Douglas and second Duke of Touraine. He had during his father's lifetime possessed the earldom of Wigton, which was resigned to him by Thomas Fleming, the head of that old family. After the return of James I. from his long captivity in England, the Earl of Douglas was arrested in March, 1424, along with Murdoch, Duke of Albany, the late Regent, and upwards of twenty other nobles of the highest rank, for no reason assigned, but probably on account of his alliance with the house of Albany. He was speedily released, however, and sat on the jury by whom the Duke was tried. He was again imprisoned in May, 1431, probably because of his opposition to the measures of the King; but, at the urgent solicitation of the Queen and the nobility he was set at liberty in the following September. After the murder of James, in 1437, the Earl of Douglas was elected a member of the Council of Regency, and in the following year he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. His great military talents and experience fitted him in a high degree for the duties of this office; but he was intolerably arrogant and jealous of the honour of his family and his privileges as a noble, quick to revenge an injury, and by no means scrupulous as to his mode of gratifying his resentment. He cherished a strong dislike to the chief ministers of the late King—Sir Alexander Livingston of Callendar and Sir William Crichton the Chancellor—who belonged to the inferior class of barons, and had been elevated by James to high office for the purpose of assisting him in his efforts to restrict the power of the great nobles. When Livingston and Crichton quarrelled after the death of their patron, and the latter solicited the assistance of Douglas, offering his constant friendship in return, the Earl not only rejected the overtures of the Chancellor, but in fierce and contemptuous terms declared Livingston and him both to be 'mischievous traitors,' whom it became not 'the honourable state of noblemen' in any way

to help. 'Would to God,' he said, 'I might see a miserable mischief to befall them both, seeing they have both deserved the same condignly, through their own ambition, falsehood, pride, and height.'

Meanwhile the country was brought to the verge of ruin by the feuds of the nobles, which, owing to the youth of the sovereign and the weakness of the Government, were carried on without restraint. The vast power and chivalrous character of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom might have effected the suppression and punishment of these outrages, but, unfortunately, at this critical period he was suddenly seized with malignant fever, and died at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, on the 26th of June, 1439.

Under Earl Archibald the greatness of the house of Douglas may be said to have culminated. Their vast estates in Galloway, Annandale, Douglasdale, and other districts of Scotland, together with the Duchy of Touraine and the County of Longueville, in France, yielded them revenues probably not inferior to those of the Scottish king; while they could bring into the field an army scarcely less numerous than his, and perhaps even more highly disciplined, in consequence of their share in the incessant raids of Border warfare. The intermarriages of their kinsfolk with the members of other great houses had largely extended the influence of the family, and throughout the districts where their estates lay the whole of the inferior barons and knights were either their allies or vassals.

On the death of Earl Archibald his titles and vast possessions descended to his eldest son WILLIAM, sixth Earl of Douglas, and third Duke of Touraine. At the time of his father's death he was only fourteen years of age, and his youth and inexperience rendered him quite unfit to wield the great power and dignity which had devolved upon him. It speedily became evident that the young Earl had inherited the characteristic qualities of his race. 'The Earl of Douglas,' said Godscroft, 'was of the old spirit of the ancient nobility; he could not serve or obey but whom he ought, and the lawful commanders lawfully commanding for his honour and utility.' He was blamed by some as 'being guided by flattery, given to insolence, presumptuous in his port,' but the family historian adds with amusing *naïveté* that there was no evidence that 'he was more insolent, presumptuous, or arrogant, than became a man of his rank.' Proud of his ancestry, his rank, vast estates, and numerous retainers,

he assumed almost regal state and independence. His personal attendance, when he rode out, consisted of a thousand horse; his household was conducted on a scale of dazzling magnificence. He is said to have held within his domains a great council of his own, for directing his affairs, and to have dubbed knights with his own hand. His followers acknowledged no authority but the jurisdiction of their master, and secure in his protection, are said to have been guilty of numerous acts of grievous oppression. He gave no heed to the commands issued in the name of the young King, requiring his attendance and service, and spoke in scornful terms of the men who had usurped the functions of the government for their own selfish ends.

Livingston and Crichton saw clearly that their position would be insecure so long as this powerful and haughty noble lived, and they resolved to cut him off before he reached maturity. 'But how shall they do with him?' says Godscroft. 'He is not easy to be dealt with; they must have muffles that would catch such a cat,' and they adopted a plan to get him into their power, which displayed the vilest baseness and dishonesty. Crichton, in his own name, and that of Livingston, sent a message to the young Earl, professing the greatest esteem for him, and inviting him to the Court, in order that he might cultivate personal intercourse with his youthful sovereign. Douglas fell into the snare, and attended by a small retinue he set out for Edinburgh, along with his younger brother David, and his friend Malcolm Fleming. On the way he halted at Crichton Castle, the seat of the Chancellor, where a splendid entertainment had been provided for him, and accompanied by his host he resumed his journey to the capital. Before he entered the city some of his attendants observing that a number of private messages were passing between the Chancellor and Livingston, who was Governor of the Castle, reminded the Earl of the injunction of his father that he and his brother 'should not come both together into one place where themselves were not masters, lest they should endanger their whole family at once,' and urgently entreated them both to return; or if the Earl was bent on going forward, that he should at least send home his brother. This prudent counsel was unfortunately rejected by the unsuspecting youth, who seems to have placed unbounded confidence in the honour of Crichton and Livingston. He proceeded direct to the Castle, where he was received in state by the Governor and conducted to the presence of the King.

Several days were spent in pleasing intercourse between James and the Douglasses, who were greatly delighted with each other, but their enjoyment was speedily brought to a tragic termination.

During a banquet at the royal table Crichton and Livingston suddenly dropped the mask and assailed their unsuspecting guests with charges of treason. The oft-repeated tale that a bull's head—the signal of death—was placed on the table towards the close of the entertainment, is purely fabulous, and in all probability originated in the fertile fancy of Hector Boece, which is responsible for other similar embellishments of Scottish history. But this much is certain, that the astonished youths, rendered defenceless by the absence of their attendants, were seized and bound by a body of armed men and hurried to an adjoining apartment, to undergo the formality of a mock trial. It is said that the young King clung to the Chancellor and entreated him with tears to spare the lives of the youthful nobles, but his interference was sternly rejected by Crichton; and the Earl and his brother were condemned to death, and straightway beheaded in the back court of the Castle. Three days afterwards their friend Malcolm Fleming shared their fate.

The perpetrators of this foul deed soon discovered that they had not only been guilty of an atrocious crime, but had also committed a great blunder; the murder and its aggravation roused the fierce indignation of the numerous and powerful friends of the Douglas family, while the youth of the victims, and the cold-blooded treachery by which they had been entrapped and put to death, excited a general feeling of sympathy for them and abhorrence of their murderers, which found expression in a rude verse current at the time among the people:—

‘Edinburgh Castle, town, and tower,
God grant thou sink for sin;
And that even for the black dinner
Earl Douglas got therein.’

JAMES THE GROSS, as he was termed, Lord of Abercorn, the uncle of the two youths so foully done to death, succeeded as seventh Earl of Douglas. The title of Duke of Touraine and the estates conferred upon Archibald Tineman reverted to the crown of France, and the large unentailed property of the murdered Earl, comprehending Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale, descended to his only sister, Margaret, who, from her great beauty, was commonly called the Fair Maid of Galloway. Greatly to the surprise of

the country, at a time when revenge was deemed a sacred duty, no steps were taken by the new Earl to inflict merited vengeance on the murderers of his nephews. The historian of the house of Douglas supposes that the remarkable obesity of Earl James extinguished in him those quick feelings of honour which should have stimulated him to revenge.* It has been conjectured, but with little probability, that the trial and execution of the young Earl and his brother were undertaken with the connivance, if not with the assistance, of his successor. James the Gross died after two years' inglorious possession of the family honours and estates, and was succeeded by the eldest of his six sons—

WILLIAM, eighth Earl of Douglas, who inherited all the courage, ambition, and energy of his family. He was born about the year 1425, and succeeded to the family title and estates in 1443. In the following year he obtained from Rome a dispensation to marry his kinswoman, Margaret Douglas, Lady of Galloway—a union which was greatly desired by his father. Thus the vast possessions of the family, which had been divided on the death of the sixth Earl, were united in the person of the eighth Earl. This increase of territory greatly augmented the power of the Earl and of his formidable house. He lost no time in maturing and carrying out his plans for the restoration of the political influence of his house, and securing that place in the administration of public affairs which he considered due to his ancient family and extensive estates. He first of all made his peace with the King, professing unbounded attachment to his person and crown. James, who was greatly delighted with his unexpected submission, made the Earl a member of the Privy Council, and soon after conferred on him the office of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. 'The raising of new and mean men was the thing that he and his house did ever dislike very much,' says Godscroft, a remark which, as Mr. Hannay observes, brings the Claudian family to mind, and shows us how great power bred great haughtiness, and the house became unfit to be quiet subjects. This feeling was, no doubt, at the root of the Earl's dislike to Livingston and Crichton. Through

* 'In ane Addicioun of Scottis Chroniklis and Deidis,' printed from a manuscript by the Bannatyne Club, his death is noticed, says Chambers, 'in terms which will scarcely fail, in their *naïveté* and unconscious humour, to provoke a smile from the reader.' 'The xxv day of March, 1443, erl James Douglas deit at the castell of Abercorn, to the takin [token] they said he had in him four stane of talch [tallow] and mair.'

his influence the former was deprived of his office; and Crichton, towards whom he cherished a deadly hatred, was in a Parliament held at Stirling, in 1445, found guilty of treason, and proclaimed a traitor and his estates confiscated.

The influence of Douglas was now paramount. Three of his brothers were raised to the peerage, and the chief offices in the administration were filled with his creatures. Bishop Kennedy, of St. Andrews, a prelate of great wisdom and integrity, set himself to thwart the designs of the Earl on the independence of the Crown, and in consequence his estates were laid waste with fire and sword by the partisans of the Earl. A treasonable league was formed between Douglas and the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ross, Lord of the Isles, which menaced both the safety of the King and the peace of the country. The signal service which was rendered at this period by Hugh, Earl of Ormond, a brother of Douglas, in defeating, at Sark, a powerful English army which had invaded Scotland, tended not a little to strengthen the interest of the house. But the arrogant and lawless behaviour of its head gradually alienated the confidence and regard of the King. Indignant at the diminution of his influence, the Earl resolved to retire from the country for a season, and went to the Jubilee at Rome, in 1450, 'as his enemies did interpret it,' says Godscroft, 'to show his greatness to foreign princes and nations. There went with him in company a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, such as the Lord Hamilton, Gray, Salton, Seton, Oliphant, and Forbes; also Calder, Urquhart, Campbell, Fraser, Lauders of Cromarty, Philorth, and Bass, knights, with many other gentlemen of great account.' At Paris the Earl was joined by his brother James, his successor in the earldom, who appears to have been at this time prosecuting his studies at the University there. He was received by the French Court with the respect due to his rank and the eminent services to France of his grandfather and his uncle Earl Archibald; and even at Rome his reputation and ostentatious magnificence seem to have attracted no small notice. During his absence the turbulent conduct of his vassals disturbed the peace of the country and drew down upon them the vengeance of the Government. The King marched in person to the Borders, demolished Crag Douglas, a fortalice on the Yarrow, and inflicted summary punishment on the offenders. On his return the Earl sent a submissive message to the King, expressing his displeasure with the conduct of his vassals during his absence, and his

resolution to observe the laws and to maintain order among his dependents. He was on this received into favour; but there is good reason to believe that he speedily resumed his treasonable designs, and that, while engaged as one of the Commissioners in negotiating a truce with England, he entered into a secret intrigue with the Yorkist faction against the authority of his sovereign.

Although the Earl had now been deprived of the office of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, James, unwilling to come to an open rupture with his too-powerful subject, appointed him Warden of the West and Middle Marches, and confirmed to him and his descendants, by deed of entail, the earldoms of Wigton and Douglas. But these acts of kindness, which he probably regarded as indications of weakness and fear, only emboldened the Earl to set at defiance both the restraints of law and the authority of his sovereign. He attempted to assassinate his old enemy Crichton, who had been restored to the Chancellorship; he hanged Sir John Herries of Terregles, who had refused to become his ally, in contempt of a positive order of the King requiring his release; and he beheaded Maclellan of Bomby, in circumstances shockingly cruel and aggravating. [See MACLELLAN.] With an evident view to an open insurrection against the royal authority, 'he sought and persuaded all men under his opinion and servitude, and in special the gentlemen of Galloway, with Coile, Carrick, and Cunninghame, and all other parties that were near adjacent unto him, desyreing them daylie to ride and goe with him as his own household and servantis, and to assist him in all thingis whatsomevir he had to doe, whether it was ryght or wrong, with the King or against him.'

Matters were now evidently approaching a crisis; but the King was anxious to avert an open rupture, for he was well aware that Douglas and his two associates in a treasonable league could unitedly bring into the field a force superior to that of the Crown. He resolved, therefore, by the advice of Crichton and other experienced counsellors, to invite the Earl to Court, in order that he might try the effect of a personal remonstrance with him respecting his illegal and turbulent conduct. Douglas accepted the invitation, but took the precaution to obtain a letter of safe conduct under the great seal, and signed by the principal nobles of the Court. Trusting to this security, he repaired to Stirling with a small retinue, and upon Shrove Tuesday (13th February, 1452) received and accepted an invitation to dine at the royal table. He not only dined but

supped at the Court. After supper the King conducted his guest apart into an inner room, and, informing him that he was aware of the league he had made with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, entreated him to withdraw from a confederacy which was both inconsistent with his allegiance and dangerous to the peace of the country. Douglas refused, however, to comply with the King's request, and as James continued to urge him more earnestly he became more haughty and dogged in his refusal, and declared that he could not honourably renounce the engagement which he had made with Ross and Crawford, nor would he do so for any living man. The King, whose temper was naturally fiery and impetuous, lost all self-command at this insolent defiance, and passionately exclaiming, 'If you will not break this league, I shall,' drew his dagger and stabbed the Earl, first in the throat and then in the lower part of the body. Sir Patrick Gray, who was present, and had sworn to be revenged upon Douglas for the murder of his nephew, struck him on the head with his battleaxe, and the rest of the nobles rushing in stabbed the dying man in the most dastardly and disgraceful manner with their daggers and knives. The dead body of the murdered noble, pierced with twenty-six wounds, was cast out of the window into the open court, where it was buried. The Earl left no family.

JAMES, ninth Earl, and his other three brothers, who were in the town of Stirling at the time, instantly met, along with Lord Hamilton and other friends of their family; but as the castle was too strong to be assaulted at that moment with any hope of success, they resolved to meet in arms at Stirling on the 17th of March, to revenge the atrocious murder of the head of the house by the hand of his sovereign. The confederates accordingly met on the day appointed, and with the sound of horns and trumpets proclaimed King James a false and perjured man. They took the letter of safe conduct which had been granted to Earl William, and after exhibiting it publicly at the Cross, they nailed it to a board and dragged it in scorn through the streets at the tail of a cart-horse. They then pillaged and burnt the town, but finding themselves still unable to undertake the siege of the castle, they retired to their own estates.

Earl James, burning with resentment at the foul murder of his brother, now entered into a treasonable correspondence with the English Government, which was at this time in the hands of the

Yorkists, and promised to swear allegiance to the English King as his lawful sovereign. On receiving intelligence of these intrigues, King James called a meeting of Parliament, which declared that it was lawful for the King to put the late Earl of Douglas to death as a rebel, and summoned his brothers and chief supporters to appear and answer for the crimes laid to their charge. The King then assembled a powerful army and marched in person against the rebellious baron, burning and ravaging his estates. When he appeared before the castle of Douglas, the Earl, by the advice of his chief vassals and supporters, laid down his arms, and the King readily pardoned the insurgent chief and his retainers on certain conditions. As might have been expected, the peace which was thus patched up between the sovereign and his too powerful subject was not of long continuance. The Earl speedily resumed his treasonable negotiations with the Yorkist party, who were now supreme in England, and received from them the promise of an immediate supply of money and troops, on condition that he and his chief supporters should take an oath of allegiance to the English crown. Encouraged by this powerful support, Douglas assembled a numerous army to strike a last blow for supremacy; and so formidable was the array of the barons who espoused his cause that the King is said to have hesitated whether he should abide the conflict or retire to France.

In this emergency James had recourse for advice to his old and sagacious counsellor, Bishop Kennedy, of St. Andrews. According to Lindsay of Pitscottie, the prelate first of all passed to his oratory and prayed to God for the King and the commonwealth of the realm while James was taking some refreshment. He then directed his Majesty to retire and pray 'that God would grant him the upper hand of the Earl of Douglas and his complices.' These devotions being finished, the Bishop brought the King into his study and by the familiar process of breaking singly each one in succession of a bundle of arrows which, combined, resisted his utmost efforts, impressed upon James the policy that he should follow in breaking up the combination of great nobles and barons arrayed against him. James followed this judicious advice and by liberal promises detached a number of the most powerful supporters of the Earl from his cause, and induced them to repair to the banner of their sovereign. He succeeded also in raising a numerous and well-appointed army, with which, after ravaging the estates of Douglas and Lord Hamilton, he laid siege to the strong castle of Abercorn, on the Firth of Forth,

belonging to the Douglasses. The Earl, with his kinsman and ally, Lord Hamilton, marched to the relief of the beleaguered fortress, and a decisive battle seemed to be imminent. But the Bishop of St. Andrews had meanwhile opened secret negotiations with the allies and vassals of Douglas, and his representations had produced a strong impression upon their minds, especially on Lord Hamilton, his most powerful supporter. The two armies were drawn up in battle array, waiting the signal to engage, when Douglas resolved to defer the engagement till next day, and led his troops back into the camp. Lord Hamilton expostulated with him on the impolicy of this step, and inquired whether it was the Earl's intention to fight or not. Douglas answered contemptuously, 'If you are tired you may depart when you please.' Hamilton immediately took him at his word, and that night passed over to the King, with all the troops under his command. His example was so generally followed by the other insurgent leaders, that before morning the camp of Douglas was almost entirely deserted. The unfortunate noble, thus abandoned by his friends, broke up his encampment and fled to the wilds of Annandale.

James followed up his success by vigorous measures for the complete overthrow of the house of Douglas, and in a short time reduced and dismantled their strongholds—Douglas Castle itself, and the fortresses of Strathaven, Thrieve, Lochendorb, and Darnaway. Meanwhile the Earl himself had fled into England. But his three brothers, the Earls of Ormond and Moray and Lord Balveny, collected a numerous army on the Borders and plundered and laid waste the country. They were encountered at Arkinholme, near Langholm, by the Earl of Angus with a powerful force composed of the Scotts, Maxwells, and Johnstones, who until lately had been the vassals of Douglas. After a fierce conflict, the insurgents were totally routed. The Earl of Moray was killed, Ormond was wounded and taken prisoner and shortly after executed, and Balveny alone made his escape into England. At a meeting of Parliament, held in June, 1455, the Earl of Douglas and his mother and brothers were declared traitors; their estates were forfeited to the Crown, and were shortly afterwards distributed among the barons who had so opportunely deserted their side, and joined the King in this desperate struggle.

In the following year the Earl of Douglas succeeded in collecting a considerable force, and, along with the Earl of Northumberland,

made an inroad into the Merse of Berwickshire. But he was encountered and defeated with great loss by the Earl of Angus. He again took refuge in England, where he remained in exile for nearly thirty years. He was cordially welcomed by the Duke of York, then Regent of the kingdom, and received from him a pension of five hundred pounds a year, 'to be continued to him until he should be restored to his possessions, or the greater part of them, by the person who then called himself the King of the Scots.'

In 1483 the banished Earl, accompanied by the Duke of Albany, brother of James III., made a final effort to regain his lost power and position. Having made a vow that they would present an offering on the high altar of Lochmaben upon St. Magdalen's day (July 22nd), Albany and he advanced to Burnswark, in the vicinity of that burgh, at the head of five hundred horse, expecting to be joined by the tenantry and vassals of the Douglas family in that district. In this, however, they were grievously disappointed, and after a stubborn conflict with a number of the Border barons and their retainers, they were defeated. Albany escaped by the swiftness of his horse, but the aged Earl of Douglas was taken prisoner by a son of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, who had at one time been his own vassal. Kirkpatrick shed tears at the sight of his old master's distress, and offered to set him at liberty and flee with him into England. But Douglas was weary of exile, and rejecting the generous offer, informed his captor that he was now resigned to his fate. The King (James III.) had offered a grant of a hundred-pound land for his person. 'I have fought long against my fortune,' said Douglas to his captor; 'I will rather that ye, whom I knew to be faithful to me as long as I did anything that was likely for myself, should have the benefit thereby than any other; wherefore take me and deliver me to the King, according to his proclamation. But see thou beest sure he keep his word before thou deliver me.' 'Here-upon,' says Godscroft, 'Kirkpatrick conveyed him secretly out of the field and kept him some few days in a poor cottage until he had spoken with the King. James granted him the life of the Earl, and gave him the lands of Kirkmichael, in Dumfriesshire.' When Douglas was brought into the royal presence, he turned his back upon the son of James II., the destroyer of his house. The years and misfortunes of the aged noble seem to have excited the compassion of the King, who merely commanded him to take up his residence in the Abbey of Lindores. The once-powerful head of the house of

Douglas, who had undergone such strange alternations of fortune, submitted calmly to this sentence, only remarking, in the words of a popular proverb, 'He that may no better be must be a monk.' Towards the close of the reign of James an unsuccessful attempt was made by the malcontent nobles to induce the aged Earl to quit his monastic retreat to take part in another conflict with the regal power from which he had so long and so severely suffered, no doubt with the prospect held out to him of restoration to his honours and estates. But the infirmities of old age or the weariness of a broken spirit made him decline to leave the retirement in which he had now learned, it is said, to think less of time than of eternity. He even did all he could to dissuade them from taking up arms against the King. James himself, in his extremity, entreated Douglas to give him the benefit of his counsel and assistance in the contest with the disaffected nobles. The Earl, who was well aware that the King was accused of being 'more diligent in conqueising money than the hearts of his subjects,' replied to his sovereign's solicitations, 'You have kept me and your black coffer in Stirling too long under lock and key to be of use to you.'

After a residence of five years in Lindores Abbey, the Earl died there on the 15th of April, 1488, and with him expired the main line of that great house, whose rank and power, gained by the unwavering loyalty and invaluable services of its founders and early heads, were forfeited through the ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs. The earldom had lasted for ninety-eight years, making an average of only eleven years to each possessor of the title.

The vast estates of the family were forfeited to the Crown, and divided among the nobles who had contributed to the overthrow of this formidable house. Lord Hamilton was rewarded with large grants of land for his opportune desertion of his kinsman at Abercorn; Sir Walter Scott, of Kirkurd and Buccleuch, was similarly recompensed for his services at the battle of Arkinholme; but by far the greater share fell to the Earl of Angus, who, though the representative of one of the chief branches of the Douglas family, had sided with the King against its head. Hence arose the common saying, referring to the different complexion of the two branches of the house, that 'the Red Douglas had put down the Black.' The Angus Douglases very soon pursued the same ambitious policy as their kinsfolk of the elder branch, and became not much less formidable to the independence of the Crown and the tranquillity of the country.



THE ANGUS DOUGLASES.

THE original earldom of Angus was one of the oldest titles in the kingdom. The early rulers of the district termed Angus, or the Mearns, extending along the east coast of Scotland from the Tay to the Dee, which they governed with almost independent authority, bore the title of Mormaor, but little or nothing is known of their history. The inhabitants were a fierce and warlike race, and vigorously resisted the attempts of the Scottish kings to subject the province to their authority. Two of these sovereigns, indeed, lost their lives in battle with the men of the Mearns. Kenneth III., on some pretext or other, caused the son of the Mormaor of the province to be executed at Dunsinnan. In revenge for this deed he was killed—according to the ‘Chronicle of the Picts and Scots’—at Fettercairn, by the treachery of Finella, daughter of Cunchar, whose only son he had put to death.

The first of the chieftains of the province of Angus who bore the designation of Earl was GILCHRIST. A singular story regarding him is related by Buchanan, on the authority of an old chronicle. For the great services which this powerful noble performed to the Crown he received the hand of the King’s sister in marriage. She, however, proved unfaithful to her marriage vow, and he caused her to be put to death. This murder so enraged the King—William the Lion—against Gilchrist that he dismantled his castles, confiscated his estates, and banished him the kingdom. The Earl took refuge in England; but in the treaty between William and the English King Henry it was stipulated that neither of the two should shelter the other’s enemies. The exiled noble was in consequence obliged to leave England, and returning to Scotland with his two sons, he shifted from place to place in great want and misery. One day they were seen by the King in the neighbourhood of Perth, in the disguise

of farmers. Their mien, however, showed them to be superior to that station, and on the approach of the King they quitted the road to prevent discovery. Their evident desire to avoid him roused William's curiosity, and he caused the three men to be brought before him. On inquiring who they were, Gilchrist knelt down before the King, and in very moving terms acquainted him with their lamentable condition. William was so much affected by the story that he not only pardoned the Earl, but restored him to his former honours and estates.

Gilchrist was succeeded by his son GILIBREDE, the second ruler who bore the designation of Earl. He was present at the Battle of the Standard, under David I., and was one of the twenty barons given as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty made between the English King and William the Lion. The earldom passed in 1243 to GILBERT DE UMFRAVILLE, Lord of Redesdale, Prudhoe, and Harbottle in Northumberland, by his marriage to the heiress, daughter of the fifth earl of the original family. His son by the countess, who bore the same name, was governor of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, when the Regent in 1291 agreed to surrender the kingdom and its fortresses to Edward I. The conduct of Gilbert de Umfraville in this hour of trial presented a prudent contrast to the unpatriotic spirit which his brother barons displayed. He declared that, having received his castles in charge from the Scottish nation, he would not surrender them to the King of England without an obligation to indemnify him from Edward and all the claimants for the Crown. To remove his objections a letter of indemnity was signed by Edward, by the competitors, and by the guardians. On receiving this document Gilbert delivered up Dundee and Forfar to the English king. He afterwards, however, deserted the patriotic cause, and treacherously went over to the side of Edward, along with the Earl of Dunbar, immediately before the battle of Falkirk in 1298. The information which these two nobles conveyed to the English King rescued his army from a position of imminent peril. He died in 1307.

ROBERT DE UMFRAVILLE, the son and successor of Earl Gilbert, was appointed Joint Guardian of Scotland by Edward II. in 1308, and was forfeited by King Robert Bruce for his adherence to the English interests.

The earldom was then bestowed upon Sir John Stewart, of Bonkil, who was descended from the second son of Alexander, High Steward of Scotland. On the death of Thomas, third Earl of Angus of the

Stewart family, in 1377, without issue, the title devolved on his sister, Lady Margaret. She resigned it in 1389, and King Robert II. then granted the earldom of Angus, with the lordships of Abernethy, in Perthshire, and of Bonkil, in Berwickshire, to George Douglas, her illegitimate son by William, the first Earl of Douglas, her brother-in-law.

GEORGE DOUGLAS, first Earl of Angus of the Douglas family, married the second daughter of Robert III., was taken prisoner at the Battle of Homildon, in 1402, and died the same year in England of the plague. There was nothing worthy of special notice in the career of his two immediate successors. On the death of James, the third Earl, without issue, the title and estates devolved upon—

GEORGE DOUGLAS, second son of the second Earl, who filled several important offices, and commanded the royal forces in the contest with the Earl of Douglas, whose lands and lordship of Douglas he obtained on the forfeiture of that formidable and turbulent noble. The Earl, who had a high military reputation, held the office of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom after the death of James II. He died in 1462. He performed a brilliant exploit during the Wars of the Roses, in bringing off the French garrison from Alnwick under the eyes of the Yorkists. His son, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, fifth Earl of Angus, became the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and was commonly called the Great Earl. He was only fourteen years of age when he succeeded his father. On attaining maturity the young Earl did not prove more loyal than his kinsmen of the elder branch. When the Duke of Albany quarrelled with his brother, King James III., and fled into England, Angus became a party to the treasonable treaty which Albany concluded with the English King for the acknowledgment of his sovereignty, and ceding to him Eskdale, Annandale, and Liddesdale, on condition of being made King of Scotland. The young Earl (in his twenty-eighth year) was the leader of the discontented nobles who were indignant at the preference which the King showed for architects, musicians, and painters, and determined to seize the person of their sovereign and to wreak their vengeance on his favourites. The muster of their feudal array for the purpose of invading England, in retaliation for the ravages which an English army had made in Scotland, afforded them a favourable opportunity for carrying their nefarious schemes into effect. On their march to

the Border the army halted for the first night at Lauder, and next morning the principal conspirators held a secret council in the church to arrange for the immediate execution of their designs. They were all agreed as to what should be done, but they hesitated as to the best mode of proceeding. Lord Gray, as Godscroft relates the occurrence, 'craved audience, and told them the apologue of the mice, who consulting in a public meeting how to be sure from the cat's surprising them, found out a very good way, which was to hang a bell about her neck, that would ring as she stepped, and so give them warning of her approach, that they might save themselves by flight. But when it came to be questioned who would undertake to tie the bell about the cat's neck, there was never a mouse durst cheep or undertake it.' Angus started up when Gray had done speaking, and exclaimed, 'I will bell the cat'—a saying which procured for him the cognomen of 'Archibald Bell-the-Cat,' by which he was ever afterwards familiarly designated. Cochrane and the other royal favourites were immediately seized, and in the most brutal manner hanged over the bridge at Lauder. After these cruel and foul murders, the conspirators returned to the capital, carrying with them their unfortunate sovereign, and committed him a close prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh.

A temporary reconciliation followed between the King and his brother, on whom offices and grants were liberally bestowed; but this did not prevent Albany from renewing his treasonable intrigues with the English king. The Earl of Angus and other two of his accomplices, Lord Gray and Sir James Liddal, were despatched to England to negotiate a secret treaty with the Commissioners of Edward IV., in which it was stipulated that on certain specified conditions he should assist Albany in the conquest of the Crown of Scotland 'to his proper use.' Angus and his associates promised that in the event of Albany dying without heirs, they would maintain their castles against James, now King of Scots, and 'live under the sole allegiance of their good and gracious prince the King of England.'

As soon as this infamous transaction transpired, the great body of the barons, who had hitherto been unfriendly to the King, rallied round the throne, and enabled James to defeat the plots of the conspirators against the independence of the kingdom. Angus was compelled to resign his office of Lord Justiciar on the south side of the Forth, his Stewardry of Kirkcudbright, his Sherifffdom of Lanark, and his command of the strong castle of Thieve. His principal

accomplices were at the same time deprived of their dignities and offices. In no long time, however, the conspiracy against the royal authority was renewed, and the Earl of Angus and Lord Gray were the principal instigators of the new rebellion, which led to the overthrow and death of their unfortunate sovereign. Angus was one of the commanders of the insurgent forces at the battle of Sauchieburn, in which the royal army was defeated, and James was murdered in his flight from the field.

King James IV., at that time a youth of sixteen years of age, had been induced to take part in the rebellion against his father, but as he grew older he felt deep remorse for having allowed himself to be made the tool of a selfish and unprincipled faction, and gradually withdrew his countenance from its leaders. It was probably the coldness with which he was now treated that induced Angus, the old intriguer and traitor to his country, to enter into a plot with Henry VII. of England against his youthful sovereign, and ultimately to withdraw for a season into England. Some knowledge of his treason had probably reached the King, for on the return of the Earl to Scotland he was committed a prisoner to his own castle of Tantallon, and, as the price of his pardon, was compelled to exchange the lordship of Liddesdale and the strong fortress of Hermitage, in the first instance, for the lordship of Kilmarnock; but a few months later, Liddesdale and its stronghold were bestowed in fee and heritage on the Earl of Bothwell, and Bothwell Castle, resigned by that nobleman, was given to Angus in exchange for Kilmarnock. This transference was a considerable diminution of the greatness and power of the Douglas family.

The displeasure of the King was increased by the slaughter of Spens of Kilspindie, a favourite courtier, who about this time was killed in a casual encounter with Angus. The incident, which is thus related by Godscroft, illustrates both the character of the fierce and stalwart noble and of the stormy and violent times:—

The King on a time was discoursing at table of the personages of men, and by all men's confession the prerogative was adjudged to the Earl of Angus.* A courtier that was by, one Spens of Kil-

* Sir Walter Scott thus describes, in '*Marmion*,' the aspect of the stalwart 'Beil-the-Cat,' in his old age:—

‘His giant form, like ruined tower,
Though fallen its muscles' brawny vaunt,
High-boned, and tall, and grim, and gaunt
Seem'd o'er the gaudy scene to lower:
His locks and beard in silver grew;
His eyebrows kept their sable hue.'

spindie, . . . cast in a word of doubting and disparaging: 'It is true,' said he, 'if all be good that is up-come,' meaning, if his action and valour were answerable to his personage. This spoken openly, and coming to the Earl's ears, offended him highly. It fell out after this, as the Earl was riding from Douglas to Tantallon, that he sent all his company the nearest way, and he himself with one only of his servants, having each of them a hawk on his fist, in hope of better sport, took the way of Borthwick towards Fala, where lighting at the brook at the west end of the town, they bathed their hawks. In the meantime this Spens happened to come that way, whom the Earl espying said, 'Is not this such a one, that made question of my manhood? I will go to him and give him a trial of it, that we may know which of us is the better man.' 'No, my lord,' said his servant, 'it is a disparagement for you to meddle with him.' . . . 'I see,' said the Earl, 'he hath one with him; it shall be thy part to grapple with him, whilst I deal with his master.' So fastening their hawks they rode after him. 'What reason had you,' said the Earl to him, 'to speak contemptuously of me at such a time?' When the other would have excused the matter, he told him that would not serve the turn. 'Thou art a big fellow and so am I; one of us must pay for it.' The other answered, 'If it may be, no matter; there is never an earl in Scotland but I will defend myself from him as well as I can.' . . . So, alighting from their horses, they fought a certain space; but at last the Earl of Angus cut Spens' thighbone asunder, so that he fell to the ground and died soon after.

It was no easy task for a monarch only twenty years of age to maintain the royal authority over such turbulent and lawless nobles, who, if they possessed many of the virtues of the savage state, exhibited also much of its ferocity.

Advancing years seem to have moderated the fiery and fierce temper of Bell-the-Cat, and from this time onward he appears to have acted the part of a dutiful and peaceful subject. James, with whom he now stood in high favour, conferred on him the office of Chancellor in 1493, which he held for five years. He accompanied the King in his unjustifiable and disastrous invasion of England in 1513, and earnestly remonstrated against the rash and imprudent resolution of James to wait the attack of the English at Flodden. The King was so enraged at the remonstrance of the old warrior that he scornfully replied, 'Angus, if you are afraid you may go home.' The Earl burst into tears at this insult and hastened to depart, saying

mournfully, 'If my past life does not free me from any suspicion of cowardice, I do not know what can; as long as my body was capable of exertion, I never spared it in defence of my country or my sovereign's honour. But now, since my age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised, I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field; may Angus's forebodings be unfounded.' The Earl quitted the camp that night; but his two sons, George, Master of Angus, and Sir William Douglas of Glenberrie, with two hundred gentlemen of the name of Douglas, remained, and fell in the battle.

Earl Archibald, broken-hearted by the calamities of his house and his country, retired into the Abbey of St. Mains in Galloway, where he died twelve months after the battle of Flodden, in the sixty-first year of his age. The historian of the family bestows the most glowing eulogiums on the 'Great Earl,' as a man every way accomplished both for mind and body. 'He was of stature tall, and strong made,' he says; 'his countenance was full of majesty; wise and eloquent of speech; upright and square in his actions; sober and moderate in his desires; valiant and courageous; a man of action and understanding; liberal also, loving and kind to his friends, which made him to be beloved, revered, and respected of all men.' Master David, however, is obliged to admit that 'One fault he had, that he was too much given to women; otherwise there was little or nothing amiss.'

GAWAIN DOUGLAS, Bishop of Dunkeld, was the third son of Earl Archibald, and at an early age was presented to the rectory of Ilawick. Some time before the year 1509 he was appointed by James IV. Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh. A few months after the battle of Flodden he was nominated by the Queen-Dowager, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in the room of the King's son, Alexander Stewart, who fell in that disastrous conflict. He was fiercely opposed, however, by Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, who had been elected by the canons, and by Forman, Bishop of Moray, who had obtained a grant of the benefice from the Pope, and Douglas withdrew in disgust from the unseemly contest. In the following year he was appointed by the Queen to the See of Dunkeld, and obtained a papal bull in his favour. But he was imprisoned for more than a year, on the charge of having violated the laws of the realm by procuring bulls from Rome. After his release,

a rival candidate, the brother of the Earl of Athole, attempted to keep possession of the episcopal palace and cathedral by force of arms. Douglas in the end obtained possession of the See without the effusion of blood, and discharged the duties of the office with most exemplary diligence and fidelity. He was distinguished also for his acts of charity and munificence, and his efforts to preserve the peace of the country. He made a praiseworthy but unavailing attempt to mediate between the rival factions of the Douglasses and Hamiltons before the famous skirmish of 'Clear the Causey,' in Edinburgh, 30th April, 1520. At the request of Angus, his nephew, he waited upon Archbishop Beaton, the Chancellor, whose niece Arran, the head of the Hamiltons, had married, and entreated that prelate, both as a churchman and as the official conservator of the laws of the realm, to act as a peacemaker. Beaton, however, had actually prepared for the encounter by putting on a coat of mail under his linen rochet; and in answer to the appeal of Douglas he said, 'Upon my conscience I know nothing of the matter,' at the same time striking his hand upon his breast, which caused the armour to return a rattling sound. 'My lord,' replied Douglas, with merited sarcasm, 'your conscience clatters' (tells tales). After this pointed rebuke he hastened back to his nephew and told him that he must do his best to defend himself with arms. 'For me,' he added, 'I will go to my chamber and pray for you.' The conflict terminated in the complete defeat of the Hamiltons, who were the aggressors, and Archbishop Beaton, who took refuge in the church of the Blackfriars' monastery, was assaulted by the victorious party, and would have been slain on the spot but for the prompt interposition of the Bishop of Dunkeld.

In 1521, however, the party of Angus was worsted, and Bishop Douglas, along with his nephew, was obliged to take refuge at the English Court, where he was hospitably entertained, and enjoyed the society of Polydore Virgil and other eminent scholars. The dominant party in Scotland, on the 21st of February, 1522, denounced the Bishop as a traitor, sequestered the revenues of his cathedral, and wrote to the Pope, beseeching his Holiness to beware of nominating the traitor Gawain Douglas to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, which had again become vacant. The Bishop was in consequence cited to appear at Rome, but before he could obey the summons he suddenly died of the plague at London.

Bishop Douglas left behind him various poems of considerable

merit. His chief original work is an elaborate and quaint allegory entitled 'King Hart,' intended to represent the progress of human life. It is ingenious, but heavy and full of alliteration. The longest of his original compositions is 'The Palace of Honour,' which displays much learning and versatility of fancy, but is marred by incongruous passages, and tedious and confused descriptions. His translation of Virgil's 'Æneid,' which was produced before there was an English version of any of the classical writers, is on the whole felicitously executed. The original pieces styled 'Prologues,' which are affixed to each book, are among the poet's happiest pieces.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, of Kilspindie, fourth and youngest son of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, appears to have been one of the ablest and most energetic of his family. He was appointed Provost of Edinburgh in 1520, and High Treasurer of Scotland in 1526. He was remarkable for his great strength and skill in warlike exercises, and gained the affection of James V. in his boyhood, who called him his 'Grey Steill,' after a renowned champion in the romance of 'Sir Egar and Sir Grime.' But after the King made his escape from the custody of the Earl of Angus, Kilspindie was, along with the rest of the Douglasses, attainted and forfeited by the Parliament, 5th September, 1528, and compelled to take refuge in England. An affecting story is related by Godscroft respecting the treatment which he received from King James, on a visit paid by him to his native land.

'Archibald being banished into England, could not well comport with the humour of that nation, which he thought to be too proud, and that they had too high a conceit of themselves, joined with a contempt and despising of all others. Wherefore, being wearied of that life, and remembering the King's favour of old towards him, he determined to try the King's mercifulness and clemency. So he comes into Scotland, and taking occasion of the King's hunting in the park at Stirling, he casts himself to be in his way as he was coming home to the castle. So soon as the King saw him afar off, ere he came near, he guessed it was he, and said to one of his courtiers, "Yonder is my Grey Steill, Archibald of Kilspindie, if he be alive." The other answered that it could not be, and that he durst not come into the King's presence. The King approaching, he fell upon his knees and craved pardon, and promised from thenceforward to abstain from meddling in public affairs, and to lead a quiet and

private life. The King went by without giving him any answer, and trotted a good round pace up the hill, Kilsplindie following him; and though he wore on him a secret, or shirt of mail, for his particular enemies, was as soon at the castle-gate as the King. There he sat him down upon a stone without, and entreated some of the King's servants for a cup of drink, being weary and thirsty. But they, fearing the King's displeasure, durst give him none. When the King was sat at his dinner he asked what he had done, what he had said, and whither he had gone. It was told him that he had desired a cup of drink and had gotten none. The King reproved them very sharply for their discourtesy, and told them that if he had not taken an oath that no Douglas should ever serve him, he would have received him into his service, for he had seen him some time a man of great ability. Then he sent him word to go to Leith, and expect his further pleasure.' Subsequently the King commanded him to go to France, and there he shortly after died, it is believed of a broken heart. James was greatly and justly blamed for this unforgiving and pitiless treatment of a man who had never personally injured him. It called forth the indignation even of his vindictive uncle Henry VIII., who on hearing of it quoted the familiar proverb—

‘A king's face
Should give grace.’

As the two eldest sons of Archibald Bell-the-Cat had fallen at Flodden, he was succeeded in the family honours and estates by his grandson—

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, sixth Earl of Angus, eldest son of George, Master of Douglas. He was possessed of great personal attractions and showy accomplishments, but according to Lord Dacre, ‘he was childish, young, and attended by no wise counsellors;’ and besides he speedily exhibited the characteristic vices of his family—lawless ambition and lust of power. He married with indiscreet haste, in 1514, Margaret, widow of James IV., but disappointed in obtaining the Regency, which he expected as the result of this alliance, he made it evident that on his side the match was one of interest, not of affection, and showed himself a careless and unfaithful husband. The Duke of Albany was appointed Regent in the room of Margaret on her marriage, and compelled Angus and Margaret to take refuge in England, where she was delivered of a daughter, the Lady Mar-

garet Douglas, afterwards the mother of the unfortunate Darnley. Angus, in a very heartless manner, left his wife before she had completely recovered, and returned to Scotland to pursue his selfish intrigues. His scandalous desertion of his wife in these circumstances began that alienation of feeling in her mind which ultimately led her to obtain a divorce from the Earl in 1525. On the departure of the Duke of Albany for France, in 1516, Angus was appointed a member of the Council of Regency, and soon acquired great ascendancy in the kingdom. In 1520 the Hamiltons and other powerful western families assembled at Edinburgh for the purpose of seizing the Earl, but they were completely defeated, as we have seen, and driven out of the city. In the following year, however, on the return of Albany, Angus was compelled to flee to England, and subsequently passed into France as a voluntary exile. He returned to Scotland in 1524, and became the head of the English party among the nobles there, and by his ambitious and violent proceedings kept the country in a state of disorder and almost anarchy. He obtained possession of the person of the King, then in his fourteenth year, became Lord Chancellor, and filled all the offices of the State either with members or the supporters of his house. He raised the power of the Douglasses to such a height as seriously to endanger both the independence of the Crown and the liberties of the people. An old chronicler says, 'There dared no man strive at law with a Douglas or a Douglas man, for if he did he was sure to get the worst of the lawsuit.' 'And,' he adds, 'although Angus travelled through the country under pretence of punishing thieves, robbers, and murderers, there were no malefactors so great as those who rode in his own train.' The young King himself was eager to escape from the thralldom in which he was held, but Angus succeeded in defeating two attempts made, with the King's knowledge and approbation, to set him at liberty—one by Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, near Melrose; the other by the Earl of Lennox, at Almond Bridge, near Linlithgow, in which, to the great grief of James, the Earl lost his life. At length, in July, 1528, the King succeeded in making his escape, in disguise, from Falkland Palace, where he had been virtually kept a prisoner, and rode to Stirling Castle, which had been prepared for his reception. Shortly after a meeting of Parliament was held, at which Angus and his brothers were declared rebels and traitors, and their estates forfeited. The King was baffled in his attempts to reduce the castles of Douglas and Tantallon, but Angus

and his brothers were driven out of Scotland, and once more took refuge in England. He received a pension of a thousand marks from Henry VIII., and to his great disgrace made several hostile incursions across the Borders against his own countrymen. He remained fifteen years in exile, and was not permitted to return to Scotland until after the death of James, when his diminished power and the altered state of parties rendered his presence less formidable to the public tranquillity. His attainder and that of his brothers was removed by Parliament, and they were restored to their rank and possessions in 1543.

Angus and his astute brother, Sir George Douglas, did all in their power to promote the scheme of the English king for the marriage of his son, Prince Edward, to the infant Queen Mary, and gave him judicious advice as to the best mode of carrying it gradually into effect. But Henry's arbitrary disposition and violent temper would brook no delay, and his invasions of Scotland for the purpose of compelling the people to submit to his demands alienated his best friends. In his anger against the Scots, and his confident belief that he could conquer their country, an English force, under Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Brian Latoun, was despatched to lay waste the Borders with fire and sword; and Henry is said to have bestowed upon Evers a grant of all the lands he could conquer in the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, the greater part of which belonged to the Douglases. Angus swore, that 'if Ralph Evers dared to act upon the grant, he would write his sasine (or instrument of possession) on his skin with sharp pens and bloody ink.' He had not long to wait for an opportunity of carrying his threat into effect. Evers, stimulated by the prize which his sovereign had promised him, made a second inroad into Scotland at the head of five thousand men, and ravaged the Borders with unexampled ferocity. The English had previously destroyed the abbey of Melrose, and they now wantonly defaced the tombs of the Douglases who were buried in its aisles.

Angus collected his retainers and vassals to revenge these outrages on the ruthless invaders, and having been joined by Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch at the head of his clan, and by Norman Lesley with a body of men from Fife, he encountered them on a moor near the village of Ancrum, in Roxburghshire. The English were completely defeated with the loss of eight hundred men, among whom were Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Brian Latoun, and a thousand were taken prisoners. King Henry, on receiving news of this defeat, was furious at Angus, and vowed that he would inflict signal

vengeance on him for his ingratitude and perfidy. The Earl replied to the threats of the irate monarch in characteristic terms. 'Is our brother-in-law,' he said, 'offended that I, as a good Scotsman, have avenged my ravaged country and the defaced tombs of my ancestors upon Ralph Evers? They were better men than he, and I was bound to do no less. And will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Kirnetable.* I can keep myself there against all his English host.'

Angus's policy continued to the end selfish, short-sighted, and unprincipled. He was privy to the nefarious project, devised by a number of the nobles with the approval of Henry VIII., to assassinate Cardinal Beaton; and his brother, Sir George Douglas, informed Sadler in distinct terms that 'if the King would have the Cardinal dead' his wish would be gratified 'if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof.' The Earl commanded the van of the Scottish army at the disastrous battle of Pinkie. He inflicted a sanguinary defeat upon the English Warden, Lord Wharton, who invaded the Western Marches in February, 1548. During the regency of Mary of Guise, as under the rule of Albany and of Arran, Angus's main object was the maintenance of the power of his family and the privileges of his order. The Regent at one time attempted to obtain possession of some of the strong fortresses of the kingdom, in order to garrison them with French troops, and she cast a longing eye on Tantallon, a stronghold of the Douglasses. 'They tell us,' says Godscroft, 'also how at another time she desired of him to have his castle of Tantallon to keep warders in, or upon I know not what pretext or for what use. To this he gave no direct answer for a long time, but having a goshawk on his fist which he was feeding, spake of her saying she was a greedy gled.† "The devil is in this greedy gled; will she never be full?" But when the Queen insisted, not understanding or not willing to understand his meaning, he told her, "Yes, madam; why not? All is yours, ye shall have it, it is at your service; but, madam, I must be captain and keeper of it. I shall keep it for you as well as any man you shall put into it."''

'They tell, also, how the Queen-Regent had intention to make the

* Kirnetable, or Cairntable, is a mountainous tract of country at the head of Douglasdale. An Afghan chief replied in similar terms to a threat of Sir Henry Lawrence that he would march an army into his territory, and punish his people for the murder of a British traveller. 'The roads in my country,' he said, 'are bad for armies.'

† The Scottish name for a hawk.

Earl of Huntly a duke; whereof, when she was discoursing with Angus, she told him how Huntly had done her very good service, for which she intended to advance him and make him a duke. To which he answered, "Why not, madam? We are happy that have such a Princess that can know and will acknowledge men's service, and is willing to recompense it; but, by the might of God" (this was his oath when he was serious and in anger; at other times it was, by Saint Bride of Douglas), "if he be a duke I will be a drake;" alluding to the word duke, which in Scotland signifies a duck as well as that title and dignity, which, being the female and the drake the male, his meaning was he would be above and before him. . . . So she desisted from further prosecuting of that purpose.'

The Earl died at the castle of Tantallon in 1556. His only son, James, pre-deceased him, and he was succeeded by his nephew, DAVID DOUGLAS, who held the family honours and estates only two years, and died in 1558.

SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS, of Pittendriech, was an abler man than his brother, the sixth Earl, and had great influence over him. He was thoroughly unprincipled and perfidious, and took a prominent part in the treasonable intrigues of a section of the nobles with the English king. He was master of the royal household and had charge of the young King when the Earl, his brother, hastened to assist Arran in the conflict with Lennox at Almond Bridge. Enraged at the evident reluctance of James to proceed, the brutal baron exclaimed, 'Bide where you are, for if they get hold of you, be it by one of your arms, we will seize a leg and pull you in two pieces rather than part from you;' a threat which the King never forgave. Sir George died before the Earl, leaving two sons: David, who became seventh Earl of Angus on the death of his uncle, and James, Earl of Morton, the celebrated Regent of Scotland.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, eighth Earl of Angus, only son of Earl David, was only two years of age when he succeeded to the titles and estates of the family. His character differed greatly from that of most of his predecessors, for he was styled the 'Good Earl' on account of his virtuous and amiable disposition. He held the office of Warden of the Marches for several years, and discharged its duties with great diligence and fidelity. During the regency of his uncle, the Earl of Morton, who was his guardian, he took part with him in the siege

of Hamilton Castle and in the overthrow of the Hamilton family. After the execution of Morton in 1581, Angus retired to England, the usual refuge of Scottish exiles. He was honourably received and hospitably entertained by Queen Elizabeth, and during his residence in London contracted a close fellowship with the illustrious Sir Philip Sydney. In 1582, after the Raid of Ruthven, he was permitted to return home, and joined the nobles connected with that enterprise. When the worthless favourite, Stewart, Earl of Arran, regained his ascendancy over the King, Angus retired for safety beyond the Spey. He was privy to the plot of the Earl of Gowrie to seize the person of James in 1584, but its sudden collapse in consequence of the capture of the Earl and the approach of James at the head of a powerful force, caused Angus and his associates a second time to throw themselves on the protection of Elizabeth. At the meeting of Parliament, August 22nd, of that same year, Angus was attainted and his estates forfeited. Though in exile he still continued to exercise great influence in Scottish affairs, and was particularly obnoxious to James and his advisers on account of his opposition to the efforts made by the King to subvert the Presbyterian form of Church government, and a plot was concocted by Arran and Montrose for his assassination. But the apprehension of the person hired to perpetrate this foul deed, who was seen lurking about the neighbourhood of Newcastle, where Angus was living, brought the whole plot to light and prevented its execution. He returned to Scotland in 1585, along with the other banished lords, who expelled Arran from the Court, and obtained a revocation of their forfeiture and the pardon of their offences. Angus, towards the close of his life, was offered, but declined, the office of Chancellor of Scotland. He died in 1588, and leaving no male issue, he was succeeded by—

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, of Glenbervie, as ninth Earl. He was the son of Sir Archibald Douglas, of Glenbervie, grandson of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, the fifth earl. James VI. made an attempt to seize the earldom, and brought a suit to reduce the charters granting and confirming the title, but a decision was given in favour of Sir William. He held the earldom only three years and was succeeded by his eldest son—

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, tenth Earl, who became a Roman Catholic, and, in conjunction with the Earls of Errol and Huntly, disturbed

the peace of the country and perilled its safety by their treasonable intrigues with the King of Spain. They were implicated in the conspiracy of the 'Spanish Blanks,' as it was called in consequence of certain blank sheets of paper, having at the bottom the seals and signatures of the Popish lords, being found in the possession of George Kerr, a brother of the Abbot of Newbattle, who was about to proceed on a secret mission to Spain. Kerr, on being put to the torture, confessed the whole affair. It appears that the King of Spain was to land an army of thirty thousand men on the west coast of Scotland, where they were to be joined by the Popish lords with all the forces they could muster. Fifteen thousand of the Spanish troops were to march across the Border and assist in raising an insurrection in England, while the remainder, with the assistance of the Romish faction, were to overthrow the Protestant Church in Scotland. This nefarious plot against the independence of the country and the national religion was repeatedly renewed by the three Popish lords; but James, who was unwilling to proceed to extremities against them, contrived to delay the infliction of the punishment which their crime deserved. The lenity shown by the King seemed only to embolden them to open resistance against the royal authority. They were at length declared guilty of high treason, and excommunicated as obstinate Papists, their estates and honours were forfeited, and a commission was given to the young Earl of Argyll to pursue them with fire and sword. Huntly and Errol collected their retainers, and, after a stubborn conflict, defeated the royal forces at a place called Glenlivet, 3rd October, 1594. (See THE CAMPBELLS OF ARGYLL.) The King, indignant and alarmed at this disaster, marched at the head of a powerful army to the north, and laid waste the estates of the insurgents and destroyed their strongholds. Angus was not present at the battle of Glenlivet, but he shared the fate of his associates, and implored the King's permission to leave the kingdom, which was granted on condition that he would not return without the royal sanction, nor during his exile make any attempt to injure the Protestant religion or the peace and liberties of his native country. He returned secretly in 1595, and was suffered to remain in Scotland on giving assurance that he would henceforth conduct himself like a loyal and peaceful subject. In the following year he was formally 'released' from the bond, and in 1597, along with Huntly and Errol, was publicly absolved from his excommunication and reconciled to the Kirk at Aberdeen, in the presence of a great

assembly of persons of all ranks. He subsequently retired to the Continent, and died at Paris, 3rd March, 1611, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

From this period downward the influence of this 'great old house' steadily declined. Its extensive estates, indeed, remained unimpaired amid all the vicissitudes of the Great Civil War and the Jacobite rebellions; but the heads of the house were no longer, as in the olden times, celebrated for their 'singular manhood, noble prowess, and mightie puissance.' They were, however, kind-hearted, amiable men, noted for their princely hospitality and cultivated tastes, though without the ambition or the abilities requisite either to occupy a place in the Cabinet or to command 'the applause of listening senates.'

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, eleventh Earl of Angus, was a Roman Catholic like his father, the tenth Earl, and a zealous supporter of the royal cause during the Great Civil War. He was raised by Charles I., in 1633, to the rank of Marquis of Douglas, and was nominated Lieutenant of the Borders. When matters were coming to a crisis between the King and the Covenanters, the latter succeeded in capturing Tantallon and Douglas, the two strongholds of the Marquis. He does not appear to have taken up arms in behalf of Charles until the march of Montrose to the Borders in 1645. But 'old times were changed, old manners gone.' The representative of a family whose early chiefs could bring into the field 30,000 men joined the royal standard followed only by his personal attendants. He made his escape from the rout of Philiphaugh along with Montrose himself and Lord Napier. He fell, however, into the hands of the Estates, and was imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle. He was fined £1,000 sterling by Cromwell's 'Act of Grace and Pardon.'

Long before the final overthrow of the royal cause in Scotland, the Marquis and his wife, who was a daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, had been subjected to a species of ecclesiastical persecution at the hands of the Lanark Presbytery. The reverend court sent deputations every now and then to Douglas Castle threatening them with excommunication if they refused to abjure the Roman Catholic religion. After numerous conferences the Presbytery prevailed on the Marchioness with great difficulty to attend the parish church, and to allow her children to be instructed in the principles of the Presbyterian faith, a concession which seems to have obtained for her a temporary

relief from the ill-judged importunities of the clerical court. It took six years' 'dealing' with the Marquis to persuade him to abjure Popery and sign the Covenant. This ceremony was performed in the parish church of Douglas amid great rejoicing on the part of the Presbytery and the Congregation. Lady Douglas, however, obstinately adhered to her hereditary creed, and the reverend court in consequence demanded that she and her husband should consent to be separated from their children in order that security might be taken that they should be brought up in the Protestant religion. It is probable that this outrageous demand may have had some effect in inducing the Marquis, who had hitherto lived quietly in his castle at Douglas, to break through all his engagements to the Presbytery and to join Montrose.

During the imprisonment of the head of the family in Dumbarton Castle the reverend court renewed their dealing with the Marchioness, who was compelled to appear before them in order to be examined touching her 'malignancy and obstinate continuance in the profession of popery.' She appears to have given them smooth words, and to have made such apparent concessions as induced them to leave her unmolested for a little while. But their 'manifold expressions of lenity and long-suffering' toward her failed to make the lady give up her 'disobedience,' and the Presbyters proceeded to take steps for her excommunication and separation from her children. For some unknown reason they paused in carrying out this formidable process, which in those days was followed by forfeiture of property and imprisonment. At length the Marquis found it necessary to make his peace with the ruling powers, who had imposed upon him a fine of 50,000 merks; and at the commencement of the year 1647 he appeared before the Lanark Presbytery, expressed his deep penitence for his violation of the Covenant, and promised faithful adherence to it in time to come. One-half of his fine was then remitted by the Estates, and he was released from his long imprisonment. Still the Presbytery were not satisfied, and he was constrained to agree that his children should be boarded with the minister of the parish and be instructed by a tutor approved of by the court. The reluctance with which his lordship submitted to these restrictions was speedily made apparent to his tormentors by their learning that he was arranging to send his youngest son to be brought up in France. They renewed their deputations and their demands, and the recusant peer and his wife were equally persistent in their adherence to their

own faith, though professing their willingness to comply with the terms pressed on their acceptance by the Presbytery. At last the patience of the sincere and zealous but intolerant brethren was exhausted, and in October, 1648, when the Covenanters were dominant in Scotland and all opposition crushed, they peremptorily ordered that, failing immediate satisfaction, his lordship be summoned and the lady 'excommunicat.' The Marquis appeared before them to answer 'for not keeping his son at the school with a sufficient pedagogue approved by the Presbytery; for not delivering his daughter to some Protestant friend by sight [under the approval] of the Presbytery; for not having a sufficient chaplain approved as said is for family exercise in his house; for not calling home his son who is in France; and, finally, for his grievous oppression of his tenants.' On all these points he was fain to make explanations and concessions. Shortly after he supplicated the Presbytery to be allowed to bring his son from the school of Glasgow to that of Lanark, expressing his willingness, should his request be granted, that 'he should not come home to his parents except the Presbytery permit.'

All the time, notwithstanding the professed submission of the Marquis and his wife to these imperious mandates, the members of the reverend court evidently felt that they were being foiled by the mere semblance of adherence to the Presbyterian form of worship, while the culprits with whom they were dealing remained at heart strongly attached to the Roman Catholic Church. But they were none the less determined to compel them to make a profession of the Protestant faith. On the 9th of March, 1650, two members of the Presbytery were sent with authority to pass upon Lady Douglas a sentence of excommunication unless she should *instantly* express her adherence to the established system of religion. At the same time, with an almost incomprehensible obliquity of moral vision and wilful blindness to the real character of their mode of dealing with the lady, they pointedly reminded her 'how fearful a sin it was to swear with equivocation or mental reservation.' The Marchioness, knowing well the result should she fail to give 'full obedience and satisfaction to the kirk,' declared that 'she had no more doubts,' and expressed her willingness, at the bidding of one of the ministers, to declare her acceptance of the Covenant before the congregation assembled in the parish church. In the words of the report made to the Presbytery, 'After he [the minister] had read the Solemn League and

Covenant, and desired her to hold up her hand and swear by the great name of God, to observe according to her power every article thereof,' she did so; and after divine service was ended he desired her to 'go to the session table and subscribe the Covenant, and before the ministers and elders she went to the table and did subscribe.'

The true value of this enforced and shocking profanation of a solemn ceremony was speedily made manifest to the men who had shut their eyes in wilful blindness to the real state of opinion and feeling on the part of the noble pair whom they were tormenting. On the very day that the two ministers reported to the Presbytery their proceedings with the Marchioness of Douglas, 'the Court,' hearing that of late the Marquis of Douglas and his lady had sent away one of their daughters to France, to a Popish lady, to be bred with her in Popery, without the knowledge of the Presbytery, and without any warrant from the Estates, thought the fault intolerable, and so much the more because they had sent away one of their sons before to the Court of France.' Weighty reasons might have been given why in those times the sons of the nobility should not have been sent to France for their education; but the unreasonable and tyrannical character of the other demands of the Presbytery, and especially their persistent attempts, as detailed in their own records, to compel the Marquis and his wife to make a hypocritical profession of their belief of a religious system which, in their hearts, they disowned, throw great light on the spirit of the times, and show how little the principle of toleration was understood and acted upon by either party in those troublous times.*

In his personal character the Marquis appears to have been one of the best of his race. He usually resided at the castle of Douglas, where he kept up the old Scottish grandeur and hospitality, and maintained a more numerous household than any nobleman in the kingdom.

* See *Report of the Presbytery of Lanark*. The members of the Lanark Presbytery would no doubt have disclaimed the notion that there is no salvation possible for those who do not belong to their Church, but there can be no doubt that they believed that those who persisted in adhering to the Romish Church would be lost. They would have cordially concurred in the statement made by Thomas Carlyle, to some Irish Romanists who were speaking to him of the intolerance of Scotsmen towards Roman Catholics, 'Why, how *could* they do otherwise? If one sees one's fellow-creature following a damnable error, by continuing in which the devil is sure to get him at last and roast him in eternal fire and brimstone, are you to let him go towards such consummation? or are you not rather to use all means to save him?'—*Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, p. 308.

The Marquis died in February, 1660. He was twice married, first to the only daughter of Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley, and secondly to the third daughter of the first Marquis of Huntly. His eldest son, by his first wife, styled Earl of Angus, took an active part in public affairs, and officiated as Lord High Chamberlain at the coronation of King Charles II., January 1st, 1651. He was fined one thousand pounds sterling by Cromwell's 'Act of Grace and Pardon.' He died before his father, January 15th, 1655. His eldest son succeeded as second Marquis of Douglass.

William, the second son of the Marquis, was created Earl of Selkirk, and by his marriage with Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, became Duke of Hamilton. George, his third son, was created Earl of Dumbarton in 1675.

JAMES, second Marquis of Douglas, succeeded his grandfather in 1660, and died A.D. 1700, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.* The lapse into Popery seems to have been confined to the first Marquis. If the Earl of Angus, eldest son of the second Marquis, had not been a strict Presbyterian he could never have succeeded in raising among the sternest class of Covenanters a body of infantry which is still, after the lapse of well-nigh two centuries, known by the name of the Cameronian Regiment.† At Dunkeld, where they were victorious, though attacked by overwhelming numbers, they unfurled, for the first time in the face of an enemy, their colours, which have since been proudly borne in every quarter of the world, and which are now embellished with the Sphinx and the Dragon, emblems of brave actions achieved in Egypt and in China. They fought with desperate valour at the battle of Steinkirk, in August, 1692, where their gallant Colonel, the Earl of Angus, was killed, in the twenty-first year of his age. His half-brother, William, died in infancy, and his youngest brother—

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, became third Marquis of Douglas. He

* See ADDENDA, vol. ii., p. 423.

† The regiment had a very peculiar character. They stipulated that their officers should exclusively be men such as 'in conscience' they could submit to. Alexander Shields, a noted field preacher, was appointed their chaplain, and an elder was nominated for each company, so that the regiment should be under the same religious and moral discipline as a parish. A Bible was a part of the equipment of every private—a regulation which was then, and for a long time afterwards, singular. While the young Earl of Angus was appointed Colonel of this remarkable regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonelcy was conferred upon William Cleland, a man of poetical genius as well as a brave soldier, who had fought for the 'good old cause' at Bothwell Brig. He was killed at Dunkeld.

was born in the year 1694, succeeded his grandfather in 1700, and while yet a minor was created, in 1703, Duke of Douglas, in consideration of his noble descent and the illustrious services of his ancestors. His Grace served as a volunteer under the Duke of Argyll in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, and was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. He was unfortunately a person of weak intellect, and he seems also to have been liable to sudden outbursts of passion. He took no part in public affairs, such as befitted his rank and fortune, and is said to have passed his time in low amusements, not always in choice society. It is mentioned in the newspapers of the day that he fought a duel on a Sunday evening in 1724, in which both he and his antagonist, the Earl of Dalkeith, were wounded. Amongst his visitors was a young man named Kerr, a natural son of Lord John Kerr, brother of the Marquis of Lothian, and also of the Dowager Countess of Angus, the Duke's mother. This youth, who was thus the Duke's cousin, aspired to the hand of his Grace's only sister, Lady Jane Douglas, and it is also alleged that he ventured to remonstrate with the Duke about his keeping company with a low person belonging to the village of Douglas. Prompted by this fellow, the Duke stole by night into the chamber of Mr. Kerr and shot him dead as he lay asleep. His Grace is said to have been overwhelmed with horror at the deed he had committed. No time was lost in sending him off to Holland, there to remain till he could safely return home.

The affair was hushed up, and no steps were taken by the public authorities to bring the murderer to justice. It is uncertain at what time the Duke returned to Scotland, and little or nothing is known of his subsequent life until the time of his marriage more than thirty years after this incident. In the year 1758, when his Grace was turned of sixty, he married Margaret, daughter of James Douglas, of Mains, Dumbartonshire, who was celebrated for her wit and beauty, and not less for her freedom of speech and action. Dr. Carlyle of Musselburgh, who met this lady in the year 1745, and made an excursion from Glasgow with her and several other ladies and gentlemen, says, 'When we came to Hamilton, she prayed us to send a messenger a few miles to bring to us a clergyman of a neighbouring parish, a Mr. Thomas Clelland. He came to us when we were viewing the romantic gardens of Barncluith. Thomas Clelland was a good-looking little man, but his hair was becoming grey, which no sooner Margaret observed than she rallied

him pretty roughly (which was her way) on his being an old fusty bachelor, and on his increasing marks of age since she had seen him not more than a year before. After bearing patiently all the efforts of her wit, "Margaret," says he, "you know that I am master of the parish register, where your age is recorded, and that I know when you may be with justice called an old maid, in spite of your juvenile airs." "What care I, Tom?" said she, "for I have for some time renounced your worthless set. I have sworn to be Duchess of Douglas or never to mount a marriage bed." She made her purpose good. When she uttered in jest this prediction she was about thirty. It was fulfilled a few years after.* Many stories are told of her Grace's broad humour and freedom of speech. Dr. Johnson, who met her at dinner in Boswell's house in Edinburgh in 1773, the year before her death, described her as an 'old lady who talks broad Scotch with a paralytic voice, and is scarcely understood by her own countrymen.' 'Had the doctor seen her ten years earlier,' says Robert Chambers, 'when she was in possession of all her faculties, he would have found out how much comicality and rough wit could be expressed in broad Scotch under the coif of a duchess.' She survived her husband twelve years.

The Duke had an only sister, Lady Jane Douglas, whose life was most unhappy, but is chiefly memorable on account of its connection with the celebrated DOUGLAS CASE. She was one of the handsomest and most accomplished women of her age, but her happiness was unfortunately ruined in early life by the rupture of her engagement to the Earl of Dalkeith, afterwards Duke of Buccleuch. From that time onward she persistently rejected all offers of marriage until she had attained the mature age of forty-eight, when, in August, 1746, she secretly married Mr. John Stewart, second son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Grandtully. Mr. Stewart had no fortune or profession, or income from any source, and the whole resources of the pair consisted of £300 a year, paid to Lady Jane by her brother the Duke, with whom she was not on good terms at the time of her imprudent marriage. Immediately after her union Mr. Stewart and Lady Jane went abroad, and resided principally in France from 1746 till the end of 1749. On their return to England they brought with them two male children, of whom they alleged Lady Jane had been delivered at one birth in Paris in the month of July, 1748, when her ladyship was in the fifty-first year of her age. Her brother

* *Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle*, p. 107.

the Duke of Douglas had stopped her allowance when her marriage was made public in the summer of 1749, and her husband and she were in consequence reduced to the greatest distress. Mr. Stewart was besides deeply involved in debt, and his creditors threw him into gaol. In this deplorable condition some of her old friends obtained for Lady Jane from Government a pension of £300 a year. But this boon failed to relieve the wretched pair from want, and Lady Jane was obliged more than once to sell her clothes to support her husband, who was still living within the rules of the King's Bench Prison, in Southwark. In 1752 she visited Scotland, and attempted to obtain a reconciliation with her brother; but he refused even to see her. She returned again to London, leaving the two children in Edinburgh, under the care of a woman who had formerly accompanied her and her husband to the Continent as a servant. The younger of the two, who was named Sholto Thomas Stewart, died in May, 1753, and, shortly after, Lady Jane returned to Edinburgh and made another fruitless effort to be reconciled to her brother. Her health was now completely broken down, and in the following November the unfortunate lady died at Edinburgh, destitute even of the common necessities of life, and was interred in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood.

After the death of Lady Jane, Archibald, the survivor of the two children, was befriended by Lady Schaw, who, pitying his destitute condition, supported and educated him. In the year 1759, when he was eleven years of age, Mr. Stewart succeeded, by the death of his elder brother, Sir George, to the family estate and baronetcy, and executed a bond of provision in Archibald's favour for £2,500, designating him in the document as his own son by Lady Jane Douglas. The Duke of Douglas, however, continued obstinate in his refusal to acknowledge the boy as his nephew. But the Duchess was most zealous in his behalf, and advocated his cause so warmly as to lead to a quarrel between her and the Duke on that account and a separation, which, however, was not of long duration. In 1754 the Duke executed a settlement of his estate upon the Duke of Hamilton, failing heirs of his own body, and in 1757 he executed a second deed in favour of the same heir, in which he declared it to be his intention that the son of his sister should in no case succeed to his estate. But in the year 1760 the Duke revoked and cancelled these settlements. In the summer of 1761 his Grace was taken with a serious illness, and believing that his end was near, he executed, on

the 11th of July, an entail of his whole estate, settling it upon the heirs whatsoever of his father, with remainder to Lord Douglas Hamilton, brother of the Duke of Hamilton. On the same day he executed another deed appointing the Duchess of Douglas, the Duke of Queensbury, and other persons to be tutors to Archibald Douglas, or Stewart, son of his deceased sister, who was to succeed him in his estates.

On the death of the Duke, which took place on the 21st of July, the dukedom of Douglas became extinct; but the other titles of this great old house passed to the Duke of Hamilton. The guardians of young Stewart took the usual steps to put him in possession of the Douglas estates, and he was sworn heir to the late Duke before a jury, according to the form prescribed by the law of Scotland. The guardians of the Duke of Hamilton, however, who was also a minor, were not convinced by the evidence laid before the jury, that Archibald Stewart was really the son of Lady Jane Douglas; and Mr. Andrew Stuart, one of their number, was dispatched to Paris for the purpose of investigating the statements which had been made on that point. The discoveries which Stuart made were, in his opinion, and that of the other guardians, sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the whole story of Lady Jane's delivery was a pure fiction. Proceedings were, therefore, immediately instituted by them before the Court of Session to set aside Stewart's claim to the Douglas estates.

In support of his claim there was adduced—

- 1st. The depositions of several witnesses that Lady Jane appeared to them to be with child while at Aix-la-Chapelle and other places.
- 2nd. The testimony of Mrs. Hewit, who accompanied Lady Jane to Paris, that she was delivered of twin boys at Paris upon the 10th of July, 1748.
- 3rd. The depositions of other witnesses, with regard to the claimant being acknowledged by Lady Jane and her husband to be their child.
- 4th. A number of letters which had passed between Sir John Stewart, Lady Jane Douglas, Mrs. Hewit and others, respecting the claimant's birth.
- 5th. Four letters said to have been written by Pierre la Marre, who, it was alleged, was the accoucheur that officiated at Lady Jane's delivery. The solemn declaration was also adduced of Sir John Stewart, emitted a few days before his death, in June, 1764, in the presence of two ministers and a justice of the peace, affirming that Archibald Stewart and his twin brother were both born of the body of Lady Jane

Douglas, his lawful spouse, in the year 1748. Mrs. Hewit, who was charged with being an accomplice in the fraud, died during the suit, and to the last persisted in declaring that all she had sworn respecting the birth of the children was truth.

On the other hand, it was maintained by the guardians of the Duke of Hamilton—

1st. That Lady Jane Douglas was not delivered upon the 10th of July, 1748, by the evidence of various letters written by her husband and Mrs. Hewit upon the 10th, 11th, and 22nd of that month. 2nd. That Lady Jane was not delivered, as was asserted, in the house of a Madame la Brune, nor in the presence of a Madame la Brune and her daughter. And various circumstances were adduced to show that no such persons as the Madame la Brune in question or her daughter ever existed. 3rd. That Lady Jane Douglas could not have been delivered, either upon the 10th of July or in the house of a Madame la Brune, because that upon that date, and upon several days preceding and subsequent to the 10th of July, Lady Jane, with her husband and Mrs. Hewit, resided at the Hotel de Chalons, kept by Mons. Godefroi, where it is acknowledged she was not delivered; and that it was clearly shown that this was the case by the testimony of Mons. and Madame Godefroi, as well as by the 'book of expenses' and 'ledger-book' kept by them. 4th. Great stress was laid upon the studied concealment and mystery observed at Paris in July, 1748, when Sir John and Lady Jane, with their confidante, Mrs. Hewit, carried with them from Paris to Rheims one child, and on their repetition of the same concealment and mystery upon their return to Paris, in November, 1749, when the same three persons brought from Paris to Rheims a second child. 5th. Proof was brought that at Paris, in the month of July, 1748, a recently born male child was carried off from his parents of the name of Mignon, and that in the month of November, 1749, another male child, born in the year 1748, was in like manner taken from his parents, of the name of Sanry. It was asserted that both of these children were, under false pretences, carried off from their parents by British residents at Paris, and that the persons who did so were Sir John Stewart, Lady Jane Douglas, and Mrs. Hewit. It was also affirmed that no such person as Pierre la Marre, the alleged accoucheur, existed, and that the letters said to have been written by him were proved, and indeed admitted to be, a forgery.

A variety of other circumstances were pleaded in confirmation of

these statements. On the 21st of May, 1748, Lady Jane and her husband left Aix-la-Chapelle, where they had resided upwards of a year, giving various contradictory and untrue reasons for doing so. They stopped for some time at Liège and Sedan, and then proceeded to Rheims, travelling all the way in the stage-coach. They remained at Rheims for a month, and then set out for Paris, leaving behind them their two female servants, and accompanied only by Mrs. Hewit. The excuse for leaving their servants at Rheims was that they had no money to carry them to Paris, which was proved to be untrue, and the reason given by Lady Jane for undertaking this long, tedious, and fatiguing journey at a time when she professed to be very far advanced in pregnancy was that she had been told that the medical practitioners in Rheims were unskilful; and yet the accoucheur who was said to have delivered her in Paris, according to Sir John Stewart's own story, was a person of a very humble class, with whose place of residence he was not acquainted. On the ninth day after her alleged delivery, the husband and wife appeared at the Hôtel d'Anjou, without either nurse or child. They went next day to the country and returned with a child and a nurse, the child looking much older than the date assigned for its birth, and almost starved to death for want of milk, and the nurse a poor wretched creature, officially branded as a thief, who had no milk to give the child. It was at this very time that the son of the peasant Mignon disappeared. With regard to the other boy, Sir John affirmed that it was so weak and sickly that the accoucheur baptised him as soon as he was born, that it was left at nurse with a woman of whom Lady Jane and he knew nothing, and under the care of Pierre la Marre, whom they themselves acknowledged they did not know where to find. They admitted also that for a whole month they made no inquiry about the child. Great stress was laid by the judges who were adverse to the claim of young Stewart upon the numerous contradictions in the declarations made both by Lady Jane and her husband, and on the fact that not a few of their statements were proved to be false.

The case excited extraordinary interest not only in Scotland and England, but throughout the Continent, on account of the great importance of the interests at stake, and it is probably the most remarkable case of the kind ever litigated. In Scotland the people were ranged into two hostile parties, who argued the question at issue with as much asperity and zeal as if the fate of the kingdom

had been dependent on the issue. Popular opinion ran strong in favour of young Stewart, as the Hamilton family at this time had fallen into disrepute.

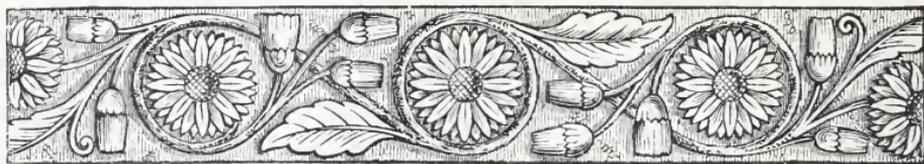
The case came on for judgment in the Court of Session on the 7th of July, 1767, and so important was the cause deemed that the fifteen judges took no less than eight days to deliver their opinions. The result was that eight of the judges, including the Lord President and the Lord Justice Clerk, voted in favour of the Duke of Hamilton, and the other seven for Stewart.

This decision, however, was reversed by the House of Lords, it was alleged on political rather than on legal grounds; but the judgment of their Lordships has not been ratified by public opinion in subsequent times. In his own district the general idea was that Mr. Stewart closely resembled a Frenchman in his personal appearance, and it is a significant fact that when Lord Shelburne met him he formed and expressed the same opinion. Be this as it may, no one can doubt that on social and economical grounds it was much better for the country that the Douglas estates should have been awarded to young Stewart, whether he was the son of Lady Jane Douglas or of a French peasant, than that they should have been merged in the vast possessions of the house of Hamilton. The fortunate youth proved himself to be one of nature's noblemen, most exemplary in all his relations in life, public and private—a model landlord, generous and hospitable to his neighbours and retainers, and especially esteemed and loved for his kindness to the poor. George III. raised him to the peerage by the title of Baron Douglas; but though a supporter of the Tory Government, he does not appear to have taken any prominent part in political affairs. He was twice married. First, to Lucy Graham, daughter of the second Duke of Montrose; and, secondly, to Frances Scott, sister of the third Duke of Buccleuch. They bore to him eight sons and four daughters, all of whom, except two sons, reached maturity. Four of his sons died unmarried, and a fifth left no family. Two of his sons by his first wife, Archibald and Charles, were the second and third Lords Douglas. James, the son of his second wife, was in holy orders, and on his death without issue, in 1857, the title became extinct. Jane Margaret, the eldest daughter of the first Lord Douglas, married Henry James, Lord Montague, brother of the second Duke of Buccleuch, and bore to him four daughters, but no son. Her eldest daughter became the wife of Cospatrick, eleventh

Earl of Home, who was created, in 1875, Baron Douglas of Douglas, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and bore to him six sons and three daughters. On the death of her mother, the Countess inherited the Douglas estates, which are now possessed by her eldest son, CHARLES ALEXANDER, twelfth Earl of Home, and second Baron Douglas of the new creation.

It is interesting to notice that notwithstanding the forfeitures and vicissitudes which the family have undergone, a great part of the estates associated with the history and exploits of the old house of Douglas are still in the possession of the present Lord Douglas. The extensive territory in Galloway which belonged to the Black Douglasses, and their lands in Liddesdale, were divided among the Border clans who had contributed to their overthrow; and Lord Hamilton obtained a large share of their Clydesdale property. Hermitage Castle, at one time their chief stronghold, was surrendered by Archibald Bell-the-Cat, and now belongs to the Duke of Buccleuch. Tantallon Castle, which he received in exchange, has passed into the hands of the Dalrymples. But Douglasdale, the cradle of the house, with the remains of its famous old castle, still belongs to the family, along with Bothwell, redolent of the memories of the War of Independence, and of Archibald the Grim, whose daughter was married, in the Collegiate Church there, to the unfortunate Duke of Rothesay; and Linthaugh, near Jedburgh, the gift of King Robert Bruce to his trusty companion in arms, the 'Good Lord James,' as the reward of one of his most gallant exploits. The Berwickshire estates, also of the Black Douglasses, now yielding £7,000 a year; and the Angus property of the Red Douglasses, worth £7,356 per annum, belong to the Earl of Home—altogether, according to the Domesday Book, extending to 90,336 acres, with a rent-roll of £47,721 a year.

In Sir Walter Scott's 'Abbot,' the golden zone of the White Lady, which was diminished to the tenuity of a silken thread when the family of Avenel seemed on the eve of extinction—as was the case with the house of Douglas—was afterwards seen around her bosom as broad as the baldrick of an earl. It is to be hoped that this omen will be fulfilled in the case of the ancient and estimable family—a branch of the great house of Dunbar and March—on whom the estates of the old Douglasses have now devolved.



THE KEITHS.

THE Keiths are among the oldest and most illustrious, as they were at one time among the most powerful of the historical families of Scotland. During five centuries they took a prominent part in all the important public events—political and ecclesiastical—in their own country, and obtained great renown ‘in far lands ayont the sea.’ They were distinguished for their diplomatic ability as well as for their warlike achievements, and were munificent patrons of learning, which they promoted both by their wealth and their pen. Though they ultimately forfeited their titles and estates by their adherence to the cause of the ill-fated Stewart dynasty, the Keiths, throughout nearly the whole of their career, were not only zealous patriots but staunch supporters of civil and religious liberty.

The origin of the Keiths is hid amid the mists of antiquity, and the stories told by the early chroniclers respecting their descent from the German tribe of the ‘Catti,’ who were driven from their own country and took refuge in Caithness, are absurd fictions. All that is known with certainty on the subject is, that in the reign of David I., when Norman, Saxon, Flemish, and Scandinavian settlers in great numbers took up their residence in Scotland, a part of the district of Keith, in East Lothian, was possessed by a baron named HERVEIUS, who witnessed the charter by which King David granted Annandale to Robert de Brus. His estate received from him the designation of Keith Hervei, and afterwards of Keith Marischal. Herveus de Keith, the son of this baron, held the office of King’s Marischal under Malcolm IV. and William I., which from this time became hereditary in the family. Philip, his grandson, who died before 1220, succeeded him in his estate and office, and by his marriage with Eda, grand-daughter and heiress of Simon Fraser,

obtained Keith Hundebay (now Humbie), the other half of the barony of Keith.

The family soon become numerous and powerful, and spread their branches far and wide throughout the Lowland districts of Scotland. SIR WILLIAM KEITH of Galston, in Ayrshire, fought on the patriotic side in the War of Independence, and distinguished himself by his signal bravery and energy at the capture of Berwick, in 1318. He was one of the knights who, in 1330, accompanied Sir James Douglas in his expedition to the Holy Land, with the heart of King Robert Bruce. In 1333 he was appointed Governor of Berwick, and two years later was sent ambassador to England. He was killed at the siege of Stirling in 1336.

SIR ROBERT DE KEITH, the fourth in descent from Philip, the Great Marischal, was one of the most celebrated knights of his day. In the year 1300 he was appointed Justiciary of the country beyond the Forth, and in 1305 was chosen one of the representatives of the barons, to consult respecting the government of the kingdom after the death of Wallace. Three years later he repaired to the standard of Bruce, and distinguished himself at the battle of Inverury, where Comyn of Badenoch, the deadly enemy of the patriot King, was defeated. As a reward for his signal services in this conflict, Sir Robert received a grant of several estates in Aberdeenshire, along with a royal residence called Hall Forest—a donation which led, as in the case of the Gordons and Frasers, to the removal of the family to the north, where they ultimately had their chief seat and estates. Sir Robert de Keith rendered important service to the patriotic cause throughout the War of Independence, and contributed not a little to the crowning victory of Bannockburn. He was despatched by Bruce along with Sir James Douglas to reconnoitre the English army on their march, and to bring him confidential information respecting their numbers and equipments; and to him was entrusted the important duty of attacking and dispersing the English archers, whose deadly cloth-yard shafts so often overwhelmed the Scottish spearmen. At the head of a small body of cavalry, Sir Robert, making a circuit to the right, assailed the formidable bowmen in flank, cut them down in great numbers, and drove them off the field. The effect of this manœuvre is portrayed in spirited terms by Sir Walter Scott in his 'Lord of the Isles.' After describing the position of the Scottish army, and the manner in which Bruce had drawn up the different

divisions, with the right wing under Edward Bruce, protected by the broken bank and deep ravine of the Bannock on their flank, the poet goes on to say—

‘ Behind them, screen’d by sheltering wood,
The gallant Keith, Lord Marshal, stood ;
His men-at-arms bear mace and lance,
And plumes that wave and helms that glance.

