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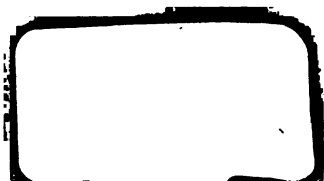
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THE  
**LAMP OF LOTHIAN;**

OR, THE  
**HISTORY OF HADDINGTON,**

IN CONNECTION WITH THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF EAST LOTHIAN AND OF SCOTLAND  
FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD

BY **JAMES MILLER,**  
AUTHOR OF ST. BALDRED OF THE BASS, THE HISTORY OF DUNBAR, &c.



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

HADDINGTON :

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1844.



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THE  
HISTORY OF HADDINGTON.

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PART I.  
HISTORICAL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

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CHAPTER I.

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

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

OF the origin of an ancient town, situated on contending frontiers, little can be known; for the torch of war has destroyed what piety or learning might have preserved. The chronicles of the monastic establishment of Haddington have been lost; and the oldest book in the record chamber of the burgh extends no farther back than 1426. To etymologists we must, therefore, recur, to clear up our doubts; but in disputes of this kind they seldom agree. Chalmers, the learned author of “Caledonia,” supposes Haddington to have been originally the hamlet of Haden, a Saxon settler, as *tun*\* was generally affixed, in the Anglo-Saxon practice, to the name of some person as the appropriate designation of his ham-

\* Gibson, in his *Regule Generales* to the Saxon Chronicle, supposes *tun* to be derived from *dun*, *mons*, as towns of old were built on mountains. This, however, does not apply to the site of Haddington. *Tun* is used in the termination of the names of many places, as we learn from Verstegan.

let; and that as one Halden,\* the son of Eadulf,† was a witness to the *Inquisitio Davidis*, in 1116, some such person gave his name to the town. This, however, seems merely conjecture. In a charter of Richard, the Bishop of St Andrews, who died in 1163, there is a grant “*de Ecclesia de Hadintun.*”—The bishop died only forty-seven years after the charter of king David was signed, consequently his grant must have taken place at an intermediate space; and as religious establishments do not spring up in a day, the name of Haddington seems more likely to have been derived from an ecclesiastical court, than from the rude hamlet of a migrating Saxon.

So early as the sixth century, the canonized Baldred fixed his holy cell at Tynningham, which belonged to the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, in Northumberland,—a bishoprick which, in 635, extended over the ample range of Lothian. As it was evidently convenient to establish a place of worship more remote from the shore, we accordingly find, in the ancient *Taxatio* of the deanery of Lothian, in 1176, Haddington holding a conspicuous situation, being rated next to Dunbar, which also included Whittingham. This leads us to believe that Haddington derived its name from a monastic establishment; as, according to the same learned antiquary, *Hading* signifies in the Anglo-Saxon “*ordinatio consecratio*,” “a giving holy orders;” and, agreeable to Somner, “the place of ordination,” while *tun* signifies indifferently either a dwelling place or hamlet, a village or a town: Thus Hading-tun may be translated, “the Town of Ordination,” or “for giving Holy Orders.”‡

A town or village situated like Haddington, in the neighbourhood of a splendid monastic establishment, soon rose into im-

\* As a proof how the etymology of names may be corrupted, the Howdens, a respectable family in East Lothian, who came originally from Yorkshire, were designated *Holden*, which in course of time was euphonized into Houdon. The first branch of this family settled at Reidshill, in the parish of Yester. They came here at the time of the restoration of Charles II., in consequence of having taken an active part in public affairs during the protectorate.

† In 1090, the Saxon settlers in East Lothian, were ceded to the Scottish king by Eadulf Cudel, brother and successor to the Northumbrian earl, Uchtred.

‡ The author of the prefatory introduction to Blaen's *Atlas Scotiae*, 1662, supposes the name of Haddington to be derived from Hadtyn-town, from the situation of the burgh by the river Tyne. This definition is about as correct as that given by an old man to the author, who stated, that it was derived from the Scottish guides calling to the English during an invasion, “Had-doon-Tyne!”

portance. Accordingly, in the 12th century, it is mentioned as the demesne of the Scottish king. The town was created a burgh by David I., who held it along with the other manorial rights of a church and a mill. Here the king's chamberlain held his court annually, and the city of Edinburgh was one of the four burghs that waited attendance on that court.\* As the pleasant site of Haddington, by the primrose banks of the gentle Tyne, and its proximity to the capitol, rendered it an agreeable spot for a royal retreat and a regal dower, we find, in 1139, the town and its territory given in dowry to Ada or Adama,† the daughter of the Earl of Warren and Surrey, on her marriage with Prince Henry the son of David I. This happy event took place after the siege of Ludlow castle, where the prince was unhorsed and nearly slain, but for his timely rescue by Stephen, who afterwards usurped the crown of England,‡ and who had lately ceded to him the earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough. Until her death, in 1178, Ada was ever attentive to the interests of *her* burgh, and founded, and richly endowed, a nunnery at the Abbey of Haddington. She was a lady of noble blood, nearly related to the chief persons of the English court, and descended from Isobella, daughter of Hugh earl of Vermandois, the brother of Robert king of France. The latter married Robert earl of Meulant, the favourite minister of Henry Beauclerc, and afterwards William earl of Warrene, by whom she had one son and two daughters: the elder married Roger earl of Warwick, and the younger Prince Henry of Scotland.§

\* Maitland's Hist. Scot. I.

† If we may indulge in a conjecture, which seems somewhat plausible, those who prefer a female dynasty, by dropping the cockney's favourite aspiration of the *A* before the vowel, may transfer the etymology of Hadina, to Ada-ing-tun, the dwelling of the Princess Ada.

‡ Stephen was Earl of Boulogne, in right of his wife Matilda, the only child of Mary, sister of David I. The wife of Stephen, and Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. of England, stood in the same relation to the king of Scotland. On the death of Henry, in 1135, Stephen ascended the throne, unmindful of the right of Matilda of England.

§ Hailes' Annals, I. Prince Henry died 12th June, 1152. Aldred, a contemporary historian, who knew him intimately, pays the following trite compliment to his exemplary virtue: "He was," says he, "of manners more gentle, but in all things else resembling his father," who, according to Buchanan, was the perfect exemplar of a good king." His children by the Princess Ada, were Malcolm IV., born in 1142; William (the Lion.) born 1143; David, earl of Huntington, born 1144; Ada, or Elda, married in 1161, to Florence, count of Holland; Margaret, married in 1160, to Conan IV., duke of Britany,



On the death of the Princess Ada, Haddington, as a demesne of the crown, reverted to her son William the Lion,\* who occasionally resided there. William succeeded his brother Malcolm IV., 24th December, 1165. His first step was to repair to the court of Henry II., and to solicit the restitution of Northumberland, which had been abandoned by Malcolm; from whence, contrary to the opinion of his counsellors, he passed over to France, and served under the banners of the English king. He was, however, only rewarded by delusive promises, upon which returning to his country dissatisfied, he sent ambassadors to France, soliciting an alliance with that power against Henry, which is the first authentic record of the intercourse between the Gaul and the Scottish nation.

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

A short truce was concluded; but, in 1174, the restless spirit of "the Lion" again led him to Northumberland. With a select

(she afterwards married Bohun earl of Hereford): Matilda, who died unmarried.—*Chron. Melrose, Fordun, &c.* On the death of his son, David, whose growing age and infirmities prevented him from joining in the ceremony, sent his grandson, Malcolm, on a solemn progress through Scotland, and ordered him to be proclaimed heir to the crown, while his territories in Northumberland, were given as an appanage to his grandson William. David I. having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, fixed his residence at Carlisle, where he was found dead in a posture of devotion, 24th May, 1153.

\* Surnamed "the Lion," according to Boece, for his "singulare justice;" by others on account of his stern appearance, and because he was the first who bore a lion rampant upon his shield. None of the Scottish kings assumed a coat armorial till the reign of William. The Lion rampant first appeared upon his seal. From a similar cause the chief of the heralds in Scotland, is styled Lyon King at Arms. In 1317, the seal of the Earl Marshal was appended to Instruments in England "because as yet the king had no seal."

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

Henry placed William in confinement at Richmond,

"Into his cumlie castell strang,

Closit about with craft and meikill ure;"

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

In 1174, the liberty of William was purchased at the expense of the independency of the Scottish nation, and he became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland and all his other territories,\* while the Scottish church for a season acknowledged the supremacy of that of England.

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

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

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

\* On the return of the king," says Leland, "the nobilles of Scotland came no nearer than Pemples (Peebles) yn Scotland to mete with theyr king. Wherefore he toke with hym many of the younger sunnes of the nobyl men of England that bare hym good wyll; and gave them landes in Scotland of them that were rebelles to him." Amongst the names of these gentlemen we meet with Baliol and Bruce, and the following either then or to be connected with East Lothian: Sinclair, Hay, Gifford, Ramsay, Vaux, Fraser, &c.—*Leland's Collectanea*, who quotes *Scala Chronica*.

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

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

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

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

---

\* William had a daughter Ada, married to Patrick earl of Dunbar, in 1184.

## CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

Alexander's making an inroad into England. Penetrating into that country as far as Richmond, he received the submission of the inhabitants of the bishoprick of Durham, and returning through Westmoreland and Cumberland, ravaged and destroyed the country; the Highlanders, (to whom the Chronicle of Melrose gives the appellation of Scots,) acting with the same ferocity as the mercenaries of John. While Alexander was thus pursuing his successes, Haddington, which had been reduced to a smouldering pile of ruins, was hastily rebuilt with wood.

On the 25th June, 1231, Alexander married Joan, princess of England, the sister of Henry III. Her jointure is stated at L.1000 landrent, out of the lands of Jedburgh, Lessuden, Kinghorn, and Crail.

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

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

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

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

“ *Je ni suis Roy ni Prince aussi,  
Je suis le Seigneur Couci.*”

“ Neither king nor prince ye see,  
But the Baron of Couci.”—TYTLER'S *Scots Worthies*, I.

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

In 1242, Haddington was the scene of an atrocious murder, which created a great sensation in Scotland, and involved the

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

and another in Lothian, contrary to the charters of their ancestors. Again appealing to his sword, he made a vow, "for the salvation of Athol's soul and his own, to repair to the Holy Land, and never to return!" a vow very unlikely to be made by one whose conscience was clear; yet a vow which he was compelled to adopt, and the kindred of Bisset seem to have been involved in his ruin.\*

Henry found fault with these proceedings as violations of what was due to be conceded to him as a superior; but which Alexander as indignantly disclaimed. Jealousies, however, had previously arisen between the nations from another cause. Mary de Couci, queen of Scotland, was considered of a family unfavourable to the interests of England; and, it was supposed, that, by her means, secret communications were held with France by her husband. Henry was, therefore, easily persuaded in his own mind to invade Scotland. He applied for aid to the Earl of Flanders,—instigated twenty-two Irish chiefs to make a landing in his favour,—intercepted the troops sent by John de Couci to aid his brother-in-law, and assembled a numerous army at Newcastle. Alexander, with equal promptitude, entered England with a great force, and arrived at Ponteland, within a few miles of the enemy. Happily Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and the Archbishop of York, a prelate who had a great love for the Scottish king, and who was desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, acted as mediators between the parties, and succeeded in concluding a peace at Newcastle. Not, however, till Alexander had given a charter to Henry as his liege lord, and come under an obligation not to correspond with the enemies of England in future.†

Before the Scots army marched upon England, they confessed themselves; and, animated by the exhortations of their preach-

\* Hailes' Annals, I.

† At the ratification of the treaty of peace, four nobles, and as many prelates, swore, "ON THE SOUL OF THE SCOTTISH KING," to preserve the truce on his account, while the oath to procure the observance of the charter, was sworn by the same four prelates and twenty-four barons.—*Ridpath's Bord. Hist.* The first in the list was Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who soon after fell a martyr to the crusades of that chivalrous but fanatical age. From the above document we learn the curious fact, that it was then the custom to *swear by proxy*, which then might be as convenient as to *vote by proxy* now. In the *border laws*, established by both kingdoms, a few months before the death of Alexander, it was decreed, that, in settling their claims, the standard-bearer, or constable of the *army, should swear for the king of Scotland and bishop of St Andrews, &c.*



ers, they resolved to die in defence of the just rights of their country. It has been remarked, that the same practice was adopted by the sectarians at the battle of Doonhill, by men professing a different creed, about four hundred years afterwards, but with as little success. Thus shewing how little one age differs from another in point of religious feelings, whatever may be their difference in manners or improvement.\*

In 1244, Haddington, which had been rebuilt with wood, as formerly observed, was again totally consumed by fire. At this time houses were generally built of this combustible material; and, according to Walsingham, even those of Edinburgh had a mean appearance, and were covered with straw.† Fordun mentions, that in the same night in which Haddington was burned, Roxburgh, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, and Montrose, shared a similar fate. The idea of six towns burning in different quarters on the same night is sublimely horrific, and shews that it must have been the preconcerted work of the enemy.

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

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

\* The description of the appointment of the two armies, as detailed by Matthew Paris, deserves to be preserved: "In Henry's army were 5000 horse, completely and finely armed:" The number of foot, which were characterized as a strong and numerous body, is not mentioned. "In Alexander's army were 1000 armed horsemen, mounted on good enough horses, although not Spanish, Italian, or others of great price, and competently provided with armour of iron or net work. His foot were about 100,000!"—This great array consisted of a number of old men, and many little better than boys, who either followed the army for plunder, or were pressed into the service.

† Building with wood carries us back to a very primitive if not barbarous state of the country, when our meadows that now wave with grain were covered with swamps and forests like the American wilderness. What would our aborigines have thought, if some gifted seer had prophesied, that six hundred years afterwards houses would be built with iron and thatched with paper? Yet such is the fact. Buildings of cast-iron, of considerable height, are rapidly increasing in England, so nicely constructed that they can be taken to pieces, and transported from one place to another, and sheathing was used at West Salton paper-mill thirty years ago as a roof for drying sheds.

Melrose, where his dust mingles with that of many a heroic Douglas,\* and where

“ Through slender shafts of shapely stone,  
 By foiled tracery combined,  
 Thou wouldst have thought some fairy's hand  
 ’Twixt poplars straight the osier wand  
 In many a freakish note had twined;  
 Then framed a spell when the work was done,  
 And changed the willow-wreathes to stone.”

*Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

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

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

On the death of the late Scottish king, Henry III. used his influence with Pope Innocent IV. to delay the coronation till he might have an opportunity of getting his title of feudal superiority acknowledged by the young monarch. This, however, the policy of the Scottish court took means to prevent. Escorted by a numerous and brilliant concourse of the nobility, the young king, after being invested with the belt, and receiving the golden spurs of knighthood, was crowned, in the ancient abbey of Scone,

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

on the third of July, 1249. Failing in his first object, Henry immediately proposed that the marriage between the young king and his daughter, the Princess Margaret, which had been previously agreed to by Alexander II., should now be consolidated. Notwithstanding the youth of both the parties the ceremony was agreed to by the court, and was performed at York with the greatest pomp. The king and queen of England; Mary de Couci, the queen-dowager of Scotland; and the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms were present, while, with Persian splendour, one thousand knights, clad in robes of silk, waited on the bride, and sixty knights attended the bridegroom. The royal party and their train were entertained by the Archbishop of York in the most sumptuous manner; and as a mark of the profusion of the banquet, for a single article of one day's consumption, the prelate slew sixty stalled oxen.

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

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

Durward, after about eight years confinement in England, was taken into the service of Henry in the French wars, over whom he gained considerable influence, and distinguished himself by his bravery. He soon found means, through his kindred and adherents in Scotland, to get false reports transmitted to the English court respecting the treatment of the young queen. The purport bore, that "she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, a

and solitary place, without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome,—that she was prevented from making excursions through the kingdom, and of choosing her female attendants,—which was aggravated by her being debarred from all familiar intercourse with her husband.”

For the ostensible purpose of remedying these grievances, Henry, on his return from France, made a progress, along with the queen, towards the marches of the kingdom. The English troops, under the Earl of Gloucester and Maunsel, suddenly entered Scotland, and, in concert with the Earl of Dunbar, surprised and took possession of the castle of Edinburgh; received the king and queen into their custody, and conveyed them to the castle of Roxburgh, as a place of greater security from the baffled party. Fifteen of the principal nobility and gentry were appointed regents of the kingdom, and guardians of the royal minors, among these the following either had, or their successors now have, estates in East Lothian: Patrick, seventh earl of Dunbar and March; David de Lindsay, Gilbert de Hay,\* and Hugh de Giffard.† Besides this arrangement, Henry obtained a promise from Alexander that his daughter should be treated, not only with conjugal affection, but with every honour due to maturer years; and that he should take care to see the covenants and grants made to the regents ratified. All these premises, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, swore, *upon the king's soul*, to see fulfilled.

Tranquillity was thus restored to the sister kingdoms; but Scotland was soon to be annoyed by a foreign foe. In 1263, the men of East Lothian were called to the Western shores to meet a descent of their ancient enemies, the Danes and Norwegians. From a similarity of circumstances it is possible that Alexander may have recalled to memory the warning genius of the dream

\* Sir Gilbert de Haya of Locherworth, ancestor to Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. The peerage, however, does not state that he was the same person mentioned above. He is evidently alluded to in “Marmion:”

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

† Hugh Giffard of Yester, died in 1267. In his castle there was a capacious cavern formed by magical art, which still remains in a very entire state, and has been consigned to immortality by the author of “Marmion.” We will have occasion to notice this enchanted hall in a further part of this work.

which appeared to his royal father at Kerrera; and this may have led our great historical poet to the incident of carrying the king to the Goblin-hall of Yester, to consult the knight-magician on the result of the impending invasion :

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

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

the men of Lothian, Fife, the Merse, Berwick, and Stirling, was led by the Earl of Dunbar. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the invaders were completely routed; a dreadful hurricane happening at the same time destroyed the greater part of their fleet, and strewed the shore with fragments of wrecks; while their king, with a few followers, effected his escape to the Orkneys with difficulty; and, sinking under a mortal disease, brought on by fatigue and anxiety, died in a few days. Such was the end of an expedition which created alarm even in England, and threatened to place the crown of Scotland on a foreign power,

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

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

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

## CHAPTER III.

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

**MARGARET OF NORWAY.—BRUCE AND BALIOL.—EDWARD I.—  
 ROBERT BRUCE.—DAVID II.—EDWARD III.—THE BURN'T  
 CANDLEMAS.—ROBERT II.—BATTLE OF OTTERBURN.**

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

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

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

On the death of Alexander, the sceptre devolved on Margaret of Norway, his granddaughter, who had been acknowledged heir to the crown of Scotland by the nobility in 1284. Being an infant, a regency was appointed, and the care of the kingdom confided to six guardians. In 1290, it was agreed that a marriage should take place as soon as possible between the young queen and

Henry, Prince of England. Commissioners were instantly despatched to Norway for Margaret; but the royal blossom sickening on her passage, was landed at Orkney, where she languished and died. "At the rumour of her death," says the Bishop of St Andrews, "the kingdom was troubled, and its inhabitants sunk into despair. On the news of the queen's death, there were about a dozen of claimants for the crown on the female side amongst the nobility; and first in the field were Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Baliol, lord of Galloway, as descendants of the daughters of David earl of Huntington, the second son of David I. As it was impossible that these numerous claimants could be satisfied, the whole nation would have been involved in blood, from the "hills of Galloway" to the rocks of Dunbar,\* had not the sagacious Edward I. of England, offered his services to settle the dispute as mediator, on the competitors swearing fealty to him as Lord Paramount, or Superior of the kingdom of Scotland. This humiliating act each party complied with, no doubt thinking it serviceable to their cause in having such a powerful auxiliary. The whole of the competitors were set aside except Bruce and Baliol, who had nearly equal claims, and the disputes of these families gave rise to the succession wars, in which Haddington, like other places on the borders, was occasionally involved. In 1293, Haddington, along with Berwick, was formally demanded of John Baliol by Edward I.;† and, in a parliament held by Edward, in 1294, at which Baliol was present, an appeal was lodged by the Bishop of Durham, claiming the towns of Berwick and Haddington, with their appendages, as belonging to the church of Durham,‡ his lordship having in vain sought for justice in the Scottish court. Baliol was summoned by Edward, through the Sheriff of Northumberland, requiring satisfaction for the bishop's complaint, on the day after midsummer; but the result is not known.§

Of the servile scenes over which patriotism would fain draw a veil, which were acted at Brigham, Upsettlington, and Berwick, Haddington partook. In the numerous parliaments held at the

\* Patrick, Earl of March, claimed the crown, as the great grandson of Ada, natural daughter of William the Lyon, king of Scots.

† Ayloff's Calendars of Ancient Charters.

‡ Tradition declares, that the fine bells of Haddington Franciscan church, were carried to Durham during some of the English invasions.

§ Ridpath, who quotes Rymer.



former places, there were only three barons who could be deemed the representatives of the county. These were Patrick *the Earl* of Dunbar, Nicol de Graham, David le Marischal, and John de Vallibus or Vaux of Dirleton. The diocesan William, bishop of St Andrews, was the only ecclesiastic from Haddington.\*

After the fatal battle under the walls of the castle of Dunbar, in 1296, the fate of Haddingtonshire and of Scotland was decided.† The whole Scottish nobility, with the exception of William Douglas, who afterwards submitted,‡ and persons of all ranks, swore allegiance to Edward I. at Berwick. The record of names, drawn up by a notary, filled a roll consisting of thirty-five skins of parchment, which is still preserved in the English archives. In consequence of these engagements, the sheriffs of counties were commanded to restore to abbots, priors, and other ecclesiastics, their lands, houses, and corns, that had been seized for the king. The sheriffs had orders to restore the same possessions to widows, whose husbands had been dead before the alliance of the Scots with France, and who were not since married to the king's enemies, with the reservation of these women's castles, which were

\* Chalmer's Caledonia, II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This rhyme, in which the similarity of the language to the preceding is conspicuous, is quoted by Ritson, from the Harleian MS.

‡ Sir William Douglas, captain of Berwick castle, swore fealty to Edward in 1297, when he was restored to his estate.

to be disposed of at the pleasure of the guardian of the kingdom. The following are the gentlewomen of East Lothian who swore fealty to Edward in 1296 :

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

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

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

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

The enterprises of Wallace, in 1297, checked for a while the ambitious projects of Edward ; but, on his return from Flanders, in June, 1298, he was determined to prosecute the war against Scotland with vigour ; and advancing by moderate marches, wasted and destroyed every object that impeded his progress. After a gallant defence Dirleton castle surrendered to Anthony Beck, the Bishop of Durham, who wielded the sword perhaps more adroitly than the pastoral staff,† and the English forces proceeding westward, fought and won the hard contested field of Falkirk, on the 22nd July, 1299.

Some years elapsed before Edward was able to pacify a haughty and distracted country. By an ordinance to that effect, issued in 1305, the domestic rule of this constabulary was entrusted to Ivo

\* Borthwick's Inquiry into Fendal Dignities. Edin. 1775.

† The magnificent ruins of Dirleton castle will be noticed in a further portion of this work. The bravery of the clergy was not confined to England. On a landing of the English at Inverkeithing, in 1317, a party under the Earl of Fife and Sheriff were discomfited or intimidated by superior numbers. They were met by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, who exclaimed to the commanders, “ Whither are you flying,—you deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off,”—then throwing aside his ecclesiastical vestments, he seized a spear, and shouted, “ Who loves Scotland, follow me !”—The Scots rallied with their pious leader, and drove the English back to their ships with considerable loss. When the king heard of the intrepidity of the prelate, he said, “ Sinclair shall be my bishop, under the appellation of the King's-Bishop.”—*Hailes' Annals*, I.

de Adeburgh, as sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington.

The accession of Bruce to the throne in 1306, changed the face of public affairs, and he granted many political and commercial liberties to the burgh, which soon had an opportunity of supporting his cause. The title of Robert I. to the Scottish crown had not yet been acknowledged by the papal authority. In 1317, Pope John XXII. issued a bull, commanding a truce for two years between the rival kingdoms, under pain of excommunication from the benefits of the church, and to carry this into effect two cardinals were dispatched to Britain, with private instructions to inflict the highest spiritual censure on Bruce, and on others who might deserve reproof. Unfortunately for their mission, their credentials were addressed to Robert Bruce, "governing in Scotland," while the title of king was omitted. This insult was too gross to be overlooked. The king indignantly declined receiving their packets, but the mortified cardinals were bold enough to proclaim of their own accord the papal truce in Scotland. This hazardous office was entrusted to Adam Newton, guardian of the monastery of Minorites at Berwick. He found the king of Scotland with his army in a wood near Old Cambus, making preparations for the siege of Berwick; and although personal access was denied, the obedient monk performed his duty, proclaimed the truce by authority of the pope, and tendered his credentials. The king returned the instruments, and exclaimed, "I will listen to no bulls, until I am treated as king of Scotland, and have made myself master of Berwick." The monk terrified at this answer, requested a safe-conduct to Berwick, or liberty to pass into Scotland with letters for the clergy. Both of these requests were denied. He was waylaid, stripped, robbed of his parchments and instructions, and the pope's bull torn with little ceremony by the robbers. In the skirts of the ancient wood of Old Cambus, the youth of Haddingtonshire were assembled under the Earl of Dunbar, to assist their royal benefactor, and learn the art of war under Randolph and Douglas. One Spalding, a citizen of Berwick, betrayed the post where he kept guard to a Scottish lord, (probably Dunbar,) who communicated the information to the king. "It is well," said he, "that you made me your confidant; for if you had told this either to Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust; both, however,

shall aid you in the enterprise." The troops cautiously advanced, the walls were scaled, and in a few hours the assailants were masters of the town. The reduction of Berwick was followed up by an inroad into Northumberland, when the castles of Wark and Harbottle were taken by siege, and Mitford by surprise\*. From these events we learn, what a critical game kings have to play on a contested throne. Napoleon was harassed by the altercations betwixt Davoust and Murat in the Russian campaign, and here The Bruce, the adopted of his country, must study the temper of his haughty chiefs.

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

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

Till the memorable siege of Dunbar castle, by the Earl of Salisbury, in 1337, nothing particular occurs in our history. In the absence of her lord, this strong holde was defended by Black Agnes, the daughter of Randolph; and so resolutely, that after an investment of nineteen weeks, and after every art was practised that force could direct, or stratagem devise, the enemy withdrew. The great object of the English seems to have been

\* Hailes' Annals, II. See also "St Baldred of the Bass and other Poems," where the author has woven this incident into a Ballad.

to starve the garrison into submission; but this was happily prevented by that pink of chivalry, Sir Alexander Ramsay who, with a few hardy followers, in a small boat, entered a dark postern next the sea, and brought them provisions during the night.\*

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

David, with fifty thousand men, invaded England by the western border, took the fortress of Liddel, and put the garrison to the sword; and spreading terror and desolation in his progress through Cumberland and the southern parts of Northumberland, he found himself in the neighbourhood of the cloistered shades of Durham. Queen Philippa of England, alarmed at David's triumphant success, summoned her peers and prelates to meet her at York, and, with their assistance, collected a chosen body of sixteen thousand men. The advanced guards of the English found the Scots encamped at Neville's cross, where a desperate battle ensued. Victory long wavered on the Scottish side. The English archers were driven back by the battle-axes and broad swords of Scotland, till Baliol advancing to their assistance, broke through the battalion commanded by Robert the high Steward, with a strong body of horse. The scale of battle was turned.

\* The gallant defence of the castle is fully detailed in the "History of Dunbar," which must be familiar to many of our readers. The noble family of Lauderdale is descended from Lady Agnes in the female line.

† Hailes' Annals, II. 272.

David, although twice wounded, fought bravely, and refused to ask quarter. He rallied his disordered troops, who, with undaunted valour, like the men of Flodden field in aftertimes, formed a bristling circle around their sovereign ;

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

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

In 1355, the truce had scarcely expired, when hostilities were renewed in France by Edward III. He was accompanied by the Black Prince, the brave son of an ambitious father. King John, as usual, called in the assistance of his allies the Scots, to create a diversion in his favour, and for that purpose sent over Eugene de Garentiere, an eminent French knight, with a select band of sixty men-at-arms, and 40,000 crowns,\* to be expended in levying and maintaining a body of regular troops. This money the Guardian and nobles thought fit to share among themselves ; and followed the good old plan of harassing the English by the moonlight foray and the bold inroad.† Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and Lord William Douglas, having united their forces, sent Sir William Ramsay of

\* These gold coins bore the impression of the *Agnus Dei*, which the vulgar mistaking for a sheep, called them “ *mutons*.”

† This is stated on the authority of Ridpath.

Dalhousie, another knight of the same approved race of valour, in advance, to burn and plunder the populous village of Norham. This was effected; and as a considerable body of the enemy was approaching, Sir William allowed them to advance, in order that he might draw them into a pursuit. He then fled before them to Nisbet-moor in the Merse, where the Scots were lying in a deep ambuscade, and the English being unexpectedly attacked by superior numbers, were routed, after a gallant resistance. Sir Thomas Gray, with his son and heir, Sir James Dacres, and other considerable Englishmen, were made prisoners; and on the side of the Scots, two brave knights, Sir John Haliburton and Sir James Turnbull, were slain. Encouraged by this success, the victors formed a scheme for the recovery of Berwick. Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, in concert with the Earl of Dunbar, having collected a number of ships from different ports of Scotland, filled them with brave warriors, and in a dark night disembarked them on the northern side of the mouth of the Tweed. From thence they moved to the foot of the walls of Berwick, and applying their ladders to the port called Cowgate, soon mastered the place. Sir Alexander Ogle, captain of the town was killed, with two other English knights. In the assault the Scots lost no fewer than six knights, amongst whom are some names familiar to us, such as Sir Thomas Vaux and Sir William Sinclair. In the reduction of Berwick, Garentiere, the French knight, and his followers distinguished themselves. The Scots, however, not succeeding in taking the castle, their triumph was unhappily of short duration. The whole of the proceedings since the battle of Durham, had brought misery and vengeance on the country, and Haddington was destined most severely to feel the blow.

Edward III. on receiving intelligence of these transactions, returned from the field of his fame with all expedition; leaving the care of France to the brave Black Prince, and arrived in London, on the 17th November, 1355. From his parliament, which was then sitting, he obtained a subsidy for six years, of 50s. on every sack of wool sold in the kingdom, to enable him to prosecute the war with vigour.\* He remained only three days in the capital; when, putting himself at the head of the army, he pursued his march northwards, and arrived at Durham on the 23d De-

\* The wool trade was so considerable, that, according to Walsingham, the tax produced 350,000 merks per annum.

ember. From this city he issued a proclamation, commanding all men in the several counties of the kingdom, betwixt the age of sixteen and sixty, to repair to him at Newcastle, by the 1st of January, 1356. Having partaken of his Christmas cheer at Durham, he reached Berwick, on the 14th January. His navy had now arrived in the mouth of the Tweed, and as he laid siege to the town, by sea and land, it soon capitulated. Leaving a sufficient number of men to garrison Berwick and repair the fortifications, Edward divided his army into three bodies, and taking the lead of one of the divisions, he repaired to the castle of Roxburgh, where Baliol made a solemn surrender of his rights, by delivering up his crown and some of the soil of the kingdom to the English monarch; and yielding all right to his family estate, declared him his heir. For this great boon he was only to receive a paltry annual pension.\*

While Edward remained at Roxburgh, Earl Douglas, and some other crafty nobles, amused him with proposals of submission, in order that they might gain time to transport their moveables of value beyond the Forth. This effected, they sent him a defiance, upon which, greatly incensed, he led his numerous forces into East Lothian, and desolating the country, advanced to Haddington, in all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," where he remained ten days waiting the arrival of his fleet.†

The Scots had taken their usual precaution of driving off the cattle, and removing every sort of victual beyond the reach of the enemy; and, to add to their discomfort, for fifteen days the army had no drink but water. Their distress was further heightened by the fleet of transports, laden with provisions and other necessaries, being dispersed or wrecked by a violent tempest in the Firth of Forth. The superstitious ideas of the age, ascribed this

\* Had Edward Baliol fallen at Durham, the bravery of his death might in some measure have atoned for the errors of his life. His family had an equal right to that throne with The Bruce, which they forfeited by their traitorous conduct to their country. The crown which he won at the battle of Duplin, he lost at Annan; and the surrender of his rights at Roxburgh completed the humiliating scene:

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

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

† Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 342.



disaster to divine vengeance, as a mark of displeasure for some sacrilege the English sailors had committed, at the church of the Virgin Mary at Whitekirk, and the destruction of other religious houses. This anecdote is gravely related by Boece in his *Latin chronicle*. We subjoin the translation of John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, whose work is considered the purest specimen we possess of the early prose of Scotland, and which has afforded a valuable mine for modern lexicographers, to enable them to rescue the Scottish language from that oblivion to which it was fast hastening.

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

“They whom once the desert beach  
 Pent within its bleak domain,  
 Soon their ample sway shall stretch  
 O'er the plenty of the plain.

“Now the storm begins to lower,  
 Hast, the loom of hell prepare,  
 Iron-sleet of arrowy shower,  
 Hurtles in the darken'd air.”—GRAY'S *Bard*.

\* Bellenden's Boece, l.

† Fordun, xiv. 13.

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

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

\* Lord Hailes.

† See vignette.

son wing, to make his retreat from an injured and despoiled country.

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

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

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

In March 1357, at the intercession of the Pope, a truce was effected between England and France for two years ; but the Scots who chose to negotiate for themselves, only concluded a suspension of hostilities for six months. Edward, however, on his late departure for France, shewed an inclination to enter into a treaty for the ransom of David, who had now been in captivity eleven years. He probably considered, that it would be much easier to manage Scotland with a sovereign at its head, than under the factious reign of contending parties. This treaty, so much desired by the nation, was now resumed, and 100,000 merks sterling demanded as the price. To consider this matter, a parliament was held at Edinburgh by the Regent, on the 26th September. Adam de Hadinton and Adam de Congalton, were appoint-

ed by the town of Haddington, as commissioners of the burgh, to meet other burgesses, to consult together, and treat for the liberation of the king. At this meeting it was agreed that the exorbitant sum should be paid, and the king was released. From the impoverished state of the country, considerable difficulty arose in liquidating the ransom, in which Haddington bore her share; but until the death of David II., which occurred at Edinburgh in 1370, she appears to have suffered repose from the miseries of war.

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

On the expiry of the truce, which lasted for three years, the Scots renewed hostilities, and, in the depth of a cold and stormy winter, retook the castle of Lochmaben, which had been long in possession of the English. Alarmed at the vigorous activity of an energetic people, the English turned their attention to the security of Roxburgh, and, to strengthen the castle against a siege, despatched the Baron of Graystock with troops, and a long train of waggons and beasts of burden, laden with provisions and arms, for the use of the garrison. This was too valuable prey to be

\* Richard II. † Major, 115. Fordun xiv. 45.

overlooked. He was intercepted by the Earl of March, who, after a desperate conflict, routed the party, and made the Baron prisoner, with many others. Graystock was courteously conducted to the castle of Dunbar, where he was sumptuously entertained by his noble host, and had the mortification to see himself served with the rich plate, and regaled with the choice wines, which he was entrusted to convey to his friends at Roxburgh.

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

The fiery battle of Otterburn was fought by the Scots under Douglas, and the English under Percy, on the 5th August, 1388. The soldiers of East Lothian were commanded by the Earls of March and Moray, and amongst these were the Lindsays, Hepburns, Setons, and Haliburtons, and the flower of the county. It was here where the younger Percy, surnamed Hotspur, (in allusion to his ardent valour,) and afterwards immortalized by Shakspeare, particularly distinguished himself. In the evening the Scots were carelessly encamped, and most of the warriors had laid aside their armour. The Earls of Douglas, March, and Moray, had sat down to supper in the commander's tent, when they were suddenly roused by the trumpets of the English. Douglas, in the confusion of the moment, tarried not to array himself in complete armour,\* but rushed fearlessly to the combat, in order if possible to break the first attack of the enemy, and but for the bravery of Patrick Hepburn of Hailes and his son, he would have been taken prisoner by the impetuous Hotspur. The darkness of the night awhile parted the combatants, till the battle was renewed by moonlight.

\* A very important matter at that period, when both warriors and their steeds were housed in cases of steel. It is recorded that more than one year was employed in making the armour of Douglas and his esquire.

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

The affable treatment of illustrious prisoners in that barbaric age, must frequently have led to private friendships: hence we find the fiery youth, now the prisoner of the Earl of Dunbar, in conjunction with him some years afterwards, carrying destruction into East Lothian, at the head of the Northumbrian yeomanry. This tergiversation of the Earl from his country, was occasioned by the non-fulfilment of a matrimonial engagement. Next to the Stewarts, the Douglasses and Dunbars were the most potent lords in Scotland. From the family of the latter, the king wished to provide a wife for his son and heir, the young Duke of Rothsay, and the Earl of Dunbar, proud of such an alliance, agreed to pay a high dowery with his daughter Elisabeth. The lady was already betrothed, and the consummation of the nuptials fixed, when the Earl of Douglas, jealous of the advantages which this marriage promised to a family, that already rivalled his own, protested against the espousals, till they should be sanctioned by parliament; and, during the delay, by his intrigues at court, he succeeded in seducing the minds of the king and the prince from the intended marriage; and, with the bribe of a heavier dowery, saw his daughter Marjory exalted to the princely coronet of Rothsay. Another incident occurred, which fanned the earl's revenge. During his absence in England, he intrusted the custody of the

\* Pinkerton, I. 40. † Hist. Dunbar, 68.

castle of Dunbar to his nephew, Robert Maitland of Ledingtoun,\* who either from the dread of the indignation of his royal master, or treachery, surrendered the fortress to young Douglas. In vain did the earl profess, that he had visited England under a passport for the transaction of private business,—the Douglasses and the Stewarts knew too well, how “to turn occurrence to their own advantage,” and the government would listen to no compromise. The wavering chief no longer hesitated to take arms against his country, while his vassals and kinsmen keenly espoused his cause. These, issuing in small predatory bands, annoyed the burgeses and peasantry in a more harassing manner than if they had been at once subjected to the wasting career of a great army. Descending from the Lammermoors, the Earl of Dunbar, accompanied by Henry Hotspur, at the head of 2000 men, entered Lothian, by Pople, and advancing to the river Tyne, laid siege to the ancient castle of Hailes, which gallantly withstood their assault. Foiled in this attack, they applied the torch to the villages of Hailes and Traprene, and thence penetrated to Haddington with terrible devastation. They appear to have returned by the village of Merkhill, which they also burned, and encamped at Prestonkirk on the northern side of the river. Young Douglas, who had mustered his forces at Edinburgh, suddenly came upon “the spoil encumber’d foe.” Their booty and baggage were left behind; and this bloody inroad ended in a precipitate retreat, in which the fugitives were successfully pursued to the gates of Berwick.†

\* Lethington, now Lennoxlove. † Pinkerton, I. 64.

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## CHAPTER IV.

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

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

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

\* Bower, xv. 2.



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

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

Amidst the disasters of his country, the King of Scots, overcome by mental weakness, and the infirmities incident to extreme age, was sinking fast to the tomb. Anxious to secure his second son James from the dark arts of Albany, which had proved so fatal to his eldest son, he resolved on sending the heir of the crown

\* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 369.

to France, where he might receive an education suitable to his rank, and remain in security from the intrigues of his uncle, till he arrived at the period of manhood and of power. To Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, the young prince was intrusted, who was escorted by a gay and gallant company of Scottish gentlemen to the Bass. Here they waited the favouring breeze for a few days, and then set sail; but ere they could clear the English coast, they were captured by a ship of war, and carried prisoners to Flamborough head.\* Although a truce at this time subsisted between the rival nations, the prize of a prince was too valuable for Henry to yield. Robert, on the verge of life, could not sustain the frustration of his hopes. He languished a few days, and, refusing food, expired in the castle of Rothsay, in the isle of Bute, in the year 1406, and was interred in the abbey of Paisley.

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

\* Fordun, xv. 18.—Major, vi. 8.—Heron, III.

superior, now became tenants-in-chief of the king; and this earldom, at that period, comprehended, in East Lothian alone, the lands of Dunbar, Spott, Beil, Whittingham, Hailes, Markle, and Fortune.\*

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

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

“ That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.”‡

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

\* Chalmers' Cal. II. † Ridpath. ‡ Wordsworth.

The extensive ruins, near the farm-house of Barny-mains, about two miles from Haddington, is a specimen of these fortified granges. This place was erected by Sir John Seton of Barnes.\* The buildings are situated on a bold promontory, stretching from the high lands of Garleton; and from the arched stone roofs of the under storey, are commonly called "the Vaults." These vaults surround a spacious square, where the beeves, and other beasts of pasture, belonging to the barony, might repose in security, free from the knife of the maurader, while the nut-brown ale lay unripped in the adjoining catacombs.

In 1481, the parliament ordained the "furnishing of castellis," that they might be defended. Amongst these are mentioned the castles of Dunbar, Dunglas, Tantallon, and Hailes:† and the in-

#### \* SIR JOHN SETON OF BARNES.

Sir John Seton was third son to the fifth George, Lord Seton, by Isabel daughter to Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar. He is characterized by Lord Kingston, as a brave young man, who went to Spain to attend the court of Philip II. by whom he was created a knight of the royal order of St Iago, at that time the order of knighthood in that kingdom of greatest esteem. In memory of which, he and his heirs have a sword on their coat armorial, as the badge of that order. King Philip also preferred him to be gentleman of his bed chamber, and Cavalier de la Boca, (which is master of the household): he also carried the golden key at his side, in a blue ribbon; the greatest honours the king of Spain conferred on his subjects, with the exception of being made a grandee of Spain. He had also a pension of 2000 crowns yearly.

James VI. unwilling that so gallant a subject should remain absent from his court and service, commanded him home. On his return he was created treasurer of the household, and appointed an extraordinary lord of session, in room of his brother Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, who had been promoted. He married Ann, eight daughter of William seventh Lord Forbes, and was ancestor of the Setons of Barnes: and died in June 1604.—"He made a great building at the Barnes' (vault heights,) intending that building for a court, which he did not live to accomplish, and which does not appear to have been completed."—*Historic and Cronicle of the Hous and surname of Seytoun, be Schir Richart Mailland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, dochteris sonn of the said Hous.*

#### OF THE SECOND SIR JOHN SETON OF BARNES.

Sir John Seton of Barnes, served heir to his father, on the 3d October, 1615, was also a gallant man, says Lord Kingston, and was gentleman of the privy chamber to King Charles I. He acquired from Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, lands in Ireland worth L.500 sterling yearly.

Sir John suffered imprisonment, and was fined in a considerable sum of money, for joining the Marquis of Montrose in 1646.

He married, 1. Miss Ogilvy, daughter to the laird of Porry, Ogilvy. His son, Alexander, married the daughter of a noble Irish family of Ophuall,—his eldest daughter, Isobell, married the Laird of Bareford,—and Lillias, Sir James Ramsay of Benham, in the Mearns. Sir John married, 2. the Dowager of Kilsyth, daughter to Lord Fleming: and, 3. the only daughter of Sir John Home of North Berwick. His daughter, Jean, by this lady, married John Hay of Aberlady.

† Black Acts, 56.