* * * * *

‘ Then “ Mount, ye gallants free ! ”
He cried ; and vaulting from the ground
His saddle every horseman found,
On high their glittering crests they toss,
As springs the wild-fire from the moss ;
The shield hangs down on every breast,
Each ready lance is in the rest.

* * * * *

Then spurs were dash’d in chargers’ flanks,
They rushed among the archer ranks ;
No spears were there the shock to let,
No stakes to turn the charge were set,
And how shall yeoman’s armour slight
Stand the long lance and mace of might ?
Or what may their short swords avail
’Gainst barbed horse and shirt of mail ?
Amid their ranks the chargers sprung,
High o’er their heads the weapons swung,
And shriek, and groan, and vengeful shout
Give note of triumph and of rout.
Awhile with stubborn hardihood
Their English hearts the strife made good ;
Borne down at length on every side,
Compelled to flight they scatter wide.

* * * * *

Broken, dispersed, in flight o’erta’en,
Pierced through, trod down, by thousands slain,
They cumber Bannock’s bloody plain.’

‘ Although,’ Sir Walter says, ‘ the success of this manœuvre was evident, it is very remarkable that the Scottish generals do not appear to have profited by the lesson. Almost every subsequent battle which they lost against England was decided by the archers, to whom the close and compact array of the Scottish phalanx afforded an exposed and unresisting mark.’

Sir Robert Keith was one of the Scottish magnates who in 1320 signed the famous letter to the Pope vindicating the independence of Scotland. He evidently stood high in the confidence of Robert Bruce, for we find him nominated one of the commissioners to treat for a peace with England in 1323 ; and he was also appointed, along with other great nobles, to ratify an alliance with the French king, Charles le Bel. As a testimony of the esteem in which Sir Robert

was held by his sovereign, he received from King Robert a charter of the lands of Keith Marischal, and of the office of Great Marischal of Scotland, to himself and to his nearest heirs male bearing the name and arms of Keith. Sir Robert fell at the fatal battle of Dupplin, 12th August, 1332, when the Scottish army was surprised and cut to pieces through the negligence and incompetency of its commander, the Earl of Mar. His grandson, who bore his name and succeeded him in his estates and offices, was killed at the battle of Durham, 17th October, 1346, where David II. was taken prisoner, along with other two chiefs of the Keith family. As he died without issue he was succeeded by his grand-uncle, SIR EDWARD KEITH, who was twice married; his only daughter Janet, by his second wife, Christian Menteith, married Sir Thomas Erskine. Her maternal grandmother, Lady Eline, was the daughter of Gratney, Earl of Mar, of the ancient line, and that title was conferred upon their descendant, Lord Erskine, by Queen Mary, a hundred and twenty years after it had been withheld from Sir Robert Erskine, son of Sir Thomas and Lady Janet Keith. Sir Edward's second son, John, was the ancestor of the Keiths of Inverugie, an estate which he obtained by his marriage to Mariot Cheyne, the heiress of a family of Anglo-Norman descent, which settled in Scotland in the early part of the thirteenth century. After continuing separate from the main stock for seven or eight descents, this branch of the Keiths fell again into the direct line, by the marriage of the elder daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Keith to the fourth Earl Marischal. Sir Edward Keith died before 1350. His eldest son—

SIR WILLIAM KEITH, added greatly to the power and possessions of the family by his marriage to the only child and heiress of Sir John Fraser, eldest son of Alexander Fraser, High Chamberlain of Scotland, by his wife Mary, sister of Robert Bruce. He obtained with her large estates in Kincardine or Mearns, which from this time forward became the principal residence of the Keith family. He exchanged with William de Lindsay, of Byres, certain lands in the counties of Fife and Stirling for part of the estate of Dunnottar, in Kincardineshire. Here, about a mile and a-half from Stonehaven, he erected an extensive fortress of great strength on the summit of a stupendous perpendicular rock projecting into the sea, and separated from the land by a deep chasm. The only access to it is by a steep and narrow path winding round the rock. Strange to say, notwith

standing its almost inaccessible position, the summit of this insulated rock was occupied by a church and churchyard long before it was made the site of a fortress. When Sir William Keith resolved to erect a castle upon it as a place of safety during the troublous times in which he lived, he took the precaution first of all to build a church for the parish in a more convenient place; but notwithstanding, the Bishop of St. Andrews, who must have been actuated by some personal feeling, thought fit to excommunicate him on the pretence that he had violated consecrated ground. Sir William, however, appealed to the Pope (Benedict XIII.), stating the whole circumstances of the case, the urgent need of such a fortress, and the compensation he had made for the site by building another church. The Pontiff, on learning the real state of matters, issued a Bull, dated 18th July, 1394, deciding the appeal in Sir William's favour, directing the Bishop to remove the excommunication, and to permit the baron to retain possession of the castle on the payment of a certain sum to the Church. Dunnottar thenceforth was the seat of the family, and became the scene of several important events in the history of the country. Though long dismantled and uninhabited, it is still an object of deep interest to Scotsmen, who visit it in great numbers. 'The battlements with their narrow embrasures, the strong towers and airy turrets full of loopholes for the archer and musketeer, the hall for the banquet, and the cell for the captive, are all alike entire and distinct. Even the iron rings and bolts that held the culprits for security or for torture, still remain to attest the different order of things which once prevailed in this country. Many a sigh has been sent from the profound bosom of this vast rock; many a despairing glance has wandered hence over the boundless wave; and many a weary heart has there sunk rejoicing into eternal sleep.' *

In this impregnable fortress the Keiths established themselves, and continued generation after generation to make their power felt both in their feuds with the neighbouring barons and in the public affairs of the kingdom. Sir William, the builder of the stronghold, died between 1406 and 1408, leaving three sons and four daughters.

* In 1685 Dunnottar was employed as a place of confinement for a body of the Covenanters, 167 in number, including several women and children, who had been compelled to travel on foot from Edinburgh to this spot. They were thrust, men and women together, into a dark underground dungeon in the castle which still bears the name of the 'Whigs' Vault,' having only small windows looking out to the sea, and the floor covered with mire ankle deep. They remained there during the whole summer with little more than standing room, and were subjected to the most shocking tortures by the soldiers who guarded them. A good many died under their sufferings.

Muriella, his eldest daughter, became the second wife of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of the kingdom during the long captivity of James I. in England, and was the mother of John, Earl of Buchan, the famous Constable of France. Sir William's eldest son John, 'a man of great valour,' says Nisbet, who fought at the battle of Otterburn, married a daughter of King Robert II. He predeceased his father, who was succeeded by his second son, ROBERT. Sir Alexander, his third son, had the command of the horse at the battle of Harlaw.

SIR WILLIAM, eldest son of Sir Robert de Keith, was raised to the peerage by James II., about 1458, by the title of Earl Marischal, as a reward for his eminent services, especially in preserving the peace of the northern districts, usually the seat of intestine broils and feuds. His eldest son, who bore his name—the second Earl—unlike the Keith family, who were conspicuous for their loyalty, joined the confederacy of the rebel lords against James III. His eldest son, also named WILLIAM KEITH, succeeded as third Earl in 1515, took a prominent part in public affairs during the minority of James V., and was one of the nobles entrusted with the charge of the young king. His two eldest sons fell at the disastrous battle of Flodden, along with Sir William Keith, of Inverugie and other members of the house.* Earl William was noted for his sterling honesty, sound judgment, calmness, and moderation, and his earnest endeavours to heal dissensions. From the expression which he frequently used he received the *sobriquet* of 'Hearken and take heed.' His grandson—

WILLIAM, fourth Earl, whose mother was a daughter of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, succeeded him in 1530, and raised the family to its greatest height of wealth and power. He was selected by James V. to accompany him when he went to France, in 1530, for the purpose of marrying a lady belonging to the royal family; and after the death of that prince he was appointed, along with other six of the most influential nobles, to take charge of the person of his infant daughter. He was present at the sanguinary battle of Pinkie, in 1547, where his eldest son was taken prisoner. He seems at that time to have been favourable to the project of marrying the infant Queen to Prince

* The pennon of the Earl Marischal borne in that battle, bearing three stags' heads and the motto 'Veritas vincit,' is preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Edward, for Sir Ralph Sadler mentions him as one 'who hath ever borne a singular fond affection' to King Henry, and his name appears for 300 marks on the list of that monarch's pensioners. The Earl is believed to have been, at an early age, favourably inclined towards the Reformed faith, and was a friend of George Wishart, the martyr. He is said by Tytler to have been one of the persons associated with the Earl of Cassilis in the conspiracy to murder Cardinal Beaton. He seems to have retained the respect and confidence of the Queen-Dowager, Mary of Guise, though opposed to her policy, for along with the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, and Lord James Stewart, he was summoned to the deathbed of that princess, when she expressed her great sorrow for the distracted state of the country, and earnestly recommended them to dismiss both the French and English forces, and to adhere firmly to their lawful sovereign.

When the Confession of Faith was ratified by the Parliament at Edinburgh, 17th July, 1560, Calderwood states that the Earl Marischal thus addressed the Estates, 'It is long since I had some favour unto the truth and was somewhat jealous of the Roman religion; but, praised be God, I am this day fully resolved; for seeing my lords, the bishops, who, for their learning can, and for the zeal they owe to the truth, would, as I suppose, gainsay anything repugnant to the same, yet speak nothing against the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it the very truth of God, and the contrary of it false and deceivable doctrine. Therefore, so far as in me lieth, I approve the one and condemn the other, and do further ask of God that not only I but also my posterity may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. Further, I protest, if any persons ecclesiastical shall hereafter oppose themselves to this our Confession that they have no place or credit, considering that time of advisement being granted to them, and they having full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found in lawful, free, and quiet Parliament, to oppose themselves to that which we profess. And therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do so after this, I protest he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity and the glory of the world, than the glory of God and salvation of men's souls.'*

The Earl was one of the twenty-four barons selected by the Estates, from among whom the Crown was to choose eight and the Estates six, to administer the Government. On the return of Queen Mary from France, Earl Marischal was sworn one of the Lords of

* *History*, ii. p. 37.

her Privy Council. He took a deep interest in the affairs of the Protestant religion and the Church; and in the General Assembly of 1563 he was a member of the Committee appointed to revise the Book of Discipline. After the intestine strife which followed the murder of Darnley and the imprisonment of Queen Mary in Lochleven Castle, Earl Marischal retired to his castle of Dunnottar, which he so seldom quitted during the protracted civil broils of that period, that he received the *sobriquet* of 'William of the Tower.' His countess, Margaret, daughter and coheirss of Sir William Keith of Inverugie, brought that estate into the family. Inverugie Castle, a massive structure, now in ruins, on the north bank of the river Ugie, about two and a-half miles from Peterhead, was, next to Dunnottar, long a principal seat of the Keiths. It was founded in 1380 by John de Keith, who married Mariot Cheyne. Far distant though it was from Ercildoune, the seat of Thomas the Rhymer, he is said to have visited the place, and to have uttered the following prediction regarding it, from a stone in the vicinity of the castle:—

'As lang 's this stane stands on this craft
The name o' Keith shall be alaft;
But when this stane begins to fa'
The name o' Keith shall wear awa!'

'The stone,' says Mr. Ferguson, 'was removed in 1763; the last Earl Marischal sold the lands in 1766.'*

Robert Keith, the younger son of the third Earl, was the last Abbot of Deer, a foundation of the Cistercians, situated in a sheltered hollow on the banks of the Ugie. His nephew, the second son of the fourth Earl, known in history as the Commendator of Deer, obtained the erection of the abbey and the abbey lands into a temporal lordship, 29th July, 1587, 'to be callit in all tyme cuming, the lordship of Altrie.' On the death of the Commendator, the estate and title devolved upon his nephew, George, the fifth Earl. Lord Keith, Earl William's elder son, having predeceased him in 1580, he was succeeded, in 1581, by his grandson—

GEORGE, fifth Earl Marischal, the founder of Marischal College, Aberdeen. He was educated at King's College, in that city, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency in classical

* *Twelve Sketches of Scenery and Antiquities, &c.*, p. 101.

studies, and in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, and of history and antiquities. He subsequently spent several years at universities in France, along with his younger brother William, and then at Geneva, under the celebrated Beza, who gave him instruction in history, theology, and eloquence. The death of his brother, who lost his life in a riot among the citizens, caused him to leave Geneva and to travel through Germany and Italy, making himself acquainted with the language, and the manners and customs of the people. On his return to his native country he took part in various public affairs, and in 1589 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Danish Court, to arrange the marriage of James VI. with Anne of Denmark. With his characteristic munificence, the Earl defrayed the whole expense of the embassy, which was conducted on a scale of unusual splendour. He did good service to the country in 1593 by inquiring into the secret and treasonable transactions of the Popish earls with the Court of Spain, and in 1609 he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. The memory of this great nobleman has been perpetuated mainly by his enlightened generosity displayed in the establishment of the college which bears his family title. The foundation charter, which is dated 2nd April, 1593, provided for the maintenance of a principal, three professors or regents, and six bursars; and appointed Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, geometry, geography, chronology, natural history, and astronomy to be taught in the college. At subsequent periods several additional chairs and a great number of bursaries were instituted in connection with this seminary, and the professorships were ultimately increased to thirteen. The ancient structure having fallen into decay, a grant of £25,000 was given by the House of Commons between 1840 and 1844, for the purpose of rebuilding it on a more extensive scale; but in 1858 Marischal College and King's College were incorporated by Act of Parliament into one University.

The arrangement by which the rich temporalities of the Abbey of Deer came into the possession of Earl George, gave great dissatisfaction to his younger brother Robert Keith of Benholm, 'probably because he had concluded in his own mind [not without reason] that the abbey lands formed a more appropriate estate for a cadet than for the chief of the family, the latter being already a rich man.' He therefore made an attempt to take forcible possession of the abbey, which he kept for six weeks; but at last the Earl, with assistance

from the northern shires and burghs, succeeded in dislodging his law-defying brother. Robert then retired to the Castle of Fedderat, where he stood a three days' siege, which ended in his coming to a truce with the Earl, and the unseemly quarrel was terminated.

The rental of the abbey thus annexed to the Marischal estates amounted in 1565 to £572 8s. 6d., with thirteen and a half bolls of wheat, fourteen chalders and ten bolls of bear,* and sixty-three chalders nine bolls of meal. The yearly revenue of the earldom, augmented by this handsome addition, is alleged to have amounted to the enormous sum, in those days, of 270,000 marks. The estates were so extensive that it was commonly said that Earl Marischal could enter Scotland at Berwick, and travel through the country to its northern extremity without requiring ever to take a meal or a night's rest off his own lands. But even at this period, when it had reached its greatest height of power and prosperity, a doom was believed to be impending over the family. Earl George survived till 1623, but, happily for himself, he was taken away before the evil days of the Great Civil War, which inflicted so much misery upon the country, and brought his ancient and illustrious house to the brink of ruin.

Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, in '*A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper, from the Yeares of God 1639 to 1649,*' gives the 'relicion of a wonderfull vision,' which, according to popular belief, foretold that the ancient house of the Marischal of Scotland was to date its slow decay and assured overthrow from the day of its 'sacrilegious meddling with the Abbacy of Deer.'

'This was a fearfull presiage of the fatal punishment which did hing over the head of that noble familie by a terrible vission to his grandmother, after the sacrilegious annexing of the Abbacie of Deir to the house of Marshall, which I think not unworthie the remembrance, were it but to advise other noblemen thereby to beware of meddling with the rents of the Church, for in the first foundation thereof they were given out with a curse pronounced in their charector, or evident of the first election, in those terms: *Cursed be those that taketh this away from the holy use whereunto it is now dedicat*; and I wish from my heart that this curse follow not this ancient and noble familie, who hath, to ther praise and never-dieing honour, contemned ther greatness, maintained ther honour, and, both piously and constantly has followed forth the way of virtue from that tym that the valour, worth,

* An inferior kind of barley.

and happie fortoun of ther first predecessor planted them; and ever since the carriage of his heart, strength of his arme, and love of his country, made him happily to resist the cruel Danes. George, Earle Marshall, a learned, wise, and upright good man, got the Abbacie of Deir in recompence from James the Sixt, for the honourable charge he did bear in that ambassage he had into Denmark, and the wyse and worthy account he gave of it at his return by the conclusion of that match whereof the royal stock of Britane's monarchy is descended.

'This Earl George, his first wife dochter to the Lord Home, and grandmother to this present earle, being a woman both of a high spirit and of a tender conscience, forbids her husband to leave such a consuming moth in his house as was the sacrilegious meddling with the Abbacie of Deir; but fourteen score chalders of meil and beir was a sore temptation; and he could not weel endure the rendering back of such a morsel. Upon his absolute refusal of her demand, she had this vision the night following: in her sleepe she saw a great number of religious men, in ther habit, come forth of that Abbey to the stronge craige of Dunnottar, which is the principal residence of that familie. She saw them also set themselves round about the rock, to get it down and demolishe it, having no instruments nor tools wherewith to perform this work, but only pen-knyves, wherewith they foolishly (as it seemed to her) began to pick at the craig. She smiled to see them intend so fruitless an enterpryse, and went to call her husband, to scoff and jeer them out of it. When she had found him, and brought him to see these sillie religious monckes at ther foolish work, behold the whole craige, with all its stronge and stately buildings, was by ther pen-knyves undermined and fallen in the sea, so as there remained nothing but the wracke of ther rich furniture and stuff floating on the waves of a raging and tempestuous sea.

'Some of the wiser sort, divining upon this vision, attribute to the pen-knyves the lenth of tym before this should come to pass; and it hath been observed by sundrie that the earles of that house before were the richest in the kingdom, having treasure and store beside them, but ever since the addition of this so great a revenue, they have lessened the stock by heavie burdens of debt and ingagment.'

Dr. Pratt says it is thought to have been in reference to this legend, or to some reproaches of a similar nature which were heaped

on the Marischal family at the time, in consequence of their sacrilegious appropriation of the Abbey and its possessions, that they inscribed the unavailing defiance—

‘ They say,
 Quhat say they?
 They haif said,
 Let thame say,’

on several of the buildings which they erected. On Marischal College, Aberdeen, which the Earl founded in 1593, and endowed with a portion of the doomed spoil, the inscription in large letters remained on the buildings till 1836, when they were taken down to make room for the present structure. The inscription, however, is preserved in the entrance-hall of the new college buildings.

‘ Within seventy years of the time that Patrick Gordon wrote, the whole of the Marischal estates were confiscated, and an additional half century witnessed the extinction of the family. The Commendator—who took his title from Altrie, one of the estates of the abbey lying between Bruxie and Brucklay Castle—left no child to inherit his honours; and so utterly has the name perished that, instead of being called ‘in all time coming the Lordship of Altrie,’ the name scarcely remains even as a tradition.

‘ Meddle nae wi’ holy things,
 For ‘gin ye dee [do],
 A weird I rede in some shape
 Shall follow thee.

Altrie is now called Overtown and Newtown of Bruxie.’*

WILLIAM, sixth Earl, who succeeded to the family titles and estates on the death of his father, in 1623, left four sons, of whom the two eldest were successively the representatives of the house. The Great Civil War had a fatal influence on the fortunes of the house of Keith. WILLIAM, the seventh Earl Marischal, who inherited the family titles and estates in the year 1635, was a staunch Covenanter; and when the rash and dangerous attempt of Charles and Laud to force a new Service-book on the people of Scotland roused the whole country to arms, the Earl unhesitatingly cast in his lot with the popular party. In 1639, when the young Earl of Montrose, afterwards the famous Royalist general, was sent by the Tables with a powerful army to compel the citizens of Aber-

* Pratt's *Buchan. Twelve Sketches*, &c.

deen to subscribe the Covenant, the Earl Marischal, says Spalding, had one of the five colours carried on that occasion, having this motto drawn in letters: 'For Religion, the Covenant, and the Country.' He was subsequently present at the 'Trot of Turriff,' as the skirmish was termed in which blood was first shed in this disastrous civil war, and took part with Montrose in the second occupation of Aberdeen, in the 'Raid of Stonehaven,' where the Royalist Highlanders were put to flight by the artillery brought from the Castle of Dunnottar, and in the conflict at the Bridge of Dee, where the Royalists, under Lord Aboyne, were again defeated, and forced to flee, leaving Aberdeen once more at the mercy of the victorious party. The Earl was one of the nobles who signed the famous Cumbernauld Bond, in 1641, for the support of the royal authority against the designs of the extreme party, headed by the Marquis of Argyll. But though at this juncture he concurred with Montrose in his apprehensions that the Covenanters were pressing demands which infringed on the power and prerogative of the sovereign, he refused to follow that Earl when he deserted his party and went over to the side of the king. In consequence of this refusal he incurred the bitter hatred of his former friend and associate. In 1645, when Montrose marched to the north, after his defeat of the Covenanters at Tippermuir, he encamped at Stonehaven, and sent a letter to Earl Marischal, who had shut himself up in Dunnottar along with a considerable body of clergymen and persons of distinction in the district. The Earl, however, declined to admit the bearer of the letter into his castle, and sent him away without an answer. An application made to Lord Marischal through his brother was equally unsuccessful. All that Montrose wanted, he was told, was that 'the Earl should serve the king his master against his rebellious subjects, and that if he failed to do so, he would feel his vengeance.' Marischal, however, declined to comply with this demand, declaring that 'he would not be against the country.'

In consequence of this refusal, Montrose at once subjected the Earl's estates to military execution. He first set fire to the houses adjoining the castle, and burnt the grain stacked in the barn-yards. He next committed to the flames the town of Stonehaven, which he burnt to ashes, destroying even the boats of the poor fishermen, thus depriving them of the means of subsistence. The lands and houses of Cowie and the woods of Fetteresso shared the same fate, and the whole district was plundered and laid waste. The Earl was deeply

affected when he witnessed from his stronghold the destruction of his property and the ruin of his helpless vassals, who assembled in crowds before the castle gates, imploring him to save them from ruin. Spalding, who seldom misses an opportunity of sneering at the Covenanters, and especially at their clergy, says, 'The famous Andrew Cant, who was among the number of the Earl's ghostly company, edified his resolution at once to its original pitch of firmness, by assuring him that that *reek* would be a sweet-smelling incense in the nostrils of the Lord, rising as it did from property which had been sacrificed to the holy cause of the Covenant.' When the affairs of the king had become desperate, however, the Earl joined the 'Engagement,' and raised a troop of horse to assist in the attempt to rescue him from the hands of the Republicans. He was present at the rout of Preston, from which, more fortunate than most of his associates, he succeeded in effecting his escape. He was one of the Committee of Estates, who were seized by a troop of English horse at Alyth in 1651, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for nine years, having been excepted from Cromwell's 'Act of Grace and Pardon' in 1654. At the Restoration he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, and appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, but died soon after, in 1661, and was succeeded by his brother GEORGE, eighth Earl.

The circumstance which probably contributed not a little to incense the Protector against the Earl Marischal was the obstinate and protracted resistance which his castle of Dunnottar made to the forces of the Commonwealth after the rest of the country had submitted to its authority. On the surrender of Edinburgh Castle this strong sea-girt fortress had been selected as the most secure place in the kingdom in which to deposit the Scottish Regalia—the crown, sceptre, and sword of state. The small garrison, under the command of Mr. George Ogilvie, of Barras, held out gallantly for many months, but as provisions began to fail the governor foresaw that in the end he would be obliged to surrender. Anxious to prevent the symbols of Scottish sovereignty from falling into the hands of the besiegers, who, he was aware, were eager to obtain possession of them, he formed a plan, in conjunction with the Dowager Countess of Marischal, and the Rev. Mr. Grainger, minister of Kinneff, for conveying the precious 'honours' to a place of safety. Mrs. Grainger was the principal agent in carrying the scheme into effect. Having obtained permission from the English general to visit the wife of the

governor of the castle, she received from that lady, but without the knowledge of her husband, the crown, which she carried away in her lap. The sceptre and sword, wrapped up in a bundle of 'hards' or lint, to be spun for Mrs. Ogilvie, were placed on the back of a female attendant, and mistress and maid were allowed to pass unchallenged through the English camp. On reaching the manse of Kinneff, Mrs. Grainger delivered the crown, sceptre, and sword to her husband, who buried them under the floor of his church. He imparted the secret to no one but the Countess Marischal, who gave out that the Regalia had been carried to the Continent by her younger son, Sir John Keith, and delivered to Prince Charles at Paris. When the castle surrendered, three months afterwards, the disappointment of the English general was extreme on finding that the Regalia had been removed, and every effort was made, but in vain, to discover where they were concealed. The governor was treated with great severity and was imprisoned, and, it is said, was even tortured to make him disclose the secret. His lady was subjected to similar severities, and her health sunk under the close confinement, but with her dying breath she entreated her husband to preserve inviolate the trust committed to him. The minister of Kinneff and his courageous wife did not escape suspicion and harsh treatment, but nothing could be extorted from them respecting the concealment of the treasure under their charge. The secret was faithfully kept till the Restoration, eight years afterwards, when the Regalia was exhumed and placed under official custody. Rewards were then distributed to the persons who had taken part in the affair, but they were bestowed with more regard to rank and influence than to merit. Sir John Keith, whose only share in the transaction was in giving the use of his name to put the English on a false scent, was made Knight Marischal, with a salary of £400 a year, and was afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of Earl of Kintore. Ogilvie, whose patrimonial estate had been impoverished by the fines and sequestrations imposed by the English, received the merely honorary reward of a baronetcy, and Mrs. Grainger was recompensed with the sum of two thousand marks Scots.

GEORGE KEITH, eighth Earl, in his younger years served in the French army and rose to the rank of colonel. He returned to Scotland when the civil war broke out, but does not appear to have taken any active part on either side until the army of the 'Engagement' was

raised to rescue Charles I. from the Republican party. He commanded a regiment of foot in that mismanaged enterprise, and fought at the battle of Preston (August 17th, 1648). Three years later he had the command of three regiments at the battle of Worcester, where he displayed the hereditary bravery of his house, but was overpowered by numbers and taken prisoner. He appears to have lived quietly on his estates during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother, James VII. He took no active part on either side at the Revolution. 'Earl Marshall,' wrote Claverhouse to Melfort, 'is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle.' He died in 1694.

WILLIAM KEITH, ninth Earl, his only son, though he took the oaths to William and Mary, and sat in the Parliament of 1698, steadily opposed the measures of the new Government. He offered a strenuous resistance to the Treaty of Union with England, and entered his solemn protest against the measure when it passed the Estates. The Earl considerably impaired his estates by his magnificent style of living. He was noted for his generosity, and his kindness and liberality to his tenantry and retainers. His marriage to Lady Mary Drummond, eldest daughter of the notorious Earl of Perth, High Chancellor of Scotland under James VII., exercised an injurious influence on the fortunes of his family. He died in 1712, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

GEORGE KEITH, tenth and last Earl Marischal, who was born about 1693. Of the once vast property of his family, he inherited only the estates of Dunnottar, Fetteresso, and Inverugie. He obtained from Queen Anne the command of a troop of cavalry, and was subsequently appointed captain of the Scottish troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. The Earl was one of the Scottish Tories who acquiesced in the accession of George I., but the new Government very unwisely drove them into opposition by unkind treatment. Earl Marischal was deprived of his command at the same time that his cousin, the Earl of Mar, was dismissed from his office of Secretary of State. On his way down from London he met his younger brother James, afterwards Field-Marshal Keith, going up to ask for a commission. At the instigation of their mother, who was a Roman Catholic and a Jacobite,* the two brothers, no doubt smarting under the treat

* There is a pathetic ballad entitled, 'Lady Keith's Lament,' in which her Ladyship comforts herself under the ruin of her house by the hope that the ancient dynasty

ment they had received, repaired to the standard which Mar had set up in Aberdeenshire and took part in the ill-advised and badly managed rebellion of 1715. The Earl commanded two squadrons at the battle of Sheriffmuir. When the Chevalier, shortly after, landed in Scotland, he passed several days at Newburgh and Fetteresso, seats of Lord Marischal, and after the failure of the enterprise, when the ill-starred prince embarked for the Continent at Montrose, he was accompanied by the Earl and Lord Mar. The family titles, with the hereditary office of Grand Marischal, which had been held by the Keiths upwards of four hundred years, were attainted and their estates were forfeited to the Crown.

In the year 1719, Earl Marischal, in conjunction with the Marquis of Tullibardine and the Earl of Seaforth, with the aid of a body of Spanish troops furnished by Cardinal Alberoni, made another attempt to restore the ancient dynasty. They landed in the Western Highlands, near Kintail, where they were joined by a few hundred Highlanders, chiefly belonging to Seaforth's clan. They were attacked in Glensheil by a body of regular troops under General Wightman, and though they maintained their ground, the Highlanders became convinced that the enterprise was hopeless, and dispersed during the night. The Spaniards, next day, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Earl Marischal and his brother nobles and the other officers made their way to the Western Isles, and afterwards escaped to the Continent.

During the next thirty years, Earl Marischal led the usual life of Jacobite exiles on the Continent, alternating, as he himself said, betwixt hopes and fears. Finding that his adherence to the Protestant faith made him distasteful to the Spanish Court, he resigned his command in their army and retired to France, where he lived in a quiet and frugal style. He took no part in the Jacobite enterprise of 1745, and shortly after its failure he went to reside in Prussia, where he became a special favourite of Frederick the Great, who in 1750 appointed him his Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Court. The Prussian monarch also invested the Earl with the Order of the Black Eagle, and bestowed on him the Government of Neufchatel. In 1759 Frederick solicited and obtained from the British

would be restored, and that she would be 'Lady Keith again, the day our King comes over the water.' The ballad purports to have been written by the Countess herself, but there can be little or no doubt that it was the composition of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, in whose *Jacobite Relics* it first appeared.

Government a pardon for the Earl, who thereupon paid a brief visit to his native country, and was presented by William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, to George II. In the same year Lord Marischal was ambassador from Prussia to Spain. Though an exile, his native land was still dear to him, and he eagerly availed himself of an opportunity which now offered to do it service. His long residence in Spain, where he often said he had left a dear old friend—the sun—and his intimate knowledge of the Spanish language and diplomacy, gave him peculiar facilities for fathoming the secret designs of the Spanish Court. Having discovered, while resident at Madrid, the secret of the famous ‘Family Compact,’ by which the French and Spanish members of the House of Bourbon became bound to treat as their common enemy every Power that might become the enemy of either, or, in other words, to unite in making war upon Great Britain, he communicated this important intelligence to Mr. Pitt, who was at that time Prime Minister. Pitt’s colleagues, unfortunately for the country and for their own reputation, shrank from adopting the vigorous measures which that great statesman proposed when this information reached him; but Earl Marischal’s services were not overlooked. In the year 1760 he paid a visit to England, and was introduced to George III., by whom he was most graciously received. His ancestral estates had been sold, in 1720, to the York Buildings Company for £41,172, but an Act of Parliament was now passed to enable the Earl to inherit any estate that might descend to him, notwithstanding his attainder. This boon was granted in the prospect of his lordship’s succession to the Kintore estates, as next heir to William, fourth Earl of that branch of the Keith family, who was unmarried. On the death of this nobleman, in 1761, the Kintore property, at that time of no great value, but which now yields £33,000 a year, devolved upon his kinsman, Lord Marischal. In the same year an Act of Parliament authorised the King to grant to the Earl £3,618 out of the principal sum and interest remaining due on his forfeited estate. Three years later Lord Marischal purchased back part of the ancient property of his house, and at the earnest entreaties of his relatives he made arrangements to take up his permanent residence in his native country. When the Earl arrived at Peterhead he set out for Inverugie, between two and three miles distant. He went as far as the bridge of Ugie, about a quarter of a mile from the castle, which stands on an elevated ridge enclosed on three sides by

the river. He was met there by a numerous body of friends and tenants, who welcomed him with every demonstration of affection and delight; but the venerable nobleman burst into tears at the sight of the ruined and desolate condition of the seat of his ancestors, and could proceed no farther.

Dunnottar Castle also was dismantled, and the state of his family mansions and the death of his early friends made the Earl feel sad and lonely in his native land. A letter which he addressed (28th October, 1763, to David Hume, the celebrated philosopher and historian, whom he ironically terms 'Defender of the Faith,' casts interesting light on the character and feelings of the venerable nobleman. 'My health,' he says, 'is totally deranged since I am in Scotland. Your advice of creeping nearer to the sun is most agreeable to an old Spaniard, and a sort of Guebre by religion; but £600 a year will not do in London, neither in Paris, though better there than in London. In Paris being already recognised for an *owl*, I might easily merit also the title of *wolf*. Then I would be at peace, and I would only see those who might please me. It is terrible in my country to be obliged to receive visits without intermission; and many of those people of whom Alliotus was able to say, "Id genus demoniorum non ejicitur nisi jejunió." (This kind of devils is not cast out but by fasting.) M. D'Alembert will explain this to you; and to tell you the truth, I hope, by fasting from wine, to get rid of several. There is another inconvenience in our country—bigotry; and, I believe, a little hypocrisy.

'M. D'Alembert said one day at Sans Souci, very pleasantly and justly, that in Germany they still cry "Who goes there?" to Reason. In the north of Scotland they would not cry "Who goes there?" to the poor thing if they saw her; they would begin by throwing a stone at her head.

'When I passed through Aberdeen, the churches resounded with anathemas against those who should take away their letters on Sunday. Mr. Campbell was one of the most zealous preachers. I understand well that these gentlemen are very glad to be absolute sovereigns of a seventh part of the year; but that is not so agreeable to me, whose vocation was to be a Calmuck Tartar—that is to say, as savage but less solitary than my friend Jean Jacques. These are my griefs—little health of body and few charms of mind, because I should be too much restrained by our lamas.

'Of the other side, it is sweet and flattering to live in a country

where I have reason to believe that everybody wishes me well, which does not prevent me from being wearied. I have some difficulty in getting free from my fellow-countrymen; and then at my age is it worth the trouble? Where am I to go? London and Paris are too dear. The hours of London do not suit my health. Here are three places which are convenient to my purse: Port Mahon—purse and climate, liberty,—society might be wanting to me; Venice—purse, liberty, climate, nearly, the delicious gondola for the infirm old person; but the journey is too long. There remains a third retreat: with the good Father Gardien of Sans Souci.* But it is not a sufficient retreat for my old age. My memory fails me, my imagination is getting still weaker. I know very well, by many a learned demonstration of learned metaphysicians, that our immortal soul is always the same. I know it still better as a good Christian, by faith; but I don't feel it physically by its effects.

'The Courts require young men. The Queen, the princesses, and the princes must have them. However, my attachment to the Father Gardien attracts me powerfully towards him. I would like much to be within reach of consulting you by word of mouth. I do not think I have ever known a man so free from prejudice. I would also like to consult M. D'Alembert, although I know beforehand that he would advise me to go to the Father Gardien. In this country I dare not speak to anyone; they would all set themselves against me. I must await the sale of one of my lands, and in the coming summer I will take my resolution, either to go towards the sun and free thinking, or to remain to make myself be buried with my ancestors—a solid and still more durable pleasure. Write me, I beg you, and speak also to M. D'Alembert. I rely on the friendship of both, and I am a little like Panurge when he wished to marry, very undecided, or, to speak more correctly, drawn strongly to two sides.'

There are other eight letters from the Earl to the 'good David' in the collection of 'Letters of Eminent Men to David Hume,' all of them exhibiting in a very pleasing light the amiable and benevolent character and quiet humour of the writer. Though quite alive to Rousseau's faults, he was anxious to obtain protection for him from the persecution of the priests, and advised that he should take refuge in England. And even after the Scottish philosopher had been fiercely attacked by the half-crazed Genevese writer, he entreated Hume to

* Frederick the Great.

forbear with him. 'It will be good and humane in you,' he pleaded, 'and like *le bon David*, not to answer.' In the last of the series, dated Potsdam, 15th August, 1766, the Earl says, 'I shall be happy to see you here; but I must in conscience tell you, *What went you out to see? A reed shaken with the wind.* My memory fails me much. You must expect from me no more, if so much, as from an old monkish chronicle of a thousand years, where perhaps you might here and there pick out some notes to clear dates; and every six months makes me considerably less of any use to your intention. All you can count on is truth as far as my memory serves. If after this fair warning you shall resolve to come, you shall be most welcome. I have a room for you, a Spanish olla, Spanish wine, pen, ink, and paper. I dine every day with the King. You will be invited to dine every day and sup every night with the Prince of Prussia. We shall lodge in the same house like a fashionable French husband and lady, without seeing each other. You are well known to the *beaux esprits* and the ladies. I am good for nothing for either, so that I run risk to see you not often, and we shall want some time in quietness.'

Though the Earl described himself as 'drawn strongly to two sides,' it is evident that his leaning was towards Sans Souci, and the King of Prussia earnestly entreated his old friend to rejoin him there. 'I am not surprised,' wrote Frederick (16th February, 1764), 'that the Scots fight to have you among them, and wish to have progeny of yours, and to preserve your bones. You have in your lifetime the lot of Homer after death—cities arguing which is your birthplace. I myself would dispute it with Edinburgh to possess you. If I had ships I would make a descent on Scotland to steal off my *cher my lord* and bring him hither. The banks of the Elbe do not admit of these equipments. I must, therefore, have recourse to your friendship to bring you to him who esteems and loves you. I was your late brother's friend, and had great obligations to him: I am yours with heart and soul. These are my titles, these are my rights. You shall live here in the bosom of friendship, liberty, and philosophy. Come to me.'

The venerable nobleman, now in his seventy-eighth year, was unable to resist the importunity of his royal friend, and soon after repaired to Potsdam, where Frederick had built a villa for his residence. Here he spent the remainder of his days, which were protracted far beyond the usual span of human life. The diplomatic agents and travellers who from time to time visited the Prussian

Court give an interesting glimpse of the character and latter days of the veteran peer. Sir Robert Murray Keith, who stayed three days with him in 1770, writes, 'He is the most innocent of God's creatures, and his heart is much warmer than his head. . . . I really am persuaded he has a conscience that would gild the inside of a dungeon. The feats of our barelegged warriors in the last war, accompanied by a pibroch in his outer room, have an effect on the old Don which would delight you. . . . He talked to me with the greatest openness and confidence of all the material incidents of his life. . . . His taste, his ideas, his manner of living, are a mixture of Aberdeenshire and the kingdom of Valencia; and as he seeks to make no new friends, he seems to retain a strong though silent attachment for his old ones. As to his political principles, I believe him the most sincere of converts to Whiggery and orthodoxy. He is not at all blind, as you imagined. So much otherwise, that I saw him read without spectacles a difficult hand I could not easily decipher.'

Rousseau, to whom Lord Marischal showed great kindness at Neufchatel, has drawn an interesting portrait of the honoured old age of his patron. 'When first I beheld that venerable man,' he said, 'my first feeling was to grieve over his sunk and wasted frame; but when I raised my eyes on his noble features, so full of fire and so expressive of truth, I was struck with admiration. . . . My Lord Marischal, though an old man, is not free from defects. With the most penetrating glance, with the nicest judgment, with the deepest knowledge of mankind, he yet is sometimes misled by prejudices, and can never be disabused of them. . . . Such little eccentricities, like the caprices of a pretty woman, rendered the society of my Lord Marischal only the more interesting, and never warped in his mind either the feelings or the duties of friendship.'

A traveller who visited Berlin in 1777 thus wrote of the Earl: 'We dined almost every day with the Lord Marischal, who was then eighty-five years old, and was still as vigorous as ever both in body and mind. The King had given him a house adjoining the gardens of Sans Souci, and frequently went thither to see him. He had excused himself from dining with the King, having found that his health would not allow him to sit long at table; and he was, of all those who had enjoyed the favour of the King, the only one who could truly be called his friend, and who was sincerely attached to his person. Of course everybody paid court to him. He was

called the King's friend, and was the only one who had merited that title, for he had always stood well with him without flattering him.'

This venerable nobleman, the last of the main stock of his illustrious house, survived till May 28th, 1778, and was buried in his adopted country. Though not equal to his brother in general ability and military skill, 'he, too,' as Carlyle says, 'was an excellent, cheery old soul, honest as the sunlight; with a fine small vein of gaiety, and "pleasant wit" with him. What a treasure to Frederick at Potsdam, and how much loved by him (almost as one *boy* loves another), all readers would be surprised to discern.'

Earl Marischal never married. In early life he fell deeply in love with a Roman Catholic French lady, but their difference in religion proved an insuperable barrier to her acceptance of his hand, and she became the wife of Monsieur de Créigny—not, however, without a wistful regret for the loss of 'dear Milord Maréchal.' The two thus severed never met again until Earl Marischal was in his seventieth year and Madame de Créigny was a grandmother. In anticipation of their meeting, the Earl wrote some verses on the beauty of grey hairs, which he presented to the lady. She wrote of the interview in the following terms, which showed how worthy she was of his affection: 'When we met again, after the lapse of many years, we made a discovery which equally surprised and affected us both. There is a world of difference between the love which had endured throughout a lifetime and that which burned fiercely in our youth and then paused. In the latter case time has not laid bare defects nor taught the bitter lesson of mutual failings; a delusion has subsisted on both sides which experience has not destroyed; and delighting in the idea of each other's perfections, that thought has seemed to smile on both with inexpressible sweetness, till, when we meet in grey old age, feelings so tender, so pure, so solemn arise that they can be compared to no other sentiments or impressions of which our nature is capable.'

Marshal Keith, the younger brother of the Earl, was one of the most distinguished military commanders of his day. He was educated first by Ruddiman, the learned grammarian, and afterwards by Bishop Keith. He was sent to Edinburgh to study law, but his tastes and wishes were all in favour of a military life. After the failure of the Jacobite rising in 1715, he escaped to France, whence, in 1716, he passed to Spain, and served for some time in the Spanish army. Finding his religion an insuperable barrier to promotion, he

proceeded to St. Petersburg in 1720, with a letter of recommendation from the King of Spain to the Czar. He was appointed a major-general in the Russian army, received the command of a regiment of guards, and was invested with the order of the Black Eagle. In the war with the Turks (1736-37) he was the first to enter the breach at Oczakow, where he was wounded so severely that he had to be conveyed to Paris for medical advice. He greatly distinguished himself in the war between Russia and Sweden in 1741—44, and when peace was concluded he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Stockholm, receiving, on his return to St. Petersburg, the baton of a marshal. General Keith took a prominent part in the revolution which elevated to the throne the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. The new Empress fell in love with him, and offered to marry him. But the young Scotsman prudently declined the dangerous honour, and, provoked at various affronts put upon him, and dissatisfied especially with the manner in which an officer, junior and much inferior to him in every way, had been promoted over his head, he quitted Russia, and in September, 1747, tendered his services to Frederick of Prussia, who gladly accepted the offer. 'Field-Marshal your rank, income £1200 a year; income, welcome all suitable.' 'Frederick greatly respects this sagacious gentleman,' says Carlyle, 'a man of Scotch type; the broad accent with its sagacities, veracities; with its steadfastly fixed moderation and its sly twinkles of defensive humour; not given to talk, unless when there is something to be said, but well capable of it then. Frederick, the more he knows him likes him the better.'

During the eleven momentous years which followed Marshal Keith's entrance into the Prussian service, he was constantly with Frederick, his mainstay in every scene of difficulty and danger, and his most trusty and judicious counsellor in every perplexity. He fought at Losowitz and Rosbach, and conducted the sieges of Prague and Olmutz. His career was brought to a close at the sanguinary battle of Hochkirch, fought between the Prussians and the Austrians, October 14th, 1758, when he was killed by a cannon-ball, in the sixty-third year of his age. The body of the gallant veteran 'had honourable soldier's burial' in the neighbouring churchyard, from the enemy, who had always respected him on account of his clemency as well as his bravery. Four months after, however, by Frederick's orders, it was removed to Berlin, of which the Marshal had been governor, and was reinterred there 'in a still more solemn and public manner,

with all the honours, all the regrets; and Keith sleeps now in the Garrison-kirche far from bonny Inverugie, the hoarse winds and sea-caverns of Dunnottar singing vague requiem to his honourable line and him.' 'My brother leaves me a noble legacy,' said the old Lord Marischal. 'Last year he had Bohemia under ransom, and his personal estate is seventy ducats' (about £25).

'Frederick's sorrow over him ("tears, high eulogies") is itself a monument,' but twenty years after he caused a statue to be erected in Berlin to the memory of his devoted and faithful friend. 'A fine modestly impressive monument to Keith' was erected in 1771, in the Hochkirch church, by his kinsman, Sir Robert Murray Keith, the distinguished diplomatist.

Marshal Keith's stature was rather above the middle size, but of a make extremely well-proportioned, his complexion brown, his eyebrows thick, and his features very agreeable. But above all he had an air of so much goodness that it quite gained the heart at his very first appearance. He spoke English, French, Spanish, Russian, Swedish, and Latin, and was able to read the Greek authors. His ordinary conversation was in French; he expressed himself with great precision. He had seen all the courts of Europe, great and small, from that of Avignon to the residence of the Khan of Tartary.

ROBERT KEITH the Ambassador, as he was commonly called, belonged to the family of the Keiths of Craig, in Kincardineshire. He was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and afterwards represented the British Government at Venice and St. Petersburg. His son—Sir Robert Murray Keith, the eminent diplomatist, who was born in 1731—was educated for the military profession, and served for several years in a Highland regiment, which was employed by the States of Holland. He subsequently acted as adjutant-general and secretary to Lord George Sackville, who commanded the British contingent under Prince Frederick of Brunswick. On the resignation of Lord George, Keith was appointed major in a Highland corps, which had recently been raised for the war in Germany, and though composed entirely of raw recruits, they and their young commander gained great distinction by their conspicuous gallantry in the campaigns of 1760 and 1761. It was for his long and successful diplomatic career, however, that Keith was chiefly noted. In 1769 he was appointed by William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) British Envoy to the Court of Saxony. Two years later he was transferred

to the Court of Denmark, and was fortunately residing at Copenhagen when the Danish Queen Caroline Matilda, sister of George III., was made the victim of a vile conspiracy, and would in all probability have been put to death but for Keith's spirited interference. His firm yet prudent conduct met with the approbation of the British Court, and King George himself sent him the Order of the Bath as an acknowledgment of his services. In 1772 Sir Robert was appointed ambassador at the Court of Vienna; six years later he was a second time appointed to this important post, and earned for himself the reputation of an able and high-minded diplomatist. He closed his public career with the pacification concluded between Austria, Russia, and Turkey, which was greatly promoted by his exertions. He died in 1795, in the sixty-third year of his age.*

Sir Robert's sister, ANNE MURRAY KEITH, was a delightful specimen of the Scottish gentlewoman of the last century. She was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, and sat to him for the portrait of Mrs. Bethune Baliol, which is not surpassed by anything of the kind in his writings. Like her brother, she was celebrated for her colloquial talents. Sir Walter was indebted to her not only for the outlines of the pathetic story of the 'Highland Widow,' but also for many racy anecdotes of the olden time, and quaint and pithy phrases, which he embodied in his novels. When 'Waverley' appeared, the shrewd old lady at once detected the author of the anonymous tale; and next time Scott called upon her she told him in direct terms that she was sure it was his production. Sir Walter attempted to repel the charge in his usual manner, but was silenced by the rejoinder, 'Gae wa' wi' ye; do ye think I dinna ken my ain groats among other folks' kail?' Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharp says, 'Miss Anne Keith resided many years in Edinburgh (51, George Street), keeping house with her eldest sister, Miss Jenny, both universally loved and respected. Sir Walter Scott told me that Miss Anne Keith amused herself in the latter years of her life by translating Macpherson's "Ossian" into verse.' She was the authoress also of a song entitled 'Oscar's Ghost,' inserted in Johnson's 'Scots' Musical Museum.' Scott thus notices the death of his 'excellent old friend,' as he terms her, in 1818: 'She enjoyed all her spirits and her excellent faculties till within two days of her death, when she was seized with a feverish complaint which eighty-

* See *Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Murray Keith*. 2 vols.

two years were not calculated to resist. Much tradition, and of the very best kind, has died with this excellent old lady, one of the few persons whose spirits and cleanliness, and freshness of mind and body, made old age lovely and desirable.'

The greater part of the vast estates of the Keiths had passed away from them, as we have seen, before the close of the seventeenth century. Dunnottar, Fetteresso, and Inverugie alone remained, and were forfeited on the attainder of the last Earl Marischal. They were exposed to sale in 1728, and, with the exception of a small part acquired by Mungo Graham of Gorthie, were purchased by the York Buildings Company for the sum of £41,172 6s. 9d. The rental amounted to £1,676 6s., of which only £642 4s. 7d. was paid in money. The wadsets on the lands which the company undertook to deal with amounted to nearly £11,000, and the personal debts to £12,000. The Marischal estates, along with those of Panmure, Southesk, and Pitcairn, were let to Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk and Alexander Gordon of Troup for twenty-nine years at a rental of £4,000 a year, of which £1,045 13s. 4d. was apportioned to the Marischal lands.* On the expiry of the lease these four estates were again put up for sale in 1764. Although the rental had nearly doubled, Earl Marischal, who, as we have mentioned, had obtained a pardon in 1759 and a grant of £3,618 out of the balance still unpaid of the price of his estate, with interest since 1721, was enabled to repurchase his estate for a comparatively small sum. It is noted in a contemporary periodical that the four estates 'were put up to public roup or auction on Monday afternoon, 20th February, 1764, in the Parliament House, before the Lord Ordinary, appointed by the Court judge of the roup. The House was crowded. The Earl of Marischal, the Earl of Panmure, and Sir James Carnegie of Pitarrow, heir male of the family of Southesk, were there in person, attended by some of their friends, and each purchased what formerly belonged to the family at the upset price, nobody offering against them. The people in the galleries could scarce forbear expressing their joy by acclamation at seeing these estates returned to the representatives of the ancient and illustrious families to which they had formerly belonged.' †

Dunnottar was sold in 1761 by the Earl to Sir Alexander Keith of Ravelstone. It is now the property of Mr. Innes of Raemoir. In

* *The York Buildings Company.* By David Murray, M.A., F.S.A.

† *The Scots' Magazine*, 1764, p. 109.

the Domesday Book the gross annual value is stated at £5,493 12s. Fetteresso belongs to Mr. R. W. Duff, M.P.; the rental amounts to £4,536 18s. The estate of Peterhead was purchased at several times by the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh at a cost altogether of £8,814. As much as £43,905 was expended in a course of years in improvements, raising the total outlay to nearly £53,000. The rental has risen gradually from a few hundreds to about £4,400 per annum, and the value of the estate was estimated in 1861 at £98,363.





THE SETONS.



THE Setons are among the most ancient and illustrious of the great houses of Scotland, and are proverbially said to have the reddest blood in the kingdom. In consequence of a remarkable number of other families of the highest rank having sprung from their main stock, the heads of the house are termed 'Magnæ Nobilitatis Domini;' and from their intermarriage upon four different occasions with the royal family, they obtained the addition to their shield of the royal or double tressure. Their earliest motto, 'Hazard yet forward,' is descriptive of their military ardour and dauntless courage. They were conspicuous throughout their whole history for their loyalty and firm attachment to the Stewart dynasty, in whose cause they perilled and lost their titles and extensive estates.

SECKER DE SEYE, son of Dugdale de Sey, by a daughter of De Quincy, Earl of Winchester, the founder of this illustrious family, was of Norman descent, like most of the progenitors of the other great houses of Scotland, and settled in Scotland in the days of David I., from whom he obtained a grant of lands in East Lothian, to which he gave his own name—Seytun, the dwelling of Sey. His son, ALEXANDER DE SETUNE, or SETON, was proprietor of the estate of Winchburgh, in Linlithgowshire, as well as of Seton and Wintoun, in East Lothian, and his son, PHILIP DE SETUNE, received a grant of these lands from William the Lion in 1169. The fourth in descent from him was the noble patriot SIR CHRISTOPHER, or CHRISTALL SEYTON, who married Lady Christian Bruce, sister of King Robert Bruce, and widow of Gratney, Earl of Mar. The 'Gallant Seton,' as he is termed by the author of the *Lord of the Isles*, was one of the earliest and most strenuous supporters of his illustrious brother-in-law, and was present at his coronation at Scone, 27th of March,

1306. At the Battle of Methven, on the 13th of June following, Bruce, who had ventured his person in that conflict like a knight of romance, was unhorsed by Sir Philip Mowbray, but was remounted by Sir Christopher, who greatly signalised himself in the conflict by his personal valour.* He made his escape from that fatal field, and shut himself up in Lochdoon Castle, in Ayrshire, where he was betrayed to the English, through means (according to Barbour) of one Macnab, 'a disciple of Judas,' in whom the unfortunate knight reposed entire confidence. Sir Christopher was conveyed to Dumfries, where he was tried, condemned, and executed; and his brother John shared the same fate at Newcastle. Another brother, named ALEXANDER SETON, succeeded to the estates of the family, and adhered to their patriotic principles, for his name is appended, along with those of other leading nobles, to the famous letter to the Pope, in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland. He was rewarded by King Robert Bruce with liberal grants of land, including the manor of Trantent, forfeited by the powerful family of De Quincy, Earls of Winchester and High Constables of Scotland, from whom, as we have seen, he was descended in the female line. This Sir Alexander has been immortalised in the pages of Sir Walter Scott for the conspicuous part which he took in the defence of his country against the invasion of the English after the death of Robert Bruce. He was Governor of the town of Berwick when it was besieged by Edward III. of England in 1333. Though the garrison was neither numerous nor well appointed they made a gallant defence, and succeeded in sinking and destroying by fire a great part of the English fleet. The siege was then converted into a blockade, and as the supplies at length began to fail and starvation was imminent, the Governor agreed to capitulate by a certain day unless succours were received before that time, and gave hostages, among whom was his own son, Thomas, for the fulfilment of these stipulations.

Before the appointed period expired, Sir William Keith and some other knights, with a body of Scottish soldiers, succeeded in throwing themselves into the town. The main body of the Scottish army, however, after a fruitless attempt to provoke the English to quit their lines and give them battle, marched into Northumberland, and Edward then peremptorily insisted that the town should be surren-

* Sir Christopher is said to have been a man of gigantic stature. His two-handed sword, measuring four feet nine inches, is in the possession of George Seton, Esq., of the Register Office, representative of the Setons of Cariston.

dered. The besieged refused to comply with this demand, asserting that they had received succours both of men and provisions. The vindictive and cruel monarch, enraged at this refusal, caused Thomas Seton—a tall and good-looking youth, like all his race*—to be hanged before the gate of the town; so near, it is said, that the unhappy father could witness the execution from the walls. The other two sons of Sir Alexander Seton both fell in their country's cause—one in opposing the landing of Edward Baliol, near Kinghorn, 6th August, 1332; the other was drowned in the successful attack on the English fleet at Berwick, in sight of his father, in July, 1333. Sir Alexander sought refuge from his sorrows and troubles in a hospital of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and his daughter Margaret became the heiress of his extensive estates. She married ALAN DE WYNTOUN, who is believed to have been a cadet of her own family, for Philip Seton obtained a charter of the lands of Wyntoun from William the Lion. This marriage led to a sanguinary contest with rival and disappointed suitors, called 'the Wyntoun's war,' which, according to Wyntoun, the metrical chronicler, caused more than a hundred ploughs to be laid aside from labour. Alan de Wyntoun died in the Holy Land, leaving a daughter, who became Countess of Dunbar, and had an only son, SIR WILLIAM SETON, of whom it is recorded that 'he was the first creatit and made lord in the Parliament, and he and his posteritie to have ane voit yairin, and be callit Lordis.' The younger son of this powerful baron married the heiress of the great family of GORDON, and became the progenitor of the Dukes of Gordon and Marquises of Huntly, as well as of the Setons of Touch, hereditary armour-bearers to the King; the Setons of Meldrum, of Abercorn, of Pitmedden,† and other branches of the house. He fought with the hereditary valour of the Setons at the memorable battle of Harlaw in 1411, and in the wars in France in 1421.

The elder son, SIR JOHN SETON, who married a daughter of the tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, carried on the direct line of the family, and was the ancestor of the Earls of Wintoun and Dunfermline, and the Viscounts Kingston. His only son, Sir William, accompanied the Scottish auxiliaries under the Earl of Buchan and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who went to the assistance of Charles,

* The Setons have from the earliest times been noted for their lofty stature. 'Tall and proud, like the Setons,' was long a common saying in Scotland.

† Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, whose heroic conduct at the shipwreck of the *Birkenhead*, where he perished, excited universal admiration, was a cadet of the Pitmedden family.

the Dauphin of France, then hard pressed by the English; and who gained the famous battle of Beaugé, in which the Duke of Clarence, the Marshal of England, and the flower of its chivalry, were left dead on the battlefield. But in the following year Sir William fell, along with the Earls of Buchan and Douglas, and the greater part of the Scottish contingent, at the bloody battle of Verneuil, in the lifetime of his father, 17th August, 1424. His son, GEORGE SETON, was created a peer of Parliament in 1448, and was the husband of Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter and heiress of John, Earl of Buchan and High Constable of France, son of the Regent Albany, and grandson of Robert II.

GEORGE, second LORD SETON, endowed the collegiate church of Seton (20th June, 1493), for the support of a provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys, and a clerk. This fine building is of great antiquity, though the precise date of its erection is unknown. It was long allowed to remain in a dilapidated condition, but a few years ago it was put into a tolerably satisfactory state of repair, and has been converted into a place of burial for the family of the Earl of Wemyss, to whom it now belongs. Lord George is described by the historian of the family as ‘meikle given to leichery (medicine), and as cunning in divers sciences as in music, theology, and astronomy. He was so given to learning that, after he was married, he went to St. Andrews and studied there lang, and then went to Paris for the same purpose. He was, on a voyage to France, taken by some Dunkirkers and plundered. To be revenged of them, he bought a great ship called the *Eagle*, and harassed the Flemings. The keeping of that ship was so expensive that he was compelled to wadset (mortgage) and dispose of several lands.’* His taste for splendid buildings may have contributed to his embarrassments. It was he who erected the original house of Wintoun, which appears to have been destroyed in Lord Hertford’s inroad. The historian of the family says, ‘the second lord built the hail place of Wintoun, with the yard and gardens thereof,’ and he describes quaintly its ornamented gardens, the flower-plots of which were surrounded by a hundred wooden towers or temples, surmounted by bells over-gilt with gold. His eldest son, by a daughter of the first Earl of Argyll—

* *The Genealogy and Historie of the Illustrious Surname of Seton.* Collected and set forth by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.

GEORGE, the third LORD SETON, was held in high esteem by James IV., and fell with his sovereign on the fatal field of Flodden. He left a widow, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Bothwell, who survived him for a period of nearly half a century. His successor—

GEORGE, fourth LORD SETON, says Sir Richard Maitland, was ‘ane wise and vertewes nobleman; a man well experienced in all games; and took pleasure in halking, and was holden to be the best falconer in his days.’

The greatness of the family reached its highest point under the fifth lord, who bore their favourite name of George, and who has been immortalised in tradition and history, and, above all, in Sir Walter Scott’s tale of ‘The Abbot,’ as the staunch supporter of the unfortunate Queen Mary, during all the mutabilities of her career. He entered upon public life at an early age, and in 1557 was nominated one of the commissioners appointed by the Scottish Parliament to proceed to Paris for the purpose of being present at the marriage of their young queen to the Dauphin of France. He seemed at first to be favourably inclined towards the Reformed faith, and was one of the nobles who went to hear John Willock, the Protestant preacher, explain from his sick-bed the doctrines of the gospel; but he ultimately adhered to the Romish Church, and joined the party of the Queen Dowager against the Lords. This step was naturally regarded with great displeasure by the Protestant party. Calderwood says: ‘The Erle of Argyll and Lord James Stewart entered in Edinburgh, the 29th June, 1559. The Lord Seton, the Provost, a man without God, without honestie, and oftentimes without reason, had diverse times before troubled the brethrein. He had taken upon him the protection of the Blacke and Gray Friars, and for that purpose lay himself in one of them everie night and also constrained the honest burgesses of the town to watch and garde these monsters to their great greefe. When he heard of the suddane coming of the Lords he abandoned his charge.’ Lord Seton held the office of Grand Master of Queen Mary’s household, and was concerned in not a few of the most momentous events in her history. The night after the murder of Rizzio, when Mary fled from Holyrood, her first halting-place was Seton House, where Lord Seton was in readiness at the head of two hundred horsemen to escort his

sovereign to the strong castle of Dunbar. A few days after the murder of Darnley, Mary repaired to Seton House, where she was entertained by its owner in person, and spent her time in hunting and shooting. On the Queen's escape from Lochleven, Lord Seton was waiting in the vicinity of the lake with fifty of his retainers, and attended her in her rapid flight to his castle of Niddry, on his Winchburgh estate in West Lothian, where she first drew bridle. He fought on her side and was taken prisoner at the battle of Langside, in 1568, which ruined her cause in Scotland. The Regent Moray, who seems to have respected Lord Seton for his fidelity to his sovereign, set him at liberty and permitted him to retire to the Continent, where he was indefatigable in his efforts to induce the French and Spanish Courts to interfere on her behalf. He was reduced to such a state of poverty in his exile that at one time he was obliged to drive a waggon in Flanders for his subsistence. A painting of him in his waggoner's dress, in the act of driving a wain with four horses, which he caused to be made, long adorned the stately gallery in Seton House. He appears to have been fond of the fine arts, for he had himself painted also as Master of the Queen's household, with his official baton, and the following characteristic motto :—

‘ In adversitate patiens,
In prosperitate benevolus.
Hazard yet forward.’

On various parts of his castle he inscribed, as expressing his religious and political creed, the legend UN DIEU, UN FOY, UN ROY, UN LOY.

A beautiful family-piece, by Sir Antonio More, representing this faithful adherent of Queen Mary surrounded by his children, was in the possession of Lord Somerville, and is published in Pinkerton's ‘ Scottish Iconographia.’

After James VI. took the reins of government into his own hands, he appointed Lord Seton one of the lords of his household, and in January, 1584, sent him ambassador to France. His lordship died, in 1585, soon after his return from France, and was buried in Seton church, where there is a monument to his memory commemorating his fidelity and the prudence by which he thrice restored his house, thrice ruined by the foreign enemy. As the estates of the Seton family lay on the direct road from Berwick to Edinburgh, they suffered severely from the inroads of the English. When the Earl

of Hertford invaded Scotland in 1544, and laid waste the whole of the eastern Border, his army 'came and lay at Seton, burnt and destroyed the castle thereof, spoyled the kirk, took away the bellis and organis, and other tursible [portable] thinges, and put them in their schippes, and brynt the timber wark within the said kirk.' The account given by the ruthless invaders of the rich vestments of the provost and inferior priests, and of the gold and silver vessels that the church contained, shows the splendour with which it had been furnished by the munificent founder and his successors.

Lord Seton, it is said, declined the offer of an earldom from Queen Mary, being unwilling to forego what he considered a greater distinction. On which Mary wrote, or caused to be written, the following lines—

'Sunt comites, ducesque alii, sunt denique reges;
Setoni dominium, sit satis esse mihi.'

Which have been thus rendered—

'Earl, duke, or king to those that list to be;
Seton, thy lordship is enough for me.'

The daughter, or, as some say, the half-sister of the fifth Lord Seton, was one of 'the Four Maries,' celebrated in tradition and song, daughters of Scottish noblemen—Livingston, Fleming, Seton, and Beatoun—all of the same age and Christian name, who accompanied Queen Mary when in her childhood she was taken to France, and were her playmates there. Only three of these 'Maries,' however, returned with her to Scotland, for Mary Seton died unmarried at Rheims.

George, the eldest son of the fifth Lord Seton, predeceased him. ROBERT, his second son, was created EARL OF WINTOUN by James VI., 16th November, 1600. SIR JOHN, the third son, resided for some years at the Court of Philip II., of Spain. Viscount Kingston in his historical account of the Seton family says that Sir John 'was a brave young man,' and that he was made by Philip 'knight of the royal order of St. Jago, att that tyme the only order of knighthood in that kingdome of greatest esteem; in memory whereof he and his heirs has a sword in their coat of armes, being the badge of that order. King Philip also preferred him to be a gentleman of his chamber and Cavalier de la Boca (Master of the Household). He also carried the golden key at his syde on a blew ribbing, all which were the

greatest honours King Philip of Spaine could give to any of his subjects, except to be made a grandee of Spaine. He had a pension granted to him and his heirs of two thousand crowns yearly.'

Sir John Seton was recalled to Scotland by James VI., who made him Lord Treasurer, Master of the Horse, and an Extraordinary Lord of Session. Alexander, the fourth son of Lord Seton, was one of the most eminent lawyers of his day, and a statesman of great ability and influence.

ROBERT, first Earl of Wintoun, was a prudent manager, and freed his ancestral estates from the heavy encumbrances in which they were involved by his adventurous father. He married the heiress of the illustrious family of the Montgomeries of Eglintoun, and his sixth son, Alexander, was adopted into that family, and became sixth Earl of Eglinton. Lord Wintoun was a great favourite of James VI., who met the funeral procession of the Earl, 5th April, 1603, when on his journey to take possession of the English Crown, and remarked as he halted at the south-west corner of Seton orchard until it passed, that he had lost a good, faithful, and loyal subject. There is not much deserving of special notice in the lives and characters of the next three Earls. They fought, of course, on the royal side in the Great Civil War, and suffered severely in fines and imprisonment for their loyalty.

GEORGE, third Earl, was noted for his architectural taste and the extent of his building operations. Lord Kingston says, 'He built the house of Wintoun (being burnt by the English of old and the policy thereof destroyed) in Anno 1620. He founded and built the great house from the foundation, with all the large stone dykes about the precinct, park, orchard, and gardens thereof.' This Earl, as Mr. Billings remarks, appears to have been a magnificent builder, for we find, from the same authority, that he made great additions to the old princely mansion of his family. 'He built, in Anno 1630, two quarters of the house of Seton, beginning at Wallace's Tower at the east end thereof, which was all burnt by the English, and continued the building till Jacob's Tower, on the north syde of the house.' He also erected salt-pans on the adjoining shore of the Firth, and built a harbour at Cockenzie. He was a zealous royalist, and suffered much in the cause of Charles I. during the Great Civil War. Yet the family historian records the great additions made by

him to the family estates in East Lothian. He died in December, 1650, in the midst of preparations to attend the coronation of Charles II. as a 'Covenanted King' at Scone.

His eldest son, George, Lord Seton, was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in 1645, fined £40,000 Scots, and ordered to dispose of a portion of the family estates in Linlithgowshire in order to pay the fine. He was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, and was confined first at St. Andrews and afterwards in the Castle of Edinburgh, but was liberated on his father giving a bond for £100,000 Scots that he would appear when called. He predeceased his father, in 1648, at the age of thirty-five, and his eldest son, GEORGE, fourth Earl, succeeded to the family titles and estates on the death of his grandfather in 1650. Though he was only ten years of age at that time, a fine of £2,000 was imposed upon him by Cromwell. He fought against the Covenanters, at the head of the East Lothian regiment, at the battles of Rullion Green and Bothwell Bridge, and also against the Earl of Argyll in 1685. He died in 1704.

GEORGE, fifth and last Earl, was possessed of excellent abilities, but from his early years he displayed a marked eccentricity of character. Some family misunderstandings caused him to leave home while a mere youth, and he spent several years in France as bellows-blower and assistant to a blacksmith, without holding any intercourse with his family. On the death of his father, Viscount Kingston, the next heir, taking for granted that the young Earl was dead, was proceeding to take possession of the title and estates, when he suddenly appeared and vindicated his rights. It was afterwards ascertained that a confidential servant kept him apprised of what was taking place at home and in the family, and had sent him notice of his father's death.

The Seton family, as we have seen, had always been noted for their loyalty and their attachment to the old Church, and the last Earl, though he had renounced the Romish faith, held firmly to the political creed of his ancestors. He was living peaceably in his own mansion at Seton when the rebellion of 1715 broke out. It is probable that he would, under any circumstances, have taken the field in behalf of the representative of the ancient Scottish sovereigns; but his doing so was hastened, if not caused, by the outrageous treatment which he received from a body of the Lothian militia, who forcibly entered and rifled his mansion at Seton, as he alleged on

his trial, 'through private pique and revenge.' 'The most sacred places,' he adds, 'did not escape their fury and resentment. They broke into his chapel, defaced the monuments of his ancestors, took up the stones of their sepulchres, thrust irons through their bodies, and treated them in a most barbarous, inhuman, and unchristianlike manner.' On this disgraceful outrage the Earl took up arms against the Government, assumed the command of a troop of horse mostly composed of gentlemen belonging to East Lothian, and joined the Northumbrian insurgents under Mr. Forster and the Earl of Derwentwater. Their numbers were subsequently augmented by a body of Highlanders under Brigadier Macintosh, who formed a junction with them at Kelso.

The English insurgents insisted on carrying the war into England, where they expected to be reinforced by the Jacobites and Roman Catholics in the northern and western counties. The Scotsmen proposed that they should take possession of Dumfries, Ayr, Glasgow, and other towns in the south and west of Scotland, and attack the Duke of Argyll, who lay at Stirling, in the flank and rear, while the Earl of Mar assailed his army in front. The English portion of the insurgent forces, however, persisted in carrying out their absurd scheme in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Scots, and especially of the Highlanders, who broke out in a mutiny against the English officers. The Earl of Wintoun disapproved so strongly of this plan that he left the army with a considerable part of his troop, and was marching northward when he was overtaken by a messenger from the insurgent council, who entreated him to return. He stood for a time pensive and silent, but at length he broke out with an exclamation characteristic of his romantic and somewhat extravagant character. 'It shall never be said to after generations that the Earl of Wintoun deserted King James's interests or his country's good.' Then, laying hold of his own ears, he added, 'You, or any man, shall have liberty to cut these out of my head if we do not all repent it.' But though this unfortunate young nobleman, constrained by mistaken loyalty, again joined the insurgent forces, he ceased henceforward to take any interest in their deliberations or debates. The Rev. Robert Patten, who officiated as chaplain to the insurgents, and afterwards wrote a history of the rebellion,* indeed states that the Earl 'was

* Patten turned king's evidence and was the principal witness against the Earl on his trial.

never afterwards called to any council of war, and was slighted in various ways, having often no quarters provided for him, and at other times very bad ones, not fit for a nobleman of his family; yet, being in for it, he resolved to go forward, and diverted himself with any company, telling many pleasant stories of his travels, and his living unknown and obscurely with a blacksmith in France, whom he served some years as a bellows-blower and under-servant, till he was acquainted with the death of his father, and that his tutor had given out that he was dead, upon which he resolved to return home, and when there met with a cold reception.'

The Earl fought with great gallantry at the barricades of Preston, but was at last obliged to surrender along with the other insurgents, and was carried a prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower. He was brought to trial before the House of Lords, 15th March, 1716, and defended himself with considerable ingenuity. The High Steward, Lord Cowper, having overruled his objections to the indictment with some harshness, 'I hope,' was the Earl's rejoinder, 'you will do me justice, and not make use of "Cowper-law," as we used to say in our country—hang a man first and then judge him.' On the refusal of his entreaty to be heard by counsel, he replied—'Since your lordship will not allow me counsel, I don't know nothing.' He was of course found guilty, and condemned to be beheaded on Tower Hill. 'When waiting his fate in the Tower,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'he made good use of his mechanical skill, sawing through with great ingenuity the bars of the windows of his prison, through which he made his escape.*' He ended his motley life at Rome, in 1749, aged seventy, and with him terminated the main branch of the long and illustrious line of the Setons. Male cadets of this family, however, came by intermarriage to represent the great historic families of Huntly and Eglinton, besides the ducal house of Gordon, now extinct, and the Earls of Sutherland, whose heiress married the Marquis of Stafford, afterwards created Duke of Sutherland. The earldoms of Wintoun and Dunfermline, the viscounty of Kingston, and the other Seton titles were forfeited for the adherence of their possessors to the Stewart dynasty, and have never been restored; but the late Earl of Eglinton was, in 1840, served heir-male general of the family, and, in 1859, was created Earl of Wintoun in the peerage of the United Kingdom.

According to tradition, it was customary for the Earls of Wintoun once a year to 'ride the marches' of their estates, which were so

* See APPENDA, vol. ii., p. 426.

extensive that a whole day, from sunrise to sunset, was required to ride in state round the boundaries of their lands. On these occasions the head of the house was always accompanied by a large retinue of friends and retainers, mounted on gaily caparisoned horses, the charger of the chief being arrayed in cloth of silk adorned with gold tassels. The festivities which followed this ceremonial lasted several days.

The estates of the last Earl of Wintoun were forfeited to the Crown on his attainder, for the part which he took in the Jacobite rising of 1715. They were vested by Act of Parliament in the King for the public interest, and Commissioners were appointed for inquiring into their condition. Owing to the numerous obstacles thrown in their way, it was not until the autumn of 1719 that the Commissioners were ready to dispose of the forfeited lands. In a number of instances the forfeited estates were bought back for the family of their former proprietors, but none of the Setons appear to have been able to purchase the Wintoun property, as the main line was extinct. On the 6th of October the Wintoun estate was put up for sale by auction, and, with a trifling exception, was purchased by the agent of the York Buildings Company for the sum of £50,300. It appears, from an official survey taken in the years 1716 and 1717, that the rental of the estate amounted at that time to £3,393. Of that sum only £266 7s. 9d. was payable in money; £876 18s. 4d. was payable in wheat valued at 10s. 5d. per boll, £1,019 12s. 2d. in barley, and £166 2s. 6d. in oats, both valued at the same price as the wheat. The salt-pans and coal-pits were reckoned at about £1,000; * 749 capons at 16d. each, and 802 hens at 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. each, amounted to £53 10s., and 504 thraves of straw, at 5d. per thrave, to £10 10s.

The York Buildings Company ultimately became bankrupt, and in 1779 the Wintoun estate was again exposed for sale. As the property was of great extent, it was thought that it would be diffi-

* The company attempted to work the coal-mines and salt-pans at Tranent. They fitted up one of the new fire engines, the first of the kind in Scotland, and made a wooden railway between one and two miles long, connecting the pits with the salt-works at Preston and the harbour at Port Seton. After an expenditure of £3,500 they could not clear £500 a-year from the coal-pits and salt-pans combined. They let them for £1000 a-year to a 'competent person,' but in no long time he gave up the lease, because he could not make sufficient to pay the rent. The company also tried glass-making, and set up a manufactory for that article at Port Seton; but, on balancing their accounts at Christmas, 1732, they found that they had lost £4,088 17s. 5d. by the experiment.

cult to find a person able to purchase the whole, and it was therefore, by authority of the Court of Session, put up in lots. The first two of these, including the famous old Seton House, the chief residence of the family, were purchased by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, W.S., who was common agent for the creditors of the company.* No objection was made at the time to the legality of this purchase on the part either of the Court or of the creditors; but thirteen years afterwards an action of reduction was brought at the instance of the company. The Court of Session gave judgment in Mr. Mackenzie's favour, but their decision was reversed on appeal to the House of Lords. The Company not only raised the general question that the purchase was a breach of trust on the part of the common agent, but they brought special and strong charges against Mr. Mackenzie's conduct in the transaction. They alleged that the manner in which the previous rental was made up was not satisfactory, and that the knowledge which Mr. Mackenzie had obtained in his official capacity of the condition and details of the property had been of material advantage to him. They further averred that the sale had been hurried through in an irregular and improper manner. According to the custom of that time the sale was advertised to take place 'between the hours of four and six afternoon,' a latitude allowed for the 'want of punctuality in the judge, the clerks, and the other persons immediately concerned,' so that five o'clock came to be considered the proper and real hour. On this occasion, however, Lord Monboddo, the Ordinary, before whom the judicial sale was to take place, having received a hint to be punctual, arrived at the Parliament House and took his seat upon the bench exactly as the clock struck four. Proceedings commenced immediately, and the first and second lots, having been put up successively, were knocked down to Mr. Mackenzie without waiting the outrunning of the half-hour sand-glass, as required by the Articles of sale. Several persons who had intended to offer for these lots found, to their great disappointment and chagrin, on their arrival at the Court that the sale was over. These allegations do not appear to have been taken into consideration by the House of Lords, since the illegality of the conduct of the agent was regarded as sufficient to vitiate the transaction.

* Mr. Mackenzie was succeeded as a common agent in 1789, on the nomination of the company, by Mr. Walter Scott, W.S., who at that time had as his apprentice his son, the great novelist and poet.

The lands in question were again exposed for sale, and were purchased by the Earl of Wemyss in 1798, at three times the price that had been paid by Mr. Mackenzie. The decision of the House of Lords unfortunately came too late to save from destruction the fine old castle or palace of Seton, as it was called, owing to its having been frequently the residence of royalty. It occupied a commanding position on the coast of the Firth of Forth, closely adjoining the battlefield of Prestonpans. The date of its erection is unknown, but it had undergone at various times considerable alterations and enlargements. The building consisted of three extensive fronts of freestone, with a triangular court in the middle. The front to the south-east—which appears to have been built early in the reign of Queen Mary—contained, beside other apartments, a noble hall and drawing-room. The state apartments, which were very spacious, consisted of three great rooms forty feet high, and their furniture was covered with crimson velvet laced with gold. There were also two large galleries filled with pictures. Altogether, the mansion was regarded as the most magnificent and elegantly furnished house in Scotland.

Seton Palace was a favourite resort of Queen Mary. It was visited by her in her royal progresses, and, as we have mentioned, it was her first halting-place when she and Darnley made their escape from Holyrood after the murder of Rizzio. She was entertained there by Lord Seton in 1567, and on that occasion she and Bothwell won a match in shooting at the butts against Lords Seton and Huntly. The forfeit was a dinner, which the losers had to provide in an inn at Tranent. When James VI. revisited his native country in 1617, he spent his second night in Scotland at Seton. Charles I. also, on his journey from London to Edinburgh, in 1633, in order to be crowned there as well as in England, halted a night at Seton, and was magnificently entertained by George, third Earl of Wintoun. The castle was held for a short time in 1715 by Brigadier Macintosh and a detachment of Highlanders before their march to the Borders to join the Northumbrian insurgents under Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater.

With an unpardonable want of taste and respect for historical associations, Mr. Mackenzie pulled down this splendid structure and erected in its place an incongruous tasteless building, which has frequently been used as a boarding-school, and is fit for nothing better. It is surrounded, however, by some fine old stately trees,

and the gardens are still celebrated for the finest and earliest fruits of the season.

The destruction of the famous old castle of Seton was not the only act of Vandalism of which Mackenzie was guilty during the short time he possessed the property. A few hundred yards to the west of the castle stood the ancient village of Seton, which in 1791 was inhabited by eighty-six persons, mostly weavers, tailors, and shoemakers, each family possessing a house and a small piece of ground. This industrious little community, which for centuries had thriven under the fostering care of the Seton family, was entirely broken up and dispersed by the unscrupulous lawyer who had illegally, if not fraudulently, obtained temporary possession of the estate. When called upon by him to produce the title-deeds of their little properties, it was found that most of them had no titles to show, their houses and lands having been handed down from father to son through many generations. Those who were unable to produce their titles were at once turned out of their houses, while it is alleged that the few who possessed the requisite documents, and sent them to Mackenzie's office in Edinburgh, never saw them again, and were, like the others, shortly after compelled to remove from their ancient heritages without receiving any compensation. Only one of the villagers escaped eviction. He somehow learned that his property had been registered when it was purchased, and he was consequently enabled to set at defiance the attempts of the usurper to rob him of his patrimony.*

Mr. George Buchan Hepburn, factor on the Wintoun estates, and a son of Mr. George Buchan, the York Buildings Company's agent, purchased the baronies of Tranent and Cockenzie at the same sale at which portions of the Wintoun estate were bought by Mr. Mackenzie, but the transaction was not challenged. Cockenzie soon after was acquired by the Cadell family, who had possession also of the barony of Tranent till 1860.

Branches of the Seton family have flourished in the counties of Linlithgow, Fife, Stirling, and Aberdeen. The Setons of Parbroath, in Fife, were descended from John, fourth son of Sir Alexander Seton, who married Elizabeth Ramsay, the heiress of that estate. One of them was Comptroller of Scotland. The venerable Sir Richard Maitland, the historian of the house of Seton, makes mention of another member of this family, 'Maister David, parson of

* *History of Tranent.* By P. M'Neil, pp. 193, 194.

Fettercarne and Balhelvie,' of whom he says, 'he was ane large man of bodie as was in his dayes, and stout theirwyth, the best-lyk ageit man I ever saw.' The old chronicler relates the following graphic incident in the life of this worthy: 'In the tyme of King James the Ferd [Fourth] there was ane process laid aganis the baronnes callit recognitionis. The Advocat at that tyme was named Maister Richard Lausone, and his assistant Maister James Henrysone. Maister David Seytoun, in his defence of Lord Seytoun's case, said to the King, "Schir, quhen our forbears [ancestors] gat yon landes at your maist nobell predecessoure's handis for their trew service, sumtyme gevand the blude of their bodie, and sumtyme their lives in defence of this realme; at that tyme there was nether Lausone nor Henrysone quha wald invent wayis to disheris [disinherit] the baronnis of Scotland.'" The King, seeing the warmth with which he made his defence, said to him, 'Would you fight?' The old cleric, who was beyond the age when he had a right to challenge a decision by single combat, said that if the King would give permission he would fight his opponent. 'The King's grace, quha was the maist nobel and humane prince in the world, smylit and leuch [laughed] a little, and said na mair,' admiring in his heart the noble spirit of the man who stood up so bravely for the rights of his kinsman.

Parbroath passed out of the hands of the Setons towards the close of the seventeenth century. The lands of Lathrisk, in the parish of King's Kettle, Fife, were acquired by John Seton, a cadet of the Parbroath family, on his marriage with Janet Lathrisk of that ilk. About the middle of last century Lathrisk became the property of a family of the name of Johnston.

ALEXANDER SETON, Earl of Dunfermline, was the fourth son of George, the fifth Lord Seton, the 'defender of the beauteous Stewart.' He was born before the Reformation, and was the god-child of Queen Mary, and he survived the union of the Crowns (1555—1622). From his godmother he received, as 'ane God-bairne gift,' the lands of Pluscarden, in Moray. 'Finding him of a great spirit,' his father sent him to Rome at an early age, and he studied for some time in the Jesuits' College, with the view of entering the priesthood. It seems probable that he did take holy orders, and it was thought that if he had remained at Rome he would have been made a cardinal. The overthrow of the Roman

Catholic Church in Scotland probably induced young Seton, as his biographer conjectures, to abandon his ecclesiastical pursuits, and to betake himself to the study of the civil and the canon law; and he passed as an advocate before James VI. and the Senators of the College of Justice in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood in 1577. The Setons had hitherto been more distinguished in warlike than in civil pursuits, but in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no less than six members of the family obtained seats on the Scottish Bench. Alexander Seton, the most illustrious of these legal luminaries, was created an Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1586, obtaining in the following year a gift of the revenues of Urquhart and of the Priory of Pluscarden. With all their attachment to the old Church, the Setons, like the rest of the Scottish nobility of that day, seem to have been by no means unwilling to share in its spoils. Two years later Alexander Seton became an Ordinary Lord of Session under the title of Lord Urquhart, and in 1593 he was elected by his brethren to the president's chair at the comparatively early age of thirty-eight. He was appointed one of the Octavians—a committee of eight persons to whom the King, in 1596, entrusted the management of public affairs, and who introduced a number of important administrative reforms, though they were regarded with great suspicion and distrust by the clergy. These councillors, indeed, were so unpopular that to satisfy the fears of the Presbyterian party, James promised that he would not meet them in Council, 'at least when the cause of religion and matters of the Church were treated.'

The Court of Session had long been in bad odour in Scotland, on account of its subserviency to the Court and its partial and unjust judgments. It is therefore with a feeling of agreeable surprise that we learn that, though Seton was a favourite with the King, he had the courage to resist and defeat a characteristic attempt of James to induce the Court to decide unjustly in his favour against a claim of the celebrated Robert Bruce, the successor of Andrew Melville, as the leader of the Presbyterian Church. Bruce had been most unjustly deprived of his stipend by the King, and he sued the Crown in the Court of Session for redress. James pleaded his own cause, and commanded the senators to pronounce judgment in his favour. Seton, with great dignity and firmness, informed the King that though they were ready to serve him with their lives and substance, 'this is a matter of law, in which we are sworn to do justice accord-

ing to our conscience and the statutes of the realm.' 'Your majesty,' he added, 'may indeed command us to the contrary, in which case I and every honest man on this bench will either vote according to conscience, or resign and not vote at all.' The judges, with only two dissentient voices, pronounced their decision in favour of Mr. Robert Bruce, and the mortified monarch 'flung out of court, muttering revenge and raging marvellously.' As Mr. Tytler justly observes, 'When the subservient temper of the times is considered, and we remember that Seton, the president, was a Roman Catholic [a mistake], whilst Bruce, in whose favour he and his brethren decided, was a chief leader of the Presbyterian ministers, it would be unjust to withhold our admiration from a judge and a Court which had the courage thus fearlessly to assert the supremacy of the law.'

The anger and disappointment of the King were not lasting, for Seton still continued to enjoy the royal favour, and to receive a succession of honours and appointments. But, notwithstanding, he firmly opposed, in 1600, the foolish and dangerous proposal of the King in the Convention of Estates to raise an army to be in readiness, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, to secure for him the succession to the English throne. The scheme was supported by the majority of the higher nobility and prelates, but was stoutly and successfully resisted by the barons and the burghs, led by Seton and the young Earl of Gowrie. 'Notwithstanding the undisguised mortification of the King, the result occasioned all but universal satisfaction throughout the country.' In 1598 the President obtained the erection of the barony of Fyvie into a free lordship, with the dignity of a lord of Parliament. On the accession of James to the English throne, Lord Fyvie was entrusted with the guardianship of Prince Charles, the King's younger son. In the following year he was summoned to London, along with the Earl of Montrose, to take part in the negotiations for a union of the two kingdoms, but though the King himself eagerly pressed the measure, and was zealously supported by Lord Bacon, it was found to be premature, and had to be postponed for a century. While in England Montrose was persuaded to resign the office of Chancellor, which was conferred upon Seton.

In 1605 Lord Fyvie was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dufferline. His long enjoyment of the royal favour and the good fortune which it had brought him had no doubt excited the envy

and jealousy of some of the courtiers, and an intrigue seems to have been tried at this time to bring about his dismissal from the Chancellorship. But 'partly by his friends at home and partly by the Queen and English secretaries moyen, he was suffered to enjoy still his office.' He continued to possess the confidence of the King and of Sir Robert Cecil, and took an active part in carrying on the government in Scotland, and in promoting the restoration of Episcopacy. In addition to his judicial office the Earl was for ten years Provost of Edinburgh—a position which had been previously held by his father. In those days the provostship of the capital was an office of great influence as well as dignity, and was an object of ambition to the most powerful nobles. The Chancellor survived till 1622, retaining to the last the confidence of his sovereign and of his colleagues in the administration. What is more rare, and is a stronger testimony to his moderation, sound judgment, and upright conduct, he commanded the respect both of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, though bitterly hostile to each other. Spottiswood and Calderwood, though they both suspected him of Popish leanings, concurred in their testimony to the impartiality of his administration. Lord Dunfermline, besides being a learned lawyer, was an accomplished scholar. Lord Kingston says, 'He was great in esteem at Rome for his learning, being a great humourist in prose and poesy, Greek and Latine; well versed in the mathematics, and had great skill in architecture and heraldry.' He appears to have been also the friend of men of learning and science. Robert Terot dedicated to him his curious tract on the 'Right Reckoning of Years,' written to prepare for the introduction of the new style in 1600; and the illustrious Napier of Merchiston, his treatise on 'Tabulation by Rods,' which are still used, under the name of 'Napier's bones.' Two of Seton's Latin epigrams, prefixed to Bishop Lesley's 'History of Scotland,' are regarded as specimens of elegant scholarship, and so is his epigram to Sir John Skene on the publication of his treatise, known as 'Regiam Magistatem.' That the commendation bestowed upon Seton's skill in architecture was well merited is proved by the stately and beautiful Castle of Fyvie, which he built for himself, and by the additions which he made to his fine mansion of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, where he died. The Seton family, indeed, were noted for their munificent architectural taste, as was shown in Seton church, and in that 'peculiar and beautiful structure,' Winton House, long the residence of the late venerable Lady Ruthven.

Lord Chancellor Dunfermline was frequently accused of a leaning to Romanism, and Tytler terms him a Roman Catholic, but the accusation seems to have been unfounded. He certainly joined the Episcopalian Church, and was buried in a vault under the old church of Dalgety, in Fife, after a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswood. Mr. Seton's summary of the character and qualifications of Lord Dunfermline is not much, if anything, heightened: 'An able lawyer, an impartial judge, a sagacious statesman, a consistent patriot, an accomplished scholar, a discerning patron of literature, a munificent builder, a skilful herald, and an ardent lover of archery and other manly sports.'*

CHARLES SETON, second Earl of Dunfermline, was a zealous adherent of the Covenanting party, and was prominent in the contest for the rights of the Church and people of Scotland. He was repeatedly sent to England as one of the Commissioners of the Estates, and he commanded a regiment in the army which, under General Leslie, marched into England in 1640 to the assistance of the Parliament in their struggle with Charles I. He was one of the eight Scottish Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ripon. In 1641 he was sworn a Privy Councillor, and in the following year he was appointed by the King High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Scottish Church which met at St. Andrews. He took an active part in the subsequent proceedings of that stirring period. He supported the 'Engagement' in 1648 for the rescue of Charles from the Republican party, and after the execution of the King he went to the Continent, in April, 1649, to wait on Charles II., with whom he returned to Scotland in 1650. He was appointed a member of the Committee of Estates and of the Committee entrusted with the management of the affairs of the army. He commanded a regiment of horse in the ill-advised and unfortunate expedition into England under Charles II., which terminated in a complete defeat at Worcester, September 3rd, 1651. At the Restoration he was sworn a Privy Councillor, and in 1669 was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session. He was nominated Lord Privy Seal in 1671, and died in January, 1673. The Earl left three sons and a daughter by his wife, a daughter of the Earl of Morton.

* *Memoir of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline.* By George Seton, Advocate, M.A., Oxon.

ALEXANDER, the eldest son, became third Earl, but died soon after succeeding to the title. Charles, the second son, was killed in a sea-fight with the Dutch in 1672. The third son—

JAMES SETON, was the fourth and last Earl of Dunfermline. Though he served in his youth under the Prince of Orange, at the Revolution he adhered to the cause of the Stewarts, and commanded a troop of horse under Viscount Dundee at the battle of Killiecrankie. He followed King James to St. Germain, and in 1690 he was outlawed and forfeited by the Scottish Parliament. The Earl was a Protestant and in common with the other Protestants who espoused the Stewart cause he was exposed to continual insults and contumelious treatment both from the fugitive monarch himself and from his Roman Catholic adherents. He had sacrificed everything to his principle of loyalty to the exiled family, had as a military commander rendered the most valuable service to their cause, and was a person of stainless character, obnoxious to James and his courtiers solely on account of his firm adherence to the Protestant faith. And yet when he died, in 1694, of a broken heart, the ungrateful and heartless bigot would not permit him to be buried in consecrated ground, but the body of his faithful follower was flung at midnight into a hole which had been dug in a neighbouring field, and was covered up as if it had been so much carrion. A similar course was pursued with every Protestant attached to the wretched court of St. Germain who refused to conform to Popery.

Lord Dunfermline married a sister of the first Duke of Gordon, but as he left no issue his titles became extinct, and, in consequence of his attainder, his estates fell to the Crown.





THE RUTHVENS OF GOWRIE.

THE Ruthvens derive their descent from a Norwegian baron named Thor, who, in the reign of King Edgar, founded the Church of Edinham, or Ednam, on the banks of the Tweed, the birthplace, five centuries later, of Thomson, the poet of the 'Seasons.' The charter which Thor granted to this religious establishment is a model for its brevity and clearness, and may serve to illustrate the process by which the waste places of the country were peopled and the inhabitants civilised. 'To the sons of Holy Mother Church,' ran this interesting document, 'Thor the Long, greeting in the Lord: be it known that Aedgar my lord, King of Scots, gave to me Aednaham, a desert; that, with his help and my own money I peopled it, and have built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert, which church, with a ploughgate of land, I have given to God and to St. Cuthbert and his monks to be possessed by them for ever.'

Suconus, the son of this Thor, who flourished in the reign of William the Lion, obtained a grant of the manors of Ruthven, Tippermuir, and other lands in Perthshire, and was also superior of the territory of Crawford, in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, which the progenitors of the great family of the Lindsays held as vassals under him.

The descendants of Suconus assumed the surname of Ruthven from one of their Perthshire estates, and no fewer than three great barons of this designation are mentioned in the Ragman Roll among those who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. SIR WILLIAM DE RUTHVEN, the seventh in descent from Suconus, obtained from Robert III. the office of sheriff of Perth, or St. Johnston, as it was then called, which became hereditary in the family. The son of this baron was one of the commissioners appointed to treat for the

release of James I. in 1423, and one of the hostages for that monarch in the following year. He was killed in the North Inch of Perth in a fierce struggle with some Highland caterans, who attempted to rescue a notorious freebooter whom he had taken prisoner. His grandson, also named Sir William, was created a peer by James III., in 1488. The eldest son of the first Lord Ruthven fell along with his sovereign on the fatal field of Flodden, leaving a son, WILLIAM, who succeeded his grandfather as second Lord Ruthven. He was one of the first persons of rank in Scotland who embraced the Protestant faith, and one of the most zealous and active leaders of the party in their deadly and successful struggle with the Romish party—'A stout and discreet man in the cause of God,' as he is termed by Calderwood. Cardinal Beaton, who hated him for his 'knowledge of the Word,' and his exertions to obtain for the laity the privilege of reading the Holy Scriptures, made a strenuous effort to deprive Lord Ruthven of the office of Provost of Perth, and to confer it on Charteris of Kinfauns, which led to a sanguinary conflict on the Bridge of Perth between the Ruthvens and the citizens of the Fair City on the one side, and Lord Gray and other allies of Beaton on the other, in which the latter were defeated.

PATRICK, the third Lord Ruthven, has acquired an unenviable historical notoriety as a principal actor in the murder of Rizzio. He was not, however, as has been commonly supposed, a savage barbarian, but a man of literary tastes and accomplishments, who had received a learned education at the University of St. Andrews, and could use his pen as readily as his sword. Like his father, he was a zealous supporter of the Protestant cause, and was one of the leaders of the Congregation in their contest with Mary of Guise, Queen-Regent. Along with the Earl of Argyll, Lord James Stewart (afterwards Regent Moray) and other prominent Reformers, he took part in the capture of Perth, the siege of Leith, the deposition of the Regent, and other proceedings of the Protestant party, and was one of the most active and courageous in the efforts made by them to drive the French troops out of the country. His last public appearance was on the memorable night of Rizzio's murder, 9th March, 1566. He had for some months been confined to bed by an incurable disease; but at the urgent and reiterated request of Darnley, whose great-uncle he was, he agreed to assist that foolish profligate to make away

with 'the villain Davie.' The most shocking and memorable feature of that tragic scene is the appearance of Ruthven, 'scarcely able,' as he himself says, 'to walk twice the length of his chamber,' clad in a coat of mail covered by a loose gown, and brandishing a drawn sword in his hand; his form attenuated by wasting disease, his pale and haggard countenance showing under the helmet like that of a corpse tenanted by a demon; his vindictive purpose lurking out at his flashing eyes; his hollow, sepulchral voice; his whole appearance more like that of a fiend than a man, suddenly appearing in the Queen's closet and coolly superintending the bloody deed. The savage reproaches which he heaped upon the poor Queen, after the perpetration of the murder, added not a little to the horror which the scene was fitted to inspire, and account for the vindictive reply of Mary, 'I trust that God, who beholdeth this from the high heavens, will avenge my wrongs, and make that which shall be born of me to root out you and your treacherous posterity'—a denunciation which was strikingly fulfilled in the total ruin of the house of Ruthven in the reign of Mary's son.

On the escape of the Queen to Dunbar, the assassins fled in all directions. Lord Ruthven escaped to England, and died there 13th June, 1566, at the age of forty-six, just three months after the murder, having, however, before his death written a history of the affair, in which there is not one expression of regret or symptom of compunction for the crime. 'He made a Christian end,' says Calderwood, 'thanking God for the leisure granted to him to call for mercy;' but it is evident that he regarded the 'slaughter of Signior Davie' not as a crime requiring pardon, but as a meritorious deed deserving commendation. WILLIAM, the eldest surviving son of this ruthless baron, succeeded him in his titles and estates, and was created Earl of Gowrie in 1581. But, as Mr. Bruce remarks, he possessed none of the active energy of his father. His nature was calm, indolent, and passive. None of the great public events in which he was subsequently mixed up originated with him. His course was ordinarily straightforward and consistent, but he followed the lead of men more busy and more active than himself.

The Ruthven family had now reached the zenith of their rank and power. In addition to the hereditary possessions of his house, the first Earl inherited from his grandmother—the eldest daughter of Patrick, Lord Halyburton—the valuable barony of Dirleton, in East Lothian, and along with his new title he obtained the lands of Gowrie

in the fertile 'Carse' of that name, which had formerly belonged to the monastery of Scone.

The Earl of Gowrie was, of course, a staunch supporter of the cause of the Reformation, by which he, in common with many other Scottish nobles, had largely profited. Though quite young, he was present with his father at the murder of Rizzio, and shared his exile in England. He obtained the Queen's pardon through the intercession of Morton, and joined that crafty noble in the association against Bothwell in 1567. He was one of the confederate lords to whom Mary surrendered at Carberry Hill, and to him, in conjunction with Lord Lindsay, was entrusted the task of conducting the hapless Queen to Lochleven Castle on the night of the 16th June in that same year. He is said to have been one of the nobles who received from Mary the resignation of her crown on the 24th of July following, and no one who has read Sir Walter Scott's tale of 'The Abbot' will ever forget the description which the great novelist has given of the scene of the abdication in the castle of Lochleven, and of the appearance of Lord Lindsay's harsh and stern features scarred with wounds, his thick and grizzled eyebrows lowering over large eyes full of dark fire, which seemed yet darker from the uncommon depth at which they were set in his head; his upright stature and large limbs, girt with the huge antique sword once worn by Archibald Bell-the-Cat, contrasted with his smoother but deeper colleague, who had the look and bearing of a soldier and a statesman, and the martial cast of whose form and features had procured for him the popular epithet of Greysteil, by which he was distinguished among his intimates, after the hero of a metrical romance then generally known. The son of an ill-fated sire, and the father of a yet more unfortunate family, he bore in his look that cast of inauspicious melancholy by which the physiognomists of that time pretended to distinguish those who were predestined to a violent and unhappy death. There is some reason, however, to doubt whether Ruthven was really present on that occasion, though it is quite certain that in company with Lord Lindsay and Sir Robert Melville he had at least one interview with the Queen during her imprisonment in Lochleven, and he was conjoined with Lindsay in the commission which she signed empowering them in her name to renounce the Government.

Throckmorton, the English ambassador, mentions that at this time Ruthven was employed by the confederate lords in another

commission, because 'he began to show favour to the Queen, and to give her intelligence.' This leaning towards Mary, however, could not have been of long continuance, for he fought on the side of the Regent Moray at the battle of Langside, which ruined the Queen's cause, and he prevented a junction between the retainers of Huntly and the clansmen of Argyll and Arran, and compelled these noblemen to disband their forces. He was rewarded for his services by his appointment for life, in 1571, to the office of Treasurer. He was also appointed Lieutenant of the Borders, in room of the Earl of Angus, and towards the close of the same year he was nominated one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session. But a bitter quarrel now broke out between him and his former friend the Regent Morton, who had taken the part of Lord Oliphant in a deadly feud between that nobleman and the Ruthvens; and in the following year Lord Ruthven was one of the leaders of the party who brought Morton to the scaffold. Titles and estates were liberally conferred on the successful plotters. Lord Maxwell obtained the earldom of the fallen Regent, and Lord Ruthven, as we have mentioned, was created Earl of Gowrie. But the new favourite, Arran, a person of most infamous character, soon made himself so obnoxious that a conspiracy was formed to expel him from the royal councils. In the month of August, 1582, the young King, who had been enjoying his favourite pastime of the chase in Athol, was invited on his homeward journey to Edinburgh to visit the Earl of Gowrie at Ruthven Castle, near Perth. He readily accepted the invitation, but on his arrival found himself a prisoner in the hands of the associated lords, who compelled him to dismiss his minions, and to adopt measures favourable to the Protestant cause. The fate of Rizzio was impending over Arran, when Gowrie interposed and saved his life. James remained for about ten months in the hands of the lords, but in the month of May, 1583, he effected his escape through the assistance of Colonel William Stewart, a brother of Arran, and took refuge in the castle of St. Andrews. The Protestant lords were commanded to retire to their own estates, and to remain there till the King should call them. Gowrie, however, having obtained permission from James, repaired privately to St. Andrews, and, falling on his knees before him, professed his sorrow for his share in the raid and implored forgiveness, which the King readily granted. The Earl, however, retained his self-respect while expressing his penitence. Though there was 'a fault in the form,' he argued that

the deed itself was not evil, 'in respect of the great danger that both religion and the commonwealth did stand into at that time.' James, overjoyed at regaining his freedom, declared, in the presence of the lords of both parties and of an assemblage of the neighbouring gentry, the chief magistrates of the adjacent towns, and the ministers and the heads of colleges, that he would not impute the seizure of his person to any one as a crime, and that he would henceforth govern all his subjects with strict impartiality and justice. As a proof of his sincerity, he paid a special visit to Ruthven Castle, 'to let the country see that he was entirely reconciled with the Earl of Gowrie.' The Earl entertained his Majesty with great splendour. After dinner he fell on his knees publicly before him, and entreated pardon for the indignity which had been put upon him at his last visit to that 'unhappy house,' assuring the King that the detention of his person was unpremeditated, and had fallen out rather by accident than by deliberate intention. James professed the greatest kindness for the Earl, told him he well knew how blindly he had been involved in the conspiracy by the practices of other persons, and promised never to impute to him his accidental fault. Arran was still a prisoner in the hands of Gowrie, but the King begged so earnestly that his old favourite should be permitted to come and see him 'but once' and then return to his place of detention, that the lords at length consented. As might have been foreseen, the interview was followed by Arran's restoration to the Court and to his former place in the Council. The obnoxious favourite speedily regained his ascendancy over the King, and a proclamation was issued repudiating all the Acts of State and royal promises respecting the pardon granted to the lords who had been engaged in the Raid of Ruthven. That enterprise was declared to be treason, and the royal clemency was to be extended to those who had taken part in it only upon their acknowledging their offence and suing for pardon within a limited time, and submitting to temporary banishment, money payment, or such other punishment as the King, or rather as Arran, might think fit.

The tyranny of the wicked and ruthless favourite at length became intolerable. Like Cataline, he was covetous of other men's money and prodigal of his own. His boundless extravagance was naturally connected with an insatiable rapacity, which was gratified by utter disregard of law and justice. He cast a covetous eye upon Gowrie's extensive lands, and, as it was justly said, no man who had an estate

was safe if Arran set his heart upon his possessions. Day by day some new device was tried to obtain forfeitures and escheats, land or benefices. Angus, Mar, and Glamis, the real leaders in the Ruthven Raid, were banished, the first of them to the north of Scotland and the two others to Ireland. Gowrie, whose submission had pacified the King, was allowed to remain at Court, but he was annoyed and insulted to such an extent by the favourite that he felt it necessary to return to his residence at Perth. The King, who seems really to have liked him, sent Melville to entreat the Earl to return. He complied with the request, and James attempted to reconcile him with Arran, but in vain. The haughty and insolent upstart subjected the Earl to constant mortifications. 'He was vexed and put out,' says Melville, 'in every imaginable way. Arran hated his person but loved his lands,' and was bent upon obtaining them. His wife was still more eager to possess the great estates of the Ruthvens.* Gowrie had probably some secret apprehension of danger from his powerful and unscrupulous enemy, and he asked and obtained from the King permission to retire to France. Dundee was a convenient seaport for his embarkation, and he repaired thither for that purpose. At this juncture, however, he received information of a plot on the part of Angus, Mar, and Glamis for the expulsion of Arran from the King's council, and was urged to join it. He hesitated for some time, but at length consented, and held himself in readiness to take part with his former associates in the *Raid* when the time for action arrived. At this stage, however, the plot was betrayed to Arran. Gowrie had received a royal command to set sail within fifteen days, but he still lingered. 'He was timorous of nature,' says a contemporary and friend. He evidently believed, no doubt with good reason, that if he quitted the country some pretence would be found for the forfeiture of his estates. This feeling was expressed in characteristic terms to a friend who visited him at his mansion in Perth, which he had recently enlarged and was furnishing with princely splendour. 'Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus has segetes.' Some difficulties had arisen

* Arran's wife had previously been married to the Earl of March, the King's uncle-in-law, who had received the royal favourite as a friend. He repaid him by seducing his wife. When far gone with child she petitioned for a divorce for a reason which, Principal Robertson declares, no modest woman will now plead. The corrupt judges pronounced the desired sentence, and public decency was outraged by the pomp and splendour of her marriage to Arran—a precedent, it has been remarked, for a similar case which afterwards occurred to another of the King's favourites in England.

about the vessel which he had chartered, and the Countess, who had been recently confined, was lying very ill. The Earl of Athole, his son-in-law, went to the King at Edinburgh and besought an extension of the period limited for Gowrie's embarkation. It was peremptorily refused, and Athole was not even allowed to return to Dundee and speak to his father-in-law before his departure.

On the 13th of April Colonel Stewart was sent to Dundee by sea with a hundred men, bearing a royal warrant, written by the hand of Arran himself, to arrest Gowrie and bring him to Edinburgh. Gowrie was at the harbour when the vessel which bore Stewart arrived. As soon as he saw the brother of his deadly foe step forth upon the shore he retired hastily to his lodgings, which were in the house of one of the citizens, and summoning his servants, barricaded the doors, and set Stewart at defiance. He made good his defence for several hours, but was at length compelled to surrender, and was conveyed a prisoner to Edinburgh. About the end of April he was removed to Stirling to take his trial, or rather to be put to death, for his fate was already determined. But as the Earl had been captured before Angus, Mar, and Glamis had taken up arms, it was difficult for his enemies to prove that he had been a party to the conspiracy. Arran, therefore, devised a scheme every way worthy of him to entrap the Earl into a confession. Accompanied by two of his brothers, and also by the Earl of Montrose, Sir John Maitland of Lethington, and Sir Robert Melville, Arran waited upon Gowrie, in Edinburgh, under the guise of a friend deeply concerned for his welfare. They informed him that the King was highly incensed against him for the part he had taken in the expulsion of the Duke of Lennox, and recommended him to make a full confession of all that he knew of a design against his Majesty's person, and to offer to reveal the particulars if admitted to an interview. In this way he might vindicate his innocence and explain the whole affair to the King. Gowrie refused to follow this 'perilous' advice. They came to him again and again, and urged him to adopt this course. 'Nay,' said Gowrie, 'that shall I never do, for so I should promise the thing which I could not discharge myself of. I should confess an untruth, and put myself in a far worse case than I am in. I will rather trust in the simplicity of mine honest cause and upright meaning, and take my hazard as it shall please God to dispone upon me.' Arran and his accomplices continued still to reason with him as to the propriety and safety of

the course which they recommended. 'That policie is very perilous,' said Gowrie, 'for I know myself so clear of all crimes against his Highness, I should by that means make mine own dittay [indictment], and, not being sure of my life, nor how the King will accept mine excuse, incur the danger of forfeiture for confessing treason to the tynsell (loss) of my life and the defamation and utter ruin of my house.' His treacherous counsellors assured him that his life was safe if he followed their counsel, but his death was determined on if he did not confess that he had a foreknowledge of the conspiracy of the Protestant lords. Gowrie still hesitated unless he had an assured promise of his life. They alleged that it stood not with his Majesty's honour to capitulate with his subject by writing. The Earl, however, still held out. They came again, and 'swore upon their honours and faith that the King sware to them that he would grant him his life if he would disclose those things whereof he should be asked.' 'I will willingly pledge my honour,' Arran declared, 'that your life shall be in no danger if you will do so.' 'I did yield upon this promise,' said Gowrie, 'and did write those things whereof I am accused.' But instead of receiving the answer he had been led to expect, he was immediately placed upon trial. He pleaded, among other things, the solemn promise that had been made to him of his life. 'You must remember,' he said, looking to Arran, who was one of the jury, and his coadjutors, 'how I at first refused, and how you sware to me upon your honour that the King would grant me my life if I made my confession.' To this pointed appeal no answer was returned; but the Lord Advocate interposed and said that the lords had no power to make such a promise. The Earl then appealed to Arran and his associates whether his statement was not true, but they denied upon oath that any such promise had been made. Gowrie made a final appeal to Arran as he was about to accompany the other jurymen to the inner chamber to deliberate, and asked him to remember the good deed he did to him last year in his house. The heartless villain replied, that it was not lawful, 'for, my lord, you are accused of treason, and I was no traitor; besides, my life was safe.' Gowrie, who now perceived the snare that had been laid for him, convinced that he had no mercy to expect, smiled, and with great composure called for a cup of wine and drank to his friends around him. He then desired one of them to commend him to his wife, and to conceal his death from her, and put her in good hope of his life till she was stronger in body, for she

was even at this instant weakened through the delivery of his child. The jury soon returned into court with a verdict of guilty, which he heard without changing his countenance; and being about to address the court, he was interrupted by the judge, who informed him that the King had sent down the warrant for his execution. 'Well, my lords,' he remarked, 'since it is the King's contentment that I lose my life, I am as willing to part with it as I was before to spend it in his service; and the noblemen who have been upon my jury will know the matter better hereafter. And yet in condemning me to die, they have hazarded their own souls, for I had their promise. God grant that my blood be not upon the King's head. My Lord Judge, since there are but small oversights whereupon I am condemned, I pray you not to make the matter so heinous as to punish it by the penalty of forfeitrie. My sons are in my lands many years since, and have all their rights confirmed by the King, and failing the eldest, the second is to succeed,* and is assigned to all my causes.' He was informed by the judge that this request could not be granted; for the penalty of treason, of which he had been found guilty, necessarily included that of forfeiture, and he proceeded to pronounce the usual sentence. 'I pray God,' said the Earl, 'that my blood may satiate and extinguish the bloody rage and ire of the courtiers and bring this country to quietness.' He bade farewell to those around him, and then retired for a short space with a minister to a chamber to his private prayers. He was then conveyed to the scaffold in the market-place of the town, from which he briefly addressed the people who had assembled to witness the scene. 'Brethren,' he said, 'this spectacle is more common than pleasant to you. I am to die this night, for so it is the King's pleasure; but I shall never ask mercy for anything that I ever thought against him; and the Lord is witness that I was more careful of his welfare than I was of my own and my wife and children.' Then, after praying, he said, 'I have forgotten something which I purposed to speak.' It was broached that he had spoken against many noblemen, and had been their accuser. He indignantly repudiated this charge as utterly false. He accused none, he said; he knew of none but such as had taken the fault upon

* A formal deed had been prepared some years before and completed, authorising a surrender to the King of the land and baronies of Ruthven and Dirleton, in order that a new settlement of them might be made in favour of the eldest son of the Earl and his heirs, reserving only a life interest to himself and his wife.

themselves. He then, with great composure, loosed his buttons, tied the handkerchief over his eyes with his own hands, then with a smile kneeled down and laid his neck upon the block, and his head was severed from his body by a single blow.

Though the Earl of Gowrie was frequently implicated in the plots of that turbulent period, he was by no means naturally fond of intrigue; he was, on the contrary, an easy, simple-hearted man, exceedingly popular in the country and especially among his own tenants and retainers. He was not only possessed of excellent abilities and great force of character, but he was a person of cultivated mind and refined taste, was no mean proficient in the scholarship of the time, and was fond of music and the fine arts. 'He was,' says Spottiswood, 'a nobleman who in his life was much honoured, and employed in the chief offices of court. A man wise, but said to have been too curious, and to have consulted with wizards touching the state of things in future times; yet he was not charged with this, nor seemed to be touched therewith in his death, which, to the judgment of the beholders, was very peaceable and quiet. He was heard to make that common regret which many great men have done in such misfortunes, that if he had served God as faithfully as he had served the King he had not come to that end; but otherwise died patiently, with a contempt of the world, and assurance of mercy at the hands of God.'

The Ruthvens were a prolific race—families of eight, ten, and twelve children were not uncommon among them. The first Earl of Gowrie left five sons and seven daughters. The latter were noted for their beauty and their fortunate marriages. The eldest became the wife of the Earl of Athole, the second married Lord Ogilvy, the third the Duke of Lennox, the fourth the Earl of Montrose, by whom she was the mother of the great Marquis. Two became the wives of baronets of old families, and the seventh married James Hunt, of Pittencrieff, in Fife.

An extraordinary exploit has been ascribed by tradition, probably with some exaggeration, to one of these ladies. She was courted by a young gentleman whose addresses did not meet with the approval of her family. He was upon one occasion on a visit to Ruthven Castle, and was lodged in the upper storey of a tower which was disconnected from the rest of the building. The lovers were together in this apartment, when some prying domestic acquainted the young lady's mother with the circumstance. The

Countess, full of anger, hastened to detect the delinquents. The maiden hearing the sound of her mother's footsteps, in this emergency ran to the top of the leads, and with a desperate bound cleared the space of upwards of nine feet, over a chasm sixty feet deep, which separated the tower from the rest of the castle. Arriving with safety on the battlements of the other tower, she crept into her bed, where she was soon after found by her mother, who was in consequence convinced of the injustice of the suspicions entertained of her. Next night the courageous damsel eloped with her lover and was married. The space over which she sprang retains to this day the name of 'The Maiden's Leap.'

Arran lost no time in securing the spoils of his murdered victim. Gowrie was executed on the 4th of May, 1584. On the 6th of the following month an order was made by the Scottish Privy Council 'to inbring and deliver the escheat guidis of William, sumtym Earl of Gowrie, to the Earl of Arran.' And on the 10th Davison, who was at that time envoy from the English Court, mentions that the King's favourite was already in possession of 'Dirleton, Courland, and Newton, all sometime belonging to Gowrie.' There can be no doubt that the Earl's wealth was the main cause of his destruction. Arran had set his heart on Gowrie's lands, and his profligate and shameless wife was believed, Jezebel-like, to have encouraged him in his rapacity. It is a striking fact that the fate of the royal favourite closely resembled that of the idolatrous queen of Israel. He was put to death by Douglas of Torthorwald in revenge for the prominent part he took in bringing the Earl of Morton to the scaffold, and his body, left on the highway, was devoured by dogs and swine.

The treatment which Arran and his associates, with at least the tacit permission of the King, gave to the widowed Countess of Gowrie and her children, filled up the measure of their cruelty. When the Earl was conveyed from Dundee to Edinburgh, his wife, a Stewart of Methven, set out immediately after his departure, with the intention of interceding with the King on his behalf, but she was so unwell as to be obliged to travel by short stages, and at the slowest pace. Her purpose became known, and a royal mandate was issued forbidding her to come within twenty miles of the King's person. After her husband's execution, Davison says, she was treated 'with the greatest inhumanity that may be,' and Hume of Godscroft declares that she was 'basely and beastly used.' Having come to Edinburgh to entreat for herself and her children while the Parliament was

sitting, and 'having fallen down upon her knees before the King, she was trodden under foot and left lying in a swoon.' Even the mediation of Queen Elizabeth in behalf of the Countess and her children was unavailing. She addressed a letter to James reminding him that the deceased Earl was one of the chief instruments in putting the crown upon his head, and that in defence of his Majesty's rights against the murderers of his father, that of his grandfather Lennox and those of his uncle, Regent Moray, Gowrie had lost many relatives and members of his clan, and had subjected his own life and estate to the greatest hazard. She earnestly solicited James's compassion towards the Earl's 'poor wife and thirteen fatherless children.' She reminded him of their innocency and their youth. She begged that by their restoration to their father's lands some monument of that ancient house might abide to posterity, and their names be not rooted out from the face of the earth, through the private craft and malice of adversaries whose eyes could not be satiated otherwise than by the Earl's death. Finally, Elizabeth appealed to James on the score of natural affection to his own, the Gowries, as she states, being 'tied so near by kindred and consanguinity' to himself.* No attention was paid, however, to these appeals. It need create no surprise that such cruel treatment engendered revengeful feelings in the minds of Gowrie's sons.

About two years after the death of the Earl of Gowrie his forfeiture was reversed, and his estates and titles were restored to his eldest son, JAMES, who died in 1588, in the fourteenth year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother JOHN, the third and last Earl of Gowrie, who manifested at a very early age the disposition which had characterised most of his race to engage in perilous enterprises. In his sixteenth year he was elected Provost of Perth, an office which had become almost hereditary in his family. In the same year he was implicated in the plots of the Popish earls through the influence of his brother-in-law the Earl of Athole. Immediately after he went to the Continent to complete his education, and for five years studied with great distinction at the University of Padua. Like his father and grandfather, he was addicted to the study of magic, for which Italy was then famous, and he was also a dabbler in chemistry and judicial astrology. His reputation for ability and learning was so great that he is said to have been elected Rector of the University,

* Bannatyne, *Miscellany*, pp. 1—106; *Papers relating to William, First Earl of Gowrie*, &c., pp. 53, 54.

or, according to another account, to have been offered a professor's chair. His letters written at this period are sufficient to show that his high reputation was well deserved. He left Italy in the end of the year 1595, and went to Geneva, where he spent three months in the house of the learned Beza, to whom he so endeared himself that this famous divine 'never made or heard mention of his death but with tears.' Thence he proceeded to Paris, where the English ambassador, Sir Henry Nevil, 'found him to be of very good judgment.' On leaving the Continent he passed through London, and was received by Elizabeth with flattering distinction. His entry into the Scottish capital took place amidst a brilliant retinue of noblemen, gentlemen, and dependents on horseback, and great crowds of citizens went out to welcome him with every mark of popular favour. The people, and especially the clergy, regarded him as the destined leader and champion of the popular cause. King James was greatly displeased with these marks of popular enthusiasm, but the learning and scholarship of the young Earl, together with his handsome countenance and graceful manners, soon gained for him the royal favour, and James often conversed with him on strange and abstruse subjects. It speedily became apparent, however, that Gowrie had no intention of becoming courtier, or of looking to the royal favour for promotion. He was the leader of the successful opposition of the Estates to a cherished project of the King, that a liberal grant of money should be made to enable him to raise and equip a body of troops for the purpose of maintaining his right to the English throne; and his bearing towards the enemies of his house excited a suspicion that he was determined to avenge the death of his father on all who had been concerned in that deed, not excepting the King himself.

In all probability the plot which ended in his own ruin and the destruction of his family was concocted soon after his return to Scotland. The leading incidents of that mysterious event are briefly as follows:—On the morning of Tuesday, the 5th of August, Alexander Ruthven, a younger brother of the Earl, came to Falkland, where the King was then residing for the purpose of buck-hunting, and invited him to come to Perth to examine a man whom he alleged he had seized with a large pot of gold pieces in his possession. As soon as the chase was ended, James agreed to accompany Ruthven to Perth, attended by the Earl of Lennox and the rest of his suite, amounting in all to fifteen persons. The Earl of Gowrie, followed by

about a hundred of his retainers, met the King at the South Inch, immediately without the walls of Perth, and escorted him to Gowrie House, a large baronial mansion on the banks of the river Tay. After dinner the King accompanied Alexander Ruthven to a small room up-stairs, where the latter alleged the suspicious-looking person with the pot of gold was confined; but on reaching the chamber his Majesty was startled to find, instead of the prisoner, a man clad in complete armour, with a sword and dagger by his side. Ruthven, holding a dagger to the King's breast, upbraided him with the death of his father, and declared that his innocent blood should be avenged. James, though greatly alarmed, does not appear to have lost his presence of mind, but remonstrated with Ruthven, pleading that he was but a minor when Gowrie was put to death, and was not responsible for his execution. The conspirator, though evidently shaken in his purpose, insisted on binding the King's hands. A struggle ensued, in the course of which James succeeded in thrusting his head half through the open casement of the window, and shouted for help to a group of his attendants in the street below. Several of them rushed up the staircase, and finding Ruthven struggling with the King, they attacked and killed him on the spot. The Earl, who hastened to his brother's assistance, after a brief but desperate conflict shared his fate. Meanwhile a confused rumour of what had taken place spread rapidly through the town. The alarm-bell was rung, and an immense mob of the citizens, among whom the Earl was very popular, together with the retainers of the Gowrie family, beset the house, and with shouts and maledictions threatened vengeance on the 'bloody butchers' who had murdered their Provost and his brother. Some of the females of the family were specially prominent in this exciting scene, and ran wildly out to the street, crying, 'Thieves, limmers, bloody traitors, that have slain these innocents!' Others exclaimed, 'Greencoats, we shall have amends of you! Ye shall pay for it. Give us our Provost!' Many even uttered threats against the King himself, crying out, 'Come down, come down, thou son of Signor Davie, thou hast slain a better man than thyself.' James endeavoured to pacify the enraged multitude by addressing them from the window of the tower, but without effect. In the end, he was rescued from his perilous position by the magistrates of the city, who persuaded the mob to disperse.

Cowards are always cruel, and James, whose cowardice was notorious, at once adopted measures of the most revolting cruelty against

the brothers and sisters of the slain Earl, and he and his greedy courtiers sought to hunt them down and extirpate them like wild beasts. 'On the very night of the catastrophe,' wrote the English ambassador to Cecil, 'the King, at his return to Falkland, presently caused thrust out of the house Gowrie's two sisters, in chief credit with the Queen, and swears to root out that whole house and name.' The next day an attempt was made to seize the two surviving brothers of the family, who were living with their mother at Dirleton; but a friend had sent timely warning of their danger, and, accompanied by their tutor, the two boys made their escape only half an hour before a band of horsemen, headed by the Marquis of Orkney and Sir James Sandilands, reached the castle to effect their apprehension. At the meeting of Parliament, which was held in November following, the dead bodies of the Earl and his brother were produced, and were sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered at the Cross of Edinburgh. Their heads were fixed on the top of the Tolbooth, where they remained till the time of the Great Civil War. Their estates and honours were forfeited, their arms cancelled; their very name was abolished, and those who bore it were forbidden to approach within ten miles of the King; their surviving brothers, their posterity, heirs, and successors were declared to be in all time coming incapable of enjoying any office, dignity, lands, or possessions in Scotland. The very seat of the family—Ruthven Castle—was to lose its ancient designation, and to be called Huntingtower. So ruthlessly did James carry into effect his threat to 'root out that whole house and name,' that no male descendant of the family is now known to exist. 'To make assurance double sure' that the hated race should be utterly rooted out, their hereditary estates, comprising the richest soil in Scotland, were divided among some of their neighbours, who were alleged to have long had an eye upon the broad and fertile lands of Gowrie. The vast extent of the possessions of the Ruthven family is shown by the enumeration of their lands and baronies given in the deed of their surrender to the King by the second Earl, A.D. 1583, for the purpose of their being resettled upon his eldest son and his heirs male, &c. Mention is made in that document of the land and barony of Ruthven, with the tower, fortalice, manor, mills, &c., and the advowsons of the chapels of Ruthven and Tippermuir; the lands of Ballanbreych, Pitcarny, Craingall, Ardendachye, Hardhauch; a third part of the lands of Airlyweich; the mill and lands of Cultrany; the lands

of Denngrene; a moiety of the mill of Auchtergaven; the lands of Monydie, Bonblair, Cragilmy; a third part of a moiety of the lands and barony of Abirnyte, a third part of the lands and barony of Forgundeny, with the advowson of the chapel lying in the shrievalty of Perth; a third part of the lands and barony of Segie, in the shrievalty of Kinross; all the land and barony of Ballerno and Newtown; the mill and lands of Cowsland lying within the shrievalty of Edinburgh; a third part of the lands and barony of Dulburn, with the tower, fortalice, manor; Brabyn Park, Hickfield, &c.; the mill and lands of Dirleton; a third part of the lands of Bowton, the said barony lying within the shrievalty of Edinburgh and the constabulary of Haddington; the third part of the lands of Hassintoun and Haliburton, with the donations of the chapel of Haliburton, the said baronies lying within the shrievalty of Berwick. Connected with these lands and baronies were mills, mill lands, salmon and other fisheries, which must have been of great value.

The destruction of the Ruthvens was the making of the Murrays. The head of this family, the Laird of Tullibardine, ancestor to the Duke of Athole, after the slaughter of the two brothers, came to the door of Gowrie House and danced for joy. Calderwood, who reports this incident, expresses his belief that for this malignant behaviour Tullibardine is undergoing his appropriate and well-merited punishment in the other world. 'But little cause,' he adds, 'has he to dance at this hour.' This representative of a family always unpatriotic and self-seeking, obtained for his eldest son Gowrie's hereditary office of sheriff of the county of Perth, and for one of his younger sons the barony and castle of Ruthven. His relative, Sir David Murray, ancestor of the present Earl of Mansfield, received at the same time a grant of the abbey and lands of Scone.

In connection with this tragic event a story has been handed down by tradition which has been quoted in support of the theory that the Ruthvens were the victims, not the authors, of the conspiracy by which they lost their lives, and that the hatred entertained towards them by the King was in part at least owing to his jealousy of the younger Ruthven. It is alleged that the good looks of this gallant youth had attracted the notice of the Queen, and that he stood high in her Majesty's good graces. James, it is said, on one occasion had presented his wife with a locket suspended to a ribbon of a peculiar colour. Rambling about his garden one day, the King

stumbled upon Alexander Ruthven asleep in an arbour, and perceived around his neck a ribbon of the same colour as the one he had given to the Queen. Stung with jealousy and wrath, James hobbled off, as fast as his shambling gait would allow, to find his royal consort. One of the maids of honour, however, had witnessed the scene, and saw at a glance what was passing in the King's mind. She instantly snatched the locket from the neck of the sleeping youth, and ran with all speed by another route to the Queen's apartment. Placing the trinket in her Majesty's hands, she in a few hurried words told her what had taken place. The Queen put the locket among her jewels and quietly awaited the result. In a minute or two the King burst into the apartment, flushed in face and sputtering with excitement, and demanded a sight of the trinket he had presented to his wife. Anne quietly opened her jewel-box and placed the locket in his hands. Surveying it with a suspicious and puzzled look, but unable to resist the evidence of his senses as to its identity, James remarked, in words which have become proverbial, 'Diel ha'e me, but like's an ill mark.' Whatever amount of truth there may be in the story, there is good reason to believe that there is no truth in the allegation that the destruction of the Ruthvens was owing to the jealousy of the King.

The two younger brothers of the unfortunate Earl fled for their lives towards the Borders, and, travelling on foot through unfrequented byways, reached Berwick on the 10th of August, four days after their flight from Dirlerton. Sir John Carey, the governor of that Border fortress, writing to Secretary Cecil, says: 'The King has made great search and lays great wait for the two younger brothers, who, not daring to tarry in Scotland, they are this day come into Berwick secretly in disguised apparel, and being brought to me they only desire that their lives may be safe, and that they may have a little oversight here till the truth of their cause may be known. And the pitiful case of the old distressed good Countess hath made me the willing to give my consent to their stay here a while.'

Such was the vindictive hatred which James cherished towards these two innocent and helpless youths, that on his way to take possession of the English throne he issued at Burghley, where he remained several days, a proclamation, dated 27th April, 1603, commanding all sheriffs and justices to arrest 'William and Patrick Ruthven,' and to bring them before the Privy Council. He also warned all persons against harbouring or concealing them. William,

the elder of the two, made his escape to the Continent, where he acquired a great reputation for his knowledge of chemistry. Burnet says that it was given out that he had discovered the philosopher's stone. A turn for the study of natural science, combined with magic, was hereditary in the Ruthvens. Lord Patrick, the assassin of Rizzio, presented Queen Mary with a diamond ring, which he told her had the virtue of preserving her from poison. His son, the first Earl, was alleged to have consulted wizards for the purpose of prying into futurity, and Earl John, the conspirator, brought with him from Italy 'a little close parchment bag full of magical characters and words of enchantment, wherein it seemed that he had put his confidence, thinking himself never safe without them, and therefore ever carried them about with him.' Patrick, the youngest of the five sons of the Earl of Gowrie ('Greysteil') was arrested under the proclamation issued by the vindictive enemy of his house and carried to the Tower, where he languished without trial or even accusation for a period of nineteen years, extending from about the nineteenth to the thirty-eighth year of his age. In 1616 Patrick Ruthven obtained a grant of an annual payment of £200 'for apparel, books, physic, and such like necessaries,' which sum was to be in lieu of the allowances previously made to the Lieutenant of the Tower for those purposes. Six years after this period the doors of Patrick Ruthven's prison were at length opened, and he was set at liberty on condition that he should reside at the University of Cambridge, or within six miles of it. A few weeks later (11th September, 1622) he received an annuity of £500 'payable out of the Exchequer for life.' On the 4th of February, 1623-4, he petitioned the King for an enlargement of the condition which bound him to reside at Cambridge. His request was granted, but, with the old petty jealousy of his approach to the royal presence, it was with the reservation that he should come no nearer the Court than he was permitted to do by the previous stipulation, and that he should not at any time seat himself in any place where his Majesty should not like him to be resident. He selected Somersetshire for his place of abode in the meantime. In 1624 a proposal was made, sanctioned by King James, for the establishment of a Royal Academy, and in the list of those who were to be the first Fellows sanctioned and approved by the King occurs the name of 'Patrick Ruthven.' Nothing farther is known of his history until after the lapse of sixteen years, when James had been long dead. On the 27th of

February, 1639-40, a deed was executed by him assigning £120 per annum, part of his pension of £500, to his 'lovinge daughter, Mary Ruthven, spinster.' This was the first notice of his having been married. It has recently been discovered that his wife was Elizabeth Woodford, 'a fair young lady,' widow of Thomas, first Lord Gerard of Abbots Bromley, who died when Lord President of Wales, in 1617. But nothing is known as to how she became acquainted with the prisoner in the Tower, or where or when they were married. The lady died in 1624, leaving Patrick Ruthven a widower, with two daughters and three sons. Mary Ruthven, the younger daughter, is said to have been a young lady of extraordinary beauty. She was for some time at the Court of Queen Henrietta, and became the wife of Sir Anthony Vandyke, to whom she bore a daughter, but on the 9th of December, 1641, the very day on which the child was baptised, the great painter died. His daughter, named Justina, married Sir John Stepney of Prendergast. The gleam of sunshine which had been thrown across Patrick Ruthven's melancholy life was thus swallowed up in darkness. Amid the turmoil of the Great Civil War, Patrick Ruthven's pension appears to have been unpaid, and he was reduced to absolute poverty. He procured a degree of doctor of medicine and practised as a physician in London, but apparently with not much pecuniary success. Sir Harry Slingsby states in his Diary, under the year 1639, that his wife, after consulting many other medical advisers, made some 'trials of Mr. Ruthven, a Scottish gentleman of the family of the Lord Gowrie, who made it his study in the art of physic to administer help to others, but not for any gain to himself.' In Sanderson's 'Additions to Bishop Goodman,' referring probably to the year 1651, it is stated that Patrick Ruthven 'walks the streets poor, but well experienced in chymical physic and in other parts of learning.' He was a fellow-student in chemistry and astrology with the celebrated Napier of Merchiston, who mentions him as a person 'occupied in alchymie.'* It appears that in common with other leading members of his house, Patrick Ruthven was a student of those 'mysteries of chemical philosophy which ignorance and prejudice have too often confounded with sorcery and magic.' It is very sad to think that this inheritor and representative of some of the noblest blood in Scotland—a cousin of the King, and an accomplished philosopher—died at the age of sixty-eight in the King's Bench. His second son, Patrick,

* *Papers relating to William, fourth Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick Ruthven*, pp. 50-72.

was twice married, but it is not known whether he left any issue. In 1656 he petitioned the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, for relief, alleging that £5,000 was due for arrears of his father's pension. His petition was referred to the Council, but the result is not mentioned.

A great-grandson of the first Lord Ruthven was created by Charles I. Lord Ruthven of Escrick in 1639, Earl Forth in the Scottish peerage in 1642, and finally, in 1644, Earl of Brentford in that of England. He was one of the most eminent military men of his day, having served for many years under Gustavus Adolphus, who entreated Charles, but in vain, to restore Patrick Ruthven to his father's titles and estates. The Earl afterwards was commander-in-chief of the royal forces in the Great Civil War. As he had no male issue, his titles expired at his death in 1651. In that same year the Scottish title of Baron Ruthven was conferred by Charles II. on Sir Thomas Ruthven of Freeland, a grandson of the second Lord Ruthven of the old stock, and this title is still possessed by his descendants in the female line.

The Gowrie conspiracy is one of those strange and mysterious events that attract the attention of historians and critics generation after generation, and excite controversies which, after the question seemed to have been finally set at rest, break out again at intervals with renewed energy. Even at the time when it occurred there were many who doubted, and not a few who denied altogether, the existence of a conspiracy. Sir William Bowes, the English ambassador; Nicolson, an agent of Elizabeth at the Scottish Court; and Lord Scrope, the English Border Warden, in their communications to their Government, threw the principal blame on the King himself. The Presbyterian clergy, who had no great goodwill towards James, indicated as plainly as they could venture to do their distrust of the royal narrative; and the celebrated Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, though he was ultimately induced, after a rigid cross-examination of the King, to express his belief of the guilt of Gowrie and his brother, would never consent to declare this from the pulpit, and was in consequence deprived of his benefice and banished the kingdom. James seems to have felt that he had acted a somewhat ridiculous part in allowing himself to be drawn to Perth on the faith of a story so absurd and foolish as that which was told to him by Alexander Ruthven, and with the view of screening himself from ridicule, probably coloured some parts of his narrative and glossed over some of the incidents. And the vindictive cruelty with which he and his

greedy courtiers sought to revenge the crime of the Ruthvens on their innocent brothers, who were mere boys at the time, was fitted to cause a reaction in their favour. In later times Pinkerton and several other writers have revived the doubts which were expressed by contemporaries respecting the credibility of the royal narrative, and maintain that it was not Gowrie or his brother who conspired against the King, but the King who, by a prearranged plot, murdered them in their own mansion. Mr. James, the well-known novelist, has constructed his historical romance of 'Gowrie; or, the King's Plot,' on this theory, which he has also supported in an ingenious pamphlet; and now lastly, though in all probability not finally, Mr. Bisset adopts the same notion in his dissertation on the character of King James, whom he represents as a profound dissembler, plotter, and poisoner, who without scruple compassed the destruction not only of a large number of his leading nobles, but even of his own children. That there are difficulties connected with the narrative of the King, no candid person will deny. The silliness of the story of the alleged pot of gold found in the possession of the man whom Alexander Ruthven pretended to have seized, the unlikelihood that James would give credit to such a tale, and the apparently unpreparedness of Gowrie for the reception of the King, are all suspicious circumstances. On the other hand, if we adopt the theory of Mr. Bisset, we must believe that the King accompanied the younger Ruthven from Falkland to Perth for the purpose of murdering him and his brother in their own mansion, and that a person notoriously defective in courage deliberately planned to put to death two young men skilled in the use of their weapons, in the midst of their own retainers, and with the townsmen of Perth, among whom they were highly popular, within call, while the King had with him only fifteen attendants. Such a notion we hold to be quite incredible.

One cause of the doubt that prevailed at first regarding the truth of the conspiracy was the apparent absence of accomplices. No person seemed to have been taken into the confidence of the Earl except his brother. But this was accounted for by the opinion which Gowrie had formed and repeatedly expressed, that the failure of unsuccessful plots was generally owing to the fact that too many persons had been admitted into the secret. William Rhynd, his tutor, gave evidence that having several times conversed with the Earl respecting the best way of conducting a dangerous enterprise, his lordship

always professed for his opinion, that 'he was not a wise man that having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, communicates the same to any second person, because, keeping it to himself, he could never be discovered or disappointed.' This statement is corroborated by a curious anecdote preserved by Spottiswood. A few days before the Earl met his death, William Couper, minister of Perth, found him in his library perusing a work on the subject of 'Conspiracies against Princes.' On inquiring and being told what was the subject of Gowrie's studies, Couper remarked that it was a 'perilous subject.' 'Yes,' replied the Earl, 'because most of such plots have been foolishly contrived and faulty either in one point or another; for he that goeth about such a business should not put any man on his council.' It turned out, however, that besides his brother he had taken other three persons into his confidence.

In considering the balance of probabilities we must not pass over unnoticed the corroborative testimony of Henderson, the Earl of Gowrie's chamberlain. When the King, after dinner, accompanied Alexander Ruthven through the hall and up the great staircase to the picture gallery, and thence to a small circular chamber where he expected to find the person whom Ruthven professed to have seized with the pot of gold in his possession, he beheld standing there not a fettered prisoner but a man clad in armour. This man, who proved to be Henderson, the Earl's chamberlain, witnessed the whole scene between James and Ruthven up till the moment when the King's attendants, having heard his cries, rushed into the chamber. Henderson made his escape unnoticed in the midst of the confusion, but he afterwards came forward in obedience to a royal proclamation promising him pardon for his offence. He twice told his story of what he had witnessed, once in a preliminary examination, and a second time at the trial. His two accounts substantially agree with each other, and though great weight has been attached to some slight discrepancies between the statement of the King and the testimony of Henderson, these are not greater than might have been expected in the circumstances of the case. Henderson's account of the conversation between James and Alexander Ruthven, and of the struggle that took place when Ruthven attempted to bind the King's hands, is very graphic and truthlike. It was he who put his left hand over his Majesty's left shoulder during the struggle and drew up the movable wooden board which formed the lower part of the window at the King's back, and thus enabled the Duke of Lennox

and the other nobles in attendance upon his Majesty to see his face at the window, his head uncovered, and a hand grasping his mouth, and to hear his cry for help. These noblemen had shortly before been told by Gowrie that the King had left the house, and was riding over the Inch towards Falkland. They immediately rushed through the hall into the courtyard shouting for their horses, but were informed by the porter at the outer gate that the King had not passed. It was at this moment that they heard the cry for help. And the false information given by the Earl respecting the King's departure must be taken into account in forming our judgment on the case, and it certainly corroborates the statements both of Henderson and the King, and constitutes strong presumptive evidence against the Pithvens.

But it was not until eight years after the death of Gowrie and his brother that the most conclusive evidence of the truth of the conspiracy was brought to light. A notary named Sprot, who resided in Eyemouth, a fishing village near St. Abb's Head, hinted to several persons that he was acquainted with some secrets respecting the Gowrie conspiracy. These intimations reached the ears of the members of the Privy Council, who caused Sprot to be apprehended and examined by torture. He made a full confession of all that he knew, and produced some portions of a correspondence which Robert Logan, the laird of Restalrig, had carried on with the two brothers. A certain Laird Bower, a retainer of Logan's, had been entrusted with the perilous task of carrying these letters, and as he was unable to read or write, he had been obliged to obtain the assistance of Sprot to decipher the instructions which were addressed to him by his master. The notary, fatally for himself, had stolen some of these letters from among Bower's papers. The documents were produced, and after a careful examination by the Privy Council, declared to be in Logan's handwriting. The unfortunate notary was condemned to be hanged for misprision or concealment of treason. He adhered to his confession to the last, and after being thrown from the ladder he thrice clapped his hands in confirmation of the truth of his confession. Logan had died some years before this, but his bones were dug up and brought to the bar of the Justiciary Court, where the dead man was put on his trial for treason. He was found guilty, and by a sentence equally odious and illegal, his lands were forfeited and his posterity declared infamous. The discovery of Logan's letters was thought to have set this disputed question finally at rest ;

but Mr. Bisset professes to find in these documents the strongest corroboration of his disbelief of the conspiracy. Some of his arguments are ingenious and not wholly without weight, and if the letters had disappeared grave doubts might have been entertained of their genuineness. But the originals have, fortunately, been preserved and are deposited in the General Register Office, Edinburgh. It is somewhat surprising to learn that Mr. Bisset, who has taken upon him so confidently to pronounce these documents spurious, has never seen them, and has contented himself with requesting a friend to examine them for the purpose of ascertaining whether the paper on which they are written bears the watermark of the year 1600. This friend of course informed him that there was no watermark of any year on the paper. Mr. Bisset might and ought to have known, that it was not until a century after the date of the Gowrie conspiracy that a watermark with a year on it came into use. The genuineness of these letters was attested at the time by several witnesses who were acquainted with Logan's handwriting. They have repeatedly of late years been subjected to a searching scrutiny by persons skilled in deciphering ancient papers, and have been compared with undoubted specimens of Logan's handwriting, and the result has been a unanimous and unhesitating decision in favour of the genuineness of the letters.

Logan, the writer of these letters, was a gentleman of ancient family, the uterine brother of Lord Home, but a reckless and unprincipled villain, a scoffer at religion, and a person of openly profligate life. He had recently come into the possession of Fast Castle, an ancient possession of the Home family, which has been immortalised as the 'Wolf's Craig' of Sir Walter Scott's 'Bride of Lammermoor.'* This fortalice is perched on the brink of a steep and almost perpendicular rock, two hundred feet above the German Ocean, near the southern entrance of the Firth of Forth. The rock

* 'Fast Castle was surprised and taken, in 1410, by Patrick Dunbar, son of the Earl of March, when Thomas Holden the governor was made prisoner. Patrick Hume of Fast Castle was one of the negotiators of the truce made betwixt Henry VII. and James IV. Cuthbert Hume of Fast Castle fought at Flodden under the standard of his chief, Lord Hume. In the year 1570, this fortress, then belonging to Lord Hume, was attacked by two thousand English, under Sir William Drury, Marischal of Berwick, to whom it surrendered. A party of fourteen English was then left in garrison as a sufficient force to keep it against all Scotland, the situation being so strong.'—Cardonnel's *Antiquities*.

The Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., after her marriage by proxy at Lamberton, and on her way to join her husband, James IV., lodged a night at Fast Castle.

is nearly isolated, and is only connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Logan was under the belief that this castle contained a vast quantity of hidden treasure, and a curious agreement is still extant between him and Napier of Merchiston, in which that celebrated philosopher consents to make search, by divination, on condition that he was to obtain one-half of all the treasure that should be discovered, and to have his expenses paid whatever might be the result. It was in all probability Logan's possession of this almost unapproachable stronghold that induced the Earl of Gowrie to take such a man into his confidence. His retainer and messenger, Laird Bower, was an old Borderer, who was trained up under David Home of Manderston, commonly called 'Davie the Devil,' and was a greater villain even than his master, but he seems to have been most faithful to his trust. In one of his letters to Gowrie Logan says, 'Your lordship may confide more in this old man, the bearer thereof, my man Laird Bower, more nor in my brother, for I lippen my life and all I have else in his hands, and I trow he would not spare to ride to hell's yett (gate) to pleasure me.'

These remarkable letters throw a very distinct light on the character and object of the plot for the seizure of the King. The conspirators consisted of the two Ruthvens, Logan, and one other person styled right honourable, still unknown, who appears to have been a person of rank, and was probably connected with the royal household. The letters show that the conspirators were determined to revenge the 'Machiavelian' massacre of their dearest friends, and that they especially anticipated an ample revenge for the death of Greysteil, as they termed the late Earl of Gowrie. At the same time there can be no doubt that they were actuated by the promptings of ambition as well as the desire of revenge. The Ruthvens possessed vast power in the country, and as Mr. Burton remarks, 'seizing upon or kidnapping a king, had in that day become almost a constitutional method of effecting a change of ministry in Scotland.' The father of the two young men had in this very way obtained possession for a time of the Government. Logan was to be rewarded for his services by a gift of the rich and beautiful barony of Dirleton, in East Lothian, which had come into the Gowrie family through the marriage of the first Earl with the heiress of the Haliburtons. But the Ruthvens flew at higher game, and aspired at supreme power in the kingdom, which would over and above have enabled them to inflict condign punishment on those who had been the instruments of

their father's fate. The project was skilfully planned and narrowly missed being successful. James was induced to visit Gowrie House accompanied by a slender train. The garden wall of the mansion was washed by the rapid river Tay, and if the royal attendants had followed without question the route which they were told the King had taken across the Inch, there would have been nothing to prevent the two brothers from carrying James bound and gagged to a boat, which would speedily have conveyed him down to the German Ocean and along the coast to the lonely and almost inaccessible stronghold of Fast Castle. This appears to have been the first object of the conspirators ; but how the King was to be treated on reaching that fortalice is an absolute mystery, on which the letters of Logan cast no light. James himself and many of his nobles had a strong suspicion that the conspiracy which had so nearly proved successful had been secretly encouraged by the English Queen, and it must be admitted that various circumstances occurred at the time to strengthen such a suspicion, though the researches of historical students have not yet discovered in the State Paper Office any documents calculated to throw further light on this subject.





THE CRICHTONS OF FRENDRAUGHT.

THE Crichtons are an ancient Scottish family, but their origin is unknown. They derived their surname from the barony of Crichton, in the county of Edinburgh. A Thurstanus de Crichton is one of the witnesses to the charter founding the Abbey of Holyrood, in the days of David I., and a Thomas de Crichton was one of the barons who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. The family, however, appear to have remained in the rank of minor barons, taking no prominent part in public affairs till near the middle of the fifteenth century, when they suddenly rose to almost supreme power in the State through the great abilities and political address of Sir William Crichton, the famous Chancellor of Scotland during the minority of James II. This able and accomplished but unscrupulous statesman held in succession the offices of Chamberlain to the King, Master of the Household, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle before he became Chancellor and Lord Crichton. His rivalry with Sir Alexander Livingstone, the King's Governor, his feuds with the great house of Douglas, and the prominent part which he took in the hasty execution of Earl William and his brother in 1440, are familiar to all the readers of Scottish history. In spite of various reverses of fortune, the Chancellor retained the confidence and favour of his sovereign until his death in 1454, shortly before the complete success of his policy in the triumph of the King over the Earl of Douglas and the total ruin of the potent family of the 'Black Douglasses.' The cousin of the Chancellor was High Admiral of Scotland, and no doubt through his influence was created Earl of Caithness in 1452. Lord Crichton's grandson was the son-in-law of James II., and is said to have seduced the sister of James III. in revenge for that monarch having dishonoured his bed. He took part in the unsuccessful rebellion of the

Duke of Albany against his brother King James, and was in consequence attainted for treason, and stripped of his titles and estates. His magnificent castle of Crichton, on the banks of the north Tyne, which Sir Walter Scott describes in most picturesque terms in his poem of 'Marmion,' was conferred upon Ramsay of Balmain, and afterwards became the seat of the Hepburns. On the forfeiture of the notorious Earl of Bothwell, Crichton fell to the Crown, and was granted to Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, who was a thorn in the side of his kinsman, King James VI. It has since passed through the hands of several proprietors.

Sir James Crichton, the fifth in descent from the forfeited peer, inherited the barony of Frendraught, in Banffshire, which came into the family through the wife of James, second Lord Crichton—Lady Jane Dunbar, eldest daughter and co-heiress of James, Earl of Moray. The grandson of this Sir James is the person implicated in the terrible tragedy called 'The Burning of Frendraught,' which, as Mr. Burton remarks, has to the northern peasant as distinct a tragic phase in history as the Sicilian Vespers or the night of St. Bartholomew has to the Italians or the French. The barony of Frendraught is situated in the heart of the country of the great family of the Gordons, whose power had now become so formidable that the Court endeavoured to counterbalance and weaken the influence of the Marquis of Huntly, the head of the house of Gordon, by cherishing and strengthening the Crichtons as territorial rivals. As yet no open feud had broken out between the two houses, but various disputes had arisen which seemed likely to lead to open hostilities.

On the 1st of January, 1630, an encounter had taken place between the Crichtons, who were seeking to enforce a legal decision in their favour, and a party of Gordons, who were resisting its execution, in which several persons were hurt, and an important member of the latter family, Gordon of Rothiemay, was killed.

The whole clan was, of course, roused to demand vengeance, but no legal steps were taken to bring the guilty parties to justice, and the Gordons, taking into their own hands the right of redress, began to plunder the lands of Frendraught. The Crichtons were the weaker party, and seemed about to be pushed to the wall, when the Privy Council interfered for their protection, and sent a commission to appease the strife which this untoward affair had excited. When Sir Robert Gordon (historian of the house of Gordon), and the other

commissioners reached the scene of action in May, 1630, they found a notorious outlaw, named James Grant, and two hundred Highlanders assembled at Rothiemay, ready to lay waste Fren draught's estate with fire and sword. The remonstrances of the commissioners would in all probability have been utterly disregarded but for the interference of the Marquis of Huntly, the head of the house of Gordon. This great feudal chief, then a man about seventy years of age, was anxious that the feud should be 'compounded,' and in the end, through his mediation, the Crichtons agreed to pay to the widow and children of the slaughtered Rothiemay the sum of 50,000 merks (£2,915) as an 'assythment,' as it was called, or composition for his death.

Such a settlement for manslaughter was not uncommon at this period, and was not considered in any way dishonourable. This arrangement, it seems, was finally adjusted during a visit paid by Fren draught to the Marquis of Huntly. 'And so,' says Sir Robert Gordon, in his gossiping history, 'all parties having shaken hands in the orchard of Strathbogie, they were heartily reconciled.'

A week before this visit a squabble had taken place between the Crichtons and the Leslies, in which James Leslie, of Pitcaple, had been shot through the arm by Robert Crichton, of Condlaw. Though Fren draught had nothing to do with this outrage, and had shown his displeasure by expelling Condlaw from his company, Leslie vowed vengeance on him, and came to Strathbogie at the head of thirty armed followers, with the intention of attacking Fren draught as soon as he should quit the shelter of Huntly's roof. The Marquis, who seems to have acted with great discretion, tried in vain to pacify his angry visitor, and to convince him that the unfortunate Fren draught was not to blame for his son's wound. Leslie quitted the castle breathing out vengeance against Crichton, and in great displeasure with Huntly himself. Next day, when Fren draught was about to take his leave, the Marquis made him aware of his danger, and offered to send an escort to protect him on his way home from the Leslies, who were known to be lying in wait for him. The escort was put under the command of the young Lord Aboyne, the heir of the house of Gordon, and Gordon of Rothiemay, who was in the castle, displaying one of those traits of generosity which streak with light the darkest scenes of our domestic history, overlooked the slaughter of his father, and offered to join the convoy for Fren draught's protection. The party were too strong to be attacked, and they reached Crichton's mansion without molestation, and were hospitably entertained by the

master and mistress. Lord Aboyne and young Rothiemay prepared to return at once, but in conformity with the customs of the age, Fren draught and his wife earnestly entreated the party to stay for the night. They consented, and after a merry supper at a late hour, the guests were conducted to their bedrooms in the tall narrow old tower, which, with a modern addition, formed the Castle of Fren draught. Lord Aboyne and two servants—Robert Gordon, and his page, English Will—occupied the first floor over a vault, through which there was a round hole, immediately below his lordship's bed. On the second was Rothiemay, also with some servants. On the third were accommodated a Captain Rollock, Chalmers of Noth, and some more attendants. The lowest storey or vault was arched with stone, but the three floors above were constructed of timber.

About midnight a fire broke out in the tower, 'in so sudden and furious a manner,' says Spalding, 'yea, in one clap, that the noble Viscount, the Laird of Rothiemay, English Will, Colonel Wat—another of Aboyne's servants—and other two, being six in number, were cruelly burned and tormented to death without help or relief.' Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the flames spread, Captain Rollock and George Chalmers, who were on the third storey, and Robert Gordon, who slept in the Viscount's chamber, escaped, and Lord Aboyne might also have saved his life if he had not run up-stairs to rouse his friend Rothiemay. While he was engaged in this generous service, 'the timber and lifting of the chamber takes fire, so that none of them could win down-stairs again.' The two hapless youths then turned to the window which looked towards the courtyard, where they were heard repeatedly calling, 'Help, help! for God's cause!' But the windows being stanchioned, and the access by the stair cut off by the flames, it was impossible to render them any assistance, and accordingly the six persons enclosed in the burning tower all perished miserably in the flames. Aboyne was only twenty-five years of age, and left a widow and one child; Rothiemay was unmarried.

This terrible tragedy created a universal feeling of horror in the public mind. It has been handed down in the traditions of the north country from generation to generation, even to our own times. It was celebrated in the Latin hexameters of the contemporary scholar, Arthur Johnston, and was sung in the rude ballads of the common people. One of these, still popular in Strathbogie and Buchan, describes this tragical scene with great minuteness and considerable pathos, and shows that popular feeling must have run strong against

the Crichtons. It represents the doors and windows of the castle as all secured, the wire windows or iron stanchions as firmly fastened, and the keys as 'casten in the deep draw-well,' and Lady Frendraught as expressing great pity for good Lord John but none for Rothiemay.

While Aboyne stood in this dreadful plight, most piteous to be seen, his servant Gordon, in a state of frantic excitement, called upon him to leap from the window, to which the answer of the unfortunate nobleman was—

“How can I leap? how can I win?
How can I come to thee?
My head's fast in the wire window,
My feet burning from me.”

He's ta'en the rings from aff his hands,
And thrown them o'er the wall,
Saying, “Gie them to my lady fair,
Where she sits in my hall.”

Then out he took his little psalm-book,
And verses sang he three;
And at the end of every verse—
“God help our misery.”

‘Thus,’ says Spalding, ‘died this noble Viscount of singular expectation, Rothiemay, a brave youth, and the rest by this doleful fire, never enough to be deplored, to the great grief of their kin, parents, and hail common people, especially to the noble Marquis; nor yet the grief of the Viscount's own dear lady, which she kept to her dying day, disdaining after the company of men in her lifetime, following the love of the turtle-dove. How soon the Marquis gets word he directs some friends to take up their ashes and burnt bones which they could get; and as they could be kent he put ilk ane's ashes and bones into ane chest, being six chests in the hail, which, with great sorrow and care was had to the kirk of Grantullie and there buried.’

Instead of exhibiting the callous indifference alleged by the ballad-writer, Lord and Lady Frendraught were plunged into the deepest grief by this calamity. On the morning after the fire, the Lady, ‘busked in a white plaid and riding on a small nag, having a boy leading her horse, without any more in her company, in this pitiful manner she came weeping and mourning to the Bog, desiring entry to speak with my lord (Huntly), but this was refused; so she returned back to her own house the same gate she came, comfortless.’ This churlish treatment was the more remarkable as Lady Frend-

raught, a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland, was a cousin of the Marquis and a Roman Catholic, and was therefore united to him by the ties both of kindred and of a common faith.

The heads of the Gordon family soon after held a meeting, to deliberate on this dismal tragedy, and came to the conclusion that Frendraught and his wife had wilfully set fire to the tower for the purpose of destroying the young Laird of Rothiemay. But not the slightest evidence of guilt was ever brought against them, and they could have had no adequate motive to tempt them to the commission of such a crime, which must have endangered and actually brought about the destruction of their own relatives and the son of their protector. To say nothing of the extreme improbability that any man of Frendraught's character and rank should have committed so atrocious an act of villainy, it was impossible for him to know beforehand that Aboyne and Rothiemay would accompany him home from his visit to Strathbogie, and therefore their destruction could not have been premeditated. Besides, not only his own family mansion, but many valuable papers, and gold and silver articles to the value of a hundred thousand marks (£5,830) perished in the flames.

Frendraught, finding that he was the object of general suspicion, on account of the terrible tragedy popularly known as 'the burning of Frendraught,' acted like a man conscious of innocence, and anxious to clear himself from the charges brought against him. He waited immediately on the Chancellor, Lord Dupplin, at Perth, and offered to submit to trial. But it is evident that the Privy Council were satisfied that there were no grounds whatever for charging him with the crime popularly imputed to him. More particular and apparently better founded suspicion fell upon a gentleman named Meldrum, of Redhill, who had once been an adherent of Frendraught, but had taken deep offence at him, and had afterwards married a daughter of Leslie of Pitcaple, whose revengeful threats had been the indirect cause of the catastrophe. He was accordingly apprehended and brought to Edinburgh, along with John Losh, the master of the household for Frendraught, and a servant girl named Wood, who were alleged to be 'airt and pairt, or in the counsel of this fire.' The young woman was subjected to 'slight and spare torture, for the better trial and discovery of the truth of the matter,' but no reliable evidence could be extracted from her, and on account of her prevarications, she was scourged and banished the kingdom. Losh, who had also been tortured, but to no purpose, was set at liberty; but

Meldrum was brought to trial a year later for his alleged concern in the fire. It was proved that he had uttered deadly threatenings against Fren draught, on account of the wound inflicted on his brother-in-law, young Leslie of Pitcaple, and that he and Leslie's brother, 'gave out openly that they would burn Fren draught's castle.' He was, therefore, found guilty and executed, asserting his innocence to the last. It was supposed that he had set fire to the tower in the belief that the Laird slept there, and that he had effected his purpose by thrusting combustibles and fire through three slits in the wall. But though suspicions were strong against Meldrum, no satisfactory evidence of his guilt was ever adduced. The wall of the tower was ten feet thick, no trace of combustibles was found, or at least brought forward on the trial, and it was proved that the accused had on that night been at Pitcaple, ten or twelve miles distant. Four commissioners, appointed by the Privy Council, examined the ruins of the castle with great care, in company with several noblemen and gentlemen of the district. They came to the conclusion that 'the fire must have been raised by set purpose by man's hands' within the ground vault of the tower, where there were marks of it in three several places, one of these being directly under the round hole in the roof of the vault which communicated with the apartment above. They could not determine whether it was wilful or accidental; but they felt assured 'that no hand without could have raised the fire without aid from within.' On the whole, it seems highly probable that this deplorable catastrophe was the result of an accident, and that the rapid progress of the fire, upon which much stress was laid at the time, was simply owing to the construction of the tower, which, being tall and narrow, would cause the flames to rage with all the fierceness of a furnace.

The judicial proceedings adopted by the Privy Council served in no degree to allay the public feeling, which waxed stronger and stronger against the unfortunate Crichtons. 'It inflicted on them,' says Burton, 'a strange mysterious punishment, which seemed like a blight or judgment of a higher power, yet was in reality a simple and natural consequence of human conduct. They were deserted. It was a natural result of this doom that they should become the victims of the "broken clans" of Highland reivers. Against these freebooters, the deadliest enemies to each other among the Lowlanders would for the time combine, but no one would take part with the Crichtons. The marauders hovered round them like vultures round

a wounded man. They came from all parts of the mountain districts, and met at Frendraught as at a common centre where the business of all lay. A field of prey so inviting tempted the Macgregors from the far-off banks of Loch Katrine, and they appeared under their leader Gilderoy, a robber-chief of European celebrity.' Thither, too, came the Clan Cameron, under its chief Allan M'Ian Dhui, the Macdonalds of Glengarry and Clanranald, the Clan Lachlan, and other plunderers, with the keen scent of the eagles flocking to the carcass. There can be no doubt, however, that the inroads of these marauders were instigated by Huntly and the chief men of his clan, and prominent amongst these was the Lady Rothiemay, eager to revenge the death of her husband and her son. Frendraught did not passively submit to these assaults and robberies, but repeatedly mustered his retainers, dispersed the robbers, and recovered the spoil. He was ultimately obliged, however, to leave his estates to the mercy of his enemies, and to put himself under the protection of the public authorities at Edinburgh. As soon as he had quitted the district a great number of the heads of the house of Gordon assembled openly to avenge the death of Rothiemay, plundered the lands of Frendraught, and even ventured to hang one of his retainers whom they took for a spy. The quantity of plunder they carried off seems almost fabulous, and shows both the wealth of the laird and the fertility of his estates.

A herald was sent by the Privy Council, in November, 1634, to summon the instigators and perpetrators of these outrages at the market-crosses of the northern burghs, and it was considered a somewhat remarkable triumph of the law that he was allowed to discharge this duty without receiving any injury. 'The herald,' says an old chronicler, 'was blythe to win away with his life.' The Sheriff of Banff, by the orders of the Council, proceeded with a force of two hundred men against the outlaws who were plundering the Crichton estates; but on reaching Rothiemay, where they had taken up their residence, and had been hospitably entertained by the lady, the Sheriff found that they had left this stronghold two hours before his arrival, and as soon as he retired they came back again and resumed their outrages. In the end the Marquis of Huntly was compelled to travel in the midst of a snowstorm to Edinburgh, a journey which occupied nearly four weeks, to answer for his conduct, and on his appearance before the Council he obtained his liberty only on condition that he would undertake to repress the attacks on Frendraught, and to give security under a penalty of £100,000 Scots that the luckless laird and his

tenants should be unharmed. In the following year (1636) Lady Rothiemay, after a long detention under caution, was brought to trial for giving encouragement to the Fren draught spoilers; but the charge, after being twice delayed, was finally allowed to fall to the ground. After the lands of the Crichtons had thus been plundered for successive years it is no matter of surprise that their property should have gradually wasted away, and that it should be noted in a manuscript written in 1720 that the family of Fren draught, which once possessed three parishes—Forgue, Inverkiethny, and Aberchirder—was by these inroads of their enemies reduced to poverty, and in seventy years was ‘stripped of all and extinguished.’*

One of the younger sons of Fren draught was killed by Adam Gordon in 1642. James Crichton, his eldest son, took a prominent part on the royal side in the Great Civil War, and was created a peer in his father’s lifetime, under the title of Viscount Fren draught. He accompanied the great Marquis of Montrose in his last unfortunate expedition, in March, 1650, and was with him at Invercharron, in Ross-shire, when he was defeated by Colonel Strachan. When the Marquis was wounded and had his horse shot under him, he was generously mounted by Lord Fren draught, who was also severely wounded and taken prisoner. Shortly after, this luckless head of a luckless house anticipated a public execution by a death in ‘the old Roman way.’ His elder son and his grandson died young, and his younger son, Lewis, the fourth and last viscount, was attainted by Parliament for his adherence to the exiled monarch, James VII., and died without issue in 1698.

A son of Crichton of Naughton, a cadet of the family, became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1525, and was afterwards Lord Privy Seal and an Extraordinary Lord of Session. He is the prelate of whom the well-known story is told, that he remonstrated with Dean Forret, the martyr, respecting his practice of preaching every Sunday, observing with great simplicity that by so doing he might make the people think that the prelates ought to preach likewise. ‘It is enough for you,’ he added, ‘when you find any good Epistle or any good Gospel that setteth forth the liberty of the holy Church to preach that, and let the rest alone.’ Forret replied that he had read both the Old and New Testaments, and had never found an ill Gospel or Epistle in any of them, but if his lordship would point them out, he would preach the good and omit the evil. ‘Nay, Brother Thomas, that I cannot do,’

* Spalding’s *Troubles*, i. Appendix; *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. pp. 45-50, 76-79.

said the Bishop, 'for I thank God I never knew either the Old or New Testaments, but only my breviary.' From this saying arose a common proverb: 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither the old nor the new law.'

Another branch of this ill-fated race settled in Dumfries-shire, and from it sprang that famous prodigy of learning, the 'admirable Crichton,' whose tragical death, in the twenty-second year of his age, is known to all scholars.* William de Crichton married one of the two daughters and co-heiresses of Robert de Ross, and obtained with her half of the barony of Sanquhar. The other half was subsequently purchased by his successors. Sir Robert de Crichton, a successor of this William, had charters of the barony of Sanquhar and the lands of Eliock, and of the office of Sheriff of Dumfries-shire in 1464, and of the office of Coroner of Nithsdale in 1468. His eldest son, Sir Robert Crichton of Sanquhar, was elevated to the peerage in 1487 by James III. as a reward for his services in assisting to defeat the Earl of Douglas and the Duke of Albany at Lochmaben in 1484. The sixth Lord Sanquhar of this line was hanged for the murder of one Turner, a fencing-master, who had accidentally put out one of his lordship's eyes with a foil. Seven years after this incident had occurred, Lord Sanquhar was on a visit to the Court of France, and was casually asked by Henry IV. how he had lost his eye. 'By the thrust of a sword,' replied his lordship, not caring to enter into particulars. The King, supposing this accident to have been the result of a duel, immediately remarked, 'Does the man yet live?' This remark so acted upon the morose and anti-social disposition of the peer that on his return to England he hired two men to assassinate Turner. On the perpetration of the foul deed (11th May, 1612) the assassins fled, but were speedily captured, brought to trial, and executed. Lord Sanquhar absconded on the capture of his accomplices, but a reward of £1,000 was offered for his apprehension, and he was shortly after taken and brought to trial in the King's Bench, Westminster Hall.

* An interesting notice of this prodigy of learning and ability has just been discovered in the archives of Venice. In the Register of the Council of Ten, there is the following entry under A.D. 1580, 19th August:—'A young Scotchman, Giacomo Cretonio, of very noble lineage, and from what has been clearly seen by divers proofs and trials made with very learned and scientific men, and especially by a Latin oration which he delivered this morning extempore in our college, of most rare and singular ability. In such wise, that not being above twenty, or but little over, he astounds and surprises everybody. Wherefore it will be put to the ballot, that of the monies in the chest of the Council there be given to the said Crichton, a Scottish gentleman, one hundred golden crowns. Ayes, 22; noes, 2; neutrals, 4.'

He was capitally convicted, on his own confession, and was hanged on a gibbet in Great Palace Yard on the 29th of June. His peerage devolved upon a distant relative, who, in 1622, was created Viscount Ayr, and in 1633 Earl of Dumfries—titles which have now passed, through the female line, into the possession of the Marquis of Bute. The name of the ill-fated Crichtons, once widely diffused throughout Scotland, has thus disappeared from the roll of the peerage, and almost from the ranks of the landed gentry. Their extensive estates are in the hands of strangers. Crichton Castle, their ancient family residence, splendid even in ruins—

‘ On the steep of the green dale of Tyne,
Now but pens the lazy steer and sheep,’

as Sir Walter Scott complained sixty years ago; Sanquhar Castle is reduced to a fragment of an ugly, blackened ‘keep;’ and of Frenbraught Tower, the scene of the fatal tragedy, which stood in a deep and narrow glen, amid old and gloomy trees, not a vestige remains.





THE MACKENZIES OF SEAFORTH.

THE clan Mackenzie, of which the Earls of Seaforth were the chiefs, has been conspicuous in Scottish history from the days of King Robert Bruce down to the present century. As is usually the case with Highland families, there is a difference of opinion respecting their origin. According to one account, the Seaforth family are descended from a younger son of COLIN OF THE AIRD, progenitor of the powerful Earls of Ross, and their designation was derived from KENNETH, the grandson of their founder, who received from David II. a charter of the lands of Kintail in 1362. This view of the origin of the Mackenzies is corroborated, and, Mr. Skene says, completely set at rest by a manuscript of date 1450—the oldest Gaelic genealogical account on record—which states that the Mackenzies are descended from a certain Gilleon Og, or Colin the Younger, a son of Gilleon na h'Airde, the ancestor of the Rosses, and consequently must always have formed an integral part of the ancient and powerful native Gaelic tribe of Ross. The Mackenzies held their lands of the Earls of Ross until the forfeiture of those potent and turbulent chiefs.* On the other hand, an old and cherished, though erroneous, tradition represents them as having derived their origin from Colin Fitzgerald, a cadet of the great house of Geraldine in Ireland, who, having been driven from his native country, took refuge in Scotland, and, as a reward for his valour at the battle of Largs, received from Alexander a grant of the barony of Kintail.† He was also appointed governor of the

* See Mr. Skene's *Highlands of Scotland*, pp. 223-5, and *Celtic Magazine*, iii. pp. 41-9.

† In confirmation of this statement, a charter has been produced, professing to be dated at Kincardine, on the 9th of January in the sixteenth year of the reign of Alexander III. But Mr. Skene declares that 'it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later date, and one by no means happy in the execution.' He is supported in this opinion by Mr. Cosmo Innes. See *Origines Parochiales*, ii. pp. 392-3.

royal fortress of Ellandonan. According to a legend handed down from early times, an important service rendered to Alexander III. by Kenneth, son of this Colin, greatly advanced if it did not lay the foundation of his fortunes. That monarch, it is said, on one occasion held a royal hunting-match in the Forest of Mar. It was at the season when the deer are fiercest, and the King, accidentally separated from his attendants, was exposed to imminent peril by a stag which assailed him, when young Kenneth hastened to the rescue of the King, exclaiming 'Cudich an Righ! Cudich an Righ!' and sprang between Alexander and the deer, with his naked sword in his hand, and severed its head from its body at one stroke. The brave youth was immediately attached to the royal service and liberally rewarded with grants of land. The *Caberfae* (the deer's head) was taken as his crest, and *Cudich an Righ* became his motto and that of his descendants.*

Kenneth's maternal grandfather, it is said, was a powerful native chief, designated *Coinneach Grumach*—Kenneth the Gloomy or Grim—who had an only daughter, a lady of great beauty. According to the traditions referred to above, she was courted by Colin Fitzgerald, but *Coinneach Grumach* refused to bestow the hand of his daughter on her Irish suitor, intending to marry her to a member of his own clan—the Mathesons—in fulfilment of a vow which he had made. The gallant Irishman, however, as frequently happens still, succeeded in gaining the lady's affections and in persuading her to elope with him. The clan disliked the alliance as much as did their chief, and they attempted to carry off by force the eldest son of the heiress from Ellandonan that he might be brought up under his grandfather's roof. In the struggle that ensued the infant was killed, but the second son, who was named after the old chief—*Coinneach*, or Kenneth—was given up, as the heir-apparent, to his grandfather's management. According to the traditions of the clan, *Coinneach Grumach* was subsequently assassinated through a perfidious plot of the chief of Glengarry, with whom he was at feud, and his family, with the greater part of the clan, were cut off at the same time, having been murdered by the Macdonalds, in cold blood, in their beds. Young Kenneth alone escaped through the affection and fidelity of his nurse. The quarrel contrived to be fastened on *Coin-*

* It is quite possible that the tradition respecting the service which the ancestor of the Mackenzies rendered to the King may be substantially correct, though he was certainly the son of Colin of the Aird and not of Colin Fitzgerald.

neach Grumach, in consequence of which his tribe was massacred, was whether a certain dish presented at a solemn banquet was goat's flesh or lamb's flesh. 'One might imagine,' it has been said, 'the whole story fabulous or a stroke of satire upon clan feuds, did we not know that when the world was five hundred years older a Highland chief lost his life in a dispute about the proper mode of carving a duck.'