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

In 1482, the king's government, with Lord Evandale, the chancellor, at their head, assembled at Haddington, with a small force, in the rear of the English army, and the people, though they had been betrayed by Angus, Gray, and other nobles, being roused by the blaze of Berwickshire, began to gather around their capital and their king,—Gloucester did not feel himself perfectly secure in Edinburgh,—Albany had not been received by the acclaim of the country, and all parties perceived that this was a fitter moment for negotiation, than for the irritation of fire or the hazard of battle.\* The continuator of Harding intimates, that Gloucester gave peace to Scotland, because the peers did not join Albany,† and relates, that Albany made the agreement with the Scottish government by his consent, and that Albany bound himself to the English negotiator by his oath, and a written obligation, to fulfil the contract he had made with Edward IV. at Fotheringay; yet it appears clearly from the dates of the documents, that Gloucester, with his army, soon retired from Edinburgh to a safer camp at Lethington, behind the Tyne, near Haddington, where he was encamped on the 3d August, 1482,‡ while the Scottish ministers of state were undoubtedly resident at Edinburgh, on the 2d August 1482;§ and it was from these two places that the whole negotiation was carried on, the king being

\* Chalmers' Cal. I. † Stow, 432.

‡ Hall, fol. 65, who mistakingly calls the place *Levingtong*. § Rymer, II. 161.

within the castle of Edinburgh, not so much for his captivity as his safety.

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

\* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.—Heron's Hist. Scot. In 1479, the lands and castle of Tantallon, which had been forfeited by the Earl of Douglas in 1455, were given by James III. to Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, surnamed Bell-the-Cat.

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

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

After ages of misery and war, more joyous scenes dawned on East Lothian, in the interesting union of the Thistle with the Rose. Scotland, jealous of the rivalry of the sister kingdom, had been too long under the control of France. That alliance was about to be broken, by the marriage of James IV., now in his thirtieth year, to the Princess Margaret of England, a maiden in her fourteenth year, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. She

\* Chalmers' Cal. II. 420.

was accompanied in her journey by her father as far as Northamptonshire, and after spending some days there, was intrusted to the care of the Earl of Surrey, accompanied with a splendid retinue of English nobility and gentry. The Earl of Northumberland, warden of the east marches, joined the cavalcade. Thus conducted, the princess passed through Berwick, and arrived at the old kirk of Lamberton, which was situated at a small distance from the march between Scotland and Berwick bounds. There James, with a gay and numerous court, was ready to receive her, and conveyed her to Dalkeith.\*

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

In the words of the ancient journalist:† “ The said Qwene, accompanied as before, drew her way toward Hadington; and in passyng before Donbarre they schott ordonnaunce for the luffe of hyr. Shee was lodged that sam nyght in the Abbay of the Nonnes, ny to Hadington, and hyr company at the said place; wher in lyk wys was ordonned provysyon at the Gray Freres, as well for the company as for the horsys, as on the day before.”

Margaret departed for Dalkeith castle, which was provided for her reception, in her litter, richly adorned, nobly accompanied, and in fair array, where she spent some pleasant days, and on the 7th August, proceeded to Edinburgh. Her meeting with James is described with great naivete. “ A mile from Dalkeith, the king sent to the queen a great tame hart, for to have a course. The king caused the said hart to be loosed, and put a greyhound after him, that made a fair course; but the said hart won the town, and went to his repair. Half the way the king went to meet her, mounted on a bay horse, running as he would run after the hare, accompanied of many gentlemen. At the coming towards the queen, he made her very humble obeisance, in leaping down off his horse, and kissed her in her

\* Ridpath.

† Young, the herald, has given the whole progress, in curious detail, in Leland's Collected.



“ litere. This done he mounted again, and soon being put in  
 “ order as before, a gentleman usher bare the sword before him.  
 “ The Earl of Bothwell bare the sword at the entering of the  
 “ town of Edinburgh, and had on a long gown of blue velvet, fur-  
 “ red with martin. The king mounted on a palfrey with the *said*  
 “ *queen behind him* ; and so rode through the said town of Edin-  
 “ burgh. Half a mile nigh to that, within a meadow, was a pavi-  
 “ lion, whereof came out a knight on horseback, armed at all  
 “ paces, having his lady paramour, that bare his horn ; and, by a  
 “ venture, there came another also armed, and robbed from him  
 “ his said lady, and blew the said horn, whereby the said knight  
 “ turned after him : And they did well tourney till the king came  
 “ himself, the *queen behind him*, crying *Paix*, and caused them  
 “ to be parted.” \*

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

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

The queen received, as part of her dowery, the whole earldom of March, the lordships of Dunbar and Coldbrandspath, (excepting

\* Leland.

the castle of Dunbar, with its keeping, which the king reserved for himself,) and thus became connected with East Lothian.

Peace now rested her dove-like wings on the bosom of the country. During the happy interval the king indulged his taste by repairing and embellishing his castles and palaces, while in the splendour of his court he surpassed his predecessors. He improved and extended the administration of justice to the wildest and most remote parts of the kingdom; and the bold outlaw, whom neither the edicts of former sovereigns could bind, nor bolts of steel secure, now crouched submissively beneath his determined power. His navy was also strengthened by some ships of great magnitude, and every thing bid fair for a prosperous and energetic reign. But, alas! how futile are the whispers of hope, and how mutable are the affairs of this world. The same Earl of Surrey, who handed James to a joyous bride, in Lamberton kirk, in 1503, was destined to be his opponent and conqueror on Flodden field, ten years afterwards, and to be the means of consigning him to a gory grave.

Adam Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, led the gentlemen and youth of East Lothian to the fatal field of Flodden; and there was scarcely a family of any note in the county, but mourned the loss of some relation in this dreadful conflict. We have to record the names of John, Lord Hay of Yester; the Lords Seton and Elphingston; and David Lindsay, third son of Patrick, fourth Lord Lindsay and Byres, who were found amongst the slain, on the 9th September, 1513;\* and George Lyle of Stanypeth.†

\* In connection with the bravery ascribed to the men of Selkirk at Flodden, tradition has handed down the following rhyme, which has been the subject of much literary contest, in regard to the reflection it casts on Lord Home, who was not *earl* till 1604.

“Up wi’ the souters of Selkirk,  
And down wi’ the Earl of Hume;  
And up wi’ a’ the braw lads,  
That sew the single-soled shoon.”

The second part of the beautiful song of the “Flowers of the Forest,” was written in commemoration of this fatal fight, by Mrs Cockburn of Ormiston, relict of John Cockburn, Esq., whose father was lord justice-clerk.

† Stanypeth Tower, now the property of James Balfour, Esq. of Whittingham, is romantically situated on the eastern banks of Papan water, on the edge of a perpendicular rock, shaded with trees, a drawing of which, by the Rev. John Thomson, is inserted in Scott’s *Border Antiquities*, where it is mistakenly described to be on the water of Hopes. In a charter granted to Sir Robert Lyle of Duchal, who was created a peer by James II. about 1446, George Lyle of Stanypeth, is mentioned after the uncle of Sir Robert, as one of his heirs male.

In *Henry the Minstrel’s* “*Actis and Deidis of Wallace*,” Squire Lyle is noticed as

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

“ For a’ that fell at Flodden field,  
Rouny Hood of the Hule\* cam hame.”

The author regrets that he has not been able to recover more of this ballad. The epithet *rouny* seems here used as a term of reproach. Old Scottish nicknames commonly terminated with that syllable; as, *custroun*, a poor pitiful fellow.†

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

Although Albany shewed sufficient spirit and capacity, yet, from his education at a foreign court, and being wholly a stranger

well acquainted with East Lothian, and who was of material importance to the patriot-chief, when in pursuit of the Earl of Dunbar in 1297:

“ A squair Lyle, yat welll yat cantre knew,  
With twentye men to Wallace couth persew,  
Besyd Lintoun..... Book viii. line 71.

Squire Lyle, and Lander. (ancestor to the Landers of the Bass,) were thus rewarded for their services:

“ Stantoun\*\* he gaiff to Lawder in hys wage,  
Ye knycht Wallang † aucht it in hertage,  
Yane Brygeane Cruk || he gaiff Lyl ¶ yat was wycht.— Book viii. line 419.

\*\* Stanton † Sir Aymer Vallance. ‡ Bridge-and Crook. ¶ Sir Walter Lyle of Duchar.

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

\* The *Hule* now consists of a few cottages on the farm of Prora, in the parish of Athelstaneford.

† Sibbald's Glossary.—See also Notes to St Baldred,

‡ Drummond's Hist. 81.

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

\* As a mark of the power and splendid retinue of the border chiefs, Lord Home came to the governor at Dumbarton, accompanied with 10,000 horse, on which the governor said, "He was too great to be a subject."—*Godscroft*. Others maintain, that he came with his household only, consisting of 24 horse, in Kendal green, which was his livery; and the duke slighted him with this sentence *Minuit presentia famem*; being a man of low stature, and "carrying no appearance of much staff to be in him from his outside."—*Ridpath*.

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

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

Home again obtained the professed favour of his treacherous foe; for visiting the court in September, along with his brother William, they were both arrested, and tried for treasons and crimes which had been formerly pardoned. He was executed, and his head placed upon the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his brother shared the same fate next day. For this atrocious act, and other circumstances, the kinsman of Lord Home, were soon to be revenged on one of Albany's favourites. Dunbar castle had been delivered in charge to Sir Anthony D'Arcy, a Frenchman, who, from the elegance of his person, was called *Sieur de la Beaute*. He was created warden of the east marches, a post of honour held by the late lord. Having gone in person to suppress a tumult raised by the Laird of Langton, he was attacked by Sir

David Home of Wedderburn,—his head struck off, and placed on a pole,—while his long flowing locks, plaited as a wreath, served to decorate the saddle-bow of the victor.\*

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

During his short, but tyrannic usurpation, Angus did not leave his neighbours unmolested. In 1526, accompanied by his brother, Sir George Douglas, he burned and wasted the lands of Patrick Hepburn of Bolton, whom he took prisoner; and for this outrage, and every other act of oppression, he easily obtained indemnity from a parliament created by himself.

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

The first act of James was to summon his faithful barons without delay; and to declare forfeiture and exile against the house and kinsmen of the once potent Douglasses. Angus and his brother fled to his southern estates, and from thence into England, leaving his uncle Archibald, with other chiefs of his party, in the strong castle of Tantallon. James determined to reduce this fortress, and with some heavy ordnance, that had been left by the Duke of Albany at Dunbar castle, he battered its stubborn walls for twenty days without success. He was, therefore, compelled for a short time to abandon the siege. As his forces with-

\* The unhappy regency of the Duke of Albany, and the murder of the *Sieur de la Beante*, gave rise to the ballad:

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

drew, the veteran Douglas, who had charge of the castle, made a sally with his troops, attacked the rear of the retiring army with great slaughter, and slew Falconer, who had charge of the artillery; and, following up his success, defeated a party, under Argyle, at the Pass of Pease, near Coldbrandspath.

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

" Ding doon Tantaloun,  
Mak a road to the Bass,"

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

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

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

"The xx. day of May, the year of God  $\text{j}^{\text{m}}\text{vccxxxviii}$  zeris, Mr Dawe Borthwik, captain of Temtallon, borrowit from the town of Haidintone and bailies of the same, to the king's service, in work of Temtallon, this geir under written. In the first place,

" A pike schif of brass, with the stock of the same;  
An extre of a wyndess, with the collar of the same;  
Three yrn (iron) naillis; ane dog;

A pair of clipis ; a balke ;

A greit cove, contenant fyftie foudonis wyth the mair.

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

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

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

1542, April 27,—The bailies and council “ ordained, ane vappin-schawin to be haldin, in Gledsmuir, on St Helen’s day, afore noon, and that to lay down the muir the laird of Skraling has gart teill.”\*

Henry at length irritated beyond measure, at the prevaricating conduct of James, who acted under the control of Cardinal Beaton and other artful prelates, caused the Duke of Norfolk advance into Scotland. The army entered by the southern marches, and burnt Kelso and its beautiful abbey. They afterwards retired on Berwick ; but from the insubordination which reigned among the officers of the Scottish camp, it was impossible for the king to pursue them. This caused an intolerable anguish to prey upon his mind, and to allay these mental feelings, Lord Maxwell engaged, with 10,000 men, to make an inroad into England by the western marches, where the enemy were least prepared to meet

\* A weapon-shawing, or military muster, was held twice or oftener in the year, according to the urgency of the occasion. The lieges were summoned to appear at the rendezvous, on a premonition of twenty days, by the sheriff and other civil authorities, who, in conjunction with commissioners, appointed by the king, superintended this national guard, divided it into companies, and allotted its captains. No station of society was exempted from the service, and every man was equipped in military array, conform to his rank or the means which he enjoyed. The lords and barons made up a roll of those who attended them in this muster. and of the weapons with which they were accoutered, which was delivered to the civil magistrates or commissioners that it might be laid before the king.



him. The success of this enterprise was in every way promising, when James, by a most infatuated fatality, appointed a minion, Oliver Sinclair, (the same person lately appointed keeper of Tantallon,) to be lieutenant-general of the army. Maxwell, and the other noblemen, beheld this appointment with disgust, and a murmur ran through the ranks, while Sinclair, with an audacity peculiar to himself, stood elevated on two pikes, to shew himself to the forces as their leader.\* The English cavalry, posted on a gentle eminence, beheld the wavering among the Scots, and, seizing the critical moment, rushed from the height, routed the divided bands, and took 1000 prisoners. Among the latter were some of the principal nobility of Scotland, who preferred captivity in England, rather than to be exposed to the vengeance or weakness of their own sovereign. This defection James readily ascribed to the perfidy of his nobles; and, on receiving intelligence of the event, and that his queen was delivered of a daughter, he exclaimed: "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one: Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage." His spirits sank under the factious disposition of his nobles, and he died, in a few days afterwards, on the 14th December, 1542, in the prime of life. He was buried in the abbey of Holyrood, in the same grave in which the body of his first wife, Magdalen, had been laid. His funeral was conducted in magnificent, but solemn pomp; and *black* robes were, for the second time, in Scotland, worn as a dress of formal mourning.

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

James had also the distinction of being celebrated by Ariosto, the Italian poet, in his wild and irregular poem of Orlando Furioso, which was adapted by its extent, to introduce the most renowned knights and ladies of the age in which he lived. The

\* Ridpath, 542. Lond. edit.

† Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries, I.—St Baldred, 231.

character of James is immortalized in the person of Zerbino, one of the most amiable of his heroes. The great Caledonian forest is celebrated by the same writer in such a manner, as to induce us to think that the papal ambassador after his return to Italy, had spoken much of that wildly magnificent feast, with which the king and his court were regaled in the forests of Athol.

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CHAPTER V.

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

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

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

duced, was thought, on good grounds, to be a forgery, and the Douglases returning from England, with other powerful nobles, immediately promoted James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, (presumptive heir to the crown,) to this elevated dignity. The reformation of religion had begun to shed its cheering light in the last disastrous years of James's reign, and Arran was at first favourable to the measure. With the assistance of Henry, who, with all his matrimonial guilt, kept the priesthood in check, this cause might have been considerably advanced. But the Queen-dowager, the Cardinal, with the majority of the clergy, and the greater part of the nobility of the French faction, thwarted this desirable union by every artifice and intrigue; and a marriage between Mary and the Dauphin of France was contemplated, even after a parliament had sanctioned the former measure, and treaties had been concluded on the subject. Henry, guided by resentment, rather than by the dictates of sound policy, resolved on avenging the tergiversation of the Scots, and sought to gain that by force, which he could not win by persuasion. Edward Seymore, Earl of Hertford, uncle to Edward, Prince of Wales, was constituted lieutenant-general of the army of the north, and advanced in the month of March to Newcastle, with 10,000 men. A fleet of 200 ships and transports were collected under Dudley, Lord Lisle, admiral of England; and, with this formidable armament, he sailed from Tynemouth to the Forth, "a notable ryver of Scotland;" and, on the 4th May, disembarked his troops near Leith, where he was joined by a body of 4000 light horse, under Lord Eure, captain of Berwick. Hertford had orders "to seize by force the person of the young Queen of Scots, or to harass her people with devastation and bloodshed, till they should deliver her up;" and "to burn and spoil in his journey, without respect to whom the places should appertain; and if his honour and promise was not engaged to the contrary, to bring with him into England, the Earl of Angus and his brother, if they should put themselves in his power."\* The former he found impracticable, for the Regent, after fortifying Edinburgh castle, retired to Stirling with his royal charge; but some of the latter parts he executed with savage severity. After an unsuccessful attack on the castle of Edinburgh, and suffering much annoyance

\* Ridpath.—Haynes.

from the artillery of the garrison, the English set fire to the city. They demolished the pier of Leith, burned the town, and carrying off the merchant-vessels from the harbours, committed similar devastations on both sides of the Forth. After ten days spent in this destructive work, their fleet sailed from Leith, laden with booty, while the army on the same day pursued their desolating march eastward. On the 15th of May, the English encamped at Preston, a town belonging to Lord Seton, which they destroyed. They also burned and razed the castle of Seton, which, in the language of the historian, who accompanied the expedition, "was right fayr; and destroyed his orchards and gardens, which were the best they saw in the whole country."\*

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

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

The English also burned Tranent.

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

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

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

\* Patten's "Expedition to Scotlande, under the conduit of the Earl of Hertforde."

† MS. History of the Setons.

In crossing the Pass of Pease, which occupied the English several hours, they were attacked by Lords Seton, Home, and Buccleuch; but the latter had not a sufficient force to come to a regular battle. The invaders encamped at the fortlet of Renton, "which pyle was a very ill neighbour to the garrison of Berwick."—This place they burned and razed; and, advancing upon Berwick, joined their ships, and returned to England with the curses of Scotland on their ruthless head. Thus ended a campaign in which no particular point was gained, but a deal of destruction effected.

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

\* Border Hist. † Keith's Hist. folio edit. 52.

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

The Duke of Somerset entered the borders of Scotland, on the 4th September, 1547. The army encamped two days in the fields near Berwick. During this halt the duke reconnoitred the country. He visited Eymouth, which finding a commodious place for a harbour, he caused a fortress to be erected on a promontory on the north side of the Eye, to defend its entrance. The army now advanced by gradual marches, while the fleet coasted along the shores of the Firth of Forth. With much "puffing and payne," says Patten, "the troops crossed the Pass

\* HAILES CASTLE. "1547, 19th Feb.—*Sederunt Episcopi DUNKELDEN. Abbates Dunfermelyne, Melrose ; Dominus BORTHWICK, Clericus Justiciarie.*

"The quhilk day, in presence of the lordis of counsaile, comperit Johnne lord Borthwick, and at my lord Governour's command, hes takin upoun him the cuire and keiping of the place and fortalice of Hailes, and hes bund and oblist him to keip the samyn surlie fra our auld ynimies of Ingland and all uthires ; and sall nocht deliver the said place and fortalice to Patrick erle Bothville, nor nane uthires in his name, but my Lord Governour's avise and command, under the pane of 10,000 pundis. And in cais ony advertisement cummis, that our auld ynimies intendis to cum and persew the said hous, and to recover the samyn furth of the said Lordis handis ; than, and in that cais, the said Johnne lord Borthwick, bindis and oblistis him, to mak sik advertisement to my Lord Governour upoun the space of four dayis warning, that his Grace may send xxiv. horsemen to the said place of Hailes for keiping thair of, and sall mak thame convey surlie to pass and repass fra the samyn withiu the said space, under the pane foresaid ; and the said advertisement to be made outhir to the capitane of the castell of Dunbar, or to the capitane of the castell of Edinbure, in my Lord Governour's absence : and at the cumming of the said horsemen, the said Lord Borthwick bindis and oblistis him to deliver the said place to thame, to be usit as salbe commandit be my Lord Governour, under the pane above written."—*Keith's Appendix.*

† FORTALICE OF NUNRAW. "The samyn day, Elizabeth, Prioress of Hadyngton, hes takin upon hir the cuire and keiping of the place and fortalice of Nunraw ; and hes bund and oblist hir, and be the tenor heirof bindis and oblistis hir, to keip the samyn surlie fra our auld ynimies of Ingland and all uthiris, and sall not deliver the said place to na maner of personis, but by my Lord Governour's avise and command ; and in cais ..... the samyn, and that ..... place ; than, and in that cais, bindis and oblistis hir to cast down and destroy the samyn, swa that na habitatioun salbe had thairintill frathy nefurt."—*Ibid.*

of Pease, rendered difficult and dangerous by its steep sloping zigzag roads, and now more so by several trenches cut across by Sir George Douglas, the governor of Dunglas castle.\*

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

While the miners were employed in sapping Dunglas, another party were employed in burning and razing the castles of Innerwick and Thornton. These two pyles, or forts, were situated on a craggy eminence, divided about a stone-cast asunder. Thornton castle then belonged to Lord Home, and was kept by Tom Trotter. The duke having summoned the castle to surrender, some pricklers issued forth with their gades (spears,) ready charged for the purpose of violence, when Trotter came to the assist-

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

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

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

Innerwick castle belonged to Lord Hamilton; and was kept by his son, the Master of Hamilton, with a few soldiers, chiefly gentlemen. This garrison was determined on resistance; and, bar-

\* Patten characterizes the Scots as so vile in their port, that "the lurdein was in a manner all one with the lord, and the lounde with the larde: all clad alyke in jakes covered with white leather, doublets of the same or of fustain; and, most commonly, all white hosen. This vileness of port, was the cause that so many of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved." This garrulous historian seems to have estimated human life by "a patent of nobility;" but he does not tell us why so vile a nation was so fond of *white*; neither in what state the refuse of England were found when their country was laid waste by invasion?



ricading their doors and loop-holes, filled up the stair-cases within; but the enemy having effected an opening below, set fire to some wet straw, and nearly suffocated the defenders, who now asked for quarter; but ere the messenger arrived, the hakbutters had effected an entrance, and slew eight of the garrison, while a soldier, leaping over the walls, was slain in the rivulet.

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

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

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

The English army passed within a gunshot of Dunbar about noon, when the castle sent "divers shots" amongst them, and their horsemen showing themselves in the fields, had several skirmishes with the outposts; but this fortress was too strong for them to reduce, and the object of the duke's enterprise was to proceed to Edinburgh. That night the army encamped near Tantallon, and were first advertised that the Scots were encamped in the neighbourhood of Mussleburgh, awaiting their advance, and watching their movements. They had kept near the shore, in order that they might receive supplies from their ships, which were in the Forth. Next day the English passed the Tyne, at Linton bridge. "Our horsemen and carriages passed through the water," says Patten, "for it was not very deep,—our footmen over the bridge:" the passage of which he describes as very strait for an army.† They next passed Hailes castle, which our historian describes as "a proper house, and of some strength;" but as

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

† Although this bridge is situated on the great north post road to London, and upon a road as well kept as any in Europe, it is as impassable for carriages were they to meet in contact now, as it was then for an army.

the object of the enterprise was at present to proceed, this holde was left unmolested. Perhaps this clemency might be to win the Earl of Bothwell to their party, who was now under the bondage of the Regent, and to whom the castle belonged. From thence the army proceeded by Beanston and the Garniltons (Garletons,) to Longniddry, keeping clear of Haddington, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans. On the 9th September, the day following, a band of Scottish horsemen having attacked the English camp too wantonly were encountered by a body of English cavalry and some foot on Fawside-brae. After a skirmish of three hours the Scots were defeated and driven back to their camp. The Lord Home, in the rout, fell from his horse, and received a hurt of which he died at Edinburgh, and his eldest son was taken prisoner. Fawside castle was soon after burned, and those within smothered in the ruins.\*

The Duke of Somerset, in hopes that the powerful armament now before the Scots, might induce them to accept of his proposals; and, further, as he saw little prospect of attacking them with success in the strong position which they held, he lowered his haughty bearing considerably; and, addressing a letter to the Regent, Arran, agreed to forego further hostilities, provided the young Queen should not be sent to France, but that she might be educated among themselves, till she should arrive at a proper age for choosing a husband for herself. These concessions seemed quite plausible; but Mary of Guise, the Queen-dowager, true to the interests of France and the Romish faith, in conjunction with Arran, concealed the purport of this message from the people, and maintained that the sole object of the English protector was to carry away the young queen by force. The Scots army now gloried in its strength,—the military vassals of the crown had assembled under the bravest leaders,—the fiery cross, rapid as the igniting flame spreads over the sun-dried heather, had brought 40,000 men from the mountain clans,—and, further, the bloody inroad of the duke, when Earl of Hertford, in 1544, was not forgotten; and the remains of the smouldered ruins of a few

\* The ancient family of Fawside were vassals of the House of Seton. In 1371, William de Seton granted a charter "dilecto armigero nostro Johanni de Favsyd, pro bono et fideli servicio mihi impenso et impendendo, of the whole lands of Wester Fawside, in the barony of Travernent," confirmed by King Robert II., 20th June, 1371.

The ruins of Fawside castle are situated on a gentle eminence, near Dolphingston.—A tablet, placed in the north wall of the church of Trarent, bears the arms of Fawside, a plain shield, with a helmet for crest, inscribed "JOHN FAWSIDE OF THAT ILK."

years, called upon the Scottish chiefs to forget the animosities of party, and to be united in the common cause of their country. The Scottish army was encamped on a large field west of the Esk river, which went by the name of Edmonston-edge; the English lay in the parks of Drummore and Wallyford. The former were divided into three bodies, commanded by the Earls of Angus, Arran, and Huntly, with some light horse and a body of Irish archers, whom the Earl of Argyle had brought into Scotland. Previous to the engagement, the Earl of Huntly, who "did not dislike the match so much as the rough way of wooing," sent a challenge to Somerset to decide the quarrel by single combat, which the duke, as an individual, had no right to accept, and which he as promptly declined.\*

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

The Scots while crossing the bridge, being thrown into disorder by the fire from the English ships, Lord Grey, who commanded the duke's heavy armed horse, wishing to snatch a vic-

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

tory, left his post, and attacked them, although contrary to orders. He soon found himself fixed in this miry ground, beyond which the Scots were posted in a ploughed field, in a deep phalanx, with their spears pointed. Here the horse could make no impression, but were instantly routed, and their leader dangerously wounded. The Scots having lost some of their best cavalry on the former day, could take no advantage of the success. The main body of the Scots army in the meantime, led by their usual impetuosity, and urged by their priestly confessors, abandoned the admirable position they occupied on the heights in the morning, and rushed pell-mell on the enemy, while the Duke of Somerset rallied his cavalry, and assailed the Scottish infantry with his artillery, with the fire of some Italian and Spanish arquebusiers, and with a shower of arrows from the English bowmen. The van of the Scots, unable to withstand these cool and repeated attacks, began to waver, and the Irish archers fled. "A single leaf will waft an army on," but it is unhappily the reverse when a panic takes place. This panic spread rapidly through the Scottish army, which was now an undistinguished host, scattered in every direction, and flying to the capital. The English followed up the pursuit, and the fields between Edinburgh and the scene of action were strewn with dead bodies. Of the Scots, amongst which were several of the nobility, 10,000 were slain, and 1500 made prisoners; amongst the latter was the Earl of Huntly, who "did no so much mislike the match, as the rough manner of wooing!"\* and John, fourth Lord Hay of Yester, who was sent to the Tower of London.† The priests and monks, of whom there were a great number in the Scottish army, received no quarter; neither did they deserve it.—The English considered them as the chief promoters of the war, and slaughtered them without mercy. The haughty cardinal, the murderer of George Wishart, had already met with his deserts in the blood-stained cloisters of St Andrews, and vengeance now awaited his myrmidons on the links of Mussleburgh.

The day after the battle of Pinkie, the Duke of Somerset marched to Leith. Here he remained a week, and received the

\* "We liked not the manner of wooing, and we could not stoop to be bully'd into love."—BEAGUE.

† He remained here till peace was concluded, when he was released. *Hobby* Hamilton, captain of Dunbar, was also among the prisoners.

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

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

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

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## CHAPTER VI.

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

JOHNSTOUN'S *Epigrams on the Royall Burroughs.*\*

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

HADDINGTON, fortified and garrisoned by the English, presented the novel features of a conquered city, while the Scots, burning with the mingled emotions of regret and revenge, saw the abodes of piety, and learning, and regal power, in the hands of the invader. They were glad, therefore, to accept of succours from France, even at the expense of their youthful queen; and as such an important political alliance as was now held out to Henry could not be resisted, the requisition of the Queen-mother and the Regent was instantly granted. Andrew Montlamberti, Monsieur d'Esse, or Desse, an experienced French officer, was selected for this important expedition, and appointed lieutenant-general of the army of Scotland; and, with 6000 veteran auxiliaries, landed at Leith, June 16th, 1548. M. de Andelot

\* See “*Memorials for the Government of Royall Burghs:*” Aberdeen, 1625. Dr Johnstoun's *Epigrams* were published originally at Middleburgh, in 1642.

commanded the foot, De Etauges the horse, Count Rimgrave, (Rhinegrave,) the Germans; the famous Leo Strozzi, the Italians, and Dunoon the artillery. Their arrival cheered the drooping spirits of the Scots, who joined them with 8000 men; and their first campaign opened with the siege of Haddington.

Haddington was evidently a fortified town of considerable extent, which was strengthened and augmented by the English, aided by the skill of their Italian allies. But although the ancient walls extended considerably beyond the site occupied by its present buildings, it does not appear to have been protected by a castle. In Ayloff's Calendar of the Ancient Charters,\* a "castrum de Haddington" is mentioned; but Chalmers justly observes, that wherever castles existed, they were distinctly marked in the grants made by Baliol to Edward III. in 1334. Situated on a plain, unlike Dunbar and Tantallon, nature had stamped it with no rocky eminence for an impregnable fort; but from the fertile district with which the burgh was surrounded, particularly towards the coast, distant only a few miles, it must have afforded abundant supplies for a numerous garrison: hence we find that, besides its inhabitants, the town and suburbs accommodated 2500 men. In describing the warlike operations of the siege, we shall follow the account given by Monsieur Beague, who visited this country with the French auxiliaries in 1546; and who must have been sufficiently versed in military affairs to have given a correct description of what he saw.

The fortress of Haddington was quadrangular. It was environed with a large and flat-bottomed ditch, a strong curtain of turf, a spacious rampart, and good and safe breast-works. Four strong bastions were conveniently placed at the four corners of the wall, and were designed in lieu of so many platforms, to keep the weak places from being discovered. Behind these bastions, towards the most champaign country, several works of earth were raised, by way of platforms and ravelins, where the English planted a great many guns of a middle size, to annoy the French as they sat down before the place. Above these fortifications, a curtain, with fascines, was reared up, on which the arquebusiers of the English stood secure. Behind, and over against the rampart of

\* Ayloff's Calendars of the Ancient Charters, and of the Welsh and Scotch Rolls in the Tower of London. 4to. Lond. 1772.

the first wall, was a deep fosse (ditch or moat,) bordered with a strong curtain, and four turrets, which fenced and enclosed the Donjon;\* and between the edge of the fosse, and the curtain of this donjon, there were many casements close to, and level with the first rampart, in which arquebusiers might be placed for guarding the second fosse; so that, in the event of the turrets, which fenced the wall of the donjon, being ruined by the cannon of the besiegers, these casements, with the help of such *falsebrays* as were intermixed with them, might supply their loss. The donjon itself could not be battered save on one side, and that side was guarded by the river Tyne, while a *cavalier*, raised on the most exposed place of its rampart, sheltered both the house and the soldiers. "In fine," observes M. Beagné, "the fort was so very convenient and spacious, that the garrison, in case of necessity, might retreat into it, draw up in order of battle; nay, and raise new fortifications for a further defence."

"This spacious fort, within the fortifications, had been built," continues the French journalist, "in the manner I have described, probably because Haddington is situated in a fruitful and pleasant country, nigh the capital city, not very remote from the centre of Scotland, and for these reasons fit to insult over and annoy the whole kingdom: But I know not, if they considered, that these otherwise great conveniencies were attended with this notable disadvantage, that the place was not to be succoured with men or ammunition without a prevailing army. For as I have said, it lies almost in the middle of Scotland,† and at the distance of two leagues from the sea; and the English were not master of

\* The *donjon*, in its proper signification, means the strongest part of a feudal castle; a high square tower, with walls of tremendous thickness, situated in the centre of the other buildings, from which, however, it was usually detached. Here, in case of the outward defences being gained, the garrison retreated to make their last stand. The donjon contained the great hall, and principal rooms of state for solemn occasions, and also the prison of the fortress; from which we derive the modern and restricted use of the word *dungeon*. Ducange conjectures plausibly, that the name is derived from these keeps being usually built upon a hill, which in Celtic is called *Dun*. Borlase supposes the word came from the darkness of the apartments in these towers, which were then figuratively called *Dungeons*.—SIR W. SCOTT.

On a *braehead*, S. W. of the town, were the vestiges of an old fortification, called "New Wark," signifying a new erection, situated on the ground now designated "Mill Flat." It was of a circular form.

† This appears incorrect, unless Monsieur Beagné included Northumberland, which during the Border wars, was alternately held by Scottish and English chiefs.



such other places as were proper to cover, and bring off those in Haddington."

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

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

General Dessé having ordered his troops to be in readiness, he acquainted the Queen-dowager and the regent Arran, of his intention, when the latter agreed to join him with 800 horse, then lying at Edinburgh. As they left the city, Dessé already found the infantry ranked in order of battle by M. de Andelot, in an open field. He now harangued them in the most flattering terms, and exhorted them to show their bravery before the Scots: "For my own part," says he, "I resolve in this armour, both on foot and on horseback, to shew you the path that leads to glory; and

\* The boundaries of the town walls were as follows: On the north, they extended from the West-port, near the site of Mr Ferguson's monument, where there was a gateway, along the properties of P. Dudgeon, Esq., W.S., Craig Lodge; H. M. Davidson, Esq., sheriff-clerk; and Messrs Spears, where there was a gate, styled the "Sally Port," (the pillars of which were taken down in 1803,) by the north side of the new church of St John's, to a row of houses called the Newton, at the head of the old flesh-market port, where there was another gateway; and from thence, betwixt the present Bank of Scotland, (Mr A. Todrick's property;) and Sunnybank, (Mr Donaldson's,) to the East-port gate.

On the east, from the last gateway, along the banks of the Tyne, to the Gowl close, where there was a gateway; from thence along Skinner's Knowes, at the back of the Episcopal chapel, to the Nungate bridge, where there was another gateway; from thence along Church-street, and on the north side of the Churchyard, to the head of the Long Causeway, which terminated in a gate.

On the south from the gateway, at the head of the Long Causeway, along the wall at the extremity of Maitlandfield, (Dr Howden's property,) by the Mill Wynd and Millfield, to the west of Tynebank, which terminated in a watch-tower.

On the west, from this watch-tower, between Mr D. Routhead's property, and a park belonging to the town of Haddington, (which park was then a morass, and now forms part of Mr T. Dods's nurseries,) to Rosehall toll-bar; and from thence, on the south-east of Major Vetch's property, to the West-port gate.

So lately as September 1806, the town-council, who wished to make a road over part of the ancient walls, had a lawsuit with the conterminous proprietors, who had erected buildings against them, which was decided in favour of the town.

I hope that this very arm, so oft and honourably dipt in English blood, shall yet be felt by them not at all weakened, or short of what it has been." He next addressed Count Rimgrave's regiment, and his speeches were received with loud huzzas. Immediately the drum beat to arms, and the French and the Germans marched along the sea-coast to Musselburgh; the Lord Duno, commanding the artillery, of which he was commissary. General Dessé entreated the Laird of Dun, a Scots gentleman, to accompany Captain Loup, lieutenant to M. de Etauges to reconnoitre the enemy, and ordered the rest of the army to advance with all expedition. The army was divided into two bodies, the one consisting of Germans, under Count Rimgrave, a man heartily devoted to the French king's service, and the other under the no less daring M. de Andelot. When within a mile and a half of Musselburgh, they were met by M. de Anché, a gentleman of De Etauges's company, who informed General Dessé, that the English had retreated to Haddington, upon which Dessé smiled, and turning to the regent Arran, and to M. Strozzi and De Andelot, said, "Here De Anché brings us good news; for if the English are frightened before they have seen us, how much more will our nearer approach alarm them." He then sent De Anché back to M. de Etauges, with orders for him to halt at Musselburgh, and then ordering Captain Rotouze, lieutenant to Count Rimgrave, to make the vanguard advance at a slow pace, Dessé went up before them, accompanied by Arran, the Lord Peter Strozzi, and others, and followed by a considerable troop of horse.

Captain Loup, who had been dispatched with a party suitable for the purpose, was conducted to a village above Haddington, where he sent off 50 lancers to provoke the English to sally out of their fort, and having instructed them which way they should manage their retreat, if it was found necessary; and leaving a sentinel on an adjacent hill, on the outlook for the enemy, he placed himself at the head of his troop, in an ambush, behind the rubbish of some old houses. The Scots in the meantime advanced to Haddington, where they waited in hopes that the English would break out upon them; but they only fired some cannon from the ramparts. Captain Loup, informed of this circumstance, left his ambush, and joined the Scots. By this time 800 men

came out of the town; but notwithstanding every endeavour to draw them to an engagement, they constantly kept within musket shot of the place; and Captain Loup finding that they betrayed no inclination for fighting, after having viewed the fortifications of Haddington at the very foot of its walls, from whence the garrison fired several shots at him without injury, he returned to the general.

Dessé after having appointed the main body of the army to lodge at *Laurette* (Loretto;)\* and given such orders as were necessary, drew up his own company, that of M. de Etauges, and a considerable number of Germans, and 500 arquebusiers, the choicest of all the regiments; and having placed at their head Colonel de Andelot, he advanced to a hill above Haddington, towards Aberlady, and from thence sent off M. de Etauges to pickeer† at the port of the town, and at the same time appointed M. de Andelot, De la Chapelle, Vileneuve and Achaut, with 300 arquebusiers under their conduct, to fetch a circuit behind the hill, and to show themselves on the other side, in the hopes that something would be thus effected. Dessé having done this, left two pieces of cannon on the hill, and two German companies, with orders to support those who might require assistance; and, with his gen-de-arms and the surplus of the arquebusiers, he approached the town, and leisurely observed the extent, circuit, and weak sides of the fortifications, as also the most favourable places in the neighbourhood, either for lodging the soldiery or battering the ramparts.

The cannon of the English were incessantly playing during this reconnoitre, while some of the Italian arquebusiers and 200 lancers, sallied out of “the place by that side of it which looked to Edinburgh;” but they were quickly repulsed to their own gates,

\* The French general could not have fixed upon a happier spot for pitching his tents than the links of Musselburgh, near the head of which stood the ancient chapel and hermitage of “Our Lady of Loretto,” the site of which is now occupied as an academical seminary. To this place James V. performed a pilgrimage from Stirling on foot, before proceeding on his voyage to France in search of a wife. The chapel was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford, in 1544; and the Reformation abolished it. “The materials of the ruined chapel,” says Mr R. Chambers, “are said to have been the first belonging to any sacred edifice which were, after the Reformation, applied to a secular purpose; having, in 1590, been made use of in the building of the tolbooth of Musselburgh: for which piece of sacrilege, it is said, the inhabitants of the town were annually excommunicated at Rome till the end of the last century.”

† “To pickeer,” signifies either to plunder, or a flying skirmish.

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

that four gentlemen of his retinue were wounded, and that but slightly."

After this skirmish, the French were equally successful in several other attacks. General Dessé, at the head of 50 horse, engaged Sir John Wilford, commander of the forces in Haddington, who, to rescue his own soldiers, came out of the town, at the head of 200 lancers and 25 arquebusiers; but these, according to the French journalist, were mostly cut off by the valour of their general, and the remainder chased back to the gates of the town. In the meantime a constant fire was kept up from the ramparts; but by reason of continual rains, and the approaching night, the balls fell without effect. "Thus," says the journalist, "we had all the honour of this our first exploit, which was such as did very much contribute to allay the English arrogance, at least we reaped this advantage by it, that henceforth they never durst wait our onset with assurance. The Lords Strozzi, De la Mailleraye de Oisel, and Count Rimgrave, went on so far as to strike the ports of Haddington with their hangers, and this they have often done since that time, with as much bravery as ever was shewn by men. And now every one retired to Monsieur de Dessé, and he to Laurette, (evidently Loretto, near Musselburgh,) the infantry marching always in order of battle, and the cavalry in the rear, with their arms displayed. We had only one soldier killed with a cannon ball, and 5 or 6 wounded in these actions."

The same evening General Dessé having retired with his army to Musselburgh, gave orders to march by break of day. Accordingly after reviewing his whole forces, he returned, and encamped in sight of Haddington. Lord Home had already preceded him, and was engaged in a skirmish with the English when the French vanguard came up, on which they retreated under shelter of their cannon. The regent Arran, who commanded the vanguard, detached a party to assist the advanced posts; but kept the greatest part of his squadron in order of battle, in the open fields, while the Germans were lodging themselves, and the general opposing the rest of the enemy. General Dessé perceiving that Lord Home was nearly worsted by superior numbers, sent Captain Gourdes, at the head of 50 men, to his assistance, which he did with such success, that the English were obliged to fall back under shelter of the walls of Haddington, whither they were warmly

pursued; but the French perceiving 100 men advancing to their assistance, retreated apace, and contrived to gain time, and to arrest the enemy's progress by the repeated fire of their arquebusiers, till Captain Villeneuve came up to their relief with a reinforcement of 60 horsemen. This brave officer fell upon the flank of the English, broke their ranks, and pursued them with great slaughter, both of horse and foot, to the very brink of the fosse; and, with his own hands, pushed a great many headlong into the ditch, but in this act he was mortally wounded with a musket ball, and died on the spot. "'Twas a pity," observes M. Beague, "for this young officer had frequently given but too flagrant proofs of his courage: the soldiers regretted his fall extremely, and some charged him with too much forwardness in thus offering himself rashly to death; but I am rather of the opinion of others, who believe that 'courage could not have shortened his days, nor cowardice have prolonged them;'"\* for as M. du Belley writes:

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

During these skirmishes, Count Rimgrave, with his Germans, was encamping before the town, and Duno was casting up trenches to guard the artillery. A party of the French infantry stood under arms near General Dessé, while M. de Andelot, who was bringing up the remainder of the corps, was unwilling to show himself until he tried the courage of his party. With this view he appointed a detachment to wait in order of battle, in a convenient place of the hill, that could not be discovered from the town, while he, at the head of 300 arquebusiers, marched down the river Tyne, (which runs by one of the sides of the town,) as warily as possible, yet he was discovered; and Captain Tyber, with his Italian arquebusiers, sallied out upon the party; but so cautiously, as to keep always under the shelter of their cannon. For the purpose of drawing them off, M. de Andelot commanded Captain Prade, with 25 men to advance; but without success: he next detached Captain Lucenet, with orders to charge them where they stood. The captain advanced within forty paces of

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

" Cowards die twice;  
The valiant never taste of death but once,"

the enemy, gave them a volley, and then, conform to his orders, retreated with the greatest precipitation. This stratagem led the enemy to pursue the chase; and De Andelot, who had not as yet stirred from his post, seized the opportunity with so much advantage, that the surprised Italians were immediately discomfited, and forced to betake themselves to their heels, leaving many by the way exposed to certain execution. Ten of the slowest of the soldiers were surrounded, and six of them were made prisoners, and the other four threw themselves into the fosse. Two soldiers unwarrantably following them, received the reward of their temerity: one was mortally wounded in the shoulder by a musket, the other in the left arm by that of an arquebuse.\*

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

The town of Haddington was now invested on all sides, and a sharp contest kept up. A considerable body of Scots, from the islands of Orkney and the south, who were assembled at Edinburgh in obedience to the Queen-mother's commands, joined the French camp, and were considered "very good company" for the space of twenty days. These warlike kernes skirmished late and early with the English, and had scarcely taken up their residence in the camp, when about 600 stole away from the main body, and marched right to the gates of Haddington.† They instantly beat off the advanced guards of the English with a volley of arrows, and then, sword in hand, rushed upon 5 or 600, that

\* This sentence is only worth transcribing to shew, that there was a difference between a musket and an arquebuse.