Young Kenneth, thus saved from the exterminating vengeance of the Macdonalds, became the ancestor of the house of Seaforth and the founder of Brahan Castle, the family seat of the Mackenzies, by whom it was regarded with such reverence that the heads of the different branches of the clan at one time forcibly interfered to prevent the Earl of Seaforth from pulling down the roof-tree of Kenneth I.

Whatever may have been Kenneth's descent, there can be no doubt that he was a powerful and popular chief, and held the castle of Ellandonan against his 'overlord,' William, third Earl of Ross, who endeavoured to carry it by storm, but was defeated with great slaughter. The Mackenzies embraced the patriotic side in the War of Independence, and Kenneth's son JOHN is said to have sheltered Robert Bruce after his defeat by Macdougall of Lorne, at Dalreigh, near Tyndrum. There is good reason to believe that the fierce enmity which afterwards existed between the Mackenzies and the Earls of Ross, who, like other powerful chiefs of Argyllshire and the Western Isles, were the determined foes of Bruce, originated in the part which the former took in the struggle for the independence of Scotland; and as a reward for their loyalty the house of Kintail received liberal grants of the forfeited possessions of their feudal superiors, and ultimately absorbed the ancient inheritance of all the original possessors of the district. The Mackenzies, by warlike feats or strokes of policy, and by fortunate marriages, became numerous and powerful. Strathconan, Strathbran, Strathgarve, and Strathpeffer, which had belonged to the Earl of Ross, the sunny braes of Eastern Ross, the fertile church lands of Chanonry, the barony of Pluscarden, in the fertile low country of Moray, and even the distant and extensive island of Lewis (originally the property of the Macleods) were added to the *Caberfae* possessions. It is stated by a contemporary writer that about the beginning of the seventeenth century 'all the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnairn, in Sutherland, were either the Mackenzies' property or under their vassalage, some few excepted.' It is a curious circumstance that the first six chiefs of Kintail had each only one lawful son to succeed the father. They seem all to have

borne distinctive *sobriquets* from some personal peculiarity or incident in their history. One was named 'Kenneth of the Nose,' in consequence of the great size of his nasal organ. Another was called 'Black Murdoch,' from his complexion. 'Murdoch of the Bridge' was so designated from the circumstance that 'his mother, being with child of him, had been saved after a fearful fall from Conon Bridge into the water of Conon.' 'Alastair Ionraic,' 'Alexander the Upright,' was so called 'for his righteousness'—an uncommon quality among the Highland chiefs in those days. 'Coinneach a Bhlairsthat is, 'Kenneth of the Battle,' obtained his cognomen from the distinguished part he took in the sanguinary battle of Blair-na-Parc with the Macdonalds in 1491. 'Coinneach na Cuirc,' or 'Kenneth of the Whittle,' was so called from his skill in carving on wood.*

Like the other Highland septs, the Mackenzies were involved in constant feuds with their neighbours, and they fought many bloody battles for supremacy in Ross with the Macdonalds of the Isles, the Macleods, the Munros, and the Macdonnells of Glengarry, in which they were generally victorious. They succeeded at last in driving the Macdonalds, who were once all-powerful there, completely out of Ross-shire, and became, next to the Campbells, the most powerful clan in the West Highlands. Though they frequently bearded the sovereign himself when he attempted to bring the Highland tribes under subjection to law and order, they were ever ready to take the field at his call against 'our auld enemies of England.' They fought under the national banner at Bannockburn, Otterburn, Flodden, and Pinkie. CAILEAN CAM, OR ONE-EYED COLIN, the eleventh Chief of Kintail, supported the cause of Queen Mary, and took part in the battle of Langside, which ruined her interests in Scotland. He obtained a remission for this offence from Regent Moray, and was afterwards made a Privy Councillor by James VI. His eldest son, KENNETH, twelfth chief, was created a peer, in 1609, by the title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail. An earldom was conferred upon his elder son COLIN, second Baron Mackenzie, by King James in 1623. On Colin's death in 1633, without male issue, his titles and estates devolved upon his half brother, GEORGE, second Earl of Seaforth—a nobleman fickle and changeable in his views and unstable in his character and conduct. He was at first opposed to the unconstitutional and high-handed attempt of Charles I. to force a new

* *Celtic Magazine*, iii.

liturgy upon Scotland, and in 1639 took the command of a large body of Covenanters assembled north of the Spey. He soon, however, became lukewarm in the cause, and in 1640 was imprisoned as a suspected royalist. In the following year he joined Montrose, who had now seceded from the Covenanting party, and accompanied him to Elgin with the avowed object of supporting the King, to whom he took an oath of allegiance. Shortly after he again joined the ranks of the Covenanters, and excused himself in a letter to the Committee of Estates by alleging that he had gone over to the royalists through fear of Montrose, but declaring that he would abide by 'the good cause to his death.' Seaforth took the field against the royalist commander at the head of five thousand horse and foot, and was present at the battle of Auldearn, where the Covenanting forces were defeated. He is said to have had an interview with Montrose after the battle, and to have agreed to join him in supporting the royal cause against the Parliament. Nothing, however, came of this agreement, for Montrose, having soon after been ordered by the King to lay down his arms, left the kingdom, and Seaforth was excommunicated by the General Assembly for holding intercourse with an 'excommunicated traitor,' as Montrose was termed, and was threatened with forfeiture by the Parliament. He was kept in prison for two years, and was with much difficulty released from the sentence of excommunication. After the execution of the King, in 1649, the Earl repaired to Charles II. in Holland, and was nominated by him Principal Secretary of State for Scotland. 'He died in banishment,' says the Earl of Cromarty, 'before he sawe ane end of his King's and his country's calamities or of his own injuries.' His vacillating and time-serving career came to an end in 1651. He died at Schiedam, in Holland, in the forty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

KENNETH, third Earl of Seaforth, who, for his lofty stature, was known among the Highlanders as *Coinneach Mor*. Like his father, he devoted himself to the service of Charles II. during his exile. After the battle of Worcester, in 1651, he was kept a close prisoner till the Restoration. He was excepted from Cromwell's Act of Grace and Pardon in 1654, and his estates were forfeited without any provision being allowed from them for his wife and children. After he regained his liberty, he received a commission of the Sheriffship of Ross, 23rd of April, 1662. He died in December, 1678, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

KENNETH, fourth Earl of Seaforth. The sufferings which his father had undergone in the cause of the Stewarts did not prevent him from perilling life and fortune at the Revolution of 1688 on behalf of the expelled monarch, for whose cause he suffered repeated imprisonment and, ultimately, died in exile. King James created him Marquis of Seaforth, a title which was, of course, not recognised by the British Government. His elder son—

WILLIAM, fifth Earl, known among the Highlanders as 'William Dubh,' was brought up in France, and imbibed strong Jacobite feelings from his parents. When the Earl of Mar raised his standard at Braemar, in 1715, Seaforth was one of the nobles who repaired to the Jacobite gathering. He lost no time in calling forth his clan, but he was detained for some time in the north by the Earl of Sutherland and the chiefs of the Mackays and Munros, until his followers amounted to three thousand men, when he attacked and dispersed the Whig clans who had hindered his march to the south to join the Earl of Mar. On Seaforth's arrival at Perth, the incompetent Jacobite leader made up his mind to proceed towards the Lowlands, a movement which led to the battle of Sheriffmuir. The Earl fought at the head of his clan, and four of his kinsmen, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the conflict, were slain. After the Chevalier St. George quitted the country, Seaforth retired to France. He was attainted by Act of Parliament, and his estates forfeited. In 1719, along with the Marquis of Tullibardine and the Earl Marischal, aided by three hundred Spanish soldiers, he made another and final attempt to 'bring the auld Stewarts back again;' but he was dangerously wounded in an encounter with the Government troops at the Pass of Strachell, near Glenshiel, in the midst of his own estates, and was compelled to abandon the enterprise. The Highlanders retired during the night to the mountains, carrying their wounded chief along with them, and the Spaniards next morning surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Seaforth was carried on board a vessel which lay off the coast, and, along with Marischal and Tullibardine and the other principal officers, made his escape to the Western Islands, and afterwards found his way to France.

The Earl was attainted by Act of Parliament, and his estates were forfeited; but all the efforts of the Government to penetrate into Kintail or to collect any rent in that remote district were baffled by the tenantry, 'the wild Macraes,' the faithful vassals of the house

of Seaforth, under whom they had fought in many a bloody conflict from the battle of Bannockburn down to the Jacobite rebellion. The soldiers who were sent on several occasions to take possession of the forfeited estates were encountered and driven back with some loss of life, and the attempt was at length relinquished in despair. The Commissioners of Inquiry reported, in 1725, that they had not sold the estate of William, Earl of Seaforth, 'not having been able to obtain possession, and, consequently, to give the same to a purchaser.' The rents of the Seaforth estates in Kintail were, however, duly collected among the devoted clansmen, and, by some means or other, regularly transmitted to their exiled chief in France. The person who managed the Seaforth estates and drew the rents for ten years during the Earl's absence was Donald Murchison, who had acted as lieutenant-colonel of the regiment which Seaforth led to fight for the Stewarts in 1715. He was the son of the Castellan of Ellandonan, but had been bred a writer in Edinburgh, and had, for a short time, acted as factor to Sir John Preston, of Preston Hall, in Midlothian. He is described in the notes to a poem published in 1737 as 'a kinsman and servant to the Earl of Seaforth, bred a writer, a man of small stature, but full of spirit and resolution.' He headed the clansmen who defeated the royal troops at the pass of Aa-na-Mulloch, near the end of Loch Affaric, and compelled the royal commissioner who accompanied them, and whose son was killed in the conflict, to give up his papers, and to promise, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, not to officiate again as factor on the forfeited estates. The tenantry, without hesitation, continued to pay their rents to Donald for the benefit of their exiled and forfeited chief, setting at naught all apprehension of being compelled to pay the money a second time to the Commissioner.

General Wade, writing a report to the King, in 1725, which is published in the Appendix to Burt's 'Letters,' says, 'The rents continue to be collected by one Donald Murchison, a servant of the late Earl's, who annually remits or carries the same to his master into France. The tenants, when in a condition, are said to have sent him free gifts in proportion to their several circumstances, but are now a year and a-half in arrear of rent. The receipts he gives to the tenants are as deputy-factor to the Commissioners of the forfeited estates, which pretended power he extorted from the factor (appointed by the said Commissioners to collect these rents for the use of the public), whom he attacked with above four hundred armed men, as

he was going to enter upon the said estate, having with him a party of thirty of your Majesty's troops. The last year this Murchison marched in a public manner to Edinburgh to remit eight hundred pounds to France for his master's use, and remained fourteen days there unmolested.'

Donald visited Edinburgh a second time about the end of August, 1725. Lockhart of Carnwath, writing to the Chevalier St. George, mentions, amongst other news, that Murchison had come to Edinburgh on his way to France. They had missed each other; but Lockhart states that he expected to see him in a day or two at his country house, where he would get time to talk fully with him. 'In the meantime,' he adds, 'I know, from one that saw him, that he has taken up and secured all the arms of value in Seaforth's estate, which he thought better than to trust them to the care and prudence of the several owners; and the other chieftains, I hear, have done the same.'

It is very painful to relate that Seaforth proved unworthy of the devotion which his heroic clansmen had shown to him, and treated Murchison with shameful ingratitude. When the Earl obtained possession of his estates, which Donald had been the means of preserving for him, he discountenanced and neglected him. He had promised Murchison a handsome reward for his services, but, according to the traditional account, he offered him only a small farm called Bundallock, which pays at this day to the proprietor no more than sixty pounds a year; or another place opposite to Inverinate House, of about the same value. Donald refused these paltry offers and shortly after left Seaforth's country. His noble spirit pined away under this treatment, and he died in the prime of life, near Conon, of a broken heart. On his deathbed Seaforth went to see him, and asked how he was. 'Just as you will be in a short time,' he replied, and then turned his back. They never met again. He was buried in a remote little churchyard on Cononside, in the parish where the late Sir Roderick I. Murchison, the distinguished geologist, great-grandson of John Murchison, Donald's brother, has erected an appropriate monument to the memory of the devoted clansman.*

Lockhart mentions that after the passing of the Disarming Act of 1725, General Wade was waited on by a body of about fifty gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, headed by Lord Tarbat, Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty, who

* See *Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. pp. 459—71.

informed the General that the rent of Seaforth's tenants and vassals had for several years been uplifted by Donald Murchison, and that they were not able to pay them a second time, but if they were discharged of these rents they would pay them in future to his Majesty's receiver for the use of the public, deliver up their arms, and live peaceably. Wade at once acceded to this request, and informed the deputation that if the clan fulfilled what they had promised, he would use his influence in the next session of Parliament to procure a pardon for their chief and his friends. Accordingly, on the 25th of August, 1725, the General, accompanied by the deputation and a small body of dragoons, proceeded to Castle Brahan, where the clan marched in procession along the great avenue that leads to the mansion, and laid down their arms in the courtyard. But it turned out that all the weapons of any value had been secreted by Donald Murchison, and only the worn-out and worthless arms were given up.

General Wade was as good as his word, and his intercessions on behalf of Seaforth were successful. In July, 1726, the Earl was relieved by George I. from the penal consequences of his attainder so far as he was personally concerned, and George II. made him a grant of the arrears of feu duties due to the Crown out of his forfeited estates. Seaforth died in the island of Lewis in 1740.

KENNETH MACKENZIE, his eldest son, who held the courtesy title of Fortrose, was elected member of Parliament for the burgh of Inverness in 1741, and for Ross-shire in 1747 and again in 1751. The Seaforth estates, including the lands of Kintail and the barony of Islandonaan, were sold by the Crown in 1741, and were purchased on behalf of Lord Fortrose for the sum of £25,909 8s. 3½d., under the burden of an annuity of £1,000 to the Countess-Dowager of Seaforth. When the Jacobite rebellion broke out in 1745, warned by the sufferings which adherence to the cause of the exiled family had already brought upon his ancestors, he kept aloof from the ill-fated enterprise. As a reward of his loyalty at that critical period, the honours of his house were in part afterwards restored. He died in London, in 1761, and was succeeded by his only son—

KENNETH MACKENZIE, who from his small stature was commonly known among the Highlanders as the 'Little Lord.' He entered the army at an early age, and in recompense of his father's support of the Government during the troubles of 1745 and his own loyalty, he was

raised to the peerage in 1766, by the title of Viscount Fortrose and Baron Ardelve, in the kingdom of Ireland, and in 1771 he was created Earl of Seaforth, in the peerage of the same kingdom. In 1771 he raised a regiment of eleven hundred and thirty men from his own clan, being five hundred of that number the tenantry on his own estates, a large portion of whom were Macraes of Kintail. The regiment was designated the 78th or Ross-shire Regiment of Highlanders, and Seaforth himself was appointed their colonel. While they were lying at Leith a mutiny broke out among them on account of the infringement of their engagements, and some pay and bounty which they alleged was due them. They refused to embark for the East Indies, and marching out of Leith with pipes playing, took up a position on Arthur's Seat, where they remained for several days. After a good deal of negotiation an arrangement was made for the removal of their grievances, and they marched down the hill with pipes playing and the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore and General Skene at their head. They entered Leith and went on board the transport with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness. The intention of sending them to India was in the meantime abandoned. After spending some time in Guernsey and Jersey, they embarked for that country in June, 1781, but suffered so much from scurvy during the voyage that before they arrived at Madras no fewer than two hundred and forty-seven of them died. Their colonel and chief himself died before they reached St. Helena, to the great grief of his clansmen, who were well aware that it was for their sake alone that he had resolved to sacrifice the comforts of home, and to encounter the privations of a long voyage and the dangers of military service in a tropical climate.

As Lord Fortrose left an only daughter, but no male issue, his titles became extinct. In 1779, finding his property heavily encumbered with debts from which he was unable to extricate himself, he conveyed his estates to his cousin and heir-male, Colonel Thomas F. Mackenzie Humberston, on payment of £100,000. The Colonel was the great-grandson of Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth, and the eldest son of Major Mackenzie by the daughter and heiress of Matthew Humberston, of Lincolnshire, and assumed that name on succeeding to his mother's estate. He held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the 78th regiment, and succeeded to its command on the death of Seaforth. On his arrival in India he was appointed to a separate command on the Malabar coast, where he greatly distinguished

himself, and inflicted a severe defeat on Tippoo Sahib. In 1782 he served under General Mathews against Hyder Ali, and when that officer was superseded for misconduct and incapacity, he accompanied Colonel Macleod, who was appointed to succeed him, when he sailed from Bombay to assume the chief command. On their voyage the sloop *Ranger*, in which they had embarked, was attacked by a squadron of large ships of war belonging to the Mahrattas. All the officers on board were either killed or wounded, among them the gallant young chief of the Mackenzies, who was shot through the body, and died of the wound at Geriah, a seaport of the Mahrattas, 30th April, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. Dying unmarried, he was succeeded in his estates by his brother—

FRANCIS HUMBERSTON MACKENZIE, twenty-first chief of the Mackenzies, who was created a peer of Great Britain in 1797 by the title of Lord Seaforth and Baron Mackenzie of Kintail. Under this nobleman, who was in many respects a very able and remarkable man, occurred the predicted downfall of this great historical house, which was attended with circumstances as singular as they were painful. 'The last Baron of Kintail, Francis, Lord Seaforth,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'was a nobleman of extraordinary talents, who must have made for himself a lasting reputation had not his political exertions been checked by painful natural infirmities.' Though a severe attack of scarlet fever when he was in his twelfth year deprived him of hearing, and for a time almost of speech, he was distinguished for his extensive attainments as well as for his great intellectual activity. He took a lively interest in all questions of art and science, and especially in natural history, and displayed both his liberality and his love of art by his munificence to Sir Thomas Lawrence in the early straits and struggles of that great painter, and also by his patronage of other artists. Before his elevation to the peerage, Lord Seaforth represented Ross-shire in Parliament for a good many years, and was afterwards nominated Lord-Lieutenant of that county. During the revolutionary war with France he raised a splendid regiment of Ross-shire Highlanders, the second that had been raised among his clan, of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and he ultimately attained the rank of lieutenant-general in the army. He held for six years the office of Governor of Barbadoes, and by his firmness and even-handed justice he succeeded in putting an end to the practice of slave-killing, which was at that time not unfrequent in the island, and

was deemed by the planters a venial offence to be punished only by a small fine. He held high office also in Demerara and Berbice.

Lord Seaforth was the happy father of four sons and six daughters, all of high promise, and it seemed as if he were destined to raise the illustrious house of which he was the head to a height of honour and power greater than it had ever yet attained. But the closing years of this accomplished nobleman were darkened by calamities and sufferings of the severest kind. The mismanagement of his estates, combined with his personal extravagance, involved him in inextricable embarrassments. When he exposed to sale the fine estate of Lochalsh his tenants unanimously addressed to him the pointed and significant remonstrance, 'Reside amongst us and we will pay your debts.' His lordship's improvidence, however, rendered this expedient hopeless. A part of the barony of Kintail, the 'gift-land' of the house, was next disposed of, a step which the Seaforth clansmen in vain endeavoured to avert by offering to buy in the land for him that it might not pass from the family. In deference to this strong feeling on the part of the clan, the intended sale of the estate was deferred for about two years. The Earl had previous to this time been bereaved of three of his sons, but one—Frederick William, a young man of marked ability and eloquence—still survived, and was the representative in Parliament of his native county. He, too, passed away in 1814, unmarried, like his brothers. The heart-broken father lingered on a few months longer, and died 11th January, 1815, in his sixtieth year; and thus, as Sir Walter Scott expressed it,—

'Of the line of Fitzgerald remained not a male
To bear the proud name of the chief of Kintail.'

This sad event is thus mentioned by Scott in a letter to his friend Mr. Morritt of Rokeby:—

'You will have heard of poor Caberfae's death. What a pity it is he should have outlived his promising young representative! His estate was truly pitiable—all his fine faculties lost in paralytic imbecility, and yet not so entirely lost but that he perceived his deprivation as in a glass darkly. Sometimes he was fretful and anxious because he did not see his son; sometimes he expostulated and complained that his boy had been allowed to die without his seeing him; and sometimes, in a less clouded state of intellect, he was sensible of and lamented his loss in its full extent. These, indeed, are "the fears of the brave and the follies of the wise," which sadden and humiliate the lingering hours of prolonged existence.'

The character of the last Lord Seaforth and the extinction of the male line of his house seem to have greatly interested Sir Walter. In his 'Lament' for the last of the Seaforths he says—

'In vain the bright course of thy talents to wrong,
Fate deadened thine ear and imprisoned thy tongue;
For brighter o'er all her obstructions arose
The glow of thy genius they could not oppose ;
And who in the land of the Saxon or Gael
Could match with Mackenzie, high Chief of Kintail ?

'Thy sons rose around thee, in light and in love,
All a father could hope, all a friend could approve ;
What avails it the tale of thy sorrows to tell,
In the spring-time of youth and of promise they fell !
Of the line of MacKenneth remains not a male
To bear the proud name of the Chief of Kintail.'

The most remarkable circumstance connected with this sorrowful tale is the undoubted fact that centuries ago a seer of the clan Mackenzie predicted that when there should be a deaf and dumb *Caberfae* the 'gift-land' of their territory (Kintail) should be sold, and the male line become extinct.

This prophecy was well known in the north long before its fulfilment, and was certainly not made after the event. 'It connected,' says Lockhart in his 'Life of Sir Walter Scott,' 'the fall of the house of Seaforth not only with the appearance of a deaf *Caberfae*, but with the contemporaneous appearance of various different physical misfortunes in several of the other great Highland chiefs, all of which are said to have actually occurred within the memory of the generation that has not yet passed away.'* These peculiarities were, that there would at that time be four great lairds, of whom one would be buck-toothed, another hare-lipped, another half-witted, and the fourth a stammerer. It is asserted that contemporaneous with the deaf *Caberfae* were Sir Hector Mackenzie of Gairloch, who was the buck-toothed laird, Chisholm of Chisholm the hare-lipped, Grant of Grant the half-witted, and Macleod of Raasay the stammerer.†

The story was firmly believed not only by Scott, but by Sir Humphrey Davy also, who mentions it in one of his journals, and by Mr. Morrill, who testifies that he heard the prophecy quoted in the Highlands at a time when Lord Seaforth had two sons alive and in good health. The late venerable Duncan Davidson, Esq., of Tulloch,

* *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, iii. pp. 318, 319.

† *The Prophecies of the Brahan*. By Alexander Mackenzie.

Lord-Lieutenant of Ross-shire, in a letter to Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, author of the 'History of the Mackenzies,' of date May 21st, 1878, states 'that he heard of these prophecies upwards of seventy years ago, when two of Lord Seaforth's sons were still alive, and there appeared to be no probability that he would survive them.'*

On the death of Lord Seaforth his titles became extinct. The chiefship of the clan passed to Mackenzie of Allengrange, but the remaining estates of the family, with all their burdens and responsibilities, devolved upon Lord Seaforth's eldest daughter, MARY ELIZABETH FREDERICA MACKENZIE, born in 1783, widow of Vice-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood. She took for her second husband (21st May, 1817) the Hon. James Alexander Stewart of Glasserton, a cadet of the Galloway family. Sir Walter Scott, who held Lady Hood in high esteem, expressed his sympathy for her on the loss of her husband, father, and brothers in the well-known lines—

' And thou, gentle dame, who must bear to thy grief
For thy clan and thy country the cares of a chief,
Whom brief rolling moons in six changes have left
Of thy husband, and father, and brethren bereft ;
To thine ear of affection how sad is the hail
That salutes thee the heir of the line of Kintail !'

Sir Walter, in his letter to Mr. Morritt on the death of Lord Seaforth, says, 'Our friend, Lady Hood, will now be *Caberfae* herself. She has the spirit of a chieftainess in every drop of her blood, but there are few situations in which the cleverest women are so apt to be imposed upon as in the management of landed property, especially of a Highland estate. I do fear the fulfilment of the prophecy, that when there should be a deaf *Caberfae* the house was to fall.' Scott's forebodings proved only too well-founded. One section after another of the estates had to be sold. The remaining portion of Kintail, the fairest portion of Glenshiel, the church lands of Chanonry, the barony of Pluscarden, and the island of Lewis—a principality in itself—passed in succession into other hands. The late non-resident owner, who was under trustees, attempted, in 1878, to dispose of the remnant of the patrimony of the house of Seaforth, which, according to the Doomsday Book, comprises 8,051 acres, yielding a rental of £7,905, but was prevented by the interposition of his two daughters—one the widow of the Hon. Colonel John S. Stanley, the other the dowager

* *History of the Mackenzies*, p. 267.

Marchioness of Tweeddale. He succeeded, however, in bringing to the hammer the family portraits and other precious heirlooms.

The Hon. J. A. Stewart Mackenzie—who was held in great esteem by the clan, and, indeed, by the whole county—represented Ross-shire in Parliament for several years, and was afterwards successively Governor of Ceylon and Lord High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands. The accomplished Lady Ashburton was his sister. He died on the 24th of September, 1843. His widow, the chieftainess, survived till the 28th of November, 1862. Of their son and successor there is nothing creditable to be recorded. The remnant of the Seaforth estate is now in the possession of his only son, an officer in the army.





THE MACKENZIES OF CROMARTIE.



HERE were at one time no fewer than seven baronets of the stock of Caberfae, but the Tarbat, or Cromartie family, was the most powerful and famous branch of this great house. In little more than a century it raised itself, by mere dint of talent, from a state of comparative obscurity into affluence and eminence. Its founder was SIR RODERICK, or RORIE, MACKENZIE, second son of Colin Mackenzie, and next brother of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, to whose son he acted as tutor during his minority. Sir Rorie appears to have been a person of great ability and energy, and his position as an extensive landed proprietor in Ross-shire, and as tutor of Kintail, gave him vast influence, which was greatly increased by his marriage with Margaret Macleod, heiress of Lewis. Through this lady Sir Rorie also obtained the barony of Torryeach, in Lochbroom, from which he obtained his usual territorial designation. At this period the Kintail estates were burdened with debts, and the clan were involved in a sanguinary feud of long standing with the Macdonalds of Glengarry. But by the prudent and vigorous management of the tutor, the family estates were handed over to his nephew on attaining his majority in a most prosperous condition; the inveterate feud with Glengarry was terminated, and the turbulent islanders of the Lewis were subdued. By a dexterous stratagem Sir Rorie succeeded in capturing Macneil of Barra, whose piracies on the Irish coast had been loudly complained of by Queen Elizabeth, and had been a source of great annoyance to the Scottish Government. In addition to the honour of knighthood, Sir Rorie was rewarded by King James VI. for his services, in civilising the northern parts of the kingdom, with extensive grants of estates in the Western Isles; and he made numerous purchases of lands in Western Ross. He was the builder of the mansion of Castle

Leod, which to this day forms a prominent feature in the beautiful valley of Strathpeffer. This sagacious and resolute chief died in 1626, in the forty-eighth year of his age, leaving six sons and one daughter, who became the wife of Sir James Macdonald, of Sleat, ancestor of Lord Macdonald.

Sir Rorie was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son, JOHN, who was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I. in 1628, and received at the same time a grant of sixteen hundred acres, situated to the north of the Gulf of Canada, to be called the Barony of Tarbat. Sir John Mackenzie was a staunch supporter of the Presbyterian system. He took an active part in resisting the innovations of Laud, and fought on the side of the Covenanters in the Great Civil War; though, after the King had fallen into the hands of the army, he, in common with a large body of the Scottish nobility and people, took up arms in his sovereign's behalf, and was one of the Resolutioners, or Engagers, who sent an expedition to England under the Duke of Hamilton, which came to a disastrous end at Preston. It appears that Sir John afterwards suffered imprisonment during the Protectorate for his adherence to the royal cause. He died on the 10th of September, 1654, leaving six sons and four daughters. His wife, who was a member of the Erskine family, survived till near the close of the century, and when she must have been nearly ninety years of age the indomitable old lady carried on single handed a contest with the Court of Session, and was successful in an appeal to the Parliament against the decision of the judges.

Sir John Mackenzie was succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, SIR GEORGE, afterwards VISCOUNT TARBAT, and first EARL OF CROMARTIE, the most celebrated person that the family has produced. He was born in the year 1630, and was educated first at the University of St. Andrews, and then at King's College, Aberdeen (a favourite seminary with the Mackenzies), where he became an excellent classical scholar, and acquired a taste for natural philosophy. Even in his youth Sir George was a zealous Royalist, and, in 1653, he took part in the Earl of Glencairn's expedition in the West Highlands: on its defeat, he and Lord Balcarres and Sir Robert Moray made their escape to Castle Donan, the stronghold of the Seaforth Mackenzies. It is curious to know that at this time of danger and depression Sir George Mackenzie and Sir Robert

Moray, the founders of the Royal Society of London, travelled through many of the Western Isles, examining their natural productions, and watching the flowing of the tides, for the purpose of advancing the study of natural philosophy. At the Restoration, Sir George Mackenzie was rewarded for his loyalty with a seat on the Bench, and he assumed the judicial title of Lord Tarbat. He attached himself to the Earl of Middleton, the Royal Commissioner, a rough and ignorant soldier, whose confidential adviser he became, and chief agent in the management of public affairs. He carried matters with a high hand, and was mainly responsible for the infamous 'Recissory Act,' as it was called, which repealed the whole of the Acts passed by the Scottish Estates since the year 1641, including even those which had been passed in the presence of Charles I., and with his sanction. In the contest for supremacy between Middleton and Lauderdale, Lord Tarbat zealously espoused the cause of his patron, and was the most active supporter, if not indeed the author, of the proposal to exclude from public office twelve persons who had taken the Covenant—the victims to be selected by the votes of Members of Parliament given in secret. The blow was chiefly aimed at Lauderdale, who had been a zealous Covenanter, but it recoiled on the heads of his assailants. Middleton's commission was cancelled, and Lord Tarbat, whose conduct in the affair was by no means straightforward and honourable, was removed from his seat on the Bench. He was excluded from office for the long period of fourteen years, but at length, on the 16th of October, 1678, he was appointed Lord Justice-General of Scotland, and, on the following day, he received from King Charles a grant of a pension of two hundred pounds. Shortly after he was admitted a member of the Scottish Privy Council. In October, 1681, he exchanged the office of Lord Justice-General for that of Lord Clerk Register, and in November following he was restored to a seat in the Court of Session.

On the accession of King James, Sir George Mackenzie was elevated to the peerage by the titles of VISCOUNT TARBAT and LORD MACLEOD OF CASTLEHAVEN. He was a member of the Secret Committee of Council to whom the government of the country was chiefly committed. He must, therefore, have had his share in the odium of the public measures which ultimately drove the arbitrary and bigoted monarch from the throne of his ancestors. When the Revolution took place, Lord Tarbat showed much greater anxiety to protect himself than to

defend his sovereign's rights. 'He was, indeed,' as Hugh Miller remarks, 'one of those many politicians who, according to Dryden, neither love nor hate, but are honest, as far as honesty is expedient, and never glaringly vicious, because it is impolitic to be vicious overmuch. And never was there a man more thoroughly conversant with the intrigues of a court, or more skilful in availing himself of every chance combination of circumstances.' Though the feeling of aversion towards Lord Tarbat was so strong and general that King William was earnestly entreated to incapacitate him and two or three of his brother councillors from all public office, he contrived to ingratiate himself with that prince, and to make himself so useful that he was restored to his old place of Clerk Register (1692), and preserved the favour of the King till the end of his reign. The plan which this able and wily statesman proposed to the ministers of the new sovereign for the pacification of the Highlands was most sagacious, and if it had been prudently carried into effect there is every reason to believe that only a very small body of the clans would have rallied to the banner of Dundee. But though not expressly rejected by the Government, it was rendered abortive by the foolish mode in which it was attempted to be carried out.

The state of affairs in the Highlands at this juncture, and the cause of the failure of Tarbat's plan for their pacific settlement, are clearly pointed out by Lord Macaulay. 'There is strong reason to believe,' he says, 'that the chiefs who came [to Dundee] would have remained quietly at home if the Government had understood the politics of the Highlanders. Those politics were thoroughly understood by one able and experienced statesman, sprung from the great Highland family of Mackenzie, the Viscount Tarbat. He at this juncture pointed out to Melville by letter, and to Mackay in conversation, both the cause and the remedy of the distempers which seemed likely to bring on Scotland the calamity of civil war. There was, Tarbat said, no general disposition to insurrection among the Gael. Little was to be apprehended even from those Popish clans which were under no apprehension of being subjected to the yoke of the Campbells. It was notorious that the ablest and most active of the discontented chiefs troubled themselves not at all about the questions which were in dispute between the Whigs and the Tories. Lochiel, in particular, whose eminent personal qualities made him the most important man among the mountaineers, cared no more for James than for William. If the Camerons, the Macdonalds, and the Macleans could be convinced that under the

new Government their estates and their dignities would be safe, if MacCallummore would make some concessions, if their Majesties would take on themselves the payment of some arrears of rent, Dundee might call the clans to arms, but he would call to little purpose. Five thousand pounds, Tarbat thought, would be sufficient to quiet all the Celtic magnates; and in truth, though that sum might seem ludicrously small to the politicians of Westminster, though it was not larger than the annual gains of the Groom of the Stole or of the Paymaster of the Forces, it might well be thought immense by a barbarous potentate who, while he ruled hundreds of square miles and could bring hundreds of warriors into the field, had, perhaps, never had fifty guineas at once in his coffers. Though Tarbat was considered by the Scottish ministers of the new sovereigns as a very doubtful friend, his advice was not altogether neglected. It was resolved that overtures such as he recommended should be made to the malcontents. Much depended on the choice of an agent, and, unfortunately, the choice showed how little the prejudices of the wild tribes of the hills were understood at Edinburgh. A Campbell was selected for the office of gaining over to the cause of King William men whose only quarrel with King William was that he countenanced the Campbells. Offers made through such a channel were naturally regarded as at once snares and insults. After this it was to no purpose that Tarbat wrote to Lochiel, and Mackay to Glengarry. Lochiel returned no answer to Tarbat, and Glengarry returned to Mackay a coldly civil answer, in which the general was advised to imitate the example of Monk.'

Lord Tarbat retired from the office of Clerk Register in 1696, with a pension of £400 a year. The death of King William and the accession of Queen Anne brought Lord Tarbat again into official life, and although now in the seventy-second year of his age, he was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland in November, 1702. He was soon afterwards created EARL OF CROMARTIE, having some time previously purchased the estate of the ancient family of Urquhart of Cromartie. When he attained his seventy-fifth year, feeling the duties of Secretary of State too arduous for his advanced age, he resigned that office, and was reinstated in his former situation as Lord Justice-General, receiving at the same time a pension of £600 a year. He took an active part in promoting the union between Scotland and England, and published several essays in support of that measure. After serving the public in various important situations under six

crowned heads for the long period of sixty years, Lord Cromartie finally resigned the office of Lord Justice-General in 1710, when he was in his eightieth year, and retired into private life. He survived, however, till 1714, when he was gathered to his fathers, full of years and honours.

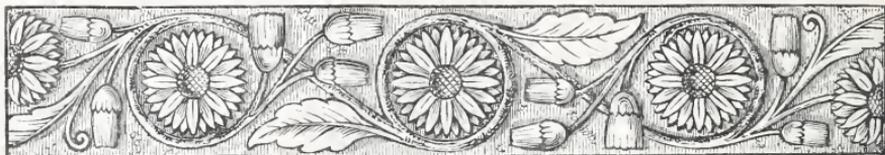
Lord Cromartie's first wife, a daughter of Sir James Sinclair of Mey, died in 1699, and six months after, when he was in his seventieth year, the Earl married Margaret, Countess of Wemyss in her own right, and widow of Sir James Wemyss. She also predeceased Lord Cromartie, and so anxious was he that on his own death his body should rest beside hers at Wemyss that he took a formal bond from her son David, Earl of Wemyss, that he would allow this arrangement to be carried into effect. But notwithstanding this precaution, his wish was not gratified. Excavations made in 1875 in the burying-ground at Dingwall brought to light the fact that Lord Cromartie was buried beside his own ancestors, near the pyramid known as Lord Cromartie's monument. The Earl found leisure in the course of his very busy life to write a number of historical, theological, and political dissertations of great ability and research. Two of the most valuable of these—now very rare—are a vindication of Robert II. from the charge of bastardy, and a historical account of the Gowrie conspiracy. He wrote besides a *Synopsis Apocalyptica*, and recorded several interesting facts regarding the formation of peat-moss. Lord Cromartie was one of the original members of the Royal Society, and contributed some valuable articles to the earlier volumes of the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Mr. Fraser mentions an interesting fact which, as he says, is not generally known, that it was the Earl who advised Monk to attempt the restoration of the Stewarts to the throne, and that he advanced him a thousand pounds to assist him in the enterprise.

Lord Cromartie's second son, Kenneth, inherited the large estate from which his father's title was taken, and was the ancestor of the MACKENZIES, BARONETS OF TARBAT. The third son, James, who was a distinguished advocate, was for thirty-four years a member of the College of Justice, under the title of LORD ROYSTON, taken from an estate near Granton, bequeathed to him by his father. The eldest son, JOHN, succeeded to the ancestral estates and his father's titles, and became second Earl of Cromartie. His career was comparatively short and undistinguished. He died in 1731, and was

succeeded by his eldest son, GEORGE, third Earl, who, unfortunately for himself and his family, took part in the rebellion of 1745. Having been dispatched into Sutherland for the purpose of dispersing the Government forces in that county, he was surprised, on the 15th of April, the day before the battle of Culloden, and made prisoner at Dunrobin by a party of the Earl of Sutherland's militia. His eldest son, Lord Macleod, who had fought gallantly along with his father at the head of their clan at the battle of Falkirk, was shortly after apprehended also, and the two were sent prisoners to London. The Earl was brought to trial for high treason on the 28th of July, 1746, along with the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, and pleaded guilty, throwing himself on the mercy of the sovereign. He was condemned to be executed, and his honours and estates were forfeited. But though his two brother nobles suffered the extreme penalty of the law, Lord Cromartie's life was spared, mainly, it is believed, through the heroic efforts of his devoted wife, combined with pity for his numerous family. He survived his forfeiture twenty years, and appears to have suffered no small privations and hardships in providing for the support of his family, which consisted of three sons and seven daughters. His eldest son, LORD MACLEOD, who was not brought to trial, nobly disdaining to be a burden to his parents, went to the Continent as a soldier of fortune, and joined the Swedish army, in which he remained for twenty-seven years. He attained high rank in the service, and was created a Count of Sweden. On the breaking out of the Seven Years' War he joined the Prussian army as a volunteer, and served in it through the first campaign in the year 1757. Lord Macleod returned to his native country in 1777, and obtained from King George a commission to raise a new Highland regiment. So successful was he in his efforts in the district where his family were held in high respect, that in a short time he enrolled 840 Highlanders, who, along with 270 Lowlanders, were embodied under the name of the 73rd Regiment, or Macleod's Highlanders, celebrated for their gallant exploits in India against Hyder Ali. Lord Macleod, now restored to the British service, distinguished himself by his energy and courage, and in 1782 was promoted to the rank of major-general. He had been previously elected member for the county of Ross amid unusual rejoicings, and in 1784 the forfeited estates of his family were restored to him on payment of the debt of £19,000 with which they were burdened. He greatly improved his property, planted many thousands of trees, and erected a new mansion at Tarbat. His lord-

ship died in Edinburgh in 1789, in the sixty-second year of his age, without issue, and his estates were inherited by his cousin, KENNETH MACKENZIE OF CROMARTIE, great-grandson of George, first Earl of Cromartie. At his decease the patrimonial inheritance passed to LADY ISABELLA MACKENZIE, Dowager Lady Elibank, eldest sister of Lord Macleod. They next, in default of male issue, descended to her eldest daughter, MARIA. She married EDWARD HAY OF NEW-HALL, uncle of the seventh Marquess of Tweeddale, who, in terms of the entail executed by Lord Macleod, assumed the additional name of Mackenzie. JOHN HAY MACKENZIE, the only son of this couple, married a daughter of Sir James Gibson-Craig, and left an only child, ANNE HAY MACKENZIE, present Duchess of Sutherland, who was created, in 1861, COUNTESS OF CROMARTIE, VISCOUNTESS TARBAT OF TARBAT, BARONESS MACLEOD OF CASTLE LEOD, and BARONESS CASTLEHAVEN, &c., with remainder to her second son, FRANCIS, the heir to the estates, as well as to the Cromartie titles.





THE HAMILTONS.

THE Hamilton family, though they have for upwards of four hundred years ranked among the most prominent and powerful of the Scottish nobility, have never been prolific in great men, and they owed their influential position to their connection with the royal family of the Stewarts and their extensive territorial possessions rather than to either intellectual or moral superiority.

The surname of the family is supposed to have been originally derived from the Manor of Hambleton, in Leicestershire, and WALTER DE HAMILTON, the first of the name who is certainly known to have held estates in Scotland, is alleged to have been the grandson of Robert de Bellemont, third Earl of Leicester, who died in 1190; but of this there is no evidence whatsoever. The story told by Hector Boece respecting the first Scottish Hamilton, and faithfully copied not only by the elder historians of Scotland, like Lesley and Buchanan, but also by modern peerage writers, that he killed John de Spencer, the King's favourite, and was, in consequence, obliged to flee from the Court of Edward II., in 1323, is evidently fabulous. It is said that, being closely pursued in his flight, Hamilton and his servant changed clothes with two woodcutters who were working in a sawpit, and, taking their places, were in the act of cutting an oak-tree when their pursuers came up. The servant, owing to his nervous anxiety, stopped in his work; but Hamilton cried out to him 'Through!' and made him resume his task. From this incident he took for his crest an oak-tree and a saw cutting it, with the word 'Through' for the motto. This story, which bears the unmistakable stamp of Hector Boece's own mint, has evidently been invented for the purpose of accounting for the Hamilton crest and motto; and it is certain that Walter de

Hamilton was settled in Scotland long before the period mentioned in this legend. He was one of the barons who at first adhered to the English interest in the War of Independence; and he swore fealty to Edward I., in 1292, and again in 1296, for his estates in Lanarkshire and other counties. But after the battle of Bannockburn he made his peace with Robert Bruce, and received from that monarch the Barony of Cadzow (the ancient name of Hamilton), and several other grants of land. Here the family raised their roof-tree and extended their branches throughout Clydesdale and the neighbouring districts, where they founded several minor but still influential houses, some of which remain to the present day.

The heads of the Hamilton family continued faithful in their adherence to the heir of Robert Bruce and the Stewarts. The immediate successors of Walter fought at the disastrous battles of Halidon Hill and Durham, and took some part, though by no means a very prominent one, in the affairs of the kingdom and court. The member of the family to whom their greatness is mainly owing was SIR JAMES HAMILTON, the fifth knight and first baron, who was raised to the peerage in 1445 under the title of Lord Hamilton of Cadzow (pronounced Cadyow). He was noted both for his energy and his sagacity, which gave great weight to his opinion in the national council and among his brother barons. The vicinity of his estates to the principal seat of the Douglasses, as well as kinsmanship with that family, probably led him at first to enrol himself in the ranks of their followers. He accompanied the Earl of Douglas in his celebrated visit to Rome in 1450; and, in the following year, went with him on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. As might have been expected, Hamilton joined the confederacy which Douglas formed with the Earls of Crawford and Ross against the Crown, and narrowly escaped the fate of the formidable chief of the league when he was assassinated by the King (James II.) in Stirling Castle. When Sir James Douglas, the successor of the murdered baron and the last of the old stock, took the field against his sovereign at the head of forty thousand men, Lord Hamilton was one of his most powerful and trusted supporters. The insurgents encamped on the south bank of the Carron, about three miles from the Torwood, so famous in the history of Sir William Wallace. James, who was well aware of his danger, advanced from Stirling to meet this formidable array with an army considerably inferior in numbers, but with 'the King's name

as a tower of strength, which they upon the adverse faction lacked.' A battle seemed imminent, which should decide whether the house of Stewart or of Douglas was henceforth to reign in Scotland. But at this critical juncture, art did more than arms for the royal cause. Acting under the advice of the patriotic and sagacious Bishop Kennedy, James made overtures to Lord Hamilton and other allies of the Earl of Douglas, representing the danger which threatened not only the independence of the Crown, but the welfare of the country and their own interests, from the ambition and overgrown power of the Douglas family, and making liberal promises if, in this hour of extremity, they would abandon the cause of the insurgent baron. These representations produced a deep impression on the mind of Lord Hamilton, and taking advantage of the contemptuous reply made by the Earl to his remonstrances against the proposal to postpone till next day an attack on the royal army—'If you are afraid or tired, you may depart when you please'—the politic noble took Douglas at his word, and that very night passed over to the King with all his retainers. The other insurgent leaders, who had a high opinion of Lord Hamilton's prudence and sagacity, so generally followed his example that, before morning, the rebel camp was almost deserted. The complete overthrow of the formidable house of Douglas speedily followed: their vast estates were distributed among the supporters of the royal cause; and Lord Hamilton, whose timely desertion of the 'Black Douglases' had mainly contributed to their destruction, was rewarded with a large share of their forfeited possessions. He became thenceforth one of the most trusted councillors of his grateful sovereign, was frequently employed by him on important embassies to England, and, in 1474, he obtained the hand of the Princess Mary, the King's sister, through whom his descendants became next heirs to the crown after the Stewarts. Besides his legitimate offspring, Lord Hamilton left several natural sons, one of whom, SIR JAMES HAMILTON, of Kincael, became the father of Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Scottish Protestant Church, and was himself killed in the celebrated fight between the Douglases and the Hamiltons in the High Street of Edinburgh, in 1520.

SIR JAMES HAMILTON, the son of Lord Hamilton and the Princess Mary, was created EARL OF ARRAN, in 1503, by his cousin, James IV., and obtained at the same time a grant of the island which still

forms a part of the extensive estates of the family. He was also created a privy councillor, and was one of the nobles employed to negotiate a marriage between the King and the Princess Margaret of England. In the following year he was appointed to the command of the auxiliary force of ten thousand men, which James sent to assist the King of Denmark in his hostilities with the Norwegians and Swedes. He was subsequently sent as ambassador to France, and was also placed at the head of the force despatched to the assistance of Louis XII. of France, who, in return for the valuable aid thus rendered him, settled a pension on the Earl for life. After the death of the Scottish King on the fatal field of Flodden, Arran was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of regent, which was conferred upon the Duke of Albany, and he revenged himself for his disappointment by thwarting the Government at every turn, and fomenting dissensions among the nobles. On the departure of the Regent for France, in 1517, and again in 1524, after Albany's final retirement to the Continent, Arran was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and had the chief direction of public affairs. But he was utterly destitute of the energy and wisdom of his father, and proved himself a weak, facile, and factious ruler. He was constantly at feud with the Douglasses, now represented by the Earl of Angus, the second husband of Queen Margaret; and in the famous skirmish of 'Clear the Causeway,' which took place in the High Street of Edinburgh, in 1520, the Hamiltons, who provoked the contest, were completely defeated. Several of their chiefs and seventy of their men were killed, and Arran himself, along with his natural son, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, the principal instigator of the quarrel, with difficulty made their escape through the North Loch on a coal-horse, from which they threw its load.

Arran's facile character was productive of great injury both to his family and his country, and his legitimate offspring all bore their father's image. But his natural son, James Hamilton of Finnart, was a person of remarkable energy, and was the principal architect in Scotland of his time. He was a great favourite with James V., who appointed him Cup-bearer and Steward of the Royal Household, and Master of Works to the King. He superintended the erection of the palaces of Falkland and Linlithgow; and, under his direction, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Blackness, and the palace of Holyrood were enlarged and adorned. The King, whose fine taste in architecture, sculpture, and painting enabled him to appreciate

Hamilton's merits, bestowed on him several valuable estates, among others the lands of Draphen in Lanarkshire, on which Sir James erected the strong and stately castle of Craignethan—the Tillietudlem of 'Old Mortality.' His character, however, was stained by numerous acts of cruelty and oppression, into which his fierce and passionate temper hurried him. He took a prominent part in the sanguinary persecution of the Protestants at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and no hand was more deeply stained than his with the blood of his own relative, the saintly Patrick Hamilton, who suffered martyrdom in 1528. He ultimately fell into disgrace at Court, was accused of treason and embezzlement, and having been found guilty, was beheaded in 1540. He was undoubtedly the ablest and most accomplished man the house of Hamilton has ever produced; and if he had occupied the position of his feeble father, and still feebler brother, he would have been the supreme ruler of Scotland during the troubled minority of James V. and his daughter, the ill-starred Queen Mary.

JAMES HAMILTON, the second Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault, was unanimously chosen regent of the kingdom on the death of James V., in right of his proximity of blood to the infant Queen, and was declared heir-presumptive to the Crown. He was in every way a poor creature, the very essence of weakness and pusillanimity, facile in character and conduct, blown about by every wind of public opinion and feeling, 'everything by turns, and nothing long;' changing from Romanism to Protestantism and from Protestantism to Romanism; alternately the tool of Lord Burleigh and of Cardinal Beaton; and, by his combined feebleness and fickleness, he brought great misery on the country. At the outset of his career he professed himself friendly to the Reformed faith, and authorised the translation of the Bible into the language of the common people. He entered into an alliance with Henry VIII. of England, promised to support the schemes of that monarch, and concluded a treaty with him for a marriage between Prince Edward, Henry's son, and the infant Queen of the Scots. In a short time, however, he was gained over by Cardinal Beaton to the Roman Catholic party and faith, and was induced by that astute prelate to renounce the friendship of England and to enter into a league with France. The consequence of this vacillating policy was the invasion of Scotland by an English army under the Earl of Hertford, the sanguinary defeat of the

Scottish army at Pinkie, which was entirely owing to the mismanagement and unskilful generalship of the governor, and the devastation of the whole of Scotland south of the Forth. Arran was rewarded for his services to the French king by the title of Duke of Chatelherault and a liberal pension; but he was compelled, in 1554, to resign the regency of the kingdom, which was conferred by the Parliament on Mary of Guise, the Queen's mother. A few years afterwards the fickle nobleman joined the Lords of the Congregation, and employed all his influence in support of the Reformed faith. He opposed the marriage of Queen Mary with Darnley, and was, in consequence, obliged to leave the kingdom. After the murder of that ill-fated Prince, and the abdication of Mary, the Duke made a fresh attempt to regain the supreme rule of affairs, but was compelled to submit to the authority of the Regent Moray, who committed him and Lord Herries—a zealous partisan of the Queen—prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, and they did not obtain their release till after the murder of the 'Good Regent.'

'The conduct of the Hamiltons,' says Mr. Froude, 'for the ten past years, had been uniformly base. They had favoured the Reformation while there was a hope of marrying the heir of their house to Elizabeth. When this hope failed, they tried to secure Mary Stewart for him; and when she declined the honour, they thought of carrying her off by force. Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews (illegitimate brother of the Duke of Chatelherault), had been a party to the murder of Darnley. He had divorced Bothwell and helped the Queen to marry him, in the hope that she would ruin herself. When she was at Lochleven, the House of Hamilton would have voted for her death if their title to the crown had been recognised. Had they won at Langside, she was to have repaid their services by marrying the Abbot of Arbroath. A steady indifference to every interest but their own, a disregard of every obligation of justice or honour, if they could secure the crown of Scotland to their lineage, had given a consistency to the conduct of the Hamiltons beyond what was to be found in any other Scottish family. No scruples of religion had disturbed them, no loyalty to their sovereign, no care or thought for the public interests of their country. Through good and evil, through truth and lies, through intrigues and bloodshed, they worked their way to the one object of a base ambition.'

The Regent Moray was the great obstacle to the accomplishment of their dark designs, and must be put out of the way. His assassination

was planned by them, and was executed by a member of the family, who fired the fatal shot from a house belonging to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, an illegitimate son of the first Earl of Arran, who was afterwards most deservedly hanged on the Bridge of Stirling for his complicity in this execrable murder. This foul deed was as useless to its projectors as it was mischievous in its immediate consequences to the country. It did not open a road to the throne to the Hamiltons, but it gave over Scotland to three years of anarchy and bloodshed, for which they were mainly responsible.

As James, the third Earl of Arran, who succeeded his father in 1575, had become insane, the real head of the family at this critical period was LORD JOHN HAMILTON, commendator of the rich Abbey of Arbroath, who was a candidate for the hand of Queen Mary, and was deep in the councils of the Queen's party during the civil war between them and the 'King's men,' and an accomplice in all their worst deeds. Condign punishment at length overtook him and the other members of the family. They were attainted and driven into exile in 1579 by the Earl of Morton, and their estates were confiscated and conferred, along with the title of Earl of Arran, on the infamous Captain James Stewart ('A notorious scoundrel,' says Froude), who was a descendant in the female line of the first Earl. The honours and estates of the family were, however, restored in 1585, and Lord John became a great favourite of King James, by whom he was created MARQUIS OF HAMILTON in 1599. Like his predecessors, he left a numerous progeny, illegitimate as well as legitimate. His son JAMES HAMILTON, the second Marquis of Hamilton and Earl of Cambridge in the English peerage, died at Whitehall in his thirty-sixth year, a few days before King James, and was popularly believed to have been poisoned by the Duke of Buckingham.

JAMES HAMILTON, third Marquis and first Duke of Hamilton, had the misfortune to have his lot cast in the 'troubulous times' of the Great Civil War, and was led to take a prominent but most unfortunate part in the contest between Charles I. and the Covenanters. In his twenty-fourth year he was appointed to the command of the auxiliary force of six thousand six hundred men, whom Charles I. sent to fight under the famous Gustavus Adolphus in the cause of the Elector Palatine, brother-in-law of the English King, and distinguished himself by his bravery in several important sieges and battles. It was

probably owing to the reputation which he gained in this service that Charles appointed the Marquis of Hamilton to the command of the fleet which he sent against the Scottish Covenanters in 1639. It was on this occasion that the mother of the Marquis, a daughter of the Earl of Glencairn, a lady of bold and masculine spirit, and a zealous Covenanter, appeared among the patriotic volunteers with pistols at her saddle-bow, and declared that she would be the first to shoot her son if he should dare to land his forces and attack his countrymen.

It was to the Marquis of Hamilton that Charles entrusted, as his High Commissioner, the arduous and, indeed, hopeless task of persuading the Covenanters to abandon their League and Covenant, and to support him in his contest with the English Parliament. Hamilton's policy was timorous and trimming; his attempts to overreach the Presbyterians were easily seen through and foiled; and, in spite alike of his promised concessions and his threats, they persevered in their determination to overthrow the Episcopal system, and to establish Presbyterianism in its room. And, finally, their distrust of Charles and his ministers, and their sympathy with the Parliamentary party, induced them to send an army to the assistance of the patriots in their contest with the King. Montrose had recommended, but in vain, that a prompt and vigorous policy should be adopted, and had predicted that the result of Hamilton's timid counsels would be that 'the traitors would be allowed time to raise their armies, and all would be lost.' Montrose's enthusiastic admirer and biographer, Sheriff Napier, broadly accuses Hamilton of treachery to the cause of his royal master. There is no reason, however, to believe that the luckless noble, who had shortly before been created a duke, was guilty of anything worse than weakness, vacillation, and trickery. He was ambitious of an office which he was not competent to fill, and undertook a task which it was greatly beyond his abilities to perform. His wavering, trimming policy earned him the distrust of both parties, and contributed not a little to the ruin of the royal cause. King Charles was so much provoked by his failure, that he sent the Duke a prisoner to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall, and afterwards to St. Michael's Mount, where he was confined till the end of April, 1646. After the downfall of the monarchy, the Duke exerted all his influence to promote the 'Engagement' entered into by the Scottish Parliament to raise an army for the relief of the King. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the hastily-levied, imperfectly-armed, and ill-disciplined body of troops, fourteen thousand strong,

which marched into England for this purpose, but were defeated at Preston, and ultimately compelled to surrender. The Duke was tried (February 6th, 1649), as Earl of Cambridge and an English subject, on the charge of having levied war against the people of England, and was found guilty and executed on the 9th of March. Sir Walter Scott makes John Gudyill, the butler at Tillietudlem, say of the Duke that he 'lost his heart before he lost his head;' and that his brother and successor was 'but wersh parritch, neither gude to fry, boil, nor sup cauld.'

WILLIAM HAMILTON, Earl of Lanark, second Duke and fourth Marquis of Hamilton, supported the royal cause like his brother, and was equally unfortunate. He accompanied Charles II. to Scotland, in 1650, and when the march into England was decided on in 1651, he joined the army on the way with a strong body of horse, and shared in all the hardships and perils of that ill-chosen and disastrous enterprise. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Worcester (September 12th, 1651), where he fought with conspicuous bravery, and died nine days after. As neither he nor his brother left any male issue, the titles and estates of the family devolved upon the daughter of the first Duke (Duchess Anne), who became the wife of William, second son of the Marquis of Douglas; and on the death of the Duke of Douglas in 1761, without issue, James, fourth Duke of Hamilton, a descendant of Duchess Anne and Lord William Douglas, became heir-male and head of that 'great old house.'





THE HAMILTON-DOUGLASES.

LORD WILLIAM DOUGLAS, who married the heiress of the Hamilton family, was created Earl of Selkirk, Lord Daer and Shortcleuch, in 1644, when he was only ten years of age, and, at the Restoration, he was made Duke of Hamilton for life. His Grace frequently opposed the measures of the Court during the reign of Charles II., but his opposition even to the most flagrant acts of tyranny was timid and feeble. King James appointed him a privy councillor and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and he was implicated in many of the unjustifiable acts of the Scottish Privy Council at that period. He refused, however, to support the dispensing power claimed by the King. He was 'a faithful and loyal subject,' he said, 'but there was a limit imposed by conscience.' On the landing of the Prince of Orange, he headed the procession of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen who waited upon William at Whitehall, and he presided at their meeting held immediately after, when they resolved to request the Prince to assume the government of Scotland. Although his abilities were but moderate, and his political career by no means straightforward or consistent, he was selected by the Whig party as their leader, on account of his illustrious descent and vast influence. After a keen contest, he was elected President of the Convention at Edinburgh, in 1689, which declared that James had forfeited the throne. When the convention was formed into a Parliament, Hamilton was nominated Lord High Commissioner. He was appointed President of the Council and Lord High Admiral of Scotland; but he quarrelled with the Court, and retired for a considerable time into private life. He was ultimately reconciled to the Government, however, and having consented to quit his retreat, he was appointed Lord High Commissioner

to the Parliament of 1693. The Duke was a man of fair abilities and respectable character, tried by the low political standard of the day; but he was fickle, false, and greedy, and so provoked King William by his factious conduct, that he exclaimed on one occasion, 'I wish to Heaven that Scotland were a thousand miles off, and that the Duke of Hamilton were king of it; then I should be rid of them both.' Bishop Burnet says, 'The Duke wanted all sorts of polishing. He was rough and sullen, but candid and sincere [a great mistake]. His temper was boisterous, neither fit to submit nor to govern.' The Duke died in April, 1694, in the sixtieth year of his age. One of his younger sons became Earl of Selkirk, another Earl of Ruglen, and a third Earl of Orkney. His eldest son—

JAMES, fourth Duke of Hamilton, was born in 1658. After completing his education at the University of Glasgow, he made a tour on the Continent, and on his return, in 1679, he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber by Charles II., with whom he was a favourite on account of his humour and wit. In 1683 he was nominated Ambassador Extraordinary to France, and served in two campaigns as aide-de-camp to the French King Louis XIV. On leaving France, after the death of Charles II. in 1685, he was warmly recommended to his successor by Louis himself. The Earl of Arran, as he was then called, received from King James the office of Master of the Wardrobe, in addition to his former post, the command of the Royal Regiment of Horse, and a part of the forfeited estates of the Stewarts of Coltness, who were stripped of their property on account of their adherence to the Presbyterian Church.

When the Revolution took place, Arran adhered to the cause of the exiled monarch, while his father, the Duke, according to a course of policy common at that period, supported the claims of King William, so that whatever might be the result, the family titles and estates were safe. Arran was deeply implicated in Montgomery's plot for the restoration of the Stewart family, and was twice confined to the Tower on suspicion of treason. On regaining his liberty, he returned to Scotland and spent several years there in retirement. The death of his father, in 1694, brought him no accession of title or estate, as both were possessed by his mother, who survived till 1717. But, in 1698, the Duchess resigned the family dignities into the hands of King William, who immediately conferred them on her son, to the no small surprise and disappointment

of the friends of the Government, as the disaffection of Arran was notorious. During the excitement connected with the failure of the Darien expedition, the Duke acquired great popularity by heading the opposition to the ministry, and strenuously supporting the claims of the African Company. On the accession of Queen Anne, he protested against the legality of the meeting of the Convention Parliament, affirming that it ought to have been dissolved on the death of the King, and withdrew from the House, followed by seventy-nine of the members, a step which was warmly resented by the Queen. His Grace took an active part in the discussions respecting the union of the two kingdoms, and was regarded as the leader of the opposition to that measure. But he suddenly abandoned his party at a critical moment—through treachery, it was alleged, but more probably through fickleness and timidity—and, by his desertion, completely paralysed their movements. He continued to keep up a correspondence with the exiled monarch; but his attachment to James was not sufficiently strong to induce him to run much risk for his sake, for, on learning that a descent was about to be made on Scotland, the Duke retired to his estates in Staffordshire, and on the appearance of the French fleet on the coast, he was taken into custody and carried up to London. On the overthrow of the Whig ministry, in 1710, various offices and honours were bestowed upon the cautious and time-serving nobleman, and he was, in the following year, created a British peer by the titles of Duke of Brandon and Baron Dutton. But a considerable number of the members of the Upper House offered violent resistance to this step; and after a long and keen debate, it was decided that no Scottish peer who was created a British peer since the Union had a right to a seat in the House of Lords. This resolution, though quite illegal, was not rescinded till 1782, when Douglas, eighth Duke of Hamilton, was permitted to take his seat in the House of Lords as Duke of Brandon. In 1712 Duke James was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, and received the Order of the Garter in addition to that of the Thistle, which had been conferred on him by King James. His Grace was shortly after nominated Ambassador Extraordinary to France, but before he could set out for the French Court, he lost his life in a duel (November, 1712) with Lord Mohun, an odious villain already stained with several murders.

The Jacobites, who had formed great expectations from the

Duke's mission, went so far as to affirm that Mohun had been instigated by some members of the Whig party to challenge the Duke, and that the unfortunate nobleman was killed not by his antagonist, who also fell in the *rencontre*, but by General Macartney, Mohun's second, who fled to the Continent, and remained abroad for several years. He ultimately surrendered himself, and was tried, in 1716, and acquitted of the charge of murder, but was found guilty of homicide. The Duke resembled his predecessors both in the mediocrity of his talents and the fickleness of his disposition. Mackay, who gave him credit for bravery and good sense, speaks of his 'black, coarse complexion,' and rough manners, and adds, 'He is very forward and hot for what he undertakes, ambitious and haughty, and a violent enemy.' The character of the Duke is portrayed by Thackeray in his novel of 'Esmond.' His son—

JAMES, fifth Duke of Hamilton, and second Duke of Brandon, succeeded his father when he was only ten years of age, and died in 1743, in his forty-first year. The only noteworthy incident in the life of his son—

JAMES, sixth Duke of Hamilton, and third Duke of Brandon, was his marriage to Elizabeth Gunning, one of the two celebrated beauties, who, after his death, in his thirty-fourth year, married John, fifth Duke of Argyll, and was the mother of four dukes—two of Hamilton and two of Argyll—and was created a peeress of Great Britain in 1766, by the title of Baroness Hamilton. Her eldest son—

JAMES GEORGE, seventh Duke of Hamilton, on the death of the Duke of Douglas, in 1761, became the male representative and head of the house of Douglas. His guardians made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain for him possession of the family estates. (*See THE DOUGLASES.*) He died in 1769, in his fifteenth year, and was succeeded by his brother—

DOUGLAS, eighth Duke of Hamilton and fifth Duke of Brandon, who was a zealous and influential supporter of the Government of his day, and, in return, had honours and offices heaped upon him. He died in 1799, without issue, and was succeeded by his uncle—

LORD ARCHIBALD HAMILTON, who inherited, through his mother—

daughter of Edward Spencer of Rendlesham—and grandmother—daughter of Digby, Lord Gerard—extensive estates in the counties of Suffolk, Lancaster, and Stafford. His elder son—

ALEXANDER, tenth Duke of Hamilton and seventh of Brandon, who succeeded his father in 1819, was noted for his taste in the fine arts, the vast sums of money which he spent in the improvement of his estates and the embellishment of his princely mansion, and no less for his pride in his family and position. He was appointed by the Ministry of 'All the Talents,' in 1806, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, but resigned when they went out of office. He married the youngest daughter of William Beckford, of Fonthill Abbey, author of 'Vathek' and other works, through whom he inherited the Beckford library, and many rare and precious heirlooms. He died in 1852 at the age of eighty-five. His younger brother, LORD ARCHIBALD HAMILTON, who represented the county of Lanark from 1802 till his death in 1827, was distinguished for his patriotic spirit and his earnest efforts in the cause of burgh reform in Scotland.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER ANTHONY ARCHIBALD, eleventh Duke of Hamilton and eighth Duke of Brandon, married, in 1845, the Princess Marie of Baden, cousin-german of the French Emperor, Napoleon III., from whom he succeeded in obtaining a recognition of his right to the title of Duke of Chatelherault, conferred on the Regent Arran, in 1548, which was also claimed by the Marquis of Abercorn, as the representative in the male line of the Hamilton family. Duke William lost his life by falling down the stairs in a hotel in Paris, in 1863, in the fifty-second year of his age, and was succeeded by his elder son—

WILLIAM ALEXANDER LOUIS STEPHEN, twelfth Duke of Hamilton and ninth Duke of Brandon, born in 1845.

When the Duke came of age, I said of him that 'there are few positions in life more influential and—if (as Lord Bacon affirms) "power to good be the true and lawful end of aspiring"—more desirable, than that which is occupied by the youthful heir of the house of Hamilton.' The head of the most illustrious of our historical families, whose origin is hid in the mists of antiquity, and whose deeds are interwoven with the most momentous events in the history

of our country; the possessor of the highest rank and of titles unrivalled as regards both their number and their renown—a triple dukedom, a triple marquissate, four earldoms, and seven baronies; premier peer of Scotland, male heir of the ‘doughty Douglases,’ the representative in the female line of the ‘princely Hamiltons’—at one time the heirs, after the Stewarts, to the Scottish crown—owner of their vast estates extending over four counties, situated for the most part in the richest districts of the kingdom, and yielding a rental of £157,602 a year, what wants this young patrician that a king would have? The influence which such a man might exercise for good on his tenantry and the peasantry on his estates is almost unbounded. In the days of old the heads of the great houses of Douglas and Hamilton were to be found wherever Scotland required their services, at home or abroad, in the council-chamber or on the battlefield. They laid down their lives in many a bloody fight in defence of their country’s independence and freedom; and their exploits in England, France, and Spain, as well as on their native soil, have been celebrated by the greatest writers in the English language. In later times they have been noted as excellent and liberal landlords, living among, and kindly caring for the welfare of, their kinsmen and retainers, and exerting themselves to promote the improvement of the agriculture and manufactures of the country. They upheld the banner of the ‘good old cause’ in the dark days when it seemed hopelessly crushed beneath the iron heel of last century’s Toryism, and Parliamentary and burgh reform in Scotland are indissolubly associated with the exertions and the memory of Lord Archibald Hamilton, the grand-uncle of the present representative of the family. There have been—and it is matter for thankfulness that there are still in our country—great landowners, like the Duke of Buccleuch, who have shown themselves much more careful to discharge faithfully the duties of their high position than to exact rigorously their rents and rights—men who might have sat for the portrait of the public benefactor portrayed in the sacred Scriptures, and of whom it might be said, as it was of him, ‘When the ear heard them then it blessed them, and when the eye saw them it gave witness to them, because they delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon them, and they caused the widow’s heart to sing for joy.’ The memory of such men is blessed, and will be held in everlasting remembrance.

Unfortunately, there have been of late examples of noble and territorial magnates of another and very different kind, who have thrown away or utterly neglected the great opportunities of doing good which their rank, social position, and extensive possessions afforded, and whose names are associated with no service done to their country, no scheme of public usefulness, no deed of benevolence. They are negligent alike of their duties as legislators and as landlords—content to live lives of indolence or of fashionable dissipation, and at last go down to their tombs ‘unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.’ The public hope better things of the young possessor of the Hamilton titles and estates; but he must remember that it is not a hurried visit to his ancestral mansion, or a brief sojourn at Brodick while the grouse are in season, that will be regarded by the public as compensation for systematic absenteeism during eleven months in the year. Nor can small sums of money or a few cartloads of coals and pounds of tea doled out to the poor at Christmas, be accepted in lieu of the generous hospitality which such ‘large-acred men’ are bound, in virtue of their wealth and rank, to extend to their neighbours, and for the personal kindness which it is their duty to show to their dependents. In the well-known words of the lamented Edward Drummond, ‘Property has its duties as well as its right,’ a maxim not always kept in mind and acted on by the young patricians of the present day, much to the loss of the tenantry and the labourers on their estates, and not much to their own credit or profit. The Duke of Hamilton is now at the most critical point of his career. As our national poet said of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV.—

‘He may do weel for a’ he’s dune yet,
But only he’s no just begun yet.’

A recent authoritative announcement has made known to the public that the Duke has been relieved from the heavy pecuniary embarrassments in which he was involved at the outset of his career by his own thoughtlessness and inexperience. He has it, therefore, in his power now to start without hindrance on a career of usefulness and honour. It is hoped that he will henceforth ‘shun false delights and live laborious days’ in the diligent discharge of the duties incumbent on him as a landlord and a legislator; and that, carefully avoiding the ‘primrose path of dalliance,’ he will follow the course which is dictated alike by duty and self-interest, and by a regard to the honour of his family, the welfare of his dependents, and the good of his country.

It is, unfortunately, only too well known to the whole country how grievously these hopes have been disappointed. The Duke, who is now forty-three years of age, married in 1873 the eldest daughter of the seventh Duke of Manchester, but he still persists in neglecting his duties both as a legislator and a landlord. He is a stranger in his ancestral halls, and his neighbours, his tenants and retainers, are not known to him even by sight. In no part of his Grace's conduct is his habitual disregard of the claims, alike of his own dependents and of the public at large, more conspicuous than in the mode in which he employs his power as the proprietor of a large portion of Arran. That beautiful island is apparently regarded by him as a hunting-park or preserve for the exclusive use of himself and a few congenial companions, from which visitors are, as far as possible, to be excluded, and where even the natives are allowed to remain only on sufferance. The Duke scarcely ever sets foot in Arran, or sees the face of a tenant or crofter there, except for a few weeks in the shooting season. And yet, in order that his privacy during this brief visit may not be intruded on, or his game run the risk of being disturbed, he does everything in his power to entirely exclude his countrymen of all classes from the island. Arran is well known to be the finest of all the watering-places on the west coast of Scotland, whether the beauty and variety of its scenery is considered, or its bracing air and unrivalled facilities for sea-bathing. It is a favourite resort of the geologist and the botanist, as well as of the tourist and the invalid in search of health. But one and all are regarded as a nuisance by its lordly proprietor; and since they cannot be forcibly expelled, every expedient is tried to make their residence in the island uncomfortable and even dangerous. For the purpose of preventing the erection of new and commodious houses, feu charters are peremptorily refused, and sites can be obtained only on a yearly lease, so that the owner is always liable to ejection. The result is that thousands of the citizens of Glasgow, of all classes, who year after year repair to Arran to enjoy its splendid scenery and to recruit their health, are compelled to take up their residence in overcrowded little dens of houses, most unhealthy as well as uncomfortable. Even at Lamlash, which is a good many miles distant from Brodick Castle, and is one of the most popular watering places on the Clyde, permission cannot be obtained even to erect a pier for the accommodation of the crowds of visitors who frequent it, and who are consequently compelled at low tide to land

in small boats, always inconvenient and not unfrequently dangerous. And when they do reach the shore, visitors have no resource but to take up their quarters in what is significantly called 'The Colliers' Row,' or in some miserable low-roofed, smoky little croft-house on the hill-side or in a narrow glen. Such treatment of the citizens of Glasgow is peculiarly unworthy in the representative of a house whose chiefs in former days used to manifest a warm interest in the prosperity of that great commercial emporium, and were proud of their connection with it. It is no less ungrateful than unwise, for surely the owner of estates, whose value has been enormously increased through the trade and commerce of the large towns, is under peculiar obligations to do all in his power to promote the health and comfort of their teeming, toil-worn population. Such an abuse of the rights of property as the Duke persists in perpetrating in this case is fraught with imminent peril to his order, and he and landowners of his class would do well, for their own sakes, to desist from such a high-handed use of their proprietary rights as will raise the delicate and dangerous question whether the Legislature is not bound, from a regard to the public welfare, to interfere with their management, and to restrict their power over their estates.

The pecuniary affairs of the Duke of Hamilton have been brought so prominently before the public by his own proceedings, that there need be no hesitation in referring to them here. It transpired in the course of a lawsuit which he instituted against his late agent, three or four years ago, that the Duke's liabilities amounted, at that time, to about a million and a half of money. In order to lessen somewhat this burden, his Grace has sold by auction in London the magnificent collection of paintings and rare and costly articles of *virtu*, probably unrivalled in Britain, which descended to him from his ancestors. It brought the large sum of £162,452. The splendid Beckford Library was next brought to the hammer. The sale, which occupied forty days, extended over a period of eighteen months, and realised £73,500. The Duke has obtained the disentail of the whole of his estates, and now holds them in fee.

Of the painful career of the Duke's younger brother, Charles, who died in 1886, it is unnecessary to say anything,* but his only sister, Lady Mary Victoria, has had a peculiar career. She was married, in the year 1869, to the eldest son of the reigning

* See *Under the Lens*, by E. C. Grenville Murray.

Prince of Monaco. After bearing a son to him she left him, and took up her residence in Paris with her mother. In 1880 she applied to the Papal Consistory for the dissolution of her marriage with the Prince, on the plea that she had never in her heart consented to be his wife. She alleged that she had been forced to marry him by her mother and the Emperor Louis Napoleon, but that, while the marriage ceremony was proceeding, she kept saying to herself, 'I will not marry him; he shall not be my husband.' On this plea the marriage was declared null and void by the Papal Court, and Lady Mary very soon thereafter espoused Count Tasselo Festetics, a Hungarian nobleman.

The most ancient cadet of the house of Hamilton is the family of Hamilton of Preston and Fingalton, represented by Colonel Sir William Hamilton, son of the late Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, one of the most eminent metaphysicians in Europe. But the DUKE OF ABERCORN is the head of the most influential branch of the ducal family. Its founder, LORD CLAUD HAMILTON, was the fourth son of the second Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault. He was created a peer by James VI., and received from that monarch a grant of the barony of Paisley, from which he derived his title of Baron Paisley. This donation was followed by the gift of the rich Abbey of Paisley, which was sold by one of his descendants; but the Duke still retains 662 acres in Renfrewshire, a remnant of these grants. JAMES HAMILTON, eldest son of Lord Paisley, was created by King James EARL OF ABERCORN, a place with which the Hamiltons had no connection; it seemed to have been chosen for his title because there the founder of the house deserted the Earl of Douglas, and thus greatly contributed to the downfall of the Douglas family. Lord Abercorn was one of the Scotsmen who followed James to England, and profited so largely by the liberality of the British Solomon that he obtained no less than 51,919 acres in Tyrone and 15,860 in Donegal out of the forfeited estates of the old Irish chieftains. Claud, a younger brother of this Earl, obtained a grant of 400 acres in Longford, and 2,000 acres in the barony of Strabane. In 1634 he was created by Charles I. LORD HAMILTON, and BARON OF STRABANE, in the peerage of Ireland. On the resignation of these honours by his elder brother, Sir George, Count of France (another fortunate younger son of Lord Abercorn, who

married Frances Jennings, sister of the famous Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough), he obtained grants of land in Tyrone and Tipperary, and after the Restoration, in 1660, he received other donations of lands in Cork, besides which several lucrative offices were conferred upon him. The eldest son of Sir George Hamilton, who was one of the favourites of Charles II., obtained the grant of an estate in Meath, and £900 a year out of the first-fruits and tenths of the dioceses of St. David's, Hereford, Oxford, and Worcester. His eldest son, James Hamilton, who was one of the Privy Councillors of James VII., and enjoyed his confidence, abandoned the cause of that wrongheaded and ill-fated monarch in the hour of his utmost need, went over to the side of the Prince of Orange, and took a prominent part in raising the siege of Londonderry. CLAUD HAMILTON, fourth Earl of Abercorn, unlike his self-seeking and politic kinsman, adhered firmly to the cause of James after the Revolution of 1688, accompanied him when he came from France to Ireland, and upon his arrival in Dublin was sworn a member of the Privy Council. After the defeat of James at the battle of the Boyne, the Earl embarked with him to return to France, but lost his life during the voyage. He was attainted, and his estates were forfeited for his adherence to the Jacobite cause; but his brother, Charles, who succeeded him in his earldom, obtained a reversal of the attainder. On his death, without issue, the titles and estates devolved upon the Captain James Hamilton who abandoned the cause of King James when it became evident that it was the losing side. Services so well timed as his were sure to meet with a liberal reward. He was created BARON MOUNTCASTLE and VISCOUNT STRABANE, and lucrative offices—civil, military, and ecclesiastical—were bestowed upon his family. His grandson, the eighth Earl, about the year 1745, purchased the estate of Duddingstone, near Edinburgh, which had passed by marriage from the Lauderdale to the Argyll family, and erected on it a mansion that cost £30,000. He was created a British peer in 1786 by the title of VISCOUNT HAMILTON. His nephew, the ninth Earl, was made a marquis in 1790, and was succeeded by his grandson, who held the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1866-68, and again in 1874-76, and was created DUKE OF ABERCORN in 1868. His Grace died in October, 1885, in his seventy-fifth year. The family estates comprise 69,949 acres, with a rent-roll of £45,954.



THE CAMPBELLS OF ARGYLL.



ARGYLLSHIRE is one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most picturesque counties of Scotland, its scenery combining the beautiful, the grand, and the sublime. The 'great and wide sea' which washes its shores; its magnificent lochs stretching far into the interior, fringed with woods or surrounded with steep rocks; its lofty and rugged mountains lifting their grey heads to the skies; its extensive moors, deep ravines, and waterfalls, and quiet pastoral straths, each watered by its own clear and softly flowing stream, make Argyllshire an object of great attraction to the visitor and of strong attachment to the native. It is also to be regarded as the cradle of the Scottish race, who made their first settlement in Scotland on its western shores; and one of its islands, which was designated 'The light of the western world,' 'The gem of the ocean,' was the place whence, in the words of Samuel Johnson, 'savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion.' The daring Vikings who, a thousand years ago, ruled with almost royal authority the western shores of Argyllshire, and whose shattered but picturesque strongholds attest, even in ruins, the power of their founders, have ages ago passed away, leaving no representatives, and their successors, the famous Lords of the Isles, who for centuries reigned in the Western Isles, as virtually independent princes, have followed, and even their memory has almost perished. The head of the great Clan Donald, who claimed descent from these powerful chieftains, retains only a remnant of their ancient possessions, and the other old clans of Argyllshire have shared their fate.

The first Lords of Lorne were the M'Dougalls, descended from Dugal, youngest son of the mighty Somerled; but, unfortunately for themselves and their country, they embraced the side of the English

invaders in the Scottish War of Independence, and after a desperate struggle, in which they oftener than once put the life of Robert Bruce in imminent peril, they were stripped of their power and their extensive territory; and now the ruined stronghold of Dunolly, and an estate yielding only £1,300 a year, are all that remain to their present lineal representative. The M'Dougalls have, however, in later times, generation after generation, earned distinction in the service of their country. The heir of the family, nearly seventy years ago, fell fighting gallantly in Spain, under the Duke of Wellington—a death, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, worthy of his ancestors.

The Stewarts of Lorne, a family of royal lineage, succeeded the M'Dougalls in their power and vast possessions in Argyllshire, and they in their turn gave place to the Campbells, who have for several centuries been the predominant clan in this county. Beginning as simple lairds of Lochaw, the chiefs of the race of Diarmid have, by dint of remarkable ability, shrewdness, energy, and good fortune, not only absorbed, one after another, the smaller clans of Lorne and Kintyre—the M'Naughtons, who once were masters of those beautiful valleys through which the Aray and the Shiray flow to Loch Fyne, and the M'Alisters and the M'Fies—but have also ousted the once powerful clan Donald from the supremacy which they long held in the Western Islands. 'It was said,' Lord Macaulay remarks, 'that MacCallum More after MacCallum More had with unwearied, unscrupulous, and unrelenting ambition annexed mountain after mountain, and island after island to the original domains of his house. Some tribes had been expelled from their territory, some compelled to pay tribute, some incorporated with their conquerors. It was still constantly repeated in verse and prose that the finest part of the domain belonging to the ancient heads of the Gaelic nation—Islay where they had lived with the pomp of royalty, Iona where they had been interred with the pomp of religion, the Paps of Jura, the rich peninsula of Kintyre—had been transferred from the legitimate possessors to the insatiable MacCallum More.'* Throughout their long career the Campbells have always been staunch supporters of the cause which, whatever temporary reverses it might suffer, was sure to win in the end—the cause of the independence of Scotland against foreign aggression; the cause of Protestantism against Popery and of freedom against despotism. Hence, in spite of repeated forfeitures, and temporary ruin (to say nothing of a spendthrift Mac-

* *History of England*, iii. pp. 316—323.

Calian More, whose reckless expenditure clipped the wings of their extensive patrimony), their ancestral possessions have descended to their present owner comparatively unimpaired.

The origin of the Campbell family is hid in the mists of antiquity, and we shall not run the risk of provoking the ire either of Goth or Celt by pronouncing an opinion either on the notion of Pinkerton, who affirms that they are descended from a Norman knight, named De Campo Bello, alleged to have come to England with William the Conqueror, but of whose existence no trace can be found; or on the tales of the Sennachies, that the great ancestor of the clan was a certain Diarmid O'Dwbin, or O'Dwin, a brave warrior, who it is asserted was a contemporary of the heroes of Ossian. Suffice it to say that the earliest figure who emerges out of the Highland mist is GILLESPIE CAMPBELL, or Cambell, as the name is invariably written in the earliest charters, who married the heiress of Lochaw, and whose grandson, Sir Gillespie, witnessed the charter granted by Alexander III. to Newburgh, March 12th, 1266, more than six hundred years ago. His son, SIR COLIN, who is reckoned the seventh of the chiefs of the Campbells, was one of the nominees selected by Robert Bruce, in 1291, when his title to the crown was to be investigated. The story runs that this Sir Colin was so distinguished by his warlike achievements and the additions he made to the family estates that he obtained the surname of 'More,' or 'Great,' and that from him the chief of the clan is to this day styled in Gaelic MACCALIAN MORE, or the son of Colin the Great. Sir Colin's second son founded the earliest branch of the family—the Campbells, earls of Loudoun. His eldest son, SIR NIGEL, or NEIL, was one of the first of the Scottish barons to join Robert Bruce, and adhered with unwavering fidelity to that monarch's cause throughout the whole of his chequered career. After the disastrous battle of Methven, Bruce, with a small body of followers, took refuge in the Western Highlands, and Sir Nigel, through his influence with Angus, Lord of the Isles, secured a retreat for the hunted King in the remote district of Kintyre. Sir Nigel shared in all the subsequent struggles of the Scottish patriots for the recovery of their independence, and took part in the crowning victory of Bannockburn. He was rewarded for his fidelity and his important services with the hand of Lady Mary, Bruce's own sister, and with a grant of the forfeited estates of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol. Sir Nigel was one of the commissioners sent to York, in 1314, to negotiate a peace with England—was one of the

leading barons in the Parliament held at Ayr in 1315, when the succession to the crown was settled, and obtained from his royal brother-in-law a charter, under the Great Seal, of several estates. By his wife, Lady Mary Bruce, Sir Nigel had three sons, the second of whom, John, was created Earl of Athol, and succeeded to the extensive possessions of that earldom, in accordance with the grant made by his uncle. He fell, however, at the battle of Halidon Hill, July 19th, 1333; and, as he left no issue, his title reverted to the crown. Sir Nigel's eldest son—

SIR COLIN, rendered important service to Edward Bruce in his Irish campaigns, and to David, son of King Robert, in assisting to expel the English invaders once more from the kingdom. It is of Sir Colin that the well-known story is told, that when marching through a wood in Ireland along with his uncle, King Robert, in February, 1317, an order was issued by that monarch that his men were on no account to quit their ranks. Sir Colin, irritated by the attacks of two English archers who discharged their arrows at him, rode after them to avenge the insult. King Robert followed, and nearly struck him from his horse with his truncheon, exclaiming, 'Come back! Your disobedience might have brought us all into peril.' In 1334 Sir Colin surprised and recovered the strong castle of Dunoon, which had been held by the English and the adherents of Edward. He was rewarded for this exploit by being appointed hereditary keeper of the castle which he had captured—an office that has descended by inheritance to the present Duke of Argyll.

For several successive generations, though nothing worthy of special notice occurred, the chiefs of the Campbell clan continued steadily to extend their territorial possessions and to augment their power. Kilmun—the last resting-place of the family—the barony of Milport, and extensive estates in Cowal, Knappdale, and Arran fell into their hands in the early part of the fourteenth century. The first of the family who received the title of Argyll was SIR DUNCAN, the great-grandson of Sir Colin and nephew of Annabella Drummond, the Queen of Robert III. He was accounted one of the wealthiest barons in Scotland, and in 1424 was one of the hostages for the payment of the expense of the maintenance of James I. during his long imprisonment in England. At this date Sir Duncan's annual revenue was set down as 1,500 merks—a larger income than that of any of the other hostages, except Lord Douglas of Dalkeith, whose

estates were valued at the same amount. He was made a Lord of Parliament in 1445, under the title of LORD CAMPBELL. He was the founder of the collegiate church of Kilmun, where he was buried in 1453. His first wife was Marjory or Mariotta Stewart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, brother of King Robert III., and Regent of the kingdom during the imprisonment of his nephew, James I., in England.* This was the second intermarriage of the House of Argyll with the royal family of Scotland. Lord Campbell's youngest son by this royal lady is the ancestor of the Campbells of Breadalbane.

COLIN, the grandson of Lord Campbell, was created EARL OF ARGYLL by James II., in 1457. By his marriage to the eldest of the three daughters and co-heiresses of John, Lord Lorne (all three married Campbells), the young Earl put an end to the feuds which for upwards of two hundred and fifty years had raged between the families of Lochaw and Lorne, and obtained the undisputed chieftainship of the county of Argyll. He acquired, in consequence of this connection, the lordship and title of Lorne from Walter Stewart, Lord Lorne and Invermeath, heir male of that lordship, in exchange for the estates of Kildoning, Baldoning, and other lands in the shires of Perth, Fife, Kinross, and Aberdeen. The galley—the ancient badge of the family of Lorne—was, in consequence of this acquisition, assumed into the Earl's hereditary coat-of-arms. 'The acquisition of Lorne,' says Dr. Fraser, 'was a favourable arrangement for the family of Argyll, as it lay adjacent to their other lands, while the Lowland possessions surrendered as an equivalent were scattered over various counties and far distant from their more important territories.' The Earl acquired extensive estates besides in Perthshire and Fifeshire, and the lordship of Campbell, with its celebrated castle near Dollar, where John Knox visited Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, and preached to him and his relatives. It continued to be a frequent residence of the family until 1644, when it was burned by the Macleans in the army of the Marquis of Montrose. At a later period he obtained a large share of the forfeited possessions of the Lord of the Isles. The most important offices at Court and in the kingdom were conferred upon him. He was frequently

* One of the charters which Duncan, Lord Campbell, received from his father-in-law was witnessed, amongst others, by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the eldest son of the renowned Hotspur, who was at that time a refugee at the Scottish court.

sent as ambassador to the English Court, and also to France. He was Master of the Royal Household, Grand Justiciary of Scotland, and eventually became Lord High Chancellor—an office which he held for a long period. This dignity, along with the lands of 'Mekell and Lettel Pincartoun,' in the barony of Dunbar, was probably bestowed upon the Earl in 1483, as a reward for his loyal adherence to James III. at the time of the conspiracy of Archibald Bell-the-Cat and other nobles, which led to the murder of the royal favourites at Lauder, in 1482. Argyll was in England at the time of the defeat and death of that unfortunate monarch at Sauchieburn, in 1488. On his return to Scotland he was at once reappointed Chancellor by James IV., who also conferred upon him the lands of Roseneath, Dumbartonshire (January 9th, 1489) which are still in the possession of the family. The mansion is one of the principal seats of the Duke of Argyll. This powerful and prosperous nobleman died in 1493. The Lords of the Isles, the mightiest of all the ancient Highland chieftains, had long possessed unquestioned supremacy in the Hebrides and throughout the mountain country of Argyllshire and Inverness-shire. But from this period their power began to wane before the rising influence of the Campbells. As late as the fifteenth century these haughty and turbulent island chieftains even disputed the authority of the kings of Scotland; but their successive rebellions were punished by successive forfeitures both of their ancient dignities and their possessions, and now that the house of Argyll had become sufficiently powerful to enforce the decrees of the King and Parliament, and had a strong interest in carrying these decrees into effect, the extensive territories which for many generations had belonged to the Lordship of the Isles were finally wrested from their ancient possessors and conferred upon the loyal clans, and especially upon the Campbells, who could now meet in the field the combined forces of all the other Western septs.

ARCHIBALD, the second Earl of Argyll, steadily pursued what may now be termed the family policy. In his father's lifetime he obtained a grant of the lands of Auchintorlie and Dunnerbok in Dumbartonshire, and of Duchall, in the county of Renfrew, forfeited by Robert, Lord Lyle. He succeeded to the great offices held by his father of Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Lord Chamberlain, and Master of the Household. He was also appointed Lord Lieutenant of the Borders, and Warden of the Marches, and largely increased the possessions of

his clan at the expense of the island chiefs. Sir John Campbell, his third son, married Muriel, daughter and heiress of Sir John Calder of Calder, or Cawdor, near Nairn, and became the founder of the branch of the clan now represented by the Earl of Cawdor.

The second Earl of Argyll commanded, with his brother-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, the right wing of the Scottish army at the sanguinary battle of Flodden, September 9th, 1513, and both Earls were left dead on the field.

COLIN, third Earl, added to the family territories the lordship of Balquhiddier, in Perthshire, the barony of Abernethy, forfeited by the Douglasses, and other valuable estates. He obtained the important office of Justice-General of Scotland, which, with the office of Master of the Household, was now made hereditary in his family. He was also appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the Borders and Warden of the Marches. He was a member of the Council of Regency during the minority of James V., and was nominated Lieutenant-General over the Isles, with the most ample powers, which he did not allow to remain unused in his suppression of the formidable rebellion of Macdonald of Lochalsh, the heir of the ancient Lords of the Isles. It was Lady Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of this Earl, whose romantic and perilous adventure is the subject of Thomas Campbell's well-known ballad of 'Glenara,' and of Miss Baillie's drama, 'The Family Legend.' This lady had been married to Maclean of Duart, a powerful and ferocious chieftain, who, conceiving a dislike to his wife, conveyed her to a small rock, still called 'The Lady's Rock,' near Lismore, which at high-water was covered by the sea. She was on the eve of being overwhelmed by the tide when she was fortunately observed and rescued by some of her father's retainers who were passing in a boat. Maclean was allowed to go through all the ceremonial of a mock funeral, but was, shortly afterwards, killed in his bed by his brother-in-law, Sir John Campbell of Calder.

John, second son of Earl Colin, was ancestor of the Campbells of Lochnell, who have, both in ancient and modern times, stood next in succession to the earldom.

ARCHIBALD, the fourth Earl of Argyll, was on his succession to the title, in 1530, appointed to all the offices held by his father and grandfather, and in 1542 obtained a charter of the King's lands of

Cardross, in Dumbartonshire, which had belonged to King Robert Bruce, who died there. Three years later he received a portion of the lands of Arrochar, part of the confiscated estates of the Earl of Lennox, an adherent of the English faction in Scotland. At the death of James V., Argyll attached himself to the party of Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who granted to him a charter of the lands of Balrudry, Pitgogar, and Blairhill, in the barony of Muckhart and shire of Perth. The charter, which is dated at St. Andrews, on the 17th August, 1543, is signed by the Cardinal, and bears to have been granted in consideration of the 'great benefits, assistance, counsel, and services' rendered by the Earl to the Cardinal and the Church, and 'especially for the protection and defence of ecclesiastical liberty, at that dangerous time when Lutheran heresies were springing up on every side, and striving to weaken and subvert ecclesiastical freedom; and for the like services to be rendered to the Church in time coming.' The Earl was one of the peers who entered into an association to oppose the marriage of the infant Queen Mary to Prince Edward of England, 'as tending to the high dishonour, perpetual skaith, damage, and ruin of the liberty and nobleness of the realm.' His own country suffered severely in the contest which ensued, and was wasted and plundered by the English and their adherents. In the year 1546 he received from Queen Mary a charter of the barony of Boquhan, in the county of Stirling.* The Earl commanded a large body of Highlanders and Islanders at the sanguinary battle of Pinkie (10th September, 1547); and, on the invasion of Scotland in the following year, he marched with a strong force to Dundee, to repel the enemy. But at this juncture, for reasons which have not been fully explained, he changed sides, became a zealous opponent of Mary of Guise and the French party, and soon after quitted the Church of Rome, and openly embraced the Protestant faith. He was indeed one of the first men of his rank in Scotland who took this step. John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, afterwards the first Protestant Archbishop of St. Andrews, became his domestic chaplain, and carefully educated his family in the principles of the Reformed religion. The Earl also signed the famous Covenant against 'Popish abominations' in 1557, and, on his deathbed, earnestly exhorted his son to support the Protestant

* A contemporary indorsation on the charter, and also on the relative precept of sasine, marks both as granted to *Archibald Roy*—that is, the *Red*; a characteristic also of the celebrated John Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, and which, as Dr. Fraser remarks, appears prominently in the present generation of the descendants of *Archibald Roy*.

doctrine, and to suppress Popish superstitions. From this time forward the house of Argyll was conspicuous among the leaders of the Reformation, and both by their great influence and exertions, and by their sufferings on behalf of the good cause, have contributed more than any other family to the ultimate triumph of the Protestant religion in Scotland.

ARCHIBALD, fifth Earl of Argyll, though a zealous Protestant, supported at first the Government of the Queen-Regent; but on her perfidious violation of the Treaty of Perth, which he helped to negotiate, he joined the Lords of the Congregation, became the faithful friend and champion of John Knox, and, along with Lord James Stewart—the one, as Douglas remarks, the most powerful, the other the most popular, leader of the Protestant party—aided in the expulsion of the French troops from the country, and in all the measures which led to the overthrow of the Romish system and the establishment of the Reformed faith in Scotland. The Earl's name appears third on the list of the nobility who subscribed the First Book of Discipline, and he was appointed by the Lords of the Congregation, along with the Earls of Glencairn and Arran, to destroy the 'remaining monuments of idolatry in the West.' On the return of Queen Mary from France in 1561, Argyll was immediately appointed a Privy Councillor, and appears to have stood high in the royal favour. In 1565, however, the English ambassador reports that 'The Queen hateth my Lord of Argyll.' He was strongly opposed to her marriage with Darnley, and united with the Earls of Moray and Glencairn and the Duke of Chatelherault, in an attempt to prevent this ill-fated match by force of arms. When the other Protestant lords were compelled to take refuge in England, Argyll retired to his own country. It was 'a far cry to Lochaw,' and he well knew that his enemies durst not attempt to follow him into the fastnesses of Argyllshire.

The Earl married one of the illegitimate daughters of James V., with whom he does not seem to have lived on very happy terms. John Knox, at the request of the Queen, made repeated attempts to reconcile the jarring couple, but with indifferent success, and their quarrels and separation caused great scandal to the Protestant party, and even drew upon them the censure of the General Assembly. The Countess of Argyll was with the Queen at supper in her closet when Rizzio was murdered (9th March, 1566), an event which led at once

to the pardon of the banished lords and their restoration to their estates. Argyll took a prominent and by no means creditable part in the events which rapidly followed. He was deeply implicated in the plot for the murder of Darnley; he signed the bond in favour of the Queen's marriage with Bothwell; he was one of the noblemen who immediately thereafter entered into an association for the defence of the infant prince against the machinations of Mary's husband; he took part in the deposition of the Queen, carried the sword of state at the coronation of her son (29th July, 1567), and concurred in the appointment of the Earl of Moray to the office of Regent. In the following year he changed sides, and joined the Queen at Hamilton on her escape from Lochleven, which he was instrumental in procuring. She appointed him Lieutenant-General of all her forces by a commission granted on the morning of the fatal battle of Langside (13th May, 1568), where he was taken prisoner. He was purposely allowed to escape, however, and retired to his own country. A few months later he was again in arms, in conjunction with the Hamiltons and Huntly, to effect the restoration of Mary, but ultimately disbanded his forces and made terms with the Regent. On the assassination of Moray, Argyll was one of the noblemen who assembled at Linlithgow, 10th April, 1570, and, along with Chatelherault and Huntly, was appointed the Queen's lieutenant in Scotland. In the following year, however, he submitted to the authority of Lennox, the new Regent, and was in Stirling attending the meeting of Parliament (September, 1571) when the town was surprised and Lennox killed by a body of the partisans of the Queen. Argyll offered himself as a candidate for the office of Regent, but the choice fell on the Earl of Mar, and Argyll was sworn a Privy Councillor. On the elevation of Morton to the Regency in November, 1572, Argyll was appointed Lord High Chancellor, and on the 17th of January, 1573, he obtained a charter of that office for life. He died of the stone, September 12, 1575, in the forty-third year of his age; and as he left no issue, was succeeded in his titles and estates by his half-brother, Sir Colin Campbell of Boquhan. As the Earl was the reverse of a weak or vacillating character, the frequency with which he changed sides during these civil broils must be ascribed to motives of self-interest and ambition, though, unlike most of his brother nobles at that period, he seems to have cherished a sincere desire to promote the welfare of his country rather than the interest of either the French or the English faction.

COLIN, sixth Earl of Argyll, soon after his accession to the earldom had a quarrel with Morton, arising out of his claim of jurisdiction as hereditary Justice-General of Scotland, and his alienation from the Regent was confirmed by his demanding the restitution of the valuable crown jewels which the Earl had obtained either from his sister-in-law, or more probably through his second wife, who was the widow of the Regent Moray. Athole and Argyll, who had quarrelled about their jurisdiction, and were on the eve of settling the matter by trial of battle, learning that the Regent intended to prosecute them for treason, united in a confederacy against him, and resolved to effect his overthrow. On the 4th of March, 1578, Argyll proceeded to Stirling, and complained loudly to the King of the oppressive and tyrannical proceedings of the Regent, and recommended James to take the government into his own hands, which was accordingly done, and Argyll was placed at the head of the Council of Twelve, appointed to assist the King, who was only twelve years of age, in the management of public affairs. The crafty ex-Regent, however, overreached his opponents, and in the course of a few weeks contrived to obtain possession of the King's person, and to regain his former supremacy. Argyll and Athole mustered their clansmen, and at the head of 7,000 men marched towards Stirling to rescue the King, but by the mediation of Bowes, the English ambassador, a compromise was effected between the hostile factions. Argyll and Lindsay agreed to enter the new council, of which Morton was the head, and on the 10th of August following, the former, on the death of Athole, was appointed Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom. But though the Earl was apparently reconciled to Morton, he co-operated with Esme Stewart, afterwards Duke of Lennox, the royal favourite, and James Stewart, who was subsequently created Earl of Arran, in undermining the influence of the ex-Regent, and was one of the jury at his trial, in June, 1581. Afterwards, however, having discovered the ulterior designs of the French faction against the Protestant faith and the independence of the kingdom, he confessed to the Ministers that he had been mistaken or misled, and joined in the bond against Lennox which led to the Raid of Ruthven and the restoration of the Protestant party to power. But, strange to say, he was soon afterwards found in the ranks of the nobles who assisted James to escape from the hands of Gowrie, Mar, and Angus, the leaders of the English faction (June, 1583). His career was now, however, near an end. He died after a long illness, in October of the following year.

Earl Colin was succeeded by his eldest son, ARCHIBALD, seventh Earl, who was then little more than eight years of age. In 1592, when he was in his seventeenth year, the young Earl married Lady Anne Douglas, fifth daughter of the Earl of Morton. Shortly after he became the object of a nefarious plot, which was directed also against his cousin, the 'bonnie Earl of Moray.' The principal conspirators were the Chancellor Maitland, the Earl of Huntly, the hereditary enemy of the Moray family, Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, John, Lord Maxwell, and Campbell of Lochnell, a kinsman of Argyll, and one of his guardians, and next heir to the earldom after the Earl and his brother. These 'titled and official ruffians,' as Tytler justly terms them, drew up with the strictest legal precision a formal bond by which they solemnly bound themselves to assist each other in the murder of the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Argyll, Colin his brother, and Sir John Campbell of Calder, another of their guardians. It was agreed that the Campbell of Lochnell should obtain the earldom of Argyll, but that a considerable portion of its princely estates should be made over to the Chancellor Maitland. In pursuance of this villainous scheme, 'the bonnie Earl of Moray' was murdered at Donnibrissel by Huntly, and Sir John Campbell was shot at night through the window of his own house, in Lorne, by an assassin named M'Kellar, who had been employed by Ardkinglas to do this foul deed. Argyll was to have been the next victim. An attempt to take him off by poison having failed, a favourable opportunity to perpetrate the long-meditated crime seemed to present itself in 1594, when Argyll received the royal commission as King's Lieutenant to suppress the rebellion of the Popish Earls of Huntly and Erroll. Marching into Strathbogie at the head of a numerous but undisciplined and ill-armed force, without either cavalry or artillery, the Earl encountered the rebel army at Glenlivet (October 3rd, 1594). After a fierce and sanguinary conflict, in which the traitor, Campbell of Lochnell, was killed by the first discharge of Huntly's artillery, the Highlanders fled, leaving their young chief almost alone, and he was at length forced off the field by his friends, weeping with indignation and grief at the disgraceful desertion of his retainers.

Shortly after, however, the discovery was made that the cause of his defeat was not the cowardice but the treachery of some of his captains, who were in correspondence with the enemy. Ardkinglas, seized with remorse, confessed the plot, and Argyll having obtained possession of the original 'bond,' discovered the full extent and

objects of the conspiracy. Fired with indignation he assembled his vassals and proclaimed a war of extermination against Huntly and the traitor Campbell. The most frightful excesses were committed on both sides, and the northern districts were laid waste with fire and sword. At length the King, roused to activity by the scenes of bloodshed and misery which ensued, took vigorous proceedings against both parties. Argyll and Campbell of Glenorchy were imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and the Popish Earls Huntly and Erroll were expelled the country and took refuge in Denmark. Eight years later, however, King James, just before his accession to the throne of England, effected a reconciliation between the two hereditary enemies, and the eldest son of Huntly was betrothed to the eldest daughter of Argyll. Their friendship was still more closely cemented in 1608 at the expense of the Macgregors, against whom the two Earls were authorised to undertake a joint expedition, which ended in the almost total extermination of that unhappy 'broken clan.' The chief of the Macgregors surrendered to Argyll on condition that he should be sent out of Scotland. 'But,' says Birrel, 'the Earl keptit ane Hielandman's promise in respect he sent the gaird to convey him out of Scottis ground, but they were not directit to pairt with him, but to fetch him back agane.' The ill-starred chief was conveyed across the Tweed at Berwick, but was immediately brought back to Edinburgh, where he was executed, 18th January, 1609.

In 1615 the Macdonalds raised the standard of rebellion in Islay, where, as Lord Macaulay says, 'they had once lived with the pomp of royalty,' but which was now the property of their unrelenting enemies, the Campbells. The Council with considerable reluctance intrusted to Argyll the task of suppressing this insurrection, and the Earl, with the help of some soldiers hired at the public expense, speedily brought the war to a conclusion. He was rewarded by the King for his services with a grant of the district of Kintyre in 1617, and the deed was ratified by a special Act of Parliament the same year. On the death of his first wife the Earl, in 1610, married a daughter of Sir William Cornwallis of Broome, ancestor of the Marquis Cornwallis, and this lady, who was a Roman Catholic, induced the once-zealous leader of the Protestant party to join the Romish Church. His defection was kept secret, however, till the year 1618, when he obtained permission from the King to go abroad on pretence of visiting Spa for the benefit of his health. But instead of visiting Spa he proceeded

to Spain, where he made an open profession of the Romish faith, and entered the Spanish service. He gained considerable distinction in the war which Philip waged against the States of Holland, but his conduct gave just and deep offence to his own sovereign, who caused him to be proclaimed a rebel and a traitor, and compelled him to make over the management of his estates and the government of his clan to his eldest son. Though released from this ban in 1621, he did not venture to return to Britain till 1638. His death took place in London in that same year. His son by his first wife succeeded him in the earldom and family estates. A son, named James, whom his second wife bore to him, was created Earl of Irvine.

ARCHIBALD, the celebrated Gillespie Grumach, eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, raised the house of Campbell to a greater height of political power than it had ever before attained. This eminent patriot and statesman was born in 1598, and was early introduced into public life. While yet Lord Lorne he apprehended Patrick Macgregor, popularly called Gilderoy, or Gillie Roy, who, about the year 1632, at the head of a band of caterans, plundered various districts of the Highlands. This noted freebooter and nine of his gang, who were arrested at the same time, were tried and executed in Edinburgh in July, 1636. The capture and fate of this bold outlaw has been made the subject of a well-known ballad and of several works of fiction. At the time of the Earl's accession to the family title and estates, all Scotland was convulsed by the arbitrary and impolitic innovations of Charles I. and Laud on the worship of the Scottish Church, and Argyll, whose advice was solicited by the King, earnestly recommended that they should be withdrawn. Finding that his counsel was not followed, and that Charles was obstinately bent on carrying out his unconstitutional policy, the Earl signed the National Covenant and attended the famous Assembly which met at Glasgow, November, 1638, and abolished the Episcopal form of government in Scotland. When the Marquis of Hamilton, as High Commissioner, ordered the Assembly to dissolve under pain of treason and withdrew on the refusal of the members to disperse, Argyll alone of all the Privy Councillors refused to follow his example, and at the close declared publicly his approbation of all their decisive measures for the restoration of the Presbyterian form of worship. In

the following year, when Charles prepared to crush the Covenanters by force of arms, Argyll raised nine hundred of his clansmen and marched into the west to secure that part of the kingdom against the threatened invasion of the Earl of Antrim and the Irish Romanists. In 1640 he received a commission from the Committee of Parliament, signed by the Earl, afterwards Marquis, of Montrose and other leading Covenanters, authorising him to proceed against the Earl of Athole, Lord Ogilvie, and the Farquharsons in Braemar, to pursue them with fire and sword until he brought them to their duty or utterly routed them out of the country. Armed with this ruthless commission, Argyll proceeded to the north at the head of five thousand men, and compelled the inhabitants of Badenoch, Athole, and Mar to submit to the authority of the Parliament. Then, marching eastward into Angus, he captured Airlie and Forthar, the castles of the Earl of Airlie, who had left Scotland to avoid subscribing the Covenant. Airlie Castle, which was defended by Lord Ogilvie, the eldest son of the Earl, and was strongly garrisoned and furnished with large stores of ammunition, had previously defied the efforts of the Earls of Montrose and Kinghorn to reduce it. But on the approach of Argyll it was abandoned by the garrison, and was laid in ruins by the Covenanters. This is the incident which has been commemorated in the well-known ballad of 'The bonnie house of Airlie.' (See THE OGILVIES OF AIRLIE.)

When Charles visited Scotland in 1641, the Earl of Montrose, who had originally espoused the popular cause but had now gone over to the side of the Court, represented to the King that the removal of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Argyll was necessary as a preliminary to the accomplishment of his plans for the union of the Scottish and Irish forces against the English Parliament. It was accordingly arranged that they were to be seized and carried on board a vessel in Leith Roads; but having received timely notice of the plot against them, they made their escape to Kinneil, a country seat of Hamilton's, where they were safe. Charles, thus baffled in his nefarious scheme, was glad to recall the two noblemen to Court, and, finding it impossible to crush these powerful and popular magnates, he tried to gain them and their party to his side, and raised Argyll to the rank of a Marquis. When the King took up arms against the English Parliament, Argyll, who was now the recognised leader of the Covenanters, induced the Scottish Council to make repeated offers of mediation ;

but these proposals having been rejected by the King, the Scots at length resolved to send an army to the assistance of the Parliament. From this time onward the Marquis took a prominent part in the Civil War; his influence was paramount in Scotland, where he was popularly known as 'King Campbell.' He became the object of the bitter hatred of the Royalists. He was defeated by Montrose at Inverlochy; his estates were laid waste with fire and sword, and 'not a four-footed beast in the haill country' was left. So ruinous were the devastating inroads of Montrose and the Irish kernes that the Parliament was obliged to grant a sum of money for the support of the Marquis and his family, and a collection was ordered to be made throughout all the churches for the relief of his plundered clansmen. Up to this time Argyll had steadily co-operated with the English Parliament, but on the surrender of the King and the ascendancy of the Republican party, he separated from them and consulted with the Royalist nobles, Richmond and Hertford (with the royal authority), respecting the advisability of the Scottish Parliament and army coming to the rescue of the King. The plan had to be abandoned as impracticable, and Argyll, with his usual sagacity, disapproved of the 'Engagement' entered into by the Duke of Hamilton and other Presbyterian Royalists, in the latter part of 1647, for the restoration of the royal cause, which brought defeat and death to them and ruin on the King. After the overthrow of the 'Engagers' at Preston, Argyll and his friends seized the reins of Government. He protested, however, against the execution of the King—a deed which completely alienated the whole Scottish nation from the English Republicans, and Prince Charles, the eldest son of the deceased monarch, was immediately proclaimed King of Scotland in his father's stead. A series of letters, written by Charles from the Hague, Jersey, and Breda, and, after he came to Scotland, from Falkland and Perth, showed how much he relied upon Argyll for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, and how earnestly he implored the great Marquis to use his influence in his behalf. The profuse promises which Charles made of remembering and rewarding the services of the powerful Presbyterian leader culminated in the following remarkable letter written at Perth:—

'24th Sept., 1650.

'Having taken into consideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyll for restoring me to my just rights and the happy setting of my dominions, I am desyrous to let the world see

how sensible I am of his reall respect to me by some particular marks of my favour to him, by whiche they may see the trust and confidence I repose in him; and particularly I doe promis that I will mak him Duk of Argyll, and Knight of the Garter, and one of the Gentlemen of my bedchamber; and this to be performed when he shall think fitt.

‘Whensoever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England I shall see him payed the £40,000 pownds sterling which is due to him. All which I doe promis to mak good upon the word of a King.

‘CHARLES R.’

He even, it is said, made a proposal to marry Argyll’s daughter, which the wary chief prudently declined.

At his coronation, on the 1st of January, 1651, Argyll placed the crown on the head of the young monarch, who seems to have thoroughly deluded the staunch Presbyterians into a belief that he had sincerely embraced the Covenant. The defeat of the Scottish army at Worcester and Dunbar laid the country prostrate at the feet of Cromwell. Still, amid almost universal despair, Argyll strove to raise the depressed spirits of his fellow-countrymen, and mustered his clan with the view of resisting the victorious forces of the Commonwealth. He held out against them for a year amid the fastnesses of his own district, but a reluctant submission was at last extorted from him by General Dean, who suddenly invaded Inverary by sea, and surprised the Marquis while confined to his castle by sickness.

At the Restoration in 1660, Argyll repaired to London for the purpose of congratulating the King, lured thither by the cordial reception Charles had given his son; but, on his arrival at Whitehall, he was immediately arrested and committed to the Tower. After lying there for five months he was sent down to Scotland, and tried on fourteen different charges, extending over all the transactions which had taken place in Scotland since 1638. He pleaded that during the late unhappy commotions he had always acted by authority of Parliament, and not on his individual responsibility; that all the public proceedings of the Covenanters were covered by the Act of Oblivion passed by Charles I., and by the indemnity granted by his present Majesty at Stirling; and that as for his compliance with the late usurpation, the entire kingdom shared in it

equally with himself; that it was necessary for his own preservation; that he did not submit himself till the whole nation had acquiesced in the rule of the Commonwealth; that his submission to the Government then existing did not imply a recognition of its original title, much less a treasonable opposition to the rightful heir while excluded from the throne. 'And how could I suppose,' he added, 'that I was acting criminally when a man so learned as his Majesty's Advocate took the same oath to the Commonwealth with myself?' Sir John Fletcher, the Lord Advocate, was so enraged at this reference to himself that he called Argyll an impudent villain. The Marquis meekly replied that he had learned in his afflictions to suffer reproach. The unanswerable defence of the accused nobleman compelled the Parliament, though filled with enemies thirsting for his blood, to exculpate him from all the charges in his indictment except that of compliance with Cromwell's usurpation. Even on this point the evidence was so defective that his acquittal seemed certain; but, after the case was closed, a number of confidential letters which Argyll had written to Monk were laid before the Court by a messenger whom the latter had basely and treacherously sent down from London with all haste on learning the scantiness of the proof against his former friend.* Argyll begged for a respite for ten days, in order that his sentence might be communicated to the King; but when this was refused, he understood that his fate had been determined by the Court, and quietly remarked, 'I placed the crown upon the King's head, and this is my reward; but he hastens me to a better crown than his own.' On evidence thus shamefully obtained and illegally brought forward, the old nobleman was found guilty (25th May, 1661), and condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 27th of May.

The Marquis displayed great calmness and dignity during the closing scene. 'He came to the scaffold,' says Burnet, 'in a very solemn and undaunted manner, accompanied by many of the nobility and some ministers. He spoke for half an hour with

* This fact, mentioned by Burnet, has been denied by Sir George Rose in his remarks on Fox's History; but, to say nothing of the reference to the letters by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Laws and Customs of Scotland*, the originals have recently been discovered among the papers of the Duke of Argyll, with an indorsation by the Clerk of the Court, proving that they were produced by the Lord Advocate at the trial of the Marquis.—See *Appendix to Sixth Report of Historical Manuscripts' Commission*.

great appearance of serenity. Cunningham, his physician, told me that he touched his pulse, and it did then beat at the usual rate—calm and strong.’ ‘I could die like a Roman,’ was his remark to a friend, ‘but I choose rather to die like a Christian.’

There can be no doubt that the great Marquis was a man of sincere and deep religious feeling. He was a true patriot, who made the love of his country and the desire for her good paramount to all personal considerations; and a statesman of great sagacity, and experience, and consummate address. He was almost adored by his own clan, and his memory is still held in high veneration by the Scottish Presbyterians; but his vast influence, and the height to which he carried the policy of his house, made him equally dreaded and hated by the neighbouring chiefs of his day. The Campbells were not satisfied—like their predecessors the old Lords of Argyll, the Isles, and Lorne—with a sway quite absolute and almost independent over the inhabitants of these remote and inaccessible mountains and isles of the western Highlands. From the days of Robert Bruce downward they attached themselves to the Scottish Court, allied themselves by marriage to the great Lowland families, and held the highest offices of State. They were the Chancellors, the hereditary Masters of the Household, and Great Justiciars of Scotland. The personal character of the successive heads of this aspiring family—combining unwearied and indomitable energy with a peculiar dexterity and plausibility of address—had step by step raised them to such a height of power, that the number of fighting men who bore the name of Campbell was sufficient to meet in the field the combined forces of all the other western clans. The Marquis of Argyll, as Lord Macaulay remarks, ‘was the head of a party as well as the head of a tribe. Possessed of two different kinds of authority, he used each of them in such a way as to extend and fortify the other. The knowledge that he could bring into the field the claymores of five thousand half-heathen mountaineers added to his influence among the austere Presbyterians who filled the Privy Council and the General Assembly. His influence at Edinburgh added to the terror which he inspired among the mountains. Of all the Highland princes whose history is well known to us, he was the greatest and the most dreaded.’

On the death of the great Marquis, ARCHIBALD, his eldest son, became the head of the house of Campbell. In accordance with the

Celtic custom of 'fostering,' Earl Archibald's early years were spent under the roof of his kinsman, the accomplished Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. The foster-mother of the youthful heir to the chieftainship of the clan was Juliana Campbell, daughter of Hew, Lord Loudoun, and wife of Sir Colin. An interesting correspondence between the Marquis and the foster-father of his son has been preserved, and throws light on the nature and obligations of the relation of fosterage. The correspondence begins in 1633, with a letter from Sir Colin to Lord Lorne, expressing his great gratification that the chief had given him the preference over 'sundrie of his Lordship's friends who were most desyrous to have his Lordship's eldest son in fostering, quich,' he says, 'I acknowledge as a great testimonie both of your Lordship's trust and love; and I hop in God evir so to approve myself to be most willing and desyrous to deserve both.' Careful arrangements were made for the conveyance of the boy to his new home. 'In regard,' says Sir Colin, 'that I am not weel able to travell myself so far a journey, I intend to send my wyfe and some other of my friends to be his convoy.' And he requests his Lordship to 'provyde some discrít woman and ane sufficient man quha has both Irisch [Gaelic] and Englisch, and will have a care not onlie to attend him, but sometimes lykewayes to learne him, and quhat else may concern him, quhill he is in my company.' Great importance seems to have been attached to the acquisition of the Gaelic language, for in December, 1637, Lady Lorne writes to Glenorchy: 'I hear my sone begines to wearye of the Irish langwadge. I entreat yew to cause holde hime to the speaking of it, for since he has bestowed so long tyme and paines on the getting of it, I sould be sorry he lost it now with leasiness in not speaking of it.' A letter from the youth himself shows the strength of his affection for his 'loving foster-father and respected freind.' *

The young chief received an excellent education under the eye of his father, and travelled in France and Italy from 1647 to 1649. On his return to Scotland he took the opposite side from his family in the Civil War, and, attaching himself to the royal cause, fought for Charles II. at the battle of Dunbar, in September, 1650. Even after the crowning defeat of the Scottish army at Worcester, Lord Lorne still continued in arms, and in his zeal for the interest of the King fought side by side with the hereditary enemies of his house. After the cause had become desperate he submitted to Monk,

* *Sketches of Early Scottish History.* By Cosmos Innes, pp. 369—372.

who treated him with great severity, and even committed him to prison in 1657, where he lay till the Restoration. In return for his services and sufferings, the King remitted his father's forfeiture, and restored to him his hereditary estates and his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyll. The greedy and unprincipled Middleton, the Royal Commissioner, who had hunted the Marquis to death, was bitterly disappointed at this procedure, and in 1662 procured the condemnation of the young Earl to death, because, in a private letter which the Commissioner intercepted, Argyll had commented freely on the intrigues of his potent enemy. The King, however, interposed, and saved the Earl's life; but he was subjected to a long and severe imprisonment, and was not released until June, 1663, when Middleton had been removed from office. During nearly twenty years Argyll continued to give a steady support to the Government, and even to some extent assisted in suppressing the insurrections of the Covenanters, a step which afterwards caused him deep sorrow and penitence.

In 1681 the slavish Parliament of Scotland, to gratify the Duke of York, the King's brother and successor, enacted the notorious Test of Passive Obedience, binding the subscriber never to attempt to bring about any alteration in Government, in Church, or in State without the King's authority. This Test was such a mass of inconsistencies and self-contradiction, that it was impossible for any man to take it *bonâ fide*, and even eighty of the Episcopal ministers refused to subscribe to it, and were in consequence ejected from their livings. Argyll intimated his intention to resign his office rather than take this Test, but, at the instance of James himself, he at length complied; adding, however, the explanation, of which the Duke professed to approve, that he took it so far as it was consistent with itself and with the Protestant religion. James, however, saw clearly that he could not rely on the support of Argyll in his plot for the overthrow of the religion and liberties of the kingdom, and therefore resolved to avail himself of this opportunity to destroy him. The Earl was accordingly committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and was tried, on the 18th of December, 1681, by a packed jury, of which the Marquis of Montrose, the hereditary enemy of the Campbells, was foreman, on a charge of treason and leasing-making, or creating a dissension between the King and his subjects. He was found guilty, and condemned to death. On the evening of the 20th, however, he made his escape from the castle in the

disguise of a page holding up the train of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay, and, in spite of a keen pursuit, made his way to London, and thence passed over into Friesland, where his father had bought a small estate as a place of refuge for his family in case of their expulsion from their hereditary possessions. Sentence of attainder was immediately pronounced against him, his estates were confiscated, his titles forfeited, and a large reward was offered for his head. This shameless prostitution of justice excited deep indignation among men of all parties both in England and Scotland. 'I know nothing of the Scottish law,' said Lord Halifax, 'but this I know, that we should not hang a dog even, on the grounds on which my Lord Argyll has been sentenced.'

Argyll remained in Holland living in obscurity till the death of Charles II. in 1685, when, at a meeting of Scottish and English exiles, it was resolved that two expeditions should be undertaken—one, under Monmouth, to England, the other, under Argyll, to Scotland—for the purpose of vindicating the rights and liberties of the nation. The history of the ill-managed and disastrous Scottish expedition, the causes of its failure, and the difficulties which Argyll encountered from the wrong-headedness and obstinacy of his associates in command, the dispersion of the insurgents and the capture of their unfortunate leader, have all been narrated in most picturesque style by Macaulay, and must be familiar to all who take an interest in the history of Scotland. Argyll was conveyed from Inchinnan, where he was captured, to Edinburgh, every kind of indignity being heaped upon him during his journey, and he was put in irons in his old place of imprisonment. It was resolved not to bring him to a new trial, but to put him to death under the old sentence of 1681. In these trying circumstances the Earl still displayed the same calm courage and equanimity which had distinguished the close of his father's career. He professed deep penitence for his former compliance with the sinful measures of the Government, and expressed his firm conviction that the good cause would ultimately triumph. 'I do not,' he said, 'take on myself to be a prophet, but I have a strong impression on my spirit that deliverance will come very suddenly.' The sight of his peaceful sleep a few hours before his execution overwhelmed one of his bitterest enemies with remorse and shame, and has often been portrayed both by the pencil and the pen. On the day of his execution he wrote a brief farewell to his second son :

‘DEARE JOHNE,—We parted sudenly, but I hope shall meete hapily in heauen. I pray God blesse you, and if you seeke Him He will be found of you. My wiffe will say all to you. Pray love and respect her. I am your loving father,

‘ARGYLL.’

A similar letter was written by him on the same day to his son James. When the Earl was brought down to the Council-house, where he was to remain till the hour of his execution, he wrote the following farewell letter to his wife:—

‘DEAR HEART,—God is unchangeable; He hath always been good and gracious to me, and no place alters it. Forgive me all my faults; and now comfort thyself in Him, in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless and comfort thee, my dearest! Adieu.’

To his step-daughter and daughter-in-law, who had formerly saved his life by aiding his escape from prison, he wrote:—

‘MY DEAR LADY SOPHIE,—What can I say in this great day of the Lord where, in the midst of a cloud, I find a fair sunshine? I can wish no more for you but that the Lord may comfort you, and shine upon you as He doth upon me, and give you the same sense of His love in staying in the world as I have in going out of it. Adieu.’

His farewell speech breathed the spirit of piety, resignation, and forgiveness. He was beheaded on the 30th of June, 1685, and his head was fixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

His eldest son and successor, ARCHIBALD, tenth Earl, and first Duke of Argyll, took refuge in Holland, and accompanied the Prince of Orange to England in 1688. The Revolution, which expelled the Stewarts from the throne, at once reinstated the chief of the Campbells in all his ancestral rights and privileges. The Convention treated as a nullity the sentence which deprived him of his estates and honours. He was selected from the whole body of Scottish nobles to make a tender of the crown of Scotland, and to administer the oath of office, to William and Mary. He was authorised to raise a regiment among his clansmen for the service of the

Crown, who were employed under Campbell of Glenlyon in the atrocious massacre of Glencoe, and afterwards served with distinction both in Ireland and Flanders. Although he had been guilty of the crime, 'singularly disgraceful in him,' says Macaulay, of intriguing with the agents of James while professing loyalty to William, the latter created him, in 1701, Duke of Argyll, Marquis of Kintyre and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount Lochaw and Glenisla, Lord Inverary, Mull, Inverness, and Tiree. But, as the historian justly remarks, the Duke was in his personal qualities one of the most insignificant of the long line of nobles who had borne the great name of Argyll. He was the descendant of eminent men and the parent of eminent men, but he was unworthy both of his ancestry and of his progeny. He was noted for little else than his polished manners; he had no application to business, and by his careless and spendthrift style of living he still further involved his estates, which had been greatly impoverished by the misfortunes of his father and grandfather. He married a daughter of the notorious Duchess of Lauderdale, with whom, as might have been expected, he led a very unhappy life, and at last he in a great measure abandoned public duties and lived with a mistress in a house called Clinton, near Newcastle. His death, which took place in 1703, was both miserable and discreditable. He was succeeded by his son, a nobleman of a very different character, the famous—

DUKE JOHN—Jeanie Deans's Duke—the friend of Pope, who has eulogised him as—

'Argyll, the States' whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field.'

He was born in October, 1678. On the very day on which his grandfather was executed, in 1685, the boy fell from a window in the upper flat of Lethington, the seat of his grandmother, the Duchess of Lauderdale, without receiving any injury—an incident which was regarded as an omen of his future greatness. Lord Macaulay declares that this nobleman was renowned as a warrior and as an orator, as the model of every courtly grace, and as the judicious patron of arts and letters. Sir Walter Scott says, 'Few names deserve more honourable mention than that of John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. His talent as a statesman and soldier was generally admitted; he was not without ambition, but "without the

illness that oft attends it"—without the irregularity of thought and aim which often excites great men in his peculiar situation (for it was a very peculiar one) to grasp the means of raising themselves to power at the risk of throwing a kingdom into confusion. He was alike free from the ordinary vices of statesmen—falsehood and dissimulation; and from those of warriors—inordinate and ardent thirst after self-aggrandisement.' 'Ian Roy Bean'—Red John, the Warrior—as the Highlanders termed him, was very dear to his countrymen, who were justly proud of his military and political talents, and grateful for the ready zeal with which he asserted the rights of his native country. Duke John held several high offices in his native land, and in 1705 was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament for the purpose of carrying through the Act of Union. For his services on this occasion he was rewarded with a British peerage. The next year he joined the British army under Marlborough in Flanders, and served in four campaigns. He distinguished himself at the battles of Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, and all the principal sieges carried out by the great general, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. On the dismissal of Marlborough, with whom he was continually at variance, Argyll was sent to take charge of both civil and military affairs in Spain, but finding that he had been only made a tool of by the Tory ministry, who were actively carrying on negotiations for the peace of Utrecht, the Duke, thoroughly disgusted, threw up his command and returned home, with the firm resolution of joining the Opposition. His vehement and eloquent attacks on the Government did no small injury to the Tory and Jacobite cause. On the death of Queen Anne he suddenly presented himself, uninvited, along with the Duke of Somerset, in the Council-chamber, and in conjunction with Shrewsbury, frustrated the plans of Bolingbroke and the Jacobites for the accession of the Pretender to the throne. He was one of the Lords Justices appointed by George I. to act as Regents before his arrival in England, and was subsequently appointed Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, Governor of Minorca, a Privy Councillor, and a Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards. When the Earl of Mar raised the standard of rebellion in 1715, the Duke of Argyll was sent down to oppose him. By dint of great activity and zeal he succeeded in collecting a force of 3,300 men, with which he kept in check the Jacobite army of more than three times that number. The hostile armies encountered at Sheriffmuir,

near Dunblane (15th Nov., 1715), with doubtful result. Argyll himself broke the left wing of the rebels, but his left wing was in turn worsted by the clans. The battle in itself was therefore as indecisive as the satirical ballad represents—

‘Some say that we wan, and some say that they wan;
And some say that nane wan at a’, man.’

On being told that his victory was incomplete, Argyll replied in the words of an old Scottish song called the ‘Bob o’ Dunblane’—

‘If it wasna weel bobbit, weel bobbit, weel bobbit,
If it wasna weel bobbit, we’ll bob it again.’

All the advantage of the fight, however, remained with the Royalists. Mar’s advance to the south was completely checked, and after some weeks of inactivity, during which the clansmen deserted his standard daily, the rebel leader fled to the Continent, and the remains of his army dispersed into the inaccessible wilds of Badenoch.

The services which the Duke rendered to the house of Hanover at this critical period were probably too great to be either acknowledged or repaid, and the extraordinary popularity which he enjoyed among his countrymen was of itself fitted to make him the object of jealousy at Court. His independent conduct, too, and somewhat haughty mode of expressing himself in Parliament and acting in public, were ill calculated, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, to attract royal favour. His opposition to the Bill which proposed to deprive the city of Edinburgh of its rights and privileges, on account of the Porteous mob, gave great offence to the King and his counsellors. Although he was therefore always respected and often employed, he was not a favourite of George II., his consort, or his ministers, and in 1716 he had become so obnoxious to them that he was deprived of all his offices, and went into violent opposition. Three years later he again joined the Ministry at a great crisis, and was appointed High Steward of the Household, and was created Duke of Greenwich. He was subsequently nominated Master-General of the Ordnance, Governor of Portsmouth, and a Field-Marshal. With the assistance of his politic brother, Lord Islay, in spite of all the efforts of the Government to thwart him, he obtained in 1725 the complete control of Scottish affairs, and might have been termed ‘King Campbell,’ as truly as was his ancestor, the great Marquis. The readers of the ‘Heart of Midlothian’ will remember the description there given of the part which the Duke took against the Ministry

on the occasion of the famous Porteous riot, in 1737. Three years later he was once more dismissed from all his employments. On the downfall of Walpole, who mortally hated him, says Lord Hervey, and whom he mortally hated, the Duke, in 1742, accepted the office of Commander-in-Chief, but resigned it in a fortnight, in consequence of the appointment of the Marquis of Tweeddale as Secretary of State for Scotland. His Grace now retired from public life, and devoted himself to the improvement of his estates, but did not long survive. He died on the 4th of October, 1743. The Duke possessed a cultivated and poetical taste, and he is said to have been the author of the well-known Scottish song, 'Bannocks of Barley-Meal.'

Duke John left four daughters, but no son. His English titles of Duke and Earl of Greenwich and Baron of Chatham became extinct at his death, but he was succeeded in his estates and Scottish honours by his brother—

ARCHIBALD—who had been previously created Lord Ornsay, Dunoon, and Aros, and Viscount and Earl of Islay—'of late his bitter enemy,' says Earl Stanhope. 'Never did such near kinsmen display less affinity of minds. With all his faults and follies, Argyll was still brave, eloquent, and accomplished, a skilful officer and a princely nobleman. Islay, on the contrary, was base and mean.' 'His heart is like his aspect—vile,' says Hanbury Williams. 'Suspected of having betrayed Walpole at his fall, I believe unjustly, yet seldom on any occasion swayed by gratitude or generosity.' Macaulay, however, takes a more favourable view of Islay's character, and speaks of him as 'distinguished by talents for business and command, and by skill in the exact sciences.' His private life was not as untarnished as his brother's; he was more subtle and pliant, and altogether seems to have been morally of a lower stamp of character, probably derived from his grandmother, the notorious Duchess of Lauderdale. He held at various times the offices of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, one of the Commissioners for the Union, one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session, Lord Justice-General for Scotland, Lord Chief Registrar, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Chancellor of the University of Aberdeen. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, in his autobiography, gives a very graphic description of the Duke's habits, and says he detested the 'High Flying,' or Evangelical, party in the Scottish Church. But he was both a statesman and an accomplished gentleman and scholar, a humorist, and was possessed of very remarkable

colloquial powers. 'He never harangued or was tedious,' says Carlyle, 'but listened to you in your turn. He had the talent of conversing with his guests so as to distinguish men of knowledge and talents, without neglecting those who valued themselves more on their birth and their rent-rolls than on personal merit. The Duke had a great collection of fine stories, which he told so neatly and so frequently repeated them without variation as to make one believe that he had wrote them down. He had been in the battle of Sheriffmuir, and was slightly wounded in his foot, which made him always halt a little. He would have been an admirable soldier, as he had every talent and qualification necessary to arrive at the height of that profession; but his brother John, Duke of Argyll, having gone before him with a great and rising reputation, he was advised to take the line of a statesman.'

Duke Archibald was a great favourite with Sir Robert Walpole, and governed his native country as representative of that powerful minister with such authority as to be styled 'The King of Scotland.' Under his 'liberal and partial patronage' the Campbells attained to a degree of wealth and power superior to that of any other surname in Scotland. On the abolition, in 1747, of the hereditary jurisdictions of the great landed proprietors, Argyll received £21,000 as compensation for the office of Justiciary of Argyllshire and the Western Islands, the Sheriffship of Argyll, and the Regality of Campbell. The Duke remained at the head of affairs in Scotland till his death, which took place while he was sitting in his chair at dinner, April 15th, 1761, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. It was he who pulled down the noble old Gothic castle of Inverary, which, Sir Walter Scott says, 'with its varied outline, embattled walls, towers, and outer and inner courts, so far as picturesque is concerned, presented an aspect much more striking than the present massive and uniform mansion.' To meet the great expense of the new structure, the Duke sold the fine estate of Duddingston, near Edinburgh, which came from his grandmother, the Duchess of Lauderdale.

It thus appears that no fewer than four Earls of Argyll held the office of Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and that the high judicial office of Lord Justice General, which was conferred upon the third Earl, was hereditary in the family for upwards of a century, till it was resigned by the seventh Earl into the hands of Charles I. The third, fifth, and seventh Earls were Masters of the Royal House-

hold. Besides these great offices of State, the Earls of Argyll held the heritable office of Justice-General within the whole bounds of Argyll, and in that capacity exercised jurisdiction within the whole islands of Scotland (excepting Orkney and Shetland), and within the lands of Morven, Knoydart, Moydart, Morar, and Arisaig. The office of Hereditary Sheriff of Argyll was also vested in the family. They were lords of the regality, lordship, and barony of Campbell, which comprehended the baronies of Roseneath in Dumbartonshire, Menstrie, in Clackmannanshire, Boquhan in Stirlingshire, Glenelg, in Inverness-shire, Lundie in Forfarshire, and Muckhart in Perthshire, with the privilege of holding courts. The Earls of Argyll likewise held the heritable office of Bailey of the Isle of Tiree, and lands in Islay and Jura, and the office of Bailery and Stewartry of the earldom, lordship, and barony of Argyll. To the Argyll family also belonged the heritable office of Constable and Keeper of Dunoon and other fourteen castles in the shire of Argyll.*

The third Duke left no legitimate issue, and was succeeded in his family titles and estates in Scotland by his cousin—

JOHN CAMPBELL OF MAMORE, grandson of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll. He attained the rank of general in the army, and served both in Germany and in the rebellion of 1715, as aide-de-camp to his chief, Duke John; but his career was marked by no event worthy of special notice, and he is best remembered as the husband of the beautiful and witty Mary Bellenden, Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline.† His eldest son, JOHN, fifth Duke, served against the Highlanders at Falkirk and Culloden in the '45, was made Field-Marshal, and in his father's lifetime was created an English peer, as BARON SUNDRIDGE, the title by which the present Duke sits in the House of Lords. Boswell gives an amusing account of the visit which Dr. Johnson paid to this Duke at Inverary in 1773, of the respect which the amiable nobleman showed to the philosopher, of the impertinent behaviour of Bozzy himself to the Duchess, and of the stately contempt with which she put down his impertinence. Her Grace was one of the two Gunnings, whose extraordinary beauty was so often celebrated both by painters and poets.‡ She had been previously Duchess of Hamilton, was the mother of four dukes—two of Hamilton and two of Argyll—and was created, in 1776, Baroness

* See *Report by Sir William Fraser* on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Argyll, fourth report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.

† See ADDENDA, vol. ii., p. 426

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

Hamilton of Hameldon, in Leicestershire—a title which on the death of her son, Douglas, Duke of Hamilton, fell to his half-brother, GEORGE WILLIAM, sixth Duke of Argyll, a handsome man of pleasure, and a friend of the Prince Regent, whose extravagances deeply injured the family estates, and alienated Castle Campbell and other outlying possessions of the house.

His brother, JOHN DOUGLAS, who succeeded him in 1839, as seventh Duke, was a man of no political position, and will be remembered mainly as the father of GEORGE DOUGLAS CAMPBELL, the eighth and present Duke of Argyll, who has attained a high reputation both in politics and in literature. An old Highland prophecy foretold that the ancient power and honour of the house should be restored by a MacCalian More, whose locks would be of the same hue as those of the famous 'Red John, the Warrior,' Duke of Argyll and Greenwich; and his own clansmen believe, and not without reason, that this prediction has already been fulfilled in the person of the present Duke, the father of the Marquis of Lorne, and the father-in-law of the Queen's daughter, the Princess Louise. His Grace, who is Hereditary Master of the Royal Household, Scotland, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and Lord-Lieutenant of Argyllshire, has held the office of Lord Privy Seal three times, and of Postmaster-General, and Secretary for India. He is the author of 'A Letter to the Peers from a Peer's Son,' 1842; a *brochure* 'On the Duty and Necessity of Immediate Legislative Interposition in behalf of the Church of Scotland, as determined by Considerations of Constitutional Law;' 'A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., on the Present Position of Church Affairs in Scotland, and the causes which have led to it;' 'Presbytery Examined;' 'The Reign of Law;' 'Primeval Man;' 'Antiquities of Iona;' 'Relation of Landlord and Tenant;' 'Eastern Question,' 2 vols.; 'Unity of Nature;' 'The New British Constitution;' 'Scotland as it was and is;' &c.

The family estates in the counties of Argyll and Dumbarton, according to the 'Doomsday Book,' comprise 175,111 acres, with a yearly rental of £50,842.



THE CAMPBELLS OF LOUDOUN.



HE Campbells of Loudoun are the oldest branch of the house of Argyll, and are descended from Donald, second son of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochaw, and brother of Sir Neil Campbell, the friend of King Robert Bruce.

The barony in Ayrshire, from which they derive their title, was originally the possession of the Loudouns of Loudoun, one of the oldest families in Scotland. Margaret of Loudoun, the heiress of the estate, married Sir Reginald Crawford, High Sheriff of Ayr, and was the grandmother of Sir William Wallace, the illustrious Scottish patriot. The barony passed to the Campbells in the reign of Robert Bruce by the marriage of Sir Duncan, son of Donald Campbell, to Susanne Crawford, heiress of Loudoun, and fifth in descent from Sir Reginald Crawford. Sir Hugh Campbell, Sheriff of Ayr, was created a Lord of Parliament by the title of Lord Campbell of Loudoun, by James VI., in 1601. His granddaughter, Margaret Campbell, who inherited his title and estates, married Sir John Campbell of Lawers, a scion of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane family. He was created—

EARL OF LOUDOUN, and Baron Tarrynean and Mauchline by Charles I., 12th May, 1633; but in consequence of his opposition to the measures of the Court, the patent was stopped at the Chancery, and the title was suspended until 1641. Following the lead of the chief of his house, the Earl took an active part in the opposition to the attempt of Charles I. to force the new Liturgy upon Scotland, and was a member of the celebrated General Assembly which met in Glasgow in 1638. In the following year he took and garrisoned the castles of Strathavon, Douglas, and Tantallon for the Covenanters. He was one of the seven Scottish noblemen who signed the letter addressed to the King of France, entreating his

assistance, and was in consequence arrested on a charge of treason and committed to the Tower. He regained his liberty through the influence of the Marquis of Hamilton, and was permitted to return to Scotland. He became one of the most active leaders of the Covenanting party, commanded the van of their army at the battle of Newburn, and was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ripon. He presided at the opening of the Scottish Parliament, 15th July, 1641, and when the King visited Scotland in the following month Loudoun's title of Earl was allowed with precedence from 1633, and he was appointed High Chancellor of Scotland and First Commissioner of the Treasury. But these favours failed to win him over to the royal side, and he continued to support with great vehemence all the measures adopted by the Presbyterian party. He took a prominent part in promoting the 'Act of Classes,' excluding all who had taken part in the 'Engagement' from offices of trust and from Parliament. Much to his discredit, when the Marquis of Montrose was brought to the bar of the Parliament House to receive sentence of death, the Chancellor bitterly upbraided him for his violation of the Covenant, his league with Irish rebels, and his invasion of the country. The behaviour of Loudoun on this occasion—so unbecoming his high office—and the virulent abuse which he poured upon the great Royalist, may be accounted for, but not justified, by the sanguinary defeat of the clan Campbell at the battle of Inverlochy, where his elder brother, the Laird of Lawers, fell. The Earl, however, after the execution of Charles I., embraced the cause of his son, and was in consequence, along with his son, Lord Mauchline, excepted out of Cromwell's Act of Grace and Pardon in 1654; but £400 a year was settled out of his estates on his wife. At the Restoration he was deprived of his office of Chancellor, and fined £12,000 Scots. He died in 1663. His son—

JAMES, second Earl, lived and died abroad.

HUGH, third Earl, grandson of the Chancellor, was declared by the Earl of Argyll, when recommending him to Carstares, to be 'a mettled young fellow. He has,' added the Earl, 'a deal of natural parts and sharpness, a good stock of clergy [learning], and by being in business he will daily improve.' In consequence of this recommendation, the young Earl obtained from King William the appoint-

ment of Extraordinary Lord of Session. After the accession of Anne, he held successively the offices of a Commissioner of the Treasury, joint Secretary of State for Scotland, and Keeper of the Great Seal. He served as a volunteer at the battle of Sheriffmuir, under the chief of the Campbells, where he behaved with great gallantry. He was six times appointed High Commissioner to the Scottish General Assembly, and was for twenty-four years one of the sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland. His only son—

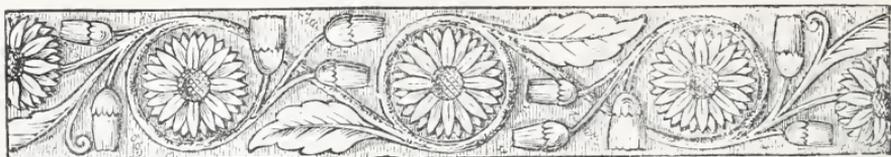
JOHN, fourth Earl, was one of the Representative Peers for the long period of forty-eight years. He was distinguished for his military talents, and held numerous important offices both at home and abroad. In 1745, when the Jacobite rebellion took place, he raised a regiment of Highlanders for the service of the Government, of which he was appointed colonel. He fought at the battle of Preston, and was active and energetic in suppressing the rising in the northern counties. In 1756 the Earl was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the province of Virginia, and shortly after was nominated Commander-in-Chief of all the British forces in America. He was second in command of the British troops sent to Portugal in February, 1762, when Spain declared war against that country. He died in 1782, in his seventy-seventh year. 'Loudoun's bonnie woods and braes' were greatly indebted to this Earl, who was the first to introduce extensive planting into this district. During his long military services in foreign countries he sent home specimens of every valuable kind of tree he met with, and he especially formed a most extensive collection of willows, which he interspersed in his plantations. As he died unmarried, his title and estates were inherited by his cousin—

JAMES MURE CAMPBELL, grandson of the second Earl of Loudoun. His father, Sir James Campbell of Lawers, was a distinguished military officer, who served under the Duke of Marlborough, and contributed greatly to the victory of the allied forces at Malplaquet, 11th September, 1709. He distinguished himself also at the battle of Dettingen, 16th June, 1743, and was mortally wounded at Fontenoy, where he commanded the British cavalry. His son James, the fifth Earl, assumed the name of Mure on succeeding to the estate of his grandmother, the Countess of Glasgow, heiress of the

ancient family of Mure of Rowallan. He attained the rank of major-general in the army, and died in 1786, leaving an only child—

FLORA MURE CAMPBELL, Countess of Loudoun, who married in 1804 the Earl of Moira, created Marquis of Hastings in 1816, who was an eminent statesman, and held for some years the office of Governor-General of India. The Marquis died in 1836 at Malta, of which he was governor and commander-in-chief. He had promised his wife that they should lie in the same grave. As this could not in the circumstances be carried into effect, he desired his right hand to be amputated at his death and sent home, that it might be buried with the Marchioness. It was deposited in the family vault in Loudoun Kirk, and when she died in 1840 it was laid in the grave beside her body. The eldest of her three daughters was Lady Flora Hastings, and her only son became second Marquis of Hastings and sixth Earl of Loudoun. His eldest son, an officer in the army, was drowned at Liverpool in 1851 in his nineteenth year, and was succeeded by his brother, a poor unhappy and misguided youth, who made shipwreck of title, character, and estates. On his death in 1868, his sister, Edith Maude, wife of Charles Frederick Clifton, a member of an old Lancashire family, became Countess of Loudoun. She died in 1874 in her forty-first year, and directed by her will that her right hand be cut off and buried in Donington Park, the ancient possession of the Hastings family, which had been alienated by her brother, and the spot to be marked by a stone with the inscription, 'I byde my time.' Before her death she had succeeded in proving her right to no less than four ancient peerages—Botreaux, Hungerford, De Malynes, and Hastings, which had fallen into abeyance. They have descended to her son, the ninth Earl of Loudoun. Her eldest daughter married, in 1877, the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk.

According to the 'Doomsday Book,' the Loudoun estate consists of 18,638 acres, with a rental of £15,286 a year, and in addition the minerals yield £2,259 a year.



THE CAMPBELLS OF BREADALBANE.

THE Campbells of Breadalbane are the most powerful branch of the house of Argyll; indeed, in the extent and value of their estates they surpass the parent stock. They are descended from Sir Colin Campbell, third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochaw, by Marjory Stewart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland. In the 'Black Book of Taymouth,' printed by the Bannatyne Club, from an old manuscript preserved in Taymouth Castle, it is stated that 'Duncan Campbell, commonly called Duncan in Aa, Knight of Lochaw (lineallie descendit of a valiant man surnamit Campbell quha cam to Scotland in King Malcolm Kandmore his time, about the year of God 1067, of quhom came the house of Lochaw) flourished in King David Bruce his dayes. The foresaid Duncan begat twa sons, the elder callit Archibald, the other namit Colin, wha was first laird of Glenurchay.' That estate was bestowed on him by his father. It was the original seat of the M'Gregors, who were settled there as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore. It was gradually wrested from them by the Campbells in pursuance of the hereditary policy of their family, and in the reign of David II. they managed to procure a legal title to the lands of Glenorchy, but the M'Gregors continued for a long time to retain possession of their ancient inheritance by the strong hand. SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, the founder of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane branch of the clan, Douglas says, 'was a man of high renown for military prowess and for the virtues of social and domestic life. He was a stream of many tides against the foes of the people, but like the gale that moves the heath to those who sought his aid.' He was born about A.D. 1400, and, says the 'Black Book,' 'throch his valiant actis and manheid maid knight in the Isle of Rhodes, quhilk standeth in the Carpathian Sea near to Caria

and countrie of Asia the Less, and he was three sundrie tymes in Rome.' After the murder of James I., in 1437, Sir Colin took prompt and active measures to bring the assassins to justice, and succeeded in capturing two of them, named Chalmers and Colquhoun. For this service James II. afterwards conferred upon him the barony of Lawers. In 1440 Sir Colin erected the Castle of Kilchurn (properly Coalchuirn) on a rocky promontory at the east end of Loch Awe, under the shadow of the majestic Ben Cruachan, at no great distance from the Pass of Brander, where the M'Dougalls of Lorne were defeated by Robert Bruce. This 'child of loud-throated war,' as the castle is termed by Wordsworth, is now a picturesque ruin, which has been repeatedly sketched by eminent painters.*

According to tradition, Kilchurn Castle was built by Sir Colin's lady during his absence in the Holy Land on a crusade, and the greater part of the rents of his lands during seven years is said to have been expended on its erection. An old legend ascribes to Sir Colin an incident which has been frequently told of other barons who have chosen to remain long absent from home, and is embodied in Sir Walter Scott's ballad of the 'Noble Moringer,' translated from the German. It is said that during his long absence Sir Colin had a remarkable dream, which a monk to whom he related it told him was intended to warn him of an impending domestic calamity that could only be averted by his presence in his own castle. He immediately hastened to Scotland with all possible speed, and arrived at a place called Succoth, where an old woman dwelt who had been his nurse. In the disguise of a beggar he solicited from her food and shelter for the night, which was readily granted. She recognised him by a scar on his arm, and informed him that as a report had been spread that he had fallen in battle in the Holy Land, and as no tidings had been received of him during his long absence, his wife believed that he was dead, and was about to marry another husband on the following day. It turned out that the messengers whom Sir Colin had repeatedly sent with intelligence to his wife of his welfare had been

* 'From the top of the hill,' says Miss Wordsworth in her Journal, 'a most impressive scene opened upon our view—a ruined castle on an island (for an island the flood had made it) at some distance from the shore, backed by a cove of the mountain Cruachan, down which came a foaming stream. The castle occupied every foot of the island that was visible, thus appearing to rise out of the water. Mists rested upon the mountain-side, with spots of sunshine; there was a wild desolation in the low grounds, a solemn grandeur in the mountains, and the castle was wild yet stately—not dismantled of turrets nor the walls broken down, though obviously a ruin.'—See 'Address to Kilchurn Castle, upon Loch Awe,' *Wordsworth's Poetical Works*, pp. 117—125.

intercepted and murdered by a neighbouring chief, named M'Corquodale, who had at length succeeded in persuading the lady that she was a widow, and had obtained the promise of her hand. Early next morning Sir Colin, still disguised as a beggar, set out for his castle of Kilchurn, and readily obtained entrance into the courtyard, which on this festive occasion stood open to all comers. On being accosted by one of the servants, he asked that his hunger might be satisfied and his thirst quenched. Food and liquor were immediately placed before him. He partook of the former but refused the latter, unless it was given him by the lady herself. On being informed of the poor man's wish, she approached and handed him a cup of wine. Sir Colin drank her health, and dropping a ring into the empty cup returned it to her. On examining the ring she at once recognised it as one she had given to her husband on his departure, and threw herself into his arms. M'Corquodale was permitted to depart unmolested, but he was subsequently punished for his treachery by Sir Colin's son, who attacked him and expelled him from his castle and lands.

The legend turns on an incident which, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, was not unlikely to happen in more instances than one when crusaders abode long in the Holy Land, and their disconsolate dames received no tidings of their fate. A story very similar in circumstances is told of one of the Braidshaighs, the ancient lords of Haigh Hall, in Lancashire, now possessed by the Earl of Crawford, their descendant in the female line. The particulars are represented in a stained-glass window in that old manor-house, and are narrated at length in the family genealogy. Sir Walter mentions that he adopted the idea of the tale of 'The Betrothed' from the Haigh Hall tradition.

Sir Colin was four times married. His second wife was one of three daughters and co-heiresses of the Lord of Lorne, with whom he received a third of the estates of that ancient and powerful clan, still possessed by his descendants, and thenceforward quartered the galley of Lorne with his paternal coat of arms. His nephew, the first Earl of Argyll, to whom he was guardian, married another of these heiresses. By his fourth wife, a daughter of Stirling of Keir, Sir Colin had a son named John, who was the ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun.

SIR DUNCAN CAMPBELL, Sir Colin's eldest son, obtained in 1498 the office of Bailiary of the King's lands of Discher, Foyer, and

Glenlyon, with the view, it is supposed, of strengthening the efforts of the Campbells to 'cut off the tribe of the M'Gregors root and branch.' The office was hereditary, and on the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland in 1747, the second Earl of Breadalbane received the sum of one thousand pounds in full of his claim of six thousand. Sir Duncan appears to have been very successful in carrying out the acquisitive policy of the Campbells, for he obtained grants of the crown lands at the port of Loch Tay, along with the lands of Glenlyon, Finlarig, which became the burying-place of the family, and other property in Perthshire. Sir Duncan was killed at Flodden, along with his chief, the Earl of Argyll, and his sovereign. Of his four sons, the eldest, COLIN, succeeded him as third laird of Glenorchy, and the second was the ancestor of the Campbells of Glenlyon, one of whom commanded the soldiers who perpetrated the shocking massacre of Glencoe. Sir Colin is mentioned as having 'biggit the chapel of Finlarig to be ane burial for himself and posteritie.' His three sons enjoyed the paternal estates in turn, and the last of these, another Sir Colin, who became Laird of Glenorchy in 1550, 'conquessit the superiority of M'Nabb his haill landis.' The M'Nabs were an ancient clan who at one time possessed considerable property on the banks of the Docherty, near Killin, on the right side of Loch Tay, but their lands were long ago incorporated with the vast estates of the Breadalbane family. Sir Colin carried out in all its severity the ruthless policy of the Campbells against the M'Gregors, and he is said in the 'Black Book of Taymouth' to have 'behiddet the laird of M'Gregor himself at Kandmoor in presence of the Erle of Athol, the Justice-Clerk, and sindrie other noblemen.' It was this laird who erected the castle of Balloch, the site of which is now occupied by the splendid mansion of Taymouth Castle. When asked why he had built his house so near the extremity of his estate, he replied, 'We'll brizz yont' (press onward). The possessions of the family have however extended in the opposite direction.

The documents preserved in the Breadalbane charter-chest, of which an account is given by the late Dr. Stuart in the 'Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts,' throw great light on the state of society in the central Highlands at this period, and mention various usages and modes of life which were quite unknown in the Lowlands of Scotland. One of these was the practice of adoption, repeated examples of which occurred in the

Breadalbane family. Thus on 31st July, 1535, John M'Gillespie, at the castle of Glenorchy, 'having in view his own good and that of his son and offspring, then received John Campbell of Glenorchy as his own son, and took him on his knee, calling him "filium adoptivum," that is to say, his chosen son; and then, he being thus on his knee, delivered to the said John all and whole the half of his goods, movable and immovable.' A few years after this, by another instrument, John McBay and his wife took the said John Campbell of Glenorchy as a bairn of their own, and their special overman, and delivered to him a glove in token of all their goods and of his right to a bairn's part thereof after their decease. And for farther security they gave their oath on the Mass-book and touched the Holy Gospels to observe the present obligation and gift.

Another long series of documents exhibits in operation the custom of fosterage, which was long prevalent and exerted great influence in the Highlands. By one of these, dated at Glenorchy, 12th August, 1584, Duncan Campbell of Duntrune, and his wife, acknowledged to have received in fosterage Colin Campbell, son and heir of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy.

The Laird of Glenorchy had himself been fostered in the house of Duntrune; and with the view of perpetuating the love and favour existing between the houses of Glenorchy and Duntrune, it was agreed by the Laird of Duntrune that Agnes his wife should receive the said Colin in fostering, she promising to be to him a favourable and loving foster-mother; and when he reached the age for going to the schools, to do her duty to him in all things according to the custom and condition of a favourable foster-mother. And for the more sure declaration of her good will towards her foster-son, and to move him the more to do his duty to his brethren and friends hereafter, the said Agnes disposed to him a bairn's part of all the goods belonging to her at the time of her death.

On the other hand, the said Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, having in recollection his own fostering in the house of Duntrune, and the present delivery of his son to the said Agnes, he therefore promised to be a true and constant friend to her and his brethren [foster-brothers], to receive her and them in heartlie kindness and favour, and to defend them in all their lawful actions and quarrels, the authority of the Earl of Argyll being excepted.

By another contract, dated at the castle of Glenorchy, 5th November, 1580, Duncan Campbell, Fiar of Glenorchy, gave his son and

heir, Duncan, in fosterage to his native servant, Gillecreist Macdonchy Duff Vic Nokerd, and Katherine Neyn Douill Vikconchy, his spouse, to be sustained by them and nourished till he be sent to the schools, and to maintain him at the schools with reasonable support; the said father and foster-father giving between them of makhelve goods to the foster-child at Beltane the value of 200 merks of cows, and two horses or two mares worth forty merks, which, with their increase, were to belong to the child, but the milk to the foster-parents, so long as they maintained him and till his going to the schools. If the child should die before he is sent there, his father agrees to send another of his children, 'lass or lad,' to be fostered in his stead, the foster-parents in either case being bound to leave at their death a bairn's part of gear, as much as they leave to their own children, lands being excepted.

By these arrangements, as Dr. Stuart remarks, a close tie was formed between the chief and the neighbouring clans and families, by which the whole members were bound together for mutual aid at times when the protection of the law was weak, or could not penetrate into the remote districts which were the scene of action. An even closer tie was thus formed between the chief and the minor dunniewassels of his own clan. It was no uncommon occurrence for foster-brothers to protect him from danger by the sacrifice of their own lives.

Another series of papers gives examples of those bonds of man-rent service which were entered into with a like object between the Lairds of Glenorchy and the heads of the neighbouring tribes and families. Thus on the 2nd of June, 1548, the M'Gillekeyrs agree for themselves and their successors that they have chosen an honourable man, John Campbell of Glenorchy, to be their chief and protector in all just actions, 'as ane cheyf dois in the countries of the Helandis;' and when any of them died they were to leave to him 'ane cawylpe of kenkynie' (the best four-footed beast in their possession at the time of their death), as is usual in the neighbouring district; and among other obligations undertaken by them were those 'of ryding and ganging on horse and on futt in Heland and Lowland.' This right was at times transferred by one chief to another, as when Archibald, Earl of Argyll, on 24th December, 1566, conveyed to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy the man-rent service and calps due to him and his predecessors by the Clantyre in Balquhidder, because they were nearer to the said Colin, and he was therefore better able

to protect them. At other times the transference originated on the other side. Thus in 1552 Gregor M'Gregor, son to the Dean of Lismore, and Donald Beg M'Acrom and his brethren in the Brae of Weem, with many other families, renounced the Laird of M'Gregor as their chief, and bound themselves to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy and his heirs as their perpetual chief in the usual form, agreeing to bequeath to them their calps.

Other obligations undertaken were to visit the chief's house 'with suitable presents twice in the year,' and to give him and his heirs reasonable help and support when they have lands to redeem or buy, daughters to marry, or any other good or honourable turns ado, tending to the advancement or weal of their house. They were also to attend and serve in hosting and hunting, and to pass out at all times to the watch with the chief and his tenants for preserving the country from the incursions of malefactors. In the case of the Tutor of Inverawe it is specified that in addition to these services he and his tenants were to help Sir Duncan home with wine every summer, as the rest of the lairds did, and that they were to bring in no claimed men upon the lands, nor dispose his kindness thereof to any other, excepting his own heirs and surname of the clan Donochie, without Sir Duncan's consent.

Sir Colin was succeeded by SIR DUNCAN CAMPBELL, his eldest son, usually termed *Donacha dhu na Curich*, Black Duncan of the Cowl, who seems to have been a man of considerable force of character, but unscrupulous and treacherous. He was appointed by James VI., 18th May, 1590, one of the barons to assist at the coronation of his queen, Anne of Denmark, when he received the honour of knighthood. Sir Duncan was one of the six guardians of the young Earl of Argyll appointed by the will of his father, the sixth Earl, in 1584, all of them cadets of the family, and one of their number, Campbell of Lochnell, was the nearest heir to the earldom. Sir Duncan was deeply implicated in the conspiracy to which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Maitland of Thirleston, and the Earl of Huntly were parties, to murder the Earl of Argyll, Campbell of Calder or Cawdor, one of his guardians, and the Earl of Moray (see ARGYLL FAMILY). Mr. Gregory, in his 'History of the Western Islands and Highlands,' expressly charges Sir Duncan Campbell with being the principal mover in the plot which led to the murder of Calder. 'Glenorchy,' he says, 'knowing the feelings of personal animosity cherished by Campbell of Ardkinglas, his brother-in-law, against Calder, easily

prevailed upon the former to agree to the assassination of their common enemy, with whom Glenorchy himself had now an additional cause of quarrel arising from the protection given by Calder to some of the clan Gregor who were at feud with Glenorchy. After various unsuccessful attempts, Ardkinglas procured, through the agency of John Oig Campbell of Cabrachan, a brother of Lochnell, the services of a man named M'Kellar, by whom Calder was assassinated with a hackbut supplied by Ardkinglas, the fatal shot being fired at night through one of the windows of the house of Kepnoch, in Lorne, when Calder fell pierced through the heart with three bullets. Owing to his hereditary feud with Calder, Ardkinglas was generally suspected as the instigator of this murder, and being in consequence threatened with the vengeance of the young Earl of Argyll, Glenorchy ventured to communicate to him the plan for getting rid of the Earl and his brother, and for assisting Lochnell to seize the earldom. Ardkinglas refused, though repeatedly urged, to become a party to any designs against the life of the Earl, and proposed to make his peace with Argyll by disclosing the full extent of the plot. The inferior agents, John Oig Campbell and M'Kellar, were both executed, but all the influence of Calder's relations and friends could not obtain the punishment of any of the higher parties. Glenorchy was allowed to clear himself of all concern in the plots attributed to him by his own unsupported and extrajudicial denial in writing. He offered to abide his trial, which he well knew the Chancellor Thirlstane and the Earl of Huntly were deeply interested in preventing.

Though Sir Duncan was ambitious and grasping like his race, and utterly unprincipled, he was distinguished for his efforts in building, planting, and improving his estates, and in stimulating the industrious habits of his clan. He employed artists to decorate his house, and at a later period he was one of the most liberal patrons of George Jamesone, the Scottish Vandyke. He lived in a style which shows the mistaken notions cherished by those who imagine that at this period the Highlanders were in a state of barbarism and poverty.

The Household Books, which contain minute details of the economy of the Breadalbane establishment from the year 1590 downwards, show that the cheer was always abundant and of excellent quality. It consisted of fresh and salt beef, salmon and trout from Loch Tay, herrings from Loch Fyne, dried fish of several kinds, mutton of wedders from the Braes of Balquhidder, capons, geese,

wild geese, brawn, venison, partridges, blackcock, 'birsell' fowls, and rabbits. The drink consumed by the chief and his own family and guests was 'claret wyne,' 'quhyt [white] wine,' 'Spanis wyne;' and judging by the chalders of malt which appear in the accounts, the consumption of ale and beer must have been wonderful. There were three kinds of ale in use—ostler ale, household ale, and best ale—for the different grades of persons in the family. In 1590 the oat-meal consumed in the household was 364 bolls, the malt 207 bolls (deducting a small quantity of *struck* barley used in the kitchen). They used 90 beeves ('neats,' 'stirks,' or 'fed oxen'), more than two-thirds consumed fresh; 20 swine, 200 sheep, 424 salmon, far the greater portion being from the native rivers; 15,000 herrings, 30 dozen of hard fish; 1,805 'heads' of cheese new and old, weighing 325 stone; and 9 stons of butter, 26 dozen loaves of wheaten bread; of wheat flour $3\frac{1}{4}$ bolls. The wine, brought from Dundee, was claret and white wine, old and new, in no very large quantities. Of spices and sweetmeats we find notice only on one occasion of small quantities of saffron, mace, ginger, pepper, 'raises of cure plumdamas, and one sugarloaf.'

These books also furnish us with the names of the Laird's guests, which is a feature of great interest. Thus in the week beginning 18th September, 1590, besides Sir Duncan and Lady Campbell, there were at table the Laird of Tullibardine, the Laird of Abercairnrie, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Tutor of Duncrub, the Laird of Inchbraikie, the Prior of Charterhouse, 'with sindrie other cumeris and gangeris [goers].'

The Inventories of Plenishing, which commence in 1598, are of great value for understanding the habits and style of living of a powerful Scottish family. Besides the more homely furnishing of beds, sheets, blankets, and napery, there are entries of arras, work coverings, sewed coverings, woven Scots coverings, black and red mantles, Irish and Scottish 'caddois' (a kind of woollen cloth), white plaid curtains—some of red and green plaiding, others of black worsted; green 'sey,' champit red 'sey,' purpour plaiding pasmentit (decked with lace) with orange green, and blue 'canabeis [canopies?] pasmentit with orange;' 'damewark burde claithes, serviettes, and towelles,' 'sewit cushions, woven reid and orange,' 'green couter-claiths of French stennyng,' 'buffet stuillis.' The lists comprise all the articles used in the kitchen, the brewhouse, 'woman house,' and other divisions of the establishment. In 1600 are enumerated the

pieces of armour in the House of Balloch—cut-throat guns, brazen pieces, hagbuts, muskets, two-handed swords, a steel bonnet, ‘a gilt pece with the Laird’s armes, that come out of Dundie, stockit with brissell [Brazil wood],’ ‘brasin pistolletes,’ ‘Jedburgh staves,’ Lochaber axes, ‘gilt harness quhilk was gotten fra the Priour of Charter house, one stand embracing twelve peces.’ Curiously connected with the last entry is ‘ane Bibill,’ which may have come from the same reverend donor. There is an enumeration of articles indicative of the means which the chief, we fear too frequently, employed to vindicate his authority—‘great iron fetters for men’s feet and hands, long chains in the prison, high and low, with their shackles, &c.,’ and, most ominous of all, ‘ane heading ax.’

An Inventory of the ‘Geir [goods, effects] left by Sir Colin, not to be disponit upon,’ made up by Sir Robert Campbell in 1640, contains a list of jewels and silver plate of no ordinary extent. Of the former is ‘ane targett of gold, set with three diamonds, four topacis, or jacincts, ane rubie, and ane sapphire enammeled, given by King James the Fyft, of worthie memorie, to ane of the Laird of Glenurchay his predecessoures; item, ane round jewell of gold sett with precious stones, containing 29 diamonds and 4 great rubies, quhilk Queen Anna of worthie memorie, Queene of Great Britane, France, and Ireland [James VI.’s Queen] gave to umquhile [the late] Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhy, and uther four small diamonds quhilk the said Queene Anna, of worthie memorie, gave to the said Sir Duncane; item, ane fair silver brotch sett with precious stones; item, ane stone of the quantitie of half an hen’s eg sett in silver, being flat at the ane end and round at the uther end, lyke a peir, quhilk Sir Colin Campbell, first Laird of Glenurquhay, wore when he faught in battell at the Rhodes against the Turks, he being one of the Knychtis of the Rhodes; of great gold buttons 66.’ The ‘silver work’ comprehended ‘plaittes,’ ‘chargers,’ ‘lavers, with basons partly overgilt,’ ‘silver trenchers,’ and ‘sasars partly overgilt,’ ‘great silver cups,’ some of them ‘engraved’ and ‘partly overgilt,’ and some with the Laird’s arms, ‘little long schankit cups for acavite [whisky], silver goblets, salt-fats, masers, spoons, some of which had the lairdis name on them.’

Besides these heirlooms of the precious metals, the inventory contains many swords, guns, and armour, silk beds with rich hangings of taffety, one of them with ‘ane pend of blew velvett,’ embroidered with the names and arms of the laird and his lady; another bed of

‘incarnatt London cloath imbrouderit with black velvett;’ a third of ‘greine London cloath passimentit with green and orange silk lace;’ a fourth of ‘changing taffite greine and yellow;’ ‘sixteen uther weill and sufficient common furnischt beds with their furniture requisite;’ ‘great cramosie velvett cuschiones for the kirk,’ ‘cuschiounes of Turkey work;’ twenty-four pictures of the kings and queens of Scotland; ‘thirty-four pictures of the lairds and ladies of Glenurquhay, and other noblemen; ane great genealogie brod paintit of all the Lairds of Glenurquhay, and of those that ar come of the House of Glenurquhay.’

Sir Duncan, in 1617, obtained the office of heritable keeper of Mamlern, &c. King Charles I. afterwards conferred on him the sheriffship of Perthshire for life, and he was created baronet of Nova Scotia in 1625. He died in 1631, leaving seven sons and three daughters. His fifth son was the ancestor of the Campbells of Monzie, Lochlane and Finnab, in Perthshire. As might have been expected from his character, the policy of the family towards the ill-fated M’Gregors was pursued with unabated severity by Sir Duncan. His second son headed an attack upon them in 1616, at a place called Bintoich, or Ronefray, in the Brae of Glenorchy, at the head of two hundred men. The M’Gregors were only sixty in number, but though thus overmatched, they fought with the fury of despair, and slew a number of their ruthless enemies in the conflict which ended in their defeat, with the loss of four of their leaders and twenty of their clansmen.

Little is known of SIR COLIN, eldest son of Sir Duncan, except that he commissioned Jamesone, the celebrated painter, to paint for him a large number of family portraits, for which he paid the artist ‘ane hundred four scoire pounds, quhilk are set up in the hall of Balloch’ (now Taymouth). His brother and successor, SIR ROBERT, was a Covenanter—a character which could not have been expected to descend from such a stock or to flourish in the wilds of Breadalbane. In consequence, ‘in the year of God 1644 and 1645, his whole landes and estate betwixt the foord of Lyon and point of Lismore were burnt and destroyit be James Graham, some time Erle of Montrose, and Alexander M’Donald with their associattes. The tenants, their whole cattle were taken away be their enemies; and their cornes, houses, plenishing and whole insight, weir burnt; and the said Sir Robert pressing to get the inhabitants repairit, wairit [spent] £48 Scots upon the bigging of every cuple in his

landes, and also wairit seed cornes upon his own charges to the most of his inhabitants. The occasion of this malice against Sir Robert and his friends and countrie people, was because the said Sir Robert joint in covenant with the kirk and kingdom of Scotland in maintaining the trew religion, the kingis majesty, his authority and laws and libertie of the kingdom of Scotland; and because the said Sir Robert altogether refusit to assist the said James Graham and Alexander M'Donald, their malicious doings in the kingdom of Scotland, so that the Laird of Glenurquhay and his countrie people, their loss within Perthshire and within Argyleshire exceeds the soums of 1,200,000 merks.' Sir Robert had five sons and nine daughters. William, the third son, was the ancestor of the Campbells of Glenfalloch, from whom the present Marquis of Breadalbane is descended. The daughters were all married to Highland lairds, and the eldest became the mother of the famous Sir Ewan Cameron, of Lochiel.

Little is known of Sir Robert's eldest son, SIR JOHN. He married the eldest daughter of the powerful but ill-fated Earl of Strathearn, and had by her a son, JOHN, the first Earl of Breadalbane, born about 1635. The character of this powerful and unscrupulous chief has been drawn in dark but true colours by Lord Macaulay. 'He could bring seventeen hundred claymores into the field, and ten years before the Revolution he had actually marched into the Lowlands with this great force for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny. In those days he had affected zeal for monarchy and Episcopacy, but in truth he cared for no government and no religion. He seems to have united two different sets of vices, the growth of two different regions, and of two different stages in the progress of society. In his castle among the hills he had learned the barbarian pride and ferocity of a Highland chief. In the Council-chamber at Edinburgh he had contracted the deep taint of treachery and corruption. After the Revolution he had, like too many of his fellow-nobles, joined and betrayed every party in turn; had sworn fealty to William and Mary, and had plotted against them.' * Mackay, in his 'Memoirs,' says, 'the Earl is of a fair complexion, and has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and slippery as an eel.' 'No Government,' he adds, 'can trust him but where his own private interest is in view.'