† "They wore coats of mail," says the journalist: "each had a large bow in his hand; and their quivers, swords, and shields, hung as it were in a sling. They were followed by several highlanders; and these last go almost naked,—they have painted waistcoats, and a sort of woollen covering, variously coloured, (evidently tartan,) and are armed as the rest with large bows, broad swords, and targets. There was not one of them but gave convincing proofs, that they stood in no awe of the English."—BEAUCOË'S *Hist. Campagnes*.

were posted between the Port and the Barriers ; but the noise of the artillery which was new to them, soon quelled their courage as effectually as ever it fell on an Indian heart. The highlanders shut their ears, and threw themselves on their bellies at each shot of the cannon. The English seeing this disorder, sought to avail themselves of the advantage ; but Captain Linieres, with 60 soldiers, met them half way, and put a sudden stop to the pursuit. Twenty-five of his arquebusiers fired upon their flank, while M. de Andelot, at the head of fifty gentleman, who had waited upon him from his tent, as he was going to visit the trenches, attacked them, and at the first onset, drove them back to their barriers, where they again rallied, and faced about. Here a gentleman of Limoge recklessly went alone, and singling out an Englishman, by whom he had been wounded some days before, struck him dead to the ground with his halbert, and returned to the party, who retired to the trenches.

Not long after this skirmish, General Dessé, accompanied by the Lords Strozzi, De Andelot, De la Chapelle de Biron, and De Quartis, with at least 20 more gentlemen, went out to observe such places as were most fit to be battered. Meanwhile Captain Gaillard, Gourdes, and Argenlieu, each at the head of 25 arquebusiers, went to dislodge some Italian soldiers, who were lying upon their bellies, conveniently intrenched, and kept up an incessant fire to the no small annoyance of the French, who came to view the curtain.\* These officers divided themselves into different bodies ; and from several places of the enemy's intrenchments so mauled them with small shot that they were glad to get in to the town. By this means General Dessé had an opportunity of taking a narrow and leisurely inspection of the enemy's works and defences ; and, when retiring, witnessed a notable and daring exploit of one of the highlanders that belonged to the Earl of Argyle. This fellow had observed the fearlessness of the French in bearding the very mouth of the enemy's cannon, which he being willing to imitate, went straight upon a party of the English, who had engaged a few Frenchmen under Captain Voquedemar ; and, with incredible celerity, seizing one of them, in spite of his

\* That part of the wall or rampart that lies between two bastions. The bastion is a huge mass of earth, usually faced with sods, standing out from the ramparts as a bulwark.



struggles, trussed him upon his back, and in this plight brought him to the camp. During which the enraged captive bit the poor fellow's shoulder in such a manner, that he had almost died of the wound. The general rewarded this action with a coat-of-mail and twenty crowns; a compliment which the highlander received with every demonstration of gratitude.

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

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

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

twice in upon the garrison, with the same unconcern as if he had been shooting at game merely for sport, and returned safe and unhurt.

About eleven at night the French advanced their gabionades,\* and made loup-holes for six guns; and "thence, by break of day," says M. Beagué, "we awakened those in Haddington with a vengeance, and battered at once the wall betwixt the Port of Edinburgh, (West Port,) and Tybere's Bulwark,† and the breastworks of the curtain. In these last the English had placed some musqueteers and arquebusiers, who kept up a constant fire on the assailants. This day 340 balls were sent from six pieces of cannon upon the front of the wall and the breastworks, which were much damaged; but the curtain, which was wonderfully thick, and made of earth, which deadened and drowned the balls, remained entire, neither was their much harm done to the wall. This induced General Dessé to remove the gabionades, and to place them a little lower, at the distance of about one hundred paces from the fosse. Here again the guns were discharged 200 times; but they only made a great noise, without effecting any purpose. Whereupon the general called a council of war, and proposed to carry the place by assault. He expressed his wish to head the troops in person, and to substitute M. de la Mailleraye in his place as commander. "I doubt not," says the general, (addressing his council,) "but his Majesty will approve the thing; success is always attended with praise; and nothing is impracticable when undertaken by men of honour; the garrison is not so very numerous, but that if we come to a close fight, they are sure to be foiled; besides we are no strangers to them by this time; and it is impossible that they are ignorant, that we *dare* more than they." Many were of the general's opinion, and all were disposed to obey; but after long reasoning, and mature deliberation, it was concluded,—that it was by no means advisable to attempt the place by storm,—that the numbers of the French were inconsiderable, and not proper to be exposed all at once,—that upon the supposition of their being cut off, before a reinforcement

\* Gabion, or Gabionades, a wicker basket, which is filled with earth, to make a fortification or entrenchment to protect the besiegers.

† So called from Tybere, a captain, who commanded the Italians. This bulwark was probably situated betwixt the West Port and the Fosses; but on what side is uncertain.

could pass the seas, Scotland was probably lost,—that the king could not but be displeased to hear, that without necessity they had staked their all;—and, in fine, that it was hard to determine how the Scots might concur in this measure, as many of them had been seduced and brought over to the English interest.

While these desultory affairs were going on, the Queen-dowager had carried the young Queen to Dumbarton, as a place of security till she could be shipped for France. The Lord de Breze was dispatched to Scotland for this purpose, and received the royal charge on board his galley. “She was not above six years old,” says the enraptured M. Beague; “but, even then, one of the most *perfect* creatures the Author of Nature had ever framed. Her match was no where to be seen, nor had the world another child of her fortune and hopes!”

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

Tybere commanded 300 Italian infantry, in the English service, and as he was a good and a vigilant soldier, he had taken care to fortify and repair one of the shattered bulwarks, to prevent its falling into the hands of the French during the heat of the assault, and hoping by this means to obtain a safe and honourable capitulation for himself; but upon receiving intelligence of the resolutions adopted by the French, he made bold to offer, not only to make good his own post, but to defend the breach with his company alone. Sir John Wilford could scarcely credit a fanfaronade so unreasonably grounded, for he was abundantly satisfied of the intrepidity and fury of the French; but the governor of Haddington was at last convinced of the truth of Tybere's assertions, and the French lost the opportunity of carrying the place.

General Dessé to prevent the town from receiving supplies during the night, appointed his own gen-de-arms, and the caval-

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

Shortly after "The Man with the Two Heads," (who was one of those who corresponded with the Earl of Lennox,) had played this trick to the French, the Scots, with the exception of 600 lancers, that belonged to the Earls of Arran and Huntly, withdrew to their homes.†

\* The camp appears to have been only 200 paces from the town.

† Some reason seems necessary for the sudden withdrawal of the Scots. "The Scots," says M. Beagué, (alluding to their present desertion,) "never take the field but when forced to arms by necessity. The reason is this, they serve at their own charges, and therefore cannot spin out time, as all the nations in Europe do but themselves. They carry along with them all necessaries, for the time they resolve either to encamp, or to

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

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

scour the champaign. This time is but short, but they lose it not; for they make it their business to seek out the enemy, and fight with invincible obstinacy, especially when they have to do with the English. For the reciprocal hatred of these two nations is intermingled with their vital spirits, and essential to their being! Neither is it, in my opinion, to be eradicated from out of their breasts, so long as ambition shall prompt men to domineer, or jealousy repine at encroaching grandeur. This done, and their victuals being consumed, they break up their camp, or retire in different bodies one after another." Some of the sentiments here expressed, can only now be read with a smile; yet a few years have only elapsed, since we have also heard, in the political changes of time, grave and pious men hold up the French themselves as our "natural enemies!" and, in the words of Burns, "nail'd with scripture."

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

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

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

ing death to those parents that gave you life, and to those friends that made life desirable."

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

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

A graver duty awaited her champion. M. de Andelot had disciplined and prepared his soldiers for action; and General Dessé was indefatigable in endeavouring to unravel the plans of the enemy. The night previous to the day of battle, he appointed the French cavalry to keep watch on an eminence that lay in the road in which the English army was expected, and a detachment of Scots kept guard along with them, to render assistance if necessary. These two corps were to be relieved at midnight by the general's gen-de-arms and another party of the Scots. Four companies of the Germans were appointed to guard the trenches by turns, and equal numbers of French appointed to attend the camp. "In fine," observes Beagué, "judging it an indelible stain for a captain, after having been foiled, to talk that it was a surprise upon him, or that he had not thought of the mat-

ter, he commanded the remainder of the army to sleep in their armour. Dessé himself, the Lords De la Mailleraye, Strozzi, De Anelot, Count Rimgrave, and all the other persons of quality, remained the whole night long in arms; some on foot, walking the rounds towards the avenues of the camp and guards of the trenches; others on horseback, visiting the watches and scouts, that were posted on the road on which the enemy was expected.

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

In the meantime General Dessé went from rank to rank, and encouraged the men, assuring them of victory, and roused their courage by a long harangue.\* While he was thus inspiring the

\* "Comrades," said General Dessé, "did not inevitable necessity constrain us, I should at this time avoid fighting by all means possible: and the reason is, because in this part of the world, the loss of any one amongst us, is of inestimable value; but the enemy is hard upon us, we have no time to retreat: it were cowardice to think on it, and folly to attempt it. Since then we can place our hopes in nothing but the force of our arms, and the height of our courage, let us resolve to stand it to the last. For to be plain with you, I do not see that any one of our number can escape death, either by flight, (I abhor the infamous word,) by reason that our foes are so admirably well mounted, as I know them to be, or, which is no better, by yielding our arms in hopes of quarters; for I am certainly informed, that my Lord Bault † has several times sworn in presence of the Duke of Somerset, that those amongst us, who shall fall in the heat of action, if we but dare to engage, shall have reason to bless their stars; as for the remainder, that he would lead them in chains, and present them to the Protector, as so

† This nobleman's true name is unknown.



army "to deeds of glory in the battle-field," the English appeared upon the neighbouring hill, divided into two squadrons, consisting of about 500 horse, all well armed, and for the most part after the French fashion; these men, excepting 200 Albanians, who were trained up in the wars of France, were all English; and such as had attended the court had signalized their courage in several remarkable exploits, and had been picked out for this expedition from amongst the best of the forces.

"The English came no sooner in view," says M. Beagné, "than our soldiers gave all the apparent signs of joy that could be wished for, and demanded, with loud acclamations, to be led on to the enemy. But the officers made the army halt, and a great many of them went in to Haddington; but whether with a design to see or to confer with their friends, it is certain that in this they committed a great error: for by this means they at once gave time to the ardour of their own men to evaporate or cool, and created in us a contempt of their courage, and a belief that this trifling and wasting of time, would not proceed but from their want of resolution and experience."

While the English commanders were thus idly employed, in congratulating their countrymen on the vigorous defence they had sustained for nearly three months, they assured them that henceforth they should have little to do,—that one day's work was likely to put an end to the war,—at least to make sure of the overthrow of all the Frenchmen in Scotland. In the meantime General Dessé satisfied, and placing every reliance in the courage of his soldiers, sent off a party of 20, under M. de Etauges, to pickeer; and the Earl of Cassilis, with 50 light horse of the Scots, was sent to support them. M. de Andelot, at the same time, ad-

many slaves doomed to sit at the oars of the barges of their king. Be as it must, we shall dare to engage this insolent enemy; and I am assured that they shall upon trial be found fitter to fill our galleys, and that we shall prove the executioners of the justice of that God, who can no longer bear the heinousness of their crimes. I could enlarge upon the preference of our cause, courage, and conduct; but you may trust to it, we shall trample upon their bodies in a shorter time than I could acquaint you with all the means of victory I have in my hands. Follow me, my comrades and friends, and endeavour to do well, since you have in your eye a general that desires you but to imitate him. There are no more trenches and ravelins to guard the enemy from our blows;—our arms are stronger and better tempered than theirs;—as pompons and shining as they appear, you surpass them in valour, order, and steadiness; and, what is a mighty advantage on our side, we are pent up between their garrison in the town, and their army in the fields, and by consequence necessitated to vanquish or perish!"

vanced at the head of his battalion, and failed not to exhort them to do their duty. He gained the most advantageous ground he could observe, and placing himself on foot in the first rank, with a pick in his hand, and having on both sides those he most trusted, and, at his back, men determined to stand their ground, he waited the nearer approach of the enemy with that assurance in war that generally promises success. Count Ringrave had posted the German troops a little higher on the left of the French infantry, with a design to fall on the flank of the English, as soon as they came up with M. de Andelot's battalion: he had also six field pieces planted at the side of his regiment, in readiness to fire on the first approach of the assailants. In this manner the two battalions marched to battle, at a small distance from one another, with the cavalry and gen-de-arms on their wings. They had frequent skirmishes with the bravest of the English, who were abundantly forward, and handled their arms with great skill; "kept close in their ranks, had a good mein, and demonstrated no small experience by sometimes gaining time, and at other times reinforcing their pickeerers, as they found it expedient."

M. de Andelot came out of the ranks, and taking along with him 200 arquebusiers, he marched about, (as if he meant to sound the ford\* of the river Tyne, which divided them from the enemy;) and was just about to attack 40 or 50 horse, that gained their flank, on the heels of eight of their men-at-arms, when perceiving a number of the enemy preparing to surprise him, he commanded his arquebusiers to turn their backs, and make a feint of flying; then seeing that they had entered the ford in order to follow, he faced about suddenly, gave them a vigorous charge, when a number were slain. Having effected this, he withdrew to more convenient ground, where he maintained his position near a quarter of an hour. In another part of the field, M. de Etauges, supported by the Laird of Dun, at the head of some Scots, (who were considered all brave fellows, and headstrong enough to undertake any dangerous exploit,) had attack-

\* There are at present two fords of the river Tyne at Haddington, one at the North-east port, and another between the Nungate bridge and the parish church. Previous to the building of the Waterloo bridge, in 1817, a ford led to the Salton road, over which was a neat wooden bridge for foot passengers, called the "Chinese bridge;" there is also a ford opposite the head of Distillery-park, on the south side.

ed and killed several of the Albanians. General Desse's lieutenant came at length to the assistance of M. de Andelot. He had maintained his position against the English horse with much bravery, with the fire of his arquebusiers; but the former now finding themselves assaulted on all sides, by means of this new reinforcement, began to retreat to their squadrons, leaving the whole way covered with wounded and slain.

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

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

Count Bimgrave endeavoured to oppose the second squadron of the English, who now made a movement for the support of the first, but without effect; and the fight was pursued with matchless fury on both sides. The troops under Dessé, Lord Home, and the Laird of Dun, performed wonders; and they had this

\* The advanced troops in any dangerous enterprise.

† Picks, or pikes, a long lance used by the infantry to keep off the horse, previous to introduction of the bayonet.

advantage over the enemy, that each nation, out of sheer vanity, would endeavour to rival the prowess of the other, before each other's eyes,—the brave battalion of M. de Andelot, continued to second their efforts with the greatest vigour,—and the fortune of the day was at last decided by an attack made by the Germans, who fell upon the English crossways. This manœuvre completely disordered their ranks; they fled in earnest, and had neither courage nor leisure to rally. The slaughter they sustained was terrible; for the allied officers, and most part of the soldiers, and even the arquebusiers, had got their swords in their hands, and mixing themselves pellmell with the enemy, houghed the horses, which terrified them so, that those few who got clear of the soldiers, could not escape the hands of the boors, who cut them to pieces most unmercifully, filling all the roads and corners of the neighbourhood with heaps of the slain. “Nay, such was the terror and consternation of the vanquished,” says the journalist, “that eighteen of them, though armed cap-a-pie, yielded their persons and arms to the discretion of a few country-women, who were afterwards enriched with their ransom, the price of their cowardice: others asked, and got quarter from the French; and some of the best mounted endeavoured to get into Haddington.” Dessé, with his cavalry, followed close upon the heels of the English fugitives, who endeavoured to reach the ports of Haddington, where their governor was stationed with about 300 men, well provided with muskets and arquebuses, ready to receive them. “In this battle,” says M. Beagué, “the English had about 800 men killed, and more than 2000 were made prisoners, whereas there fell not above 15 on our side!” An assertion palpably false, as a few days afterwards the Queen-dowager was at Haddington, lamenting over the French who had fallen in the late skirmishes. The loss of the English was, however, great, as acknowledged by their own writers.\*

\* This engagement, so disastrous to the English, seems to have given rise to the name of the “Tuesday's Chase,” a field fought on the 17th July, 1548:

“The siege of Haddingtonne was layed too by the Frenchmen, quibilk indurit ane baill zeir. In the quibilk tyme wes the Twesdaye's chaisse, quher mony of England wer takin and slaine.”—MS. Advocate's Lib.—*BIRREL'S Diary*.

There is so much conflicting testimony in the account historians give of the losses of an army, that it is almost impossible to arrive at the truth. Each magnifies the success of his party and the losses of the enemy. John Knox, who was a decided enemy to Mary of Guise (the queen-mother,) and her French auxiliaries, says, “that the English approaching unto the town (Haddington,) for the comforting of the besieged, with pow-

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

"The Queen continued this day, and for several months after," says M. Beagné, "to praise the slain, and gratify the surviving; and the soldiers on the other hand, went up and down the camp, and published with loud voices, a most feeling sense of the love and respect they bore to the Queen of Scotland. The Scots thronged to the camp, and beheld the naked and mangled bodies of the English, stretched out upon the ground, with an air rather of resentment than pity; nay, some who had suffered most from their insulting enemy, had the cruelty to pull out the eyes of the dead! So true it is, that men when affected with hatred, must needs be estranged to reason; and I know not after all, whether that hatred which takes its rise from the love of one's country, may not be ranked amongst the number of virtues!"\* To palliate

der, victuals, and men, lost an army of 6000 men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the most part of the borderers were taken or slain, and so might the town justly have despaired of any further succour to have been looked for: but yet it held good for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wolford, general."—Knox's *Hist.*

\* This moral sentiment of the French journalist, would have suited the Peruvians:  
 "Children of the sun, with whom revenge is virtue!"—Pizarro.

this conduct of the Scots, the journalist observes;—"that their towns ransacked,—such an extent of their country laid waste,—their palaces burned,—their altars prophaned,—their churches demolished,—the best blood of their kindred shed,—their nobles inhumanly butchered,"—all served to nourish and whet the spirit of revenge; and this asseveration was but too true.

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

The removal of the French from their old camp before Haddington, encouraged the Governor and Captain Tybere, to sally out more frequently than they had hitherto done, and to undertake some enterprise against them at all hours of the day and the night; as if by this means they wished to conceal the condition of their affairs, and to proclaim the strength of their garrison. Of these future skirmishes our journalist only particularizes one: Some days after the French had withdrawn from the trenches,

about eleven at night, a party of 200 horse, consisting of English and Italians, wishing to surprise their horse-guard, which waited without the camp, went about and made a compass round the hill of Aberlady;\* while Sir James Wilford, the governor, at the head of 400 English and Italian foot, accompanied by 60 Scots peasants, issued forth with a view of seizing some barley, which had been left at the arquebusiers' post, near the fosse.—“ Now,” in the words of our journalist, “ although in this season of the year. ('twas in autumn,) the nights are but short, and not at all obscure in Scotland, where in summer-time the day seems to be continual, as being only overshadowed a little by a short-lasting darkness, that scarcely deserves the name of night, yet by reason of a mist that had clouded the skies, and of a rain which was beginning to fall, it was so very dark, that ten or twelve of the foremost of the enemy could not discover two of our sentinels, but passed by them at no greater distance than the length of a pike. The sentinels, instructed beforehand by M. de Andelot, of what they should do on such an occasion, slipped off to a lower ground: and one of them came with an account of the matter to M. de Andelot, who immediately commanded Captain Gourdes to stand still with his company, and to detach only 12 arquebusiers, to charge and decoy them on to his post, while he, with another company of the guards, should march about, and endeavour to cut off their retreat. Accordingly he caused cover the matches of the arquebusiers,† and after describing a large circuit, he got in betwixt the enemy and their fort, so that by obscurity of the night, and the noise of the fight commenced by Captain Gourdes, he remained undiscovered. till falling furiously upon their rear, he cried out to his soldiers, “ Fall on, comrades, and fear not a few rogues in their shirts !” for the Governor and his men had come out in a sort of night-dress. A great number of the English fell at the first onset; and Sir James Wilford, finding himself surprised, made straight to M. de Andelot who was in the front; while he fond of the opportunity of facing the Governor of Haddington in person, because of the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, received him with all his heart; but not to enlarge on the single combat they fought, (which might appear like a

\* See Blaeu's Atlas.

† Flints were not then in use, and percussion springs unknown.

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

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

While these bloody games were acted before Haddington, a parliament was convened at the Abbey, on the 7th July, 1548, where the French had now established their camp. Through the influence of the Queen-dowager, General Dessé and the ambassador, M. de Oyssel, the consent of the Parliament was obtained for the young Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and of her education at the court of France. Those who favoured the reformation of religion were most averse to the measure, and would rather have submitted to any terms from the English; but French bribes and promises prevailed, and secured the majority; of the latter was the regent, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran. He was created Duke of Chatelherault, with a pension of 12,000

\* Hist. Campaignes, 1548.



livres a-year, having been previously invested with the order of St Michael\* by the King of France; and with the promise of the command of the Scots guards, commonly called Gen-de-Armes Escosse,† for his son. After these preliminaries the young Queen, as we formerly had occasion to notice, was consigned to the care of Monsieur Brezé, who had been sent by the King, with the royal barge, for her conveyance to France. "And so, the Cardinal of Lorraine," says Knox, "got her in his keeping; a morsel, I assure you, meet for his own mouth.....but from the time that the Frenchmen had gotten the bone, for the which the dog barked, the pursuit of the town was slow."

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

General Dessé having got intelligence of these mighty preparations, sent an express to the regent Arran, to remind him of the promise he had made, to assist him with 6000 foot and as many horse, as often as he should stand in need of them; and to assure

\* "Huntly, Argyle, and Angus, were also made knights of the *Cockle*," says Knox; "and for that, and other good deeds received, they sold also their part. Shortly none were found to resist that unjust demand; and so was she sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of that liquor, that should remain with her all her life time, for a plague to the realm, and for her own ruin."—Knox's *Hist.* Cockle signifies a scallop, or fish, with a hollow pectinated shell, which was borne by the knights of St Michael as a badge: hence they were called of "the order of the Cockle."

† This guard was established in France at an early period, and continued to attend the French kings alone, till the reign of Charles VII., who joined to them some French companies. It is said to have been established in honour of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, who fell at Verneuil, in Normandy, when fighting under the banners of Charles VII., in 1424, who also created him Duke of Touraine. They had on all occasions the precedence of the other guards. When the king was anointed, the captain of the Scots guards stood by him, and when the ceremony was over he took the robe as his due. When the keys of any town or fortress were presented to his majesty, he returned them instantly to the captain of the Scots guard. Twenty-five of this guard wore always, in testimony of their unspotted fidelity, white coats of a peculiar fashion, overlaid with silver lace; and six of them in their turn stood next the royal person in the church, on the reception of ambassadors, and on every public occasion. It was the privilege of these twenty-five gentlemen to carry the corpse of the French kings from Paris to their burial place at St Denis. In short every honour was paid to these brave household troops.

his excellency, that if he was reinforced with these numbers, that he would endeavour to give him a good account of the land-forces of the English. This application, however, came too late; and the French had scarcely time to commence their retreat, before the enemy, whom they imagined they had baffled so long, was upon them. They, however, although marching upon the wings of the retreating army, did not offer an immediate attack, but allowed them to retire unmolested.

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

General Dessé was reinforced with about 15,000 highlanders, under the Earl of Argyle. They had not taken up their quarters, when three English battalions and two regiments of horse appeared on the heights, where they had been stationed the following day. After tarrying for above the space of an hour, they departed without offering to molest the camp. M. de Andelot and Count Rimgrave drew up their battalions in order of battle, while the Scots highlanders animated themselves with the sound of the bagpipes. General Dessé sent M. de Etauges and De Quartis to reconnoitre the enemy, and on their report he resolved to stand his ground, and to fight should they attack him. Some argued that it were better to retreat to Edinburgh or Leith, where they might have a fairer field for victory to encounter the English than at Musselburgh, where the odds of 25,000 men to

10,000, (for no more of them could engage on that ground,) gave a mighty advantage to superior numbers. Desse, however, was resolved to await the award of the day in his present position. Some arquebusiers on horseback, and some soldiers of the company of M. de Etauges, had gone abroad to skirmish. He was mindful of the error of those who had been decoyed on the former day from their station; and, therefore, with a few troops, he advanced to make them retire. An advanced party of the enemy did the like, while 1000 horse were coming up by the back of the hill to surprise and coop up the foremost of the French; but they no sooner perceived that the regiments of Arran, Huntly, De Anelot, and Count Rimgrave, were on their march to intercept them, than they took the alarm; and, without an onset, broke their ranks, and galloped back to the main body of their army, which also in a short time retired upon Haddington. It was in vain that the English sought to decoy the wary Frenchman from his position. Had the Scottish generals acted with the same precision on the Duke of Somerset's late invasion, their historian would have had a different tale to relate.

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

On his way to England, the German mercenaries, under the Earl of Shrewsbury, of whom he had 3000 in his army, burnt the town of Dunbar. For securing the communication between Berwick and Haddington, it was judged necessary to build a new

fort at Dunglas,\* and to defend those employed in carrying on the work, the Germans, together with some bands of English, horse and foot, remained. Meanwhile, Lord Grey, on whom the command of the English marches had again devolved, aided by part of these German troops, overran Teviotdale and Liddisdale, ravaging and destroying the country without mercy.

General Dessé, informed that Lord Grey had dislodged from Haddington, and that about 500 horse, which he had left in the place, were daily sallying forth, and harassing the soldiers and the country in repeated skirmishes, resolved on paying them a visit, and of endeavouring to take Haddington by a coup-de-main. For this purpose M. de Anelot and Count Ringrave picked out 100 of their best foot and 300 horse, and took up an ambush behind a little hill not far from the town, whilst Dessé detached Captain Loup with 10 horse, to provoke the enemy to skirmish, and appointed M. de Etauges to advance slowly, and support him with the rest of his cavalry. Captain Loup had scarcely come in view of the English, when all their horse, and some foreigners on foot, issued out of the town, and fell upon the cavalry of M. de Etauges. Upon which General Dessé sent an express to M. de la Chapelle de Biron, and to Captain Routouze, who had been left at the head of the foot, to march straight on the enemy as soon as he should give the signal of a trumpet. The signal being sounded, and the English perceiving that the general, with his men-at-arms and two companies of foot, had broke forth upon them, endeavoured, but in vain, to make an orderly retreat. The French routed their opponents at the first onset, and followed them pellmell within the gates of the suburbs of Haddington. Here, a brave Englishman, enraged at the cowardly conduct of his countrymen, and believing that he could

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

do something more honourable for the valour of his land, singly faced about, and fiercely attacked M. de Andelot, who was in the front; but he broke his lance in the attempt, and the officer warily sustaining the shock, dispatched him on the spot with a thrust of his sword. The French now laid about them most furiously with their hangers and clubs, drove the enemy to the gates of the fort; and, according to the journalist, "without losing above *three* of their own number, sent off 300 to their last tribunal, to give an account of that religion that taught them thus to sacrifice their honours and lives in a war *plainly unjust!*" Besides the glory of vanquishing the enemy at the foot of their ramparts, we had the good luck to carry off 80 prisoners, and that in sight of the intimidated garrison; who although they were much more numerous within, than we without the gates, yet offered not to rescue their friends."

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

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

## CHAPTER VII.

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

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

THE Scottish regency apprehending that the English intended to fortify Jedburgh, the Queen requested Dessé to march thither, and destroy two companies of Spaniards, who had taken refuge in the town; and who by the force of their arms or artifice had brought over a great part of that district to the English interest. He was accompanied in this expedition by 800 Scots on horseback, who were much surprised at the nice arrangements of the French in providing for the comfort of their camp. “ It seemed new and unprecedented to them,” says M. Beaugé, “ to see sutlers appointed to follow the army; for they trouble themselves with no such impediments, by reason that they keep the fields no longer than 40 days, reckoning from that on which they first set out from their houses; but there is not one amongst them so very poor, but has either a horse or a lusty servant to carry his baggage: thus they are provided with necessaries during this short campaign.” The want of these sutlers, however, was the cause of the failure of the present enterprise. Having marched eighteen leagues through a deserted country, the victuals of the army fail-

ed on the second day ; and these epicurean warriors were obliged to tarry at Peebles till the sutlers came up. In the meantime Peter Negre and Julian Romerous, who commanded the Spanish bands, withdrew to England, and the French returned to Edinburgh.

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

“ These fair words pleased our fools,” says Knox, “ and so were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington ;

to the which they approached so secretly, that they were never espied till that the foremost were within the outer court, and the whole company in the churchyard, not two pair of butts length distant from the town (Edinburgh). The English soldiers were all asleep except the watch, the which was slender, and yet the shout arises, '*Bows and bills, bows and bills!*' which is a signification of extreme defence, to avoid the present danger in all times of war. They affrighted arise,—weapons that first come to hand serve for their need. One, amongst many, came to the east-gate, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows who were at the gate making defence, 'Beware before,' and so fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no further pursuit made: for the bullets redounded from the wall of the Friar-church to the wall of St Catherine's chapel, which stood directly over it, and from the wall of the said chapel to the churchwall again, so oft, that there fell more than a hundred of the French at those two shots only. They shot oft; but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh, without harm done, except the destruction of some *drinking beer*, which lay in the said chapel and church, and this was satisfaction more than enough, for the slaughter of the foresaid captain and provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with them." This account of the affray by honest John Knox, reminds the reader of the story of Baron Munchausen, who caught the enemy's bullets in his hand, and threw them back upon the garrison. Our great reformer had a decided hatred against the Romish party; and his zeal often led him into expressions beyond the pale of common sense.

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

"All things being prudently and cautiously laid for the designed effort," says M. Beagué, "about eleven o'clock at night every man was armed; and although the heavens were overspread with



darkness, yet Monsieur de Dessé was faithfully conducted, by a secret and convenient avenue, to the gates of Haddington, where he remained without being discovered, (such was our silence and diligence,) till some of the soldiers after taking a half-moon (battery,) before the port, and killing three sentinels, made the walls resound with the name of *France!*—at the same time we attacked the enemy's guard, and found that they did their duty but negligently."

The *bas-court*\* before the east-gate of the town was gained ere the garrison was alarmed; meanwhile some granaries, which the English had placed at the back of an *adjacent church*,† were attacked, while the French were breaking open the port. This was so suddenly effected, that the garrison had little time to put themselves in a posture of defence. The Italian guard were put to the sword; and the few English who were upon duty, at a short distance from the former, fared no better. "Several were killed in their sleep," says the journalist, "and those who awakened had but the comfort to die more feelingly. Thus we had leisure enough, not only to do great execution, but also to have carried the town with little or no loss; but M. de Dessé was wisely apprehensive, lest some ingenious fallacy should lurk under a fault so evidently palpable. He very well knew, that the most unusual favours of fortune are for the most part hurtful and fraudulent; for these reasons he would not suffer his men to run headlong upon success, but kept together in one body. The enemy had but one pass to defend, and therefore were not so much put to it, as if they had been environed on all sides; and this pass was very narrow, and was fenced with trenches and other earth-works, from whence a few men by firing upon the assailants, were able to defeat their attempt." Notwithstanding this advantage, which the garrison might have turned to some account, General Dessé, at the head of his battalion, continued to gain ground, and to give new testimonies of valour. He was backed by men that had been taught to fear no danger. The soldiers had already cried, "Victory, victory!" a hundred times, and doubted not but she waited upon their arms. "Of five hundred men," says Beagué,

\* *Basse-cour*, an inner yard or inferior court, where poultry, &c. were kept.

† These granaries were probably placed under the commodious cover of the Franciscan, now the parish church of Haddington. It is rather singular that the French journalist takes no notice of our religious edifices. To those who had seen the immense cathedrals of St Lucie or St Peter's, they might appear of little moment.

“who opposed our entrance ; some in their shirts with swords and daggers, others with halberts, and most part without any arms at all, 250 lost their lives upon the spot, whilst hitherto not one man had fallen on our side.\* Indeed fortune till this minute had been so partial in our favour, that we could not doubt of victory ; and nothing but treachery could have frustrated our hopes.”

General Dessé and his men were exposed to the mouth of a “double cannon,” planted between two gabions, upon the narrowest place of the entrance or avenue, which led to the town. This place had not been mastered as yet, when by chance a French soldier, a native of Paris, (who not long before had been corrupted by the enemy, and served him as a spy,) was stationed at that very spot of ground. This renegade, dreading the punishment he deserved, had grown desperate ; and, naked and unarmed as he was, ran to this double-mouthed cannon, and fired it. The ball made its way through the close ranks of the French, and could not fail to make a great slaughter amongst them. In consequence of this smart reception, and the darkness of the night, which hindered them from ascertaining their real loss, which as yet was not sufficient to dishearten them, the French were seized with a sudden panic. A terrible cry ran through the battalion, which alarmed those in the rear, who began to retire ; and those behind them following their example, the French ranks were broken, and thrown into the utmost confusion. The garrison being now under arms, a party sallying from a privy postern,† made such a furious onset with spears and swords, that very few of the French who had entered the lower, or bas-court, escaped alive. The general no wise dispirited, still kept his ground, and thrice renewed his attack in the morning ; but, at last, on the remonstrance of the other officers, and after suffering considerable loss, he was obliged to issue orders to sound a retreat. Dissembling his thoughts on this disastrous occasion, he smiled, and said to the Lord De Ossyel: “Let us then suppose, my friend, that we are at sea, and by storm constrained to lower our sails,—what then? The wind is changeable, and a fairer gale will yet enable us to make out the voyage.”

\* This assertion is incredible ; although it must be kept in mind, that the French, like their descendants at Waterloo, wore defensive armour—they had their head-pieces and breast-plates, while their opponents were in their shirts!

† Probably the port at the Gowl close, which led to the river. A private postern also led from the Earl of Bothwell's house, some paces eastward.

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

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

*Ever since the regency of Albany the castle of Dunbar had been garrisoned by the French.\** It lay on the road to Berwick and

\* Monsieur Beagué's description of Dunbar is so lively that we cannot help quoting it:—"The Captains Achault, Corroman, and Desme, were in garrison at Dunbar, a town that stands upon the brink of the sea, about ten leagues from Edinburgh, upon the skirts of Lothian, in a very good country, and accommodated with all these advantages, that conduce both to the pleasure and support of life. If the place were fortified,† and a good harbour contrived, which might be done with very inconsiderable charges, it would unquestionably claim a precedency among the goodliest towns which are any where to be seen in these islands. It has already a very strong and beautiful castle, built upon a high rock, on the edge of the sea;—the avenues that lead to it, are not to be forced but with vast danger and difficulty; and art here has seconded nature so admirably well, that there are few places in the universe, that can vie with those conveniences the castle of Dunbar affords for defence against batteries, or any warlike engine, or invention whatever."—*Hist. Campaignes*. It is generally conjectured by the antiquaries of Dunbar, that a drawing of the castle is preserved in the library of the Scots college at Paris. That the Frenchmen, who were excellent engineers, took drawings, both of the castle of Dunbar, and of the fortifications of Haddington, there can exist no doubt. These may have perished with the private families to whom they be-

† This establishes the fact that Dunbar was not a walled town.

Roxburgh, and as it was at no great distance from Haddington, Dunghas, Eymouth, and East castle, it was frequently, and even daily, visited by foraging parties from Haddington, who plundered and harassed the country. The French captains had made frequent sallies to meet the marauders; but as the former were on foot, and the latter on horseback, they were unable to follow

longed; but as the castle was latterly a demesne of the crown,—the residence of Albany and afterwards of Queen Mary,—some sketch may be preserved in the continental palaces.

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

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

up their slight rencounters. At length these sallies, designedly became more faint, and by this means inveigled the enemy nearer the place; for the English imagining that the French were afraid to fight, would disperse themselves through the whole burgh of Dunbar; and, alighting from their horses, would even enter the houses. Early one morning, the French posted most of their men in two houses, just opposite one another, and in the church at the entry to the town, on the enemy's road. They had also distributed soldiers, with arquebuses and the like offensive weapons, in other houses through the streets, and had given necessary directions for their behaviour whatever might happen. The English, as usual, made their appearance, and scattered themselves through the burgh, accompanied by Sir James Wilford, the governor of Haddington, with 50 or 60 arquebusiers on horseback, who were little more distant than the shot of an arquebuse from the castle. Captains Corroman, Desme, and Achault, broke forth from their lurking places, and surrounded the enemy from all quarters. The governor of Haddington attempted to escape by the sea-side; but 80 soldiers who guarded that pass, fired upon his cavalry, and prevented their advance; at the same moment Captains Achault and Desme fell upon their rear, and charging them from right to left, with the greatest fury, bare many to the ground; while the arquebusiers, who were stationed in the houses of the town, having made apertures in the walls, fired as securely and directly as if they had been firing at a butt or a target.

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

It was the first wish of General Dessé, when he heard that M. de-Etauges, his late companion in arms was taken prisoner, to

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

Dessé continued some time at Jedburgh, and made several successful inroads into the English borders. In one of these expeditions he took the castle of Cornhill, near Newark, an old house of considerable strength, where plenty of spoil was found, and large quantities of salted salmon to regale the half-famished soldiers. He also attacked the castle of Ford, which he was forced to abandon, after having burned the greater part of it.—Having

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

“The gods have feet of wool, but sinners' feet,  
When late, their powerful arms are made of steel.”—M. BEAGUE.

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

reduced other ten villages to ashes, the French found it prudent to return to Jedburgh, as a large body of English horsemen were advancing. The invaders were laden with booty to the value of 9000 crowns; but as the Scots had got possession of this treasure, they took care to monopolize it to themselves, and left their allies "alone in their glory."

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

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

To heighten these calamities, Dessé received information that 8000 English troops were on their march to Jedburgh. He was now environed with deep and rapid rivers on all sides; and the soldiers, both German and French, that belonged to the garrisons of Dundee, Leith, and Dunbar, were too far removed to render him any assistance. The English, however, in place of availing themselves of the opportunity they now had of annihilating their enemy, kept at a wary distance. The French had not now above 1500 foot and 500 horse in a fit condition for service. "Had they followed us on the rear," observes Beagné, "with 3000 of the troops that lay at Haddington, Douglas (Dunglas,) Eyemouth, and Lauder, to cut off our retreat, they had certainly effected something more than the burning our houses at Jedburgh."

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

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

In consequence of some unpopular measures, a great part of England was in open rebellion, upon which the active and gallant Lord Grey was sent to quell these disturbances, while the wardenship of the eastern marches, and the lieutenancy of the north, were committed to the Earl of Rutland. An armament was also sent by sea; and their first exploit was an attack upon the fortifications of the Bass, which is described with much naivete by the French journalist. As every description relating to the county must be interesting, (prolix though it may be,) which was written by an eyewitness upon the verge of 300 years ago, we shall quote his account of the expedition:—"The Protector of England caused 25 men-of-war to be again fitted out, and amongst these some of the King of England's barges, and some large Dutch hoyes, all admirably well furnished with ammunition and victuals. Their first attempt was upon the Island of Goose (Bass), so called from these big white birds, not unlike to wild geese, that nestle there in such numbers, as the Scots assure me, that the garrison of the castle of Bass, situated within the island, which consists of 100 or 120 soldiers, subsist for the most part by means of the fishes brought daily to them by these birds, and that they stand in need of no other firing the whole year long besides the



wood these same creatures bring thither for building of their nests in the beginning of summer. Now the island in which the castle stands, is itself an impregnable rock, of a small extent and oval figure, cut out by the hands of nature: it has only one avenue that leads to it, and that is towards the castle; but so very difficult and uneasy, that by reason of the hidden sands that surround the rock, nothing can approach it but one little boat at a time. The island is so exorbitantly uneven, that till one reach the wall of the castle, he cannot have sure footing in any one place, (so that, as I have often observed,) those that enter it must climb up by the help of a strong cable thrown down for the purpose; and when they have got by much ado to the foot of the wall, they sit down in a wide basket, and in this posture are mounted up by strength of hands. There is no getting in to this wonderful fortress by any other means: formerly it had a postern gate, which facilitated the entry, but it is now thrown down, and fortified in such a manner as is incredible.

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

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

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

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

The English fleet stood off for the island of May. This place is characterized as much larger than the “Island of Horses” (Inchkeith,) where there were fountains of sweet water, a sort of coal-stones, and good feeding for beasts. It was considered a convenient retreat and ambush for pirates. The object of the English was to proceed to Leith, which they cannonaded with little effect; but took several merchant vessels. During their abode in the Roads, a party made a descent during the night, and supplied Haddington with provisions and other necessaries. The English set about fortifying Inchkeith,\* while the French, who

\* Inchkeith in early times belonged to the noble family of Keith, the first of whom, named Robert, received it from Malcolm II., along with the barony of Keith in East Lothian, (parish of Humbie,) as a reward for killing with his own hand, Camus, a Danish chieftain, at the battle of Barry, in 1010. After the battle of Pinkey, the English fortified this island along with Haddington; and on being taken by Desse, a regular fortification, of great magnitude and expense, was erected. The properties of the grass of this island as a nutritious food for horses was observed: hence a great number

had no ships of any consequence, remained passive spectators till their fleet should depart.

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

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

of these animals was placed on it, and it acquired the name of *L'Isle des Chevaux*. Boswell, in his Tour to the Hebrides, states, that when Lord Hailes was crossing the Firth of Forth with Dr Johnson, he mentioned this fact, and observed that the island would be a *safer stable* than most others at that time. The herbage of the Island of Goose was in like manner celebrated—but for feeding sheep.

\* It was formerly in agitation to build a fortress at Aberlady. In the Talbot papers there is a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, dated Berwick, August 23d, 1547, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, ordering and recommending to fortify some place about the Paths, and particularly White Castle or Aberlady, to enable the English to keep Haddington, with which order Shrewsbury had not immediately complied. "I have much ado to get the victuallers out of the haven, (says Sadler); but I have made some of them believe they shall be hanged if they do not go out this tide. Have already made them draw to the haven's mouth, and I trust they shall be at Aberlady some time to-morrow. Those that were at Holy Island have already passed this morning towards Aberlady."

The ruins of White Castle were situated in the united parish of Garvald and Barra.

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

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

“Haddington being kept,” says John Knox, “and much her-ship done about in the country, (for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed by the French,) God begins to fight for Scotland; for, in the town, he sent a plague so contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain: hunger and plague within, and the pursuit of the enemy with a flying camp lay about them, and intercepted all victuals, (except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick,) so constrained them, that the council of England was compelled in the spring-time to call their forces from that place; and so spoiling and burning some part of the town, they left it to be occupied by such as first should take possession, as those were the Frenchmen, with a small number of the ancient inhabitants; and so did God perform the words and threatenings of Mr George Wishart,

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

\* Statistical Acct. by the Rev. Dr Neil Roy, minister of Aberlady.

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

who said: 'That for their contempt of God's messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire; with pestilence, strangers and famine;' all which they found in such perfection, that to this day yet, that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as then did inhabit it."

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

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

Scotland, although it might be "distracted by intrigue and overrun by hostility," could not be conquered. Amongst the active intriguers against their country during this agitated period were John Cockburn of Ormiston, and Alexander Crichton of Brunston, who were condemned by parliament as traitors, and forfeited;† but afterwards restored, without receiving much benefit from the salutary lesson.

The Earl of Rutland, determining that neither soldiers nor military stores should fall into the hands of the French, marched to

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

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

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

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

Scotland with 6000 men, amongst whom were a band of German mercenaries. Entering Haddington in the night, they totally demolished the fortifications of the place; and, without molestation from either the Scots or their allies, conveyed the garrison with all their artillery and stores to Berwick, on the 1st October, 1549.