Breadalbane had claims upon the gratitude of the royal family for

* *History of England*, iv. p. 189.

the great assistance which he gave, in 1653, to the forces collected in the Highlands under General Middleton, in the cause of Charles II., and for his endeavours to persuade Monk, after Cromwell's death, to declare for a free Parliament, as the most effectual way of bringing about the restoration of the Stewarts. He was a principal creditor of George Sinclair, sixth Earl of Caithness, whose debts were said to have exceeded a million of marks; and, in 1672, that nobleman executed a disposition of his whole estates, heritable jurisdictions, and titles, in favour of Campbell of Glenorchy, who took on himself the burden of the Earl's debts. On the death of Lord Caithness, without issue, in 1676, Sir John Campbell obtained a patent creating him Earl of Caithness; but George Sinclair, of Keiss, the heir-male of the family, disputed his right to that title, and the Parliament having decided in his favour, Sir John was created, in 1681, Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenorchy, Benderaloch, Ormelie, and Wick, with remainder to whichever of his sons by his first wife he might designate in writing, and ultimately to his heirs-male whomsoever.

The honours thus heaped upon him by the reigning sovereign failed to secure his fidelity when the trial came. After the Revolution of 1688 he gave in his adherence to William and Mary, though there was no end to 'the turns and doublings of his course' during the year 1689 and the earlier part of 1690. But after the battle of the Boyne had apparently ruined the Jacobite cause, the Earl became more steady in his support of the new sovereigns; and, as it was at this time his interest, as he affirmed, to promote the stability of the Government and the tranquillity of the country, it was resolved by the Ministry to employ the Earl to treat with the Jacobite chiefs, and a sum of fifteen thousand pounds was placed at his disposal, in order to induce them to swear allegiance to the reigning monarchs. It was an unwise and unfortunate selection. Breadalbane's reputation for honesty did not stand high, and he was 'suspected of intending to cheat both the clans and the King.' He alleged that the Macdonalds of Glencoe had ravaged his lands and driven away his cattle; and when their chief, M'Ian, appeared along with the other Jacobite heads of the clans, at a conference which he held with them, at his residence in Glenorchy, the Earl, who ordinarily bore himself with the solemn dignity of a Castilian grandee, forgot his public character, forgot the laws of hospitality, and, with angry reproaches and menaces, demanded reparation for the herds which had been driven from his lands by M'Ian's

followers. M'Ian was seriously apprehensive of some personal outrage, and was glad to get safe back to his own glen.' His pride had been wounded; he had no motive to induce him to accept of the terms offered by the Government. He was well aware that he had little chance of receiving any portion of the money which was to be distributed among the Jacobite chiefs, for his share of that money would scarcely meet Breadalbane's demands for compensation. M'Ian, therefore, used all his influence to dissuade his brother chiefs from accepting the proposals made to them by the agent of the English ministers; and Breadalbane found the negotiations indefinitely protracted by the arts of the man who had long been a thorn in his side. He contrived, however, in one way or other, either to spend or to pocket the funds entrusted to him by the Government. 'Some chiefs,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'he gratified with a share of the money; others with good words; others he kept quiet by threats. And when he was asked by Lord Nottingham to account for the money put into his hands to be distributed among the chiefs, he returned this laconic answer, "My lord, the money is spent; the Highlands are quiet: and this is the only way of accounting among friends."''

Before this pacification was effected, however, a most shocking tragedy had been enacted, in which Breadalbane was deeply implicated. His estates had suffered severely from the depredations of the men of Glencoe, and he hated them as 'Macdonalds, thieves, and Papists.' His anger against them was deepened by his knowledge of the fact that their chief had employed all his influence to thwart the negotiation with the clans, from which the Earl had hoped to gain credit with the Government. Its failure had indeed led the advisers of King William to entertain strong suspicions of Breadalbane's fidelity.

The authority of the Earl to conduct the negotiations was dated 24th April, 1690, and at the close of the autumn of 1691 the chiefs had not come to terms. The Scottish counsellors of the King, therefore, resolved to try the effect of threats as well as bribes, and on the 27th of August they issued a proclamation promising an indemnity to those who should swear the oath of allegiance in the presence of a civil magistrate before the 1st of January, 1692, and threatening with military execution those who should hold out after that day. There is abundant evidence that the Master of Stair, the Earl of Linlithgow, King William himself, and in all probability the

Earl of Breadalbane also, expected and wished that some of the Highland chiefs should refuse to avail themselves of the offer of indemnity within the prescribed period, and thus expose themselves to the summary vengeance of the Government. The Earl of Linlithgow, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, recommended Breadalbane to 'push the clans to do one thing or other, for such as will stand it out must not expect any more offers, and in that case those who have been their friends must act with the greatest vigour against them. The last standers-out must pay for all; and, besides, I know that the King does not care that some do it, that he may make examples of them.' Stair declared to the Earl, on the 3rd of November, that 'pulling down Glengarry's nest as the crows do, destroying him and his clan and garrisoning his house as a middle of communication between Inverlochy and Inverness, will be full as acceptable as his coming in.' A month later, in a letter to Breadalbane, he refers to the Earl's 'scheme for mauling them,' probably much such a scheme as was adopted; and he adds, 'Because I breathe nothing but destruction to Glengarry, Tarbet thinks that Keppoch will be a more proper example of severity, but I confess both's best to be ruined.'

It is well known that M'Ian of Glencoe was caught in the net spread mainly for the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glengarry, that the massacre of the chief and his clansmen was carried out in a manner peculiarly treacherous and cruel, and that though it excited deep and universal indignation, both the devisers of the shocking and bloody deed and the instruments employed in its execution escaped the punishment they deserved.

Breadalbane at once took guilt to himself. A few days after the massacre he sent Campbell of Barcaldin, his chamberlain, to the men of Glencoe to say that if they would declare under their hands that his lordship had no concern in the massacre, they might be assured the Earl would procure their 'remission and restitution.' It was not until 1695, three years after the Glencoe massacre, that a commission was appointed to inquire into the shocking affair. They reported that they did not find it proved that Breadalbane was implicated in the slaughter, but they discovered that the Earl had laid himself open to a charge of high treason by the manner in which he had acted in his negotiations with the clans; that he had professed to be a zealous partisan of James, and had recommended the chiefs to accept the money offered them by the Government, but at the same

time to be on the watch for an opportunity of taking up arms in favour of the exiled monarch. The Parliament immediately committed Breadalbane a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, but he was speedily released by the Ministry on the plea that the treacherous villain had, as he alleged, professed himself a Jacobite merely in order that he might discover and betray the plans of the Jacobite chiefs.

The Earl of Breadalbane was three times married. His first wife was Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of the first Earl of Holland, who was executed for his loyalty to Charles I. She had a fortune of £10,000, a large sum in those days, and out of numerous candidates for her hand the Earl of Breadalbane was the successful suitor. He was married to her in London, 17th December, 1657. According to tradition, after the marriage he set out with his bride for his Highland home, on horseback, with the lady behind him. Her *tocher*, which was all in gold, was deposited in a leather bag on the back of a Highland pony, which was guarded by a full-armed gillie on each side of the precious horse-load. The strange cavalcade passed unscathed through the Borders, and arrived safe at Balloch. A small room used to be shown in the old castle which, it was said, formed for some time at once the parlour and the bedroom of the newly married pair after their arrival.

The Earl died in 1716, and was succeeded by his second son—

JOHN CAMPBELL, Lord Glenorchy, born in 1662, whom he nominated in terms of his patent as his successor in the earldom and in his extensive estates. There is no reason to suppose that his eldest son, Duncan, Lord Ormelie, whom he passed over, had given him any personal offence, or had done anything which warranted this treatment. The probability seems to be that the cunning and suspicious old Earl was apprehensive that though the part his clan, under the command of his eldest son, had taken in the Rebellion of 1715 had been condoned by the Government, they might after all revive the offence and deprive him of his titles and estates. He therefore disinherited Lord Ormelie in favour of his younger brother. The unfortunate youth seems to have passed his life in obscurity without any steps having been taken to preserve a record of his descendants. In 1721, however, at a keenly contested election of a Scottish representative peer in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, the right of the second Earl to the peerage was called in question on the part of his elder brother on the ground that any disposition or nomination

from his father to the honours and dignity of Earl of Breadalbane 'could not convey the honours, nor could the Crown effectually grant a peerage to any person and to such heirs as he should name, such patent being inconsistent with the nature of a peerage, and not agreeable to law, and also without precedent.' Strange to say, these weighty objections were overruled by the peers, and by a decision which is quite unique, Lord Glenorchy was confirmed in his ancestral honours and estates. He was remarkable only for his longevity, having died in 1752 in his ninetieth year.

His only son, JOHN, third Earl, born in 1696, was noted for his precocious talents and attainments. In 1718, at the age of twenty-two, he was sent as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Denmark, and in 1731 was appointed ambassador to Russia. He sat for a good many years in the House of Commons as member first for the borough of Saltash and then for Oxford, was a steady supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, and was for some time one of the Lords of the Admiralty. After his accession to the peerage he was appointed, in 1761, Lord Chief Justice in Eyre, and in 1776 was nominated Vice-Admiral of Scotland. His first wife was Lady Annabella Grey, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, Duke of Kent, an ancient and illustrious English house, and by her he had a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter, who succeeded her grandfather as Baroness Lucas and Marchioness de Grey (see HUMES OF MARCHMONT). By his second wife Lord Breadalbane had two sons, who predeceased him. The younger, who bore the courtesy title of Lord Glenorchy, died in 1771 at the age of thirty-four, leaving no surviving issue. He married in 1761 Willielma, second daughter and co-heiress of William Maxwell of Preston, a cadet of the Nithsdale family—a lady of eminent piety and great accomplishments, as well as personal beauty. She built and endowed a church, called by her name, at the Old Physic Gardens in Edinburgh, which have now been incorporated with the station of the North British Railway. The church has been rebuilt in a more convenient spot. She also erected and endowed a chapel at Strathfillan, and employed at her own expense two missionaries in the Highlands, under the direction of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The memory of her 'works of faith and labours of love' is still fragrant both in Edinburgh and in the Highlands.

On the death of the third Earl of Breadalbane, in 1782, the male line of the first Earl was supposed to have become extinct, though it is not improbable that his eldest son had left issue who had the first claim to the family titles and estates. But JOHN CAMPBELL OF CARWHIN, who was descended from Colin Campbell of Mochaster, second son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, took possession of both without opposition. He raised a regiment in 1793, called the Breadalbane Fencibles, for the service of the Government, and in various other ways displayed a patriotic spirit during the protracted war with France. He was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1806 by the title of Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth, and in 1831 was raised to the rank of Marquis of Breadalbane and Earl of Ormelie. His attention was chiefly devoted to the improvement of his extensive estates, great portions of which he planted with trees fitted for the soil, and by his costly improvements he rendered the park at Taymouth one of the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom. The Earl married, in 1793, Mary Turner, eldest daughter and co-heiress of David Gavin, Esq., of Langton. Thereby, as we shall see, hangs a tale.

The Marquis of Breadalbane died in 1834, at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded in his titles and entailed estates by his only son, JOHN CAMPBELL, Earl of Ormelie, second Marquis. The whole of his personal estate, amounting, it was said, to upwards of £300,000, was directed by his will to accumulate for twenty years, and was then to be laid out in the purchase of landed property to be added to the entailed estates. The Marquis of Chandos (afterwards Duke of Buckingham), however, who had married the younger daughter of the Marquis, succeeded in getting the settlement set aside, so far as his wife was concerned, by a decision of the Court of Session, confirmed by the House of Lords, that she was entitled to *legitim*. The large sum of money thus awarded to Lord Chandos was swallowed up in the bottomless pit of his debts. The elder daughter of Lord Breadalbane, who married Sir John Pringle, of Stichell, was not so fortunate, owing to the difference in this respect between Scottish and English law. But after the death of her brother, Lady Elizabeth Pringle inherited the beautiful estate of Langton, which is now possessed by her daughter, Mary Gavin, who married the Honourable Robert Baillie Hamilton, second son of the tenth Earl of Haddington.

The second Marquis of Breadalbane represented Perthshire in the

Parliament of 1832, was made a Knight of the Thistle in 1838, was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1841, and in 1848 was appointed Lord Chamberlain. His lordship was a zealous supporter of the Free Church. He married, in 1821, Eliza, eldest daughter of George Baillie, Esq., of Jerviswood, a lady of great amiability and of remarkable beauty, who predeceased him. At his death, without issue, in 1862, the Marquisate and Barony of Breadalbane and the Earldom of Ormelie, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct. The Scottish honours were claimed by John Alexander Gavin Campbell, of Glenfalloch, and by Charles William Campbell, of Borland. Both claimants were descended from the fifth son of Sir Robert Campbell, Baronet, ninth Laird of Glenorchy, and both were the great-grandsons of William Campbell of Glenfalloch. James Campbell, the grandfather of John A. G. Campbell, was the second son, John Campbell, the grandfather of C. W. Campbell, was the third son, of Glenfalloch. (The issue of the eldest son was extinct.) But James Campbell, who was an officer in the army, eloped with the wife of Christopher Ludlow, a medical practitioner of Chipping Sodbury, in Gloucestershire. It was alleged that their eldest and only surviving son was born while Dr. Ludlow was alive, and was consequently illegitimate. It was contended that the subsequent marriage of Captain Campbell to Mrs. Ludlow could not render legitimate a child born in these circumstances. The case excited great attention, both on account of the peculiarity of the circumstances and the importance of the interests at stake. There was a want of definite information respecting the precise time of Dr. Ludlow's death, and the decision of the House of Lords was given, though with considerable hesitation, in favour of Campbell of Glenfalloch. He died in 1871, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the seventh Earl of Breadalbane, born in 1851, who was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1873, by the title of Lord Breadalbane of Kenmore, and was elevated to the rank of Marquis in 1885.

It is stated in the 'Doomsday Book' that the family estates in Perthshire and Argyllshire consist of 372,729 acres, with a rental of £59,930.

There is an interesting story related by Mr. Hay, in his valuable work on the Abbey of Arbroath, respecting the manner in which the estate of Langton came into the possession of the Breadalbane family.

'In the parish church of Lunan, in Forfarshire, there is attached to

the pulpit a brazen support for a baptismal font, and likewise to the precenter's desk, or lectern, a sand-glass stand of the same material. Each of these articles bears this inscription, "Given to the Church of Lunan by Alexander Gavin, merchant there, and Elizabeth Jamieson his spouse, 1733." A bell also belonging to this church, which used to be rung at funerals, bears a like inscription. This Alexander Gavin was for many years beadle of the parish of Lunan, an office which he added to his business as a merchant or retailer of groceries and other provisions. His father, James Gavin, had also held the office of beadle. It happened in his time that a Dutch vessel was wrecked in the bay of Lunan, and the beadle taking pity on the destitute condition of the castaway skipper, invited him to share the hospitality of his humble abode. This kindly offer was readily accepted, and the acquaintance thus so strangely formed resulted in the marriage of the Dutch skipper with the beadle's daughter, Catherine Gavin. Soon thereafter the skipper with his wife left for Holland, where he renounced the seafaring life and betook himself to the less dangerous and more lucrative pursuits of commerce. After Catherine's departure Alexander succeeded his father in the office of beadle. He married Elizabeth Jamieson, and had a son named David. This David Gavin, while a young man, was invited to Holland by his uncle and aunt, became in course of time a partner in the business carried on by the skipper, and married his cousin, the skipper's daughter, who, however, soon thereafter died. Having amassed a considerable fortune, David returned to Scotland, and purchased, in 1758, the estate of Langton,* in Berwickshire, as well as some other property, and married, in 1770, Lady Betty, daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. The issue of this marriage was three daughters, one of whom, Mary Turner, married, in 1793, the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Breadalbane, and was the mother of the second Marquis, of Lady Elizabeth Pringle, and of the Duchess of Buckingham. Alexander Gavin, the kirk beadle of Lunan, was thus the father-in-law of an earl's daughter, the grandfather of a marchioness, and the great-grandfather of a marquis and a duchess. Not many years ago there were people alive in the parish of Lunan who knew Alexander Gavin, and remembered him after he had become, through his son's affluence, independent of the emoluments

* The barony of Langton belonged to the Cockburns, an old and distinguished family, who had possessed it since 1358. Admiral Sir George Cockburn, an eminent naval officer, was the eighth baronet of this family, and Sir Alexander James Edinund Cockburn, late Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, was the tenth.

of his office and profits, sauntering about dressed in a long vest of scarlet embroidered with lace of gold, and carrying in his hand a gold-headed staff. It was after he reached this state of comparative independence that he presented to the parish the sand-glass and baptismal font supports and the bell, memorials of the duties he had long discharged, and acknowledgments of the kind Providence he had so strongly experienced.'

Mr. David Gavin effected extensive and beneficial improvements in the district where his estate lay. The old village of Langton was a mean, straggling place in the immediate vicinity of his mansion, and he offered to the inhabitants on easy terms a piece of ground, in a pleasant situation, about half a mile distant. This was readily accepted, and the old village of Langton in a short time disappeared, and the neat and thriving village of *Gavinton* arose in its room.





THE CAMPBELLS OF CAWDOR.



CAWDOR is indelibly associated with the name of Macbeth, and the tragedy of which, according to local tradition, it was the scene, and which the genius of Shakespeare has woven into 'the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom.' It has been justly remarked that had the 'gracious Duncan' possessed as many lives as a cat, Scottish tradition has local habitations for taking them all. He was undoubtedly murdered at Glamis, certainly at Cawdor, and positively at the Castle of Inverness—all by proof irrefragable. The investigations of modern historians, however, have led to the conclusion that Duncan was not murdered at all, but fell in battle against Macbeth, who was the hereditary Mormaor of Ross and, in right of his wife, Graach, Mormaor of Moray. This lady, who herself had a good title to the Crown, had suffered fearful wrongs at the hands of Malcolm, Duncan's grandfather and immediate predecessor on the throne. Her grandfather had been dethroned and killed by Malcolm, her brother assassinated, and her first husband, the Mormaor of Moray, burned in his castle along with fifty of his friends. Macbeth, too, had wrongs of his own to avenge, for his father also had been slain by Malcolm. Thus instigated by revenge and ambition, he attacked and slew Duncan, in the year 1039, at a place called Bothgowan, near Elgin. But in spite of all that historians and genealogists can allege or prove, implicit credit is still given to the story told by the great dramatist, and Macbeth continues to be regarded as having undoubtedly been Thane of Cawdor.

Cawdor Castle is perched upon a low rock overhanging the bed of a rushing stream, and is surrounded on all sides by forest-trees of a large size. The building is enclosed by a moat, and is approachable only by a drawbridge. It is still a residence of the Cawdor family,

but its iron-grated doors and wickets, its large bar, and kitchen pantry, formed out of the native rock, its hall, old furniture, carved mantelpieces, and figured tapestry, and the whole contour of the edifice, are much more in keeping with the fourteenth than the nineteenth century. Immediately opposite the outer gate of the castle stood a hawthorn-tree; another grew on what must have been the village green. The first and second hawthorn trees fell about sixty or seventy years ago, bearing the marks of extreme old age. A third, which still exists, but can scarcely be said to enjoy 'a green old age,' is shown in a vaulted apartment at the bottom of the principal tower. Its roots branch out beneath the floor, and its top penetrates through the vaulted arch of stone in such a manner as to make it evident that the tree stood in its present position before the tower was erected. According to an old tradition, the founder of Cawdor Castle was induced, either by a dream or by the advice of a wizard, to bind the coffers containing the gold which he had collected for the purpose of building a tower, upon an ass, and to build his castle on the spot on which the animal should halt. After strolling about for some time, the animal knelt down to rest beneath the branches of 'the third hawthorn-tree'—the one now in the vault of the castle—round which, accordingly, the mansion was erected. In allusion to this legend, the Gaelic salutation to the roof-tree of the Earl of Cawdor, is 'Freshness to the hawthorn-tree.' A curiously contrived secret chamber is still shown in the house, which was said to have been a hiding-place of Lord Lovat in 1746.

'The right feeling of the present time,' says Mr. Cosmo Innes, 'has forbidden any change that would alter the character of the quaint, antique, charming old place. The tower which Thane William built round the hawthorn-tree in 1454 stands surrounded by buildings of all subsequent dates, down to the work trusted to the skill of the Nairn masons in 1699. The simple drawbridge hangs as it has hung for centuries. The gardens and garden walls, the row of limes to screen the east wind, are all as Sir Hugh left them, or, perhaps, made and planted them. The place is unspoiled—not changed but for the better. The burn pours its brown sparkling stream down its rocky channel as of yore. The air has the brisk freshness of the Highlands, while the sky is blue and bright, as in more southern climates. The woods now wave over the grey castle with a luxuriance of shade which its old inhabitants never dreamt of.' *

* *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 435, 436.

The earliest notice of the possessors of Cawdor is in a charter granted by King Robert Bruce, in 1310, to William, Thane of Calder, of the Thanage of Calder, for a yearly payment of 12 merks, and the rent of the land which Fergus the Dempster was wont to pay in the time of Alexander III. In all probability this William was a descendant of those hereditary stewards of the Crown to whom the charge of this part of the royal demesne lands had been committed, and who now became, under the Saxon name of Thane, hereditary tenants, paying the sum at which the land stood in the King's Rental. The Thanes of Calder were also hereditary sheriffs of Nairn, and constables of the royal castle at the burgh of Nairn.

In 1454, William, Thane of Calder, obtained a license from the Crown for building and fortifying his castle of Cawdor, and the picturesque square tower which he erected over the hawthorn-tree still remains. In the following year the Thane had a warrant from the King (James II.) for razing and destroying the old insular castle of Lochindorb, forfeited by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray; famous for the long siege which it stood under the Countess of Athole, in 1536, till relieved by Edward III., who made an expedition to the north for that purpose. Thane William made large additions to the family estates, and obtained a very opulent marriage for his heir, who was a lettered man like his father, and added to his hereditary possessions both by marriage and purchase. The son of the builder of the tower had a family of five sons—the eldest of whom, on account of some personal defect, was set aside with a pension until he should obtain a Church benefice, and John, the second son, was formally invested in the whole heritage of the family, 'As sicker as men's wit can devise.' A marriage was arranged between him and Isabella Rose, in order to heal the differences between the houses of Cawdor and Kilravock; but, unfortunately, the union was not happy, and the old feud was embittered by family dissensions. The young Thane did not long survive his marriage, dying in 1498, leaving an only daughter.

'It was not unnatural,' says Mr. Innes, 'that the four sons and even the old Thane should look back with some disappointment on the transactions which had resulted only in leaving an infant girl sole heiress of the possessions of their house. They resolved, if they could, to set her aside, and with the help of their kinsman, the Precentor of Ross, they brought forward some curious evidence to prove her illegitimate. But the little Muriel was not unfriended. The new tenure

was against them, too. The young Thane had been fully invested, the estates held ward of the Crown, so that the infant was under the care of the sovereign, and Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, and Hugh Rose of Kilravock, uncle to the young heiress, were appointed 'tutors dative' to her by James IV. In the autumn of 1499, the Earl sent Campbell of Inverliver, with a band of sixty stout clansmen, to Kilravock, to convey the child to Inverary to be educated in the Argyll household. Her grandmother, the Lady of Kilravock, having probably heard of the remark of Campbell of Auchinbeck, that the heiress would never die so long as a yellow-haired lassie could be found in Cowal, seared and marked the hip of the girl with the key of her coffer, that she might not be changed.

Inverliver had reached Daltulich, in Strathnairn, with the child, when he was overtaken by Alexander and Hugh Calder, her paternal uncles, who, on hearing that Muriel had been carried off by the Campbells, pursued after her escort at the head of a strong body of their retainers. Inverliver, on the approach of the pursuers, sent away the child under the care of two or three trusty clansmen, and, exclaiming in words which have long been proverbial, 'It is a far cry to Lochaw and a distant help to the Campbells,' turned and offered battle to the Calders. One of his men, meanwhile, in the rear, carried in his arms a sheaf of corn dressed up to resemble a child. The contest was long and obstinate, and the seven sons of Inverliver are said to have fallen in the fight. In the end, when his young charge was beyond pursuit, Muriel's faithful protector drew off the survivors of his men and followed her to Inverary.

The result of this incident, as might have been expected, was the marriage of Muriel Calder, at the age of twelve, to Sir John Campbell, the third son of the Earl of Argyll, who founded the family of the Cawdor Campbells. Inheriting the personal character and following the policy of his race, he became almost as powerful as the chief of his clan, and his descendants for several generations shared in the fortunes of the house of Argyll. Sir John Campbell acquired large possessions in Argyllshire. Long before the general appropriation of Church lands at the Reformation, Sir John had obtained the extensive ecclesiastical territory of Muckairne, on the shores of Loch Etive, of which he had previously been bailie. It had belonged to the monks of Iona, and was conveyed to Sir John by Farquhar, Bishop of the Isles and Commendator of Iona. The narrative of the charter of conveyance gives a very unfavourable picture of the native

population. The estate, it said, lay in 'a wicked and pernicious province,' from whose inhabitants the Bishop and his predecessors could get no rents or profits, and he expressed a doubt, probably unnecessary, whether Sir John Campbell will be more successful. With a view of strengthening his position in his native county, the new Thane of Cawdor entered into bonds of closest alliances with many of the Islands and Western Highlands. So great was his acknowledged influence that such haughty Highland clans as the M'Leans, Camerons, McLeods, McDonalds, and McNeills, did not disdain to become 'leal and true men and servants' to Sir John Campbell of Cawdor. This prosperous scion of the clan Campbell died in 1546. Lady Muriel not only survived her husband, but also their eldest son, Archibald, who died only five years after his father. In the year 1573, when she had attained a good old age, she resigned her thanage and lands in favour of her grandson, 'Ihone Campbell, my oy, his airis male and assignayis.' She died in 1575.

This second SIR JOHN married Mary Keith, a daughter of the powerful Earl Marischal and a younger sister of the wife of the Regent Moray, who, after his assassination, married Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll, Chancellor of Scotland. The marriage of the young Thane no doubt drew closer his connection with his chief's family. On the death of Earl Colin, he was one of six persons appointed to advise the Countess in the management of the earldom during the minority of her son, 'quhais counsal,' said the Earl in his will, 'my said spous sall follow in all the thinges concerning the weill of my son and his countre. . Attour in cace of inlaik of my wyf I lief the government of my dochtar Annas unto the said John Campbell of Calder and to his wyf, hir modir sister.' After the death of the Countess and of Campbell of Ardkinglas, the Comptroller, Sir John seems to have governed the young Earl and his vast estates with almost undivided sway; but in 1591 he was assassinated by young Ardkinglas, the Comptroller's son, in connection with a foul conspiracy against Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll. [See CAMPBELLS OF BREADALBANE.] The eldest son of this unfortunate chief, a third SIR JOHN, induced Angus Macdonald to cede to him for the sum of £6,000 the fertile island of Islay. It was no easy matter, however, to obtain possession of the coveted territory, where the Macdonalds had lived for ages, as Macaulay says, 'with the pomp of royalty;' for the Islesmen dreaded and detested the Campbells, whom

they regarded as ambitious upstarts and intruders. For a number of years they successfully resisted all the efforts of the Knight of Cawdor to dispossess them. But the Privy Council, having received from him an offer of a feu duty or perpetual rent for the island, far beyond what had ever before been paid for it, intrusted his chief and kinsman, the Earl of Argyll, with a commission against the refractory islanders, and supplied him with cannon and ammunition, and the assistance of a body of soldiers. With the help of these auxiliaries the Campbells speedily succeeded in defeating the undisciplined islanders, and compelled them to submit to their new lords.

Islay was now absolutely won and held by the Campbells of Calder, but it proved an expensive trophy to the winner. 'With the acquisition of Islay,' says Mr. Cosmo Innes, 'began the misfortunes of the family. The expense of winning and keeping the island; large bribes assuredly exacted by courtiers; others possibly paid to the King for the gift; heavy rents to be made forthcoming while the land was still in the hands of enemies or waste; these causes, added to family expenses, the cost of two establishments, visits to a Court where none were welcome empty-handed, heaped up an amount of debt which in that age—innovent as yet of bills and bank-notes—might have weighed down a better manager than Sir John Campbell.' Numerous 'wadsetts,' or mortgages, were given on almost the whole of his estates in Morayshire, and creditors of every degree were clamorous for payment. Large droves of cattle were levied from the people of Islay, and sent to England twice a year to pay the rent due to the Crown. But still these dues fell into arrears, and at length, in 1619, the luckless landlord was 'put to the horn' for non-payment of the Crown-rents. In his deep distress Sir John proposed, in 1627, to sell Islay to his kinsman Macdonald, Earl of Antrim, for £5,000 sterling, another £1,000 to be added to the price if, in the opinion of certain arbitrators, the island should be worth more than £600 per annum of feu rent. The bargain, however, was not carried out at this time, and the island remained a century longer in the possession of the 'Thanes of Cawdor.' In the year 1723, John Campbell of Cawdor, M.P. for the county of Pembroke, mortgaged Islay and Jura to Donald Campbell of Shawfield, Lord Provost of Glasgow, for the sum of £6,000, reserving power to redeem these islands up till 1744. But in 1726 Cawdor made a sale of both Islay and Jura to Shawfield for the additional sum of £6,000, making the price £12,000 in all. The purchaser also became liable for the pay-

ment of the 'wadsetts' laid on the estates for the sum of £4,169, so that in reality the price paid for the two islands amounted to £16,169.*

One of the Knights of Cawdor, named SIR HUGH, was noted for his zealous efforts to get the Lord's Prayer introduced as part of the regular service in the Presbyterian Church. He repeatedly addressed letters on the subject to Principal Carstares, to the Presbytery of Inverness, and to the General Assembly. He also published, in 1704, 'An essay on the Lord's Prayer,' which was followed, in 1709, by 'Letters relative to an Essay on the Lord's Prayer.' Sir Hugh served in several Parliaments as member for the shire of Nairn, and like other Commissioners to Parliament, he received an allowance for his expenses. Probably owing to his zeal in pleading for the use of the Lord's Prayer in the daily church service of Scotland, he was accused of lukewarmness for Presbyterianism. The old man replied—'Since ever I came to the age of a man, I made it my business to do every honest minister of the Gospel all the good offices and service that was in my power, as I could find occasion; and God honoured me so much that I relieved many honest ministers out of prison, kept more from trouble, and to be an instrument to save the lives of several who were pious, eminently pious, and knowing beyond many of their brethren, such as Mr. William Guthrie, Mr. William Veitch, and several others; and I can say I spared neither my pains nor what credit I had with any who governed the State, nor my fortune nor purse. I ventured these, and my office and life too, to save honest people who walked according to their light, without flying to extremities and taking arms against the King and Government; so that all the time from 1662 to the late Revolution, there was not one man payed a fine in the shire of Nairn, except two or three.'

Sir Hugh repaired and enlarged the old castle of Cawdor, and the builders were taken bound to 'complete the whole work in the best and handsomest manner, so as themselves may have credit and Sir Hugh satisfaction.' He was the last of the family who made Cawdor his chief residence. His eldest son and heir, SIR

* Reservation was made of two small estates in Islay, named Sunderland and Terobolls, which had previously been disposed of, and also of the right of the heirs of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, to hunt in the forest of Jura—a privilege which was only recently sold by the Duke to the present proprietor of the island. Islay was purchased by the late Mr. Morison of London for £451,000. When Pennant visited Islay in 1769, the rental was about £2,300: it now amounts to £30,000 a year.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, married Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Sir Gilbert Lort, of Stackpole Court, Pembrokeshire, on whose death, in 1693, that estate passed to the Cawdor family. JOHN CAMPBELL, Sir Alexander's son and heir, who sold Islay, married Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Lewis Pryse of Gogirthen, Wales, and his eldest son, PRYSE CAMPBELL, took to wife Sarah, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edmund Bacon. These successive fortunate marriages added upwards of fifty thousand acres to the family estates, and increased their income fourfold. JOHN CAMPBELL, Pryse Campbell's elder son, was created a baron in the peerage of Great Britain, 21st June, 1790, by the title of Lord Cawdor of Castlemartin, in the county of Pembroke. His Lordship was highly commended for a gallant exploit which he performed in 1797, when a body of French troops landed at the seaport of Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire. Lord Cawdor attacked them at the head of a body of peasantry assisted by a few soldiers, and compelled the invaders, twelve hundred in number, to surrender themselves prisoners. JOHN FREDERICK CAMPBELL, his eldest son, was raised to the rank of Earl of Cawdor in 1827. The family honours and estates are now in the possession of his son, JOHN FREDERICK VAUGHAN CAMPBELL, second Earl and third Baron Cawdor. Unlike their kinsmen of Argyll and Breadalbane, the Cawdor Campbells have attached themselves to the Conservative party. The present Earl represented Carmarthenshire for nineteen years, and his eldest son, Viscount Emlyn, was one of the members for that county from 1874 to 1885. The family estates comprise 101,857 acres, of which 46,176 acres are in Nairn, 3,943 in Inverness, 33,782 in Carmarthen, 17,935 in Pembroke, and 21 in Cardigan. According to the Domesday Book, the annual rental amounts to £44,644.

In addition to four peers (a Duke and three Earls) of MacCalian Mohr's lineage, there are no fewer than twenty-eight Campbells in Scotland, each possessing 5,000 acres and upwards, the total extent of their estates being 538,861 acres.



THE LESLIES.



HE founder of the Leslie family was a Hungarian named Bartolf, or Bartholomew, who is said to have come to Scotland in the train of Edgar Atheling and his sisters, one of whom (the Princess Margaret) became the wife of Malcolm Canmore. Bartolf seems to have been a man of vigorous intellect as well as of great bodily strength—qualities highly prized in an age when might too often made right. He became a great favourite at the Scottish Court, and obtained in marriage the hand of one of Malcolm's sisters, along with the governorship of Edinburgh Castle and extensive grants of land in Aberdeenshire, Angus, and Fife. As is the case in regard to most of our old Scottish families, there are various traditions respecting the origin of the name which the descendants of the founder of the house assumed, and of the family arms and motto; but there is every reason to believe that the Leslies derived their patronymic from the lands of Lesselyn, in the district of Garioch, in Aberdeenshire. Here they erected their first seat, the Castle of Leslie, on the banks of the Gaudy, at the back of the celebrated hill of Bennachie. So numerous did the cadets of the house cluster around their ancestral domain that, in the words of a fine old song—

‘Thick sit the Leslies on Gaudy side,
At the back of Bennachie.’

Along with the Lindsays, Ogilvies, and other new settlers whom the policy of Malcolm Canmore encouraged to take up their residence in Scotland, they formed a powerful barrier against the incursions of the Highland and Island clans, who at that time attempted to maintain an independent sovereignty in the northern and western districts of Scotland. The Leslies were a stalwart race, strong in body and mind, and in these days of ‘rugging and riving’ con-

trived to obtain a large share both of territory and influence, not only in Scotland but in several Continental countries. No Scottish surname, indeed, has been more widely known than theirs, or more famous, on the Continent. Five generals of the name of Leslie commanded the armies of Scotland, Germany, Sweden, and Russia about the same time. Two counts of the Balquhain Leslies were field-m Marshals in the service of the Emperor of Germany. A junior member of this branch was a field-marshal in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. A member of the Rothes line, after serving under the same monarch, was a lieutenant-general in the army which the Scottish Parliament sent to the assistance of the English Parliament against Charles I. Major-General David Leslie contributed greatly to turn the tide of battle on Marston Moor, and at Philiphaugh he avenged on Montrose the series of defeats which the great Marquis had inflicted on the Covenanters at Alford, Turriff, and Kilsyth. Another Leslie became a general in the Russian service, and was made Governor of Smolensko. The Leslies were distinguished as men of the gown as well as men of the sword. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was eminent for his historical ability, and still more for his devoted adherence to the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. William Leslie, of the Warhill branch, was Prince-Bishop of Laybach and a Privy Councillor of the Empire. No fewer than four members of the Wardis and Rothes branches were bishops of the Irish Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Charles Leslie, son of one of these bishops, and a 'reasoner,' as Dr. Johnson said, 'who was not to be reasoned against,' was the author of the celebrated 'Short and Easy Method with Deists,' and other works on the evidence of Christianity, which have been pronounced on high authority 'the best books of their kind.' Sir John Leslie, the well-known Edinburgh Professor, enjoyed a European reputation as a mathematician and a philosopher; and Charles R. Leslie was one of the most eminent painters of the present day.

SIR NORMAN, the fifth in descent from the Hungarian Bartolf, appears to have been the first of the family who assumed the surname of Lesselyn, or Leslie. Previous to this time, the usual designation of their chief was the 'Constable of Inverurie.' Sir Norman's name is found in the 'Ragman's Roll,' and in other documents connected with the Scottish War of Independence. His son and grandson were staunch adherents of Robert Bruce and David II., and shared in

their perils and privations, and ultimate success of their struggles with the Baliols and their English supporters. DAVID, the fourth in succession to the barony of Leslie, joined one of the Crusades towards the close of the fourteenth century, and was so long absent in Palestine without any intelligence of him having reached home, that he was given up for dead, and a distant kinsman, Sir George Leslie of Rothes, was installed in his ancestral castle and estates. But scarcely had Sir George taken possession of the family mansion of Leslie, when the long-lost heir unexpectedly returned to Scotland and recovered his patrimonial estates. He, however, confirmed the entail executed by his father in favour of his kinsman, and at his death, forty years later, the principal property of the family passed to Norman de Leslie, son of Sir George, while the remainder was inherited by his own daughter and only child, Margaret, wife of Alexander Leslie, a son of the Baron of Balquhain, who assumed the designation of Leslie, or, according to the Scottish phrase, of 'that ilk,' though he was the head only of a minor branch of the family.

The Leslies of Rothes and Balquhain became henceforth the principal representatives of this ancient house. The Leslies of Balquhain still possess their ancestral estates. The Rothes Leslies exist in the female line, but the Leslies of that ilk were compelled to dispose of their patrimony about the beginning of the seventeenth century, owing to the imprudence and improvidence of George Leslie, the eighth baron. Their ancient castle of Leslie, erected by Bartolf, the founder of the family, which, like Balquhain, stands near the 'Hill of Bennachie,' was inhabited up to the beginning of the present century, but is now a ruin. So is the castle of Balquhain, 'a stern, simple square block, as destitute of decoration or architectural peculiarity as any stone boulder on the adjoining moor,' in which Queen Mary was hospitably entertained on her northern progress in 1562. It remained the main seat of the family till 1690, when they removed to Fetternear, an old summer residence of the Bishops of Aberdeen, beautifully situated in a finely wooded domain on the banks of the Don, which still remains their principal residence. The district of Garioch, in which these interesting baronial mansions stand, is associated with not a few historical incidents and remains of antiquity. The chapel of Garioch was endowed by Christian Bruce for the celebration of religious services for the souls of her brother, King Robert, and of her husband, Sir Andrew Moray, his

brave companion in arms; and by the Countess of Mar, widow of William, Earl of Douglas, for the performance of similar services for the souls of her husband, her brother, and her son, the hero of Otterburn. About a mile from the church is the battlefield of Harlaw, where another chaplaincy was founded by the widow of Sir Andrew Leslie of Balquhain for the souls of her six sons, who fell on that fatal field, and of her husband, who was killed at Braco in 1420.

There is a curious chapter in the memoirs of these old Leslies which has an important bearing on the ancient history of Scotland. WALTER, fourth son of Sir Andrew Leslie of Leslie, by his wife, one of the co-heiresses of the powerful family of Abernethy, served with great distinction in the Imperial army under the Emperors Louis IV. and Charles IV. (1346—1378) against the Saracens, and was so remarkable for his humanity, as well as his bravery and military skill, that he was styled the 'Generous Knight.' His brilliant exploits against Edward III. of England were rewarded with a liberal grant from Charles V. by a patent dated 1372. On his return to Scotland the fame of his valour and courtesy gained him the heart and hand of Euphemia, eldest daughter and heiress of the Earl of Ross, one of the most powerful magnates in the kingdom, and who had repeatedly aspired to independent sovereignty. Walter Leslie assumed the title of Earl of Ross in right of his wife, and their only son, Alexander, after his death became eighth Earl. He married Isabel Stewart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, the ambitious Regent of Scotland during the long captivity in England of his nephew, James I. Their only child, Euphemia, on the death of her father in 1411, succeeded to his titles and estates, and being under age and small of stature and deformed, was induced by her unscrupulous grandfather, the Regent, to become a nun, and to resign her right to the earldom of Ross in favour of his son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan. But Donald, Lord of the Isles, who had married the aunt of the young Countess, asserted his claim to the earldom in right of his wife, and resolved to vindicate his pretensions by force of arms. At the head of an army of 10,000 men he marched through Moray into the Garioch, intending to attack the city of Aberdeen. He was encountered at Harlaw, on the Urie, by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, at the head of the chivalry of Aberdeenshire, Angus and Mearns, together with the Provost and a troop of the stoutest burgesses of the city of Aberdeen, numbering altogether, however, only one to ten of the hostile force. The battle was long

and obstinately contested, and was indecisive in its immediate results, but six sons of Sir Andrew Leslie were left among the slain, along with the Provost of Aberdeen, the Sheriff of Angus, the Constable of Dundee, and the principal gentry of the district. It was justly said that—

‘Baith Hieland and Lowland mournfu’ be
For the sair field of Harlaw.’

There is reason to believe that the fate of the Baron of Balquhain, who commanded the van of Mar’s army in this famous battle, was before the mind of Sir Walter Scott when he depicted one of the most thrilling scenes he ever wrote—the description of old Elspeth’s talk and ballad in ‘The Antiquary’ respecting the fall of the Earl of Glenallan in that sanguinary encounter, and that the novelist had the *Leslies* of Balquhain in his eye when he makes Elspeth say that the Glenallan family always buried their dead at night and by torchlight, ‘since the time the great Earl fell at the sair battle o’ the Harlaw, when they say the coronach was cried in ae day from the mouth o’ the Tay to the Buck of the Cabrach. But the great Earl’s mother was living; they were a doughty and a dour race, the women o’ the house o’ Glenallan, and she wad hae nae coronach cried for her son, but had him laid in the silence o’ midnight in his place o’ rest, without either drinking the dirge or crying the lament. She said he had killed enow that day he died for the widows and daughters o’ the Highlanders he had slain to cry the coronach for them he had slain and for her son too; and sae she laid him in the grave wi’ dry eyes and without a groan or a wail.’

In later times the *Leslies* sent not a few stout men-at-arms to take part in the long and bloody wars of the seventeenth century. Walter, a younger son of the Baron of Balquhain, was created a Count by the Emperor Ferdinand III., and subsequently became a Field-Marshal and a Knight of the Golden Fleece. He served with great distinction in the Thirty Years’ War, and held some of the highest offices in the empire; but he tarnished his fame by the prominent part he took in the assassination of Wallenstein, under whom he had long served with brilliant reputation, and has in consequence been branded with infamy by the great German poet, Schiller, in his drama of *Wallenstein*. His nephew, James, who succeeded to his hereditary honours and to his lordship of Neustadt, gained a worthier reputation in the famous defence of Vienna against the Turks in 1683.



THE LESLIES OF ROTHES.

THE Leslies of Rothés obtained higher rank and greater prominence in the history of Scotland than the main stem of the family. The first Leslie who bore the name of Rothés was Sir George, who is described as Dominus de Rothés, in a contract of marriage, dated 26th April, 1392, but whether he acquired the barony by succession, marriage, or purchase, cannot now be ascertained.

It remained in the possession of the family for nearly four hundred years, was sold by John, ninth Earl of Rothés, in 1711, to John Grant, of Elchies, and now forms part of the extensive possessions of the Earl of Seafield. This fertile and beautiful barony lies on the western bank of the broad and rapid river Spey, and is both well wooded and 'well watered everywhere,' and diversified by hills in the background, and glens with their tributary brooks. The old castle of the Leslies, which stood on a green mount, surrounded by a fosse, is now in ruins. When the Earl sold the estate he 'reserved to himself the castle tower, with the castle bank and the green under the walls thereof,' the only remnant of the vast estates which the Rothés family at one time possessed in Morayshire.

As we have seen, on the death of David de Leslie (the last Baron of the original stock) his daughter Margaret inherited the barony of Leslie, in the Garioch, but the other estates of the family went to Sir George Leslie, the head of the Rothés branch. Sir George seems to have been a man of great influence in his day, and to have been held in high esteem, both by his sovereign, Robert III., and by his brother nobles. He obtained in 1398, a grant of the barony of Fythkill, now called Leslie, in Fife, which had been resigned into the hands of the King by his kinsman, Alexander Leslie, Earl of Ross, and which Sir George was to hold of the sovereign

for the annual payment of a pair of gloves. Two years later the King confirmed a charter granted by the Earl, of no fewer than eight distinct estates, in the shire of the Mearns, in return for the good service which Sir George had rendered to the Earl by advancing him 'in his great necessity, the sum of 200 merks to relieve the lands and earldom of Ross, then in the hands of the King, the superior thereof.'

GEORGE LESLIE, the grandson of this powerful baron, was the first Earl of Rothes, and through his father and mother (Christian Seton) was descended from both the royal families of Bruce and Stewart. He was three times married. After he had lived nearly twenty years in wedlock with his second wife, a daughter of Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, he grew tired of her, and raised an action before the Consistory Court of St. Andrews, for the dissolution of the marriage on the convenient and common plea at that time, that he and his wife were related within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and that consequently their marriage was null and void from the first. A divorce could be obtained on this ground at that period with the utmost facility, and was a matter of every-day occurrence. But a formidable difficulty presented itself in regard to the position of the children born under the marriage, who would be declared illegitimate if it should be dissolved. As the Earl's eldest son, Andrew, had married into the powerful family of St. Clair, it was not to be expected that they would patiently acquiesce in a decision which deprived him and his children of their rights. It was ultimately decided by the arbiter to whom the case was referred by mutual consent, that the Earl should obtain a divorce, but that the legitimacy of his offspring should be preserved by his judicial deposition that he did not know of the relationship between him and his wife, till after the birth of all their children.

The Earl was succeeded by his grandson GEORGE, his eldest son having predeceased him. George, the second Earl, appears to have been a 'ne'er-do-weel.' Having failed to appear to answer a charge against him of being art and part in the murder of George Leslie in 1498, he was 'put to the horn,' or outlawed, and his goods escheated to the King. He seems in various ways to have dilapidated the family estates, for in 1506, William Leslie, his brother and heir, represented to the King, 'that the said Earl of Rothes,

for default of good governance, tynes his old brentage in disinheriting of his righteous heir, and contrar to the laws of God.' The King (James IV.) declared 'the said William's desires to be just and consonant to reason; and not willing that so noble and famous a house as the Earldom of Rothes be destroyed, but rather be kept in honour and nobility as the said Earl's predecessors kepted the same in times by-gone,' he granted authority to a council of the family to assist in the 'government of the person, lordship, lands, and goods' of the spendthrift peer, 'so that he be not misguided and his lands wasted.' Various similar cases occurred in the ancient history of our country, and it would be well for the honour and the interest of some noble families in our own day, if legal authority could be obtained to save a man from himself, and to take the management of the patrimonial inheritance of a great house out of the hands of an incompetent or profligate heir. It appears that in addition to his other acts of misconduct, this 'misguided' nobleman had incurred heavy penalties by his neglect of certain feudal ceremonies and forms of law, so that several valuable estates had lapsed into the hands of the King. Owing to these irregularities, his brother and successor—

WILLIAM, third Earl, had considerable trouble in making good his title to the family inheritance; and before his difficulties with the Crown were removed he was killed, along with the King and the flower of the Scottish nobility, on the fatal field of Flodden, 9th of September, 1513. His son GEORGE, fourth Earl, inherited not only the titles and estates of the family, along with their ability and courage, but also some other qualities which appear to have 'run in the blood' of the Rothes Leslies. He filled various high offices of State, among others that of ambassador to Denmark, in 1550, and was one of eight Commissioners elected by the Estates to represent the Scottish nation at the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, at Paris, April 24, 1558. On their way home the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, and Bishop Reid, President of the Court of Session, died at Dieppe all in one night, and Lord Fleming died about the same time at Paris. It was universally believed at the time that the Commissioners had been poisoned because they had firmly refused to settle on the Dauphin the crown matrimonial of Scotland, or to promise that on their return to their own country they would endeavour to effect that object. Earl George was five times married. His first

wife, Margaret Crichton, was a niece of James IV., who inherited the passions and misfortunes of her lineage. During her husband's absence as ambassador at the Court of Denmark, she had an intrigue with Patrick Panter, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Secretary of State, one of the most learned men of his age, and bore to him a son, who ultimately became Bishop of Ross. On the 27th of December, 1580, the Earl obtained a divorce in the Consistory Court, not, however, on the ground of his wife's unfaithfulness to him, but the marriage was declared null and void from the first, on the plea that the Earl confessed to having illicit intercourse before his marriage with Matilda Striveling, who was related to Margaret Crichton in the second and third degree of consanguinity, thus making the Earl and Margaret related to each other in the same degrees of affinity, and rendering their marriage incestuous and illegal according to existing law. This remarkable proceeding, connected as it is with 'one of the strangest and darkest stories to be found in Scottish family history,' throws a flood of light on the state of morals at that period among the upper classes in Scotland through the operation of the law of marriage and divorce instituted by the Papal Court.

The fourth Earl of Rothcs was succeeded by his eldest son by his second wife, Agnes Somerville. His eldest son, Norman, and his second son, William, by Margaret Crichton, were passed over, both having incurred forfeit as traitors on account of their connection with the murder of the celebrated Cardinal Beaton. There can be no doubt that apart from the desire to avenge on the Cardinal the martyrdom of Wishart, Norman Leslie was actuated by personal enmity in the part which he took in the murder of Beaton; and his uncle, John Leslie, a prominent actor in the scene, shared his feelings. After the surrender of the Castle of St. Andrews to the French in the June following, Norman Leslie was carried with the other prisoners to France. He subsequently entered the service of the French King, and obtained great celebrity for his brilliant exploits in the wars between France and Germany. His gallantry at the battle of Cambray (1554), in which he was mortally wounded, drew forth the admiration both of friends and foes, and led Prince Louis of Conde to remark that 'Hector of Troy had not behaved more valiantly than Norman Leslie.'

EARL ANDREW, fifth Earl of Rothcs, took a prominent part in

public affairs during the 'troublesome times' of Mary of Guise and her daughter, Queen Mary. He was at first a staunch supporter of the Lords of the Congregation, but afterwards changed sides, and fought for Mary at Langside.

He was succeeded by his grandson, JOHN, sixth Earl, who was a zealous Covenanter, and gave great offence to Charles I. by his courageous resistance to his Majesty's ecclesiastical projects. He was nominated chief of the Scottish Commissioners sent to London in 1640 to treat with the King. His intercourse with the Court had the effect of considerably moderating his zeal in behalf of the Parliament, and it appears that hopes were entertained that he might even be induced to join the Royalist party. Clarendon says, 'Certain it is that he had not been long in England, before he liked both the King and the Court so well, that he was not willing to part with either. He was of a pleasant and jovial humour, without any of those constraints which the formality of that time made that party subject themselves to.' A pension of £10,000 Scots (£883 6s. 8d. sterling) was settled on him. He was to have been appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber and a Privy Councillor, and a marriage had been arranged between him and Lady Devonshire, who possessed £4,000 sterling a year, when he died at Richmond, after a short illness, in the forty-first year of his age. His death was considered a great blow to the hopes which were cherished at that time that an amicable treaty would be arranged between Charles and the Scottish Covenanters.

His son JOHN, seventh Earl of Rothes, was a staunch Royalist in the Great Civil War, and was taken prisoner at the Battle of Worcester. At the restoration of Charles II. he was rewarded for his services with a pension, and his nomination to the office of President of the Privy Council of Scotland. He was subsequently appointed Lord Treasurer for life, and Lord High Commissioner, and in 1680 was created Duke of Rothes. His talents were of a high order, but he was notorious for his ignorance and profligacy. Lord Fountainhall says the Duke gave himself 'great libertie in all sorts of pleasures and debaucheries, and by his bad example infected many of the nobility and gentry.' He is said to have excused his licentious conduct by alleging that, as he held the office of Royal Commissioner to Charles II., it was fitting that he should represent the royal

character and conduct. Bishop Burnet, in a passage which was suppressed in the earlier editions of his history, says Rothes 'was, unhappily, mad for drunkenness; for, as he drank, all his friends died, and he was able to subdue two or three sets of drunkards, one after another, so it scarce ever appeared that he was disordered; and after the greatest excesses, an hour or two of sleep carried them all off so entirely that no sign of them remained. He would go about his business without any uneasiness, or discovering any heat either in body or mind. This had a terrible conclusion, for, after he had killed all his friends, he fell at last under such a weakness of stomach that he had perpetual cholics, when he was not hot within and full of strong liquor, of which he was presently seized; so that he was always either sick or drunk.' The Duke has left behind him an evil reputation as one of the persecutors of the Covenanters, and he was no doubt deeply implicated in the cruel and oppressive proceedings of his times. He seems, however, to have been personally a good-tempered and kind-hearted man. His Duchess, who was a daughter of the Earl of Crawford, was a staunch friend and protector of the persecuted clergy, and the Duke was wont to give her a hint, when a warrant from the Privy Council compelled him to institute a search after the preachers who were in hiding among the woods of Leslie. 'My lady,' he used to say, 'my hawks maun be abroad the morn; ye had better look after your blackbirds.' On his deathbed he sent for some of the Covenanting ministers, and entreated them to pray for him. The dukedom expired at his death in 1661, but the ancient family titles descended to his daughter, and since that time they have four several times fallen upon female heirs, who have not always been fortunate in their marriages. On the death of George William Evelyn Leslie, fifteenth Earl, in 1859, the family titles and estates devolved upon his sister Henrietta, who was born in 1832, and married in 1861 the Hon. George Waldegrave, third son of the eighth Earl of Waldegrave. The Countess died without issue in 1887. The Rothes estates, according to the 'Doomsday Book,' consist of 3,562 acres, of the gross annual value of £7,343 5s.



THE LESLIES OF LEVEN.

ALLEXANDER LESLIE, Earl of Leven, the distinguished general who commanded the army of the Scottish Covenanters in the Great Civil War, was the son of Captain George Leslie of Balgonie in Fife, by his wife, a daughter of Stewart of Ballechin. Having made choice of the military profession, he obtained at an early age a captain's commission in the regiment of Lord Vere, who was then assisting the Dutch in their memorable contest against Spain, and soon rendered himself conspicuous by his valour and military skill. He afterwards served with great distinction under Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, by whom he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal. His successful defence of Stralsund in 1628, against a powerful army of Imperialists, under the celebrated Count Wallenstein, gained him great reputation; and the citizens showed their gratitude to their deliverer by making him a handsome present, and having medals struck in his honour. In 1639, when the Scottish Covenanters were preparing to resist, by force if necessary, the attempts of Charles I. to compel them to submit to the new English Liturgy, General Leslie returned to his native country, along with a number of his brother officers, and was appointed to the chief command of the army which had been raised by the Committee of the Scottish Estates. His plans were sagaciously formed and promptly executed, and before the Covenanting forces marched towards the Borders to meet the hostile army which Charles was bringing against them from England, nearly all the strongholds of the country were in their possession. When their ill-advised sovereign reached the Tweed, he learned to his surprise and dismay that an army of at least twenty thousand men was encamped on Dunse Law in readiness to repel force by force, with the most influential nobles in

Scotland as their chief officers, with experienced soldiers for their subalterns, and the whole under the command of a general who had gained in the Continental wars a high reputation for military skill. 'We were feared,' says Baillie, 'that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old little crooked soldier, that all with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave o'er themselves to be guided by him as if he had been great Solyman.'

Charles, finding that his soldiers had no heart to fight in his quarrel, and that he was quite unable to resist the formidable army which General Leslie had brought against him, was fain to come to an amicable agreement, 28th June, 1639, which, however, was not of long duration. In the following year the Covenanters found it necessary to reassemble their forces, and Leslie again assumed the chief command, and marched into England at the head of a well-equipped army, consisting of twenty-three thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and a train of artillery. He defeated the royal forces that opposed his passage of the Tyne, and took possession of Newcastle and other important towns in the north of England. These successes led to the Treaty of Ripon, and a compliance on the part of the King with all the demands of the Scottish Covenanters.

In the following year (1641) Charles visited Scotland for the purpose of conciliating the Presbyterian party, and created General Leslie Lord Balgonie and Earl of Leven. When the Civil War at length broke out, and the Scottish Estates resolved to send assistance to the Parliament, the Earl once more took the command of their forces. He was present at the battle of Marston Moor, and commanded the left division of the centre of the Parliamentary forces, which was broken by the impetuous charge of Prince Rupert, and driven from the field. But David Leslie assisted in retrieving the day, which terminated in the total defeat of the royal army. While the Scots were engaged in the siege of Newark, the unfortunate monarch repaired to Leslie's camp, May 5th, 1646; but his obstinate refusal to comply with the proposals of the Covenanting leaders made it impossible for them to espouse his cause.

On the termination of the war General Leslie resigned his command on account of his great age, but was present as a volunteer at the battle of Dunbar in 1650. In the following year he was surprised and taken prisoner by one of Cromwell's officers, along with

a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who had met at Alyth, in Forfarshire, to concert measures for the restoration of Charles II. He was conveyed to London and confined in the Tower, but was ultimately set at liberty through the intercession of Christina, Queen of Sweden, and returned to Scotland in 1654. He died in 1661 at a very advanced age.

General Leslie had two sons, both of whom predeceased him. The elder, Alexander, Lord Balgonie, left by his wife—a sister of the Duke of Rothes—a son, also named ALEXANDER, and a daughter. The former succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Leven; the latter married the first Earl of Melville, and their son became the third Earl of Leven. The second Earl of Leven, who died in 1664, left two daughters, who were successively Countesses of Leven in their own right. The elder—Margaret, who married the second son of the seventh Earl of Eglinton—died without issue. Catherine, the younger, died unmarried. Her aunt, the Countess of Melville, was served heir to her in 1706, and the title devolved upon her son—

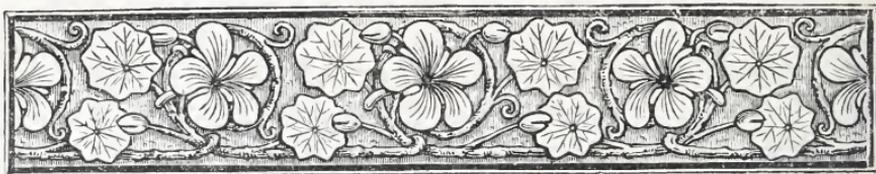
DAVID, third Earl of Leven and second Earl of Melville. He entered the service of the Duke of Brandenburg in 1685, and became colonel of a regiment of foot, with which he accompanied the Prince of Orange to England at the Revolution of 1688. He fought at Killiecrankie, and distinguished himself in the campaigns in Ireland and in Flanders. He attained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1706, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland.

The two sons of the fifth Earl of Leven were officers in the army, and the younger, Alexander, served in the American War, and was second in command under Lord Cornwallis, who, in his dispatches, commends him in the highest terms. The elder, DAVID, sixth Earl, had four sons, three of whom entered the military service of their country. One was killed in the American War. The other two earned the reputation of brave and energetic officers, and both reached the position of lieutenant-general. ALEXANDER, the seventh Earl, married a daughter of John Thornton, of London, the eminent banker, whose munificent charities are mentioned with glowing eulogies in the 'Life and Letters of Cowper,' the poet. His eldest son, DAVID LESLIE-MELVILLE, eighth Earl of Leven, entered the

navy, and attained the rank of vice-admiral. His two sons predeceased him. The elder, ALEXANDER, Viscount Balgonie, was an officer in the Grenadier Guards, and died in 1857, worn out by the hardships and privations of the Crimean War. On the death of the eighth Earl, in 1860, his estates, yielding £3,089 18s. a year, were inherited by his eldest daughter, Elizabeth Jane, who married Mr. T. B. Cartwright, son of the late Sir T. Cartwright, G.C.H., but the family titles passed to the Earl's brother, JOHN THORNTON, whose eldest son—

ALEXANDER LESLIE-MELVILLE, tenth Earl of Leven, and ninth Earl of Melville, is now the head of the house. He has a small estate in Fife of 1,019 acres, with a rental of £1,761 11s.; and one in Nairn of 7,805 acres, yielding £1,317 4s. a year. The Balgonie estate, which belonged to General Leslie, the founder of the family, and has a rental of £5,102 6s., was sold by the eighth Earl a good many years before his death.





THE LESLIES OF NEWARK.

DAVID LESLIE, Lord Newark, another scion of the house of Leslie, was a more skilful general even than Alexander, Lord Leven, in whom the Covenanters put such unbounded trust. He was the fifth son of Sir Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly, Commendator of Lindores by his wife, Jean, daughter of Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney. At an early age he entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and fought the battle of Protestantism in Germany under that famous warrior. Like Alexander Leslie and others of his countrymen who were engaged in military services on the Continent, he returned home when hostilities were impending between the English Court and his countrymen, and was appointed Major-General of the forces which the Committee of Estates sent to the assistance of the English Parliament in January, 1644. He commanded the Scottish cavalry in the left wing, under Cromwell, at the battle of Marston Moor, on the 22nd of July following, and contributed not a little to the decisive victory gained by the Parliamentary army. Meanwhile Montrose had, in six successive victories, completely overthrown and scattered the Covenanting forces in Scotland, and had the whole kingdom entirely at his disposal. In this emergency, David Leslie was recalled with the Scottish cavalry from the siege of Hereford to the assistance of the Estates, and, by a rapid and skilful movement, he surprised and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, 12th September, 1645.

After securing the internal peace of Scotland by the complete suppression of the Royalist party, Leslie rejoined the army in England under Lord Leven, and assisted in the siege of Newcastle. On the surrender of Charles to the Parliament, the Scottish forces returned home, and General Leslie was employed in the reduction

of the strongholds held by the Gordons in the north, and by the Macdonalds, Alaster M'Coll and his father Colkitto, in Kintyre and Isla, a service which he discharged with great severity and, indeed, cruelty. He put to the sword the garrison of Dunaverty, consisting of three hundred Highlanders and Irishmen; and Colkitto, who was taken prisoner in the castle of Dunavey, was given up to the Campbells, by whom he was hanged. General Leslie was offered, but declined, the command of the army which the Scottish Estates sent in 1648 into England to rescue the King from the Republican party. On the resignation of the Earl of Leven, in 1650, he accepted the command of the forces raised in support of the claims of Charles II., and by his masterly tactics completely foiled Cromwell, whom he, at last, shut up in Dunbar. He was, unfortunately, induced by the rash and ignorant importunity of the Committee of Estates to quit his commanding position on Doonhill, and to risk a battle, in which he was signally defeated, 3rd September, 1650. With the remains of his army he retired to Stirling, where he took up a strong position, which enabled him to keep the victorious enemy at bay. When the resolution was taken to march into England, in the hope of being joined by the Royalists in the south, Charles himself assumed the command of the army, with Leslie as his Lieutenant-General. He was present at the battle of Worcester, 3rd September, 1651, and was taken prisoner in his retreat through Yorkshire, and committed to the Tower, where he was confined for nine years. At the Restoration he regained his liberty and, as a reward for his signal services and sufferings in the royal cause, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Newark, 31st August, 1661, and also obtained a pension of £500 a year. His death occurred in the year 1682.

On the death of his son DAVID, second Lord Newark, in 1694, without heirs male, the title was assumed by his eldest daughter, and was borne by her descendants till 1793, under a mistaken notion as to the destination settled by the patent. But it was then disallowed by the House of Lords, and is now believed to be extinct.



THE RAMSAYS.



HERE are certain qualities, both physical and mental, which for ages have run in the blood of distinguished families, and have obtained for them corresponding designations. The 'gallant Grahams,' 'gay Gordons,' 'handsome Hays,' 'light Lindsays,' 'haughty Hamiltons,' have, generation after generation, exhibited the qualities which these epithets imply. One noble Scottish family have, from the earliest times, been noted for their covetous greed of the lands of their neighbours; another for their cruelty; a third for their irascible temper; a fourth for their braggart boasting. The Ramsays have, from the earliest period down to the present day, been noted for their courage and military skill, and that 'stubborn hardihood' which may be broken but will not bend. They took a prominent part in the protracted struggle for the liberty and independence of their country against 'our auld enemies of England,' and laid down their lives for Scotland's cause on many a bloody field. In later times, the fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth Earls attained high rank in the British army, while the younger members of their families acquired great distinction in Continental and Colonial warfare. In allusion to their services both at home and abroad, Sir Walter Scott, who had a high regard for this old heroic family, makes King James, in the 'Fortunes of Nigel,' speak of 'the auld martial stock of the house of Dalwalsey, than whom better men never did, and better never will draw sword for king and country. Heard ye never of Sir William Ramsay, of Dalwalsey, of whom John Fordoun saith, He was *bellicosissimus, nobilissimus?* We are grieved we cannot have the presence of the noble chief of that house at the marriage ceremony; but when there is honour to be won abroad, the Lord Dalwalsey is seldom to be found at home. "Sic fuit, est, et erit."

The Ramsays, like the Bruces, Hamiltons, Lindsays, Maxwells, Setons, Keiths, Stewarts, and other great Scottish families, settled in Scotland during the reign of David I. They are said to be of German origin, which is not improbable; but the founder of the Scottish branch of the house appears to have come into Scotland from Huntingdonshire, of which David was Earl before he ascended the throne, and where Ramsay is a local designation. The first person of distinction who bore the name in Scotland was the SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY whose noble and warlike character is eulogised by Fordoun. He was the friend of Robert Bruce, by whose side he fought throughout the War of Independence, and was one of the nobles who subscribed the celebrated memorial to the Pope, in 1320, vindicating the rights and liberties of their country. SIR ALEXANDER RAMSAY, the son of this baron, was one of the noblest and bravest of Scottish patriots. In the dark days of David II., the unworthy son of Robert Bruce, Sir Alexander acquired such distinction by his gallant exploits in defence of his country that, according to Fordoun, to serve in his band was considered a branch of military education requisite for all young gentlemen who meant to excel in arms. At the head of a body of knights and soldiers whom his fame as a daring and skilful warrior had drawn around him, he sallied from the crags and caves of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, where he found shelter, intercepted the convoys of the enemy, captured their provisions, cut off their stragglers, and seriously hindered their operations. He was one of the leaders of the force which, in 1335, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Flemish auxiliaries under the command of the Count Namur, on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh. He relieved the garrison of Dunbar, commanded by the famous Countess of Dunbar and March, daughter of Randolph, Earl of Moray, when besieged by the Earl of Salisbury, in 1338, and reduced to the greatest extremities, and compelled the English army to raise the siege. He even penetrated into Northumberland, which he wasted with fire and sword; and, on his homeward march, defeated a powerful body of the enemy near Wark Castle, and killed or captured them almost to a man. In a night attack, in 1342, he stormed the strong fortress of Roxburgh, situated near the confluence of the Teviot and the Tweed. The situation of this famous stronghold on the Borders rendered the possession of it during the continued warfare between England and Scotland of great importance to both of the contending parties. It was, therefore, usually the first

place of attack on the breaking out of hostilities, was the scene of several daring exploits during the War of Independence, and frequently changed masters. Sir Alexander Ramsay was rewarded for the important service which he had rendered by its capture, by the appointment of governor of the castle, and was also nominated by the King (David II.), Sheriff of Teviotdale, a post which had been previously held by Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale. Deeply offended at this act, Douglas vowed vengeance against the new sheriff, who had been his friend and companion in arms, and suddenly pounced upon him while he was holding his court in the church of Hawick. Ramsay, having no suspicion of injury from his old comrade, invited Douglas to take his place beside him. But the ferocious Baron, drawing his sword, attacked and wounded his unsuspecting victim, and throwing him bleeding across a horse, carried him off to the remote and solitary castle of Hermitage, amidst the morasses of Liddesdale, where he cast him into a dungeon and left him to perish of hunger. Sir Alexander is said by Fordoun to have prolonged his existence for seventeen days by the grains of corn which fell through the crevices in the floor from a granary above his prison. Nearly four centuries and a half after the foul murder of this gallant patriot, a mason employed in building a wall beside the castle, laid open a vault about eight feet square, in which, amid a heap of chaff, there were found some human bones, along with the remains of a saddle, a large bridle-bit, and an ancient sword. These relics were conjectured, with great probability, to have belonged to the gallant but unfortunate Ramsay, whose cruel death excited great and general indignation and sorrow among all classes of his contemporaries. 'He had done a great deal,' said Fordoun, 'for the King and for the country's freedom; he had felled the foe everywhere around; greatly checked their attacks; won many a victory; done much good, and, so far as men can judge, would have done much more had he lived longer. In brave deeds of arms and in bodily strength he surpassed all others of his day.' And Wynthoun, after mentioning the sad fate which befel this brave and popular leader, adds—

'He was the greatest menyd [lamented] man
 That any could have thought on than,
 Of his state or of more by far,
 All menyt him baith better and waur,
 The rich and pair him menyde baith,
 For of his dede [death] was meikle skaith' [damage].

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY, the son of this lamented patriot, inherited not a few of his father's virtues, and, in one of his raids across the Border, he defeated and took prisoner Sir Thomas Grey, of Chillingham, governor of Norham Castle, an ancestor of Earl Grey and the Earl of Tankerville. SIR ALEXANDER RAMSAY, his great-grandson, defended his castle of Dalhousie so stoutly against a powerful English army, commanded by Henry IV. in person, that he compelled the enemy to abandon the siege. This gallant representative of the Ramsays was killed at the disastrous battle of Homildon, in 1402. His son, also named ALEXANDER (which seems to have been a favourite name in the family), was one of the barons who were sent to England in 1423, to escort James I. to Scotland on his return from his long captivity, and was knighted at the coronation of that monarch the following year. Sir Alexander Ramsay was one of the principal leaders of the Scottish forces which defeated an English army at Piperden, in 1435. The Ramsays of Cockpen and Whitehill descended from his second son Robert. Other three Alexanders followed in succession, the third of whom fell at Flodden fighting gallantly under the banner of his sovereign.

The fine estate of Foulden, in Berwickshire, which had been nearly three hundred years in the family, passed away from them at the death of GEORGE RAMSAY, who seems to have been deficient in the family characteristic of firm adherence to the cause which they espoused; for, though he signed the Bond of Association in 1567 for the defence of the infant sovereign, James VI., on the escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven Castle, he joined her party, and pledged himself at Hamil on, in 1568, to support her cause. His grandson, SIR GEORGE RAMSAY, was raised to the peerage by James VI., in 1618, with the title of LORD RAMSAY OF MELROSE, but, disliking this designation, he obtained permission from the King in the following year to change his title to LORD RAMSAY OF DALHOUSIE. His younger brother, John, was the person who was mainly instrumental in rescuing King James from the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, in the mysterious affair called 'The Gowrie Conspiracy' (A.D. 1600). Both the brothers, indeed, fell by his hand. For this signal service he was created VISCOUNT HADDINGTON and LORD RAMSAY OF BARNS, in the peerage of Scotland. In 1620 he was made an English peer by the titles of EARL OF HOLDERNESSE and VISCOUNT OF KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES, with the special addition of honour, that upon the 5th of August annually—the day appointed

to be observed in giving thanks to God for the King's preservation—he and his male heirs for ever should bear the sword of state before the King, in remembrance of his deliverance. On the death of the Earl, in 1625, without surviving issue, his titles became extinct.

WILLIAM, second Lord Ramsay, was elevated to the rank of EARL OF DALHOUSIE, by Charles I., in 1633. He was a staunch Royalist, and was, in consequence, heavily fined by Cromwell in 1654. His grandson, GEORGE RAMSAY, of Carriden, third son of the second Earl, was a gallant soldier, and served with great distinction in Holland and Flanders. After the battle of Valcour, he was made brigadier-general, and was appointed colonel of the Scottish regiment of Guards. For his eminent services at the battle of Landen, in 1693, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and, in 1702, he was created lieutenant-general, and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. He died in 1705. Mackay, in his 'Memoirs,' describes him as 'a gentleman of a great deal of fire, very brave, and a thorough soldier.'

Of the third and fourth Earls, both of whom enjoyed the titles and estates for a very short time, there is nothing worthy of special notice to relate; but WILLIAM, the fifth Earl, was a man of mark and influence. He had the sagacity to perceive the great good that would flow from the union of Scotland with England, and, in spite of popular clamour, he steadily supported that measure throughout. In the war of the Spanish Succession he was colonel of the Scots Guards, with the rank of brigadier-general in the forces sent by the British Government, in 1710, to the assistance of the Archduke Charles of Austria, in his contest for the Spanish Crown against Philip, grandson of Louis XIV. On the death of Earl William unmarried, in October of the same year, the family titles and estates descended to WILLIAM RAMSAY, grandson of the first Earl, who, like most both of his predecessors and successors, was a gallant soldier. He died in 1739, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having had the misfortune to outlive his eldest son George, Lord Ramsay, whose marriage to Jean, daughter of the Hon. Henry Maule, the heiress of the ancient family of Maule, brought extensive estates into the family. She bore him seven sons, of whom four died young. Two of them were poisoned by eating the berries of the ivy. Lord Ramsay's eldest son, CHARLES, succeeded his grandfather as seventh Earl, in 1759. He attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the

army, and died unmarried in 1764. His brother GEORGE, the eighth Earl, was twice elected one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and held the office of Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Scottish Church for six years in succession (1777—1783). On the death of his uncle, William, Earl of Panmure, in 1782, the extensive estates of that nobleman devolved upon him in life rent with remainder to his second son, WILLIAM RAMSAY. True to the hereditary instinct of the family, his third, fourth, and seventh sons entered the army, in which the two former attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and the last was a captain. The sixth son was in the naval service of the East India Company, and four of the grandsons of the eighth Earl entered the Indian army.

His eldest son, GEORGE RAMSAY, succeeded him in the family titles and estates. Earl George was the school and college companion of Sir Walter Scott, who held him in high and affectionate esteem. On meeting with the Earl in the evening of life, after a long separation, Sir Walter mentions him as still being, and always having been, 'the same manly and generous character, that all about him loved as the *Lordie Ramsay* of the Yard' (the playground of the Edinburgh High School). The Earl served with great distinction in the West Indies, Holland, and Egypt, and in the Spanish Peninsula, where he commanded the Second Division of the British army; and at the battle of Waterloo. He attained the full rank of general, was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, was one of the general officers who received the thanks of Parliament, and was created a British peer by the title of BARON DALHOUSIE OF DALHOUSIE CASTLE. In 1816 he was appointed to the government of Nova Scotia; and, in 1819, he succeeded the Duke of Richmond as Captain-General of the forces in North America; in 1826 he was made Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India. He was Captain-General of the Royal Company of Archers. The Earl died in 1838, in the 68th year of his age, universally regretted.

There is an interesting notice of this excellent nobleman in Sir Walter Scott's Diary, under the date of January, 1828—'Drove to Dalhousie, where the gallant Earl, who has done so much to distinguish the British name in every quarter of the globe, is repairing the castle of his ancestors, which of yore stood a siege against John of Gaunt. I was his companion at school, where he was as much

beloved by his playmates as he has been respected by his companions in arms and the people over whom he has been deputed to exercise the authority of his sovereign. He was always steady, wise, and generous. The old castle of Dalhousie—*seu potius*, Dalwalsey—was mangled by a fellow called, I believe, Douglas, who destroyed, as far as in him lay, its military and baronial character, and roofed it after the fashion of a poor's-house. Burn is now restoring and repairing it in the old taste, and, I think, creditably to his own feeling. God bless the roof-tree.'

Earl George married, in 1805, Christian, the only child of Charles Broun, of Coalstoun, in East Lothian, the representative of a family which had flourished in Scotland since the twelfth century. With this lady the Earl received a good estate and an heirloom besides, with which the welfare of the family was in old times supposed to be closely connected. This palladium was an enchanted pear, which came to the Brouns of Coalstoun through the marriage of the head of the family early in the sixteenth century to Jean Hay, daughter of the third Lord Yester, ancestor of the Marquis of Tweeddale. According to tradition, this pear had been invested with some invaluable properties by the famous wizard, Hugo de Gifford, of Yester, whose appearance is so vividly described in Sir Walter Scott's poem of 'Marmion.' One of his daughters, it is said, was about to be married, and as the bridal party was proceeding to the church he halted beneath a pear-tree, and plucking one of the pears gave it to the bride, telling her that as long as that gift was kept good fortune would never desert her or her descendants. This precious pear was given by the third Lord Yester to his daughter on her marriage to George Broun of Coalstoun, and at the same time he informed his son-in-law that, good as the lass might be, her *tocher* (dowry) was still better, for while she could only be of use in her own day and generation, the pear, so long as it continued in the family, would cause it to flourish till the end of time. This pear was accordingly preserved with great care in a silver case by the fortunate recipient and his descendants. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, it is said that the wife of one of the lairds, on becoming pregnant, felt a longing for the forbidden fruit and took a bite of it. According to another version of the story, it was a maiden lady of the family who out of curiosity chose to try her teeth upon the pear, and in consequence of the injury thus done to the palladium of the house, two of the best farms on the estate had soon afterwards to be sold.

Another and more probable account of the incident in question, which is related by Crawford in his 'Peerage,' is that Lady Elizabeth Mackenzie, daughter of George, first Earl of Cromarty, on the night after her marriage to Sir George Broun, when she slept at Coalstoun, dreamt that she had eaten the pear. Her father-in-law regarded this dream as a bad omen, and expressed great fear that the new-married lady would be instrumental in the destruction of the house of Coalstoun. Her husband and she died in 1718, leaving an only daughter, who inherited the estate, and married George Brown, of Eastfield, while the baronetcy descended to George Broun, of Thornydyke, male heir of the family. The pear has for generations been as hard as a stone, and is still in perfect preservation. It has been justly remarked that, apart from the superstition attached to it, this curious heirloom is certainly a most remarkable vegetable curiosity, having existed for upwards of five centuries. The heiress of the 'Coalstoun pear,' who died in 1839, bore Earl George three sons. The eldest died unmarried in 1832, at the age of twenty-six, the second in 1817, in his tenth year.

JAMES ANDREW BROUN, the youngest son, was the illustrious statesman who for eight years wielded the destinies of our Indian empire, and who, to the great sorrow of all classes of the community and all political parties, passed away in the prime of life. He was born in 1812, and after receiving his preliminary education at Harrow, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1833, gaining an honorary fourth class in classics. At the general election in 1834, which followed the accession of Sir Robert Peel to office, Lord Ramsay (his courtesy title) contested the representation of Edinburgh, along with Mr. Learmouth, against Mr. Abercromby and Sir John Campbell. The great body of the electors were strongly attached to the Liberal cause, and the populace were not inclined to show much respect or forbearance to the supporters of the party who (as it was commonly though erroneously asserted at the time) had by a Court intrigue ejected the Whig Ministry from office. But the frankness and courage of the young nobleman, the straightforwardness with which he avowed, and the marked ability with which he defended his political creed, gained him golden opinions from all classes and parties in the city; and though he was defeated by a great majority, he polled a much larger number of votes than had been obtained by any previous Conservative candidate. At the close of the

contest he remarked with a good-humour which even his opponents applauded—in allusion to the name of one of the family estates—that ‘they were daft to refuse the Laird o’ Cockpen.’

In 1837, however, Lord Ramsay was returned to the House of Commons as member for the county of Haddington, but he did not retain his seat long enough to take any prominent part in the debates or business of the House, for on the death of his father in the following year he was elevated to the House of Lords as tenth Earl of Dalhousie. He speedily became noted there for his excellent business habits, which attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, and obtained for him in 1843, in Sir Robert Peel’s second Administration, the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade in succession to Mr. Gladstone. Two years later he was promoted to the post of President of the Board of Trade, which he retained until the overthrow of Sir Robert Peel’s Ministry shortly after the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the return of the Whigs to office in 1846. In his position at the Board of Trade Lord Dalhousie displayed remarkable energy and industry in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the commercial affairs of the country, and his skill in the science of engineering made him take especial interest in the construction of the numerous railways which at that period began to intersect the country like network.

In 1847, on retirement of Lord Hardinge, the office of Governor-General of our East Indian dominions was offered to Lord Dalhousie by Lord John Russell, and was readily accepted by him. He was the youngest man ever appointed to that onerous and responsible position, and it was certainly no easy task to undertake the government of a population of two hundred and forty millions, composed of distinct, and in some instances at least, of unfriendly races, differing from each other in blood, language, and religion. But Lord Dalhousie possessed in an eminent degree the courage, moral and physical, of his race, and resolved, as he remarked at the time, in a proverbial expression, to ‘set a stout heart to a stey brae’ (steep bank). In entering upon the duties of his office, he was encouraged by his knowledge of the fact that he enjoyed the confidence both of the Cabinet and the Court of Directors, the former having selected him on account of his known business talents and energy, while the latter cordially approved of his appointment because they believed that the Earl would carry out their schemes of annexation and aggrandisement. Before his predecessor quitted India he made a reduction of 50,000 men in the strength of

the army there, and expressed his conviction that for seven years not another hostile shot would be fired within the limits of the British Indian empire. Only a few months, however, after Lord Dalhousie had assumed the reins of Government, the second Sikh war broke out, the siege of Mooltan was undertaken, and the bloody battles of Chilianwalla and Goojerat were fought. Very conflicting opinions have been entertained and loudly expressed respecting the justice and expediency of the Governor-General's policy, but there is no difference of opinion as to the energy and success with which his plans were carried out. The result was the final and complete overthrow of the Sikhs, and the annexation of the Punjaub, and of Berar, Pegu, and Nagpore, and the rich province of Oude, to the British empire.

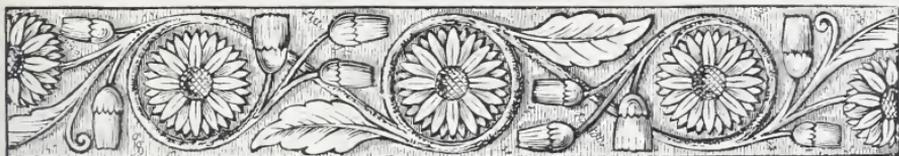
But 'peace hath her victories,' more glorious far than those of war, and it is a relief to turn from the contemplation of the sanguinary conflicts fought in India during Lord Dalhousie's vice-royalty to the civil and social improvements which he effected. Under his auspices an extensive line of railway was opened; Calcutta was placed by means of the electric telegraph in immediate correspondence with Bombay, Madras, and Lahore; canals were formed; education was greatly extended among the natives; infanticide and religious persecution were restrained, if not entirely extinguished; and various important reforms introduced into the legal and civil departments of the administration.

Meanwhile the health of Lord Dalhousie had suffered from his exciting and exhausting labours, as well as from the climate, and he was obliged to return to England in 1856, having held the reins of empire upwards of eight years. He had been made a Knight of the Thistle in 1848; in 1849 he had been elevated to the rank of marquis, and had received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and of the East India Company for the ability and zeal which he had displayed in the critical contest with the Sikhs. His lordship's enfeebled health prevented him from taking that place in the Government of the country for which his talents and experience eminently fitted him. But in 1852, on the death of the Duke of Wellington, he received from the Earl of Derby the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. He had held since 1845 the office of Lord-Clerk Register and Keeper of the Signet in Scotland.

The Marquis died in 1860, in the forty-eighth year of his age. His wife, the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, predeceased him. He left two daughters, the eldest of whom is the wife of the

Hon. Robert Bourke, third son of the fifth Earl of Mayo; the younger married Sir James Ferguson, Bart., Governor of Bombay. The estate of Coalstoun and the personal property of the Marquis passed to his daughters. The marquise became extinct, but the earldom and barony of Dalhousie, along with the hereditary estates of the Ramsays, descended to FOX MAULE, second Lord Panmure, the cousin of the Marquis. At his death, in 1874, they came into possession of his cousin, GEORGE RAMSAY, a naval officer, grandson of the eighth Earl, born in 1805, who was succeeded in 1880 by his son, JOHN WILLIAM RAMSAY, thirteenth Earl of Dalhousie, a young nobleman of great promise. He was, in 1880—1885, a Lord-in-Waiting to the Queen, and for a few months, in 1886, he held the office of Secretary for Scotland. The untimely death of Lord Dalhousie, which took place in 1887, in the fortieth year of his age, in very affecting circumstances, caused great sorrow among all parties and classes throughout the country. He was regarded with especial esteem and affection by his own tenantry and retainers. The Earl married in 1877 Lady Ida Louise, youngest daughter of Charles, sixth Earl of Tankerville, who predeceased him by only a few weeks. ARTHUR GEORGE MAULE, the eldest of his five sons, who was born in 1878, succeeded to his titles and estates.





THE MAULES.



THE Honourable Harry Maule of Kelly, a gallant soldier and an accomplished historical antiquary, in his 'Epistle to the Reader,' prefixed to his 'Registrum de Panmure,' says, 'I have read over a good many Histories and Genealogies of Families in Scotland, some in manuscript, others printed, and have examined and compared some of them with what I found in Publick Records and in the chartularies of our Bishopricks and Abbays, and found many of them stuffed and filled with fables, falsehoods, and errours, and written to flatter the persons now concerned, and so became to doubt of everything contained in them. Therefor, that I might not fall in the errour or impose on the Readers, I resolved to make a Register of all the Charters, authentic Writes, or documents that had been collected from those of the above Families [those of Maule de Valoniis and Brechin], that the readers may make their own judgment of them, and not depend on anything I say or others may have said some hundreds of years after the time they write of.'

The materials which Mr. Maule, with the assistance of his second son, James Maule, thus collected for the 'Registrum de Panmure,' have been employed by him with great care and a strict regard to historical accuracy. Mr. James Maule, in mentioning his reasons for giving a history of the illustrious family to which he belonged, says that 'having designed to write the history of some one of our Scots families, like those done abroad, which nobody has ever yet attempted, I pitched on that of the family of Panmure: not but that of Hamilton had borne greater offices and higher honours, Douglas more renowned for military actions, and several others more in history for alliances, cadets, offices, &c.; but in the family of Panmure I found, 1st. An antiquity not to be paralleled, being as ancient in Scotland as any name ever there found, as ancient in England as the Conquest,

an age before we have any thing certain of Scots families, and traced in France a century above that. 2do. Their continuing in a male line so great a time as seven hundred and sixty years, and five hundred and upwards enjoying the same principal barony and style of Panmure in Scotland, in a direct line. 3tio. The nobleness and grandeur of their original. 4to. The great variety which their history affords to engage a reader; for having flourished in France, England, and Scotland, they are concerned in the wars of all these three kingdoms, the Holy Wars, the wars of Italy, Greece, and Hungary. They have enjoyed peerages and dignities in all these kingdoms, had offices by which the great places of all the three are treated of; and by their alliances the noblest families of France, the Low Countries, England, Scotland, and Ireland are mentioned, and the different characters and fortunes of Valoignes and Brechin enrich the story and render it agreeable. 5to. Beside their ancient military virtue and loyalty and love to their country, in later times for all public and private qualities the family of Panmure has produced *sexcentas virtutes virorum*, as in D. of Halicarnassus, &c. 6to. The compleat and full documents still preserved of that family, which would have been so difficult in some others to get.*

The character and exploits of the members of this ancient and powerful family fully bear out the eulogium of its historian.

The MAULES are a family of Norman origin and derive their surname from the town and lordship of Maule, in Normandy, which for four centuries were in possession of the family. Many graphic sketches of the various members of the house in these early days are to be found in the 'Chronicle of Ordericus,' and it is interesting to notice that the prominent features of their characters closely resemble those of their descendants in Scotland in later times. Of PETER OF MAULE, who flourished towards the close of the eleventh century, it is recorded 'that he was much beloved by his tenants and neighbours, because his manners were frank, and he did not strengthen himself with craft and deceit. His alms were bountiful, and he delighted in giving. But he had no liking for fasts, and as far as it was in his power shunned having anything to do with them.' ANSOLD, Peter's son, was tall and powerful in person and a most gallant soldier, having, when a youth, joined the brave Duke Guiscard in his expedition into Greece, and fought gallantly in the battle near

* *Registrum de Panmure*, I. lxxvii., lxxviii. Edited by John Stuart, LL.D.

Durazzo, in which Alexius, Emperor of Constantinople, was defeated and put to flight, on the 18th of October, 1081. 'He was constant in attending the services of the Church. His habits were strict and frugal. He never tasted apples in an orchard, grapes in a vineyard, or nuts in the woods, taking food only when the table was spread at regular hours. Fasting and all bodily abstinence he both praised and practised in his own person. He made no predatory excursions, and while husbanding his own property, he was careful to make payment of what was due from it for tithes, firstfruits, and alms. He not only gave nothing to strollers, buffoons, and dancing girls, but would have no kind of intercourse or familiar conversation with them.' Of all the knights of Maule the chronicler relates that they gave freely to the Church, during their lives, of their lands and substance; the order of monks was treated by them with great respect, and at the hour of death their aid was earnestly sought for the salvation of their souls. The last of the Norman Maules was killed at the battle of Nicopolis, in Hungary, fought against the Turks in the year 1398. His great estates went to his daughter, who married Simon de Morainvilliers, Lord of Flacourt. They next passed by marriage to the Harlays of Sancy, and the heiress of that great family married the Marquis of Villeroy, grandfather to the Marshal and Duke of Villeroy.

Several centuries before the extinction of the male line of the family in Normandy, a junior branch of the Maules had taken root in Scotland. A son of Peter, the first Lord Maule of that name, accompanied William the Conqueror into England, and received from him a part of the lordship of Hatton de Cleveland, in Yorkshire, and other extensive estates. ROBERT DE MAULE, one of his sons, became attached to David, Earl of Huntingdon, afterwards David I. of Scotland, and obtained from him a grant of lands in Midlothian. His eldest son, WILLIAM DE MAULE, was with King David at the Battle of the Standard, A.D. 1138, and received from that monarch a gift of the lands of Fowlis, in the Carse of Gowrie. He died without male issue, and the line of succession was carried on through ROGER MAULE, his younger brother—the progenitor of the Maules of Panmure. His grandson, SIR PETER MAULE, married Christian, only child and heiress of William de Valoniis, the representative of a great Norman family whose immediate ancestor settled in Scotland at the end of the reign of Malcolm IV., and was appointed by William the Lion High Chamberlain about 1180. Sir Peter obtained

with her the baronies of Panmure and Benvie in Forfarshire, and other estates both in England and Scotland, thus uniting the fortunes of two ancient and influential houses. He had two sons, WILLIAM—by whom he was succeeded—and SIR THOMAS, who was a soldier of distinguished valour and ‘a most audacious knight in mind and body.’ His character has been oftener than once reproduced in the family. He was governor of Brechin Castle, the only fortress in the north which shut its gates against Edward I. in his progress through the country in 1303. ‘Trusting to the strength of the walls, the governor made no account of the war machines brought against them. The King of England’s men incessantly threw stones against the walls without effect. Sir Thomas held the castle for twenty days against the assaults of the English army, and was so confident of its strength that he stood on the ramparts and contemptuously wiped off with a towel the dust and rubbish raised by the stones thrown from the English battering engines.’* But he was at last mortally wounded by a splinter broken from the wall by the force of a stone missile. ‘While he lay expiring on the ground, being asked if the castle should now be surrendered, he cursed the men as cowards who made the suggestion.’ † The garrison, however, capitulated next day. Henry de Maule of Panmure, the nephew of this gallant soldier, fought on the patriotic side in the War of Independence, and was knighted for his services by King Robert Bruce. Sir Thomas Maule, the head of the family at the commencement of the fifteenth century, fought under the banner of the Earl of Mar at the sanguinary battle of Harlaw, in August, 1411, along with the chivalry of Angus and Mearns, and was among the slain. As the old ballad says—

‘The knight of Panmure, as was sene,
A mortel man in armour bricht ;
Sir Thomas Murray stout and kene,
Left to the world their last gude-nicht.’

His posthumous son, THOMAS MAULE, notwithstanding his infancy, was served heir to his father in 1412, in virtue of an Act of Parliament which was passed permitting this service in the case of heirs in nonage whose fathers had fallen in that battle.

At this period, the lordship of the ancient family of the Barclays of Brechin should have fallen to Sir Thomas Maule, who was grandson of Jean Barclay, the heiress of their estates. He was

* *Wallace Papers*, p. 21.

† *Matthew of Westminster*, p. 446.

only able, however, to obtain possession of a comparatively slender portion of the property, the lordship itself being annexed to the Crown on the forfeiture of Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, who was executed for his complicity in the conspiracy which led to the assassination of James I., in 1437. The Earl, on the day of his execution, formally acknowledged that he had held the lordship only by courtesy since the death of his wife, Elizabeth Barclay, and that it belonged by right to Sir Thomas Maule. But the policy of the late King, to diminish the power of the great nobles, was carried out by his successor, and like the earldoms of Mar and Strathearn, the greater part of the Barclay estates was appropriated by the sovereign.

Sir Thomas, who died in 1450, was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name. His first wife was Elizabeth Lyndsay, daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Crawford. Connected with this marriage and the subsequent repudiation of the lady by her husband, Commissary Maule relates an incident which throws great light on the morals of that period. It appears that Sir David Guthrie, who had married the sister of Sir Thomas Maule, after she had borne him a number of children desired to get rid of his wife, and sued for a divorce before the Consistory Court of St. Andrews, on the plea that she was related to him within the prohibited degrees—a common pretext at that time for the dissolution of the marriages of ill-matched couples. The ecclesiastical court readily lent their sanction to this device, and Sir David Guthrie was allowed to put away his wife. The Earl of Crawford, it appears, had assisted Sir David in procuring this divorce, and ‘*thearfor Sir Thomas Maule did tak sic indignatione at the Earle that he did repudiat his wyf, albeit ane innocent woman, and to quhome no man could reproche any notoure fault. Sche liveit long after him.*’ Sir Thomas took for his second wife Catherine Cramond, daughter of the Laird of Aldbar. After his marriage Sir Thomas, when ‘*rydand at the huntis neir to the Green Lawe of Brechin, suddanlie became blind and lost his sight, quharfor he was called the blind knight.*’

ALEXANDER MAULE, the eldest son of Sir Thomas, predeceased his father. ‘*He was ane prodigal man,*’ says Commissary Maule, ‘*not given for the weil of his house, quharthrowe his father, conceivit ane evil opinione of him, and thairfor put him not in fea but*

[except] of Cameston, and of ane annuel of sax lib., to be liftit out of the baronie.' Alexander and his second son left the country about the year 1498. 'The cause why the said Alexander past furth of Scotland,' says the Commissary, 'is said to be ane haitret he consavit against his wyf and hir frindis for hir misbehaveor. Alexander took gryt somes of money with him, as we have by tradition, as lykwayes that he past to England; but thereafter never word was of them. It is thought they had fallen into the hands of brigands, quha for the money they had, had murdered them: his son Sir Thomas, quha did succeed to the heritage, did many years after look for his home-cominge, and it is said that there did never ane schip come into the Tay, but he looked for his father, or word fra him.'

SIR THOMAS, the son and successor of this ill-fated laird, was noted for his generosity to the Church, and appears to have been somewhat turbulent in his youth. 'It is said,' wrote the Commissary, 'that he was subject to women: for ane indignation he consevit against Ihon Liddel of Panlathyne, he burnt the said Ihon's hail biggen; quharupon he did obtain ane remission under the gryt seale, quharen is contenit the hail narrative of the matter and caus of the said remission; yet afterwards he became verie penitent of this, as lyk of all other offences of his youth committed against God and nychbours, as may be easily perseavid by sundry donations to religious housis, and pilgramages done by him.' One of these pilgrimages was made to the shrine of St. John of Amiens, in Picardy. His donations to the 'religious houses' must have been unusually liberal, for we are told that 'he obtanit ane letter of confraternity fra the general vicar of the Minorites, that he and his wyf and children should be participant of their whole prayers, suffrages, and divine service, not only of those of that order quha at the present time were within the realm of Scotland, but also of all them quha were dispersit thre the hail parts of Christendom, and not only of the brethren of Sanct Francis, quhom we call Grayfreres, but also of the Sisters of Saincte Clara.'

The Commissary proceeds to mention a curious incident which occurred one day, when Sir Thomas was hunting in company with several other gentlemen. His greyhound caught, and, as was supposed, killed a hare, which was hung by 'one of the laird's servants to his saddle's tore [pummel]. A little after there was another hare

found, who would not rise for them. At last, he that had the hare at his saddle-tore loosed her and flung her at that hare that would not rise out of her seat for them. Both of them ran away without a turn, and both of them escaped with their lives without a turn.'

Sir Thomas Maule fell fighting under the royal banner in the bloody field of Flodden. According to the account of Commissary Maule, Sir Thomas was exceedingly corpulent, 'and therefore was not able, by reason of the great press, to draw his sword; whairfor the Laird of Guthrie drew it furth to him, and he fell with the greater part of his friends and vassals.'

ROBERT MAULE, the eldest son of Sir Thomas by his first wife, succeeded to the family estates when he was only sixteen years of age. He assisted the Earl of Lennox in his unsuccessful attempt in 1526 to rescue James V. out of the hands of the Douglasses, for which he afterwards got remission from the King. Two years later he obtained a royal license, dispensing with his attendance at all musters or meetings of the estates, on account of the faithful services which he had rendered to his Majesty. He belonged to the party who resolutely opposed the scheme for the marriage of the infant queen Mary to Edward Prince of Wales, and in 1547 was taken prisoner, and severely wounded when defending his house of Panmure against an English force, assisted by some traitorous Scotsmen. He was conveyed by sea to London, and imprisoned for two years in the Tower, but was ultimately released at the solicitation of the Marquis d'Elbœuf, the French ambassador to Scotland. Some picturesque notices of the personal appearance and character of Robert Maule are given in the family MS. 'He was ane man of comlie behaviour, of high stature, sanguine in collour, both of hyd [skin] and hair, colerique of nature, and subject to suddane anger; ane natural man, expert in the lawes of the country, of gude language, expert in counting of genalogies. During his first wyfe's time, he did cause build the house of Panmore as it is at this day. He was very temperate of his mouth, but given to lecherie, ane able man on foot, and ane gude horseman; lyket weil to be honorable in apparel and weil horsed, mickel honorit with his nychbours, and in gude estimation. He had great delight in hawking and hunting. He took plesure in playing at the football, and for that cause the moor of Bathil was appointed, and during his days it was not casten, but only reservit for that game.

Lykeways he exerciset the gowf [golf] and oftentimes past to Barry Links, when the wadfie [stake] was for drink. If he tint [lost] he never wad enter in ane browster house, but causit ane of his servants to gang and pay for all.' After the death of his wife 'he became very penitent of his former lyfe, and embraced the Reformed religion. He had with him at syndry times the ministers that then were chiefest in the country, to wit Paul Meffane and Ihone Brabner. This Ihone was a vehement man, inculcating the law and pain thereof, but Paul Meffane was ane mair myld man, preaching the evangel of grace and remission of Jesus in the blude of Christ. His youngest son begotten on his first wyfe, called Robert, ane godlie person, given to reading of the Scripture, did nychtlie walk beside his father, instructing him in the chief points of religion, for he was ane man that had been brought up rudely without letters, so that he could neither read nor write.' He died in the year 1540, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

THOMAS MAULE, at that time in his twentieth year. Robert Maule was evidently resolved that his son should not suffer as he had done from the want of education, for the family historian mentions that from the time Thomas was seven years of age 'he was sent to Edinburgh, to ane Robert Leslie, quha was ane famous man of law in that time, and also held the chief innes of the hail towne for noble men. Hereafter, coming to be ane young man, he did wait on Cardinal David Beaton, and was contracted in marriage with his daughter. But on ane day cuming riding in companie out of Arbroath with King James the Fyft, the king did call him asyde, quha having afore heard of the contract, said to him, "Marrie never ane priest's geat" [child], whereupon that marriage did cease.' He subsequently married a daughter of George Haliburton of Pitcur, the widow of John Ogilvy of Balfour. 'The year following his marriage, in the month of September, was the battle of Pinkie, where he was in the Earl of Angus's battle, but the victory inclining to England they fled, and had ane great impediment of the water, quhilk was dammed behind them, for they did all wade the same, quhilk made them heavy and unable to flee, wherethrow great slaughter did ensewe of our people. After Thomas had past the water, he did cast off his jack, and had impediment to get it fra him, by reason he had his purse under his oxter [armpit], quhilk did stay the offcoming of the same: yet at the pleasure of God he was relevit

of it, and took the nearest way on foot to Edinburgh, with his sword in his hand and a steel bonnet on his head. The Englishmen followed fast on horseback, quha till eschew them, and being tyrit and heavie with wading the water, entered in the cornyard of Brunstane, where finding ane great cherrie tree, clamb up in the thickest of the branches thereof, and he scarcely settlet, there enters twa Englishmen on horse within the yard, and looked up and down if they could find any man, but as God willed he was not perceivit. In this meantime, while as they were bowne away forth of the yard, there fell fra ane of them something, but what it was he could not perceive, but appearit to be ane purse. The Englishman being on horse drew his sword, and had mickel ado to get up the same upon the point thereof; quhilk space Thomas was in great fear: he said he never thought ane tyme so long. But thereafter, they riding away he past to Edinburgh, where finding syndrie of his folks, remainit there all night, and on the morn passed to the Queensferrie and came home that way. His father hearing of the defeat was in ane mervillous fear and perplexitie, for his wyfe was now known to be with child, the lands not tailzeit [entailed]: if she had been deliverit of ane daughter the house should have gone fra the name, so that his father neither did eat nor sleep, and nane of his domestiques durst almaist come in his presence, for he had in mind the field of Flodden, where his father, Sir Thomas, was slane, as also the Harlaw, where Sir Thomas Maule was slane, and nane of his name living in lyfe: and except his wyfe had been deliverit of ane son the name had been altogether extinguisht: and by and attour this he did bear ane singular luv and favour to his son.' Thomas Maule was afterwards taken prisoner along with his father, when Panmure House was captured by the English. He took part in the battle of Hadden-rig, a few miles east of Kelso, where, in 1542, an English army, assisted by the Douglases, was completely defeated by the Earls of Huntly and Home, but young Maule was carried off by the fugitives and kept for some time at Morpeth. After the death of James V. he was set at liberty by order of Henry VIII. The murder of Darnley seems to have had the effect of alienating him from the Queen, for he became a zealous supporter of the Regent Moray and of the cause of the infant King.

The family historian gives a graphic picture of Thomas Maule's personal appearance and pursuits. 'He was ane fair man,' he says, 'of personage lyke to his father, of ruddie collour, his hair red-yellow,

and his beard; of ane liberal face and blythe countenance, never for na adversitie dejected. In mind, given to honest pastime, but chiefly to hunting and hawking, in the quhilk he took sic delight that he would ride all day at the same, fasting, except in the morning he would take ane drink of aile, and thereafter ane lytel acquavite, and continue to the evening without either meat or drink, and at his first coming hame at even would call for ane drink. Na fair day almost through the hail year but he was on horseback, even in his old age, except on the Sunday.' It appears that when he was a young man an accident which befel a favourite hawk on a Sunday made him ever after avoid amusing himself on that day. 'Thirty years before his death he never did ryde with ane cloak, but a coat alane, in the cauldest weather in winter, and wald never lyght to gang for heat, and coming to ane water, when as it drew near even, wald lyght fra his horse, and in the cauld frost wald wash his hawk's supper, and never shrink for cauld; and then coming hame wald call for ane drink before ever he came to the fire. He was ane man not curious of the world, and wald rather suffer loss of gudes than enter in pley with his neighbours.'

This excellent specimen of a stout and hardy old Scottish laird died A.D. 1600, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. 'Ane lytil before his death, after the laird of Pitcur and his son the young laird had taken their leave, he causit put out all the dogs out of his chalmer, and then causit ishewe all the persons that were therein, except his son Thomas Maule, then confessit his sins to God, thereafter said the Belief and the Lord's Prayer; whilk done he willed them all to gang to their supper in the hall, except ane woman to attend on him, and immediately after they are set down his speiche fails him and he gives up the ghost! The lady his wyf thereafter wald suffer no man or woman to touch him but herself; sche closed his eyes and streiked him, syne did wyne [wind] him with her awen hands, with ane womanlie countenance and courage, never shedding any tears, but uttering some few words in her commendation of his honest and loving heart, albeit I at the writing hereof could not do it without gretine [weeping].'

The lady of whom Commissary Maule writes in such glowing terms was Thomas Maule's second wife. He married first, in 1526, Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of David, Earl of Crawford, who left no family; and secondly, in 1546, Margaret Haliburton, with whom he lived fifty-two years, who bore him eight sons and three

daughters, and survived her husband two years. 'She was,' says her son, 'ane religious and godly woman, mikil given to prayer and reading of the Word, luving and benign to all persons, almousful to the poor and needy, delytit mikel to talk of auld histories, knew the hail genealogie of hir father's house, as also of hir mother's, gave meat and drink with ane marvellous cheerful countenance, loved all godlie and honest men, detested vice: ane sober and chaste woman.' It may be said of this lady, as of the virtuous woman described in the Book of Proverbs, 'her children arise up and call her blessed.'

PATRICK MAULE, the eldest son of this worthy pair, was educated at the parish school of Kettins, then at Dundee, and finally at Montrose, where at twelve years of age he married the daughter of the celebrated John Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus, 'ane very religious and honourable man.' Patrick 'was mikil inclynit to policy and honesty, very kind to hail friends. He repairit the house of Panmure that before by negligence was ruinous, but being left with ane small rent, his lands all for the maist part wadset [mortgaged], could not perform sic honest enterpryses as he had in head. He was, as his father and forbears, mikil given to hawking and hunting, and never did want for that effect hawks and dogs. He was ane man of mid stature, of ane mild countenance, rib-nosed, and black-haired. He lived but short time after his father, and deceased the first day of May, anno 1605.'

ROBERT, the fourth son of Thomas Maule and Margaret Hali-burton, was Commissary of St. Andrews and a learned and judicious antiquary, who, besides the interesting history of the family quoted above, wrote a treatise in Latin, 'De Antiquitate Gentis Scotorum,' a dissertation on the Culdees, and other works. THOMAS, the fifth son, was the father of Lieutenant-Colonel Maule, who settled in Ireland, and from him was descended Henry Maule, who was successively Bishop of Cloyne, Dromore, and Meath.

Patrick Maule was succeeded by his only son, PATRICK, first Earl of Panmure, who at the time of his father's death was only nineteen years of age. Notwithstanding his youth, he was one of the few Scotsmen that were selected to accompany James VI. when he went, in April, 1603, to take possession of the English throne. By good management, assisted by royal grants, he was able to 'quit and relieve, piece and piece, parts of his estate, till at length it pleased

God to bless him with great lands and honour and a long life. He held the office of Lord of the Bedchamber both to James VI. and Charles I. In 1625 he obtained from Charles the lordship of Collewston, in Northamptonshire, 'for his good and faithful services to the King's father,' and in the year 1629 he received from the same monarch a gift of the keepership of the Great Park of Eltham. He purchased from the Earl of Mar the lordship of Brechin and Navar in 1639, and in 1642 he bought from the Earl of Dysart the Abbacy of Arbroath. As might have been expected, Patrick Maule fought on the royal side during the Great Civil War, and was rewarded by Charles for his fidelity and zeal with his elevation to the peerage by the title of EARL OF PANMURE and LORD BRECHIN AND NAVAR. He remained with the King during his imprisonment at Holmsby and Carisbrook. Commissary Maule records a very striking incident which took place at the parting between the King and his devoted follower.

'He was the last servant that stayed with him, and stayed even until that unlawful Parliament did put him from him. The King himself told Panmure that the order for his departure was come. Panmure asked his Majestie what he should do in it. His Majestie told him, There is no help, but you must obey; but deal with him that has the warrand for a continuation for two or three days, quhilk he got granted to him. Panmure's servant that was there with him told me when Panmure took his leave of his Majestie he did that quhilk he never saw him do, nor heard of any that ever saw him do the like, quhilk was he burst out in tears; and the King was standing and his back at ane open window; and when the tears came in the King's eyes he turned him about to the window a little while till he settled, and prayed God to bless him, for he knew him to be a faithful servant; and called for his man and gave him a kiss of his hand and said, "John, thou hast a faithful master." This John Duncan, who was Panmure's man all the time, and had been long with him before, told me this.'

The Government of the Commonwealth imposed on the Earl the exorbitant fine of £10,000 sterling for himself and of £2,500 for his son Henry, who commanded a regiment in the army of 'the Engagement' for the rescue of Charles and also at the battle of Dunbar. But the Earl's fine was ultimately restricted to £4,000, and that of his son to £1,000. Lord Panmure, who was now advanced in years, took no active part in the cause of Charles II. when he came to Scot-

land, but he sent £2,000 to the royal coffers, and his eldest son, Lord Brechin, fought for Charles both at Dunbar and at Inverkeithing, where he was wounded. The aged peer survived to witness the Restoration, and died in December, 1661. He left a manuscript history of the patriot Wallace, 'whose deeds of unselfish devotion and lofty daring,' says Dr. Stuart, 'he himself aspired to emulate throughout his whole course.' He was three times married, but left surviving offspring—four daughters and two sons—only by his first wife, a daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope of Grimstone, in Yorkshire. His eldest son, GEORGE, LORD BRECHIN, became second Earl of Panmure on his father's death, and carried out his predecessor's intention of building a new house at Panmure. He married the eldest daughter of John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, Lord High Chancellor, who bore him nine children, of whom four sons and one daughter died young. This close connection with one of the leaders of the Covenanting party does not appear to have had any influence on the politics of the Panmure family. The eldest surviving son, GEORGE, third Earl, was a Privy Councillor to Charles II. and James VII. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother, JAMES MAULE of Ballumbie, a staunch Royalist and a Privy Councillor to James VII., but who was 'laid aside' from the Council on account of his opposition to the abrogation of the penal laws against Popery. This treatment, however, did not prevent him from advocating the cause of King James at the Convention of Estates in 1689, and when it was agreed to settle the crown on William and Mary, the Earl, along with his brother, Harry Maule, of Kelly, left the assembly and never again attended a meeting of the Scottish Estates.

Although the two brothers appear to have formed a low and just opinion of their nephew, the Earl of Mar, when that weak and vacillating nobleman raised the Jacobite standard at Braemar, the loyalty of Panmure and Harry Maule to the cause of the Stewarts made them at once take part in the rebellion. With a view, it is said, of increasing the number of retainers whom he led into the field, the Earl bought the lands of Edzell, Glenesk, and Lethnot from David Lindsay, the last of the Edzell family. He proclaimed the Chevalier as King at the market cross of Brechin. The Earl and his brother took part in the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir, 15th November, 1715, where the former commanded a battalion of foot. Harry Maule, and several other gentlemen volunteers, fought on the right wing of the Highlanders, where the royal troops fled on

the first fire. Immediately after the close of the battle, a report reached him that the Earl, who appears to have been on the left of Mar's army, which was worsted and driven back, was wounded and taken prisoner, and was lying in a cot-house on the field. He resolved at once to attempt his brother's rescue, and asked Mar to send a party of soldiers with him, 'but could not obtain it, and Mar only sent Clephan with a compliment to Panmure, and Mar himself immediately marched off. Then Mr. Harie asked the assistance of all the other troops he met with, but none of their officers would venture on it, they thought it so perilous. Then Mr. Harie undertook it himself, with two or three domestics, by which he ran the risque of having both himself and brother in the enemies' hands at once, and so his family ruined and children utterly abandoned; and Mar, besides the ingratitude to his two uncles,* risked the King and party's losing two of the most considerable men they had.' Harry Maule, with his servants and a Dr. Blair, a medical man, after inquiring at several cot-houses, at length found the Earl, 'the six dragoons who guarded him having fled upon the noise of Harry's approach, taking his small party for a great body coming up by the noise that their horses' feet made upon the hard and shingly road. When Mr. Harie came in, he found him lying on a very sorry bed, near a fire, with the green apron about his head, and two Highland plaids about his body. Mr. Harie asked him how he was, and desired him to go along with him; but he refused, saying that he was not able, and that he would faint if he either walked or rode. Mr. Harie urged him by telling him that if they stayed any time they would be all taken prisoners; but he would not consent. Upon which Mr. Harie desired the doctor to persuade him, who got him to consent by telling him that his wounds would not be the worse. Upon which he consented, and Mr. Harie's valet, Jo. Robertson, drew on a pair of boots upon his legs, and in the same dress they found him in, set him upon a horse, Ja. Fraser leading it, John Robertson walking upon his one side, and Malcolm on the other, mid-leg in snow and ice. By the way he took a hearty dram out of a flask that Robertson had at his side, and so carried him to Ardoch. It's believed that if they had stayed a little longer they had all been taken, for it's reported that not long after a party of 80 horse came to carry him to Stirling or Dumblain.'†

* Mar's mother was a daughter of the second Earl of Panmure.

† *Registrum de Panmure*, pp. 50, 51.

The capture and rescue of the Earl are commemorated in the old Jacobite ballad on the battle—

‘ Brave Mar and Panmure
Were firm I’m sure,
The latter was kidnap’t awa’, man.
With brisk men about
Brave Harry retook
His brother and laughed at them a’, man.’

On the suppression of the rebellion, Lord Panmure followed the Chevalier to the Continent. He was, of course, attainted of high treason, and his honours and estates were forfeited to the Crown. It is said that the restoration of his estates—rented at £3,456, the largest of the confiscated properties—was twice offered him by the Government if he would return home and take the oath of allegiance to the House of Hanover, but he firmly adhered to the Stewart dynasty. An Act of Parliament, however, was passed to enable the King to make such provision for the Countess of Panmure (a daughter of the Duke of Hamilton) as she would have been entitled to had her husband been dead.

The disposal of the forfeited estates of the Jacobite lords and lairds cost the Government no small trouble. Their property was, by Act of Parliament, vested in the Sovereign for the use of the public, and Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the condition of these lands, with a salary of £1,000 a year—an enormous official income at that time in Scotland, when the judges of the Court of Session received only £500. Sir Richard Steele, the essayist, who was one of the Commissioners, writing to his wife, says of his official visit to Edinburgh, ‘You cannot imagine the civilities and honours done me there; and never lay better, ate or drank better, or conversed with men of better sense than there.’ But though Steele himself was a favourite with the Edinburgh citizens, they, as well as the great body of the Scottish people, had a strong prejudice against the Commissioners, and thwarted them in every possible way. The Court of Exchequer had forestalled them by ordering the sheriffs of the various counties to enter into possession of the estates and levy the rents, as by the law of Scotland they were entitled to do. The creditors of the forfeited proprietors endeavoured to secure payment of their debts by attaching the estates in the ordinary course of law. The friends and relatives of the dispossessed lairds brought forward all sorts of pretended claims, and presented petitions for sequestration to the Court of Session, which were readily granted,

and factors, who were usually the nominees of the pretended creditors, were appointed to manage the estates. The Commissioners complained bitterly, and not without reason, of this mode of procedure. They mention, among many other examples, the case of the estates of Stirling of Keir, worth £900 a year, which had been sequestrated at the instance of two maltmakers and a blacksmith, one of the tenants on the estate, and an Edinburgh shopkeeper. No details were given as to the sums altogether due to them, and no evidence of the debts was produced. The Court appointed as factor Walter Stirling, Writer to the Signet, the law agent of the dispossessed proprietor, and who, say the Commissioners, 'is also remarkable for his disaffection to the Government, and was imprisoned during the late rebellion for keeping correspondence with the rebels.' The Earl of Carnwath had a rental of £1,000 a year from his estate, which was burdened with a jointure of £150 per annum to his mother, Dame Henrietta Murray. The lady herself was appointed factor, and thus the estate was 'taken by the Lords of Session out of the King's person and put into the person of the said Dame Henrietta Murray, for behoof of some few who pretend, but no ways appear, to be creditors on the said estate.' The factor who was nominated by the Court to take charge of the Earl Marischal's estates, worth £2,384 a year, was Thomas Arbuthnott, merchant, Peterhead, who was actually engaged with the Earl in the rebellion. John Lumsden, W.S., agent of the Earl of Panmure, was appointed factor on his Lordship's estates. 'He sorely tried the Commissioners. He employed under him all the late Earl's officers who had been most active in the rebellion, and appointed the servants of the Countess his bailees in the Baronial Court.'

The Commissioners at last succeeded in getting the sequestrations set aside, but a new device was immediately tried to baffle their efforts to obtain possession of the forfeited estates. It was contended that the lands did not really belong to the late ostensible owners, and claimants for them sprang up in all quarters. The Court of Session was by no means unwilling to lend its aid to the promotion of this scheme, and paid little regard to consistency in the judgments which it pronounced. Seaforth's estates were by one decree declared to belong in full and absolute right to Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt, by another to William Martin of Harwood, by a third to Hugh Wallace of Inglestone. The estates of the Earl of Mar, the leader of the rebellion, were successively awardea

to four of these pretended owners, and Viscount Kenmure's to five. Even when the Commissioners were put in possession, they discovered to their disappointment and annoyance that their difficulties seemed as great as ever. The tenants on many of the estates, who were as staunch Jacobites as their masters, refused to recognize in any form the authority of the Act of Parliament in the factors appointed by the Commissioners, and continued to pay their rents to the late, and as they believed, the proper proprietors. The clansmen of Seaforth regularly transmitted their rents to their chief during his exile in France, and successfully resented the attempts of the Government agent, supported by a detachment of soldiers, to force his way into their territory. The tenants on the Panmure estates were induced by the Countess and her factor, Mr. George Maule, to subscribe blank bills for all arrears, and also a blank bond for two years from 24th June, 1715, nearly four months before the battle of Sheriffmuir.

The forfeited estates of the Maule and other Jacobite landlords were at length prepared for sale in 1719 and 1720, but it was very difficult, if not hopeless, to find purchasers in Scotland for so large an amount of landed property. In this extremity the 'Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames Water, in York Buildings, London, in England,' came to the assistance of the Government. A mania at that time prevailed for speculation and joint-stock companies, and the company referred to opened a subscription 'for raising a joint-stock and fund of £1,200,000 for purchasing forfeited and other estates in Great Britain, by a fund for granting annuities on lives, and for assuring lives.' The subscription lists were speedily and eagerly filled up, and the whole sum provided for. 'Peers and bishops, country gentlemen and merchants, stockjobbers and adventurers, alike lustful of gain, crowded to place their names upon the lists,' and in the course of a few months the ten-pound shares of the company rose to £305.

In the autumn of 1719, the Commissioners advertised for sale by auction the estates of Viscount Kilsyth, Mr. Craw of East Reston, the Earl of Winton, and the Earl of Panmure; and Mr. Robert Hacket and Mr. John Wicker were sent down to Scotland by the York Buildings Company to attend the sales. The Winton estates were bought by them on the 6th of October, for the sum of £50,300.

The 9th of October was the day fixed for the sale of the Panmure

estates, the most valuable of all the property in the hands of the Commissioners. A strenuous effort was made to buy them back on behalf of the family. The Countess had protested against the sale, with the active sympathy and concurrence of two of the judges of the Court of Session, but the Commissioners determined to proceed. The estates, consisting of twelve baronies, and nearly as many parishes, including the patronage of fifty-three churches, were exposed for sale on the day appointed at the upset price of £57,032 11s. 1½d. 'Mr. James Maule, servant of Mr. Harry Maule, of Kelly,' brought up the price to £60,300, in opposition to Mr. Hacket, agent for the York Buildings Company, 'when, his competition becoming dangerous, the Commissioners asked whether he was prepared with cautioners. He replied that he was not, and an altercation ensued. The Commissioners offered to stop the running of the sandglass till he obtained security, but he said that he would require two or three days for the purpose. The sale was thereon proceeded with. Mr. Hacket bade £100 more, and the estate was knocked down to him at £60,400. The dispute provoked a considerable amount of comment, and is referred to in the party literature of the day.'*

While the hereditary estates of the family had thus passed into the hands of strangers, the Earl, who in early life had shown a taste for historical pursuits, was solacing himself in his exile by collecting valuable manuscripts and records, which are now at Panmure. He and his nephew made a pilgrimage to the place where the Maules had flourished in France for generations before they migrated to Scotland. James Maule sent a most interesting account of their visit to the old castle and village of Maule, and of the evidence which they found for establishing the connection of the Scottish with the French house. They also discovered that a barony of Panmure formed part of the possessions of the French Maules, as well as of their Scottish representatives. The Earl died at Paris, April, 1723, in his sixty-fourth year, without issue.

His brother, HARRY MAULE, succeeded him as representative of the family. He and his brother's widow, a lady of great energy and strength of character, who survived till 1731, obtained from the York Buildings Company long leases of the two chief mansion houses. He settled at Brechin Castle, while the Countess took up her resi-

* *The York Buildings Company, &c.* By David Murray, M.A., F.S.A., p. 24.

dence at Panmure. 'There seems,' says Dr. Stuart, 'to have been no doubt among the chief members of the family that sooner or later the inheritance of their forefathers would be recovered, and the leases in question secured the possession of their residences till that happy time arrived.' Mr. Harry Maule resembled his brother, both in his political principles and historical tastes, and extensive collections were made by them of chronicles, chartularies, and documents bearing on the history of Scotland, which are now preserved in the library at Brechin Castle. During his exile in Holland, after the suppression of the rebellion, Harry Maule's son says he 'did there employ his time in such studies as might be most useful to him; tho' he had studied the law of nature and nations before, he read Grotius, *De Jure pacis et belli*, four times over, with the best commentaries, by which he became so versed in the public law that scarce any question could be stated to him but he immediately gave Grotius and the other famous authors' opinions without opening a book. He also improved himself in the feudal law, having read Struvius and many of the German lawyers on that subject. Then he applied himself to be well versed in the present state of Europe, the pretensions of each prince, their acquisitions, and what they were founded on. Another study he pursued very closely; that was the canon law and the fathers.' After Mr. Maule's return to Scotland, the knowledge which he had thus acquired was turned by him to good account in the controversy which broke out in the Episcopal Church respecting the 'Usages.' It is a pleasant picture, as Dr. Stuart remarks, to contemplate Harry Maule in his picturesque old castle of Kelly, amid the historical collections which have made him famous, preparing the interesting history of his ancestors, devoting his efforts to the recovery of the family honours and estates, and surrounded by sons of high promise, who sympathised, and took part, with their father in his tastes and labours. Harry Maule was twice married. His first wife, a daughter of the Earl of Wigton, bore him three sons and two daughters. For his second wife he took a sister of John Lindsay, Viscount Garnock, by whom he had five sons and one daughter. A number of his children died in infancy, and none of them married, with the exception of his daughter Jean. Harry Maule died in 1734.

JAMES MAULE, the eldest son of the first marriage, was a young man of the highest promise, and possessed remarkable historical attainments. He was associated with his father in the collection

and arrangement of the documents in the 'Registrum de Panmure.' He contemplated the preparation of a history of his family, and had sketched out a plan for the work in a most judicious form. His scheme for the institution of a library of reference in Edinburgh showed that his ideas on this subject were far in advance of those of his contemporaries. He purposed also to publish a peerage, a complete collection of Scottish historians, a history of Scotland, and political memoirs treating of the ancient and modern state of the country. But all these projects, and his plans for the improvement of the family estates, were cut short by the untimely death of this accomplished youth in 1729. His brother WILLIAM then became his father's heir. He entered the army at an early age, served in several campaigns in the Low Countries, and was engaged in the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. He ultimately attained the rank of general. In 1735 he was elected a member of Parliament for the county of Forfar, and continued to represent it till his death. In 1743 he was created a peer of Ireland, by the titles of Earl of Panmure of Forth, and Viscount Maule of Whitechurch.

Meanwhile, through mismanagement and flagrant jobbery, the York Banking Company had come to ruin; and, in 1764, Lord Panmure purchased from their creditors the estates of the Maule family in Forfarshire for the sum of £49,157 18s. 4d. sterling. On his death, without issue, in 1782, his titles became extinct. JEAN, the eldest daughter of Harry Maule, had married, in 1726, George, Lord Ramsay, eldest son of William, fifth Earl of Dalhousie, and the Panmure estates, in terms of the entail, went to George, eighth Earl of Dalhousie, their second son, in life rent. On his death, in 1787, they passed to the Honourable WILLIAM RAMSAY, his lordship's second son, then a youth in his sixteenth year, who assumed the name and arms of Maule of Panmure. In 1789 he entered the army as a cornet in the 11th Dragoons, and afterwards raised an independent company of foot, which was disbanded in 1791. The politics of his family were Tory; but Mr. Maule, who was a great admirer of Mr. Fox, joined the Whig party, and at the general election of 1796 he was elected member for Forfarshire in the Whig interest. He continued to represent that county until 1831, when he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Panmure of Brechin and Navar.

Mr. Maule was a very remarkable character, and during his early and middle life, his name and eccentric doings, in one form

or another, were almost continually before the public, whom he alternately surprised and scandalised by his systematic defiance of decorum and conventional usages. He was possessed of excellent natural abilities, which had, however, been only imperfectly cultivated; but his natural shrewdness stood him well instead of acquired knowledge. 'He is the most long-headed fellow,' wrote of him Mr. Hunter, of Blackness, 'in Forfarshireland, and of the soundest judgment too (if he did not sometimes let his passion get the better of him) of any person of his years whom I know, and has more brains than his whole family beside.' Unfortunately, Mr. Maule's passion did very often get the better of him. He was unmeasured both in his likings and dislikings, 'devotedly attached to those who did not thwart him, implacable to those who did;' liberal and kind to those who came in contact with him only in the affairs of public life, but most arbitrary and despotic in his behaviour to his own family. He would brook no opposition to his will, and was vindictive and unrelenting to those who thwarted him or refused to submit to his authority. He was ultimately at variance with all the members of his family, and the verdict of public opinion unhesitatingly pronounced him in the wrong. On the other hand, he was an excellent landlord, and was highly popular among his numerous tenantry and the labourers on his estates, whom he treated with great liberality. In 1839 his tenantry erected a handsome column, 105 feet high, on the Downie Hills, in Forfarshire, as a memorial of their respect for him as their landlord. Mr. Maule's generosity was a very conspicuous feature of his character. He bestowed a pension on the widow of Charles James Fox, the great statesman; and he also conferred an annuity of fifty pounds on the widow of Robert Burns, which was continued until the eldest son of the poet was enabled to provide for his mother, and the further assistance of her benefactor was respectfully declined. He enlarged the public schools of Brechin, and erected a hall, fitted up in the most tasteful manner, with library and apparatus, and beautiful paintings, at his sole expense, for the Mechanics' Institute of that burgh. His acts of benevolence indeed were unceasing, and advancing years, while they tended somewhat to mitigate his animosities and soften his character, served to widen the channels of his munificence.

During Mr. Maule's early years Forfarshire was noted for the 'perilous hospitalities' of its lairds; and the letters of Mr. Hunter,

who belonged to that class, and was an intimate friend of Mr. Maule, abound in references to the hard drinking which was frequent in his society. Writing on the 26th of August, 1806, he says, 'we had a most dreadful day at Brechin Castle; one of the most awful ever known, even in that house. What think you of seven of us drinking thirty-one bottles of red champagne, besides Burgundy, three bottles of Madeira, &c., &c.? Nine bottles were drank by us after Maule was pounded. He had been living a terrible life for three weeks preceding.' Messrs. Murray and Longman, the eminent publishers, were at different times taken by Mr. Hunter on a tour among the Forfarshire lairds, and frequently dined at Brechin Castle. The mode of life practised there seems to have completely upset the orderly system of these worthy bibliopolists. Mr. Murray was present at 'the dreadful day' at Brechin Castle, and 'contrived,' says Hunter, to take his share of all the drink that was then and there consumed; 'but he has since paid for it very dearly. He has since been close at home at Eskmount (the seat of Mr. Hunter, senior) very unwell.' Mr. Longman fared no better than his brother publisher. 'He was taken ill on Saturday,' wrote Mr. Hunter, from Brechin Castle, October 3rd, 1804; 'next morning he was much worse, and we were at one time afraid he was in for a fever. He lay in bed all that day, but next day was greatly better, having starved himself for a day. On Monday he was still sick; however, the day being fine, we made him rise, and got him safe to Eskmount that night. There he is at present, *arcening*, and the ladies take the best care possible of him. These Englishers will never do in our country.' It was not without good reason that a London merchant, of formal manners and temperate habits, was roused to indignation at the attempt made by his host—a Forfarshire laird—to practise such unpleasant conviviality. The poor man quitted the table when the drinking set in hard, and stole away to take refuge in his bedroom. The company, however, were determined not to let the worthy citizen off so easy, but proceeded in a body, with the laird at their head, and invaded his privacy by exhibiting bottles and glasses at his bed-side. Losing all patience, the wretched victim gasped out his indignation, 'Sir, your hospitality borders on brutality.'

It is amusing to observe from Mr. Hunter's letters that one of the hospitable mansions in which 'Maule and Company' dined and spent the night was Balnamoon, the owner of which was the hero of a well-

known anecdote illustrative of the manners of that day. He was returning on horseback from a convivial party, and on hearing himself fall into the stream which he was crossing, he called out to his servant, 'John, what was that that played *plash*? 'I wot na,' replied John, 'unless it were your honour.' It is told of the same worthy that on a similar occasion, when his hat and wig had been blown off, he indignantly refused the latter when it was restored to him, exclaiming, 'John, this is no *my* wig; this is a *wat* wig.' John coolly rejoined, 'Ye'd better tak' it, sir, for there's na wale [choice] o' wigs on Munrimmon Moor,' and induced the laird to resume the dripping covering. It need excite no surprise that it seems to have been the entertainment given by this *drouthy* laird to Mr. Maule and Company which finally prostrated the London booksellers.

It was usually when Mr. Maule and his roystering friends had taken more liquor than they could carry discreetly that they played their pranks, which though not looked upon then in the same light that they would be nowadays, were regarded with disapprobation and deep regret by the sober and respectable class of the community. Forfar,* the county town of the shire, was the scene of many of the bacchanalian exploits of the lord of Brechin Castle and his associates.

Occasionally, however, they played their pranks in other places, where they were not regarded with the same indifference or complacency as they were at Forfar. They had sometimes to be condoned by such acts of liberality as procured for Mr. Maule the

* Forfar has long had an evil reputation for the insobriety of its inhabitants, and it is a curious fact that almost all the traditionary anecdotes of that place, from the earliest times down to the present day, refer to drinking or to public-houses. The town, as Robert Chambers remarks, may thus be said to resemble in some measure a certain Edinburgh lawyer of the last age, of whom it was alleged that whenever or wheresoever met or seen, he was always either going to a tavern, or in a tavern, or coming from a tavern, or thinking of going to a tavern. In Frank's *Northern Memoirs*, published two hundred and thirty years ago, there is a lengthened account given of a famous case which had shortly before that date occurred at Forfar. A brewster's wife having one day 'brewed a peck o' maut,' which she expected a party of toppers to consume, set the liquor out at the door to cool. A neighbour's cow soon after coming past, scented the savoury contents of the cauldron, and, turning to, began to solace herself with a draught. The liquor was good, and 'aye she winkit, and aye she drank,' until she finished the browst. The luckless owner of the ale, who came out just in time to see the last dregs disappear down crummie's capacious throat, had no recourse but to try what the law could do for her, and she accordingly brought the case in regular form before the bailies. But the worthy magistrates, as became Forfar authorities, having a proper sympathy for all—man or beast—who loved good liquor, decided the case against the complainant, on the ground that, by the immemorial custom of Scotland, nothing is ever charged for a standing drink, otherwise called a *doch-an-doris*, or stirrup-

designation of the 'Generous Sportsman,' and relieved him from many an awkward scrape. On one occasion he and two or three kindred spirits happened to dine at an inn in Perth, and, as usual, sallied out after nightfall in quest of adventures. The street lamps having attracted their notice, they began to break them with their sticks, till in a short time the whole city was in total darkness. Next morning, on learning that the magistrates were met in full conclave to consider what steps should be taken to punish the outrage which had been committed overnight, Maule calmly repaired to the Council Chamber, and informed the offended authorities that having recently come to visit the Fair City, he was quite ashamed to see the shabby-looking lamps in its streets, which were really a disgrace to so fine a town. He had therefore demolished the whole, with the view of presenting to the corporation at his own expense a new and handsome set of lamps. The astonished magistrates had no resource but to accept the apology and the gift.

There were other amusing anecdotes told of Mr. Maule, which represent him as mingling benevolence with a display of humour and a love of fun, instead of as a member of Parliament and a great landowner behaving like a mischievous schoolboy. The Highland chairmen of Edinburgh were proverbial in his day for their insatiable fondness for 'filthy lucre.' The excessive greed of these worthies happening to become the subject of conversation one day among a few gentlemen, Mr. Maule alleged that they were not so difficult to satisfy as was said, and took up a bet that they could be contented with liberal remuneration. The wager was accepted, and Mr. Maule sent for a sedan chair, and gave orders that he should be conveyed a short distance down the Canongate. On alighting, he rewarded his bearers with a guinea, feeling quite confident that they would be more than satisfied with such a handsome donation. One of them turning over the 'yellow Geordie' in his hand, as if to make sure that it was genuine, said, 'But could her honour no shuist gie's the

dram, and seeing that the cow had swallowed the browst in place and manner according, her owner ought to be absolved from the charge. In former days Forfar was a good deal inconvenienced by a loch in its immediate vicinity, which the inhabitants were anxious to drain, but they long delayed the undertaking on account of the great expense which it would entail on them. At a public meeting held to discuss the measure, the Earl of Strathmore said that he believed the cheapest method of draining the loch would be to throw a few hogsheads of good whisky into the water and set the 'drunken writers of Forfar' to drink it up. The loch was ultimately drained, but to what extent the legal gentlemen of the town contributed to this result history saith not.

ither sixpence to get a *gill*?' Mr. Maule good-humouredly produced the 'ither sixpence' in the expectation of gaining his bet, but a demand on the part of the other chairman for 'three bawbees of odd shange to puy snuff,' put him out of all temper, and thoroughly convinced him of the impossibility of satisfying a Highland chairman.

Walking through his plantations one day, his lordship was attracted by the sound of some one felling wood. 'What are you about there?' he said to a young man whom he caught in the act of levelling a stately tree, while a cart and horse were at hand to carry away the trunk. 'Do ye na see what I'm about?' answered the fellow with the utmost assurance. 'Nae doot ye'll be ane o' the understrappers frae the big hoose.' Amused at the nonchalance and effrontery of the clown, Lord Panmure said, 'What if Maule were to come upon you?' 'Hout, man! he wadna say a word; there's no a better-hearted gentleman in a' the country; but as I am in a hurry, I wish ye wad lend me a hand, man.' To this request his lordship good-humouredly consented, and when the tree had been securely placed on the cart, the jolly rustic prepared to reward his assistant with a dram in a neighbouring public-house. This offer was declined, but the youth was invited to call next day at the castle and ask for Jamie the footman, who would treat him to a dram out of his own bottle. The countryman readily accepted the invitation, and called according to promise; but to his astonishment and confusion, instead of meeting the footman, he was ushered with great ceremony into the presence of Lord Panmure and a company of gentlemen. 'My man,' said his lordship, walking up to him, 'next time you go to cut wood, I would advise you first *to ask Maule's permission.*' With this gentle reprimand he dismissed the terrified depredator, though not without having given instructions that he should be well entertained in the hall.*

In order that he might obtain an intimate knowledge of the character and habits of his tenantry and workmen, Lord Panmure occasionally amused himself by visiting them in the character of a mendicant, so completely disguised as to render recognition impossible. Some curious stories are told respecting his behaviour while in this guise. His habits, indeed, were those of a past generation, and it is not easy to understand how they could have been maintained down to the middle of the nineteenth century.

* Kay's *Portraits*, ii. p. 426.

Lord Panmure was twice married. His first wife was Patricia Heron, daughter of Gilbert Gordon, Esq., of Halleaths, who bore him three sons and five daughters. This lady—who is described by Mr. Hunter as ‘the wisest, most judicious, best-tempered, best-dispositioned, sensible, and good woman in the whole circle of my acquaintance’—died in 1821, and in the following year his lordship married Miss Elizabeth Barton, by whom he had no issue. He died in 1852, and was succeeded by the eldest of his three sons—

FOX MAULE, second Baron Panmure and eleventh Earl of Dalhousie. He was born in 1801, was educated at the Charterhouse, entered the army as an ensign, and after serving for several years in Canada on the staff of his uncle, the eighth Earl of Dalhousie, he retired in 1831 with the rank of captain. He commenced his political career in 1835, when, after a very keen contest, he was elected member for the county of Perth. He subsequently represented successively the Elgin Burghs and the Burgh of Perth. On the return of the Melbourne Ministry to office in 1835, Mr. Maule was made Under-Secretary for the Home Department; in 1841 he held for a short period the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade; in 1842 he was chosen Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow; and on the downfall of Sir Robert Peel’s Administration in 1846 he became Secretary at War, with a seat in the Cabinet. In February, 1852, he exchanged this office for the Presidency of the Board of Control. The dissolution of the Russell Ministry, however, soon followed, and on the death of his father in the course of the same year, Mr. Maule was elevated to the House of Lords. Lord Panmure had no seat in the Coalition Cabinet, under the Earl of Aberdeen, but when it fell to pieces during the war with Russia, and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister, he resumed his former office of Secretary at War, somewhat modified in form, the duties of which he discharged with great ability and untiring energy until the overthrow of Lord Palmerston’s Administration in 1858. Lord Panmure was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Forfarshire in 1849; Keeper of the Privy Seal and K.T. in 1853. On the death of his cousin, the Marquis of Dalhousie, in 1860, he succeeded to the titles of Earl of Dalhousie, Baron Ramsay of Kerington, and Baron Ramsay of Dalhousie.

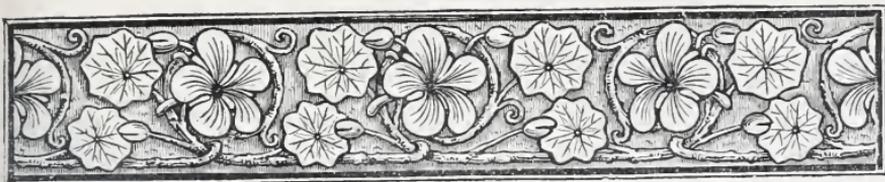
Lord Dalhousie was a noted example of the truth of the saying, ‘It runs in the blood.’ The prominent features of the Maules and

Ramsays, physical and mental, during the last six centuries were conspicuous in his character. He was a reproduction, in short, of the famous Scottish patriots of the fourteenth century—Sir Thomas Maule and Sir Alexander Ramsay—modified and softened by the tastes and habits of the present age. The Earl was possessed of great natural shrewdness and sagacity, indomitable courage, and a most resolute will, which it was by no means easy or safe to oppose. He was a most trusty friend and a dangerous foe. He had in him many of the qualifications of a great general, and there can be no doubt that if he had remained in the army he would, like several of his predecessors, have attained the highest military rank. He carried with him into civil life some of the best qualities of a soldier—order, promptitude, and energy. His administrative abilities were of a high order. He was a shrewd and accurate judge of character, knew whom to employ and to trust, and kept a sharp eye on the doings of his subordinates. In his own person he was an example of indefatigable industry and unwearied diligence in the discharge of his official duties. He was habitually at work long before sunrise, and during the Crimean War, like his chief, Lord Palmerston, often turned night into day. Though he had no pretensions to eloquence, Lord Dalhousie was a ready and powerful debater. His style was clear, terse, and vigorous; he had a good voice, and his delivery was natural, distinct, and telling. On being told of the success of Fox Maule's maiden speech in the House of Commons, Professor Pillans, who strove hard to improve the elocution of his pupils, exclaimed, with pardonable pride, 'It was I who taught the boy to speak.' Lord Dalhousie took a deep interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, especially in the controversy which terminated in the disruption of the Established Church. As became his ancestry, he was a zealous and steady friend of civil and religious liberty, and was a staunch supporter of the Free Church. From its origin he held the office of ruling elder in that denomination, and his courageous advocacy of its principles in the House of Commons, against an overwhelming majority, composed not only of Conservatives but of many Whigs, ought to be held in grateful remembrance. No man ever acted more consistently on the maxim of Lord Belhaven, 'All for the Church and a little less for the State.'

Lord Dalhousie died 6th July, 1874, without issue. The elder of his two brothers, the Hon. Lauderdale Maule, a gallant officer, was

Assistant Adjutant-General of the Forces in the Crimea, and died, unmarried, of cholera in the camp near Varna, on the 1st of August, 1854, greatly lamented. William Maule, the youngest son, died in 1859, leaving a family of daughters, two sons having predeceased him. The family titles and estates passed to Admiral George Ramsay, grandson of the eighth Earl, who died in 1880 and was succeeded by his eldest son, John William Ramsay, thirteenth Earl of Dalhousie. On his lamented death in 1887 Arthur George Maule, born in 1878, inherited the earldom, and the united estates of the Ramsays and Maules.





THE LAUDERDALE MAITLANDS.

FEW of the great old houses of Scotland have, throughout the long period of six centuries, produced such a brilliant succession of statesmen, warriors, poets, and lawyers, as have adorned the family of the Lauderdale Maitlands. They were of Norman origin, and one of the followers of William the Conqueror, when he came into England, bore the designation of Matulent, afterwards changed to Maitland. The first of the family on record in Scotland was a THOMAS DE MATULENT, an Anglo-Norman baron, who flourished in the reign of William the Lion, and died in 1228. SIR RICHARD DE MAULENT, his grandson, was one of the most powerful barons in Scotland in his time; he possessed the barony of Thirlestane, and other estates in Berwickshire, which still remain in the possession of the family, and was a most liberal benefactor to the Abbey of Dryburgh, having bestowed on it several valuable lands for 'the welfare of his soul, and that of his wife, and the souls of his predecessors and successors.' This Richard was a renowned warrior, and was in all probability the hero of the interesting ballad of 'Auld Maitland,' which appears to have been written in the reign of David II., in commemoration of the gallantry displayed by Sir Richard, in his extreme old age, in the defence of his castle of Thirlestane against the English invaders at the commencement of the War of Independence:—

‘They laid their sowies* to the wall
Wi’ mony a heavy peal;
But he threw owre to them agen
Baith pitch and tar barrel.

* A military engine framed of wood, covered with hides, and mounted on wheels, which served as a cover to defend those who wrought the battering-ram from the stones and arrows of the garrison.

‘With springalds,* stanes and gads of ain†
 Among them fast he threw,
 Till many of the Englishmen
 About the wall he slew.

‘Full fifteen days that braid host lay
 Sieging auld Maitland keen;
 Syne they hae left him hail and feir
 Within his strength of stane.’

Gawain Douglas places the veteran knight, with ‘his auld beard grey,’ among the popular heroes of romance, in his allegorical ‘Palace of Honour;’ and in another ancient poem, in praise of the family seat of Lethington, it is stated that the exploits of auld Sir Richard with the grey beard, and of his three sons, were ‘sung in many a far countrie, albeit in rural rhyme.’ He seems, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, to have been distinguished for devotion as well as valour, and was a liberal benefactor to the Abbey of Dryburgh. He had three sons, but only one survived him.

The successors of this renowned warrior kept watch and ward on the Border against ‘southern’ invasions, and perilled, and frequently lost, their lives in the service of their sovereign on many a bloody field. They intermarried with the Dunbars, Keiths, Setons, Flemings, Cranstouns, and other great families, and throughout maintained a foremost position among the Scottish barons. Sir Richard’s eldest son, SIR ROBERT, was killed at the Battle of Durham in 1346, along with his younger brother and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Keith, Grand Marischal of Scotland. Another of the heads of the family, WILLIAM MAITLAND, fell at Flodden, along with his sovereign, who held him in high esteem. He was the father, by his wife, a daughter of Lord Seton, of SIR RICHARD MAITLAND of Lethington, the celebrated collector of the early poetry of Scotland, now deposited in the Pepysian Library in Magdalen College, Cambridge, which but for him would in all probability have perished. Sir Richard’s own poem, entitled, ‘Maitland’s Complaint against the Thieves of Liddesdaill,’ gives a graphic description of the depredations of the Border freebooters, who had harried all Ettrick Forest and Lauderdale, driven away horses, black cattle, sheep, and poultry, packed up and carried off everything portable—

‘They leave not spindle, spoon, nor spit,
 Bed, bolsters, blankets, sark, nor sheet,’

* Large crossbows wrought by machinery, and capable of throwing stones, beams, and large darts.

† Sharpened bars of iron.

searched both clothes and meal-chests, leaving nothing behind them but bare walls. From the burning indignation which he displays, and the hope which he expresses that he would see some of these plunderers hanging on a tree, it is evident that Sir Richard himself had suffered from the inroads of these Liddesdale marauders.*

The 'Maitland Club,' which was established in Glasgow after the model of the Bannatyne Club, derived its name from Sir Richard, and published his own poems, along with his 'Cronicle and Historie of the House and Sirname of Seaton.' He was employed in various public affairs by James V., and also by the Regent Arran and Mary of Guise. Though he had the misfortune to lose his sight in 1560, when he was in his sixty-fourth year, his blindness did not incapacitate him from business. He held successively the offices of a Lord of Session and of Lord Privy Seal. He resigned his seat on the bench in 1584, having been more than seventy years in the public service. The close of his life was saddened by the death of two of his sons, William, the Secretary, and Thomas, a youth of great promise, who died in Italy. Sir Richard died, full of years and honours, in 1586, in the ninetieth year of his age. His wife, to whom he had been united for sixty years, died on his funeral day. On the retirement of the veteran judge from the bench, King James sent a letter to the Court of Session, in which he states that Sir Richard 'hes deulie and faithfully servit our grandshir, gude sir, gude dame, mother, and ourself, being oftentimes employit in public charges, quhereof he deutifullie and honestlie acquit himself, and being ane of your ordinar number this mony yeiris has diligentlie, with all sincerity and integrity, servit therein, and now being of werry great age, and altho' in spirit and judgment able anon to serve as appertenes, by the great age, and being unwell, is sa debilitat that he is not able to make sic continual residens as he wald give, and being movit in conscience that by his absence for lack of number, justice may be retardit and parties frustrat,

* At the time that Sir Richard wrote these verses, the Regent Moray made a sudden march to the Border (Oct. 1567), at the head of a strong body of troops, and apprehended at Hawick and its vicinity thirty-four freebooters, some of whom he hanged, others he drowned, and five he liberated upon caution. An Act of the Privy Council, passed 6th November in the same year, declared that the thieves of Liddesdale and other parts of the Scottish Border have been in the habit, for some time past, of taking sundry persons prisoners and releasing them on the payment of a ransom. It was also averred that many persons are in the habit of paying 'black mail' to these thieves in order to obtain security from their depredations, 'permittand them to reif, harry, and oppress their neighbours in their sicht without contradiction or stop.' The Council forbade these practices in future under severe penalties.

has willingly demittit his office,' &c. The veteran judge obtained the unusual privilege of nominating his successor.

Maitland's poems are characterised by shrewdness and good sense rather than by warmth of fancy or brilliancy of imagination. They are valuable also on account of the light which they cast upon the manners and customs of the Scottish people at that period.

WILLIAM MAITLAND, the eldest son of Sir Richard, was the celebrated Secretary Lethington of Queen Mary's reign, who was deeply implicated in the intrigues and crimes of that troublous period. He was an accomplished scholar, and his intellectual cultivation, says Froude, was unusual in any age, and an example in his own. He was a man of powerful, sagacious, versatile intellect, fertile in resources and dexterous in their application, but fickle, unscrupulous, and unprincipled. His name was a byword for subtlety and strength, and his character appears to have been regarded as a mystery by his contemporaries, who both felt and dreaded his great influence. He was born about the year 1525, and was educated at the University of St. Andrews. He afterwards studied civil law on the Continent, according to the custom of his day, and even at that early age he was noted for the assiduity with which he devoted himself to the study of politics. On his return to Scotland he embraced the doctrines of the Reformed Church, but he soon made it evident that he gave only a half-hearted adherence to the cause. At a meeting in the house of Erskine of Dun, for the purpose of discussing the question whether the Protestants should attend mass, he defended the practice on the ground of expediency, in opposition to John Knox, who denounced it as contrary to principle. In 1558, Maitland entered into the service of the Queen Regent, and was appointed by her Secretary of State. But in consequence of her violent proceedings against the Reformers, he deserted her cause in the following year, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, who welcomed him with open arms. Calderwood says, 'William Maitline of Lethington, younger Secretarie to the Queen, perceiving himself to be suspected as one that favoured the Congregation, and to stand in danger of his life if he sould remain at Leith, becaus he spaired not to utter his mind in controversies of religion, conveyed himself out of Leith a little before All Hallow Eve, and rendered himself to Mr. Kirkaldie, Laird of Grange. He assured the Lords there was nothing but craft and falsehood in the queene.' He was commissioned by the Lords in 1560 to plead their cause with Elizabeth.

and to entreat her aid, which he did with such effect that she dispatched a fleet to the Firth of Forth to prevent further assistance being sent from France to the Regent. 'He was most in credit for his wit,' said Cecil, 'and almost alone sustained the whole burden of Government. His credit and capacity was worth any six others.'

Maitland took a leading part in negotiating the Treaty of Berwick between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation, by which a body of English troops was despatched to their assistance. He was chosen 'harangue-maker,' or Speaker, of the Parliament which, in 1560, abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland, and adopted the Confession of Faith as the national creed. On the return of Queen Mary from France, Lethington ingratiated himself into her favour, was confirmed in his office of Secretary, and was repeatedly intrusted by her with important missions to the English Court. In 1561 he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord, and in 1566 an Ordinary Lord of Session. He strongly opposed the ratification of the Book of Discipline by the Queen, and when this was proposed he asked, with a sneer, 'How many of those who had subscribed it would be subject to it?' 'All the godly,' was the reply. 'Will the Duke (Chatelherault)?' said Maitland. 'If he will not,' said Lord Ochiltree, 'I wish he were scraped out, not only out of that book; but also out of our number and companie, for to what purpose shall travail be taken to set the Church in order, if it be not kept, or to what end shall men subscribe, if they never mean to perform?' Maitland answered, 'Many subscribed them in *fide parentum*, as the bairns are baptised.' The astute Secretary knew the men to whom he referred, and was well aware that they opposed the ratification of the Book of Discipline mainly on account of the proposal which it contained, that the patrimony of the Romish Church, which they intended to appropriate to their own use, should be devoted to the maintenance of the ministry, the education of the young, and the support of the poor. Maitland himself sympathised with the policy of the order to which he belonged. He scoffed at the scheme as 'a devout imagination,' and declared that if the ministers got their will, 'the Queen would not have enough to buy herself a pair of new shoes.'

The Secretary was one of the most zealous, as he was certainly the ablest, of the Queen's advisers, and strove to promote her wishes and interests in opposition both to Roman Catholics and Protestants. He accompanied Mary in her expedition to the North (August, 1562)

against the formidable Earl of Huntly and the Gordons, and was present at the battle of Corrichie, where that powerful noble was defeated and killed. On this occasion Maitland exhorted every man to call upon God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude. He even composed a prayer, which has been preserved, supplicating divine support and protection for the royal forces in the day of battle. He was not less zealous in his efforts to aid the Queen in her contest with the great Scottish Reformer. When Knox was summoned, in 1563, before the Council to answer a charge made against him for inviting a meeting of the leading Reformers at the trial of two men for interrupting the religious services in St. Giles's church, the Secretary conducted the case, and exerted all his ingenuity and influence, but without effect, to induce the Council to return a verdict of guilty. In the following year he held a long debate with the Reformer respecting his mode of prayer for the Queen, and the duty of obedience to her authority. It is admitted that Maitland had the worst of the argument in this memorable disputation, but he undoubtedly acquitted himself with great acuteness and ingenuity, and almost, like Belial, 'made the worse appear the better reason.'

At this juncture, however, Maitland joined the conspiracy against Rizzio, 'partly finding himself prejudged by this Savoyard in the affairs of his office as secretary, and partly for the favour he then carried to the Earl of Moray, then an exile.' He was in consequence deprived of his office as Secretary and banished the Court. In no long time, however, he succeeded in obtaining the Queen's pardon and restoration to his office, and was for some time her trusted friend. The knowledge which he possessed of her private feelings induced him to propose that she should obtain a divorce from her worthless husband. The plot for the murder of Darnley probably had its origin in his busy intriguing brain. It is certain that he signed the 'bond,' or covenant, for the perpetration of that foul deed. He took part also in procuring the signatures of a number of the leading nobles, and of eight bishops, to the infamous document declaring their belief in Bothwell's innocence of the murder, and recommending him as a proper husband for the Queen. He continued in her service until her surrender to the insurgent nobles at Carberry Hill, but after that incident he openly joined them and took part in all their councils and proceedings. He was present at the battle of Langside, which finally ruined Mary's cause in Scotland. In September, 1568, he was one of the commissioners appointed to accompany the Regent Moray to

the conference on the Queen's case at York. Spottiswood says the Regent was unwilling to take him, but was afraid to leave him in Scotland; and Calderwood declares that Secretary Lethington was very reluctant to go, but he was induced to do so by fair promises of lands and money, 'for it was not expedient to leave behind them a factious man that inclined secretly to the Queen.' It is alleged that during the conference he was in constant communication with Mary's commissioners and the Duke of Norfolk, and that it was he who first suggested the project of a marriage between that nobleman and the Scottish Queen, which brought the Duke to the scaffold, and increased the severity of Mary's imprisonment.

On Lethington's return to Scotland, his alienation from the Regent became more marked. He was suspected, not without reason, to be deeply implicated in all the plots in favour of the Queen, both in Scotland and England, and at length Moray caused him to be summarily arrested at a meeting of the Council in Stirling (September 3rd, 1569) on the charge of having been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. But his friend Kirkaldy of Grange, by a stratagem, released him from confinement, and gave him an asylum in the Castle of Edinburgh. After the murder of Regent Moray, Lethington was the life and soul of the Queen's party, and all who favoured her cause had constant recourse to him for counsel. He was denounced as a rebel, along with his two brothers, and was deprived of his office of Secretary by the Regent Lennox, who sent a body of troops to ravage his own and his father's estates; and thinking himself not safe in the wilds of Athole, where he had sought refuge, he resolved to join Kirkaldy in Edinburgh Castle. He reached Leith on the 10th of April, 1571. As he was unable to bear the jolting of a carriage, he was carried up to the castle by six workmen on a litter, 'Mr. Robert Maitland (Dean of Aberdeen and a Lord of Session) holding up his head.' His influence over the chivalrous Kirkaldy of Grange was so great that even after the Hamiltons, Gordons, and the other nobles of the Queen's party had submitted to the Regent, and her cause had become desperate, he still resolutely held out the castle for her interest, in the hope of receiving succour from France. John Knox, who had a great regard for Kirkaldy, sent David Lindsay with a message to him only a week before his death, earnestly entreating him to abandon the cause of one who was a bitter enemy of the gospel, and warning him that if he refused his ruin was inevitable; but Maitland sent him away with a scoffing and

contemptuous reply. 'Tell Mr. Knox,' he said, 'that he is but a *dryting* prophet.' When the garrison were at length compelled to surrender to the English auxiliaries in 1573, Lethington and the governor of the castle were, by Elizabeth's orders, basely delivered up to Morton, who put Grange to death. Lethington anticipated this fate by dying in prison. 'Some suppose,' said Sir James Melville, 'that he took a drink and died, as the auld Romans were wont to do.' But the probability is that he died a natural death. His constitution was so completely broken down by continued labour and anxiety that during the siege of the castle he was unable to bear the noise of the guns, and had to be placed in a dungeon under ground.

With all his faults and crimes, Maitland was one of the ablest and most far-seeing Scottish statesmen of his day. His ruling passion was the union of the two kingdoms, and it is probable that his consciousness that the end which he had in view was disinterested and patriotic may have blinded him to the true character of the means which he employed. Calderwood says of him, 'This man was of a rare wit, but set upon wrong courses, which were contrived and followed out with falsehood. He could conform himself to the times, and therefore was compared by one who was not ignorant of his courses [George Buchanan] to the chameleon. He trafficked with all parties.' Spottiswood says, 'A man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for oracles; but variable and inconstant, turning and changing from one faction to another as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last.' His character is thus described by Principal Robertson: 'Maitland had early applied to public business admirable natural qualities, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and at a time of life when his countrymen of the same quality were following the chase or serving as adventurers in the armies of France, he was admitted into all the secrets of the Cabinet, and put upon a level with persons of the most consummate experience in the management of affairs. He possessed in an eminent degree that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success; but these qualities were deeply tainted with the neighbouring vices: his address degenerated sometimes into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; his invention, ever fertile, suggested to him on some occasions chimerical systems of policy too refined for the genius of his age or country; and his enterprising

spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid, but beyond his utmost power to execute. All the contemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration which nothing could have excited but the greatest superiority of penetration and abilities.'

Secretary Maitland married Mary, daughter of Lord Fleming, one of the Queen's 'Maries,' who bore him an only son, James. He went over to the Roman Catholic body, and withdrew to the Continent, where he died, leaving two daughters.* He sold his estate of Lethington to his uncle—

JOHN MAITLAND, younger brother of the Secretary, and Prior of Coldingham, an accomplished lawyer and statesman, who was successively Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State, Vice-Chancellor, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. He was born in 1545, and was carefully trained in the knowledge of the law, both at home and on the Continent. On his return he obtained the Abbey of Kelso *in commendam*, which he shortly afterwards exchanged for the Priory of Coldingham. On the resignation of his father, in 1567, he was appointed Lord Privy Seal by Regent Moray, and a few months later he was nominated a Lord of Session. Like his brother, he was at first inclined towards the Lords of the Congregation, but after the assassination of the Regent he joined the Queen's party, and was in consequence deprived both of his office and his benefice, and was obliged, like the Secretary, to take refuge in the castle of Edinburgh. On the surrender of that fortress he was placed in confinement, from which he was not released till the fall of Morton in 1581, when he was set at liberty by an order of the Privy Council. His abilities and his character commended him to the attention of the young King, who conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and appointed him to the office of Secretary of State, which had been so long held by his brother. In 1586 he was nominated Vice-Chancellor of the kingdom, and in the following year, on the downfall of the infamous royal favourite, Captain Stewart, sometime Earl of Arran, Maitland was raised to the office of Lord High Chancellor. From the time of his admission to the court down to near the close of his career he was virtually the minister for Scotland, and the King seems to have placed implicit reliance in his judgment and fidelity. It was to his credit that he incurred the bitter enmity both of Stewart, Earl of Arran, and of Francis Stewart, the notorious Earl of Both-

* See ADDENDA, vol. ii., p. 428.

well, who repeatedly sought his life. He accompanied James in his voyage to Norway in 1589 to bring home his bride, and at Copenhagen, where the royal party spent the winter, he became intimately acquainted with Tycho Brahe, the celebrated Danish astronomer, to whom he addressed some complimentary verses. On his return home, in May, 1590, he was created a peer at the coronation of the Queen, by the title of LORD MAITLAND OF THIRLESTANE. Finding that his retention of two such important offices as Privy Seal and Chancellor had excited the envy of the courtiers, he resigned the former in 1591. His influence with the King was, however, in no degree diminished, and in the following year he persuaded James to pass the important statute by which the jurisdiction and discipline of the Church were finally legalised and confirmed. He shared in the unpopularity, and indeed odium, which the King incurred in consequence of the general suspicion that he was previously aware of Huntly's design to assassinate 'the bonnie Earl of Moray,' and he never regained the position which he had previously held in public esteem. (See THE CAMPBELLS OF ARGYLL.)

James's queen had long entertained a grudge against Maitland on the ground of his supposed opposition to her marriage, and a dispute with her respecting the regality of Musselburgh and the lands connected with it led to his retirement from court for a whole year. In order to conciliate her Majesty, the Chancellor took her part in a contention respecting the keeping of the young Prince Henry, whom she wished to remove from the charge of the Earl of Mar ('Jock o' the Sclaits'), who had been the playfellow of the King. As soon as the scheme came to the knowledge of James, he broke out into a transport of anger, and reprehended the Chancellor bitterly for his interference in a matter with which he had nothing to do. Deeply mortified by these reproaches, Maitland retired to his seat at Thirlestane, near Lauder, where he was seized with a fatal illness, and after lingering for two months, he died October 3rd, 1595. James deeply regretted his outburst of passion, and wrote an affectionate letter to his old and faithful servant on his deathbed, and composed an epitaph to his memory. Spottiswood says of Lord Maitland, 'He was a man of rare parts and of a deep wit, learned, full of courage, and most faithful to his king and master. No man did ever carry himself in his place more wisely, nor sustain it more courageously against his enemies.' The Chancellor wrote a satire against 'Slanderous Tongues,' from which he seems to have suffered severely, and an 'Admonition to the Ea:1

of Mar,' which have been printed, along with his father's poems, by the Maitland Club. Several Latin epigrams from his pen are inserted in the 'Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum.'

JOHN MAITLAND, only son of the Chancellor, was created VISCOUNT LAUDERDALE in 1616, and EARL OF LAUDERDALE, VISCOUNT MAITLAND, and LORD THIRLESTANE AND BOLTOUN, in 1624. He held the offices of President of the Council, a Lord of Session, and President of the Parliament in 1644. He embraced the side of the Parliament in the Great Civil War. Crawford says that the first Earl of Lauderdale 'was a nobleman of great honour and probity, and managed his affairs with so much discretion that he made considerable additions to his fortune.'

The Earl's reputation for honour and integrity stood so high, that when the charters and other writs forming the title-deeds of the family had been defaced by their concealment underground during the Civil Wars, an inventory prepared by him was, by order of Parliament, authenticated by the Clerk-Registrar, and ordered to be thereafter received as supplying the place of the original records. Lady Isabel Seton, his wife, daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline, bore Earl John seven sons and eight daughters. His eldest son—

JOHN MAITLAND, second Earl, and only Duke of Lauderdale, born in 1616, the cruel persecutor of the Covenanters and the supporter of Charles II. in his most tyrannical and unconstitutional projects, has left a name which is held in abhorrence by his countrymen even at the present day.* He received an excellent education, and attained great proficiency in the knowledge of the classics. He was carefully trained in Presbyterian principles. He entered public life as a zealous supporter of the Covenant. He took a prominent part in all measures of the Presbyterians in resisting the innovations of Charles I. and Laud, and in negotiating with the leaders of the English Parliament. He had a seat as one of the Scottish representatives in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was deeply concerned in the policy of the Presbyterian party throughout the Great Civil War, and was one of the four commissioners sent from Scotland to negotiate with the King at Uxbridge. When Charles took refuge in the Scottish camp, Lauderdale earnestly entreated him to accept of the terms offered him by the Scots, and when these were rejected, the Earl was accused of having been prominent

* See APPENDIX, vol. ii., p. 429.

in recommending the surrender of Charles to the English Parliament. In 1647 he was one of the commissioners sent to persuade his Majesty to sign the Covenant. After the execution of the King, Lauderdale went over to Holland and remained there till 1650, when he accompanied Charles II. to Scotland, and seems to have ingratiated himself remarkably with that easy-going though shrewd prince. He took an active part in the ill-concerted and unfortunate efforts to replace him on the throne of his ancestors; joined the badly managed expedition for that purpose into England, in 1651, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester. He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower and other places of confinement for nine years, and was not released until the arrival of Monk in London, in 1660, immediately before the Restoration.

A traditionary story is told of him at this time which indicates that in his youth he was of a much more genial and generous disposition than he is reputed to have become in his later days. One of his tenants—the farmer of Tollis Hill, in Lauderdale—is said to have fallen into arrears with his rent, owing to the failure of his crops and disease among his sheep and cattle. His wife, an active, pushing dame, waited upon Lord Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle, and pleaded earnestly, and, as it appeared, successfully, for a remission of arrears and forbearance until better times. Her suit was granted by the Earl, according to a not very probable account, on condition that she should bring to Thirlestane Castle a snowball in June. Be this as it may, affairs prospered from that time onward with the farmer and his thrifty and industrious spouse, and they were enabled to lay by, for that period, a good deal of money. Days of distress and peril came upon the Earl, and the ‘gudeman’ of Tollis Hill and his wife, hearing of his imprisonment and privations, resolved to do what they could to relieve the necessities of their landlord. The ‘gudewife’ determined that she would herself go up to London for that purpose. She baked a pease-meal bannock, and enclosed in it a considerable sum of money; she also concealed a good many gold pieces in the tresses of her luxuriant hair, which was of a rich golden colour. Accompanied by one of the farm servants, she accomplished her laborious and dangerous journey in safety, and succeeded, by means of the golden key, in obtaining access to the Earl. She then, in his presence, broke asunder the bannock and disclosed its concealed treasure, and loosening the tresses of her luxuriant hair, poured out the gold coins hidden there. Thus, to the great astonishment and

delight of the Earl, his grateful tenant afforded him the means of relieving his necessities and ministering to his comfort. The courageous dame succeeded in returning safely to her farm, which, according to tradition, she and her 'gudeman' were allowed to possess rent free to the end of their lives.

On regaining his liberty when Monk caused a new Parliament to be summoned, Lord Lauderdale lost no time in repairing to the Hague, to wait upon Charles, whom he accompanied to England. He was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. A contemporary writer states that 'Chancellor Hyde endeavoured to make Lauderdale Chancellor for Scotland, under pretence of rewarding his sufferings, but really to remove him from a constant attendance at Court. But Lauderdale, foreseeing that he who was possessed of his Majesty's ear would govern all, thought fit to reside in London, and so that employment was bestowed on Glencairn.'

When the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland was proposed, Lauderdale strongly resented it, and earnestly advised the King to maintain the Presbyterian system; but, as he told Burnet, Charles 'spoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for a gentleman.' After a lengthened discussion of the subject in the Council, it was resolved that the Presbyterian Church should be abolished. Lauderdale at once fell in with the views of the prelatical party 'as warmly,' says Guthrie, 'as Middleton himself had done.' This astonished Glencairn, who knew Lauderdale to be a violent Presbyterian by profession. A remarkable and very characteristic conversation took place on this subject between these two noblemen. Glencairn said, 'he was not for lordly prelates such as were in Scotland before the Reformation, but for a limited, sober, and moderate episcopacy.' 'My lord,' replied Lauderdale, 'since you are for bishops, and must have them, bishops you shall have, and higher than ever they were in Scotland, and that you will find.' The Chancellor, in no long time, found to his cost the truth of this statement. 'Woe's me!' he said, 'we have advanced these men to be bishops and they will trample on us all.' Lauderdale was opposed to the establishment of the High Court of Commission for the summary trial and punishment of all recusants, clergy and laity, which was invested with almost absolute powers, and exercised them with merciless severity; but when its constitution was pressed by the bishops, and acceded to by the King, he readily acquiesced. Bishop Burnet says, 'I took the liberty to expostulate very freely with

Lauderdale. I thought he was acting the Earl of Traquair's part, giving way to all the follies of the bishops, on design to ruin them. He upon that ran into a great deal of freedom with me; told me many passages of Sharp's past life. He was persuaded he would ruin all; but he said he was resolved to give him line, for he had not credit enough to stop him, nor would he oppose anything that he proposed, unless it were very extravagant. He saw that the Earl of Glencairn and he would be in a perpetual war, and it was indifferent to him how matters would go between them.'

On the disgrace and dismissal of Middleton, in 1662, Lauderdale's influence was greatly increased; and when Rothes was deprived of all his offices except that of Chancellor, in 1667, Lauderdale was nominated President of the Council, First Commissioner of the Treasury, Extraordinary Lord of Session, Lord of the Bedchamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle. The whole power and patronage of Scotland were placed in his hands, and, supported by the dominant Anglican party, his influence was paramount at Court. In 1669 he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament, and he held the same office in four succeeding sessions, and also in the Convention of Estates in 1678. He was created Duke of Lauderdale and Marquis of March in May, 1672, and a month before this he was installed a Knight of the Garter. In 1674 the King created him a peer of England by the title of Earl of Guildford and Baron Peter-sham, and he was also sworn a member of the Privy Council of England. His administration of Scotland was a disgrace to humanity. It was while he was at the head of affairs that the infamous 'Act against Conventicles' was passed by the Estates, in 1670, punishing with death and confiscation of goods all who should preach or pray at a conventicle. It was he who brought the 'Highland host' upon the western counties; and when told of the devastation which they had wrought he merely remarked, 'Better that the West bear nothing but windle-straws and sand-laverocks (dog-grass and sand-larks) than that it should bear rebels to the King.' Unsparring use was made of the sword, the halter, and the boot, in his efforts to crush the Covenanters; and so intolerable became his administration that at length a deputation, consisting of fourteen peers and fifty gentlemen, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, repaired to London and laid their grievances before the King. But the only redress they obtained was to be told by Charles, I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things

against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find he has acted anything contrary to my interest.'