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

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

The articles in this instrument relating to Scotland were, that the forts of Dunglas and Lauder, which the king of England had built, “should be delivered to the Scots, together with all the ordnance within them, except what had been brought from Haddington; and that this restitution should be made as soon as commodiously might be, before the second payment of 400,000 crowns, which the French had agreed to pay England for the restoration of Boulogne. On the delivering up of the above forts, the English garrisons were to retire unmolested with their baggage, along with the artillery brought into them from Haddington. It was further agreed, that if these forts ceased to be in possession of the king of England, he should be freed from the obligation of their restoration; and that in place of this restitution and recompense for it, he should be obliged within forty days from the date of the present treaty, to destroy and raze to the ground the towns and castles of Roxburgh and Eyemouth, while, on the other hand, the queen of Scotland for her

\* Parliamentary Record.

part, was to order the demolition of the castles of Dunclas and Lauder. The forts of Dunclas, Lauder, Roxburgh and Eyemouth, were accordingly destroyed; and the castles of Dunbar and Blackness, and the forts of Broughty and Inchkeith, for commanding the entrance into the principal rivers, were garrisoned by the French during the peace. In 1551, the fort of Aberlady, at Luffness, was included in this destructive mandate: it being decreed by the Queen-dowager and council, that in consideration of the great expense incurred by the King of France, in garrisoning the forts of Aberlady and Luffness, and their inutility in the time of peace, that they should be delivered up to Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, for the purpose of demolition; reserving the house and mansion to himself in heritage, on condition that he sent the ammunition and artillery to the castle of Dunbar at his own expense.

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

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

Near this chapel stands all that remains of the ancient house of Saltcoats, which is merely the east gable, somewhat of the form of an arch, supported by two stair-cases. The last tenant, Mrs Carmichael (alias Menzies,) died about fifty years ago. The principal part of the building having been removed for agricultural improvements twenty years ago, the stones were found so firmly cemented together, that they were compared to having been "seathed in steel." The old arms, cut in stone, which surmounted the principal door of the mansion, are now placed above the door of the gardener's house. There is a strange traditional story of the ancestor of the Livingstones of Saltcoats, destroying a boar, which infested that neighbourhood, for which he received an ample grant of land between Gullian point and North Berwick law. About the beginning of the last century the estate was acquired by John Hamilton of Pencaitland, who married Margaret Menzies, the heiress of Saltcoats.—See the poem of *Alan of Winton*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

“ Rejois, Henrie, most Christine king of Fraunce !  
Rejois all peopill of that regioun !

That with manheid, and be aue happy chance,  
Be thy Levetennent trew, of greit renown,  
The Duik of Gweis recoverit Calice towne.  
The quhilk hes bene twa hundreth yeirs begane,  
Into the hands of Inglis natioun ;  
Quha never thocht be force it might be tane.”

“ *Of the Wynnng of Calice,*” 1558.—SIR RICHARD MAITLAND.

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

THE Queen-dowager, from the gentleness of her manners, and the conciliatory measures she employed, had brought over several of the nobles of the reforming church party to her interest; and, in a parliament held in April 1554, she was chosen Regent of the kingdom in room of Arran, who was compelled or induced to resign. In the June of the following year she made a progress to the Borders, to hold justice courts for punishing malefactors, and to settle differences among contentious chieftains. The English court, agitated by the reckless deeds of their bigoted queen, viewed this progress with no small alarm. The reformed church in that country had suffered a severe loss in the death of Edward VI., who died in his sixteenth year. He was succeeded by his illegitimate sister Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Arragon: so that both countries were now under the dominion of women connected with France, both by manners and religious faith. The Lord Coniers, who had command of the opposite



marches, sent an account of the Queen-regent's motions to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Berwick, requesting his aid in case of a sudden attack. On the 28th July he writes: "The Scots queen departed from Jedworth the 13th instant, and came the same night into Kelsay, and the next day to Hume castle; and so along the borders into Langton, Haymouth, Dunbarr, and (H)Addington; and that she had travelled very earnestly to bring her subjects into amity and love one with another; and took of divers surnames pledges for the observing and keeping of good rules, as of the Carrs, the Scots, with divers others."\*

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

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

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

\* Keith's Appendix, 85.

† Sir Richard Maitland, the poet, who amused himself during the intervals of public business, in writing verses, at Lethington, inveighs sadly against these mauraders, the depredations of which he often felt to his cost:

"Thay thiefs have neirhand herreit hail  
Ettrick Forest and Lauderdall:  
Now are they gane  
In Lothiane; and spairis nane  
That they will wail."

‡ Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

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

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

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

She accompanied the army, which was commanded by the Earl of Arran, now Duke of Chatelherault, to the neighbourhood of Kelso, and took up her abode in Home castle; but here the troops, after crossing the Tweed, remained stationary. The nobles considering the quarrel as purely French, left them to

decide it themselves. D'Oysel, equally eager to gratify the queen-regent, and serve his own interests, marched upon the castle of Wark on his own accord, upon which the bulk of the nobility, indignant at these proceedings without the order of their general, dismissed the army, and the French commander was forced to withdraw, to the great chagrin of Mary. After he was thus forsaken by the Scots, D'Oysel returned to the fortress of Eyemouth, while other companies of foot, paid by the French king, and bodies of cavalry, were stationed at Kelso and Roxburgh, and other convenient places on the frontiers.

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

The wishes of the French were further gratified by the marriage of the young Queen of Scotland to Francis the Dauphin of France. Lord Seton was sent to France as one of the commissioners for the nuptials, which was consolidated in the cathedral church of Paris, in 1558. For this service he was rewarded by the king of France with certain silver vessels, and an yearly pension of xij<sup>s</sup>. franks, &c.\* This event turned out very unsatisfactory to Scotland; and was conducted by France with the most studied and elaborate deceit, the queen having been persuaded privately to sign three deeds, unjust and invalid, conferring the kingdom of Scotland upon the crown of France, falling heirs of

\* Hist. House of Seytoun.

her own body. Not content with this unjustifiable measure, the French court insisted that as the dauphin took the title of king of Scotland, the crown matrimonial should be conferred upon him, vesting in his own person the rights which belonged to his wife as a sovereign princess, which being seconded by the arts of the Queen-regent, was complied with by the Scottish parliament.

Such a joyous event as the marriage of a young and beautiful queen, could not fail to rouse the poetic energies of the country; accordingly amongst the first that awoke the harp of East Lothian in her praise, was the loyal and venerable knight of Lethington.\*

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

#### Epithalium.

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

BY SIR RICHARD MAITLAND.

##### I.

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

##### II.

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

##### III.

"All burrows-touns, ever ilk man you prayis,  
To make bainfires, fairseis,† and clerk-playis,‡  
And thro' your rewis§ carrels dancee, and sing:

\* *Lusty*, beautiful. † *Faroes*. ‡ *Mysteries*, acted by the clergy.

§ *Streets*.

Several great inroads continued to be made on the Borders by Sir Henry Percy, (brother to the Earl of Northumberland,) and Sir George Bowes, marshal of Berwick. With about 800 horse

And at your Cross gar wine rin sindrie ways,\*  
As was the custom in our elders' days,  
When that they made triumph for ony thing;  
And all your stairs with tapestrie gar hing;  
Castles, shoot guns; shippis and galayis,  
Blaw up your trumpets, and on your drums ding.

## IV.

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

## V.

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

## VI.

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

" *Quod R. M. of Ledingtoun, knyht.*"

\* In 1503, when Queen Margaret paid her first visit to Edinburgh, " In the mydds of the towne was a crosse new paynted, and ny to that same a fontayne, castynge forth of wyn, and ychon (each one) drank that wold.....The towne of Edenbourgh was in places haunged with tapisery.....And in the churches of the sayd towne bells rang for myrthe. After this done, ychon lept off his horse, and in sayr order went after the processyon to the church."—LELAND.

† Quires, or choir.

‡ Nuptial-gown refers to the practice of that age of men wearing short gowns or cloaks.—PINKERTON.

§ Haddington.

|| Companion.

and 2000 foot, they made an incursion into the Merse; and, burning Dunse and Langton, returned home with great booty of cattle. They were pursued by the Scots and some Frenchmen to the village of Swinton, where a desperate conflict ensued, in which the latter were defeated.

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

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

The small fortress of Edrington, situated near the boundaries of Berwick, which frequently drew forth attacks from the English, after a gallant resistance, was reduced. Its garrison consisted of 16 Frenchmen. Soon after a hot skirmish took place at Halidon-hill. Some bands of soldiers, from the garrison of Berwick, were stationed for the protection of the husbandmen employed in mowing and carrying in the hay of the fields. Several days having elapsed without the appearance of the enemy, the

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

party grew confident; and, throwing aside their armour, spent their time in sports. The garrison of French and Scots at Eyemouth having received intelligence of this remissness of conduct, surprised them with a sudden attack, which lasted for some hours, till Sir James Crofts, bringing up a party from Berwick, ended the contest, and obliged the assailants to retire. About the end of the same year, Lord Eure made an inroad towards Eyemouth, and burnt a mill, a kiln, and some houses in the neighbourhood, for which he received the thanks of the queen; but Leonard Dacres for a similar exploit was treated more coolly, as it was found by both parties that these wasting inroads only led to reprisals without effecting any definite purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

John Knox, who arrived from Geneva, on the 2nd May, 1559, was warmly espoused by a powerful "band," that assumed the name of "The Congregation." Perth was as yet in possession of a garrison, which Mary had placed there, to protect the Romish religion. The lords of the congregation imagined that, in consequence of a treaty, the French garrison which was kept in that town, should retire beyond the Forth, and leave it open to the control of its former magistrates and inhabitants. This article, however, was either indistinctly expressed, or studiously evaded; upon which Argyle and James Stuart, prior of St Andrews, (the natural son of James V.), sent a letter demanding the evacuation of the town of Perth. Charteris, the provost, and the garrison, declared their determination to hold it for the queen against all assailants, while the reformers being joined by the Earl of Monteith and Campbell of Glenurchart, immediately de-

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



cided on hostilities. Huntly and other ambassadors, from the Queen-regent, were not even listened to; but the garrison, on capitulating, when they saw the inutility of resistance, were allowed to depart with the honours of war. Ruthven and the former magistrates were restored to the government of the town, while the troops of the Congregation entering, assisted by the mob, which they could not repress, proceeded to destroy whatever they considered monuments of idolatry which had formerly been spared. Next day the rich abbey of Scone fell a sacrifice to the townsmen of Dundee. Knox, however, was not to blame for these excesses; they were in most cases the work of the indiscriminating multitude, who in general take part with the weaker or popular party whether they be right or wrong. It being understood that the Queen-regent intended to place a garrison of French in Stirling, means were immediately adopted to prevent it. Early in the morning the destruction of the monasteries had commenced,—the altars and images of superstition were cast down,—and the fine abbey of Cambuskenneth laid in ruins. On the fourth day the reformers proceeded by way of Linlithgow to Edinburgh, carrying the hammer of demolition in their train. This body which did not exceed 300 men, so terrified the Queen-regent and her guards, that with all precipitation she fled for safety to the castle of Dunbar. The Lord Seton, who was provost of Edinburgh, abandoned his charge, and left the destruction of its monastic establishments to the mob. In short, the popular fervour had now arrived at such a height, that it was as easy for Canute to have driven back the ocean waves, that mocked his rebuke, as to have arrested its progress. The Queen-regent now saw the necessity of a compromise; and, issuing a proclamation, proposed calling a parliament in the following January to arrange differences, while, during the interval, all were allowed to indulge their own consciences in religious opinions, which was a great concession gained in persecuting times. In this proclamation, however, the “congregation” were blamed as particularly obnoxious,—“they were in the practice of bringing English spies into their houses; and had violently entered the palace of Holyrood, and seized the printing-irons of the mint-house.” According to Knox, “the Queen by corrupting or issuing base money, made to herself immoderate gains, whereby she might

maintain the soldiery, wherefore it was found necessary, that the printing-irons, and all things pertaining thereto, should be staid, lest she should privily transport them to Dunbar.”\*

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

The court of England aware that it was for their interest to support the Antigalican party in Scotland, immediately sent supplies to Sir James Crofts, governor of Berwick, and dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler with powers to act in concert along with him. These two officers began with furnishing sums of money to the leaders of the reformers, to pay some mercenary soldiers whom they were obliged to employ in their service. Mr Henry Balnaves was sent to receive one of these payments, and conveyed it

\* Knox's Hist. Calderwood observes: “The clipped and *rounged soulaces*,” (i. e. the *rounged sous*, a species of small money,) “which had not passed these three years by-rose in France, were commanded by her to have free course within this realme.”—CALDERWOOD'S Hist.

† Knox's Hist.

safely to his friends ; while Cockburn, the Laird of Ormiston, who was charged with the conveyance of the second, amounting to 4000 crowns (of the sun),\* was not so fortunate. He was waylaid by the Earl of Bothwell, who came upon him unexpectedly and unarmed near Haddington ; and, after wounding him in the head, carried off the money, Sadler mentions, that the Earls of Arran and Moray immediately went with 200 horse and 100 footmen, with two pieces of artillery, to the Earl of Bothwell's house in Haddington, where he occasionally resided ; but were a quarter of an hour too late. Having notice that the troopers were entering the West Port in pursuit of him, he fled down the Gowl Close to the Tyne ; and, keeping along the bed of the river, stole into the house of Cockburn of Sandybed by a back door ; and, changing clothes with the turnspit, performed her duty for some days till he found an opportunity to escape. As a mark of gratitude for this timeous shelter, Bothwell gave Cockburn and his heirs a perpetual ground-annual of four bolls of wheat, four bolls of barley, and four bolls of oats, out of his lands of Mainshill in the county of Haddington.†

The council of the Protestant lords suspended the Queen-regent from the exercise of her office ; but were unable to reduce Leith. Disappointed of the supply of money which they expected from England through the Laird of Ormiston, they could no longer keep their forces together, but were obliged to retire from Edinburgh to Stirling. A powerful and effectual aid from England was absolutely necessary ; and to solicit this boon the Protestant lords, whose spirits the energetic oratory of Knox had revived, sent William Maitland of Lethington, (son of Sir Richard,) a man of great abilities, who had lately come over to their interest. Maitland, with Barnavie (Thomas Randall), his associate, having found means to reach Holy Island, were received the night after their landing into the castle of Berwick by Sir James Crofts. After remaining a day in conference with Crofts and Sadler, they were before daylight conveyed out of the castle,

\* L.1000 sterling.—RIDPATH.

† This ground-annual continued to be paid to the heirs of Cockburn, till about 1760, when George Cockburn of Sandybed, who, succeeding to the estate of Gleneagles, took the name of Haldane, sold it and his property of Sandybed, to John Buchan, Esq. of Letham, who soon after sold and discharged this ground-annual to Francis, Earl of Wemyss, then proprietor of Mainshill.—SIR G. BUCHAN HERBURN of Smcaton.

and proceeded on their journey to the English court, where they met with a highly favourable reception; and in less than a month Barnavie, or according to other Scottish writers, Robert Melville, returned to Stirling, with assurances of effectual support from England, on such conditions as should be agreed to by commissioners from Elizabeth and the Protestant party in Scotland. To carry these engagements into effect, the Duke of Norfolk about the end of the year came to Newcastle, invested with the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom north of the Trent. In his commission were expressed the apprehensions Elizabeth entertained from the great forces the French had transported into Scotland, and in particular her jealousy with regard to the safety of her town of Berwick. The queen sent, at the same time, commissions to the gentlemen of the northern counties to raise forces of horse and foot under the pretext of opposing the dangerous attempts of the French, and to bring them to the Duke of Newcastle, while a fleet of fourteen ships of war, with seventeen transports, laden with provisions and military stores, commanded by Admiral Winter, proceeded to Berwick, where taking on board a body of harquebutters (men skilled in the use of the arquebuse and pike,) he sailed into the Firth of Forth, and under pretence that it was unsafe for his great ships to lie off Berwick during the present stormy season, sailed into the roads of Leith. The French firing upon him from Inchkeith, Burntisland, and Leith, gave him an opportunity of throwing aside any scruples he had in renewing hostilities; upon which he fell upon some French ships, lying on the Fife coast, and took three of them, amongst which he found artillery, ammunition, and tools necessary for fortifications. The arrival of this fleet happened most opportunely for stopping the progress of a body of French who were on their way to take St Andrews, who immediately returned by way of Stirling to Leith.

A meeting was held at Berwick between the Duke of Norfolk and delegates from the Scottish reformers. Four of the latter were brought from Fife in a ship of Winter's squadron. These persons were the Lord James Stuart, prior of St Andrews; Patrick, Lord Ruthven; John Wishart of Pittarow; and Mr Henry Balnaves of Hallhill. Maitland younger of Lethington, and Sir John Maxwell of Terregles came by land. With these dele-

gates the Duke of Norfolk concluded a treaty, which, with some slight alterations, was ratified by the queen of England. The chief object of this treaty was the preservation and defence of the true Protestant religion, and the ancient rights and liberties of Scotland, against the attempts of France to destroy them and to make a conquest of that kingdom.\*

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

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

The day following, being Saturday, Sir James Crofts and Sir George Howard left Berwick with the lancers and light horsemen. The whole army advanced this day as far as Dunglas, where the foot encamped, the cavalry being cantoned in the adjacent villages. The next day's march brought them to Lintonbrigs and Haddington. As they passed by the castle of Dunbar, some of the garrison sallied forth, and skirmished; but as they kept near the walls, only a few lives were lost in the rencounter. On the day following, the first of April, the English army arrived at Prestonpans, where the chief commanders had an interview

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

† Ridpath's Border Hist.

with the leaders of the Scottish allies. The Queen-regent remaining obstinate, would bow to no terms, and refused to dismiss the French troops from her service, except with the consent of her daughter and that of the French king. The English, incensed, advanced upon Leith, where a fierce and long skirmish ensued, in which young Percy (son of Sir Henry,) particularly distinguished himself. The French, under Martigues, shewed the most resolute spirit in sustaining the siege for three months, with very little prospect of relief, although they were reduced to the greatest extremities for want of necessaries. The garrison consisted of about 3000 men, French and Scots, and was excellently officered by the former, who were the soul of every enterprise.

Meanwhile the Duke of Norfolk remained at Berwick, from whence he sent considerable reinforcements to the besieging army. Endeavours had been used by the Duke and Sir Ralph Sadler, to gain the Homes and the Kers, who had the chief power on the eastern Scottish marches, to their assistance in expelling the French; but these chieftains would come to no engagement on which the duke could depend. He, therefore, raised 600 light horsemen; 400 in Yorkshire, to carry curriars or arquebuses, and 200 in the marches. These, together with the garrison of Berwick, were considered a sufficient defence against the Scottish marches. About the time the English army entered Scotland, Lord Home having come to the borders from Edinburgh, a report was spread, that he, with his friends, would raise fire in England; "but we have provided," says the duke, "such sauce for him, that I think he will not deal in such matters; but if he do fire one haygoff, he shall not go to home again without torchlight; and, peradventure, may find a lanthorn at his own house."\* Norfolk, suspecting that the Borderers designed to intercept the money he forwarded to the army at Leith, and from the weight of specie and of carts, about the end of April, sent Valentine Brown with it by sea. Soon after Lord Home joined the Protestant lords with 300 horse; but a doubt existed which interest he ultimately intended to support. In a hasty and ill-conducted attack to scale and storm the towu of Leith, the English sustained a repulse, the failure of which was attached to Sir James

\* Haynes, 275,

Crofts, who did not make the assault at the part of the wall assigned to him. Norfolk, (in a letter to Cecil,) calls Crofts the Bell-wether of all his mischief; and got him superseded in the command of Berwick, which was conferred on Lord Grey. The last succours sent from Berwick to Leith, were two bodies of 300 men each, who setting out on the 8th, arrived in the camp on the 10th June. The same day the Queen-regent of Scotland, worn out with grief and vexation at the wavering interests of her party, died, in the castle of Edinburgh, little regretted but by those in her immediate interest. The organs of a bigoted party were, however, inclined to ascribe her demise to the immediate judgment of providence for her cruel and contumacious conduct.\* But previous to her death, according to more liberal writers, she had an interview with the Prior of St Andrews, the Earl of Argyle, and other chiefs of the Congregation, to whom she lamented the violence of her councils,—the errors of her administration,—and begged the forgiveness of those whom she had injured.

After the death of the Queen-regent, Monsieur Randan and the Bishop of Vallance were sent, on the part of France, to negotiate a peace with Sir William Cecil and Doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury, the plenipotentiaries of Elizabeth. So many conflicting interests were to appease, and differences to settle, that

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

The garrison of Leith was in such a miserable condition, that horseflesh sold at a considerable price.

this negotiation was protracted for three weeks. By this treaty it was agreed that the fortifications of Leith should be demolished,—after which the French forces in Leith were to be embarked on board English ships, which were to carry them to France;—that the fortress of Eyemouth should be razed;—that Francis and Mary should no longer assume the arms and title belonging to Elizabeth; and that their clemency should be extended to the nobility and commons of Scotland, by granting them certain immunities, tending to the honour of the sovereigns and the general tranquillity of the kingdom:—a third instrument ratified the articles demanded by the Congregation for the security of their civil and religious liberties;—and in this instrument an arrangement for the removal of the French troops was distinctly settled. Of the latter somewhat more than 4000 remained, to be transported to France with their armour and baggage;\* and of these only 120 men were to be left to garrison the castle of Dunbar and the fort of Inchkeith, in equal divisions of 60 in each, merely to preserve the forts, and to be in no wise dangerous or oppressive to the country. It was provided, “That to prevent the garrison from taking things upon loan, that they should receive their wages regularly each month;—that it should be lawful for two Scottish gentlemen to be present at their musters to inspect the forts and to see that no men were admitted but the stipulated number; and that the soldiers belonging to the garrison of Dunbar should take no victuals without paying ready money for them, or at least without the good will of those to whom they belonged; and that the nobility should be obliged to furnish them with what provisions they stood in need of upon these conditions. Certain new works, erected at Dunbar, since the beginning of the late disputes were to be demolished without delay, and no fortifications henceforth to be erected or repaired without the consent of the states.†

On the 16th July 1560, the French allies embarked in English vessels, to the great satisfaction of the Scots people, who had been molested by them for more than fourteen years; and thus the Popish party of the Gaisians was forever broken. The English on their return through East Lothian, took care to see that the outworks, built by the French at Dunbar castle, should be demolished. As a mark of respect, the army was accompanied by

\* Haynes' Col. Letters.

† Keith's Hist.



several of the Scottish nobles, the Prior of St Andrews, and Maitland of Lethington to Berwick; from whence the crafty secretary wrote a polite and obsequious epistle to the Lady Cecil wife of the English minister: while Arran and Lord James Stuart, paid also great court to this lady for political purposes.

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

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## CHAPTER IX.

" Born all too high—by wedlock raised  
 Still higher—to be cast thus low!  
 Would that mine eyes had never gazed  
 On aught of more ambitious show  
 Than the sweet flowerets of the fields!  
 —It is my royal state that yields  
 This bitterness of woe.

Unblest distinction! showered on me  
 To bind a lingering life in chains:  
 All that could quit my grasp, or flee,  
 Is gone;—but not the subtle stains  
 Fixed in the spirit."—*Wordsworth's Lament of Queen Mary.*

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

ON the death of her husband, Francis II., on the 4th December, 1561, Mary found her residence at the court of France no longer desirable; and, on the solicitation of her subjects, prepared to embark for Scotland. In consequence of that petty jealousy which seemed destined to exist between the rival queens, Elizabeth denied her a safe-conduct; but notwithstanding the

rather ungenerous denial of this favour, Mary trusted herself to the waters, and arrived at Leith after an absence of thirteen years, amidst the acclamations of a joyful people, who were glad to forget the past under the promises of the future.

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

The disorders of the borders, which had slumbered for a short time, broke out afresh; and Mary exerted unusual vigour in suppressing them. For this purpose James Stuart, Earl of Moray, was appointed her lieutenant and justiciary, and empowered to hold courts at Jedburgh for the trial of the offenders. The banditti at that time were so perfectly organised and daring, that they resembled the robber chiefs of the Italian states. To subdue these, the nobles, freeholders, and fighting men of the eleven nearest counties; viz. Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife, were appointed to meet the Queen's lieutenant at Lauder, on the 18th November, to pass with him to Jedburgh, where a justice-court was to be held on the 15th. From whence the Earl of Moray making a private journey to Hawick, apprehended 50 thieves on the fair-day. Of these seventeen were drowned, others executed at Jedburgh with "Jethart justice," which implies first hanging and then judging a criminal, while the principal leaders were executed at the burrow-muir of Edinburgh. During this expedition a meeting was held at Kelso with Lord Grey and Sir John Forster to make arrangements for the peace of the Borders, which was of short continuance.

In the summer of 1562, Secretary Maitland was sent to the English court, to arrange the form of an interview between Mary and Elizabeth at York, which the jealousies of the French and

the Protestant party afterwards delayed: the Queen of England having embarked in the support of the Huguenots in France, on the same liberal principles of prudence which induced her to espouse the Protestant cause in Scotland.

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

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

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

“ Quhat causes theifs us our-gang,  
But want of justice us amang?  
Nane takis care,  
Though all forfair\*: nae man will spare  
Now to do wrang.

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

For the purpose of restoring order and subduing these unprincipled disorders, commissioners from the two queens met at Carlisle, and afterwards at Dumfries. It was agreed, that an indemnity should be granted for the past; but that future transgressions should be visited with the severest justice. With this view it was ordained that redress should be made by the officers of each realm, within their respective districts, for all murders, slaughters, and offences, formerly committed, and contained in rolls now subscribed by the commissioners; but after the pre-

\* To waste.

sent date, that offenders should be punished agreeable to the laws formerly in force, with the greatest rigour;—that the speedy dispensation of justice should be promoted by the warden's "spearing, fying, and delivering," upon his honour,—with the assistance of six honest and respectable men of his district, nominated by the opposite warden;—but with a proviso, that it was not meant to abolish the ancient laws and customs of the marches, which allowed the *hot-trod*\* for recovery of stolen goods, or the trial of an assize, should that method be preferred by the plaintiff. It having been found, that since the order was introduced of the wardens making inquests upon their honour, that several wicked men had presented bills of complaint wholly groundless, and thereby mocked the dignity of justice in leading the warden to make search for crimes that had never existed, it was resolved that the presenters of such false bills should be delivered over to the opposite warden, to be punished, imprisoned, and fined, as the party offended might think proper;—that should any fugitives escape to the opposite march, that they should be delivered up;—and that the pursuit of the *hot-trod* should be allowed over the respective marches for parties in pursuit of them. Another article was introduced to guard against a perjury which had been often practised in the valuation to be recovered for stolen cattle, and to terrify thieves by these penalties being established.† It was also ordained, that thieves convicted successively of three offences, besides the payment of these penalties, should suffer capital punishment. There were also instances of subjects of the one kingdom sowing corn within the grounds of the other; to prevent such encroachments it was agreed, that the owner of the ground or the warden might destroy such crops; or that he might complain to the opposite warden, and, on the intruder being convicted, that he should forfeit such corn to the plaintiff, pay a fine of four times its value, and suffer an imprisonment of three months. Arrangements were also made for making an amicable division of certain grounds lying on the frontiers, called "debate-

\* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

† Every ox, above four years old, was valued at 40s. sterling: each cow, of the same age, 30s.; every ox, above two years, 20s.; a young cow of the like age, the same; every other beast under two years, 10s.; every old sheep, 6s.; every sheep-hog, 3s.; every swine, above one year old, 6s.: every goat, above one year, 5s.; every young gayte, 2s.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that *lean* cattle are now (1842) six times the value.

able lands," and of removing in future these objects of continual strife.

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

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

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

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

† Camden.

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

"He won the pryse above them all,  
Bothe at the butts and the fute ball.—LINDSAY'S *Squire Meldrum*.

In his *Parliament of Correctione*, Lindsay enumerates them among the vices of the parson:

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

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

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

Mary at last formed the resolution of espousing her cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. The latter had resided in England ever since he had abandoned

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

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

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

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

“Brisit brawnis, and brokin banis;  
 Stryf, discorde, and waistie wanis (dwellings),  
 Cruikit in eld, syn halt withull,  
 This ar the bewteis of the fute-ball.”

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

his own country; and, as the price of his allegiance and services had received in marriage the Lady Margaret Douglas, (the niece of Henry VIII.) by whom Darnley was his son. Darnley being a native of England, and the eldest male descendant of the daughter of Henry VII., he was presumptive heir to the crown of England; a matter that induced Mary to form her choice.— But the ancient enemies of the house of Lennox, especially the Hamiltons, were averse to a match which would restore that house to their ancient dignities and possessions; and Moray and Maitland, who, ever since the Queen's return from France, had governed all public affairs, felt a jealousy of being superseded by a beloved husband. These fears were promoted by the insolence and folly that soon appeared in Darnley's proceedings. The Queen of England encouraged these domestic discontents; declared openly against this new alliance; and imprisoned Lady Lennox in the tower. This rash behaviour increased the desire of Queen Mary's friends, both in England and France, to carry the measure into effect. Moray had forsaken the court, and joined himself with the Duke of Chatelherault and some other lords, under the pretence that the present match endangered the security of their religious freedom; and as they were about assembling their partisans and vassals to hinder the marriage by force, Mary found this a convenient plea for summoning her subjects to attend her in arms, to assist her in the consummation of the important ceremony. The chieftains of the marches, particularly Lord Home, and the Lairds of Cessford and Fernihurst, were forward to serve her at this eventful crisis. Lord Home was in hopes of being created Earl of March; and Randolph, in a letter to Elizabeth, advises his mistress "to find Home business at *home!*" by hiring some of the strapand Elliots to oblige him to keep at home to look after his corn and cattle." But the men of Liddesdale were at that time wholly in the interests of England, and could not by all Bothwell's promises be induced to give their aid to the queen. Lord Gordon,\* who was confined at Dunbar, was also liberated, and while every means was used to strengthen her party, Moray was declared an outlaw. The marriage of the Queen was, however, allowed to proceed without interruption;

\* This nobleman narrowly escaped losing his head, by means of a paper presented amongst others to Mary, which she signed without looking at it, containing a warrant for his immediate execution. His keeper, at Dunbar, refused to obey this mandate till he saw the Queen, who countermanded the order.

and she issued proclamations conferring the title of King of Scots upon Darnley, and commanded henceforth that all writs at law should run in the joint names of the king and queen.

The domestic quiet of the Queen was of short duration; for she was frequently engaged in quarrels with her consort. Lord Darnley was a man of loose principles; and soon treated her with marked neglect, while an ill-judged attachment, which she formed for Rizzio, an Italian musician, drew on her the most unhappy consequences. This excited the indignation of Darnley, who placed himself at the head of a plot for destroying the luckless minion. It was agreed that the Earl of Morton, with 160 men, should seize the gates of the palace, and that Darnley, accompanied by Lord Ruthven, Douglas, and his associates, should seize Rizzio in the Queen's presence. Morton having secretly secured the entrances, while her Majesty was at supper with the Countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few domestics, Darnley suddenly entered the apartment by a private passage, followed by the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven in complete armour, with Maitland of Lethington, and other accomplices. This unusual appearance created alarm, and the poor victim, in the utmost consternation, retired behind his royal mistress. Ruthven, who had for some time been so much emaciated by disease, that he could scarcely bear the weight of his armour, with his helmet on his head, seemed to be the moving picture of death; and with a voice, dreadfully hollow, after reproaching Rizzio for the bad offices he had done the king (Darnley,) by withholding from him the matrimonial crown, drew his dagger, and wresting him from the Queen, to whom he clung, forced him into the antichamber, where the wretched minion fell pierced with fifty-six wounds.— Thus fell Rizzio, whose real crime was that of being a foreigner, and because he was imprudently intrusted by his mistress in affairs which she could commit to no other secretary, while his presumption and insolence had rendered him obnoxious to the nobility. That there was any criminal intercourse between this unfortunate minion and the Queen, was as improbable as it was malicious to suppose; for while Darnley was distinguished by the graces of his person, the figure of Rizzio was described by Buchanan, as so ugly and awkward, that no dress could make him look like a gentleman; yet the same pedant, who wrote an elegant



Latin epithalamium on the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and was afterwards preceptor to her son, drew such an inference. This deed happened on the 9th March, 1566. The confusion consequent on this murder, prevented the meeting of parliament, which was to sit next day. Mary, in order to gain over the conspirators to her interest, received Moray into favour, seduced Darnley by her blandishments to abandon his party, and thereby gained an opportunity of making her escape to the castle of Dunbar, where she might remain in safety till the storm had blown over.

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

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

DUNBAR, 16. Marcij, 1565-6.

*Sederunt Georgius, Comes de HUNTLIE; Jacobus, Comes de BOTHWELL; Joannes, Comes de ATHOLL; Wilielmus, Comes de MARISCHAL; David, Comes de CRAWFURD; Gilbertus, Comes de CASSILLS; Georgius, Comes de CAITHNESS;*

#### PROCLAMATIOUN TO MEIT AT HADINGTOUN.

“ THE King and Quenis' Majesties understanding that be vertew of thair Majesties' letteris and proclamations direct of befoir, under thair Majesties subscriptionis, the inhabitants of the Sheriffdomes of Edinburghe principall, within the Constabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Strivling, Lanark, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peiblis, Berwick, Lawder, and uthers specifiet in the saidis proclamationis, wer warnit to convey and meit thair Hienesses at Hadingtoun and Musselburghe respective, the 16th, 17th, and 18th dayis of March instant, with viii. dayis provisioun and vic-

tualis effir their cuning, as in the saidis former proclamacionis past thairupon at mair lenth is contenit: And thair Majesties, God willing, being of purposis to be at Hadingtoun this nixt Sunday, the 17th day of March instant, ordainis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armes to pas to the Mercat-Croces of the said burgh of Hadingtoun, and utheris places neidfull, and thair be opin proclamatioun in thar Majesties' name and authoritie command and charge all, &c., as aforesaid. And to attend and pas furthwart with thair Majesties towart thair Hienneses burgh of Edinburgh, or uther place, as thair salbe commandit, conforme to the saidis former proclamacionis past thairupon of befoir, under the pane of tynsall of lyff, landis, and gudis."\*

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

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

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

This discord, which agitated the nation, had not subsided, when James VI. was born in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 19th June: Sir James Melville of Hallhill, was dispatched with the joyful news to Queen Elizabeth. Since the late assassination Mary had formed

\* Acts of Privy Council.—Kerr's *Appendix*, 180.

† The Douglases were also involved in the murder of Darnley. † Guthrie, vol. vi.

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

\* Melville says, that Bothwell and Huntly concerted the slaughter of the Earl of Norway at Jedburgh; but Lord Home came with a great force and prevented him.

† A singular accident occurred to the Queen while in conversation with Forester.—"In the mean time while the warden was speaking with her majesty on horseback, his courser did rise up with his foremost legs, to take the Queen's horse by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her majesty's thigh very ill. Incontinent, the warden lighted off his horse, and sat down upon his knees, craving her majesty's pardon, for then all England did much reverence her? Her majesty made him to rise, and said that she was not hurt; yet it compelled her majesty to tarry two days at the castle of Hoomc. until she recovered again."—MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*.

When Mary arrived at Dunbar, she received some dispatches from England, which gave her so much satisfaction, that she wrote a most polite letter to the privy-council, thanking Elizabeth for all her good offices ; and mentioned, that " as a mark of her sincerity, she had, when she thought she could not live above twelve hours, left her son to her majesty's special care and protection. She mildly, at the same time, put them in mind of the succession ; but added, that she had no intention to press her good sister on that head, further than should come of her own pleasure." At this time the commons of England, and the nation in general, were divided in their sentiments as to the right of succession in the houses of Stuart and Grey. It was understood that Elizabeth favoured the former.

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

\* This treasonable plot is conjectured to have been planned in the ancient fortalice of Whittingham: the person here alluded to, being Mr Archibald Douglas, brother to the Laird of Whittingham, who acknowledged to the Earl of Morton, that he was actually concerned in the murder of Darnley.—*Harleian MSS.* and *Crawford's Memoirs*, quoted by Guthrie, who took the trouble to compare them. According to the MS. the Queen was only *suspected* of the deed, while the printed copy makes Morton say, that she was " the doer thereof," a most material difference in Mary's favour. Morton acknowledged to the two clergymen who attended him on the scaffold, (Mr John Durie

been so active in Rizzio's death, to persuade the earl to the murder; but he still insisted on the warrant, Bothwell made another attempt to engage Morton when every thing was prepared for the horrid crime, but without effect. While these treasonable designs were going on, Mary appeared to be dividing her time between the affairs of state, attendance on her son, and on the sick-bed of her husband.

and Mr Walter Balquhannel,) that he was informed again and again of Bothwell's attempt to murder the king, yet he durst not reveal it! a weak excuse for a brave man.

Mr David Moyses, who was for many years an officer in the household of James VI., in his "Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland," gives the following account of the apprehension of the Earl of Morton, in which Mr Archibald Douglas, Morham, was implicated:

"Upon the last day of December, betwixt four and five o'clock at night, Captain James Stewart, son to the Lord Ochiltree, openly in presence of his majesty and council, at the council-table in Holyrood-house, challenged and accused James, Earl of Morton, of art and part of the horrible murder of his Majesty's father, affirming that Mr Archibald Douglas, *cousin* to the said earl, was actually at the deed doing, by command and direction of the said earl.

"That same night, the said Earl was charged to confine himself within his lodging in the Abbey of Holyrood-house, under the pain of treason; and upon Monday the 2nd of January, he was removed and committed to ward within the castle of Edinburgh, where it was ordained, that no person should have access to, nor intercourse with him, but the four persons he had to serve him.

"The said Mr Archibald Douglas being sought for that night at his dwelling in Morham,\* in order to have given him in charge to keep ward: he having notice of the matter, fled to England.

"Upon the 18th of January, the said Earl of Morton was transported from the castle of Edinburgh to the castle of Dumbarton, being conveyed thither by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Seaton, and Lord Robert Stewart, feuar of Orkney, and their household, &c.

"Upon the said 18th of January, Mr Randolph came ambassador from the Queen's majesty of England; and, the day after his coming, had an audience of his Majesty, and presented his letters of credit.

"The ambassador's demands were (amongst others) that the Earl of Morton should be put to trial for the crime whereof he was accused. He desired likewise, that Mr Archibald Douglas might have liberty to come to Scotland to be tried by an *assise*, for the crime for which he was delated, without putting him to torture, &c.

"After the above propositions, the said ambassador threatened war, in case his Majesty fulfilled not the contents of his foresaid petitions.

The answers to the ambassador's petitions were these:

"Touching the Earl of Morton, it was answered, 'that he cannot be put to a trial, until such time as Mr Archibald Douglas's trial first proceed, by reason he was an actual committer of the murder, and sent for that purpose by the Earl of Morton.

"As to the said Mr Archibald's trial without *torture*, answered: 'It cannot consist with his Majesty's honour to enter into conditions with his own subject; especially in the form of the trial of one charged with so horrible a kind of murder, which cannot be tried but by torture.

"Upon the 6th of April 1631, the King's Majesty passed at this time to Seaton, where

\* The history of Morham at this time belonged to the Earl of Bothwell. It originally appertained to the Hays of Lathewart, ancestors of the Marquis of Tweeddale; next to Sir David Dalrymple, Queen Ann's advocate; and now chiefly to the Earl of Wemyss.

On the 9th February, her majesty appeared uncommonly kind to the invalid; but took leave of him at midnight, for the weak purpose of attending the marriage of Sebastian, a facetious musician. Meanwhile, Bothwell, to make sure of his victim, came upon Darnley in his sleep, and after strangling him, removed the body into an orchard, when, to avoid suspicion, the house was immediately blown up by gunpowder, which had been brought from the castle of Dunbar.\* Bothwell was instantly accused of

having remained four or five days, he went thence to Dalkeith, and remained there other three or four days; when it was devised and agreed, that the Earl of Morton should be transported from Dumbarton to the castle of Edinburgh, and put to trial for the treasonable and horrible murder of Henry king of Scotland, our sovereign lord's father. &c."—*Morze's Memoirs*. The ultimate fate of Morton is detailed in Chap. XI.

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

—— “ Blood will have blood:  
Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak;  
Augurs, and understood relations, have  
By maggot pies, and choughs, and rooks, brought forth  
The secret'st man of blood,”—

Even the darkest and closest recess of the most secret chamber of the castle, was considered to afford but an imperfect secrecy to the plotters of the treason, and a yew tree is pointed out, which was considered a fitter scene for the contrivance of their plot, under whose gloomy branches they held their meetings, and with horrid obligations bound themselves to the unhallowed deed. This solitary tree stands in the south-east angle of the outer court-yard, and is of great size and magnificence, deriving a wild interest from its connection with the tragical event. A part of the ruins of the fortalice still remains, which, with the external walls, indicates its original extent and impregnable strength. Stanypeth Tower, (which we noticed p. 53.) also belonged to the family of Douglas. In 1414 it was occupied by James Douglas of Robertson.

The manor of Whittingham belonged originally to the Earls of Dunbar and March, where they held their baronial courts. Lying in the bosom of their East Lothian estates it was well suited for this purpose, while its secluded situation secured it from the ravages of an invading army, and hence it is seldom noticed in history. In 1372, George, Earl of Dunbar and March, gave, on the marriage of his sister Agnes, † to James Douglas, Lord Dalkeith, the manor of “ Qubittingeam ” in East Lothian and the lands of Mordington in Berwickshire. From Sir William Douglas, grandson of Lord Dalkeith, descended the Douglasses of Whittingham,—the last of the direct male line of whom was Archibald Douglas, who died in 1630.\*

In October 1564, Queen Mary granted to James, Earl of Morton, who represented the Douglasses of Dalkeith, &c. the barony of Whittingham, the castle, mills, and advowson of the church. This estate being forfeited in 1581, was restored by James VI. to the

† Daughter of “ Black Agnes,” the heroic defender of Dunbar castle in the reign of Edward III. Her sister Elizabeth was married to John Maitland of Lethington, ancestor of the Earls of Lauderdale.

\* Douglas' Peer.

this atrocious murder by Lennox, the father of Darnley; and on the 28th March 1567, the Privy Council directed that the "enormous subject" and his associates, should appear before the tribunal of their country. The same faction, however, which goaded the ambition of Bothwell interposed, and by means of intrigue and influence obtained his acquittal.\* That he was the contriver of the plot was afterwards confirmed by his own confessions when a prisoner in Denmark.†

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

A few days after Bothwell's acquittal, as a striking mark of the Queen's infatuated disregard of public opinion, he was permitted to carry the sword of state in the procession to parliament; and, as a prelude to higher favours, besides the ratification of his other lands and offices, her Majesty infested him and his heirs male in the captaincy of Dunbar, the crown lands of East and West Barns; the lands of Newtonlees, Waldane, Rig and Fluris, Myreside; with the mills of Brand's-smyth, Westbarns, with their

family of Morton. Early in the seventeenth century, Viscount Seton of Kingston, married the heiress and daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas, by whom he acquired the estate. By another heiress, Elizabeth Seton, it passed to the Hon. William Hay of Drummezier, second son of the first Earl of Tweeddale. From the esteemed and amiable family of the Hays, it was purchased along with the lands of Pappie and Stanypeth, in the year 1817, by James Balfour, Esq., (late M.P. for the county of Haddington,) second son of John Balfour, Esq. of Balbirnie. A magnificent mansion-house was built in 1818, on a precipitous bank on the south side of Whittingham water—Mr Smirke, London, architect,—which was further enlarged and decorated in 1827, William Burn, Esq., Edinburgh, architect; Mr James Dorward, Haddington, builder. The front is of Grecian architecture, and commands a delightful view of the Firth of Forth and the romantic Bass. The house is surrounded by beautiful plantations, laid out by Mr Gilpin, the celebrated English arborist, interspersed with winding walks, planned with so much skill and taste, that here the visitor may find "health in the breeze, and shelter in the storm."