Lauderdale's influence in the management of English affairs was equally pernicious, though in a different way. He was a member of the infamous Cabal ministry, and as Lord Macaulay remarks, 'Loud and coarse both in mirth and anger, under the outward show of boisterous frankness he was perhaps the most dishonest man in the whole Cabal.' After the downfall of that notorious conclave Lauderdale still remained sole minister for Scotland, and carried out with relentless severity the savage measures of Charles and his councillors. His habitual debauchery exercised a most deteriorating influence on his character, and his second wife, Lady Dysart*—a woman of great beauty, spirit, and accomplishments, but cruel, rapacious, and extravagant—acquired a complete ascendancy over him. The great offices of State were monopolised by her creatures, and vast sums were extorted from the Presbyterians to supply her profusion, and satisfy her ravenous greed of money. Lauderdale's arbitrary and rapacious conduct, combined with his sale of public offices and tampering with the courts of law, excited a strong opposition against him, both in Parliament and in the country, but the support of the King maintained him in his post. His Grace, however, lost the favour of the Duke of York when he came down to Scotland, in 1681, and he was deprived of all his offices except that of Extraordinary Lord of Session, which had been granted to him for life. He passed the remaining years of his life in obscurity and disgrace, neglected and illused even by his wife. He closed his flagitious career August 24, 1684, leaving by his first wife an only daughter, who married the second Marquis of Tweeddale. Fountainhall says Lauderdale 'was the learnedest and most powerful minister of State in his age; discontent and age (corpulency also, it is said) were the chief ingredients of his death,

* She was the daughter of 'Will Murray,' son of the parish minister of Dysart, who held the post of whipping-boy to Charles I., an office which doomed him to undergo all the corporal punishment which the prince deserved. Murray rose to be page, then gentleman of the bedchamber and the trusted confidant of his royal master, whose secrets he was generally believed to have betrayed to his enemies. Charles, who was not aware of his real character, created him Earl of Dysart and Baron Huntingtower. He left no sons, and his elder daughter, who inherited his titles and estates, married Sir Lionel Tollemache, the representative of an ancient and wealthy Suffolk family, to whom she bore a large family of sons and daughters. After Sir Lionel's death, in 1668, her connection with the Duke of Lauderdale was of such a character that his wife was obliged to separate from him, and six weeks after her death he married the Countess. The Dysart peerage is still in existence, and its holders have repeatedly been before the public in not very creditable circumstances.

if his duchess and physicians were free of it; for she abused him most grossly, and had gotten all from him she could expect, and was glad to be quit of him.' The Duke was undoubtedly a man of great natural ability and extensive learning. Bishop Burnet, who knew him intimately, says 'he was very learned not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern. He had with these an extraordinary memory and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham once called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression; abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him; that would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind. He was to be let alone, and perhaps he would have forgot what he said and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew. He at first despised wealth, but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means he ran into a vast expense and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind, but he wore these out so entirely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with everything that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering of the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King that no attempt against him nor complaint of him could ever shake it till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold.' Lauderdale frequently spoke with coarse ribaldry of the days when he was a Covenanter and a rebel; but his opinions continued unchanged, and he retained to the day of his death his preference for the Presbyterian system. His personal appearance was extremely unprepossessing, and his portrait by Lely fully bears out Burnet's description of him. 'He made a very ill appearance. He was very big, his hair red, hanging oddly about him. His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to, and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court.'

As Lauderdale left no male issue, his dukedom and marquise, and his English honours, became extinct at his death, but a great part of his landed property and hereditary titles descended to his brother—

CHARLES, third Earl of Lauderdale, a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Hatton or Halton, taken from an estate in Midlothian, which he obtained by marriage with the heiress of the ancient family of the Lauders. He held various important offices under Charles II., and was as unprincipled, overbearing, and insolent as his kinsman, though possessed of far inferior abilities. Along with the Duke, Archbishop Sharp, and Rothes, the Chancellor, Hatton swore on the trial of Mitchell, who was accused of firing a pistol at the Archbishop, that no promise was made to him that his life should be spared if he confessed the crime. But the records of the Privy Council, which are still in existence, prove that the promise was really made in the most explicit terms, and consequently that these councillors were guilty of perjury. The discovery of certain letters from the Duke and Hatton to Lord Kincardine, requesting him to ask the King to make good the promise given to Mitchell, helped to bring about the ruin both of Lauderdale and his brother. Hatton was prosecuted for perjury, but the trial was stopped by the adjournment of Parliament, and was not revived. He was, however, deprived of all his offices, and the Lord Advocate was ordered to proceed against him for malversation, in connection with his office of Master of the Mint. He was found liable to the King of £72,000, but his Majesty reduced the amount to £20,000, and ordered £16,000 of the sum to be paid to the Chancellor and £4,000 to Claverhouse for his services against the Covenanters. Hatton died in 1694, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

RICHARD, fourth Earl of Lauderdale. Though he was the son-in-law of the Earl of Argyll, he became a Roman Catholic, and at the Restoration of 1688 adhered to the cause of James VII. Having repaired to France, and joined the court of the exiled monarch at St. Germain, he was outlawed by the High Court of Justiciary in 1694. It is stated in a manuscript history of the family that 'his going to France was a noble expedient for the preservation of his family, and worthy of such a man. He had no children of his own, and knew that the estates of Lauderdale would descend to his brother, Sir John Maitland, who was then in possession of the estate of Hatton; that by living in a retired way abroad, and not entering to the estate of Lauderdale, the same would not be affected with his debts; that at his death Sir John would unite the Lauderdale and Hatton estates in his own person, and might thereby be enabled to put the family on a good footing.' Earl Richard seems to have been a

person of moderate and prudent views, and expressed his disapproval of the violent measures proposed by James and his courtiers. He was, in consequence, forbidden the mimic court at St. Germain's; his wife, who was a Protestant, was ordered to return to her own country, and his pension was reduced to a hundred pistoles a year. He solaced himself under this ungrateful treatment by preparing a translation of Virgil, which was published in two volumes in 1737. Dryden confesses in a general way his obligation to a manuscript copy of this translation, but on its publication it was discovered that 'Glorious John' had borrowed a good many passages from it without acknowledgment. The Earl was also a collector of books, and possessed one of the choicest libraries of his time. John Evelyn says, 'The Duke of Lauderdale's library is yet entire, choicely bound, and to be sold by a friend of mine, to whom it is pawned; but it comes far short of his relation's, the Lord Maitland's, which was certainly the noblest, most substantial, and accomplished library that ever passed under the spear, and it heartily grieved me to behold its limbs, like those of the chaste Hippolytus, separated and torn from that so well-chosen and compacted a body.' The Earl died at Paris in 1695, and was succeeded by his brother—

JOHN, fifth Earl, who concurred heartily in the Revolution, and was appointed a judge in the Court of Session, with the title of Lord Ravelrig—an office which he held for twenty-one years. On succeeding his brother as Earl of Lauderdale, he took the oaths of allegiance and his seat in Parliament, and gave his strenuous support to the Union with England. The eldest of his three sons predeceased him, and at his death, in 1710, his second son—

CHARLES, became sixth Earl. He was appointed General of the Mint, and at the general election he was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers. He served as a volunteer, under the Duke of Argyll, in 1715, and fought with great gallantry at the Battle of Sheriffmuir. He had by his countess, a daughter of the Earl of Findlater and Seafield, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, a family of nine sons and five daughters. Two of the former attained high rank in the army. Charles, the second son, married the heiress of Towie, and assumed the name of Barclay. The celebrated Russian General, Prince Barclay de Tolly, who died in 1818, was a descendant of Charles Barclay. The sixth son, the Hon. Frederick, a rear-admiral, was the

founder of the family of Rankeillour, which produced the well-known Maitland McGill Crichton, the able and zealous advocate of the principles of the Free Church. Sir Frederick Lewis Maitland, the grandson of Admiral Maitland, was a distinguished naval officer, whose eminent services in the war with France, and especially in the expedition to Egypt in 1801, received high and well-merited commendation. It was to him that the Emperor Napoleon surrendered on board the *Bellerophon*, in 1815. He was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. He died at sea, on board the *Wellesley*, his flagship, in 1839.

Major Maitland, who has just made good his claim to the Lauderdale titles and estates, is descended from the fourth son of Earl Charles.

JAMES, seventh Earl, served for twenty-four years in the army, and held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was chosen one of the Scottish representative peers, and under the Act of 1747, abolishing heritable jurisdictions, he received £1,000 as compensation for the regality of Thirlstane and baillery of Lauderdale, instead of £8,000, which he claimed. His second son was the able but imperious Lieutenant-General Thomas Maitland (commonly known as King Tom), Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Ceylon. The Earl obtained a large fortune by his marriage to the only child and heiress of Sir Thomas Lombe, a wealthy London alderman. He died in 1789.

His eldest surviving son, JAMES, eighth Earl, born in 1759, was a distinguished politician and writer on political economy. He was educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and completed his training at Paris. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1780. In the same year he entered the House of Commons as member for a Cornish borough. He attached himself to the Whig party under Fox, and took a prominent part in the opposition to Lord North's administration. He was appointed by the House of Commons one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. After succeeding to the family titles and estates, he was chosen one of the representative peers of Scotland. He was on a visit to Paris on account of his health, along with Dr. Moore, the father of Sir John Moore, in 1792, when the attack on the Tuileries and the imprisonment of Louis XVI. took place, but he promptly quitted the French capital after the massacres

of September 3rd and the departure of the British ambassador. The shocking scenes which he witnessed there, however, do not appear to have moderated his democratic opinions. In the House of Lords the Earl distinguished himself by his violent opposition to the war with France, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Sedition Bills, and other measures of the Government. He gloried in the designation of 'Citizen Maitland,' and on one occasion said to the Duchess of Gordon that he hoped the time would come when he would be known only by that designation. Her unscrupulous Grace replied that she hoped to see him hanged first. The Earl of Lauderdale was regarded as the leader of the Scottish Whigs, and when the Ministry of 'All the Talents' was formed in 1806, he was created a peer of the United Kingdom, was sworn a Privy Councillor, was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and was entrusted with the whole ministerial patronage of that kingdom. On the 2nd of August he was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris, with full powers to conclude a peace with France, but the negotiations proved abortive. His lordship went out of office on the change of Ministry in 1807, but he continued for many years to take an active part in public affairs, in conjunction with the leaders of the Opposition. He deserted his party, however, on the trial of Queen Caroline, and during the remainder of his long public career he co-operated zealously with the Tories. He died in 1839, in the eightieth year of his age.

Lord Lauderdale was undoubtedly a man of great ability and extensive acquirements, and, but for his violent temper and want of judgment, might have attained high rank as a statesman. Sir Walter Scott, who disliked him both on public and private grounds, speaks in strong terms of Lauderdale's 'violent temper, irritated by long disappointed ambition and ancient feud with all his brother nobles.' The Earl does not appear to have been a much greater favourite with the Whig party even when he was a prominent member of it. After his desertion of the Whigs he became the leader of the Scottish Tory nobles, and managed the election of the sixteen representative peers in the House of Lords. Lord Cockburn ascribes the election of twelve of their number hostile to the Reform Bill of 1831 as due to the skilful manœuvring of that 'cunning old recreant, Lauderdale;' and, in a letter to Kennedy of Dunure, written about the same time, he says, 'Lauderdale has been in Edinburgh, and I always like him to be against my side, for I

never knew him right.' Lord Lauderdale was the author of numerous treatises: three on financial subjects—'Thoughts on Finance,' 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth,' 'Thoughts on the Alarming State of the Currency, and the Means of Redressing the Pecuniary Grievances of Ireland;' 'Hints to the Manufacturers of Great Britain on the consequences of the Irish Union;' 'An Inquiry into the Practical Merits of the System of Government in India under the Board of Control;' 'Letters on the Corn Laws,' &c., &c. He left a family of four sons and four daughters; but all his sons died unmarried. The two eldest held in succession the family titles and estates.

JAMES, ninth Earl of Lauderdale, was born in 1784 and died in 1860, when his brother, Admiral SIR ANTHONY MAITLAND, became tenth Earl. He was a brave and skilful officer, distinguished himself greatly during the war with France, and commanded one of the vessels in Lord Exmouth's expedition against Algiers in 1816. In reward of his services he was appointed a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1820, and a Military Knight Commander of the Bath in 1852. At his death, in 1863, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, the British peerage became extinct, but the Scottish honours devolved on—

Rear-Admiral SIR THOMAS MAITLAND, grandson of the seventh Earl, who had served with distinction on the coast of Spain and in India and China. He was an honest and straightforward bluff sailor, who looked, and talked, and bore himself like a thorough seaman. He took a prominent part in the discussions in the House of Lords on naval affairs, in which he displayed all the raciness and quaint humour of an 'old salt.' A frequent spectator of the appearances of the worthy old veteran in the Upper House describes him as 'hardened, weather-beaten, and worn by service, his face marked by deep furrows which looked as if they had been ploughed by Atlantic or Pacific gales; his thin grey locks tossed and dishevelled, as if these same gales were still playing among them. He used to stand strongly and stoutly, keeping his sea-legs firmly planted and well apart, as if the floor of the House were heaving and rolling. In that attitude he delivered himself in short nautical barks, as if he were hailing the man at the wheel; and though he did not actually hitch up his trousers, no one would have been much surprised if he

had done so. He looked every inch a sailor, and no fair-weather one either. He was, moreover, a really good officer; and Mr. Childers, when he was at the head of the Admiralty, always set considerable store by his Lordship's opinions. At all events, the old sailor gave a variety to the somewhat monotonously conventional uniformity and polish of the Upper House, and whether you agreed with him or not, you could not help taking kindly to his racy talk which brought with it so pleasant a whiff of the sea breeze.'

The gallant old Admiral passed away in 1878, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His only son predeceased him, and he was succeeded by his cousin—

THOMAS, twelfth Earl, great-grandson of the Hon. Charles Maitland, second son of Charles, sixth Earl of Lauderdale. This nobleman was killed in 1884 by a stroke of lightning. He was unmarried, and the family titles and honours—Earl, Viscount, and Baron of Lauderdale, Baron Maitland of Thirlstane, Baron Thirlstane and Boltoun, and Baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia, and Hereditary Standard-bearer of Scotland—along with the estates, which are in the counties of Berwick, Haddington, and Roxburgh were claimed by Major Frederick Maitland and by Sir James Ramsay Gibson-Maitland, of Clifton Hall, Baronet. Both claimants are descended from Charles Maitland, sixth Earl of Lauderdale, but the progenitor of Sir James was the Hon. Sir Alexander, fifth son, while Major Maitland is the great grandson of the Hon. Richard Maitland, fourth son of the sixth Earl. This statement was admitted by Sir James R. G. Maitland to be correct, but he asserted that Richard Maitland died unmarried, 13th July, 1772, and that if Patrick Maitland, from whom Major Maitland claims to be descended, was the son of the said Richard Maitland, he was not born in wedlock, and was consequently illegitimate. He further contended that for a considerable time prior to his death Richard Maitland was domiciled in British North America, in no part of which did the law of legitimation by subsequent marriage prevail. He therefore pleaded that the succession as to the lands and estates of the earldom of Lauderdale had devolved upon him as the nearest lawful heir, called to succeed thereto under the destinations in the deeds of entail.

Major Maitland, on the other hand, denied that his ancestor, the Hon. Richard Maitland, died unmarried, and averred that, at New York, on the 11th of July, 1772, he married Mary Macadam, of New

York, the clergyman officiating at the ceremony of marriage being the Rev. John Ogilvy, D.D., assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York. He alleged that he is the eldest son of the deceased Frederick E. Maitland, a general in the Indian army, who was the eldest son of Patrick Maitland, some time in the Royal Navy, thereafter banker in Calcutta, who was the second son of the Hon. Richard Maitland. (The eldest, an admiral, died without issue.) He admitted that Patrick Maitland, his grandfather, was born before the marriage of his parents, but he averred that his great-grandfather, Richard Maitland, was born in Scotland on the 10th of February, 1724, that his domicile of origin was therefore Scottish, that he entered the army while in minority, and was in active service until the date of his death, that he never lost his domicile of origin, and that by his marriage his son Patrick Maitland was by the law of Scotland legitimated.

After a very full and careful consideration of the pretensions of the two claimants, the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords, on the 22nd of July, 1885, unanimously decided in favour of Major Maitland, who thereupon became thirteenth Earl of Lauderdale in the peerage of Scotland.

According to the Domesday Book, the family estates consist of 2,468 acres in Berwickshire, of 75 in East Lothian, and 756 in Roxburghshire, with an aggregate rental of £17,319 11s.





THE HOMES.

THE Homes are among the oldest and most celebrated of the historical families of Scotland. Their founder was descended from the Earls of Dunbar and March, who sprung from the Saxon kings of England and the princes of Northumberland. After the conquest of that country by William of Normandy, Cospatrick, the great Earl of Northumberland, and several other Saxon nobles connected with the northern counties, fled into Scotland in the year 1066, carrying with them Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. Malcolm Canmore, who married the Princess Margaret, bestowed on the expatriated noble the manor of Dunbar, and broad lands in the Merse and the Lothians. Patrick, the second son of the third Earl of Dunbar, inherited from his father the manor of Greenlaw, and having married his cousin Ada, daughter of the fifth Earl by his wife, a natural daughter of William the Lion, obtained with her the lands of Home (pronounced Hume), in Berwickshire, from which the designation of the family was taken. The armorial bearings of his ancestors, the Earls of Dunbar, which were a white lion on a red field, were assumed by him on a green field for a difference, referring to his paternal estate of Greenlaw.

Under the protection of their potent kinsman, the De Homes flourished and extended their possessions, and kept vigilant 'watch and ward' on the Eastern Marches against the incursions of the Northumbrian freebooters. One of their chiefs, a Sir John de Home, was so conspicuous for his successful forays across the Border, always fighting in a white jacket, that he obtained from the English the *sobriquet* of 'Willie with the White Doublet.' The son of this redoubtable Border chief acquired the estate of Dunglass (from which the second title of the family is taken) by his marriage to the

heiress of Nicholas Pepdie, in the reign of Robert III. The second son of this couple was the founder of the warlike family of Wedderburn, from which the Earls of Marchmont are descended.

Hitherto the De Homes had acknowledged as their feudal lords the Earls of Dunbar and March, the heads of the great house from which they sprung, who, from their vast possessions and their strong castle of Dunbar, on the eastern Border, having the keys of the kingdom at their girdle, as they boasted, were among the most powerful nobles in the kingdom. Partly from ambition, partly, it would appear, from a hereditary fickleness of character, these barons were noted for the frequency with which they changed sides in the wars between England and Scotland. The eleventh Earl was in the end unfairly deprived of his earldom, castles, and estates by James I., towards the middle of the fifteenth century, in pursuance of his policy to break down the power of the great nobles. As some compensation for this treatment, the King conferred upon him the title of Earl of Buchan, but he indignantly refused to accept of the honour, and sought an asylum in England, from which he never afterwards returned. His father, the tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, who was one of the heroes of Otterburn, in consequence of the manner in which the contract of marriage between his daughter and the Duke of Rothesay was broken off (*see* THE DOUGLASES), renounced his allegiance for a time to his sovereign; the De Homes, his kinsmen, abandoned his banner, and fought against him and Harry Percy at the sanguinary battle of Homildon, where their chief, SIR ALEXANDER HOME, was taken prisoner. On regaining his liberty he accompanied the Earl of Douglas (Shakespeare's Earl, nicknamed *Tineman*) to France, shared in his triumphs and disasters, and fell along with him at the battle of Verneuil, in 1424, where the Scottish auxiliaries were almost annihilated. Sir Alexander's second son, THOMAS, was the ancestor of the Homes of Tynningham and the Humes of Ninewells, the family of which David Hume, the philosopher and historian, was a member.

After the final overthrow of the Earls of Dunbar and March, in January, 1436, the Homes succeeded to a portion of their vast estates, and to a great deal of their power on the Borders as Wardens of the Eastern Marches. SIR ALEXANDER HOME, the head of the family, was created a peer by the title of LORD HOME, 2nd August, 1473, and seems to have possessed considerable diplomatic ability, as he was frequently employed by James III. in carrying out important negotiations with

the English Court. His father and his uncle had held in succession the office of bailie of the lands belonging to the monastery of Coldingham, and he induced the prior and chapter to make the office hereditary in his family. He exerted all his influence in that situation to obtain possession of the large conventual property, and indeed seized and appropriated it to his own use. He was, therefore, greatly irritated by the attempt of King James, with the consent of the Pope, to attach the revenues of the priory to the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and joined the disaffected nobles in their conspiracy against that ill-fated sovereign. His Border spearmen contributed not a little to the defeat and death of James at Sauchie. The Homes obtained a liberal share of the fruits of the victory gained by the rebellious barons. The revenues of Coldingham, the prize for which Lord Home had rebelled and fought against his sovereign, were allowed to remain in his possession, and ALEXANDER HOME, second baron, his grandson and heir, was appointed immediately after the murder of James to the office of Steward of Dunbar, and obtained besides a large share of the administration of the Lothians and Berwickshire. He was also sworn a Privy Councillor in 1488, and was appointed for life to the important office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland. In 1489 he was nominated Warden of the East Marches for seven years, and at the same time was made captain of the castle of Stirling, and governor of the young King. The tuition of John, Earl of Mar, the brother of James IV., was likewise committed to this potent noble. He obtained also a charter of the bailiery of Ettrick Forest, and in the following year was appointed by the Estates to collect the royal rents and dues within the earldom of March and barony of Dunbar. In 1497 Lord Home repaired to the royal standard with his retainers when James IV. invaded England in support of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. In retaliation for his ravages in Northumberland and Durham, an English army, under the Earl of Surrey, laid waste the estates of the Homes, and 'demolished old Ayton Castle, the strongest of their forts,' as Ford terms it, in his dramatic chronicle of 'Perkin Warbeck.'

The Homes had now gained a position in the foremost rank of the great nobles of Scotland, and ALEXANDER, the third lord, who succeeded to the vast estates of the family in 1506, elevated them to the highest summit of rank and power ever attained by their house. In 1507 he was appointed to the office of Lord Chamberlain, which

had been held by his father, and succeeded him also in the warden-ship of the Eastern Marches.

When war was about to break out between James IV. and his brother-in-law, Henry VIII., Lord Home, at the head of three or four thousand men, made a foray into England and pillaged and burned several villages or hamlets on the Borders. On their return home laden with booty, and marching carelessly and without order, the invaders fell into an ambush laid for them by Sir William Bulmer among the tall broom on Millfield Plain, near Wooler, and were surprised and defeated with great slaughter. According to the English chronicler, Holinshead, five or six hundred were slain in the conflict, and four hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was Sir George Home, the brother of Lord Home. Buchanan, however, estimates the number of prisoners at two hundred, and says that it was the rear only which fell into the ambuscade, while the other portion of the force with their plunder arrived safely in Scotland.

This mortifying reverse deeply incensed the Scottish king, and made him doubly impatient to commence hostilities in order to avenge the defeat sustained by his Warden.

When James took the field shortly after, Lord Home brought a powerful array of his followers to the royal banner, in that campaign which terminated in the fatal battle of Flodden. The Homes and the Gordons, under Lord Huntly, formed the vanguard of the Scottish army in that engagement, and commenced the battle by a furious charge on the English right wing, under Sir Edmund Howard, which they threw into confusion and totally routed. Sir Edmund's banner was taken, he himself was beaten down and placed in imminent danger, and with difficulty escaped to the division commanded by his brother, the Admiral. The old English ballad on 'Flodden Field' thus describes Home's attack on the English vanguard:—

'With whom encountered a strong Scot,
Which was the King's chief Chamberlain,
Lord Home by name, of courage hot,
Who manfully marched them again.

'Ten thousand Scots, well tried and told
Under his standard stout he led ;
When the Englishmen did them behold
For fear at first they would have fled.'

Lord Dacre, who commanded the English reserve, however, advanced to Sir Edmund's support, and kept the victorious Homes and Gordons

in check. He states, in a letter to the English Council, dated May 17th, 1514, that on the field of Brankston he and his friends encountered the Earl of Huntly and the Chamberlain; that Sir John Home, Cuthbert Home of Fast Castle, the son and heir of Sir John Home, Sir William Cockburn of Langton, and his son, the son and heir of Sir David Home [of Wedderburn], the laird of Blacater, and many other of Lord Home's kinsmen and friends, were slain; and that on the other hand Philip Dacre, brother of Lord Dacre, was taken prisoner by the Scots, and many other of his kinsfolk, servants, and tenants, were either taken or slain in the struggle. Sir David Home of Wedderburn had seven sons in the battle, who were called 'The Seven Spears of Wedderburn.' Sir David himself and his eldest son, George, fell in the conflict with Lord Dacre. These facts completely disprove the charge made against the chief of the Homes that he remained inactive after defeating the division under Sir Edmund Howard. It is alleged, however, by Pitscottie, that when the Earl of Huntly urged Lord Home to go to the assistance of the King, he replied, 'He does well that does well for himself; we have fought our vanguard and won the same, therefore let the lave [rest] do their part as well as we.' This statement, however, is in the highest degree improbable, and is directly at variance with the account which Lord Dacre gives of his conflict with the Homes, after they had defeated Sir Edmund Howard's division. It seems to have been invented by the enemies of Home, who, though he fought with conspicuous courage in the battle, incurred great odium in consequence of his having returned unhurt and loaded with spoil* from this fatal conflict. It was even alleged that he had carried off the King from the battlefield and afterwards put him to death. A preposterous story passed current among the credulous of that day that in the twilight, when the battle was nearly ended, four horsemen mounted the King on a dun hackney and conveyed him across the Tweed with them at nightfall. From that time he was never seen or heard of, but it was asserted that he was murdered either in Home Castle or near Kelso by the vassals of Lord Home. This absurd tale was revived about fifty or sixty years ago by a popular writer, who gave credit to a groundless rumour that a skeleton wrapped in a bull's hide and surrounded with an iron chain had been found in the well of Home Castle. Sir Walter Scott says he could never find any

* The baggage-waggons were drawn up behind Edmund Howard's division—a fact which may account for the Borderers having secured so much spoil.

better authority for the story than the sexton of the parish having said that if the well were cleaned out he would not be surprised at such a discovery. Lord Home had no motive to commit such a crime. He was the chamberlain of the King, and his chief favourite; and, as it has been justly remarked, he had much to lose (in fact, did lose all) in consequence of James's death, and had nothing earthly to gain by that event.

Six months after the battle of Flodden, Lord Home was nominated one of the standing councillors of Queen Margaret, who had been chosen Regent, and was also appointed Chief Justice of all the country south of the Forth. He was deeply implicated in all the intrigues of that turbulent and factious period of Scottish history, and was alternately on the side of the Queen Dowager and of Albany, who succeeded her as Regent after her marriage to the Earl of Angus. He protected Margaret in her flight into England in 1516, and concocted with Lord Dacre measures to overthrow the Government of the Regent. In revenge for these proceedings Albany marched into the Merse at the head of a powerful army, overran and ravaged Home's estates, captured Home Castle, his principal stronghold, and razed Fast Castle, another of his fortalices, to the ground. Under pretence of granting him an amnesty and a pardon, Albany induced Home to meet him at Dungleass, where he was treacherously arrested and committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, then under the charge of the Earl of Arran, his brother-in-law. He contrived, however, to prevail on Arran, not only to let him escape from prison, but to accompany him in his flight into England. A few months later Home made his peace with the Regent and was restored to his estates on condition that if ever he rebelled again he should be brought to trial for his old offences. But, unmindful of the warning he had received, and disregarding his promise, he speedily renewed his treasonable intrigues with Lord Dacre, the English Warden, who hired Home's retainers to plunder and lay waste the country, so that, as Dacre himself admits, the Eastern Marches were a prey to constant robberies, fire-raisations, and murders. Incensed at this behaviour, Albany resolved that he would no longer show forbearance to this factious and turbulent baron, and having by fair promises induced him and his brother William to visit Holyrood, in September, 1516, he caused them both to be arrested, by the advice of the Council, tried on an accusation of treason, condemned and executed. Their heads were exposed above the Tolbooth and their estates confiscated.

Buchanan mentions that one of the charges brought against the Chamberlain was that he was accessory to the defeat at Flodden and the death of the King, which shows at what an early period this unfounded report was prevalent. The historian adds that the accusation, though strongly expressed, being feebly supported by proof, was withdrawn. Another brother, David Home, Prior of Coldingham, was shortly after assassinated by the Hepburns. The execution of Lord Home was keenly resented by his vassals and retainers. Among the fierce Border race the exaction of blood for blood was regarded as a sacred duty. Albany himself retired to France and thus escaped their vengeance, but they determined to revenge the death of their chief by slaying the Regent's friend, the *Sieur de la Bastie*, a gallant and accomplished French knight, whom he had appointed Warden of the Eastern Marches in the room of Lord Home. For this purpose, David Home of Wedderburn and some other friends of the late noble pretended to lay siege to the tower of Langton, in the Merse of Berwickshire, which belonged to their allies and accomplices, the Cockburns. On receiving intelligence of this outrage, the Warden, who was residing at Dunbar, hastened to the spot accompanied by a slender train (19th September, 1517). He was immediately surrounded and assailed by the Homes, and, perceiving that his life was menaced, he attempted to save himself by flight. His ignorance of the country, however, unfortunately led him into a morass near the town of Dunse, where he was overtaken and cruelly butchered by John and Patrick Home, younger brothers of the laird of Wedderburn. That ferocious chief himself cut off the head of the Warden, knitted it in savage triumph to his saddle-bow by its long flowing locks, which are said to be still preserved in the charter-chest of the family, and galloping into Dunse, he affixed the ghastly trophy of his vengeance to the market cross. The Parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh on the 19th of February, 1518, passed sentence of forfeiture against David Home of Wedderburn, his three brothers, and their accomplices in this murder. The Earl of Arran, a member of the Council of Regency, assembled a powerful army and marched towards the Borders for the purpose of enforcing the sentence. The Homes, finding resistance hopeless, submitted to his authority. The keys of Home Castle were delivered to Arran, and the Border towers of Wedderburn and Langton were also surrendered to him. The actual perpetrators of the murder, however, made their escape into England, and it is a striking proof of the

weakness and remissness of the Government at that time that none of them were ever brought to trial or punishment for their foul crime.*

The forfeited title and estates of Lord Home, who left no male issue, were restored, in 1522, to his brother GEORGE, who became fourth Lord. Like his predecessors, he appears to have possessed the fickleness and instability of character which the family probably inherited from their versatile ancestors, the Earls of March. He deserted the party of the Earl of Angus—Queen Margaret's second husband—whom the Homes had hitherto supported, and became for a time a strenuous partisan of Albany, probably in return for the restitution of the family estates and honours. But two or three years later he was found fighting on the side of Angus at the battle of Melrose, where Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch made an unsuccessful attempt to rescue the young King, James V., from the hands of the Douglases. Shortly after he assisted the Earl of Argyll in driving Angus across the Border and compelling him to take refuge in England. It is due to Lord Home, however, to state that, though thus inconstant in his adherence to the cause of his brother nobles, the remark which Sir James Melvil made respecting his son is equally applicable to him, that 'he was so true a Scotsman that he was unwinnable to England to do any thing prejudicial to his country.' There were very few Scottish nobles of that day of whom this could with truth be said. In August, 1542, Lord Home, along with the Earl of Huntly, defeated, at Haddon-Rig, a few miles to the east of Kelso, a body of three thousand horsemen, who were laying waste

* David Home, the leader in the plot for the murder of De la Bastie, was one of the 'Seven Spears of Wedderburn,' who fought at Flodden, where his father and eldest brother were killed. He seems to have been as noted for his ferocity and blood-thirstiness as for his bravery. He was so powerful in the Merse that it was said 'none almost pretended to go to Edinburgh, or anywhere else out of the country, without first both asking and obtaining his leave.' Blackadder, Prior of Coldingham, however, refused to submit to his arbitrary control and claims; and Home, meeting him one day while he was following the sports of the chase, assassinated him and six of his attendants. His brother, the Dean of Dunblane, shared the same fate. The object which the Homes had in view was to obtain possession of the estate of Blackadder, that had belonged to Andrew Blackadder, who fell at Flodden, leaving a widow and two daughters, at that time mere children. The Homes attacked the castle of Blackadder, where the widow and her daughters resided. The garrison made a brave resistance, but were ultimately obliged to surrender. The widow was compelled to marry Sir David Home, and her two daughters were contracted to his younger brothers, John and Robert (the former one of the murderers of De la Bastie), and were closely confined in the castle until they came of age. The estate was entailed in the male line, and should have passed to Sir John Blackadder of Tulliallan, but he was waylaid and assassinated by the Homes in 1526, and they ultimately succeeded in retaining possession of the estate by force.

the country under the command of Sir Robert Bowes, the English Warden, the banished Earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas. The encounter was fierce and protracted and was decided in favour of the Scots by the timely arrival of Lord Home with four hundred lances. The English were completely defeated, and left six hundred prisoners in the hands of the victors, among whom were the Warden himself, his brother, and other persons of note. A few months later, in conjunction with Huntly and Seton, Home did good service by harassing a formidable army which invaded Scotland under the Duke of Norfolk, and compelling him in little more than a week to retire to Berwick and disband his forces. In a skirmish with the English horsemen, on the 9th of September, 1547, the day before the battle of Pinkie, Lord Home, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, was thrown from his horse and severely injured, and his son, the Master of Home, was taken prisoner. His lordship was carried to the castle of Edinburgh, where he died. His wife, a co-heiress of the old family of the Halyburtons of Dirleton, stoutly defended Home Castle against the Protector Somerset, but was ultimately obliged to surrender, and it was garrisoned by a detachment of English troops. Lord Home left two sons and a daughter.

ALEXANDER, his elder son, fifth Baron, was a true representative of his family both in its strength and its weakness. He was personally brave, and fought with great distinction against the English invaders in the campaign of 1548 and 1549. Unlike a large body of the nobles, he steadfastly supported the independence of the country, and was proof against the bribes and threats of the Protector Somerset and his agents. He recovered Home Castle from the enemy in a very daring manner. A small band of his retainers, who were on the watch for an opportunity of surprising it, perceiving on a certain night that the guards had relaxed their vigilance, boldly scaled the precipitous rock on which the fortress was built, and, killing the sentinel, obtained possession of the castle without difficulty. Fast Castle, another fortalice of the family, was retaken in a manner equally adventurous. A number of armed men concealed themselves in the waggons which were bringing a supply of provisions for the garrison. Suddenly starting out of their hiding-place, the Scots seized the castle gates and admitted a strong body of their countrymen, who were waiting their signal in the immediate vicinity of the fort. The garrison being taken unawares, were easily

overpowered, and the place secured. Lord Home was appointed to the office of Warden of the Eastern Marches, so often held by his ancestors, and was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty between England and Scotland at Norham in 1559. He supported the Reformation, and sat in the Parliament which abolished Popery and established the Protestant Church in 1560; but in 1565 he attached himself to the party of Mary and Darnley, who in the following year, with a splendid retinue, visited the family castles of Home, Wedderburn, and Langton. He seemed to stand so high in the favour of the Queen at this time that it was expected that the ancient title of Earl of March would be revived in his favour. He was one of the nobles who signed the discreditable bond in favour of the Queen's marriage to Bothwell, but only a few weeks later he joined the association for the defence of the infant King, her son, and along with the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and Athole, Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Graham, and Ochiltree, he subscribed the order for Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. After the Queen's escape from that fortalice, Home brought a body of six hundred spearmen to the assistance of the Regent Moray at the battle of Langside, where he was wounded both in the face and the leg; but the fierce charge of the Border spearmen contributed not a little to the defeat of the Queen's army. In 1569, however, he once more changed sides, and joined Queen Mary's party. He assisted Kirkaldy of Grange and Maitland of Lethington in holding out the castle of Edinburgh to the last against Regent Morton; but on its surrender in May, 1573, he was more fortunate than his associates, for though he was brought to trial before the Parliament and convicted of treason, he was pardoned, and obtained the restoration of his estates. He died 11th August, 1575.

ALEXANDER, sixth Lord Home, stood high in the favour of King James VI., by whom he was created Earl of Home and Baron Dunglass, 4th March, 1605.

In the Parliament held in 1578 Lord Home obtained the reversal of the forfeiture passed against his father for his adherence to the party of Queen Mary. David Home of Godscroft represents this as having been mainly brought about by the intervention of his brother, Sir George Home of Wedderburn, with the Earl of Morton; and, according to Godscroft, it was against the will and judgment of the Regent that Wedderburn's mediation was effectual. The affair

affords a striking illustration of the influence of the feeling of clan-ship and fidelity to the chief overpowering even the dictates of self-interest. Morton frankly informed Sir George Home that 'he thought it not his best course.' 'For,' he said, 'you will never get any good out of that house, and if it were once taken out of the way you are next; and it may be you will get small thanks for your pains.' Sir George answered that 'the Lord Home was his chief, and he could not see his house ruined. If they were unkind, that would be their own fault. This he thought himself bound to do. And for his own part, whatsoever their carriage were to him, he would do his duty to them. If his chief should turn him out at the fore-door, he would come in again at the back-door.' 'Well,' said Morton, 'if you be so minded it shall be so. I can do no more but tell you my opinion.' And so he consented.*

The Earl appears, however, to have been largely imbued with the ferocity of the Borderers. It is mentioned by Patrick Anderson that in May, 1593, 'Lord Home came to Lauder, and asked for William Lauder, bailie of that burgh, commonly called *William at the West Port*, being the man who hurt John Cranston (nick-named *John with the Gilt Sword*). Lauder fled to the Tolbooth, as being the strongest and surest house for his relief; but the Lord Home caused put fire to the house, and burnt it all. The gentleman remained therein till the roof-tree fell. In the end he came desperately out amongst them, and hazarded a shot of a pistol at John Cranston, and hurt him; but it being impossible to escape with life, they most cruelly, without mercy, hacked him with swords and whingers all in pieces.'

Lady Marischal, sister of Lord Home, 'hearing the certainty of the cruel murder of William Lauder, did mightily rejoice thereat, and writ it for good news to sundry of her friends in the country. But within less than twenty-four hours after, the lady took a swelling in her throat, both without and within, after a great laughter, and could not be cured till death seized upon her with great repentance.'

A remission for this barbarous slaughter was granted by the King in 1606 to the Earl of Home, Hume of Hutton Hall, Thomas Tyrie, tutor of Drunkilbo, John Hume in Kells, and other persons.†

A conspiracy of Bothwell and certain discontented nobles, in 1593-4, for the seizure of the King's person, was directed also

* *History of the House of Douglas*, ii. p. 260.

† *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. pp. 299, 300; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, pp. 111-16.

against Home and other Popish leaders, who were to have been put to death; but it was fortunately detected in time, and Home was ordered by the King to encounter Bothwell when he was advancing to attack the capital. Home's forces were put to the rout, but Bothwell, who had been thrown from his horse, was so severely injured that he made no attempt to follow up his success. When the Popish lords were excommunicated by the Assembly, Home escaped that sentence by making professions of penitence, and promising to sign the Confession of Faith, to attend public worship in the Reformed Church, and to abstain from all intercourse with Jesuits and seminary priests. The Assembly, on this, ordained that he should be formally released by the Moderator from the spiritual burden under which, according to his own profession, he was suffering so much distress of mind. The Earl died in April, 1619. His only son, JAMES, second Earl, was twice married, but died without issue.

The family titles devolved on the heir male, SIR JAMES HOME of Cowdenknowes, a descendant of the second son of the first Lord Home, who obtained from Charles I. a ratification of all the honours, privileges, and precedencies enjoyed by the two previous Earls. But the greater part of the extensive estates of the family were divided between the two sisters of the late Earl, one of whom was Countess of Moray, the other the Duchess of Lauderdale, the first wife of the notorious persecutor of the Covenanters.

The political power of the Homes was now at an end. The successive heads of this ancient, and at one time great house, were in no way distinguished for their abilities or activity, and shorn as they were of their territorial influence, they sank into obscurity. They were so unfortunate also as to espouse the losing side in the Great Civil War, and they suffered severely by pecuniary penalties for their loyalty. It would appear, however, that the Earl had at last become hopeless or lukewarm in the cause. He and the Earl of Roxburgh invited the Marquis of Montrose to the Borders after the battle of Kilsyth, but they were surprised by a party of Leslie's men, and carried prisoners to Berwick. Montrose evidently suspected that there had been collusion between them and the Covenanting general, for in a letter which Sir Robert Spottiswood, who was with the Marquis, wrote to Lord Digby from Kelso, he says, 'He [Montrose] was invited hereunto by the Earls of Roxburgh and Home, who, when he was within a dozen miles of them, have rendered themselves

and their houses to David Leslie, and are carried in as prisoners to Berwick.' The Earl was colonel of the Berwickshire regiment in the army of the 'Engagement,' levied in 1648 for the rescue of Charles I. As a 'Malignant,' he was of course excluded from the Covenanting forces which, under General David Leslie, were raised in behalf of Charles II. But after the battle of Dunbar and the capture of Edinburgh Castle in 1650, Cromwell, to whom the Earl seems to have been peculiarly obnoxious, despatched Colonel Fenwick to reduce Home Castle. Whitelock gives a somewhat amusing account of the reduction of this stronghold. 'February 3rd, 1656. Letters that Colonel Fenwick summoned Home Castle to be surrendered to General Cromwell. The governor [whose name was Cockburn] answered, "I know not Cromwell; and as for my castle, it is built on a rock." Whereupon Colonel Fenwick played upon him a little with the great guns. But the governor still would not yield; nay, sent a letter couched in these singular terms:—

"I, William of the Wastle,
Am now in my castle,
And a' the dogs in the toun
Shanna gar me gang doun."

So that there remained nothing but opening the mortars upon this William of the Wastle, which did 'gar him gang doun,' and allow the castle to be garrisoned by English soldiers. These doggrel rhymes are familiar in the mouths of Scottish children down to the present day.

At the Restoration, Earl James was reinstated in his property; but that was only a mere fragment of the ancient patrimony of the family. He died in 1666. His eldest son ALEXANDER, fourth Earl, and his second son JAMES, fifth Earl, both died without issue.* CHARLES, sixth Earl, his youngest son, did not concur in the Revolution of 1668, and took a leading part in the opposition to the union with England; consequently his fortunes were not improved by the favour of the Court or of the Government. He died in 1706, while the Treaty of Union was pending. James Home, the

* It was Earl James who, when the Covenanters held a Communion in the open air at East Nisbet, on the banks of the Whitadder, was said to have 'intended to assault the meeting with his men and militia, and profanely threatened to make their horses drink the Communion wine, and trample the sacred elements under foot.' To protect the assembled multitude, amounting to at least four thousand persons, from molestation, pickets were appointed to reconnoitre the places from which danger was apprehended and a body of horse was drawn round the place of meeting, but no attempt was made to disturb them.

second of his three sons, took part in the rebellion of 1715, and his estate was in consequence forfeited. The rental was at that time £323 10s. 5d., while that of Wedderburn, which was also forfeited, was only £213 os. 10d. The Earl's eldest son, ALEXANDER, was so strongly suspected of disaffection to the Government that on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715 he was committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. The eldest of his six sons predeceased him; but WILLIAM, the second son and eighth Earl, wiser in his generation than his father and grandfather, supported the Government in the rebellion of 1745, displayed the hereditary valour of his house at the luckless battle of Prestonpans, where he strove, but in vain, to rally the panic-stricken dragoons, and was appointed Governor of Gibraltar, where he died in 1761, with the rank of Lieutenant-General in the British army. His three successors—one of whom, ALEXANDER, ninth Earl, was a clergyman of the Church of England—were obscure and unimportant persons.

There was one of the chiefs of this fierce race, Sir David Home, whose character, as drawn by his son, the author of the 'History of the House of Douglas,' presents a pleasing contrast to that of his sanguinary predecessors. He was the first of his family who died a natural death, all the rest having lost their lives in defence of their country.

'He was,' says Godscroft, 'a man remarkable for piety and probity, ingenuity [candour], and integrity; neither was he altogether illiterate, being well versed in the Latin tongue. He had the Psalms, and particularly some short sentences of them, always in his mouth, such as, "It is better to trust in the Lord than in the princes of the earth," "Our hope ought to be placed in God alone." He particularly delighted in the 146th Psalm, and sung it whilst he played on the harp with the most sincere and unaffected devotion. He was strictly just, utterly detesting all manner of fraud. I remember when a conversation happened among some friends about prudence and fraud, his son George happened to say that it was not unlawful to do a good action and for a good end, although it might be brought about by indirect methods, and that this was sometimes necessary. "What," says he, "George, do you call an indirect way? It is but fraud and deceit covered under a specious name, and never to be admitted by a good man." He himself always acted on

this principle, and was so strictly just and so little desirous of what was his neighbour's, that in the time of the Civil Wars, when Alexander, his chief, was forfeit for his defection from the Queen's party, he might have had his whole patrimony and also the abbacy of Coltingham, but refused both the one and the other. When Patrick Lindsay desired that he would ask something from the Governor [Morton], as he was sure whatever he asked would be granted, he refused to ask anything, saying that he was content with his own. Lindsay still insisted, and told him, "If you do not get a share of our enemies' estates, our party will never put sufficient trust in you." To this David answered, "If I never can give proofs of my fidelity otherwise than in that manner, I will never give any, let him doubt of it who may. I have hitherto lived content with my own, and will live so, nor do I want any more." Being educated in affluence, he delighted in fencing, hunting, riding, throwing the javelin, managing horses, and likewise in cards and dice; yet he was sufficiently careful of his affairs without doors. Those of a more domestic nature he committed to the care of his wife, and when he had none, to his servants; so that he neither increased nor diminished his patrimony. Godscroft, in the true spirit of his age, cites his father's love to the house of Home as 'not the least of his virtues.' The chief was prejudiced against him, but 'he bore it patiently, and never failed giving him all due honour.' Ultimately Lord Home came to understand his real character, and to place in him that confidence which he so well merited.

Sir George Home, the son and successor of this worthy old laird, seems to have been a kindred spirit, and to have possessed accomplishments of no common order. His brother, David of Godscroft, mentions that he had been trained to pious habits by his parents, and completed his education at the Regent's Court in company with the young Earl of Angus. He knew Latin and French, and acquired such an extensive knowledge of geography that 'though he had never been out of his own country, he could dispute with any one who had travelled in France or elsewhere. He learned the use of the triangle in measuring heights without any teaching, or ever having read of it; so that he may be said to have invented it.

'He was diligent in reading the Sacred Scriptures, and not to little purpose. He was assiduous in settling controverted points, and, at table or over a bottle, he either asked other people's opinions or freely

gave his own. He had read a great deal when his public and private business allowed him. He likewise wrote meditations upon the Revelations, the soul, love of God, &c. He also gave some application to law, and even to physic. He was polite and unaffected in his manners. He sang after the manner of the Court. He likewise sang psaltery to his own playing on the harp. He also sometimes danced. He was very keen for hare-hunting, and delighted much in hawks. He rode skilfully, and sometimes applied himself to the breaking of the fiercest horses. He was skilful in the bow beyond most men of his time. He was able to endure cold, hunger, thirst, fatigue, and watching. . . . He was moderate both in his eating and drinking, which was in those days scarce any praise, temperance being then frequent, though it is now very rare.*

Meanwhile a junior branch of the family, the Humes of Polwarth, had risen to distinction and influence. Sir Patrick Hume, the head of the house during the latter part of the seventeenth century, was elevated to the earldom of Marchmont, and appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland at the Revolution of 1688, as a reward for his sufferings in the cause of Presbyterianism and religious liberty under Charles II. and James VII. He acquired a considerable portion of the estates of the main line of the family, including Home Castle, the cradle of the race, and completely overshadowed them by his combined official and patrimonial influence.

The estates of the main stock of the family—which at one time extended from the Tweed to the German Ocean, and included a very extensive tract of the most fertile and highly cultivated land in Scotland—had by this time dwindled down to an inheritance of only two thousand acres, which at the commencement of the present century was rented at about £2,000 a year, and even at the present day yields a rental of only £5,000 per annum, while the moderate abilities of the owners did not counterbalance the insignificance of their patrimony. But the fortunate marriage of Cospatrick, eleventh Earl, to the heiress of the Douglas estates, has revived the decayed fortunes of this ancient house. His lordship was created a British peer in 1875 by the title of Baron Douglas. [See THE DOUGLASES.] The contrast between the fortunes of the two families is very striking. The estates of the Homes, as we have seen, have almost entirely passed into other hands, while the family itself is numerous and

* *History of the House of Douglas.*

flourishing. The late Countess, who was the eldest daughter of the second Baron Montague, was the mother of five sons and four daughters. The main line of the house of Douglas has long been extinct, while their extensive possessions, in spite of their frequent rebellions against the royal authority and the consequent forfeitures and vicissitudes which they have undergone, for the most part remain unimpaired. It is to be hoped that the Homes, now restored to their former position in the foremost rank of our historical magnates, will long continue, as they well deserve, to flourish in Douglasdale. The present representative of the family is Charles Alexander Douglas-Home, twelfth Earl of Home and second Baron Douglas of the new creation.

Of the numerous branches of the Home family, the earliest, as well as the most powerful and prolific, were the Homes of Wedderburn, whose courage and savage cruelty have already been noticed. Their founder was Sir Thomas Home of Thurston, second son of Sir Thomas Home of Home, who obtained, in 1413, from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, a grant of the barony of Wedderburn, and became the ancestor of the Homes of Polwarth, Kimmerghame, Manderston, Renton, Blackadder, and Broomhouse. David Hume of Godscroft, author of a 'History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus,' was a cadet of this line. The Homes of Blackadder, as we have seen, were descended from John Home, one of the 'Seven Spears of Wedderburn,' who married the heiress of the estate. His grandson, John Home, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1671. His younger son, Sir David Home of Crossrig, was one of the first judges in the Court of Session nominated by King William at the Revolution. From Lord Crossrig's eldest surviving son descended the Homes of Cowdenknowes, one of whom was the author of several valuable medical works. Henry Home, Lord Kames, the well-known judge and philosopher, belonged to the Homes of Renton, whose ancestor was the second son of Sir Alexander Home of Manderston. Sir Everard Home, Bart., the eminent surgeon, was descended from the Homes of Greenlaw Castle. His sister was the wife of John Hunter, the celebrated anatomist.

The Homes of Manderston were a branch of the Wedderburn family, and seem to have possessed the characteristics of that race. One of them, David Home, was commonly termed 'Davie the Devil,' and his deeds of darkness well merited that *sobriquet*.

GEORGE HOME, the third son of Alexander Home of Manderston, was a special favourite of James VI., and held various offices about the Court. In 1601 he was appointed High Treasurer of Scotland. He attended the King to London on his accession to the English throne in 1603, and in the following year he was created an English peer by the title of Baron Home of Berwick. In 1605 he was made Earl of Dunbar in the peerage of Scotland, and was subsequently appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in England. From this time forward he had the chief management of Scottish affairs, and was the principal instrument in establishing Episcopacy in Scotland. In 1609 the Earl was sent down from London accompanied by two eminent English divines, Dr. Abbot, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Higgins, for the purpose of promoting this object, on which the King had set his heart. On the approach of the Earl and his clerical associates, Calderwood states that 'the noblemen, barons, and councillors that were in Edinburgh went out to accompany him into the town. So he entered in Edinburgh with a great train. The Chancellor [the Earl of Dunfermline], the Provost, the Bailies, and many of the citizens met him at the Nether Bow Port. It was spoken broadly that no small sums of money were sent down with him to be distributed among the ministers and sundry others. The English doctors seemed to have no other direction but to persuade the Scots that there was no substantial difference in religion betwixt the two realms, but only in things indifferent concerning government and ceremony.'

The Earl had a different service entrusted to him, and had recourse to very different means to perform it, when, in 1603, he was appointed 'his Majesty's Commissioner for ordering the Borders.' Sir James Balfour says, 'he took such a course with the broken men and sorners that in two justiciary courts holden by him he condemned and caused hang above a hundred and forty of the nimblest and most powerful thieves in all the Borders.' The Chancellor informed the King that the Borders were 'now settled far by anything that ever has been done there before.' It was soon made manifest that the effect of these severe proceedings was only temporary, for in 1609 it became necessary for Lord Dunbar to go once more to Dumfries to hold a justice court, and the King was informed by the Chancellor that the Earl 'has had special care to repress, baith in the in-country and on the Borders, the insolence of all the proud bangsters, oppressors, and Nembroths [Nimrods], but [without] regard or respect to

any of them ; has purg'd the Borders of all the chiefest malefactors and brigands as were wont to reign and triumph there . . . has rendered all those ways and passages betwixt your Majesty's kingdoms of Scotland and England as free and peaceable as Phœbus in auld times made free and open the ways to his awn oracle in Delphos, &c. These parts are now, I can assure your Majesty, as lawful, as peaceable, and as quiet as any part in any civil kingdom of Christianity.'

The chronic disorders and outrages of the Border districts were not, however, to be so easily remedied. Not long after a representation was made to the King by the law-abiding inhabitants of the district, declaring that ' Lord Dunbar being now gone with his justice-courts, the thieves are returned to their old evil courses.'

The Earl obtained the Order of the Garter in 1609, and was installed at Berwick with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He is described by Archbishop Spottiswood as a man of ' deep wit, few words, and in his Majesty's service no less faithful than fortunate.' Calderwood, who naturally took a very different view of the Earl's services, narrates with evident satisfaction how in 1611 he was ' by death pulled down from the height of his honour, even when he was about to solemnise magnificently his daughter's marriage with the Lord Walden (afterwards Earl of Suffolk). He purposed to celebrate St. George's day following in Berwick, where he had almost finished a sumptuous and glorious palace. He was so busy and left nothing undone to overthrow the discipline of our Church, and specially at the Assembly holden last summer in Glasgow. But none of his posterity enjoyeth a foot broad of land this day of his conquest in Scotland.' As the Earl left no male issue, his titles expired at his death. The elder of his two daughters married Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes, and was the mother of the third Earl of Home.

Two incidents which occurred at this time in connection with the family of Home cast a striking light on the lawless state of the country even towards the close of the seventeenth century. The only daughter of the late Laird of Ayton, who was under age, was left in charge of the Countess of Home. The father of the young girl had bequeathed to her his whole estate, and when the time approached for her to choose her curators, Home of Plendergast, the next heir male of the Ayton family, presented, in December, 1677, a petition to the Privy Council requesting that she should be brought as usual to their bar to make that choice in the presence of her general kindred, no doubt with a view to the young lady marry-

ing a member of his family. The Countess of Home, however, the young lady's guardian, and Charles Home, the brother of the Earl, with whom the heiress of Ayton resided, had a different object in view. On the evening of the day when the petition was presented to the Council, Charles Home, accompanied by Alexander Home of Linthill, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth (afterwards first Earl of Marchmont), John Home of Ninewells (grandfather of the celebrated David Hume), Robert Home of Kimmerghame, elder, and Joseph Johnston of Hilton proceeded to the residence of the young lady, who was only twelve years of age, and carried her off across the Border. 'There they, in a most undutiful and unchristian-like manner, carried the poor young gentlewoman up and down like a prisoner and malefactor, protracting time till they should know how to make the best bargain in bestowing her, and who should offer most. They did at last send John Home of Ninewells to Edinburgh and take a poor young boy, George Home, son of Kimmerghame, out of his bed, and marry him to the said Jean, the very day she should have been presented to the Council.' At the same time the Countess of Home appeared before the Council, and apologised for the absence of her ward 'as being sickly and tender, and not able to travel, and not fit for marriage for many years to come.'

The Council were justly indignant at the manner in which the statutes had been violated and their commands trifled with, and they inflicted heavy penalties on all the offending parties. The boy-husband was fined in £500 Scots, and was deprived of his interest *jure mariti*; the young wife lost hers *jure relicte*, and was fined in a thousand marks for their clandestine marriage. Further, for contempt of the Council, the lady was fined in a thousand marks, to be paid to Home of Plendergast; Home of Ninewells was amerced in a thousand marks to be paid to Plendergast; and a fine of two thousand was imposed upon Johnston of Hilton. The young couple were besides sentenced to three months imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh.*

The other incident, which occurred a few years later at Hirsell, the seat of the Earl, was of a much more tragical character. During the absence of Lord Home in London, the Countess invited a party of the neighbouring gentlemen to the house during the Christmas holidays. Amongst these were Johnston of Hilton, Home of Ninewells, and the Hon. William Home, brother of the Earl and the

* *Privy Council Records. Domestic Annals*, ii. p. 390.

Sheriff of Berwickshire—three gentlemen who, like the Countess, had all been connected with the abduction of the young heiress of Ayton. They resorted to cards and dice, at which Home lost a considerable sum of money. A quarrel in consequence took place, and Johnston, who was of a fiery temper, struck Home in the face. The affair, however, seems to have been amicably settled, and all the company had gone to bed, when William Home, who must have brooded over the affair, rose and went to Johnston's bedroom to call him to account for the insult he had offered him. Nothing is known of what passed between the two except that Home stabbed Johnston in his bed, inflicting upon him no less than nine severe wounds. Home of Ninewells, who slept in an adjoining chamber, came to see the cause of the disturbance, and as he entered Johnston's room, he received a sword-thrust from the sheriff, who was now retiring, and who immediately fled into England upon Johnston's horse.

Ninewells recovered, but Hilton died in a few days. The murderer, who was never caught, was supposed to have entered some foreign service and to have died in battle. But after the lapse of a good many years, he is said to have returned to Scotland, and to have hazarded an experiment to ascertain if he could be allowed to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. A son of the murdered Johnston, while at a public assembly, 'was called out to speak with a person who professed to have brought him some particular news from abroad. The stranger met him at the head of the staircase, in a sort of lobby which led into the apartment where the company were dancing. He told young Johnston that the man who had slain his father was on his death-bed, and had sent him to request his forgiveness before he died. Before granting his request, Johnston asked the stranger one or two questions, and observing that he faltered in his answers, he suddenly exclaimed, "You yourself are my father's murderer!" and drew his sword to stab him. Home—for it was the homicide himself—threw himself over the balustrade of the staircase and made his escape.' *

* *Domestic Annals*, ii. pp. 455, 456. Sir Walter Scott relates this anecdote on the authority of Mrs. Murray Keith.—*Notes to Fountainhall's Chron.* p. 33.



THE MARCHMONT HUMES.



THE Marchmont Humes are cadets of the great family of the Homes, who once held paramount authority on the Eastern Borders. [See HOMES.] A junior branch of the house settled at Wedderburn in 1413, and the grandson of the first Baron of Wedderburn was the immediate ancestor of the Marchmont Humes.

The estates which afterwards formed the patrimony of this family anciently belonged to the St. Clairs, and as far back as the fifteenth century fell into the possession of two co-heiresses. In these 'auld times o' rugging and riving through the hale country,' as Edie Ochiltree said, 'when nae man wanted property if he had strength to take it, or had it langer than he had power to keep it,' the abduction of a wealthy heiress was an event as common in Scotland as it was in Ireland at the close of last century. The young ladies in question were courted by as many lovers as was the renowned Tibby Fowler, who had 'twa-and-forty wooing at her, suing at her.' But an uncle who was anxious to keep them unmarried, in order that he might inherit their large estates, carried them off from Polwarth, the family seat, and immured them in his own castle in East Lothian. The ladies, however, had singled out from the crowd of suitors the stalwart sons of their powerful neighbour, David Home of Wedderburn, and had lent a favourable ear to their addresses. In spite of the jealous precautions of their uncle, they contrived by means of a female beggar to transmit information to their lovers of the place of their confinement, and they were soon gratified by the appearance of the two youths, accompanied by a band of stout Merse men, before the gates of the castle. In spite of the remonstrances and resistance of the uncle, the ladies were forcibly released, and carried off in triumph to Polwarth, where their nuptials were immediately cele-

brated. The marriage festivities terminated with a merry dance round a thorn-tree which grew in the centre of the village green. In commemoration of this event, it became the practice for marriage parties in Polwarth to dance round this thorn; and the custom, which continued for well-nigh four hundred years, was only given up about fifty years ago, on the fall of the original tree, which was blown down in a fierce gale of wind. There is a well-known tune called 'Polwarth on the Green,' to which several songs have been successively adapted. The first stanza of one of these productions of the Scottish muse thus refers to this old custom:—

‘At Polwarth on the green,
If you’ll meet me the morn,
When lasses do convene
To dance around the thorn.’

PATRICK, the younger of the two Homes, married the elder of the St. Clair ladies, and became the founder of the MARCHMONT HUME family.* He was evidently a man of energy and activity, and in 1499 obtained the important office of Comptroller of Scotland, which he held till 1502, when he received the honour of knighthood. His

* It has not been discovered at what time or for what reason the difference in the spelling of the family name—which is pronounced Hume—originated. David Hume, the philosopher and historian, in a letter to Alexander Home of Westfield, of date 12th April, 1758, says: ‘The practice of spelling Hume is by far the most ancient and most general till about the Restoration, when it became common to spell Home, contrary to the pronunciation. Our name is frequently mentioned in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, and always spelt Hume. I find a subscription of Lord Hume in the *Memoirs* of the Sydney family, where it is spelt as I do at present. These are a few of the numberless authorities on this head.’

John Home, the author of the tragedy of *Douglas*, on the other hand, resolutely maintained that Home was the original and proper spelling, and the historian and he had many good-humoured discussions on the subject. On one occasion David proposed that they should cast lots to decide the matter. ‘It is all very well for you, Mr. Philosopher, to make such a proposal,’ was John’s rejoinder; ‘for if you lose you will obtain your own proper name; but if you win I lose mine.’ In the last note which David Hume sent to Dr. Blair, inviting him to dinner, he thus began it: ‘Mr. John Home, *alias* Hume, *alias* The Home, *alias* the late Lord Conservator, *alias* the late Minister of the Gospel at Athelstaneford, has calculated matters so as to arrive infallibly with his friend in St. David’s Street on Wednesday evening,’ &c.

It is well known that John Home had a strong dislike to port wine, and in playful allusion to this feeling, as well as to their dispute about the proper spelling of their name, David added the following codicil to his will, on 6th August, 1776, nineteen days before his death: ‘I leave to my friend, Mr. John Home of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice, and one single bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave to him six dozens of port, provided that he attests under his hand, signed John *Hume*, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession he will at once surmount the only two differences that ever were between us concerning temporal matters.’

descendants inherited his intellectual abilities as well as his estates, and had the sagacity and good fortune to be always on the winning side in the successive struggles for supremacy between Popery and Protestantism, and between the King and the people. While the heads of the main line—the Earls of Home—were Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and Jacobites, the Marchmont Humes were Protestants, Presbyterians, and Hanoverians. The former, from the Great Civil War downwards, have produced no man of great intellectual power or commanding influence in the country; but the latter were prominent in all the great contests for civil and religious liberty, and rose to the highest offices of the State. The broad acres of the Homes, which at one time stretched from the Tweed on the south to the German Ocean on the north, have passed away almost entirely from the house; while the Humes, ‘brizzing yont’ as their kinsmen receded, gradually extended their borders and augmented their domains till Greenlaw—which Cospatrick, the great Earl of March, bestowed on his nephew and son-in-law, the first Home, from which he took the colour of his shield—and even Home Castle, the cradle and patrimonial stronghold of the house, and the subject of many a Border story, passed into the possession of this prosperous junior branch of the family.

The great-grandson of the founder of the family, Patrick Hume of Polwarth, took a leading part in promoting the Reformation in Scotland, and was a member of the association which was formed in 1560 to protect the Protestant ministers. Sir Patrick’s eldest son, fifth Baron of Polwarth, who bore his Christian name, was appointed by James VI., in 1591, Master of the Household, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and Warden of the Eastern Marches. He wrote some pieces of poetry which appear to have been popular in the Court of King James. Sir Patrick Hume, his son, seems to have been a favourite both of King James and Charles I., for the former gave him a pension of £100 a year, and the latter created him a baronet in 1625. He died in 1648. His younger brother, Alexander, was the author of a volume of ‘Hymns and Sacred Songs,’ noted for their pious spirit rather than for their poetical merit.

The power and rank of the family culminated under Sir Patrick’s son, SIR PATRICK HUME, the second Baronet and first Earl of Marchmont. This distinguished statesman and staunch Covenanter was born in 1641. He entered public life in 1665 as member for the county of Berwick, and joined the small but faithful band of patriots

who, under the Duke of Hamilton, offered a strenuous and constitutional resistance to the wretched administration of the notorious Duke of Lauderdale. In 1674 he accompanied Hamilton and other leading Scotsmen to London, for the purpose of laying the grievances of the country before the King, who in reply to their petition for redress said, 'I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find he has acted anything contrary to my interest.' In the following year Sir Patrick was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh by the Privy Council, on account of his appeal to the Court of Session for protection against the arbitrary and illegal assessment levied for the support of the troops in garrison. This imprisonment, which lasted two years, so far from repressing, only seems to have lent fresh ardour to his patriotic zeal. He was again imprisoned in 1679, and on his release by order of the King, he became a participator in the councils of Russell, Sydney, and other leading Whigs, who were anxious to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. On the judicial murder of these eminent patriots, and the arrest of his venerable friend Baillie of Jerviswood, Sir Patrick, knowing that he was a marked man, and that the Government was bent on his destruction, quitted his mansion of Redbraes Castle, and while he was supposed to have gone on a distant journey, took up his residence in the family burial vault underneath the parish church of Polwarth. This ancient edifice stands in a lonely sequestered spot, on a knoll surrounded with old trees and a brawling burn at its foot, with no dwelling near it. The place of his retreat was known only to his wife, his eldest daughter, and a carpenter named James Winter. The only light which Sir Patrick enjoyed in this dismal abode was by a slit in the wall, through which no one could see anything within. As long as daylight lasted he spent his time in reading Buchanan's Latin version of the Psalms, which he thus imprinted so deeply on his memory that forty years after, when he was above fourscore years of age, he could repeat any one of them at bidding without omitting a word.

The duty of conveying food to Sir Patrick devolved upon his eldest daughter, Grizel, a young lady of nineteen. 'She at that time had a terror for a churchyard,' says her daughter, Lady Murray, 'especially in the dark, as is not uncommon at her age by idle nursery stories;' but her filial affection so far overcame the fears natural to her sex and youth, that she walked night after night through the

woods of her father's 'policy' and amid the tombstones of the churchyard, at darkest midnight, afraid of nothing but the danger that the place of her father's concealment might be discovered. The barking of the minister's dog, as she passed the manse on her nightly visits to the sepulchral vault, put her in great fear of discovery. But this difficulty was overcome by the ingenuity of her mother, who by raising a report that a mad dog had been seen roaming through the country, prevailed upon the clergyman to destroy the fierce mastiff which annoyed her daughter. It was not always easy to secrete the victuals which Grizel conveyed to her father without exciting the suspicions of the domestics, and the remarks of the younger children. Sir Patrick was partial to the national dish of a sheep's head, and one day at dinner Grizel took an opportunity, when her brothers and sisters were busy at their *kail*, to convey the greater part of one from the plate to her lap, with the intention of carrying it that night to her father. When her brother Sandy, afterwards second Earl of Marchmont, raised his eyes and saw that the dish was empty, he exclaimed, 'Mother, will ye look at Grizzly! While we have been supping our broth she has eaten up the whole sheep's head!' When Sir Patrick was told this amusing incident that night he laughed heartily, and requested that in future Sandy might have a share of the highly prized viands.

Another of the services which this heroic young lady performed for her father at this period of her life was conveying a letter from Sir Patrick to his friend Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, then imprisoned on a charge of treason in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Baillie, who was as eminent for his abilities and learning as for his fidelity to his religious principles, had shared in the councils of the English patriots, and it was of the utmost importance that intelligence should be communicated to him respecting the state of affairs since his imprisonment. Miss Grizel readily undertook this difficult and dangerous task, and managed it with great dexterity and perfect success. The son of Mr. Baillie, a youth about her own age, had at this time been recalled from Holland, where he was educated, to attend his father's trial. In a cell in the famous old Tolbooth these two young persons met for the first time, and an attachment then commenced which was destined to lead to their union in happier days, when the Revolution had expelled the tyrant and his infamous tools from the country. Shortly after this interview the Ministers of State, who, as Bishop Burnet says, 'were most earnestly set' on Mr. Baillie's destruction,

arraigned the venerable patriot, though he was in a dying condition, before the High Court of Justiciary. In flagrant violation both of law and justice, he was found guilty, on the morning of December 24th, 1684, and, lest he should anticipate the sentence by a natural death, he was executed on the afternoon of the same day, with all the revolting barbarities of the penalties attached to treason.

Meanwhile, on the approach of winter, Lady Hume and Jamie Winter, the carpenter, had been contriving a place of concealment for Sir Patrick more comfortable, and less injurious to health, than the damp and dark burial vault. In one of the rooms on the ground-floor, beneath a bed, Grizel and the faithful retainer dug a hole in the earth, using their fingers alone to prevent noise, and under cover of night carrying out the earth in a sheet to the garden, and scattering it in places where it was least likely to be noticed. The severity of this task is evident, from the fact that when it was finished the nails were quite worn off the young lady's fingers. In the hole thus excavated Winter placed a box large enough to contain some bedclothes, and to afford a place of refuge for the hunted patriot, the boards above it being bored with holes for the admission of air. Sir Patrick lived for some time in this room, of which his daughter kept the key, but an irruption of water into the excavation compelled him to seek another asylum; and the search after him having become keener after the judicial murder of his friend Baillie, he decided on making an attempt to escape from the country in disguise. A few hours after he had quitted Redbraes a party of soldiers came to the house in search of him. He had set out on horseback during the night, accompanied by a trustworthy servant named John Allan, who was to conduct him part of his way to London. In travelling towards the Tweed, Sir Patrick and his guide accidentally separated in the darkness, and the former was not aware that he had quitted the proper road till he reached the banks of the river. This mistake proved his safety, for Allan was overtaken by the very soldiers who had been sent in pursuit of his master. In the assumed character of a surgeon, Sir Patrick reached London in safety, and thence made his way by France to Holland, where a number of other patriots, Scots and English, had found refuge.

Sir Patrick had a wife and ten children, all young, residing at Redbraes at this time, and they, too, were subjected to harsh treatment by the Government. The eldest son, Patrick, a mere youth, was apprehended and put in prison, and on the 26th of December,

1684, he presented a petition to the Privy Council, setting forth the piteous condition of the family, now deprived of their father and threatened with the loss of their estate. He was but 'a poor afflicted young boy,' he said, who could do no harm to the State; he, moreover, cherished loyal principles and a hatred of plots. All he craved was liberty, that he might 'see to some livelihood for himself,' and 'be in some condition to help and serve his disconsolate mother and the rest of his father's ten starving children.' The boon was granted grudgingly by the Ministers, who were no doubt mortified at Sir Patrick's escape, and before the young man was set at liberty he was obliged to obtain security for his good behaviour to the extent of two thousand pounds sterling. Young Patrick was subsequently enrolled in the bodyguards of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., and served with distinction in the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough. But his promising career was eventually cut short: he, by many years, preceded his father to the grave.

In the following year (1685) Sir Patrick Hume accompanied the Earl of Argyll in the disastrous expedition which cost that unfortunate nobleman his head. The ruin of the enterprise, which from the outset was evidently doomed to failure, was mainly brought about by the mutual jealousies and contentions of the leaders. More fortunate than his chief and Sir John Cochrane, the other second in command, Sir Patrick, after lying in concealment for some weeks in Ayrshire, a second time made his escape to the Continent, in a vessel which conveyed him from the west coast, first to Ireland and then to Bordeaux, whence he proceeded to Geneva, and finally to Holland. At Bordeaux he gave himself out for a surgeon, as he had done during his former exile, and as he always carried lancets, and could let blood, he had no difficulty in passing for a medical man. He travelled on foot across France to Holland, where he was joined by his wife and children. Under the designation of Dr. Wallace, Sir Patrick settled in Utrecht, where he spent three years and a half in great privation, as his estate had been confiscated, and his income was both small and precarious. His poverty prevented him from keeping a servant, and he was frequently compelled to pawn his plate to provide for the necessities of his family. One of Sir Patrick's younger children, named Juliana, had been left behind in Scotland, on account of ill-health, and her eldest sister Grizel was sent back to bring her over to Holland. She was entrusted at the same time with the management of some business of her

father's, and was commissioned to collect what she could of the money that was due to him. All this she performed with her usual discretion and success.

The ship in which she took a passage to Holland for herself and her sister encountered a severe storm on the voyage, the terrors of which were aggravated by the barbarity of a brutal captain. The two girls were landed at Brill, whence they set out the same night for Rotterdam in company with a Scottish gentleman whom they accidentally met on landing. The night was cold and wet, and Juliana, who was hardly able to walk, soon lost her shoes in the mud. Grizel had to take the ailing child on her back and carried her all the way to Rotterdam, while the gentleman—a sympathising fellow exile—carried their baggage.

During Sir Patrick's residence in Holland, the greater part of the domestic drudgery devolved upon his devoted and self-denying daughter, who was often obliged to sit up two nights in the week to complete her work. According to the simple and affecting narrative of her daughter, Lady Murray of Stanhope, 'She went to the market, went to the mill to have their corn ground, which it seems is the way with good managers there; dressed the linen, cleaned the house, made ready the dinner, mended the children's stockings and other clothes, made what she could for them; and, in short, did everything. Her sister Christian, who was a year or two younger, diverted her father, mother, and the rest, who were fond of music. Out of their small income they bought a harpsichord for little money. My aunt played and sang well, and had a great deal of life and humour, but no turn for business. Though my mother had the same qualification, and liked it as well as she did, she was forced to drudge; and many jokes used to pass between the sisters about their different occupations. Every morning before six my mother lighted her father's fire in his study, then waked him, and got what he usually took as soon as he got up—warm small-beer with a spoonful of bitters in it; then took up the children, and brought them all to his room, when he taught them everything that was fit for their age: some Latin, others French, Dutch, geography, writing, English, &c., and my grandmother taught them what was necessary on her part. Thus he employed and diverted himself all the time he was there, not being able to afford putting them to school; and my mother, when she had a moment, took a lesson with the rest in French and Dutch, and also diverted herself with music.

I have now a book of songs of her writing when she was there, many of them interrupted, half writ, some broke off in the midst of a sentence. She had no less a turn for mirth and society than any of the family, when she could come at it without neglecting what she thought was necessary.'

Sir Patrick's eldest son and young Mr. Baillie were at this time serving together in the Guards of the Prince of Orange, and Grizel's constant attention, continues Lady Murray, 'was to have her brother appear right in his linen and dress. They wore little point cravats and cuffs, which many a night she sat up to have in as good order for him as any in the place; and one of their greatest expenses was in dressing him as he ought to be. As their house was always full of the unfortunate banished people like themselves, they seldom went to dinner without three, or four, or five of them to share with them.' And it used to excite their surprise that notwithstanding this generous hospitality, their limited resources were almost always sufficient to supply their wants. In after years, when invested with the rank of an Earl's daughter, and the wife of a wealthy gentleman, Grizel used to declare that their years of privation and drudgery were the most delightful of her whole life. Some of their difficulties and straits, though sufficiently annoying, only served to afford amusement to the exiled family. Andrew, then a boy, afterwards a judge of the Court of Session, was one day sent down to the cellar for a glass of alabast beer, the only liquor with which Sir Patrick could entertain his friends. On his return with the beer, his father said, 'Andrew, what is that in your other hand?' It was the spigot of the barrel, which the boy had forgotten to replace. He hastened back to the cellar with all speed, but found that meanwhile the whole stock of beer had run out. This incident occasioned much mirth and laughter, though at the same time they did not know where they would get more. It was the custom at Utrecht to gather money for the poor from house to house, the collector announcing his presence by ringing a hand-bell. One night the sound of the bell was heard at Sir Patrick's door, when there was no money in the house but a single okey, the smallest coin then used in Holland. They were so much ashamed to offer such a donation that none of the family would go with the money, till Sir Patrick himself at last undertook the duty, philosophically remarking, 'We can give no more than all we have.'*

In 1688, when the Prince of Orange undertook the deliverance of

* *Memoirs of Lady Grizel Baillie.*

Britain from the tyranny of the Stewarts. Sir Patrick accompanied the expedition, and shared in all its difficulties, and ultimately in its rewards. High honours proportioned to his services and sufferings and character were showered upon him. His attainder was reversed and his estates were restored. He took his seat as member for Berwickshire in the Convention Parliament, which met at Edinburgh in 1689. He was soon afterwards sworn a Privy Councillor, and in 1690 was elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord Polwarth. In 1692 he was nominated Sheriff of Berwickshire; in the following year he was made one of the extraordinary Lords of Session, and in 1696 was appointed to the chief Scottish State office, that of Lord Chancellor. In 1697 he was created Earl of Marchmont, Viscount Blasonberry, and Baron Polwarth, and was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury and Admiralty, and subsequently filled the office of Lord High Commissioner both to the Parliament of 1698 and to the General Assembly in 1702. Shortly after the accession of Queen Anne he was deprived of his offices of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and Sheriff of Berwickshire; but notwithstanding this slight he took a prominent part in promoting the union between Scotland and England, and after a long life spent in the service of his country, he died in 1724, in the eighty-third year of his age, full of years and honours. Mackay, in his *Memoirs*, describes the Earl as 'a clever gentleman of clear parts, but always a lover of set long speeches, zealous for the Presbyterian government and its divine right.'

The Earl of Marchmont was undoubtedly possessed of eminent abilities and extensive attainments, and was held in esteem by his contemporaries. But Lord Macaulay, who cherished a strong prejudice against the Earl, represents him as 'a man incapable alike of leading and of following, conceited, captious, and wrong-headed, an endless talker, a sluggard in action against the enemy, and active only against his own allies.' 'It may be,' felicitously rejoins Mr. Campbell Swinton, 'that Sir Patrick Hume was fond of hearing himself talk. But if it was so, those best acquainted with the social qualities of the noble historian will concur with me in thinking that the fault is not one which he at least should regard as unpardonable. And I cannot comprehend how Lord Macaulay can reconcile his own description of the statesmanlike sagacity of his favourite idol, William of Orange, with the picture he draws of the man who, both before and after that prince's accession to the English throne, was

among his most trusted counsellors and his most highly honoured friends.'

The diary of George Home of Kimmerghame, whose father was the Earl of Marchmont's first cousin, gives a very pleasing view of the character of the Earl and the feeling which his kinsmen cherished towards him. 'The foreground of the picture,' says Mr. Swinton, 'is always occupied by the Lord of Marchmont. Without the presence of "the Chancellor" neither a business meeting nor a convivial party seems to have been considered complete. His sayings are chronicled with a Boswell-like fidelity—as when we are told that "after dinner my Lord fell in commendation of tobacco, and said he was told it was observed that no man that smoked regularly fell into a consumption, or was troubled with the gout." When he journeys to London in his family coach—a journey, by the way, which occupies him twelve days—he is waited on as far as Belford by his friends, including Kames, Coldenknowes, and his loving cousin of Kimmerghame. His return from the south as his Majesty's Commissioner resembles nothing but a royal progress. And in the exercise of his viceregal authority we find him dubbing knights, and ruling with firmness and dignity an assembly as turbulent as a modern American Congress. Yet in the midst of all this he is a kind friend, a hospitable host, an active country gentleman, a welcome guest at bridals and christenings; deeply interested in everything that occurs in Berwickshire, and consulted regarding the marriage, and revising the marriage settlements, of his every female cousin in the fourth or fifth degree.'*

His noble-minded daughter, Grizel, came over to England in 1688, in the train of the Princess of Orange. After the settlement of the crown on William and Mary, the latter, who wished to retain Sir Patrick's daughter near her person, offered her the situation of one of her maids of honour. But, like the Shunammite of old, Grizel preferred to dwell among her own people; and about two years after the Revolution she married her faithful lover, Mr. George Baillie, who had now regained his paternal estates, and spent with him forty-eight years of wedded life, in the enjoyment of an amount of happiness proportioned to the remarkable virtues and endowments of both husband and wife.

* *Men of the Merse.* By Archibald Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame. A delightful little volume, which it is earnestly hoped the accomplished author will be induced to enlarge.

Mr. Baillie filled with great honour several important offices under Government, and was distinguished equally for his eminent abilities and his high-toned integrity. Rachel, the younger daughter of this excellent couple, inherited the family estates, and was the common ancestress of the elder branch of the Earls of Haddington and of the Baillies of Jerviswood, who have now succeeded to the Haddington titles and estates. The elder daughter, Grizel, who became the wife of Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, wrote a most interesting memoir of her mother, Lady Grizel, whose appearance she thus describes: 'Her actions show what her mind was, and her outward appearance was no less singular. She was middle-sized, clean in her person, very handsome, with a life and sweetness in her eyes very uncommon, and great delicacy in all her features; her hair was chestnut, and to the last she had the finest complexion with the clearest red in her cheeks and lips that could be seen in one of fifteen, which, added to her natural constitution, might be owing to the great moderation she observed in her diet throughout her whole life.' Lady Murray speaks of her mother's poetical compositions, and several of her songs or ballads were printed in Ramsay's 'Tea-Table Miscellany.' The best known of these is the beautiful and affecting but unequal pastoral song, 'Were na my heart licht, I wad die,' which is associated with a most pathetic incident in the life of Robert Burns. This admirable woman died in 1746, in the eighty-first year of her age, having survived her husband about eight years.

The two eldest sons of the first Earl of Marchmont predeceased him, and he was succeeded in his titles and estates by his third son, ALEXANDER, who, like his father, held a number of important public offices. He was a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Cessnock, a Commissioner of the Exchequer and a Privy Councillor, and represented the British Government at the Courts both of Denmark and Prussia. By his marriage with the heiress of Cessnock, in Ayrshire, he acquired that estate* and the title under which he was raised, before he was thirty years of age, to a seat on the Bench. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he raised four hundred men in Berwickshire, to assist in its suppression, and marched with three battalions to join the Duke of Argyll at Stirling, before the battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1721 he was appointed first ambassador to the celebrated congress at Cambray, and made his public entry into

* The sale of this Ayrshire estate in 1768, provided the funds by means of which Hume Castle and the adjoining lands became the property of the Marchmont family.

that city in a style of great splendour and magnificence. But his opposition to Sir Robert Walpole led to his dismissal from the office of Lord Clerk-Register in 1733. Earl Alexander died in 1740, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He had four sons and four daughters, but his two eldest sons died young. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by the elder of his two surviving sons, born in 1708. They were twins, and were celebrated for their extraordinary personal resemblance to one another. Alexander Hume Campbell, who bore the name which his father assumed on his marriage, was an eminent member of the English Bar, and represented his native county of Berwickshire in the British Parliament. For some years previous to his death, in 1760, he held the office of Lord Clerk-Register of Scotland.

HUGH, the third and last Earl of Marchmont, born in 1708, was remarkable for his learning, his wit, and his eloquence. At the general election of 1734 he entered the House of Commons as member for Berwick, and made himself so formidable to the Government as one of the leaders of the Opposition, that Sir Robert Walpole, then Prime Minister, declared that there were few things he more ardently desired than to see that young man at the head of his family, which would have had the effect of removing him from Parliament altogether, as the earldom of Marchmont was only a Scottish title, which did not entitle its possessor to a seat in the House of Lords. According to Horace Walpole, Sir Robert used to say to his sons, 'When I have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate.'

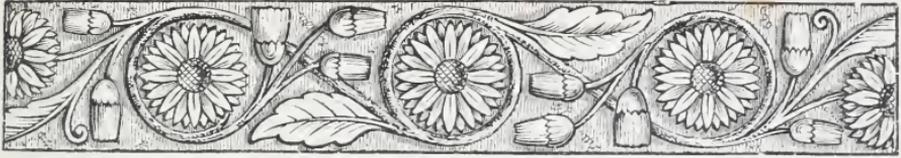
Earl Stanhope, speaking of the severe blow which the removal of this accomplished debater from the House of Commons, by the death of his father, in 1740, dealt to the Opposition, says, 'Polwarth was a young man of distinguished abilities, of rising influence in the Commons, of great—perhaps too great—party warmth; an opinion in which the famous Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, did not concur. 'I have heard some say,' she writes, 'that Lord Polwarth and his brother are too warm; but I own I love those that are so, and never saw much good in those that are not.' Earl Hugh was held in high esteem by his contemporaries, and was the intimate friend of Pope, St. John, Peterborough, Arbuthnot, and the other members of the brilliant Twickenham circle. Lord Cobham placed his bust in the Temple of Worthies at Stow. Pope makes frequent and

affectionate mention of him in his poems, and introduces his name into the well-known inscription on his grotto at Twickenham:—

‘There the brightest flame was shot through Marchmont’s soul.’

The Earl was one of the executors of the poet, and also of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who left him a legacy of £2,500. Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had an interview with his lordship for the purpose of obtaining some information about Pope for his ‘Lives of the Poets,’ was so delighted with the Earl, in spite of his Scottish nationality, that he said to Boswell, ‘Sir, I would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come.’

Lord Marchmont sat for thirty-four years in the House of Lords as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and took an active part in the business of the House, in which his abilities, experience, and learning gave him great weight. He died in 1794 at the age of eighty-six. The Earl was twice married, and had one son by each of his wives. PATRICK, the first born, died young. The younger, who was named ALEXANDER, married in 1772 Annabel, Baroness Lucas, the heiress of the great family of the Greys, Dukes of Kent, and was created in 1776 a British peer by the title of Baron Hume of Berwick. He unfortunately died without issue in his father’s lifetime. But the untimely death of this promising young nobleman did not heal a family feud which had originated in a contested election for the county of Berwick in 1780. The rival candidates were Sir John Paterson of Eccles, the Earl’s nephew and nominee, and young Hugh Scott of Harden, the Earl’s grandson by his eldest daughter, Lady Diana Scott. Lord Polwarth and his father took opposite sides in the contest, which was carried on with great keenness, and terminated in the return of Mr. Scott. The old peer, who had inherited a good deal of the obstinate disposition as well as the talents of the first Earl, never forgave his grandson for what he termed an act of rebellion, and he in consequence disinherited him and settled his extensive estates on the heirs of his sister, Lady Anne Purves, who had married Sir William Purves of Purves Hall, a descendant of Sir William Purves who was Solicitor-General for Scotland in the reign of Charles II. The present worthy Baronet of Marchmont, who has assumed the name of Hume-Campbell, is the great-grandson of Lady Anne Purves.



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