\* Maitland's Hist. Scot.—Anderson's Collect.—Chalmers' Cal. II. † Keith's Hist.

‡ Bannatyne's Cont. Knox.—Crawford's Memoirs,

§ The manor of Bolton thus forfeited, was given to Secretary Maitland, who had contrived to get clear of the plot. It was afterwards purchased from the Earl of Lauderdale, by Thomas Livingstone, Viscount Teviot, and latterly by the beautiful Duchess of Lennox, who gave it as a gift to her grandfather, the first Lord Blantyre.

lands, and L.10 of annualrent from the lands of Lochend, &c.\*— A more extraordinary scene occurred next day; for Bothwell having invited the principal nobility to supper, surrounded the house with an armed force, and compelled them to sign a bond, signifying their approval of his marrying the Queen.

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

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

The Earl of Huntly, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville, were taken with the Queen, while the rest of her servants were allowed to depart. Melville informs us, that next day, when in Dunbar, he obtained permission to go home. "There," continues he, "the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the Queen who would, or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not;" while Captain Blackader, who had taken him, alleged that it was with the Queen's own consent.† Bishop Leslie said, in her defence, "that she yielded to *that*, to which those crafty, colluding, seditious heads, and the necessity of the time, and then to her seemed, did in a manner enforce her."‡

Finding Mary agreeable to his wishes, Bothwell's next difficulty was to procure a divorce from the accomplished Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only six months before, which was agreed to on the grounds of consanguinity. In the court which sat on the occasion, John Manderson, canon of the collegiate church of Dunbar, held a conspicuous place as the advocate of his lordship; but the conscientious scruples of the Rev. John

\* Douglas' Peerage, II.

† Melville's Memoirs. Crawford justly observes: "the friendly love was so highly contrasted between this great princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof, so that she suffered patiently to be led where the lover list, and neither made obstacle, impediment, clamour, or resistance, as in such accident used to be, which she might have done by her princely authority."—*Crawford MS.* "They had scarcely remained ten days in the castle of Dunbar," says Buchanan, "with no great distance between the Queen's chamber and Bothwell's, when they thought it expedient to return to the castle of Edinburgh;" and the dependants of Bothwell threw away their weapons, that they might not be challenged for detaining the Queen prisoner.

‡ The advocates of this necessary marriage, ascribe it all to a faction, the chiefs of whom were the Earls of Morton, Mar, and the Lords Home, Sempil, and Lindsay.



Craig, Edinburgh, were not so easily overcome, who, unawed by power, denounced the criminality of the transaction from the pulpit, even [after the bans were published. It was left to Adam Bothwell, Abbot of Holyrood-house, to enforce the ceremony amidst public reprobation, and before very few spectators, on the 15th May, 1567, while the French ambassador refused to attend.

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

The news of the Queen's arrival having reached the associated lords, they left Edinburgh early next morning, and met her forces at Carberry-hill, near Musselburgh, where Bothwell, a

second time, threw the gauntlet down to his accusers; but after the challenge had been again accepted, he refused to fight.—The confederated chiefs “fought and conquered ere a sword was drawn;” and the poor buffeted Queen surrendered herself to the Laird of Grange, whilst the guilty Bothwell, like the stricken eagle, deprived of his prey, retraced his solitary flight to Dunbar.\*

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER X.

" And haggard Lindsay's iron eye,  
Could see fair Mary weep in vain."—*Ballad.*

" My hair is grey, but not with years,  
Nor grew it white  
In a single night,  
As men's have grown from sudden fears." \*—*Byron.*

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

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

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

The regent Moray soon shewed the vigour of his measures, and immediately turned his attention to that wide field of discord the Border marches. Accompanied by the Earl of Morton, and the Lords Home and Lindsay, he made a secret expedition to

\* This is asserted of Marie Antoinette, the wife of Louis XVI.: also of Queen Mary, although perhaps not in quite so short a period.

Hawick, in the end of October, when more than forty of the thieves of Liddesdale were apprehended. Having obtained command of the castle of Edinburgh, he issued precepts to several noblemen in Midlothian attached to the Queen, to surrender their strongholds:—Dunbar castle, which was held by Patrick Whitelaw of Whitelaw; John Newton, younger of Newton; and Mr Thomas Hepburn, parson of Oldhamstocks, for the Earl of Bothwell, refused to surrender. A proclamation was therefore issued on the 1st September, requiring all persons to meet the regent Moray at Edinburgh in four days, furnished for the warlike purpose of accompanying him to the siege of Dunbar;\* On the 21st September, 1568, four companies of soldiers, under Captains Cuninghame, Murray, Melville, and Haliburton, were sent to take Dunbar;† and, by an order of the privy-council, issued on the 23d, “the brewsters, baxters, and fleschers of the town of Haddington,” are charged “to pass and gang forwart with bakin bread, brewin aill, and flesche, to furnische the camp lyand at the siege of Dunbar castell, at competent pryces, under the payne to be reput assistaris of the rebellis: And charging the provost and bailzies of Haddington, to see the said breid, ail, and flesche, furnished to the said camp, as thai will answer upon thair obedience, and under the payne foirsaid.”‡ In another proclamation, all men betwixt sixteen and sixty, “weill bodin in feir of weir,” to meet him at Edinburgh; and, on the 26th September, four of the best double cannon, and six smaller pieces, with powder and bullets, and other provisions, were sent from Edinburgh, to assist in reducing Dunbar; and the next day the regent Moray and his suite followed. The captain of Dunbar seeing these resolute measures adopted, without any hopes of being relieved, thought it prudent to capitulate. The artillery and ammunition belonging to Dunbar, were now conveyed to Edinburgh, and the keeping of the castle intrusted to the town of Dunbar till the meeting of parliament, when an act was passed ordering the demolition of that fort along with that of Inchkeith, on account of their present ruinous state, and their expense to government. Some months elapsed before this act was carried into execution; for after the escape of Mary from Lochleven,§ an attempt was

\* Keith's Hist. 461. † Birrell's Diary. ‡ Keith's Hist.

§ George, fifth Lord Seton, was one of those who aided Queen Mary in her escape from Lochleven. After the battle of Langside, he retired to Flanders, where this eccentric personage remained in exile two years, and drove a waggon with four horses, for

made by the Parson of Oldhamstocks to retake the fortress for the Queen by surprise. Sir William Drury thus informs Cecil of this transaction: "6th March 1578,—Upon Monday, Dunbar had like to have been surprised; for at one instant there arrived in to the town of Dunbar, the Parson of Auld-hamstock, with 20 men;" but several of Lord Home's men arriving at the same time, and the town being well affected to his lordship, the parson desisted from his enterprise, and returned.

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

his livelhood. "His picture in that condition, I have seen (says Lord Kingston,) drawn and vividly painted, upon the north end of the long gallery in Seton, now overlaid with timber." He had for his own particular motto, under another picture, which was drawn, with the master-of-the-household's batton:

"IN ADVERSITATE, PATIENS;  
IN PROSPERITATE, BENEVOLUS.  
HAZARD YET FORWARD."—

*Hist. House of Seytoun, by ALEX. VISCOUNT KINGSTON.*

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

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

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

“ Upon the nyntene day of Majj, 1568, my lord Regent causit ane proclamatioun to be maid at the burgh of Edinburgh, charging all and sindrie earlis, lordis, barronis and substantious gentlemen, alsweill to burgh as to land, to address them [to make themselves ready] to be in feir of weir, with fiftene dayes victuall, to meit the said Regent at the town of Biggar, upone the tent day of Junij nixt to cum, to pas fordward quhair thair salbe commandit, under the pane of deith, and tinsell of landis and gudis.”

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

In the meantime some shew of justice was necessary to give a colouring to the proceedings of Elizabeth, in her detention of Mary. Leslie, bishop of Ross, the chief confidant of the latter, and Secretary Lethington, formed a scheme for serving the unhappy queen, by practising on the ambition of the Duke of Norfolk, to whom they proposed a marriage with their mistress. The prospect of this alliance engaged the Duke to hinder the production of any evidence of Mary's guilt in regard to the murder of

\* Keith's Hist.

† Haddington Council Reg.

‡ Ibid.

Darnley, which the regent Moray and his associates had carried to England. Moray, therefore, by the advice of Secretary Lethington, in concert with Norfolk, refused to proceed to this extremity, unless the English queen beforehand, promised to take under her protection the infant King, and to extend her clemency to his adherents. The English commissioners at York, having no instructions to that effect, the Regent with his attendants, the Laird of Lethington, and Mr James Macgill, proceeded to London, where he was induced by Elizabeth, notwithstanding his former promise, to lay before her those famous letters, written by Mary to Bothwell, which seemed to establish her guilt; but which the "revered defenders of beauteous Stuart," consider to be forgeries, and openly charged those who produced them, as the plotters and perpetrators of the murder of Darnley. As Mary's request, however, to be heard in person, in her own vindication was rejected by Elizabeth and her council, it was considered unnecessary to enter into further particulars; and the Earl of Huntly having assembled an army at Glasgow,\* with the view of holding a national council, the regent Moray was suddenly called home, and the unhappy Mary was left to her solitary fate. The marriage of the Queen with Norfolk had never been agreeable to Elizabeth; and, on the charge of treason, he was soon afterwards committed to the tower. In the meanwhile a rebellion, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, broke out in Yorkshire. They were both papists, and zealously attached to the Queen of Scots, whose deliverance they ardently desired.—The exploits of the rebels were confined to the north and east ridings of Yorkshire, and the county of Durham; but having failed in their object of liberating the Queen, from a want of ardour in the Catholics of that district, the rebellion was soon quashed. Sussex, with the Lords Warwick and Clinton, having taken the field, the two rebel earls retired to Hexham, and thence to Naworth-castle in Cumberland, where their army dispersed, and

\* Lord Hunsdon (governor of Berwick.) writing to Secretary Cecil from that place, says, besides the above defection of Huntly, "he was advertised that the Hepburns and Hamiltons were besieging Waughton, and that Lord Home was going with all his forces to rescue it. There is great stir in all parts of Scotland, and all by the Queen's commandment."—HAYNES. "In 1569, January 14, Robert Hepburn, son to the Laird of Waughton, came to the house of Waughton, and brake the stables, and took out 16 horses; the Laird of Carmichael being captain and keeper of Waughton. They issued out of the house, and slew three of them; and divers were hurt of both parties."—BIRREL'S *Diary*.

they fled to Scotland. The Regent, studious to oblige the court of England, found out Northumberland, at a place called the Harelaw on the west border, among a nest of banditti, of the name of Graham. Crawford says, that Northumberland was entertained by the Elliots, from whom he was taken by force, and sent prisoner to Lochleven, while Westmoreland and others found refuge with the lairds of Fernihurst, Buccleuch, and Andrew Ker of Bedrule, who were more able to protect them, till they escaped to Flanders.

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

Repeated inroads on the frontiers of England incensed Elizabeth, who had been much grieved at the murder of the Regent ; upon which she sent the Earl of Sussex with a large army to the Scottish borders. Their first exploit was to burn and raze a large tower, called, from being situated in a marsh, the " Moss



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

for security. Home (according to Buchanan,) had persuaded himself that Sussex and Drury were his friends, and, by his credulity, brought on himself this heavy loss; after which, being abandoned by his followers and kinsmen, who were in the interests of the King, he retired with a few attendants to Edinburgh, and shut himself up in the castle.\* Sussex having placed in the garrison 200 men, under Captains Wood and Pikman, returned to Berwick. Five days afterwards an incredible body of men (2000), under Drury, were sent to take Fast castle. The garrison of this fortress, perched on a lofty rock, hanging over the deep, consisted only of ten men; "yet these were thought sufficient," says Holinshed, "to keep it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong." They, however, surrendered on the first summons to this formidable host

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

\* Holinshed's Chronicle.—Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Sir Richard's verses consist of a pun on the name of *Blythe*, which was but poor comfort:

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

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

In the summer of 1571, the principal scene of hostilities between the king and queen's parties was Edinburgh and Leith. Grange, the governor of the castle, who belonged to the queen's faction, having received some remittances from France, hired soldiers, by means of whom, and of his situation in the castle, he became master of the city. Thither the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Huntly, and the other leaders of the queen's faction, soon repaired, while the regent Lennox and his friends, of whom the most active and powerful was the Earl of Morton, took possession of Leith, from whence they sallied forth and annoyed their adversaries. The English queen, still assuming the character of mediator between the parties, sent Drury to Edinburgh in June for this purpose. But the jealousies and resentments on both sides frustrated his plans. A body of the Queen's forces attended Drury on his return to Berwick, as a matter of respect, upon which Morton drew out his supporters. Drury endeavoured to persuade them both to retire, on a signal given by him to each of the parties. This friendly advice had, however, no effect. Morton, irritated by the boasts of his adversaries, made a sudden and violent attack, broke them, and drove them into the city. In the pursuit, and in entering the Canongate, through the Water Gate, a considerable number were killed, and made prisoners; among the latter was Lord Home, who was sent to the castle of Tantallon; but who was soon after exchanged for the Laird of Drumlanrig, who had been made prisoner by Sir David Spence of Wor-

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

PINKERTON'S *Ant. Scots Poems.*

† Crawford's Memoirs.

meston, a gentleman of the queen's faction, who had distinguished himself by many gallant exploits.\* In another sortie from the castle, the regent Lennox was taken prisoner by Sir David Spence, and was mortally wounded by Captain Calder of the queen's party; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the dying regent, Sir David also fell a victim to the king's faction, so bloody was the hatred existing on both sides. The Earl of Mar was elected regent on the death of Lennox. During these dreadful scenes of civil discord, when quarter was not given on either side, a conspiracy was detected in England for the liberation of Queen Mary. One of the principal parties was the Duke of Norfolk, who was condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill, in June 1571, and by his death the interest of the Scottish queen received its fatal blow in England.

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

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

As Lord Home, who was now decidedly of the queen's party, united in counsels with Grange and Lethington; this gave the queen of England a pretext for retaining the fortresses of Home and Fast castles. These eminent leaders were now amongst the

\* Crawford's Mem. † Bannatyne's Journal, 248. ‡ Ibid.

only open enemies of the king and the regent; and, trusting to their past good fortune, and in the expectation of succour from France and Spain, they still held out, and would agree on no terms.

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

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## CHAPTER XI.

“ What shall we do for the Propine?  
 We used to offer something fine,  
 But ne'er a groat's in pouch o' mine,—  
     Carle, now the King's come.  
 ‘ Come, Morton, show the Douglas blood,  
 Come, Arran, from the hill and wood,  
 Bring down your clansmen like a cloud,—  
     Carle, now the King's come.”—SIR. W. SCOTT.

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

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

THE regent Morton being now established in the undisturbed possession of supreme authority, maintained and exerted it with vigour. One of his earliest considerations was to put an end to the disorders that had prevailed on the Borders during the late troubles, and which had been highly reprobated by the court of England; and, with this view, he intended to visit the places in person. Accordingly we find it stated in the Council Records of Haddington, August 16th, 1573, that the town-council decerned their treasurer to pay of the common good L.50 money, for composition “ fra the raid of Liddesdale, proclaimed to convene on the 20th August.” The Regent in consequence, to settle these disputes, met with Sir John Forester, the English warden of the middle march, and concerted with him the most effectual measures to correct the past and prevent future abuses. The heads of the principal families were compelled to deliver pledges

for their good behaviour in future ; and three wardens were appointed in whom they could confide ; viz. Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes for the eastern ; Sir John Carmichael for the middle, and Lord Maxwell for the western marches. Some months afterwards we find an entertainment prepared at Haddington for the Regent, in one of his progresses: November 26th, 1578,—“ The town-council ordained Adam Wilson, younger, to buy and bring hame ane puncheon of claret wine for a propine to the Regent, with a dozen of torches and the spice ; and to be allowed for the punseoun xxij. lb.\*

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

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

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

The same year Alexander Home of North Berwick was employed on an embassy to the Queen of England by the Scottish council, to apologize for the manner in which they had treated Bowes, the English ambassador. According to Moyses, part of his commission was to demand the Queen's aid, for the suppression of the disorderly persons on the Border. The Queen, however, would not admit Home to her presence ; but remitted him to her treasurer Burleigh, who declared plainly the suspicions the Queen entertained of Lennox, and the dangers arising from the power of this favourite to the king's person, the protestant religion, and the peace between the two kingdoms. These proceedings being ascribed to the agency of Morton, a scheme was formed to destroy him, and having been accused by

\* Haddington Council Register.

Captain Stewart (afterwards Earl of Arran), of being accessory to the murder of Lord Darnley, he was committed prisoner to Dumbarton, of which Lennox had been appointed governor, from whence he was removed to Edinburgh, 27th May, and brought to trial, when he was found guilty "of counsel, concealing, and being art and part in King Henry's murder." Anxious to save Morton, the Queen of England sent envoys for this purpose; but without effect. His accusers employed a numerous band of enemies to conduct him to Edinburgh, where so short was the descent from the highest power to the block in those treacherous times, that he was found guilty by an assize of his peers to the treason laid to his charge, and, on the day after his condemnation, beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh.\*

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

"To point a moral, or adorn a tale!"

In 1581, among other grants confirmed by James VI., mention is made of the fort of Dunbar, granted to William Boncle,

\* Morton was put on his trial, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, on the 1st June, 1581.—On this assize were the following gentlemen belonging to East Lothian: George, Lord Seton; Alexander, master of Elphinston; and Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, knight. By this assize the Earl was found guilty, especially as to the concealment of the plot, and doom was pronounced against him; but that part of the sentence relating to the quartering of his body was remitted.

The Earl of Morton, like the inventor of the guillotine during the time of the French revolution, perished by the same instrument which he introduced. He was executed by the machine called the *Maiden*, which he brought into Scotland, in the summary manner we have described, and his head placed on the public gaol of Edinburgh, whence it was taken down by the king's warrant in December 1582, after having been exposed for about 18 months. On the day of execution, the body, after lying on the scaffold till sunset, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the burial-place of criminals.

Upon the next day, one John Binning, servant to Mr Archibald Douglas, declaring that he was present with his master at the murder, was hanged, and demeaned as a traitor.

Upon the 28th day of November, the forfeiture was led and deduced against Archibald, Earl of Angus; Mr Archibald Douglas; John Carmichael, younger of that ilk; Hugh Carmichael, his son and apparent heir; James Douglas, sometime Prior of Pluscardin, and Archibald Douglas of Pittendriech, natural sons to the said Earl of Morton; George Douglas of Parkhead, James Douglas, his son; Malcolm Douglas of Mains,



burgess of Dunbar, which probably referred to the site of the fortress and ground adjoining.\*

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

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

In 1586, Mr Archibald Douglas (Morham,) whose forfeiture had been led, as an accomplice with Morton in the murder of Darnley, was brought to trial, when he managed by his craft and ingenuity to obtain an acquittal.† And as a new proof of the

Archibald Douglas, sometime constable of the castle of Edinburgh, and Hector Douglas, called *Red Heckie*; against the said *Mr Archibald Douglas*, for art and part of the horrible murder of his Majesty's father; and for trafficking with noblemen and others of credit in England, persuading them to levy ten thousand men, and to transport them to the frontiers of the realm,—and to menace present war if the said Morton were not released immediately;—and the remaining persons were forfeited likewise for trafficking with England for the same purpose, and for fortifying and holding out the castles of *Temptallon* and *Douglas* (in Lanarkshire,) against his Majesty and his authority,—and for some other crimes of treason and lese-majesty imputed to them."

\* Scott's Provincial Ant.

† "Upon the 10th May 1586, the foresaid Mr Archibald Douglas was accused before the justices in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as one of the special actors of the murder of his Majesty's father. He pleaded first a remission for art and part, foreknowledge and concealing thereof, and stood an assize for the rest, whereof he was acquitted. In that process there was great knavery and shift used; for that part of the Earl of Morton's deposition concerning him, wherein he confessed, that Mr Archibald acknowledged to him, that he was actually at that deed doing, was concealed and abstracted. He handled the matter so, as he made his own dittay,—he closed his own assize,—he forsknew

King's versatility of character, in the beginning of February, an express having come from his Majesty's ambassadors, signifying that the execution of Queen Mary was in the meantime respited, a threatening letter was sent back to Elizabeth, avowing that if she meddled with the blood of his Majesty's mother, that the king should be revenged, and would solicit the aid of all the foreign princes in Europe for that effect. This express, with the letters, was intrusted to this same Archibald Douglas—the accredited murderer of his father—to be presented to the Queen of England.

A few years had only elapsed since James VI. had escaped from the Raid of Ruthven, when he again fell into the snares of one the most ambitious men of a turbulent age—the Regent Arran. Queen Elizabeth secretly assisted the banished nobles, including the Earls of Mar and Angus, and the Master of Glamis, Hamilton, &c., who came to Kelso, where they were received and joined by Francis earl of Bothwell,† and the Laird of Cess-

all that was to be said against him,—and so was absolved most shamefully and unbonestly, to the exclamation of the whole people. It was thought the filthiest iniquity that was heard of in Scotland; being done in his Majesty's minority, by the means of the Master of Gray and Mr Randolph, ambassador; and by the slight and oversight of the council, upon such suddenly, as very few, but those in the plot, knew of the matter.'—*Moraxes' Mem.* Edin. 1755.

Mr Archibald Douglas had some cause to dread the trial by *torture*, which seems to have been an effectual way of extracting the truth. Mr George Ker, brother to the Lord of Newbottle, was apprehended on the suspicion of carrying on a correspondence with Spain, for subduing the religion of his country. It was thought proper that as he persisted in his denial of all things, that he should be tried by *torture of the boots*; and some of the council, particularly the Laird of Ormiston, justice-clerk, and Mr William Hart, justice-depute, were appointed to see him tortured; but they being menaced by his friends, delayed putting him in boots, until his Majesty taking the matter very highly amiss, absolutely commanded it to be done. And at the first or second stroke, Mr George cried "Mercy," and confessed that all that he told before was lies, and that he would then declare the truth as it should be asked him.

The Boot, or *Bordekin*, was used in England as well as in Scotland, to extort confessions by torture. The boot consisted of four thick strong boards, bound round with cords; two of these were put between the criminal's legs, and the two others placed one on the outside of one leg, and one on the other: when squeezing the legs against the boards by the cords, the criminal's bones were severely pinched, and sometimes broken.

† James, Earl of Bothwell, left no children; but he was survived by a sister, who married James Stewart, the natural son of James V., who was commendator of Coldingham. He died in 1563, leaving a son by her, Francis Stewart. She afterwards married John Sinclair, apparent heir of Caithness, by whom she had also issue. Francis was born about 1562, and was probably educated abroad, having returned to Scotland in 1582, being then in his 20th year. In 1581, he was created by King James, who considered him as his cousin, though by an illegitimate line, Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes

ford, and remained with them two or three days at Kelso and Fleurs. Thither also proceeded Lord Home, Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and others of that clan. On arriving at Jedburgh these chieftains published a long manifesto, in which they stated their design, wherein they accused Arran\* and his friend, the colonel of the King's guard, with the most grievous abuses of their power and trust, such as the persecution of the King's ancient and faithful nobles; the oppression of the church, and shewing favour to papists,—of false and injurious conduct towards England, and of holding a correspondence with the sworn enemies of that realm. They avowed their purpose of delivering the king out of the hands of such hated and dangerous counsellors; and summoned, in his name, all true subjects to aid them in their enterprise. As they advanced towards Stirling, they were joined by the Lords Hamilton and Maxwell; and their partisans and vassals now amounted to 10,000 men. Arriving at St Ninians on the last day of October, 1585, they drew up in order of battle, and waiting till nightfall, they were introduced into the town by their friends by some back passages, without opposition. Arran, who kept watch with the Earl of Crawford, effected his escape by the bridge, of which he kept the keys. Some resistance made by Colonel Stewart, in the market-place, if it had been well supported, might have turned the fortunes of war; for the Borderers, dispersing in quest of plunder, “according to their custom (says Spotswood,) fell upon the stable, and made prey of all the gentlemen's horses, whereof they found good store.” Having possessed themselves of the castle and of the King, that versatile monarch granted free pardon to the victorious leaders, banished his favourites, whom he secretly cherished, and called a new parliament for the ostentatious purpose of restoring tranquillity. For more readily levying men for the King's service in this Raid, the city of Edinburgh was divided into different divisions, each of which had two commanders, one of whom was selected from the merchants, and the other from the craftsmen. On these re-

and Criehton; to whom was given along with his uncle's other forfeited estates, the lands of Oldhamstocks, Morham, &c. He was also made great admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Edinburgh, of the constabulary of Haddington and of Berwick, and baillie of Lauderdale.

\* “Upon the 1st of May, 1585, the king's Majesty passed out of Edinburgh to Dirleton, to a banquet, to which he was invited by the Earl of Arran.”—MOYSES' *Memo.*

bellious occasions Edinburgh furnished from 200 to 500 men in aid of the government, while Haddington sent its quota of 24 ragbutters.

The Earl of Bothwell, who, in his early years, shewed the daring and want of principle which characterized his uncle and grandfather, had joined the Lords Maxwell and Home, as narrated above, in driving Arran, the King's favourite, from court. For this act he was forgiven; and being received into the King's presence, James already shewed his conciliating address and weakness of policy, "What should have moved thee, Francis, to come in arms against me?" said he: "Did I ever do you any wrong, or what cause hadst thou to offend? I wish thee a more quiet spirit, and that thou mayest learn to live as a subject, otherwise thou wilt fall into trouble;"\* yet along with Boyd and Home, he was one of the commissioners for a treaty with England, concluded at Berwick, in July, 1586; but, in 1588, he began to display his ferocious character, by slaying Sir William Stewart in an encounter at Blackfriar's wynd.†

At this period of our history a deed was perpetrated, which although not altogether unexpected, created one sentiment of disgust throughout Scotland and over Europe,—a deed of the basest sort in the annals of England; yet not *unworthy* of the daughter of Henry VIII.‡—the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. She had been a prisoner in England nineteen years, and now stalked a meagre shadow of her former beauty and greatness, with a mind diseased from hope deferred, and a constitution impaired by sedentary confinement. The Duke of Norfolk and some of her principal friends had suffered on the block;—the weak and sordid King, her son, had been bribed with a pension from Elizabeth, which made him relax in the affection he had formerly evinced for his mother; in addition to which, he was beset by ministers corrupted by the same princess's gold.§ The

\* Spotswood.

† Birrel's Diary.

‡ Henry divorced Catherine of Arragon, for the purpose of marrying Anne Bullen, the mother of Elizabeth. This lady he got beheaded, and next day married the Lady Jane Seymour.

§ James continued so infatuated by his English pension, that he had not only dropt all thoughts of his mother, but had taken her mortal enemies, as we have described, into his most secret councils. Of these was Archibald Douglas, who continued still to be his resident in England, with the Master of Gray, and both of them had sold themselves to Elizabeth. "Nothing was so terrible to Elizabeth (says Guthrie,) as the thoughts of a war with Scotland at this time; and I perceive from the State Papers

notorious Archibald Douglas, (brother to the Laird of Whittingham,) but lately acquitted as one of the murderers of her husband, was appointed resident at the English court, to watch over her conduct; and, who, in conjunction with the Master of Gray, and other minions of Elizabeth, privately advised her to strike the fatal blow.\*

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

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

The nobility of Scotland, exasperated to the last degree at these proceedings, urged James to take the field against the murderers of their Queen. Stung by their reproaches, he made a shew of some natural anxiety and activity. He ordered Archibald Dou-

that her creatures fed James with the ridiculous hopes of marrying Elizabeth himself, and of being declared by the English parliament her heir and successor." The following is the style in which the Master of Gray writes to his confederate Mr Archibald Douglas: "His (the King's) opinion is, that it cannot stand with his honour that he be a consenter to take his mother's life: but he is content how strictly she be kept, and all her old knavish servants hanged, chiefly they who be in hands. For this you must deal very warily to eschew inconveniences, seeing necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of the way." By a letter from James himself, to Mary's secretary Naué, he orders him to make up some differences between his mother and the Countess of Shrewsbury; but refers to Archibald Douglas for further particulars, whom he desires her to trust as himself.

\* Guthrie, viii.

† D'Ewe's Journal.

glas to remonstrate more peremptorily than ever with Elizabeth ; but she knew too well that James was forced to make use of this stratagem, and put off Douglas with evasive answers, to be forwarded to his court, at his own suggestion. Still to keep up appearances, when Douglas's agency had failed, Keith, a young and inexperienced courtier was appointed to join him, in demanding a respite of Mary's execution, which being refused, he presented a letter from the King, little short of a declaration of war. This letter, as coming from a pensioner-king, was treated with contempt ; while she flew into a passion against Keith, which her courtiers found some difficulty to pacify. The crafty Bothwell was next appointed ; but Elizabeth would not receive him, under pretence of his having committed hostilities on the Borders in time of peace. The Master of Gray was therefore again had recourse to, Mary's approved enemy, to whom was added Sir Robert Melville, a worthy gentleman, but one without weight or dignity to execute such an important trust. In this last act the Master of Gray performed his part in the scene with the greatest dissimulation and address, proved himself the worthy coadjutor of Douglas, and hastened the drop of the curtain in the fatal drama.

" Elizabeth's secret intention," says Guthrie, " was to put Mary to death privately, to deliver herself from the odium of signing her sentence. Leicester, who had now returned to England, suggested this expedient to her, by recommending an apothecary instead of a hangman to be her executioner." A proposal to this effect was made to Paulet her gaoler, by Secretaries Walsingham and Davison, who, to his eternal honour, respectfully declined making " so foul a shipwreck of his conscience" by being accessory to such a guilty act. Elizabeth on being informed that this honest knight declined the infernal office, called Paulet " a dainty precise fellow, who promised every thing, but performed nothing : " and, in a private conference she had with Davison, she proposed one Wingfield to execute the murder. Davison objected to the danger, as well as the infamy, that attended such a proceeding ; and Elizabeth gave him an order for drawing up a warrant, which she was to sign, for Mary's execution. After signing it, she had the inhumanity to jest with Davison when she delivered it. " Go, said she, and tell Wal-

singham what I have done ; though I am afraid, poor soul, he will die of grief when he hears of it." The iniquitous warrant passed the seals that very night, and the callous Elizabeth gave orders that her privy-counsellors should put it in execution without troubling her in future.\*

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

It was reserved for high-born men to execute publicly, what no scoundrel could be found to do in secret. The Earls of Kent, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Cumberland, were appointed to see the execution performed ; but only the two first attended. On the evening of 6th February 1587, these noblemen acquainted the Queen that she must die on the 8th. Mary confessed that she did not think of dying so soon ; but received the message with her usual calmness and resignation, without the least emotion in her looks, words, or gestures. She requested that her confessor should be allowed access to confer with her on the state of her soul, which was barbarously denied ; but she was made offer of the Dean of Peterborough, which, according to her tenets, she could not accept ; yet who afterwards attended contrary to her inclination : she was, however, allowed to consult with her steward, Melville, about her worldly affairs. Before the departure of the earls, laying her hands upon the bible, and crossing herself in the name of

\* Elizabeth seems to have been kept in perpetual agitation between Mary and her son in regard to the succession, which, in a great measure, proved fatal to the former. The Earl of Leicester observed, that the sum total of Gray's instructions was, that James should be in Mary's place. " Is it so," replied Elizabeth, " then I put myself in worse case than before : by God's passion, that were to cut mine own throat. He shall never come in that place, and be party to me. Well, (added she,) tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the crown on his head since he was born ; and that, for my part, I mean to keep the league that is betwixt us, which if he break, it shall be a double fault." Elizabeth then flung out of the room ; and when Melville followed her to beg, in the most earnest manner, a respite of Mary's execution for eight days, her answer was—" Not for an hour !"

† Guthrie's Hist. viii.

the Trinity, she solemnly declared her innocency of all concern in Babington's conspiracy to murder Elizabeth, notwithstanding the perjured confessions of Naué and Curl. After a sparing supper, with her usual composure she called for a glass of wine, and drank to her attendants, who were dissolved in tears round her person, ordering each of them to pledge her; which they did, kneeling, while she gave them her benediction and consolation, and seemed the only one that did not stand in need of it. She then retired to rest, and slept soundly for some hours.

About half past eight in the morning, the sheriff, whose melancholy duty it was to inform Mary that her hour was come, found her at prayers. She arose, and went cheerfully to the place of execution, being gently supported by two of Sir Amias Paulet's chief gentlemen; preceded by Mr Andrews, the high-sheriff: being met at the great hall by the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, with the rest of their solemn and gloomy train.\* When she came to the porch of the hall near where the scaffold was erected, her faithful servant Melville, threw himself at her feet, in tears, and uttered the most passionate expressions of sorrow, till his words were drowned in grief. She endeavoured to comfort him, and exclaimed: "My good servant, cease to lament; for thou hast cause rather to rejoice than mourn; for now thou shalt see Mary Stuart's troubles receive their long-expected end—in a world of vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can be-

\* Mary was particular in the fashion and finery of her dress, which frequently excited the curiosity of Elizabeth, and made her examine the packets which came to her from France. She seems to have felt the "ruling passion strong in death;" and, even on the scaffold, like the Earl of Mar at Lander-Bridge, or Earl Ferrers at Tyburn, would have preferred a silken string to a hempen cord. The following is the description of her dress and behaviour, from a narrative drawn up by Lord Burleigh's orders:

"She appeared on the day appointed; being tall of body, corpulent, round-shouldered; her face fat and broad, double-chined and hazel-eyed, her borrowed hair brown. Her attire was—she had on her head a dressing of lawn, edged with bonlace, a pomander chain, and an *Agnus Dei* about her neck: a crucifix in her hand, and a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them; a veil of lawn fastened to her caul, bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bonlace; her gown was of black satin printed, with a train, and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn buttons of jet, trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black cut satin, with a pair of sleeves of purple velvet, whole, of figured black satin; her petticoat, upper-body unlaced in the back, of crimson satin, and her petticoat skirts of crimson velvet; her shoes of Spanish leather, with the rough side outwards, a pair of green silk garters: her nether stockings worsted coloured, watched and clacked with silver, and edged on the top with silver; and next her leg a pair of Jersey hose, white. Thus attired she went cheerfully to the place of execution."



wail; but, I pray thee, carry this message from me, that I do die a true woman to my religion; and like a woman of Scotland and France. God forgive them who have long desired my life, and thirsted for my blood as the hart doth for the water-brooks. O God! thou who art the author of truth, and art truth itself, knoweth the inward chamber of my thoughts—how that I was ever willing that Scotland and England should be united together. Howbeit I take thee to be in religion a Protestant, and I myself am a Catholic; yet seeing there is but one Christ, I charge thee upon thine own account to him, that thou carry these my last words to my son; and shew that I pray him to serve God, to defend the catholic church,—to govern his kingdom in peace, and will him to keep friendship with the Queen of England: certifying to him, that I have done nothing prejudicial to the crown of Scotland.”\* She then requested that her domestics might attend her on the scaffold, to see how patiently their queen and mistress should endure her execution, and relate how she died a true and devoted catholic to her religion. The Earl of Kent opposed this request, as her servants by their “speeches or practice might do things not fitting for them to tolerate, were it no more than the superstitious trumpery of dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood.” Mary promised that they should not be blamed in this respect, upon which Melville, her physician, surgeon, and apothecary, and two ladies, were allowed to attend her. She entered the great hall, her train borne by Melville, preceded by the two earls, the sheriffs, the knights, and gentlemen present. The scaffold was about two feet high, and twelve broad, surrounded with rails, and covered with black. She mounted it with unparelled serenity of countenance, and placed herself in a low chair, while Beal read aloud Elizabeth’s warrant for the execution, which she heard without emotion, still retaining the same serenity of countenance. The spirit of her grandsire, who fell at Flodden-field, seemed to hover over her, and inspired her with courage at this trying hour. She who had shed tears at the rebuke of the preacher Knox, now sat like a marble statue of faith and devotion, in an attitude worthy of the heroines of antiquity. Perceiving her maids shedding tears, she again exhorted them to desist; and after signing them with the cross, she

\* Spotswood.—Camden.

tenderly embraced them, and with a smile bade them farewell! While they were undressing her, to prepare for the block, the two executioners offered their assistance; but Mary commanded them to stand off, saying to the spectators, "That it was a new spectacle to behold a queen brought to die upon a scaffold; and that she used not to be undressed before so great a company, and to have two hangmen to attend her for her grooms of the bed-chamber; but (added she,) we must submit to what Heaven is pleased to have done, and obey the decrees of divine Providence." Her gown and doublet being taken off, she tied a linen handkerchief round her eyes; and, laying her head upon the block, she rehearsed aloud the thirty-first psalm: then stretching out her arms, she repeated the fifth verse, which being the signal appointed for the executioners, one of them clumsily struck off her head at three strokes, while the other was holding both her hands. The upper attire of her head being discomposed, discovered her hair to be quite grey; and the executioner taking it up, called out aloud, "Long live Queen Elizabeth, and so let the enemies of the gospel perish!" which words were re-echoed by the Dean of Peterborough and the two Earls, the rest of the spectators being dissolved in tears.

In musing over the conduct of Elizabeth in this tragical deed, one would imagine that the whole art of reigning lay in dissimulation; and the Queen had now a wide field to display her skill in Machiavelism and the tricks of expediency. It was easy to satisfy the conscience of her pensioner-king; but it was not so easy to appease the injured feelings of the Scots. Her first resolution was therefore to get rid of the odium attached to the late tragedy, by throwing the blame on her emissaries, and bringing them to trial. Davison, one of her secretaries of state, was accused of being too premature in putting the warrant of execution into effect, contrary to her intention; and he was happy to escape the block, by paying a fine of 10,000 merks, while the public resentment against the Master of Gray was so strong, that James was easily induced to surrender him to justice. A letter, or a copy of a letter, from this minion to Elizabeth was produced, in which he made use of the expression "*mortui non mordent*," "dead people do not bite," with some other charges, which he did not deny, but endeavoured to alleviate. His sentence was

King's councils. Being favoured by some traitors, he was admitted by a secret passage into the court of the abbey of Holyrood-house, and made directly towards the royal apartments; but the alarm being given, the doors were shut. These he attempted to break open, and set fire to others; but several of the citizens having run to arms, he escaped with great difficulty. In this affray the King's master-stabler and one servant were killed. Eight of Bothwell's faction, who were taken, were hanged betwixt the girth-cross and the abbey-gate without any trial. James, who could not let this opportunity pass in shewing his oratorical powers in public, passed to St Giles's church next day, and there made an oration on the criminality of Bothwell and the slaughter of his servant.\*—Bothwell was attainted by parliament, on the 10th July 1592.

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

On the attainder of Bothwell, the abbey of Coldingham was transferred by the King to Lord Home; and his lands of Spott were given to Sir George Home. Nothing daunted by

\* Birrel's Diary.

† Ibid.

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

former disappointments, Bothwell made a fresh attempt to seize the King at Falkland, when James, betrayed by some of his courtiers, and feebly defended by others, owed his safety to the vigilance of Sir Robert Melville and to the irresolution of Bothwell's associates.\* After the unsuccessful termination of this affair, the haughty baron fled to England, and found protection from Elizabeth. She solicited his pardon from James, which was however refused. The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Athol, and Lord Ochiltree, invited Bothwell back to Scotland; when, seizing the gates of Holyrood-house, he was introduced into the apartments of the palace, attended by a numerous train of armed followers. James, deserted by his courtiers, and incapable of resistance, called on the earl to finish his treasons, by piercing his sovereign to the heart. But as the crafty Bothwell fell on his knees, and craved pardon, the King was unable to resist his demand. A few days afterwards he signed a capitulation to this successful traitor, to whom he was in reality a prisoner, whereby he granted him a remission for past offences, and promised, in the meantime, to dismiss Chancellor Maitland and others from his councils. A convention of the nobles held at Stirling, however, would not agree to such promises, extorted from the king by force; yet James did not decline preferring Bothwell a pardon, provided he sued for it as an act of grace. These generous conditions the earl rejected; and, retiring to the Borders, on the 8d of April 1594, he appeared suddenly at the head of 500 horse. The citizens of Edinburgh stood forth in defence of his Majesty; and, with their aid, the King advanced against Bothwell, who retired to Dalkeith without hazarding an attack, when he saw such a great force, with some cannon, coming against him. Lord Home pursued the fugitive, but being repulsed, he fell back on the borough-moor of Edinburgh, where the King's principal

\* As a striking instance of how much the King during his minority and some time afterwards, lay under the dominion of the aristocracy, Sir James Balfour, in his MS. Memoirs, says, that the inscription upon the standards of the lords (supposing the King to complain, and them to answer) was

“ KING.—Captive I am; liberty I crave.

“ LORDS.—Our lives we shall lose, or that ye shall have.”

In addition to what we have noticed above, on the 29th May, at a meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh, James Douglas of Spott; John Hamilton, younger of Samuelston; and divers others, to the number of seventeen persons, were arraigned and forfeited for the Raid of the abbey of Holyrood-house.

forces lay. In the attack on Home, Bothwell fell from his horse, and his army dispersed next day. His followers, whom he was never again able to rally, now abandoned him; and having again betaken himself to his lurking places in England, Elizabeth at last, and reluctantly, in compliance with the request of James, compelled him also to leave that retreat. The enterprising traitor again retired to the northern fastnesses of Scotland, where he entered into new compacts with the Popish lords. On being bribed with Spanish gold, he engaged to raise such disturbances in the south, as should prevent the king from acting offensively against the Spanish partisans in the north, while he came under an obligation, that should he succeed in apprehending the Scottish king, his majesty might be confined in Blackness castle, whose captain he had corrupted, till he should agree to their terms. Orme, a servant of Bothwell, being apprehended, disclosed these designs. The consequence was, that this last scheme was defeated, and the Captain of Blackness, Orme, and their accomplices hanged. After this affair it was dangerous even to entertain Bothwell. The "enormous rebel" was not only now abandoned by his adherents, but excommunicated by the church. He now fled to Orkney; but his own knew him not, and the people attempted to arrest him; from whence he pursued his flight to Scotland, and made his escape to France. Every man's hand was now raised against the fomentor of civil discord; and, followed by awakened vengeance, he could find no rest. The French government obliged Bothwell to retire into Spain, in 1600, whence he went to Naples; and, renouncing the Protestant faith, closed his life in indigence and low debauchery.

Before his attainder Bothwell had made over some of his large estates to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, his step-son, amongst which was the lordship of Hailes in East Lothian. John Stewart, the second son, was commendator of Coldingham; and the eldest son, Francis, obtained from the easily cajoled James VI., (who seems to have been fascinated by this family like his unfortunate queen-mother,) a part of the estate of his father, but none of his offices.\* After the forfeiture of Bothwell, Sir William Seton, the fourth son of George, fifth Lord Seton, was made Sheriff of Lothian, and Warden of the Marches.† He was also

\* Chalmers' Cal. II.

† Mackenzie's Lives, III.

appointed chief-justice of the southern Borders of Scotland.\*

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

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

In 1595, an incident occurred, which weighed so heavily on the Chancellor's spirits, as to hasten the close of his mortal career. The heads of the family of Mar had for some years been tutors to the infant princes of Scotland; and James had committed the custody of his son ‡ to the Earl of Mar. But Queen Anne who thought it of importance to have the prince under her own guardianship, leagued herself with the Chancellor, with whom she had always before lived at enmity, and other counsellors, to obtain her ends. James having heard of the Queen's intention

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

†“ On the 28th April, 1593, (says Meyses,) the King's Majesty rode out of Holyrood-house about six o'clock in the morning, making as if he was going to the hunting; but he sent back his hounds, and rode forward himself to Lethington, the Chancellor's (Maitland) house, where he dined, and conferred with the chancellor a long while, and returned again to supper, for the effects of which the council were much afraid.”

‡ Prince Henry, who died prematurely. James's next son, the ill-fated Charles I., (by Anne of Denmark,) was born at Dunfermline, in the year 1600. Six days after the baptism, in honour of the occasion, Lord Seton was created Earl of Winton, and the Lord Cessford, Earl of Roxburgh,—a family afterwards connected with this county.

to take her son out of the Earl of Mar's keeping, paid her a formal visit; and, after sharply reproving her, sent her to Stirling. He then severely reprimanded the Chancellor, and the other confederated lords, and gave a writing to Mar, expressly charging him with the custody of his son; and that in the event of his death, he should not deliver the prince up either to the queen or the states till he was eighteen years of age. This reproof broke the sensitive heart of the Chancellor. On his death-bed he requested the favourable notice of James to his lady and family, to which an affectionate answer was returned; but it came too late to revive the dying statesman.\*

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

“The ways of providence are dark and intricate,” says the poet, and some mortifying sufferings, like retribution, clouded the last days of Elizabeth. Early in 1603, she was seized with an indisposition, which arose from a settled and incurable melancholy. Her favourite Devereux, Earl of Essex, had been condemned for being engaged in a treasonable correspondence for seating the Scottish monarch on the English throne, and died on the block. After his death the queen enjoyed neither health of body nor tranquillity of mind, and seldom mentioned his name without tears. At times she appeared delirious, which was probably heightened by overhearing the whisperings of her courtiers, who suggested the expediency of putting the reins of government into James's hands.† Anxious to get a declara-

\* Sir John Maitland was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland. He accompanied James on his matrimonial excursion to Denmark; and, on his return, was created a peer, by the title of Lord Maitland of Thirlestane. In 1591 he resigned the office of secretary of state, which was conferred on his nephew, Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington. His lordship died at his seat of Thirlestane (which he had built,) on the 3d of October, 1696, when he had just completed his 50th year, and was buried in the family-aisle at Haddington, where a sumptuous monument was erected to his memory, with a well-known epitaph composed by the King.—See CRAWFORD'S *Peerage*.

† Guthrie, viii.

tion in his favour from her own mouth, on her departure to Richmond, where she died, the question was put, to which she replied to Cecil and the Lord-Admiral, in the following ambiguous terms; " My throne has always been filled by a succession of princes; and ought only to go to my next heirs."\* Her spirits at last grew so depressed that sleep forsook her couch—she refused to go to bed—and for ten days and nights, sat pensive and silent, with her finger on her mouth, as if imposing a deeper and deeper silence, with her eyes fixed upon the ground. At length she could not be induced to taste food, and refusing the medicines prescribed by her physicians, seemed to say, in the strong language of Shakspeare :

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

After remaining for some time in this state of stupor, the Earl of Monmouth, in his Memoirs, says, that " on Wednesday, the 23d of March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called for her council; and by putting her hand to her head when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her." Such at least was the construction Elizabeth's courtiers wished to put upon her last motions; and the moment the breath was out of her body, the palace gates were shut. Carey, (afterwards Earl of Monmouth,) by the favour of his brother, Lord Hunsdon, was permitted to leave the palace; and, agreeable to a promise he had formerly made to James, was the first to convey intelligence of her death, together with a blue ring from a fair lady (whose name is unknown,) but which James no sooner saw, than he pronounced him to be a true messenger. Elizabeth died on the 25th March, after a reign of 44 years, five months, and some days, (being nearly the exact age of Queen Mary,) in her 70th year.

\* Strype's Annals, iv.



## CHAPTER XII.

"Speak, citizens, for England; who's your king?"

*King John.*

"Sound the bagpipe, blaw the horn,  
Let ilka kilted clansman gather;  
We maun up and ride the morn.

And leave the muir amang the heather."—*Jacobite Song.*

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

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

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

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

*H* was understood to signify *Henry*; *E* for *England*; *M* for *Mary*; *P* for *Philip*, king of Spain, who married Queen Mary of England; and *E* for Queen *Elizabeth*.

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

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

The King, in his progress, passed Haddington, (which lay a little off the post-road, which then led by Beanston,) and proceeding to Dunglas castle, the residence of Lord Home, he and his retinue lodged there for the night, and were sumptuously entertained; which shews the fortalice of this domain to have been of great importance when it was able to lodge such a numerous and royal retinue. In the King's progress next day from Dunglas to Berwick, the cavalcade was joined by many of Lord Home's dependents. On his arrival at the boundaries of Berwick, he was received with every demonstration of joy, by the marshal, Sir John Carey, accompanied by the officers of the garrison, at the head of their respective bands; and while these welcomed him with volleys of musketry, the cannon thundered from the ramparts. James, in the rapture of the moment, and with his characteristic weakness, fired one of the large guns with his own hand: a singular feat for a monarch who shuddered at the sight of a naked sword! In short, the King's whole journey to London was one of continued acclaim and triumph; and he met with so much old English hospitality in his way, that his Majesty oc-

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According to the Scots version, it was fulfilled, that England should take rest when it was united with Scotland:

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

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

cupied a month in its accomplishment, which drew from him the remark, that "it looked like one continued hunting party."

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

\* George Home was the third son of Alexander Home of Manderston. From the urbanity of his disposition, and being early introduced to court, he soon rose high in the favour of the king. He was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber; was constituted master of the wardrobe, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him in 1600; and received the staff of high-treasurer of Scotland on the 5th September, 1601. He attended his Majesty to England as above stated, on his accession to the throne of that kingdom, in 1603, and besides having considerable influence in the management of the affairs of the nation, he had the sole disposal of those in Scotland. On being sworn a privy-counsellor, he was created a peer of England, by the title of Baron Home of Berwick, (where he afterwards built a splendid mansion.) But a higher mark of royal favour awaited him. He was created a peer of Scotland by patent, dated at Windsor 1606, constituting George Lord Home of Berwick and his heirs male, Earls of Dunbar. He was also appointed chancellor of the exchequer in England. At the parliament held at Perth, 9th July, 1606, he carried through the act for the restitution of the estate of the bishops.

The Earl of Dunbar was high-commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland, in 1606 and 1608; and, as a mark of the king's approbation, was installed a knight of the order of the garter. He died suddenly at Whitehall, 29th January 1611, when about to solemnize the marriage of his daughter with Lord Walden.—Wood's *DOUGLAS'S Peerage*. A writer in the "Biographia Scoticana, or Scots Worthies," imputes this circumstance to the judgment of heaven, for the part he took against the presbyterians when commissioner to the general assembly, while Sir John Scott, in his political epitome of slander, ascribes it to some poisoned sugar-tablets, which were given him by Secretary Cecil for expelling the cold. His remains were embalmed, and brought to Scotland, and interred within the walls of the church of Dunbar, where a splendid monument of various-coloured marble (which was repaired in 1820,) was erected to his memory.—*Hist. of Dunbar*.

and severe were the contests he had with the general assemblies, when acting as a mediator between his Majesty and the incensed clergy.

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

To arrange these differences, James judged it requisite to visit Scotland in 1617, after an absence of fourteen years.—When he had passed the Borders, he was again welcomed by the "*Muses Dunglasides*." And, in the course of his progress, he, with his whole court, were sumptuously entertained at Seton-house, by George, third Earl of Winton. This princely residence, and the castle of Lethington, were then amongst the gayest mansions in East Lothian, and, on many occasions, entertained royalty.

Surrounded by Buckingham, Somerset, and other profligate favourites and courtiers, James was frequently in want of money to answer his improvident expenditure. To accommodate their royal master in this extravagance, none were more ready than George Heriot, goldsmith in the West Bow of Edinburgh, to whom Sir Walter Scott has given a double immortality in the "*Fortunes of Nigel*," under the uncourteous epithet of

“Jingling Geordie.”\* We may here remark, that goldsmiths were amongst the most ancient corporations of Scotland; and ere persons of rank began to feel the comfort of wearing shirts, they had appreciated the value of pearls, jewels, and embroidery. Hence, in every barbarous age, endeavours are generally used to introduce the arts which contribute to gorgeous splendour, rather than to cultivate those which produce modest comfort or unostentatious display. Thus, in the early stages of society, pride and vanity seek their consequence in the exhibition of costly apparel, ere the caprices of taste and the variations of fashion come to their relief.

During the visit of James to Scotland, he was again at great pains to enforce a conformity of their ecclesiastical worship with that of England,—a hopeless and an ungracious task. He obliged his noblemen (says Guthrie,) to take the sacrament after the English manner, kneeling. He introduced an organ, a choir, and all the pomp of church music and ceremony, into his own chapel, and even gave liberty to abbots, or such of the protestant clergy on whom abbeyes had been conferred, to sit in parliament, in the same manner as they had done in the times of popery. Most of those abbeyes, however, were now converted into temporal hereditary lordships, which rendered their owners lords of parliament. He was even so zealous in the prosecution of his object, as to lose no opportunity of haranguing his subjects in the church; but he could not succeed in abrogating the authority of the general assembly, where the bishops had no decisive vote. James

\* The family of George Heriot belonged to Trabroun, in the parish of Gladsmuir; but George was born in Edinburgh, in June 1563. His father was a goldsmith of great respectability. He followed the same business, and held the lucrative appointment of jeweller to the king and queen. On the accession of James to the English throne, in 1603, he went to London, where he continued till his death, which happened in February 1624. James entertained a particular friendship for the young goldsmith, and it is reported, by tradition, in Edinburgh, that his Majesty would sometimes condescend to wait on Heriot in his small dingy workshop, which was situated in a close near the west end of the church of St Giles, which adjoined the courts of justice, where his Majesty sometimes presided in person.

The Heriots of Trabroun were a family of great antiquity in East Lothian. George Heriot founded the munificent hospital in Edinburgh that bears his name; which is reckoned a fine specimen of the architecture of the age in which it was built. For this beneficent purpose, after paying annuities to two daughters, he left the sum of about L.24,000. One of the trustees was Dr Walter Balcanqual, dean of Rochester—formerly reader of the common-prayers in the church of Haddington, and one of the clergymen who attended the Earl of Morton in his last moments.

had, therefore, no reason to boast of the reception he met with in his native dominions. Had he kept aloof from meddling with matters of conscience, he might have been a popular monarch. But he who was at one moment a vulgar buffon, and at another a dogmatical preacher, could not appreciate the sentiments of our great moral poet :

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

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

In 1623, James acquiesced in a scheme, with some Scottish gentlemen, for planting a colony in North America ; and, in furtherance of this object, instituted the order of knights baronets of Nova Scotia, in honour of the enterprise, to be conferred on the first adventurers or promoters of the object. They took their denomination from that part of America, which now goes by that name, and which Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, undertook to settle and cultivate with Scotsmen. Being a lively specious person, he prevailed on the Earls of Marischal, Haddington, Nithsdale, and several noblemen and gentlemen, to assist him in completing the settlement ; and each settler who advanced a certain sum of money, was entitled to a portion of land, and the dignity of a baronet. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, is said to have been the first knight of Nova Scotia, and entered into a

contract with Alexander for sending over a number of planters, from the county of Sutherland. The Duke of Roxburgh, the Earls of Lauderdale, Wemyss, &c. and Lord Elibank, were created honorary knights of this order.

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

tinued till the 7th of May; and the night of interment was so tempestous, with thunder and rain, at London and its environs, that it passed the remembrance of any living in these times." \*

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

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

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

\* Calderwood.

† Guthrie, ix.



on the 11th of May, 1633, Charles left London, attended by the Marquis of Hamilton; the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Holland, and the flower of the English nobility, who vied with each other in the splendour of their equipages. His stages, after passing Berwick, were short and slow, and the noblemen, whom he visited, entertained him with vast magnificence. The royal party stopped one night at Dunglas, and another at Seton-house, when the whole of his retinue, both Scots and English, were luxuriously feasted by George third Earl of Winton.\* Next day Charles visited the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith, and from thence proceeded to the metropolis.

We are indebted to Sir James Balfour for the following graphic account of Charles's triumphal entry into Edinburgh: "Entering at Castle-Port, and marching through the city,

\* At this time the palace of Seton stood in the middle of a large plantation of trees of at least twelve acres, with a garden to the south, and another to the north. The house consisted of three large fronts of freestone, with a triangular court in the middle. The front to the south east had, besides other apartments, a noble hall and drawing-room: and it is probable, that this portion of the palace was built in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots; for, on the ceiling of the Great Hall were plastered the arms of Scotland, with the arms of France on one hand, and those of Francis II., then dauphin, with his consort, Queen Mary, in one escutcheon, on the other, surrounded by the French order of St Michael, &c. The front to the north seemed to be the oldest part of the building. The apartments of state were on the second storey, and very spacious; three great rooms at least forty feet high: the furniture of which was covered with crimson velvet laced with gold, and also two large galleries filled with pictures.

The same nobleman erected the house of Winton, in 1619. He also established twelve saltpans in Cockany, where none formerly existed; and built a harbour at the west end of the town, which was destroyed by a storm in 1635.

The site of the new harbour is supposed to be the same as that destroyed by this tempest, where the Earl of Winton commenced building a pier; but which he abandoned, and built the harbour of Port Seton. The commodious port constructed at Cockenzie a few years ago, according to plans furnished by Robert Stevenson, Esq., civil-engineer, Edinburgh, was at the joint expense of William, Robert, and H. F. Cadell, Esquires, for the purpose of shipping coals from Tranent colliery. The foundation stone was laid on the 19th July 1833. It was built from an excellent stone found in its basin, which, in some degree, lessened the expenditure, which at first amounted to L.5000. The depth of water is greater than that of Leith, the ebb-tide seldom leaving the heads, and the entrance is clear and of easy access: from hence coals are exported to France, Portugal, Germany, the Baltic, England, and the northern ports of Scotland.

The old castle of Winton was built by George Lord Seton in 1493; and appears to have been the site of the present edifice. To this he added a garden, called "the Wonder of the Times," which he laid out with something like Dutch taste, erecting about the plots of flowers five score pillars of timber, painted with divers oil colours, two cubits high, with two knobs on their heads, overgilt with gold. He was a learned man, but tinctured with much eccentricity; as he not only set songs to music, but fitted out a ship, called the Aquila, at a great expense, with which he cruised against the pirates of Denmark.

to the palace of Holyrood-house, for many ages this kingdom had not seen a more glorious and stately entry, the streets being all railed and sanded; the chief places where he passed were set out with stately triumphal arches, obelisks, pictures, artificial mountains, adorned with choice music, and divers others costly shows. First, there went on horseback, squires two and two: esquires, knights, his Majesty's servants of the best sort; lords, earls eldest sons; bishops two and two, on velvet foot cloths; viscounts; earls, two and two; archbishop of Glasgow alone; the Earl of Haddington, lord privy-seal; the Earl of Morton, lord-treasurer; Viscount Duplin, lord chancellor; five serjeants at arms, with gilded maces; York herald of England; six Scotch heralds two and two; Norroy king of arms of England; master of requests, two gentleman ushers; and, in the middle betwixt them, Lyon king of arms, on rich foot cloth; the Earl Marshal of Scotland with his baton of office in his hand; the Duke of Lennox, great chamberlain of Scotland, and of his Majesty's household; the Earl of Errol, lord great constable of Scotland, bearing a sheathed sword before his Majesty. Then came the King's majesty, riding on a barbary, with an exceeding caparison of velvet, embroidered with gold and oriental pearls—the bosses of bridle, crupper, and tie, being richly set with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds; and on his head a panache of red and white plumes. After the King, followed James Marquis of Hamilton, master of his Majesty horse, riding on a horse richly mounted; and after him followed four gentlemen of his Majesty's equerry, leading a horse richly furnished with caparison, and foot-cloth of white satin, embroidered with gold, and stones very beautiful to behold. Next came the English noblemen, two and two, gallantly and richly mounted; gentlemen of his Majesty's privy-chamber two and two in order. Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, captain of the pensioners; gentlemen pensioners with their gilded partizans, two and two in order. Henry Earl of Holland, captain of his Majesty's guard: Lastly, came the yeomen of the guard, two and two, with their partizans in their hands,"\*

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

\* Balfour MSS.

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

the servants, who were provided with arms, could not have reached his lodgings alive.\*

To increase the popular ferment, the Archbishop of St Andrews, at the instance of the court, had commenced a criminal process against two ministers, Henderson and Bruce, for not reading the liturgy. Henderson had formerly belonged to the episcopalian persuasion; and was considered a man of learning, and amongst the ablest politicians of the clergy. Conscious of the security of the ground on which they stood, they presented a petition to the council, requesting that the proceedings against them might be suspended, till his Majesty's further pleasure in regard to reading the service-book was known. As Maxwell and the Archbishop of St Andrews, the two leading churchmen, agreed to this proposition, it was at once sanctioned by the council; and a letter was drawn up to Charles in these terms, and signed by the archbishop himself, the Bishops of Edinburgh and Galloway, and the Earls of Roxburgh,† Lauderdale, Morton, Wigton, Southesk, Traquair and Perth; besides the chief officers of state. To this petition Charles returned a very bitter answer; vindicating the affection of his good people of Scotland, and accusing the cowardice or coolness of his council and the magistrates of Edinburgh for the tumult that had occurred. He concluded with a peremptory order, that every bishop should command the book to be read in his diocese, as the Bishops of Ross and Dumblain had

\* This tumultuous day was afterwards remembered in Edinburgh by the appellation of "*Stoney Sunday*."—PECK'S *Desiderata Curiosa*.

† Sir Robert Ker of Cessford was created a peer by the title of Lord Roxburgh, about 1600. He was appointed keeper of the privy-seal in 1637. On the breaking out of the civil war in 1639, he joined king Charles; but on the pacification taking place at Berwick, he returned home. In 1643, he was one of the lords accused of writing a letter from Derby to the Queen, with intelligence of the design of the Scots to take up arms against his Majesty; but which was overlooked. He was deprived of his office of privy-seal, in consequence of his supporting the engagement for the rescue of Charles, by the parliament in 1649, and died in 1660. The Earl of Roxburgh married, 1st, Margaret, only daughter of Sir William Maitland of Lethington; 2nd, Jean, daughter of Patrick third Lord Drummond, who was governess to the children of James VI., which office she executed with applause.—LAING'S *Hist. Scot.* Her funeral was appointed for the rendezvous of the royalists, who projected that opportunity to massacre the covenanters; but they found their numbers too inconsiderable for this diabolical attempt.

In 1618, the Earl of Roxburgh became connected with this county, by receiving a charter of the tenantry of Pincartoun,—of Oswaldene in 1632,—and of the barony of Broxfield in 1642.—*Peerage*.

already done; and that no burgh should choose any magistrate, who did not conform to this indispensable mandate.\* Such arbitrary proceedings awoke the dormant energies of the nation, and the spirit of Knox seemed again to animate the people. Large bodies, headed by the nobility and gentry, appeared before the privy-council, with sixty-eight petitions against the service-book. The Duke of Lennox happening to be in Scotland, was present in council when the Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss, who appeared in the name of the other petitioners, were informed by his grace, that their complaints should be taken into consideration, and a full state of affairs laid before the King. In short, the bishops created by Laud were now, in a great measure, left to themselves; and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, who was the most zealous, retired to his own diocese, and most of the others followed his example, leaving Traquair master of the field, and the wily Laud mortified and astonished.

But as shallow streams make the greatest noise, so these ebullitions of the populace were only expressive of higher and deeper feelings, which were destined to sweep away the embankments of episcopacy from the presbyterian church; for when a proclamation was published at Stirling, pardoning past offences, and enjoining peaceable behaviour, Charles experienced, for the first time, an act of deliberate rebellion against his authority. His measures were opposed by the Earl of Home, Lord Lindsay, and others, by a public protestation, in which, after setting forth their grievances, "they protested that they should not be found liable in any penalties or forfeitures for disobeying orders or proclamations in favour of the book of canons or liturgy; and that they were not answerable for any consequences which might happen in enforcing these innovations." The leaders of the presbyterians at this time were the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, Eglington, Home, Lothian, and Wemyss; and the Lords Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranstoun, and Loudon; who proceeded to form themselves into four Tables; one consisting of the nobility, another of

\* The following was one of the instructions given by Charles to the archbishops and bishops of Scotland, on adopting the new liturgy: "That, in the calendar, you keep such catholic saints as in the English,—that you pester it not with too many,—but such as you insert of the peculiar saints of that our kingdom, that they be of the most approved; and here to have regard to those of the blood-royal, and such holy bishops in every see most renowned; but in no case to omit *St George* and *St Patrick*." These instructions were dated from Newmarket.—GUTHRIE.

gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burgesses. The murmurs which arose among the protestants, at the favour which the Duke of Lennox, a papist, had enjoyed with James VI. gave rise to an association, in 1580, for renouncing the errors of popery. This, and perhaps a recollection of the furious effects produced in France by the Holy League, for extirpating the protestant religion, suggested to the Tables the idea of framing a *covenant*; from whence arose at this time the powerful body of the Covenanters, who were to sustain a trying part in the subsequent persecuting reigns. The people being assembled for the purpose in the Greyfriar's churchyard, the covenant was solemnly read aloud to them. All ranks, conditions, and ages, of either sex, flocked to subscribe this instrument, and with as much ardour as if they believed that the insertion of their names in this parchment scroll, virtually enrolled them in the book of life.\*

Charles, in answer to a petition from the presbyterian body, again declared his willingness to pardon past offences, provided this untoward liturgy was adopted, and implicit obedience paid to his authority in future. The presbyterians, however, now conscious of their strength, scorned to accept of pardon on such terms; and pursued the most active measures for their own security, while the Earl of Traquair repaired to London to persuade his sovereign to yield to the rising storm, which was fast gathering its treasonable clouds. At length, convinced of the urgency of the case, Charles dispatched the pacific Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland with conciliatory overtures and concessions; but as nothing less would satisfy the presbyterians than the abolition of every law which affected the affairs of the Scotican church since the accession of James to the British throne, Hamilton returned from his fruitless task to England, exerting himself to the last to bring about a reconciliation. In the meantime the covenanters, who were pursuing their bold measures with energy, continued their sittings, surrounded by armed parties of their adherents; and were joined by the Earl of Argyle, who became their leader.

\* The original copy of the "covenant" is written on a skin of parchment, four feet long, and three feet eight inches deep. It is so crowded with names on both sides, that not the smallest space is left. Some were so zealous as to add to their signatures, "till death;" and when there was no longer room for subscribing at length, the eager votaries of the covenant filled the margin of the deed with their initials. Copies of it were sent from Edinburgh, and subscribed all over the kingdom.—*ARNOT'S Hist. Edin.*

They rescinded the acts of the assemblies for the last forty years.—deposed the bishops,—abolished episcopacy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons and the liturgy,—and declared them unlawful. Thus the whole patched-up edifice, which James and Charles had been rearing for a series of years, with so much care and solicitude, fell at once to the ground, like “the baseless fabric of a vision,” and only left some wrecks behind to shew that it had existed.

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

Charles kept himself too abstracted in his own majesty, and at too great a distance from his subjects, to know what was in reality passing in Scotland; he was, therefore, startled by the arrival of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and Laud’s other bishops, whom

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

the fury of the covenanters had driven into England ; and his eyes were opened when he saw them followed by Traquair, to whom he had chiefly intrusted the management of ecclesiastical affairs in that country. This gave that nobleman an opportunity of clearing his own conduct at the expense of the bishops, and to possess him with the propriety of milder measures, in which he was supported by the lord-justice-clerk, who had been sent by the council for the purpose. The Earl of Roxburgh, for whom Charles had a personal regard, joined them in the same opinion ; but after all, the truth was obscured, and the king misled by flattering pretences, in the vain hope that the spirit of the covenanters might be subdued.

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

General Leslie proceeded with the Scottish army to Dunse Law, to oppose the royalists. His camp at this time formed a

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



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

\* On the breaking out of the Scots rebellion in 1639, the Earl of Winton was among the first who waited upon Charles, and having left the country for the purpose, his estate was sequestrated, and the keys of his corn and salt girdles taken from his servants. "Nevertheless (says Lord Kingston,) he stayed constantly at the King till the treaty of pacification betwixt his Majesty and the rebels; at the same time the rebels did take upon them to use a forfaiture against him, and gifted the estate, out of their mad and diabolical distraction (in the heat of their cruel and godless rebellion,) to a gentleman of the name of ELPHINSTON, of small account, styled.....But it was thought it was for the real behoof of that arch, cruel, and bloody traitor the then Earl of Argyle. created the first Marquis of Argyle, by king Charles I. in anno 1641. After which year the said rebels renewing their rebellion, anno 1643, in which rebellion the said first Marquis of Argyle was ringleader, promoter, and archtraitor, in carrying on of the Scots army which was at the battle of York, in anno 1644; where the king's army, under the conduct of Prince Rupert, was beat, and did prove the first step to King Charles the First's ruin, cruel and unchristian murder.

"In anno 1643, they did fine the said George earl of Winton, at two several times, in the sum of 36,000 merks, which he was forced to pay, or have his estate sequestrate.

"In anno 1645, when the Marquis of Montrose, by King Charles the First's commission was in Scotland, in arms against the rebels, George lord Seton, son to the said Earl of Winton, joined himself to Montrose for his Majesty's service.

"And at the fight at Philliphaugh, Montrose's forces being defeat, Lord George Seton was taken prisoner, and carried, in the winter time, to the Scots army in England, besieging the town of Newark upon Trent; from thence carried back prisoner (having a guard of horse, both the times, upon his own expence,) to the then castle of St Andrews, where he lay prisoner, in hazard of his life, till such time as his father paid 40,000 pounds Scots; which sum, by the rebellious Scots, (as they stiled themselves, the States of Scotland,) at that time sitting in parliament at St Andrews, was distribute among their fellow active rebels.

"In anno 1648, when James first Duke of Hamilton went, as general, with an rich royal army, lifted and sent to England by the power of that loyal parliament, for the relief of King Charles I., then prisoner at Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight; the

This truce, however, was of short duration, and General Leslie, with a fresh army, again took the field as commander-in-chief. He marched into England in August 1640; attacked the royal army at Newburn; completely routed them; and obtained possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, with large magazines of provisions and arms.

The same year, Thomas, second Earl of Haddington, who favoured the cause of the covenanters, was constituted colonel of one of their regiments. When General Leslie marched into England, his lordship was left behind to watch the motions of the garrison of Berwick, and fixed his quarters at Dunglas castle, where there was a considerable magazine of gunpowder. His lordship continued in that fortress till the 30th August, when an event occurred which plunged many noble and ancient families into the deepest grief. About mid-day, as he was standing in a court of the castle, surrounded by several gentlemen, to whom he was reading a letter he had just received from General Leslie, the powder-magazine blew up; and one of the side walls in an instant overwhelmed him and all his company, with the exception of four persons, who were thrown by the force of the explosion to a considerable distance. The Earl of Haddington was found among the ruins, and buried in the family aisle in the ancient chapel of Tynningham. With his lordship perished his brother, the Hon. Robert Hamilton of West-Binning, in the county of Linlithgow; Patrick Hamilton, his natural brother; Sir John Hamilton of Redhouse, his cousin-german;\* Sir Alexander Hamilton of

said George earl of Winton gave, in free gift, to the said James duke of Hamilton, for ordering his equipage for that journey, one thousand pound Sterling."—See *Lord Kingstoun's Hist. House Seyton*, published from the MAITLAND MSS. by the Bannatyne Club.

The Earl of Winton had now, alas! engaged in a lost cause, and made purchases which were soon to pass from his posterity. He purchased two considerable feu lands in Longquidry, hereditarily; the one from Sir George Douglas, in the end of the town: and the other from the Laird of Corserphine. He also bought the teinds of Longquidry from Bothwell, lord Holyroodhouse. He purchased the house and lands of Gourleton (Garleton); the half of Athelstaneford, from Sir John Tours, laird of Inverleith, and the other half of the same lands from Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton: these lands he provided for his eldest son then living of the second marriage, called Sir John Seton, created knight baronet of Scotland by Charles II.

\* Sir John Hamilton served with the Scots troops sent to assist Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, in 1631. His father (Sir Andrew,) married Jean, the daughter and heiress of John Laing of Redhouse, one of the Senators of the college of Justice in the reign of James VI. The ruins of Redhouse are situated in Aberlady parish, near the small stream which divides it from Gladsmuir, and has left some massy walls to mark its ancient magnificence.

Innerwick ; and Alexander, his son and heir ; Colonel the Hon. Sir Alexander Erskine, fourth son of the seventh Earl of Mar, brother-in-law of Lord Haddington ; Sir Gideon Baillie of Lochend ; James Inglis of Ingliston ; and John Cooper of Gogar.— A report prevailed that Dunglas was designedly blown up by Edward Paris, an English boy, page to Lord Haddington, in consequence of his master jestingly telling him, that his countrymen were a pack of cowards, in suffering themselves to be beaten, and to run away from Newburn ; which so enraged the youth, that he took a hot iron, and thrust it into one of the powder barrels, perishing himself with the rest.\*

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

The Scottish army, satisfied in their demands, having retired to their own country, the factions at Westminster were uneasy lest the king and his subjects in Scotland should come to too good an

\* Balfour's MS. Annals.—Scotstarvet's Epitome.

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

This was the last visit Charles was doomed to pay to Scotland. On his return to London, he found it a chaos of anarchy and confusion. A new religious sect had sprung up, with Cromwell at its head, called " Independents," who went a step farther than the covenanters, and not only sought the extirpation of prelacy but of the clergy altogether, and to adopt the presbyterian form of church-government over the kingdom. In this exigency the assistance of the Scots was solicited, upon which 18,000 infantry, and 8000 cavalry, commanded by Leslie, marched into England.

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

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

marching to Philiphaugh, attacked Montrose, who, after a spirited defence, met with an irretrievable defeat.

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

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

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

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

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

The independents, under Cromwell, having gained the whole power of the state, brought an accusation against the King, as the author of all the miseries and bloodshed of the civil war. A tribunal, consisting chiefly of soldiers of fortune, and the creatures of Cromwell, was appointed for his trial. Before such adventurers fallen greatness could obtain little commiseration. After the examination of a few witnesses, sentence of death was pronounced against Charles; and, on the 30th January, 1649, he was beheaded in front of Whitehall, in the 49th year of his age, and 21th of his reign.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

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

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

OLIVER CROMWELL, who was appointed to the Protectorate of the commonwealth of England, found an easy pretext for invading Scotland. The ostensible reason was that the Scots had given shelter to the sons of Charles Stuart, who had taken refuge in the land of their ancestors; but it was more likely with an intention to consolidate his own power, that he took this daring step. The Scots were much startled at the approach of the English armament, which consisted of a body of 16,000 men. It is reported that they were in want of arms, particularly of swords, and that six shillings a-piece was offered for that desirable weapon.\* The invaders “prized” or destroyed all the corn and

\* “All foot soldiers (says Hodgson, in his Memoirs,) had swords before, and long after the introduction of the bayonet. Shadwell, in one of his comedies describes, the Roundheads or Puritans “in high-crowned hats, collared bands, great loose coats, long tuckes (swords) under them, and calves'-leather boots. They used to sing a psalm, fall on, and beat us to the devil.”—*The Volunteers*, Act iii. They were styled Roundheads, from the practice prevalent among them of cropping their hair round.

Bishop Burnet gives a more formidable account of the covenanting army, though a very sorry one of their equipage. “Every soldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal; and they had a drove of cattle with them for their food. They had also an invention of guns of white iron tinned, and done about with leather, and corded so that they could serve for two or three discharges. These were light, and were carried on horses: and when they came to Newburn, the English army that defended the Ford was surpris'd with a discharge of artillery: some thought it magic; and all were put in

grass on the Borders, while the people fled northward, carrying their goods along with them.

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

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

The Scots set their beacons on fire the same night. The countrymen took the alarm, and drove away their cattle, while the clergy, incensed against the invaders, represented them to the people as the "monsters of the world." The English, in their progress, found the country deserted,—at Ayton, and other places, none but the aged and decrepid remained, while the women were described as "sorry creatures," clothed in white flannel, bemoaning the fate of their husbands, whom the lairds of the towns had forced to "gang to the muster."\* Cromwell lodged for the night in the mansion-house of Sir James Nichol-

such disorder that the whole army did run with so great precipitation, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had a command in it, did not stick to own, that till he passed the Tees his legs trembled under him. This struck many of the enthusiasts of the King's side, as much as it exalted the Scots.—BURNER'S *Hist.* Lond. 1724.

\* Original Memoirs of the Civil War.

von at Cockburnspath: the village of which is then described as a sea-port town, fourteen miles from Berwick.

On Friday, July 26th, the Protector marched to Dunbar, where, after receiving a supply of provisions from his ships, which had arrived from Newcastle, he departed to Haddington. Sunday morning, July 28th, the invaders learning that the Scots were preparing to meet them at Gladsmuir, beat their drums at an early hour, in order that they might gain possession of the moor before them; but on reaching that place, as no considerable body of the Scots appeared, Major-General Lambert and Colonel Whalley were sent as a vanguard to Musselburgh. That night, the division, which Captain Hodgson accompanied, lay in the fields, in a village, he calls Lichnagarie (Langniddrie),\* and encountered a most tempestuous night, the arms of the soldiers were nearly spoiled, and for the moment rendered unserviceable. "About eleven o'clock (says this honest soldier,) we wanted our bread and cheese, and drew off towards Musselburgh, and the van of our army marching too fast, as if we had been at a great distance from the enemy, they took courage, and came swarming out like bees, horse and foot; fell upon our rear of horse, where they were sore put to it, at Lichnagarie (Langniddrie), cut and hewed Major-General Lambert, took him prisoner, and were carrying him away towards Edinburgh; but the valiant Lieutenant Emson, one of Hacker's officers, pursued with five or six of our soldiers, and hewed him out, and brought him back to his own foot regiment."

This attack was made by two bodies of Scottish horse, the one from Leith, and the other from the Canongate. Captain Evan-son, who received the charge of the last body was routed, as well as Cromwell's "Own Regiment," which supported him; but Colonel Hacker, who was engaged with the troops that had advanced from Leith, repulsed them with loss. It is reported that the young Scottish King, who stood on the castle-hill, to behold the fight, when he saw his troops beaten on both sides, called them his "green-hornes." † The success of the day was chiefly owing to the bravery of Lambert. His horse was shot under him, and he received two wounds, the one with a lance in the thigh,

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

† Relation of the Fight at Leith, &c.



and the other in the arm with a *tuck*. Early next morning, the Scots, under Major-General Montgomery and Strachan renewed the attack. The English horse were driven into disorder; and their army alone preserved by the vigilance of Lambert's regiment of infantry, in which Hodgson was a captain. The assailants amounted to 800 picked men, armed with cuirasses, lances, and pistols. They were called "the Kirk Regiment of Horse;" but in the eyes of their opponents they must have deserved another name. It is reported that several English cavaliers on the royal side, had mingled with them, and that one soldier, when mortally wounded, exclaimed with his last gasp: "D—— me, I'll go to my king!"\* After this gallant assault, the Scots were, however, routed;—they were chased within the precincts of Edinburgh, and many of them taken prisoners.

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

Cromwell having taken up a position on the Pentland hills, where he pitched his tents, endeavoured to cut off the supplies of

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

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

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

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

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

\* "The word given at the Water of Leith was 'Rise, Lord!' The body of foot advancing within less than twice musket shot; and then was discovered such a bog on both our wings of horse, that it was impossible to passe over. Thus, by this very unexpected hand of Providence, were we prevented, and only had liberty to play with our cannon that evening and part of the next morning, which did good execution, as we believe upon them. We had very strange and remarkable deliverances from theirs, though they played very hard upon us, and that with such art; but the Lord suffered them not to do us much hurt: we had not slain and wounded above five-and-twenty men. We finding it not possible to engage them, and far from our provisions, divers of our men having cast away their basket, with their tents, out of a confidence they should then fight; we, therefore, resolved upon our March back to the sea-side,—the enemy likewise hastened towards Edinburgh."—*Letters from Scot. read in Parliament*, London 1650. We learn from the above and other passages, that bread and cheese was the fare of the English puritanical army, which was certainly preferable to the little bag of oatmeal, which the hardy Scot carried in his haversack.

ed to the King, which your London cavaliers might perhaps believed.”\*

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

The English army now retraced its steps to Haddington, and was closely followed by flying parties of the Scots. On the 31st

\* Relation of the Fight at Leith.—London, 1650.

August, the invaders departed from Musselburgh; and, in the meantime, their van-brigade of horse, with their foot and train, had resumed their quarters. The Scots pursuing fell upon the rear-forlorn of the horse, and put them into disorder; and "indeed," says the writer of the Relation, "had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our afore-mentioned forlorn." The army succeeded in drawing themselves up in a tolerably secure position; but at midnight the Scots made an attack upon their entrenchment at the westward of Haddington; and, with a party of mounted musketeers, attempted to come near the town walls, and sent a volley of shot into their encampment. A regiment of foot, under Colonel Charles Fairfax, and a regiment of horse, were instantly drawn out to guard the town; the assailants were driven back, and the Highlanders throwing down their arms, made a rapid retreat.\*

Next morning, being Sunday, the 1st of September, 1650, Cromwell drew up his army in an open field, on the south side of Haddington, where he awaited the Scots, not judging it safe to attack them on the ground which they had an opportunity of selecting. After remaining here till ten o'clock in the forenoon, and after prayer had been made in several regiments, as the Scots shewed no disposition for an immediate attack, the English sent their waggons and carriages to Dunbar, and pursued their retreat. The Scots having gained courage and strength, now hung upon their rear, closely pursued the retiring hosts, and gathering like clouds on the bold sloping promontories that terminate the pastoral range of the Lammermoors, endeavoured to intercept or destroy their way to Berwick. The army of Leslie, however, was not destined to be blest with that victory which seemed now within his reach. It was completely under the command of a wild and fanatical committee of the clergy, who imagined that the sword of the spirit of faith, could annihilate the sword of steel, wielded by human hands against forms of clay. The gallant veteran (Leslie,) had taken up an almost impregnable situation

\* Hodgson's Memoirs.

on the Doon-hill, immediately above the village of Spott, where the clergy, after ordering the King to leave the camp, and purging it of all malignants, among whom were some of his best soldiers, compelled Leslie, against every remonstrance, to descend from the heights, and drive Cromwell into the sea. Like the army of Jerubbaal they exclaimed: "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon," when Cromwell discerning through his telescope,\* this extraordinary movement in the Scottish camp, with equal fervour cried out: "They are coming down, the Lord has delivered them into our hands!"—The English van was led by Major-General Lambert, and consisted of six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot. They charged the Scots up a steep ascent, and before the foot came up, there was a gallant resistance, and every inch of ground disputed at the sword's point by the rival cavalry. The first foot were soon overpowered, when Cromwell's own regiment seasonably advanced; and, in his own words, "at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give." After little more than one hour's dispute, the Scots army became a mass of moving confusion, The infantry threw down their arms, and both horse and foot fled indiscriminately; some to Cockburnspath, others to Dunbar, where they were surrounded and taken, and the greater part to Edinburgh. The fugitives were pursued by Cromwell's horse to the gates of Haddington, slaughtering and wounding them in their retreat. In this great conflict, while the Scots lost 4000 slain, and 10,000 prisoners,† that of the English was comparatively trifling.

\* When at Dunbar, Cromwell took up his residence in the Earl of Roxburgh's house. (now Broxmouth,) in the immediate scene of the action. A gentle eminence east from the mansion, still called Cromwell Mount, is the spot where he reconnoitred Leslie's forces. The English were in a state of starvation, and the least evil seemed to be to kill their horses, and put the army into the transports lying at Dunbar, and sail back to Newcastle: the protector, however, was spared this disgrace through the impetuosity of his opponents. In the words of Bishop Burnet: "So Cromwell called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord, in their style. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards: He said he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill; and, by prospective glasses, they discerned a great motion in the Scottish camp, upon which Cromwell said, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us."—BURNET'S *Hist.* I.

† Many men of distinction fell in this fatal conflict; amongst whom were the Homes of Wedderburn, father and son; Sir William Douglas of Kirkness, who appears to have fallen at Broxmouth, as a plain stone, bearing his name, lies in the shrubbery south-

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

This great battle, which has been indifferently styled the battle of Doonhill or of Dunbar, began about six o'clock in the morning of the 3d September 1650.\* Cromwell remained at Dunbar the following day, and wrote letters to the House of Commons detailing his triumphs. The colours taken from the Scots, were

east from the house. Amongst the prisoners were several of the nobility; 12 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 40 captains, &c.; 32 pieces of ordnance were taken, with 200 colours, horse and foot; and their arms, tents, and baggage. It is asserted, by Walker, that after the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell sent a thousand of the wounded men in a gallantry to the Countess of Winton.—See *History of Dunbar*, where there is an ample account of this great victory. In a letter, addressed by Sir Arthur Hesilrige to the Council of State at Whitehall, an expression is made use of, which makes the mind shudder, and calls to recollection Napoleon's affair at Jaffa in later times. After the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell set at liberty the wounded, or those who were disabled for future service. Amidst the multitude there were a number of old men and boys, who were of course set at liberty. These, with the wounded before mentioned, amounted to about 5100: the rest amounting to about 3500, were conducted by Major Hobson to Berwick, and from thence conveyed by some foot soldiers and a troop of horse to Newcastle. At Morpeth the unhappy wretches were put into a large walled garden, and as they had fasted, according to their own account, for nearly eight days, they devoured raw cabbages, leaves, and roots, which poisoned their bodies, and ere they reached Newcastle, many of them died by the way side. They were lodged in the great church of Newcastle, and next morning seven score were sick, and unable to march. Several died on the road betwixt Newcastle and Durham. Sir A. Hesilrige sent his lieutenant-colonel to tell them over in the cathedral church where they were lodged, and he could only count 3000, being a deficiency of 500 since they had left Dunbar. "I believe, (says Sir Arthur,) they were not told at Berwick, and most of those that were lost, it was in Scotland; for I heard that the officers that marched with them to Berwick, were necessitated to kill about thirty; fearing the loss of them all, for they fell down in great numbers, and said they were not able to march, and they brought them far in the night, so that doubtless many ran away." According to his own account, he treated them with as much humanity as circumstances admitted. They were provided with a hundred fires by day and night, with straw to lie upon; pottage made with oatmeal, and beef and cabbage, a full quart at a meal for every prisoner. Of these unhappy wretches 1600 and 60 officers were dead and buried at Newcastle, while at Durham there remained only 600 in health in the cathedral, and 500 sick in the castle.

\* It has been remarked that Cromwell's principal victories at Dunbar and Worcester, happened on the 3d of September; and finally his death on that ominous day.

afterwards hung up in Westminster-hall, and medals of gold and silver distributed to the soldiery.\*

Returning to Leith and Edinburgh with his victorious army, both places yielded to Cromwell without the least resistance. The power of the covenanting clergy was now demolished at one blow by the farmer of St Ives;† while by a strange anomaly their

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

List of the Scottish army at Dunbar.

THE HORSE AT DUNBAR BATTLE.	THE FOOT AT DUNBAR BATTLE.
The Earle of Leaven's (Al. Lealie) Rgl. . . . . 1	Lieutenant Gen. Lumsdale . . . . . 1
Leu: Gen. Laahle (David Lealie) . . . . . 2	Major Gen. Hobron . . . . . 2
Major Gen. Mongoury . . . . . 3	Major Gen. Pettscobbie . . . . . 3
Ma: Gen. Browne . . . . . 4	Coll. Lawnes . . . . . 4
Coll. Cragg . . . . . 5	Coll. Innis . . . . . 5
Coll. Arnott . . . . . 6	These commanded Brigades.
Coll. Strathan . . . . . 7	
Master of Forbos . . . . . 8	Coll. Glanagis . . . . . 6
Coll. Scott . . . . . 9	Coll. Tallfield . . . . . 7
Sir James Hackert . . . . . 10	Lord Killcowberry . . . . . 8
Lord Mackline . . . . . 11	Lord of Egell . . . . . 9
Lord Brieheh . . . . . 12	Mr Louet . . . . . 10
Coll. Scotts Cragg . . . . . 13	Lord of Buchannon . . . . . 11
Sir Robert Adair . . . . . 14	Sr. Elex Stuard . . . . . 12
Coll. Steward . . . . . 15	Gen: of the Artillery's Regi. Weams . 13
Earl of Casseats . . . . . 16	Coll. Hume . . . . . 14
Robert Harkbert . . . . . 17	Coll. fireland . . . . . 15
Coll. Gibby Carr . . . . . 18	
Adjutant Gen. Bickerton . . . . . 19	Reg. of foot . . . . . 16
Regiments of Horse . . . . . 19	

The following anecdote, in allusion to a heroine of humorous notoriety, evidently applies to some of the foraging parties of the parliamentary army: "There hath been a tradition in the burgh of North Berwick, and country about, handed down to this time from father to son, that when Oliver Cromwell, that grand usurper, hypocrite, and great wicked man, lay with his army encamped about Dunbar, before the battle of Doonhill, that he had sent a party to North Berwick, where Sir Robert Lander, then of Bass, had his house, with barn-yard and other office-houses. The party entered the barn, where the corn was sacked up, ready to be carried out to be sown; the party having offered to carry off the corn for the use of their master, the Lord Protector, (as they called him,) his army, Sir Robert's servant went into the house, and acquainted Mrs Margaret, alias Maggy Lander, Sir Robert's sister, who had the management of his family and affairs. She immediately ordered the sharpest knife and flail to be brought to her, and went into the barn, where, after upbraiding the party, she ripped up the sacks, and managed the flail with such dexterity, that she beat off the party; for which she most deservedly may be accounted amongst the greatest and most glorious heroines of that age. Sir Robert was obliged at that time to abscond, because he was a loyalist, as all of that and other families of that name have almost always been, and still continue."—*MS. vol. Genealogical Collect. Advocates' Lib.* To which family it appears, we are indebted for at least the name, if not also the character of the heroine of the song of "Maggy Lander."—*CHAMBERS' Scottish Songs.*

† Cromwell was descended from a respectable English family; but previous to entering the army he followed the profession of a farmer and brewer.

young King, whom they had held in thralldom, escaping from two professedly religious parties, now pitted against each other, was in the hands of the Scots royalists at Perth; and that party which at one time was so confident of success, that the most zealous among them boasted, that they should carry the triumphant banners of the covenant to Rome itself, stood abashed. "In short, Charles had been reduced to so singular a situation, (observes Arnot,) that the defeat of the army fighting in the field in his behalf was to him rather a matter of triumph; for thereby he was exempted from the horrible tyranny to which the ecclesiastics, elated by victory, would have subjected him." The path of fame and fortune, and those "steps of glory that lead but to the grave," now lay before the Protector of the Commonwealth, and he followed up his victories with a greater success than his ambition and hypocrisy every merited.\* In his defence, it has been urged, that, in assuming the cloak of religion, he only fought his opponents with their own weapons. To this remark we cannot concede, as on the side of the covenanters were many sincere and amiable men, who were no enemies to the rights due to Cesar, provided they were left unmolested in matters of conscience. Britain was now as much under a military despotism, as France

\* When Cromwell was at Dunbar, one Hannah Trapnall, a prophetess, appeared in his train, as we learn from the following document:

"Jan. 16.—*A Brevat of Hannah, whom some call a Prophetess, in Whitehall.*

"There is one Hannah, a maid that lives at Hackney, near the city of London, the same that was formerly at Dunbar, a member of Mr John Simpson's church (as is said) who lives at one Mr Robert's, an ordinary in Whitehall, to whom many hundreds do daily come to see and hear, who hath now been there about a fortnight. Those that look to her, and use to be with her, say she neither eateth nor drinketh, save only sometimes a toast and drink, and that she is in a trance, and some say that which she doth is by a mighty inspiration; others say they suppose her to be of a troubled mind, and people flocking to her so as they do, causeth her to continue this way, and some say worse, as every one gives their opinions as they please; but this is visible to those that hear her. Her custom is to pray sometimes an hour, and sometimes two hours, and then sings two hymns, in two several tunes, and then prays again, &c. Her matter is various, full of variety, for the Lord Protector, that God would keep him close to himself, as he hath hitherto, so still to have his heart set upon the things of the Lord, not to be vain, nor regard earthly pomp or pleasure, and things below, but the things of God and his people; that he may be delivered from carnal councils, and being seduced to please the men of the world, and those that seek unrighteousness; that he may not leave the council of the godly, to hearken to them who are worldly wise, and earthly politicians, but wise in the wisdom of God.

"Hannah, the maid that prayed at Whitehall, of whom you have the particulars before, this day, rose and went from Whitehall home, speedily and lustily."—See *State Affairs in Cromwelliana*.



ever was during the halcyon days of Napoleon. An incident occurred, while the army was on its march to the Pentland hills, shewing that it assumed the privilege of choosing its own officers. "Colonel Bright having resigned through disgust at some ill usage, when we were at Alnwick, (says Hodgson,) several colonels came into the head of the regiment, and told the soldiers, the general was much troubled such a regiment should want a colonel; who would they have? The soldiers told them they had a good colonel; but he had left them, and they knew not whom they might have. The colonel asked if they would have Colonel Monk? 'Colonel Monk!' said some of them, 'what! to betray us! We took him not long since at Nantwick prisoner: will have none of him!' The next day the colonels came again, and propounded the case afresh; and asked if they would have Major-General Lambert to be their colonel? At which they all threw up their hats, and shouted, 'a Lambert! a Lambert!' and on the general placing himself at the head of the regiment, he was received with loud acclamations."

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

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

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

called *St Baldred's well*, where tradition reports the artillery to have been planted.\*

At this epoch the beautiful castle of *Direlton* was the favourite resort of a body of moss-troopers, who, "with burnished brand and musquetoon," harassed the country. "On the 8th November 1650, (says *Rushworth*,) Colonel *Monck*, with 1600 foot and a detachment of horse, four pieces of ordnance and a mortar, proceeded to attack *Derlton House*, near *Haddington*, which was occupied by some moss-troopers; a species of mauraders very troublesome in *Cumberland* and *Northumberland* in 1647. *Fleetwood* and *Lilburn's* horse surrounded the house to keep in the enemy. *Lambert* and *Monk* appeared before it with the artillery and foot on Friday night, broke open the gates, beat down the draw-bridge, and rent and tore the house; the lieutenant of the moss-troopers was killed, and his body smashed, when the remainder called for quarter."†

\* [TANTALLON CASTLE.]—This stronghold of the *Douglases* ranked next to that of *Dunbar*, in *East Lothian*, as a place of strength; and it is supposed to have been built by that potent family, when the overgrown power of the *Earls of Dunbar* had awakened their jealousy. The following curious etymology of the place is given in *Blacæ's Atlas*. Two superintendents of the building, called *Thomas* and *Allan*, got permission from the lord of the castle to inscribe their names on a prominent part of the walls in Latin, which stood *Tom et Allan*: hence the country people called it the castle of *Tom 't Allan*.

Tantallon castle stands about two miles and a half east from *North Berwick*, nearly opposite the *Bas rock*, on a high and almost insulated rocky piece of ground overlooking the sea, which surrounds it on three sides. The greater part of the buildings remain in a ruinous state. The only approach is from the west, which was defended by batteries. The interior of the edifice exhibits such a labyrinth of inaccessible passages, broken vaulted chambers, and staircases, that it is only by means of a ladder that a progress can be made through the castle. Above the entrance there still remains, sculptured in a stony shield, almost effaced, the memorable emblem of the "Bloody Heart," the well known ensign of the *Douglas*. Such an inaccessible and solitary place was well fitted in latter times for the den of the freebooter and the smuggler, who have frequently used it as a depot for their plunder and contraband goods.

The barony of *North Berwick*, with the castle of *Tantallon*, was forfeited by the *Earl of Douglas*, in 1455. In 1479 they were given by *James III.* to *Archibald*, fifth *Earl of Angus*, whom we have formerly noticed under the sobriquet of "*Bell-the-Cat*;" and whom *Sir Walter Scott* has immortalized in the descriptive poem of *Marmion*. In 1522, (see p. 58) when *Angus* was attainted, the lands again fell to the crown; and on some necessary repairs being made on the fort in 1538, *David Borthwick*, captain of *Tantallon* applied to the town of *Haddington* for the loan of some useful materials, amongst which were "three yrn nailis, and ane dog." This mighty stronghold, as we have related, was abandoned by the *Marquis of Douglas*, and fell before the fiery zeal of the covenanters, while the independents in their turn completed its ruin.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the castle and lands were sold by the *Duke of Douglas*, to *Lord President Dalrymple*, and are now inherited by his descendant, *Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart.*

† *Rushworth's Historical Collections.*

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

\* [DIRLETON CASTLE].—This ancient ivy-mantled fortress originally belonged to the family of De Vaux, or De Vallibus, of French or Norman extraction, who probably came over in the train of William the Conqueror. At an early period this fortress must have been of considerable importance ; for, in 1298, the progress of Edward I. was stopped by Dirleton castle, but, after a resolute defence, it surrendered to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham. Among the orders of Edward relative to the adherents of Robert I. in 1306, are directions for taking into custody Mons. Johan de Vaus et Mons. Alexandre de Seton, when they should return from the voyage they were gone with Mons. Johan Moubray towards the Isles, for seizing the castle of Dirleton, belonging to Vaus, and the lands, tenements, goods, and chattels of Alexander de Seton ; and for bringing their persons before the king. At the above siege the English, who were reduced to great scarcity for want of provisions, subsisted on the peas and beans they picked up in the fields. This presents us with a favourable view of the agriculture in East Lothian (observes Lord Hailes,) so far back as the 13th century ; and, in a statistical account of the pariah, in 1627, we meet with a further testimony of its ancient fertility : " There is no occasion of lying within the *Lordschipp* of Diriltome, siclyke ther growes noe quheate in all the town of Gulane, Elbottle, and most part of the Colledge steid."—*Document Reg.-Office*, Maister ANDRO MARONIE, Minr.

From its first proprietors the lands of Dirleton passed to Sir John Halyburton, who married the heiress of De Vallibus. Their grandson, Sir Walter Halyburton, high-treasurer of Scotland, was created a peer about 1447. Patrick, sixth Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, was succeeded in his estates by his eldest daughter Janet, married to William second Lord Ruthven. Their son, Patrick, Lord Ruthven and Dirleton, was grandfather of John, Earl of Gowrie, whose traitorous attempt upon James VI. terminated in his death and forfeiture. Dirleton, thus forfeited, was bestowed on Sir Thomas Erskine, the captain of the English guard, who rescued the King, and was successively created Lord Dirleton, Viscount Fenton, and Earl of Kellie, which titles are now held by the Earl of Mar. From that family Dirleton passed by purchase to Sir John Maxwell of Innerwick ; and from him, in 1663, to Sir John Nisbet, king's advocate, one of the most eminent lawyers at the Scottish bar. Having no male issue he settled his great estates on his nephew, William Nisbet, Esq. of Craigtintny, member for the county of Haddington in the last parliament of Scotland, and in the first of Great Britain. From him descended the late William Hamilton Nisbet, Esq. of Bell and Dirleton,—a gentleman distinguished for his classic taste and other acquirements,—also member of parliament for East Lothian in 1779, whose daughter and heiress married the late Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Raith, M.P. for Haddingtonshire in 1835.

The fine garden which surrounds the magnificent ruins of the castle is kept in the greatest beauty, to which an excellent bowling-green is attached. The words which Goldsmith addressed to his beloved Auburn, may, with equal propriety, be applied to the village of Dirleton, which, with its anglo-gothic cottages, flower-plots, and shrubberies, is not only " the loveliest village of the plain," but perhaps of Europe.

" Weeds fringe its ramparts : o'er the crumbling walls.  
In gay festoon the clustering wild-flower falls ;

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

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

Monk was also authorized to recommend to the town of Haddington, a proper person to represent the burghs in parliament. He accordingly wrote to Sir William Seton, the provost, on the 31st December, 1658, suggesting Dr Thomas Clairges, his brother-in-law, as one well qualified for that important office,—a gentleman who had done much service to Scotland,—and as one not likely

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The owl at midnight, and the merle at morn,—  
The ploughman's team—the hunter's early horn—  
Are all that stir those slumbering echoes where  
Strength sat in state, and Beauty flourish'd fair."

\* Hume, vii.

to be chargeable to them,—with a request that he should forward the substance of the Lord-General's letter to the other burghs.\*

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

\* The following is the copy of Sir William Seton's letter to the Magistrates of Dunbar:

“MUTCH HONORED AND WORTHIE FRINDR,—

“Our toune heath receaved ane letter from my Lord General, recommending to us our Parliament man. He makis mention of one Doctor Thomas Clairgis, only brother to his Lady, a man that heath doune great scruse to the toune of Edmbrouche. Hie is agent for the Counsell of England and Scotland: withall, my Lord wrytis to us, that hie, a gentellman, that will not be chargeable to us. It is my Lordis dissyre to us to gif zou notis of this gentellman which his Lo: heath recomendit. Our commissair will attend upone zouris Monday in the morning or at nicht, that upone Tuesday they may go away airly. This letter of my Lord Generalis is to be carried allong to the rest of the burrouse. This is the substans of the letter that is writtine to zou by him.

“Who is zour weiry affectionat frind & seruant,

W. SEATOUNE.

“HADINGTOUNE, the 31. of December, 1658.

“For my honored frindis the Byllis of DUNBAR.”

† MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR HADDINGTON DURING THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

In “a Catalogue of the Names of the Members of the Second or Little Parliament,” held by Cromwell, in 1653, “whereof, those [marked with a star, were for the Godly Learned Ministry and Universities,” we meet with the following:

*Scotland*.—Sir James Hope, \* Alexander Bredy, John Swinton, \* William Lockhart. Alexander Jefferies.

In the parliament of the Commonwealth, begun at Westminster, 3d of September, 1654: *Sheriffdom of East Lothian*.—Mr Benjamin Brisse of Dolphinton (Dolphingston).;

For the Burghs of *Peebles, Selkirk, Jeddart, Lauder, North Berwick, Dunbar, and Haddington*.—Mr William Tompson, burgess of Haddington.

In the parliament held at Westminster, the 17th September, 1656: *Sheriffdom of East Lothian*.—John second Earl of Tweeddale.

For the Burghs of *Peebles, Selkirk, Jeddart, Lauder, North Berwick, Dunbar, and Haddington*.—George Downing, Esq. Scout-master General.

In the late parliament held at Westminster, for the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, January 27th, 1658:

*Sheriffdom of East Lothian*.—John Earl of Tweeddale.

For the Burghs of *Peebles, Selkirk, Jeddart, Lauder, North Berwick, Dunbar, and Haddington*.—Doctor Thomas Claerges of Westminster, Esquire.

In the parliament held at Westminster, 26th April, 1660, which voted for the restoration of Charles, Scotland is not included. This House of Commons is then designated as one consisting of Presbyterians and Commonwealth's men, who choose rather to submit to a kingly government, than be enslaved by the officers of the army, who at that time attempted to get the sole government of the nation into their custody.—See “*The Church of England Man's Vade Mecum*.” London 1711.

‡ In the old orchard of Dolphingston, (adjacent to the post-road), are the vestiges of a house, where, it is reported, Cromwell slept a night when in Scotland.

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

Grenville found means to get acquainted with Monk's brother, a clergyman in Devonshire; and finding him willing to engage in the royal service, intrusted him with Charles's letter to the general. Dr Clairges, M.P. for Haddington, accompanied his reverend friend to Scotland for the same purpose; and endeavoured to persuade Monk to declare for his exiled master. In the meanwhile, Richard Cromwell, although supported by the

\* It may not be uninteresting to notice, how General Monk got introduced to the Clarges family. George Monk, the first Duke of Albemarle, was born at Potheridge, in Devonshire, in 1606, and was a younger son of Sir Thomas Monk. Having unfortunately slain a man, he was necessitated to fly to the Low Countries, where he learned the art of war, and before his return from the Netherlands he had attained the rank of captain. He afterwards served in the army, which Charles I. sent against Scotland, in 1640; and, upon the Scottish pacification, he was employed against the Irish rebels. He arrived at the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army belonging to the King's party; but, on their defeat at Nantwick, by Fairfax, in 1644, Monk, with other prisoners, was consigned to the tower, where he remained in confinement two years. Petrarch found love a native of the rocks, but Monk found the little urchin nestling in the precincts of his prison, and here he first got acquainted with Ann Clarges, the daughter of John Clarges, a blacksmith in the Strand, who was his laundress, and whom he married after she had lived with him some time as his mistress. He was long a decided royalist, and refused to serve in the parliamentary army, till his scruples being overcome, he accompanied Cromwell in his expedition for the reduction of Scotland in 1651. Bishop Burnet says that "Monk was ravenous as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both asked (from the king) and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time."

best regiments in England and Scotland, destitute of the resolution and enterprise, which enabled his father to sway the jarring elements of the state, suffered himself to be led aside by a faction, dissolved the parliament, and, on a considerable yearly pension being secured to him, surrendered the reins of government; yet, doubtless, in his prudent retirement, enjoyed that tranquillity which ambition cannot command, and which power cannot bestow.

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

The officers of that parliament which had voted the destruction of Charles, and which Cromwell had turned out of doors, were now determined to restore the same body. The Rump Parliament, (which was its appellation,) on being reinstated, exerted itself with full vigour to lessen the power by which it

was re-established. The officers, on the other hand, were now as strenuous to dissolve by force the assembly they had restored, and so zealously supported; accordingly, General Lambert, who fought in the van with Monk, at the battle of Doon-hill, having drawn up a chosen body of troops, placed them in the vicinity of Westminster-hall, and when the speaker, Lenthall, appeared in his carriage, proceeding towards the house, he ordered his horses to be turned round, and very civilly conducted him home. In like manner the other members were intercepted by the military despots, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or followed their outrages!

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

\* FROM GENERAL MONK RESPECTING ASSESSMENT.

*"For my very loving Frinds the Magistrates of the Burgh of Haddingtoun.*

"GENTLEMEN—Haveing a call from God and his people to march into England, to assert and maintaine the liberty and being of Parliaments, our antient constitution, and therein the freedome and rights of the people of these three nations, from arbitrary and



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

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

The Lord-General of Scotland still preserved an inflexible taciturnity. Locke, in his *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, says, "Monk

tyrannicall usurpations upon their consciences, persons and estates, and for a godly ministry, I doe theirfor expect from yow, the Magistrates of ye burgh of Hadingtoun, that yow doe preserve the peace of the comonwealth in your burgh. And I hereby authorize yow to suppress all tumults, stirrings and unlawfull assemblies; and that you hold noe correspondency with any of Charles Stuart's party or his adherents, but apprehend any such as shall make any disturbanse, and send them into the next garrison; And doe further desire yow to countenance and incourage the godly ministry, and all that truly feare God in the land: and that yow continue faithfull to owne, and assert the interest of Parliamentary government in your severall places and stations. I hope my absence will bee very short; but I doe assure you, that I will procure from the Parliament whatever may bee for the good goverment and releife of this nation, and doubt not but to obtaine abatements on your asseesse and other publique burthens according to the proportion of England; and further service I may bee able. I shall not bee wanting in what may promote the happinesse and peace of this afflicted people. I shall not trouble yow further, but begg your prayers, and desire yow to assure yourselves, that I am, your faithful friend and humble servant,

GEORGE MONK.

*Edinburgh, 15 November 1659.*

"I desire yow to send me word to Berwick under your hands how farr you will comply with my desires, by the 13th of December next.

"I desire you, that what is behind, of the last four monthes of ye twelve monthes asseesse may bee in a readiness against it is called for. I likewise desire that there may bee particular notice given, that such are not free to concurr with yow in this business, you will send me their names."

The above letter is verbatim with one preserved in the burgh archives of Dunbar and North Berwick.

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

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

General Monk received the order of the garter, and was created Duke of Albemarle for his eminent services. Among his first acts was to raise Dr Clairges, who was an honest, but haughty man. He became afterwards a very considerable person in parliament, and valued himself on opposing the court, and on his frugality in managing the public money; "for he had Cromwell's economy ever in his mouth, (says Bishop Burnet,) and was always for reducing the expense of the war to the modesty and parsimony of those times. Many thought he carried this too far: but it made him very popular. After he had become very rich

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

himself by the public money, he seemed to take care that no body else should grow as rich as he was in this way."

Monk was not only distinguished as a soldier and a statesman, but also as an admiral of the fleet. In 1666, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, he encountered the two Dutch admirals Ruyter and the younger Van Tromp in the Downs, and in a fight which lasted two days, sunk and burnt twenty of the Dutch ships, 4000 of their men being killed, and 8000 wounded. He died in 1670, aged 62.

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

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

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

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

\* 1623, June 2nd, "the provost and council of Haddington, received the oath of Lodovick Feuller, eldest son lawful of umwhile, the late Mr William Fouller, secretary to the Queen's majesty; and of Mr Peter Arbathnot, servitor to the Earl of Lauderdale; and made them burgeses of the burgh conform to act."—*Hadden. Council Reg.*

## CHAPTER XIV.

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

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

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

The first act of Charles was to resume the unhappy stumbling-block of his predecessors, by endeavouring to strike a blow at presbyterianism in Scotland, and to establish episcopacy as the

national religion in its stead ; as this mode of worship in its form more nearly resembled the Romish church, of which he was a secret worshipper, but whose tenets he durst not openly avow. The Scottish clergy, however, were not inclined to submit to this transmuting process ; and many of them, abandoning their homes, poured forth their prayers in the recesses of the Pentlands, or in the jungles of the Esk ; and in consequence of the resignations of the clergy, no less than 350 parishes, (above a third of those in the kingdom,) at once became vacant.

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

During the administration of Middleton, the iniquitous trial of Mr James Guthrie, minister, also took place, who was among the first victims to those persecuting times. The Earl of Tweeddale had shewn some dislike to these proceedings, and had even spoken in favour of the unfortunate man, which being represented at court, it was resolved, though he was one of the best and worthiest of the nobility, to make him an example to others. He had been on terms of friendship with Lauderdale, yet did he send down a letter to the council, in the king's name, requiring them upon a mere verbal information, to imprison the earl in the castle of Edinburgh, for having uttered some speeches which tended much to the prejudice of the King's authority. He was accordingly imprisoned ; and with some difficulty obtained the favour of being removed from the castle to a confinement upon his own estate, on his giving 100,000 merks bail for

his appearance. In his defence the Earl stated, that he conceived the judges should have made some allowance for the epidemical madness of the times, and other circumstances, which inclined him to think that a punishment less than death should have been inflicted on Guthrie. Tweeddale's confinement lasted from September till May.

Middleton, wishing to retain the supreme power in his own hands, got the act of balloting passed, by which twelve of the most considerable royalists, including the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale were to be incapacitated. This measure so much incensed the King, that although on Middleton's return to court, his services were magnified by the prelates, and he found powerful intercessors in Clarendon and Monk, yet he was disgraced and deprived of his offices, to the great joy of the nation, to whom his administration had become odious from his severities, and contemptible from his excesses.\* But unhappily his successor was another disciple of Michiavel, who admirably followed the course which a despotic minister had traced.

John, second Earl of Lauderdale, was born at Lethington, in the parish of Haddington, in 1616.† He began his political career by joining the covenanters; and was much trusted by them in the management of their affairs. He was one of the commissioners

\* Middleton was a pikeman in Hepburn's regiment, in France. He held a command in Leslie's army, and contributed to the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh. As he had been formerly in the parliamentary army, Cromwell was so much irritated against him that he endeavoured to get him tried for his life, but he baffled the Protector by effecting his escape from the Tower.

† His lordship was the son of John first Earl of Lauderdale, by Lady Isabel Seton, second daughter of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline. The latter died when president of the parliament in 1645, and was buried at Haddington. His epitaph was written by the elegant historian and poet Drummond of Hawthornden. That he was much distinguished for his probity may be gathered from the following circumstance: The charter-chest of the family being concealed under ground, in the time of the civil wars, the writs were so entirely defaced, that they had become unintelligible: but by reason of the character his lordship had for integrity, the inventory, which he made, was, by order of parliament, appointed to supply the place of the ancient records of the family, every page thereof being readily signed by the clerk-register.—CRAWFORD'S *Peerage*.

Several records of this period must have shared the same fate. Many years ago when the author was engaged (assisted by an eminent antiquary) in making researches into the council registers of Haddington, some of the books during the time of the commonwealth were amissing, unless they were comprehended among a few volumes too dilapidated to be deciphered. Cromwell, who was at no loss for expedients, seized the public records of Edinburgh when on a voyage to Stirling as a measure of security, and conveyed them to the tower of London, which Charles II. with an urbanity, in which he was not deficient, restored. Unfortunately, on returning to Scotland by sea, the vessel was shipwrecked, and eighty-five hogsheads of these documents were lost.

from the church of Scotland to the assembly of divines held at Westminster in 1643; but he afterwards became a furious advocate of arbitrary measures, and preferred his own aggrandisement to the welfare of his country. After the dismissal of the Earl of Middleton, he contrived to get the whole power and patronage of Scotland vested in his own hands; and one of the first acts of his lordship's arbitrary sway in Scotland, was to bring the parliament to vote the raising a body of 20,000 infantry and 2000 horse. This army, which was to be entirely at the king's devotion, and under the minister's direction, was considered not only sufficient to enslave Scotland, but to assist in reducing the parliament of England, if it should persist in opposing the king. By this bold measure Lauderdale convinced Charles how much he understood the art of government better than Middleton, and how superior he was to that rival in the despotism of his principles, since arbitrary laws are of little effect without an army to enforce them.

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

Whatever effects the terrors of a standing army produced in Scotland among the people, the administration was divided by party. Archbishop Sharpe saw that he had proceeded too far, and was afraid that he might meet with the fate of Laud, unless he and his brethren were strengthened with farther powers; he, therefore, made use of his interest at court, to obtain from Charles a high commission for ecclesiastical affairs, which, in fact, took them entirely out of the hands of the privy-council, and threw them into the hands of the bishops, whose powers were in the highest degree inquisitorial and independent. The absurdities and dangers of this commission were foreseen by the king's friends in Scotland; and an open breach soon ensued between the chancellor and the Archbishop of St Andrews. The Earl of Lauderdale had given way to Sharpe, in hopes that his violence

would ruin episcopacy in Scotland ; but the chancellor's death left the archbishop without a rival, while Lord Rothes, whose friendship he had cultivated, obtained the great seal, and besides commanding a troop of life-guards, was invested with the three greatest places in the kingdom. In short, when the prelate left London, he told Charles that he could now ask no more for the church.

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

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

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

In 1669, an act was passed for raising a county-militia, in which the Earl of Lauderdale exercised his usual authority. The Haddington council register states : " October 2nd,—The militia ordered to be mustered, and the hail to have hats ! The town-council appoint the treasurer to buy 58 hats for the town's part."

\* Guthrie, x.



Great umbrage was taken at this act, in consequence of its being enacted that the force should be ready to march into any part of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his Majesty's authority, power, or government, might be concerned, simply by an order from the council-board, without waiting for the king's authority.\* "The Earl of Lauderdale (says Burnet,) valued himself upon these acts, as if he had conquered kingdoms by them, and wrote a letter to the King, in which he said, all Scotland was now in his power—the church of Scotland was now more subject to him than that of England,—this militia was now an army ready upon call; and that every man in Scotland was ready to march whensoever he should order it, with several very ill insinuations in it. But so dangerous a thing is it to write such letters to princes: this letter fell into Duke Hamilton's hands some years after; and I had it in my hands for some days. It was intended to found an impeachment on it. But that happened at the time when the exclusion of the Duke [York] from the succession of the crown was so hotly pursued, that this, which at another time would have made a great noise, was not so much considered as the importance of it might seem to deserve."

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

This rock originally belonged to the family of Lauder, from whence it merged into that of Lauder of Beilmonth, and thence passed to Sir Alexander Ramsay of Abbotshall, from whom it was purchased by the crown in 1671, for L.4000 sterling, and

\* In 1689, October 5,—John Hay of Baro, burgess of Haddington, was appointed commissioner to the convention of burghs, and also to the parliament, and was allowed 6s. 8d. per day.—*Council Register*. And, in

1671, August 19th,—Henry Cockburn, dean of guild, was allowed L.68 Scots, for his charges at Dundee and Edinburgh, when commissioner to the convention at Dundee.

converted into a state prison, where the western covenanters, or Cameronians, and others accused of high treason, during the arbitrary reigns of Charles II. and his brother, James VII., were confined.\* At this period the Bass was garrisoned with eighteen soldiers, besides officers; and as a proof that the governor of the Bass was no mean office, the Earl of Lauderdale was appointed captain. It is even stated that this wily councillor prevailed on the king to purchase the rock, that he might enjoy its emoluments.

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

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

The ostensible reason for confining these martyrs to the Scottish church, was chiefly for holding conventicles or field preachings. The most noted were, Alexander Peden, of prophetic memory, of whom strange anecdotes were related while he was a prisoner on the rock,—Mitchell, who attempted the life of Archbishop Sharpe,—Dr Gilbert Rule, who after the revolution became principal of the university of Edinburgh,—Alexander Gordon of Earlston, whose father was slain when on his way to join the Covenanters at the battle of Bothwell Bridge,†—Thomas

\* The ancient family of Lauder of Bass, sprung originally from Lauder of that Ilk, or Lauder Tower. According to Henry the Minstrel, Robert Lauder accompanied Wallace in many of his exploits. This family continued in a lineal descent till the reign of Charles I. In the aisle of the lairds of the Bass, in the old church of North Berwick, a tombstone bears the following inscription, in Latin Saxon characters: “ HERE LIES THE GOOD ROBERT LAUDER, THE GREAT LAIRD OF CONGALTON AND BASS, WHO DIED MAY MIIIICXI.” That sapient monarch, James VI., when ‘on his progress to the castle of Tantallon, beheld this “ rock immense” with a covetous eye; and so anxious was he to obtain possession of it at any price, that he offered the Laird what he might be pleased to ask for it. Lauder, however, could not be persuaded to part with this romantic heirloom of his family; and, after much cajoling, replied: “ Your Majesty maun e’en resign it to me; for I’ll hae the auld crag back again!” In the wars between Mary and her son, the regent Moray was also desirous of strengthening his party by the possession of the Bass.

† On the 22nd August, 1684, Gordon was removed from the Bass, and ordered for execution; but through the intercession of his friend the Duke of Gordon, his life was spared. He was thrown into Blackness castle where he remained till the revolution.

Hogg, minister of Kiltiern,—Fraser of Brae,—Stott of Piloehie,—William Veitch, preacher, who conducted the Earl of Argyle incognito to London,—Henry Erskine, the father of Ebenezer Erskine, the latter of whom was born here, and was afterwards distinguished as the founder of the original seceders;—Sir George Campbell of Cessnock,—John Knox, chaplain of Tantallon,—and John Blackadder, a lineal descendant of the house of Tulliallan, who died in the Bass, in 1685, after a confinement of five years.\*

In 1673, on the 18th May, the magistrates of Haddington, and such of the town-council of the burgh as they might choose, were appointed to attend the funeral of the Countess of Roxburgh at Kelso, under a penalty of L.30.

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

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

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

† In the instructions to officers and soldiers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in 1636, it was ordained, that "men of high stature and habilite of body should carry a pick, and those of less stature a musket; and the said pickmen to be provided with corselet, lancelot, and heid-piece; and that every musketter be provided with bandeliers and heid-piece, with all other furniture belonging to a musketter, sic as lead, powder, and matches; that they should be ready by day and night, at the sound of the drum, or toll of the common bell, to march when the provost or bailies might command, under pain of death."

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

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

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

"Methinks this poor land has been troubled too long,  
With Hatton, and Dysart, and old Leidington,  
While Justice provokes me in rhyme to express  
The truth which I know of my bonny old Bess:  
She is Bess of my heart, she was Bess of OLD NOLL (Cromwell),  
She was once Fleetwood's Bess, and she's now of Athol;  
She's Bessy of church, and she's Bessy of state," &c.

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

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

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

-BURNET'S Hist.

were legally plundered by the creatures of the ministry, in virtue of the acts which they had passed for the purpose.

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

George fourth Earl of Winton, with the East Lothian regiment, and all his vassals in "noble equipage," upon his own charges, joined the duke's army, and proceeded with him to the west. The insurgents were encamped on the south side of the Clyde, near Hamilton, and were masters of the pass of Bothwell-bridge. The Earl of Linlithgow beat the advanced guard of the rebels, after a smart dispute, from the bridge, and drove them back upon their main body, which remained under Hamilton, and by some infatuation (as was commonly the case when commanded by their preachers,) they never advanced to defend the pass, which was of the last importance. The consequence was, that when the royal artillery was brought to play upon the main body of the insurgents, Hamilton fled, leaving the world to debate (observes Wodrow,) whether he acted most like a traitor, coward, or fool. All the horse followed their leader in his flight, about 500 men were killed on the field, besides those who fell in the pursuit, and 1200 surrendered without striking a blow, while the loss of the royalists amounted only to a few soldiers. Thus ended this ill-concerted rebellion, although it is calculated the covenanters, who were now dignified with the name of Whigs, mustered 4000 strong on the day of battle, the greater part of whom were horsemen.\* The Duke of Monmouth

\* The author has seen a flag, said to have been borne by the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, which was in possession of an old woman at Dunbar. Its texture is light-blue silk. The inscription is on one side, in gilt letters, "FOR CHRIST AND HIS TRUTH," and underneath, in red, "NO QUARTER FOR YE ACTIVE ENEMIES OF YE COVENANT." The motto is surmounted by a Hebrew inscription, in gilt letters, signifying, "FOR THE COVENANT OF JEROVAH." This flag belonged to Henry Hall of Haughead.

has been censured for not following up this victory with the cold-blooded cruelties of a Dalziel or Claverhouse ; but he does not seem to have relished the task, and used every means, in conjunction with the moderate nobility who attended him, to allay the butchering propensities of his officers, and the plundering disposition of his soldiers.

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

James, Duke of York and Albany, brother to Charles II., succeeded the Duke of Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs. On visiting Scotland, he was met by the magistrates and town-council of Haddington, on the 10th November, 1679.

who took an active part in the transactions at that time, and held a command in the army of the insurgents from the skirmish at Drumclog to their defeat at Bothwell Bridge. On his death the flag of course fell to his son. Young Hall, on his death-bed, bequeathed it to James Cochran, shoemaker in Greenlaw, a noted Cameronian, who presented it to Michael Naismyth, Edinburgh. This venerated ensign was destined to return to Cochrane's family again ; for, at Naismyth's death, he bequeathed it to James Raeburn, late cabinet-maker in Dunbar, the son-in-law of Cochran, and it is still held most sacred by his widow. There is a further tradition, that this flag was borne by Richard Cameron (the founder of the sect of the Cameronians), at Aird's Moss, in 1686, where he was slain. The inscription on the ensign of "*No Quarter*," &c. seems to confirm the report, that the insurgents at Bothwell-bridge were so confident of victory, that they had a large gallows erected in the midst of their camp for the purpose of executing judgment on the enemies of the covenant ; and in some measure might have given a sanction to the severities too often indulged against these deluded people. Mrs Raeburn has also an "*Andrew Ferrara*," or broad-sword, being the remains of a chest of armour, which had been sent to Edinburgh along with the banner ; but which the family found it prudent to disperse among their friends during the French revolutionary mania, when a scrutinizing search for arms was made in this country.

Mr James Hogg (the Ettrick Shepherd), when on a visit to a literary friend in Dunbar, about 1817, called upon the old lady, and like many others, would have been glad to have got possession of these reliques, for the purpose of presenting them to the Antiquarian Society ; but the venerable possessor, like the ancient laird of the Bass, could not be prevailed on to part with the honours of her family.

The covenanter's flag is alluded to, in the verses, in the "*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*," on the elder Gordon of Earliston, who was slain when on his way to join the insurgents in the above conflict :

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

From the records of Edinburgh it appears, that he had 123 attendants and domestics in his train.\*

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

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

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

† John sixth Earl of Rothes was promoted to the office of high chancellor of Scotland for life, and Duke of Rothes in October 1667. He died at Edinburgh in the same year and month following that in which he was met at Haddington, and his body being privately carried to the cathedral of St Giles, was conveyed with the greatest magnificence to Holyroodhouse, whence, after lying in state, it was carried with the same pomp to Leith, and put on board a ship to be conveyed to Lealie. The Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Haddington were chief mourners. An engraving of that superb funeral procession was executed; and, but for the nodding of sable plumes, it rather resembled the pageantry of a royal progress, than the funeral of a nobleman. The body was preceded by regiments of guards and trains of artillery,—a gentleman in complete armour, with a plumage of feathers in his helm,—pursuivants and heralds,—magistrates, ministers, and lords of session,—followed by dukes, marquises, and earls, and a long train of the nobility. Dying without male issue, his titles of Duke of Rothes, &c. became extinct, and the earldom devolved on Margaret, Countess of Rothes, his daughter, who married Charles fifth Earl of Haddington. The eldest son of this marriage was John seventh Earl of Rothes, and the second Thomas sixth Earl of Haddington. The first

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

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

In 1682, the Duke of York having left his duchess in Scotland, went down in May by sea, to carry her to England. The Gloucester frigate in which he sailed, struck on a sand-bank, when the Duke was forced to betake himself to a boat, and apparently to forsake some of his friends. According to Burnet, he was so anxious to save his dogs, and some unknown persons, who were supposed to be jesuitical priests, that the long-boat pushed off with very few in her, though she might have carried about eighty. The Earl of Winton was one of those saved with the Duke; but the Earl of Roxburgh, Mr Hyde, the duke's brother-in-law; the Laird of Hopetoun, Sir James Douglas, and the Lord O'Brien, with several other gentlemen and their suite, were drowned.†—

married Lady Jean Hay, daughter of John second Marquis of Tweeddale, high chancellor of Scotland.

\* 1681, July 14th.—Henry Cockburn, Provost of Haddington, while commissioner to the Scots parliament, was allowed for himself and man, L.5 Scots daily.—*Council Reg.*

† Sir James Dick of Prestonfield, who was one of the party, gives an interesting account of the shipwreck, in a private letter, dated Edinburgh, 9th May, 1682:—

“At seven o'clock of the morning of Saturday last (says he), the man-of-war called the Gloucester, Sir John Berry, captain, wherein his highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one, did strike in pieces, and wholly sink upon the bank of sand, called the Lemon and Oar, about twelve leagues from Yarmouth. The Duke and the whole that accompanied him were in bed, and the helm of the ship having broke, the helmsman was killed by the force of it. When the Duke had got on his clothes, he inquired how matters stood, the vessel having nine feet water in the hold, and the sea running in at the gun-ports. All the seamen and passengers



The Duke remained a short time in Scotland ; but sufficiently long to develope new and enlarged plans of oppression and tyranny against the unhappy dissentients.

The Duke of Lauderdale's influence, as we have already observed, was rapidly declining, and he remained but a short time longer at the helm of public affairs. Having voted for the condemnation of the unfortunate Earl of Stafford, who was a papist, he incurred the resentment of his royal highness, and losing, along with that princely favour, which had ever been the god of his idolatry, both his places and his pensions, he died at Tunbridge, whither he had retired for the benefit of his health, the victim of selfish and unsatisfactory ambition, on the 24th August, 1682, in the 67th year of his age.

On the 31st March, 1683, it was intimated to the town-council of Haddington, that the Duke of Lauderdale was to be buried in the cemetery of that town, on the 5th April ensuing, when they

were not under command ; for every one studying his own safety, whence the Duke was forced to go out at the large window of the cabin, where his little boat was *secretly* ordered to attend him, lest the passengers and seamen should have so thronged in upon him, as to drown the boat. It was accordingly conveyed in such a way, that none but the Earl of Winton, and the Lord President of the Court of Session, with two of his bed-chamber men, (of whom one was afterwards Duke of Marlborough,) went with him ; but were forced to draw their swords to keep the people off. We, seeing his highness gone, did cause tackle out, with great difficulty, the ship's boat, whereinto the Earl of Perth got, and then myself, both leaping off the shrouds into her : the Earl of Marchmont after me, jumped in upon my shoulders, and then the Laird of Touch, with several others that were to row. Thus we thought the number sufficient for her loading, considering the sea ran so high, by a wind from north-east, and because we saw another boat, close by the one containing the Duke, overset by the waves, and the whole people in her drowned, except two, who were observed riding on the keel. This made us desire to begone ; but before we were aware, twenty or twenty-four seamen, leapt in upon us from the shrouds, which induced all the spectators and ourselves to think we were sinking ; but having got out of reach, and being so crowded, prevented an hundred more from doing the like.

“ Among those that were left, were my Lord Roxburgh, and Laird Hopetoun, and Mr Littledale (Roxburgh's servant), and Dr Livingstone (the President of the Court of Session's man) ; all those being at the place I jumped from would not follow, since it seems they concluded, that it was safer to stay in the vessel, than to expose themselves to any other hazard. But all were in an instant washed off or drowned.

“ When I looked back, I could not see one bit of the great ship above water, but about a Scots ell of the staff upon which the royal standard stood. To conclude this melancholy account, besides our countrymen, there perished of England, of respect, my Lord O'Brien, and my Lord Hyde's brother, who was lieutenant of the ship. I am sure there were eighty noblemen and gentlemen, their servants excluded. My computation was, about 330 in all, of which I cannot understand 130 to be saved.”

should attend with the magistrates in procession, to pay the usual honours and solemnities on such occasions.\*

The rigorous measures which had been pursued against the people of Scotland were again resumed. Even husbands were

\* The body of the Duke had been embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin, (which accounts for the length of time that elapsed before its interment,) when it was brought to Scotland, and laid in the family vault at Haddington, where a splendid monument was erected to his memory.

Bishop Burnet, who knew the Duke of Lauderdale particularly, gives the following description of his character and acquirements: "He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern: so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding.....He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: he was to be let alone: and perhaps he would have forgot what he had said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it.....In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind; but he wore these out so entirely, that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs,—his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him nor complaint of him could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against popery and arbitrary government; and yet by a fatal train of passions and interests he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter."

The description that Burnet gives of his grace's personal appearance, strongly reminds us of James VI. "He was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him: his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court."

His grace was married first to Anne, second daughter of Alexander first Earl of Home, (co-heiress with her sister Margaret, Countess of Moray,) by whom he had a daughter, Lady Anne, married at Highgate, in 1666, in presence of the King, Queen, and court, to John second Marquis of Tweeddale: he was married, secondly, at Petersham, in 1671-2, by the Bishop of Worcester, to Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, in her own right, relict of Sir Lionel Talmaah of Helmingham, in Suffolk, Baromet, without issue,—a lady of much personal beauty, and of considerable mental acquirements. Having no male issue, his grace's English honours became extinct; as also the titles of Duke of Lauderdale and Marquis of March. His other Scottish honours devolved on his brother Charles third Earl of Lauderdale, from whom the present noble family is descended.

Richard fourth Earl of Lauderdale (son of the preceding,) inherited the poetical talent of his ancestor of that name, and wrote an elegant translation of Virgil. Although a Roman Catholic, he was harshly treated by James VII., for whom he had sacrificed his prospects. His lady being a protestant, and he an enemy to the violent measures of the court, it was judged a sufficient excuse for excluding him from any share in the government. He advised the king to put his affairs into protestant hands, and recommended Lord Clarendon, the nonjuring bishops of England, and the Lords Home, Sinclair, &c. in Scotland, as the fittest persons to serve him; but this advice was so ill taken, that he was forbid the court. He retired to Paris, where he died in 1695.—See MACKAY'S *Memoirs*.—DOUGLAS'S *Peerage*, &c.

fined for the imprudence of their wives in attending conventicles, and torture was applied, under the superintendence of the privy-council, to such unhappy wretches as would not subscribe to the infallibility of the test. In addition to these barbarities, Graham of Claverhouse, exhibited all the cruelties of a leader of banditti against the weak and defenceless, as he traced their footsteps, mounted on his milk-white steed, along the steep mountain-side. Under such circumstances we need not wonder that intrigues were carried on with the Whigs in London, with the Duke of Monmouth, Argyle, and more particularly with the exiles in Holland, while the friends of liberty in Britain turned their eyes upon the Prince of Orange, who was not only a protestant, but related to the crown, as the future deliverer of an oppressed nation. Charles saw the necessity of forming a new administration; but this important measure was strenuously opposed by the Duke of York, who attempted to persuade the King that the situation of Scotland was such, that he might lose, but never could gain any advantage, by calling a parliament in that kingdom. The answer of Charles was explicit—"Brother, either you must go, or I;" and, without explaining himself further, he treated the Duke after with unusual reserve. But the Earl of Perth, who by means of his apostacy to popery, had been promoted to the chancellorship, on the dismissal of Lord Aberdeen, had shewn himself a fit instrument, by his persecuting conduct, to govern Scotland according to those stretches of absolute power, which had been so long in progress, and which had nearly reached their height. While such dangerous measures were in force, and the Duke of York preparing to return to Scotland, Charles II. died, on the 6th February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.\*

On the 20th September, 1686, the magistrates and town-council of Haddington, received a letter from the Earl of Perth, lord high chancellor of Scotland, discharging them from electing any new magistrates or counsellors within the burgh for that year. The present magistrates and council to be continued in office until his Majesty's further pleasure was signified.—In accordance

\* The character of Charles seems accurately drawn in an epitaph ascribed to one of his favourites—the witty and profligate Earl of Rochester:

"Here lies our sovereign lord the king,  
No courtier e'er relied on:  
Who never said a foolish thing,  
Nor ever did a wise one!"

with this order, on the 30th November, the magistrates and town-council were nominated by the Lords of Council, agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure. Sir William Paterson, knight, clerk to his Majesty's privy-council, was appointed provost of Haddington.\*

In 1688, the landing of the Prince of Orange being daily expected, beacons were appointed to be placed on the Bass rock, St Abb's Head, North Berwick Law, and Garleton-hill, in East-Lothian; and on Arthur's Seat and the Fife hills: to be kindled as soon as any number of vessels appeared off the coast.—The appearance of a large fleet of Dutch fishing vessels appearing at the mouth of the Firth of Forth at this time, being taken for a French armament, was sufficient to excite great alarm.

The arrival of William and Mary was hailed with great joy throughout the kingdom; and, on the 23d of September, 1689, the oath of allegiance was sworn to the king and queen, on their accession to the throne, by the town-council of Haddington.

The solitary fortress of the Bass was among the last places that held out for the Stuart dynasty in Great Britain. It was defended by a gallant officer, David, third son of James Blair of Ardblair, who afterwards joined his royal master in France, where he died. In 1691, this rock, secure in its natural height, as the eyry of the eagle, was taken from the Jacobites by stratagem. The garrison while employed in unloading a boat, was surprised by four officers; Lieutenants Middleton and Halyburton, and Ensigns Ray and Dunbar. It was the custom of the greater part of the soldiers, when a boat came in with coals, to assist in unloading it at the crane, which was without three of the gates, and while thus employed they were excluded, and the place taken. The assailants retained three of the garrison, and forced the rest to retire in the boat. Next night they were joined by Crawford, younger of Ardmillan, with his servant, and two Irish seamen, who came in a long-boat, which they had stolen from the coast near Dirleton. The day following, a detachment was stationed at Castleton, a farm-town in the neighbourhood, to prevent their receiving supplies, and to hinder their escape. The former,

\* 1688, January 28.—The town-council of Haddington ordained that the Queen's conception should be celebrated there, as it was to be in Edinburgh, on Sunday first, after sermon by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c.

however, was found impracticable, as no frigate could be found to cruise on the coast. At length nine men, landing at midnight, succeeded in carrying off the boat of the rebels, when they proposed capitulation; but as they were concluding the articles, Ardmillan and Middleton, who had been absent, returned with eight men and provisions, and treated the summons with contempt. On the 8d September, an indemnity was offered to them, which was refused, and the sergeant and drummer, who conveyed the message, were made prisoners. Next day a Danish galliot, coming within the range of their cannon, was plundered of her provisions, but the crew was suffered to depart.

The Bass did not ultimately surrender to the new government till 1692, when the command was awarded to Fletcher of Salton.\*

\* The Lieutenant-Governor at this time was Captain Maitland, brother to the general of that name. After his surrender, General Maitland carried his brother with him to Flanders, and presented him to King William, then at the head of the allied army, who offered him a captain's commission, telling him he was confident that the man who had served his sovereign with such an uncommon fidelity would likewise be true to him: He thanked his Majesty for his favourable opinion, but declined the offer. This anecdote which reflects both honour on the heroic prince, who made the offer and the officer who refused it, I had (says the Rev. Dr Barclay,) from Captain Maitland's nearest relation.—*Trans. Scots Antiq.*

The governor's house and barracks were situated on the west side of the rock, and the buildings on the east were a prison:

“ Where captive eyes, for many a joyless month,  
Have marked the sun that rose o'er eastward May.”

Nearly opposite the east turret was the crane bastion or landing place, which bristled with three guns. Behind the ramparts, which still remain, the ascent is by three flights of stairs, each of which is protected by a strong gate. About half way up the rock, are the remains of a chapel, where the ammunition of the garrison was kept, when the island was used as a state prison for the covenanters. The niches for the holy fonts show that it must have been used as a Catholic place of worship at an early period. A little up the rock is a fresh water spring, and a small garden.

A singular incident occurred on the Bass, a few years ago, in connection with the chapel. “A young lady (says the reverend author of the Statistical Account,) in the presence of her father, was here solemnly confirmed in the Romish faith and profession, and the due ritual services were gone through in the presence of the keeper of the Bass and his boat assistant. On the conclusion of the solemnities, the priest turned to the keeper, and asked him, with due decorum, if he would not also now kneel down before the altar, and follow them in similar dedication and worship. ‘Me?’ said the protestant presbyterian James, ‘Me? Na, na, am thankfu’ there’s mair sense g’ien.—I wad just as soon, sir, fa’ doon and worship ane o’ thae puir solan geese about us,’ (pointing to the myriads around him,) ‘than e’er gang on wi’ ony sic mockery.’ James remains an invincible adherent of the reformation, and also, as well may be conjectured, the Bass being ever before him, a stern abhorrent of prelatie tyranny and regal despotism.”—Rev. R. BALFOUR GRAHAM.

After the demolition of the fortifications, in 1701, the Bass was ultimately granted

The power of the new dynasty not yet being fully established, and as a secret correspondence was carried on by the Jacobites with the expatriated family of Stuart, who had still some lingering partisans in the land, it was found necessary to have an established body of voluntary troops. In consequence of this call upon the country, it was ordained by the magistrates and council of Haddington, on the 8d of February 1694, that "the drums beat for volunteers for the town's proportion of levy for his Majesty's service of eight men. The bounty money to be made up by an assessment on the burgesses."

On the 6th day of March, 1696, a proclamation was issued from Edinburgh, calling out the foot-militia of East Lothian. In accordance with this order, on the 10th March, the half of the militia were ordered to be mustered at Beanston-moor, on the 12th of that month, with their arms and ten days pay. The magistrates of Haddington were appointed to enlist and enrol the town's proportion. Lord Belhaven was appointed colonel; the Laird of Prestongrange, lieutenant-colonel; and Ensign Robert Sinclair, major.\*

This militia, by act of parliament, cap. 26. 1668, was only to be employed for the suppression of foreign invasion and intestine troubles. All heritors and others liable, were commanded to "outreik," and furnish their number and proportions, on the 12th March, with ten days' pay, at 6d. per diem, with their best arms and accoutrements, at Beanston-moor; and for the better encouragement of those who might attend this muster, it was provided that they should not otherwise be troubled nor employed, but in resisting the present threatened invasion.

On the 30th of March, in 1696, L.400 sterling were subscribed by the town of Haddington, to the company of Scotland trading to Africa and India. This company was ratified by the Scots parliament, with a free and exclusive trade for twenty-one

by the crown to President Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet, for one Scots penny, reserving the power of refortifying the island should government at any future period find it necessary.

A view of the fortifications of the Bass, is preserved in Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ." There was also a drawing of the old fortifications taken by T. Dury, the engineer, who superintended the siege in 1691.

\* On December 27th, 1698,—An act was established by the town-council of Haddington for seeking in arms from the Dean of Guild and Burgesses, and depositing them in the Town's Magazine.

years, and a capital of L. 500,000 was soon raised ; and, on the recommendation of one William Patterson, a colony was established on the isthmus of Darien for commercial enterprise. Like the great English south-sea bubble, however, by which Gay the poet, and others were duped, it broke in a few years ; and, as Squire Fop says in the comedy, “ now you talk of the Indies, I’ll discover a mystery of trade ; our merchants are taxed with the exportation of broad gold to that clime, when in sincerity the greatest part is exchanged with Sweden for copper.” In the year 1700, great riots took place at Edinburgh, on the Scots being driven from this settlement by the Spaniards, under the countenance of the English and the Dutch. On this occasion the magistrates of Haddington, were placed in rather a novel and delicate situation. “ This week (says Carstairs,) three or four of the last mob were put upon the Tron ; and a cook, who truly deserved to be fricazied,) was scourged most gently by the hands of the hangman ; the mob huzaaing them all along, and throwing flowers and roses on the tron for their honour ; and wine going about like water. This has given the provost and town-council great offence,—have put their hangman in the hole, and sent for his brother at Haddington to scourge him for not doing his duty: The poor executioner pled strongly for himself,—that the king’s privy-council had taken no notice of the advocate, who being concussed, but by a few of the mob, signed an order for making open the prison doors, and that he himself was threatened by many hundreds with death, if he laid on but one sore stroke. The magistrates, notwithstanding, repelled his defence, and ordered him to be scourged. The hangman of Haddington, seeing a great multitude in the streets, takes the *epouvante*, and makes his escape. Thus, after waiting two hours in the windows, we are disappointed of the show ! and the prisoner returned. The magistrates of Haddington (some say,) find themselves concerned to represent their hangman, and are to send to some neighbour-town for a day’s work of theirs. In short, the common discourse is, that all this bustle is like to terminate in a persecution of the hangmen hereabouts.” \*

On the 8th April, 1700, the town-council of Haddington empowered their treasurer to buy clothes for a boy, to attend the

\* Carstairs’s State Papers.

commissioner to the ensuing session of parliament.—Alexander Edgar, provost. We have introduced this notice merely for the sake of shewing that *our* commissioner was attended by his “gentle page.” Such was the pomp of public processions, that the Duke of Queensberry, who was now the commissioner of King William, when, on his way to Edinburgh, was met by the magistrates, about eight miles from the city, which he entered with a train of forty coaches, and about 1200 horses. The riding or procession at the opening of the Scottish parliament was of the most magnificent nature, only eclipsed by a coronation.

In consequence of King William and his ministry joining in opposition to the infant colony of Darien, his Majesty was rendered highly unpopular in Scotland during the few remaining years of his reign. He died on the 28th March, 1702, from a fracture of the collar-bone, in a fall from his horse, in the 52nd year of his age, after swaying the sceptre for the brief space of thirteen years.

William III. was succeeded by Queen Anne, the only surviving daughter of James VII. The new Scottish parliament met at Edinburgh in May 1708, at which the Duke of Queensberry presided as her Majesty’s representative. After his dismissal, the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed commissioner.\*

On the 9th March, 1708, the French having fitted out a fleet with the intention of invading Britain in favour of the Pretender, the county, and the town-council of Haddington, to shew their zeal and attachment to Queen Anne’s government, voted a loyal address on this occasion. And, on the 24th May, the oath of abjuration was taken and recorded.

Queen Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714, in her 50th year, having reigned exactly the same period of time as William. She was amiable, virtuous, and public spirited, and deserved the expressive epithet which was applied to her of—“The Good Queen Anne.” She was succeeded by the Elector of Hanover, George I. In honour of whom, on the 29th October, 1714, the town-council of Haddington ordained that the King’s coronation-day should be celebrated.

\* 1708, November 9.—All burghs were ordered to pay L.4 Scots for their stand of arms.—*Council Reg.*



## CHAPTER XV.

“ To wanton me, to wanton me,  
 Ken ye what maist wad wanton me?  
 To see King James at Edinburgh cross,  
 Wi' fifty thousand foot and horse,  
 Oh this is what maist wad wanton me.”—*Jacobite Song.*

“ Borlum and his men's coming.”—*Ibid.*

GEORGE I.—THE REBELLION OF 1715.—MAR'S INVASION.—  
 EXPEDITION OF BRIGADIER MACINTOSH. — ATTACK ON  
 HEPBURN OF KEITH.—THE LAST EARL OF WINTON.—DEFEAT  
 OF THE INSURRECTION.—GEORGE II.—REBELLION OF 1745.  
 PRINCE CHARLES STUART. — MEETING OF THE HOSTILE  
 ARMIES AT PRESTON.

ON the accession of George I. to the throne of Great Britain, an effort was made for the restoration of the expatriated house of Stuart. The Earl of Mar was among the first to raise the rebellious standard. On Wednesday, the 12th October, 1715, a party of the rebels sent by his lordship to reinforce the Northumbrians, under Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum, attempted to cross the Forth; but the sea exhibiting a dead calm, part of the transports were intercepted, by the boats of three men-of-war, which lay in Leith Roads. Sixteen hundred troops, however, succeeded in landing during the night, at North Berwick, Aberlady, Gullan, and other places. Next night General Macintosh stopped at Haddington, where he proclaimed the Chevalier;\* but instead of going southward, as was conjectured, he marched upon Edinburgh.

On Friday, the 14th October, 1715, John Campbell, lord provost of Edinburgh, took the earliest opportunity of apprising the Duke of Argyle of the arrival of the rebel forces at Haddington; and demanded a detachment of regular troops for the defence of the city. Two hundred foot were immediately dispatched, (mounted for the sake of expedition on country horses,) with 800 cavalry, who arrived at the West Port of Edinburgh, at ten o'clock at

\* James VIII. who resided at the court of France, was commonly called the “Chevalier de St George.”

night. Meantime Macintosh having advanced as far as Jock's Lodge (Piershill), and finding that none of the citizens came to join him, and dreading the approach of Argyle, he proceeded to Leith, which he took and pillaged, and liberated those who had been taken prisoners by the boats.

Saturday the 15th, the Duke of Argyle arrived at Leith, with his small force; but on account of the height of the walls and fortifications, and being without artillery, he found an assault impracticable. The rebels were, however, summoned to surrender, under pain of getting no quarter should they resist. A highland laird, called Kinackin, replied, "that they did not understand the word; that they would neither take nor give quarter; but if he was able to force them he might try!"

Macintosh despairing of aid, evacuated the place about nine o'clock at night; and taking advantage of the ebb-tide, stole round by the head of the pier, and proceeded by the sands to Seton-house, leaving behind him 40 men, who had inebriated themselves with brandy, which they had found in the custom-house.

Argyle having provided himself with two pieces of cannon, and two mortars from Edinburgh castle, was on the eve of proceeding to Seton to dislodge the rebels, when Macintosh received a dispatch from the Earl of Mar, commanding him to cross the Forth at Stirling, in order that this movement might create a diversion in their favour. In compliance with this order, that night his little army began their march. Meanwhile, on the 19th October, an attack was made on Seton-house by Lord Torphichen, and the Earl of Rothes, who marched from Edinburgh, with 200 cavalry and 3000 volunteers, for that purpose. Lord Rothes (the eldest son of the Earl of Haddington,) had been appointed vice-admiral of Scotland, and from his zeal in the cause of the Brunswick family, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the rebels. A party of them having proceeded to proclaim the Pretender at Kinross, his lordship entered the town, sword in hand, with a detachment of the "gallant Greys," put them to flight, and took Sir Thomas Bruce prisoner. These proceedings incurred a barbarous method of retaliation. Another party coming to his seat of Leslie, searched it for arms, forced open the church doors, broke into the family burial place, dug up the coffins, and tore them open.

On arriving at Seton-house, the royalists found that old Macintosh had so securely entrenched the avenues and fortified the gates, that it was impossible to dislodge them without artillery to batter the walls, upon which, after exchanging a few shots, without injury to either party, they returned to Edinburgh. While in this fertile district, the rebels supplied themselves with cows, sheep, meal, and other provisions, which they found in abundance in the neighbourhood.

On the 18th, the rebels received orders from the Earl of Mar to evacuate Seton-house, and proceed to England.

Macintosh departed next morning with his whole strength, directing his march to the lonely wastes of Lammermoor. In passing by Hermandston-house, (situated near the borders of Tyne,) he could scarcely be prevailed upon to spare it from fire, in consequence of an offence which its proprietor, Dr Sinclair,\* had committed against his party.

Early in October, the Marquis of Tweeddale, lord-lieutenant of Haddingtonshire, had given particular injunctions to his deputy-lieutenants to enforce the laws against papists and suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and seizing their horses and arms. Although this order was strictly in terms of existing acts of parliament, yet it is evident, that a law putting so much arbitrary power into the hands of one set of country gentlemen against the other, would require to be acted upon with great discretion. "In the case under notice (observes Mr R. Chambers), it seems to have been abused as a means of venting private pique and revenge. On the very day when the deputy-lieutenants of Haddingtonshire received their charge from Lord Tweeddale, two of them, Dr Sinclair of Herdmanston, and Mr Hepburn of Humbie, formed the resolution of going next morning under cover of it, and assailing a gentleman in their neighbourhood, Mr Hepburn of Keith, against whom they had a grudge. At the time they had appointed for the execution of this scheme, Dr Sinclair appeared at the rendezvous with a number of armed attendants; when, not finding his associate arrived, he proceeded forward to Keith by himself. As he went, he enjoined his party that, in case of finding resistance, they should not fire till first the Laird of Keith should fire at them; and, on coming

\* There was a John Sinclair, physician in Haddington, grandson of Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston. He died in 1742.

near the house, he repeated these orders. Hepburn of Keith, being informed that a party was at his gate, commanded by Dr Sinclair, at once understood the object of his visit, but called for a sight of the doctor's orders. Sinclair immediately sent forward a servant, who, finding no admittance at the gate, offered the Marquis of Tweeddale's commission to Mr Hepburn at the dining-room window. The fiery Jacobite openly scouted at the commission, crying "God damn the marquis and the doctor both!" But the servant thinking that, upon consulting with his friends within, he might agree to terms of submission, continued standing near the gate, that he might carry back a message to his master. Hepburn entertained no such intention. Animated by feelings similar with those of Dr Sinclair, he had resolved to go out and encounter his assailants. Staying only till he and his friends had mounted their horses, he sallied suddenly from the gate, fired a pistol at the servant, which wounded him in two different places, and then, advancing to Dr Sinclair, who stood near the outer gate, struck him a severe blow upon the head with his sword. His daughters, who remained within the house, were heard, at this moment, calling to one another that they should see fine sport; the party rage of the time having entered even the breasts of the gentler part of creation. But the sport which they saw was such as to call forth very different feelings. Sinclair's men returned the assault of old Keith by firing a volley, which laid his younger son dead upon the ground. The distracted father, with his remaining son and friends, immediately broke away, and joined the troops of Mr Forster in the north of England."

Macintosh, with 1400 men, continued his march next day. He reached Longformacus on Wednesday the 19th. General Wightman followed him from Edinburgh, and, attacking his rear, returned the same evening with several prisoners. Macintosh on his arrival at Dunse, proclaimed the Chevalier. After collecting the public revenues, he proceeded to Kelso, where, on Saturday, the 22nd, he formed a junction with the Earl of Winton and Lord Kenmure, the former of whom had joined the Northumbrian insurgents at this town, with a fine body of horse, on the 19th. The higher command was assigned to Kenmure, in consequence, it was presumed, of that waywardness of character peculiar to the

noble family of Winton, and which is too often the gift of talented individuals.

The Northumbrian gentlemen were decidedly of opinion, that they should at once march into England, which was strenuously opposed by the Earl of Winton, Macintosh, and others, of the Scottish chiefs. The latter thought it better to return to Scotland, for the purpose of joining the western clans, taking Dumfries, Glasgow, and other places, on their way, till they should form a junction with the Earl of Mar. Their opinion having been overruled, the army proceeded to Hawick, when the highlanders, who were sensible of the propriety of the plan of the Earl of Winton, broke out into open mutiny. It was in vain that the horsemen, surrounding the foot, ordered them to march southward. In this instance, the saying, that "the Gael seldom found his way back from the 'sunny south,'" was completely reversed. Cocking their firelocks, they exclaimed: "If we are to be made a sacrifice, let us die in our own country." In place, therefore, of opening a passage through one of the richest cities of Scotland to the west, the English insurgents pretended they had letters from Lancashire, assuring them that, on their arrival, a general insurrection would take place, and that they would be joined by 20,000 men. The Earl of Winton, with part of his troops, withdrew in disgust. Unhappily for that nobleman and his descendants, he was again prevailed on to join the Pretender's standard; but he was never afterwards invited to attend on his councils of war. This disrespect, however, Patten observes, "gave him little uneasiness; for he amused himself with such company as chance threw in his way, and amused them with stories of his travels and adventures in low life."

This rebellion proved unsuccessful; and terminated with the battle of Preston, in England. On the 14th November, the Earl of Winton was taken prisoner on this disastrous field, where he distinguished himself in the affair of the barricades, and where the rebels were defeated. His lordship was tried for high treason on the 15th March, 1716; found guilty, and sentenced to be executed, while his estate of L.3393, 10s. 3d. sterling, per annum, with his titles and honours, were forfeited to the crown. On the 4th August, 1716, he was fortunate enough, however, to effect his escape from the Tower of London, by sawing through, with

great ingenuity, the iron bars of the window of his cell: being thus indebted to his mechanical skill for that liberty, which gold and coronets could not purchase.\*

One of the other ancient families in East Lothian, who joined the standard of the Chevalier in 1715, was Congalton of Congalton. Robert Congalton having joined the prince, was also taken prisoner at the battle of Preston, in England; but, effecting his escape, went abroad. Robert, his second son, was killed at his father's gate, in a scuffle with the county militia, who were sent to apprehend the family.

### PRINCE CHARLES STUART.

Charles Edward Lewis Cassimer Stuart, the hero of the rebellion of 1745, was the son of James VIII., commonly called the Pretender, but known in France by the incognito title of the Chevalier St George. His mother was Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, the heroic king of Poland, whose blood seems to have animated the adventurous spirit of his daring and talented grandson. Prince Charles (by which name he is more familiarly known to Scotsmen,) was born on the 31st De-

\* George fifth Earl of Winton, was son of the fourth Lord Seton, by Christian, daughter of John Hepburn of Alderston, in the county of Haddington. He is noticed by a contemporary, Mackay, in his Memoirs, as "a young gentleman who had been much abroad in the world; as having a particular caprice of temper peculiar to his family,—a good estate, a zealous *protestant*,—and not 25 years old." As a mark of his mechanical skill, and a taste for low life, having quarrelled with his father, he resided abroad two years in the capacity of a Journeyman blacksmith, which circumstance nearly deprived him of his estate and titles; for, on succeeding to the earldom, the place of his residence was unknown, and some of the next nearest heirs in line were for instituting a forfaulter of bastardy against him.—**LORD KINGSTON.** Thus terminated the illustrious line of the house of Seton, which had existed in East Lothian for 600 years! and whose descendants still represent the noble houses of Gordon, Eglinton, and Aboyne.

*The Rental of the Estate of George, last Earl of Winton, taken by the commissioners of inquiry, in 1716-17:*

Money.—Rent, payable in money, .....	L.266	7	9
Wheat.—1683 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks, 3 4-15th lippies, at 10s. 5d. per boll, ..	876	18	4
Barley.—1967 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks, 1 9-15th lippie, at ditto, .....	1019	12	2
Oats.—318 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks, 1½ lippie, at ditto, .....	166	12	0
Straw.—504 thraves, at 5d. per thrave, .....	10	10	0
Capon.—794, at 10d. each, .....	31	4	4
Hens.—8024, at 6d. 2-3ds. each, .....	22	5	8
Salt pans, 12, and 2 coal-pits, reckoned about, .....	1000	0	0

L.3393 10 3

ember, 1720, and when but a boy gave symptoms of an aspiring nature. Meeting the pope one day, when riding in his chariot, at Rome, and fearful lest the holy father should gain the precedence in turning down a street, he commanded his coachman to drive before his holiness. A struggle taking place between the postilions, the dignitary of the church inquired into the matter, when Charles exclaimed: "Stop, sir, and let the Prince of Wales pass by."

The space of thirty years, which had elapsed since the father of our hero, made the unsuccessful insurrection in 1715, had consigned many a true-hearted warrior to his silent bed by the mountain cairn; but the youth who was destined for a time,

"To o'erwalk the current, roaring loud,  
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear,"

Brought along with an agreeable person, the highest military daring and talents, joined to a sedate deportment, with the greatest affability of manners, and a heroic patience in adversity.

Great Britain at this period was engaged in one of those destructive and expensive continental wars, into which, by an unhappy fatalism, she has been too much in the habit of rushing. King George himself was with the forces in Germany,—her navy was engaged in distant expeditions,—Scotland was unfurnished with troops; and, above all, the highland chieftains, who viewed with an avenging eye the system adopted of abolishing clanship, and crushing their power, were ripe for revolt. The government were consequently alive to alarm, and first shewed its fears by apprehending some gentlemen. On the 5th June, Sir Hector Maclean, George Bleau of Castlehill, and Lachlan Maclean (Sir Hector's servant), were apprehended in the Canongate, on suspicion of being in the French service, and of enlisting men. They were examined by the Lord Advocate on suspicion of treason,—regularly committed,—and afterwards sent to London. John Graham of Glengyle, jun. was also committed to the castle of Edinburgh, on suspicion of treacherous practices. After a long examination by the Marquis of Tweeddale, it appears that Bleau of Castlehill was committed to Newgate.

Charles, after narrowly escaping the English crusiers, succeeded in landing at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, in the West Highlands, on the 25th July, 1745,—a place suitable

above all others for the designs of the prince, being remote and almost inaccessible, and in the very centre of that country where his surest friends resided, yet not above an hundred and fifty miles from the capital.\* The Mædonalds, the Camerons, and the Stewarts, who possessed the adjacent territories, had been, since the time of Montrose, inviolably attached to the house of Stuart; had proved themselves irresistible at Kilsyth, Killiecrankie, and Sheriffmuir; and were now, from their resistance to the disarming act, perhaps the most resolute of all the clans to take the field, all "plaided and plumed in their tartan array."†

It was about the 8th August, when the news reached Edinburgh, of the descent of Prince Charles. On the first notice Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scotland, gave the necessary orders to the troops. Several parties who were at work on the roads, were ordered forthwith to join their respective regiments; arms and ammunition were sent to the troops and garrisons from the castle of Edinburgh; that fortress was stored with provisions, and the garrison reinforced with two companies of Lascelles's foot; a camp was formed at Stirling; all military persons whatever in Scotland were required forthwith to repair to their respective posts; and the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, to present themselves before Lieutenant-General Guest at Edinburgh.

On the 4th September, Archibald Stewart, Esq., lord-provost of Edinburgh, sent a dispatch to Provost Lundie of Haddington, to give notice to the most proper persons in the neighbourhood, to send as early intelligence as possible, by expresses on horseback, (which the city should pay) of any body of armed men he might find marching to Edinburgh. Which being taken into consideration by the town-council, it was resolved that the magistrates of Haddington should settle a correspondence for that purpose between the magistrates of Dunbar and North Berwick; and, in furtherance of the same object, they sent letters to the ministers of Tynningham, Dirleton, and Aberlady, to give intelligence of the

\* The appearance of the prince at that time is thus described, in an interview with Clanranald: "There entered the tent a tall youth, of a most agreeable aspect, dressed in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt (not very clean,) a cambric stock, fixed with a plain silver buckle; a fair round wig out of the buckle: a plain hat with a canvas string, one end of which was fixed to one of his coat-buttons, black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes:" that is to say, the habit of a student of the Scots college in Paris."—LOCKHART'S Papers, ii. 483.

† Home's Works, ii. 427.—Chambers's Hist. Reb. ii.



landing or marching of any armed men in those districts of the county.\*

The rebel army, which was fast advancing, crossed the Forth on the 13th September, a few miles above Stirling. On their approach Colonel Gardiner's dragoons fell back upon Falkirk. When the news reached Edinburgh, the train-bands mounted guard in the parliament-house, the volunteers in the exchequer, and the Edinburgh regiment in the justiciary-hall. The train-bands consisted of sixteen companies, averaging from 60 to 100 men, some of whom joined the gentlemen volunteers. Of these there were six companies, in number about 400, commanded by Provost Drummond, &c. To shew the effects that religious zeal had on the dissenters in opposing what was considered a war against a Popish pretender, besides the above there was a body of 200 Seceder volunteers, commanded by Mr Bruce of Kennet. On the 14th, intelligence was received that the van of the highland army had arrived at Linlithgow. As an evil presage, Colonel Gardiner's dragoons retired as the rebels advanced, and drew up at Corstorphine, two miles west of the city.

Next morning, the city-guard and the Edinburgh regiment marched from the city, and joined the dragoons. Meanwhile the insurgents were in full march to the metropolis, which was now the scene of the greatest consternation and confusion. On their approach, an advanced party of Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, posted near Corstorphine, retired to the main-body at Coltbridge; which post they all quitted in the most cowardly manner about three o'clock in the afternoon. As a corresponding consequence the city-soldiers returned to the town; while the dastardly cavalry rode off by the north-side of Edinburgh to Leith, and, taking the road to Musselburgh, stopped not till they reached Haddington, leaving their tents and baggage behind, which were carried into the castle.†

Prince Charles entered Edinburgh on the 17th, and took possession of Holyroodhouse, and encamped his army in the King's Park.

The friends of the reigning government still flattered themselves, that a stop would speedily be put to the progress of the highland army. Brigadier Fowkes, who had arrived at Edinburgh, from London, on the 15th, marched next day with the

\* Haddington Council Reg.

† Scots Magazinc.

dragoons eastward. The same day Lieutenant-General Cope, with his transports, arrived off Dunbar. The troops were landed at Dunbar on the 17th, and the artillery, &c., next day, being the nearest port they found it practicable to land on the south-side of the Firth of Forth. On the 19th, Cope left Dunbar, and marched towards Edinburgh, wending his way by Beanston, and encamped that night in a field\* to the westward of Haddington.

“ Though London and Gardiner both were there,  
They in council had but little share;  
For Cope he challenged the sole command,  
With furious Fowke at his command.”—GRAHAM.

Early next morning Cope departed, and followed the ordinary line of road, which then led by Huntington to Edinburgh, when striking off to the right, he took the low tract nearer the sea, and, passing by St Germain's and Seton, arrived at Preston.

The same day, Friday, the 20th September, in the morning, Charles joined his followers at Duddingston; and, presenting his sword, said: “ My friends, I have flung away the scabbard !” an action somewhat in the style of Charles XII., who threw away his sword that it might not be taken from him. The army marched, and drew up on Carberry-hill; but finding that Cope had kept down towards Prestonpans, the highlanders directed their march along the brow of Fawside-hill, till they came in sight of the enemy, upon which they gave a great shout by way of defiance; and such was their eagerness to rush to an engagement, that it was only by dint of authority that they could be prevented. This shout was answered by huzzas from the King's troops.

Sir John Cope had taken up a position, having a broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preston on the right, some houses and a small morass on the left, and the Firth of Forth in the rear, which rendered an attack on his front almost impracticable, which the rebels observing caused a large detachment to file towards Preston, with a view of taking them in flank, which, being perceived, a disposition was made by the army, which prevented the rebels from making an immediate attack, and made them resume their former position. An advanced party of the insurgents having taken possession of Tranent churchyard, a small train of horsemen sent a few shots amongst them; but, during the night, there was no other offensive measures.

\* Grounds, which belonged to Mr Buchan of Letham, called “ the Banks,” lying between St Laurence-house and Peghdaleloan.

An incident occurred, apparently trivial, but upon which the fate of the approaching day, seems in a great measure to have depended. Mr Robert Anderson (the son of Anderson of Whitburgh, in the parish of Humbie,) who joined the insurgents at Edinburgh, had been present at the council which determined the place and mode of attack, but did not take the liberty to speak or give his opinion. After the dismissal of the council, Anderson told his friend Mr Hepburn of Keith, that he was well acquainted with the ground, and thought there was a better way to attack the King's army than that which the council had resolved to follow. "I could undertake, (he said) to shew them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire." Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms, that Anderson desired he would introduce him to Lord George Murray. Mr Hepburn advised him to go alone to the lieutenant-general, with whom he was already perfectly well acquainted, and who would like best to receive any information of this sort without the presence of a third party. Anderson immediately sought Lord George, whom he found asleep in a field of cut peas, with the Prince and several of the chiefs lying near him. The young gentleman immediately awoke his lordship, and proceeded to inform him of his project. To Lord George it appeared so eligible, that he hesitated not a moment to use the same freedom with the Prince, which Mr Anderson had used with him. Charles sat up on his bed of peas-straw, and listened to the scheme with great attention. He then caused Lochiel and the other leaders to be called and taken into counsel. They all approved of the plan; and a resolution was instantly passed to take advantage of Mr Anderson's offers of service; while it was justly considered strange that a young country-gentleman, who had never seen an army, should have thus given advice to a band of military officers, some of whom had considerable experience, and that that advice proved perfectly successful.\*

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\* Home's Works, iii.

## CHAPTER XVI.

‘ Cope sent a challenge frae Dunbar,  
 ‘ Charlie, meet me an ye daur,  
 ‘ And I’ll learn you the art of war,  
 ‘ If you’ll meet me i’ the morning.’  
  
 “ When Charlie look’d the letter upon,  
 He drew his sword the scabbard from :  
 ‘ Come, follow me, my merry, merry men,  
 ‘ And we’ll meet Johnnie Cope i’ the morning.’  
  
 “ Hey, Johnnie Cope, are ye wauking yet?  
 Or are your drums a-beating yet?  
 If ye were wauking I would wait,  
 To gang to the coals i’ the morning.”—*Ballad.*

**BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS—DEFEAT OF THE KING’S ARMY—  
 DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER—HAMILTON’S DRAGOONS—  
 FLIGHT OF SIR JOHN COPE.—HAY OF LINPLUM.—THE FOX  
 MAN-OF-WAR.—PRINCE CHARLES RETURNS TO EDINBURGH  
 TRIUMPHANT.—SONGS OF THE BATTLE.—HAMILTON OF  
 BANGOUR.—FARMER-POETS.—PETITION OF THE VILLAGES  
 FOR THE HONOUR OF VICTORY.**

ABOUT three in the morning of Saturday the 21st September, 1745, the patrols observed some motion in the camp of the rebels. The highlanders marching eastward, formed a line, with a view to prevent Cope from making his escape in that quarter, while another party was stationed on the west to prevent his getting to Edinburgh. Mr Robert Anderson led the way, followed by Macdonald of Glenaladale, major of the Clanranald regiment, with a chosen body of sixty men, appointed to secure Cope’s baggage whenever they saw the armies engaged.\* Close behind

\* Several private gentlemen, in East Lothian, were equally zealous to serve King George’s army. Mr Home, (afterwards minister of Athelstaneford,) and one of the first dramatic poets of Scotland, appeared before Sir John Cope in the character of a volunteer, and gave intelligence regarding the highland army which he had visited, and described it as inferior in appearance and accoutrements to the king’s troops. While at Dunbar, several of the judges and civil authorities came to the camp, not as fighting men, but to remain with the army, as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching action. The Earl of Home, who was an officer in the guards, joined Sir John from a different principle: not thinking it right to remain at home when the King’s troops were in the field. This nobleman came attended with only one or two servants; and

came the army, marching in a column of three men abreast. They came down by a gentle valley or hollow that undulates through the farm of Rigganhead. At first their march was concealed by darkness, and, when daylight began to appear, by a thick mist. When they were near the morass,\* some dragoons who stood upon the other side as an advanced guard, called out, "Who's there?" To which the highlanders made no answer, but marched on. The dragoons soon perceiving who they were, fired their pieces and rode off to give the alarm.

In the arrangement of the highland army preparatory to the

there were not a few who made their remarks, and drew a contrast between his present retinue and that of his ancestors, who at a short warning could have brought as many armed vassals from their own territories into the field, as would have coped with that highland army, which had got possession of the capital of Scotland.—*Howe's Hist.* The feudal system had now declined. Even in the rebellion of 1715, the Earl of Winton, whose estate in East Lothian, stood among the first in the list of forfeitures, could only join the rebel army with fourteen men, while highland chieftains, even of middling rank, had, on the same occasion, brought along with them their clans, to the amount of three, four, or five hundred followers.

During the manœuvring of the armies on the afternoon of the 20th, two gentlemen, who had set out from Haddington as scouts, and never returned, made their appearance. These were Frances Garden and Robert Cunningham (afterwards Lord Gardenston and General Cunningham); who, in their enthusiasm, had gone so near Duddingston, that they were taken prisoners by the rebels, who threatened to hang them as spies; and when the highlanders marched to meet Sir John Cope, the prisoners were carried along with them, to be placed (they said) in the front of the battle, and exposed to the fire of their friends. When the armies came in sight of each other, the highlanders marched them backwards and forwards for some time, and at last allowed them to slip away.

The whole afternoon had been spent with these evolutions, which resembled (observes an ingenious author) nothing so much as the last moves of a well-contested game of draughts. Charles, deterred from making an immediate attack by the park-dikes, which screened Cope's front, shifted his ground, and returned to his first station near Tranent. The King's army faced round at the same time, so as to occasion a bystander to exclaim, in derision of these ineffectual movements, "*Why, they're just where they were, wi' their face to Tranent.*"

\* The place where the rebels passed through the morass, was about 200 paces to the westward of a stone bridge, built over Seton mill-dam many years after the rebellion. The highlanders crossed the ditch, where there was a deep run of water, by a narrow timber bridge. The ground on both sides was soft and boggy, which being long since drained, bears excellent crops. "When our first line had passed the marsh (says the Chevalier Johnstone), Lord George Murray dispatched me to the second line, which the Prince conducted in person, to see that it passed without noise or confusion. I found the Prince at the head of the column, accompanied by Lord Nairn, just as he was beginning to enter the marsh, when the enemy, seeing our first line in order of battle, fired an alarm-gun. At the very end of the marsh there was a deep ditch; the Prince, in leaping across, fell upon his knees on the other side. I laid hold of his arm, and immediately raised him up. On examining his countenance, it appeared to me that he considered this accident a bad omen."—*Memoirs Reb.* 26. Lond. 4to.

battle of Preston, the great Clan Colla, or Macdonalds, formed the right wing, because Bruce had assigned it that station at the battle of Bannockburn, in gratitude for the treatment he had received from that chief when in hiding in the Hebrides: it consisted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glenco. The left wing was composed of the Camerons, commanded by Lochiel; the Stuarts of Appin, by Ardsheil: while the Duke of Perth's men, under Major James Drummond, and the clan Macgregor, with Glencairney, stood in the centre. The Duke of Perth commanded the right wing, and Lord George Murray the left. Behind the first line, a second was arranged at the distance of fifty yards, consisting of the Athole men, the Robertsons, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and the Maclauchlans, under the command of Lord Nairn. Charles took his place between the two lines. His army was rather superior in numbers to Sir John Cope, being about 2400; but as the second line never came into action, the real number of combatants, as stated by authority, was only 1456.

From the alarm given by the videttes, it was found necessary to form the lines as quickly as possible. This disposition effected, Charles addressed his army in the following words: "Follow me, gentlemen; by the assistance of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people;" while the English general, in more inflated terms, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, you are just now to engage with a parcel of rabble—a parcel of brutes! being a small number of Scots highlanders. You can expect no booty from such a poor despicable pack. I have authority to declare, that you shall have eight full hours liberty to plunder and pillage the city of Edinburgh, Leith, and suburbs, (the places which harboured and succoured them) at your discretion, with impunity."\*

Sir John Cope, who had spent the night at Cookenzie, where his baggage was disposed under a guard of the 42nd regiment, hastened to join his troops on first receiving intelligence that the highlanders were moving towards the east. His first impression regarding their movement seems to have been, that, after finding it impossible to attack him either across the morass or through the defiles of Preston, they were now about to take up a position on the open fields to the east, in order to fight a pitched battle when daylight should appear. Andrew Henderson, (a

\* Charles's Transactions in Scotland, vol. ii.

Whig historian) mentions, in his account of the engagement, that the sentries, on first perceiving the highland line through the mist, thought it a hedge which was gradually becoming apparent as the light increased. The event, however, proved that the royal army was completely taken by surprise.\*

To the darkness that hovered over the landscape, Charles was, in some measure, indebted for his sudden victory. The groups of clans seen through the dim sunny mist, seemed of interminable number, augmented by the savage and rustic-armed followers, who swelled their train. As it appeared to be the intention of Charles to attack the left flank of Cope's army, the general, by an expeditious movement, brought his front to theirs, and secured his flanks by several dikes on the right, towards Tranent, while his left inclined to the sea. This disposition was scarcely completed when three large bodies of highlanders advanced with the greatest impetuosity, and began the attack on the right wing, where Colonel Gardiner's dragoons were placed. The English artillery, with their whole line, opened a heavy fire, which did little execution. Covering their faces with their targets, the highlanders advanced to the very muzzles of the guns of their opponents, when, pulling off their bonnets, and ejaculating a short prayer, they discharged and threw down their muskets as incumbrances, and, drawing their broadswords, gave a hideous shout, and cutting right and left, rushed furiously on the enemy, while a fatal panic soon seized the whole line.

“ Then wild and high the ‘ Cameron’s gathering’ rose !  
 The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn’s hills  
 Have heard, and heard too, have her Saxon foes :—  
 How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills,  
 Savage and shrill !”.....BYRON.

The Camerons led the way to victory. That spirited clan, says Chambers, “ notwithstanding their exposure to the cannon, and although received with a discharge of musketry by the artillery guard, ran on with undaunted speed, and were first up to the front of the King’s army. Having swept over the cannon, they found themselves opposed to a squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, which was advancing to attack them. They had only to fire a few shots, when these dastards,

\* Chambers’s Hist. iii.

not yet recovered from their former fright, wheeled about, and fled over the artillery ground, when the latter were also dispersed. The rear squadron of dragoons, under Colonel Gardiner himself, was then ordered to advance to the attack. Their gallant old commander led them forward, encouraging them as well as he could by the way; but they had not proceeded many steps, when, receiving a few shots from the highlanders, they reeled, turned, and followed their companions, "to witch the world with noble horsemanship!" Lochiel had ordered his men to strike at the noses of the horses, as the best means of getting the better of their masters; but they never found an opportunity of practising this *ruse*, the men having commenced their retreat while they were yet some yards distant. Hamilton's dragoons,\* at the other extremity of the line, behaved in a similar cowardly manner. No sooner had they seen their fellows flying before the Camerons, than they also turned about and fled, without having fired a carbine, and while the Macdonalds were still at a small distance.

Cope's soldiers, thrown into complete confusion, and broken at all points, fell, fled, or surrendered. *Sauve qui peut* † was now breathed as sincerely, as ever it was uttered by Napoleon's bat-

\* Hamilton's dragoons had been quartered at Haddington, Dunse, and adjacent places. Their appearance is thus described by Andrew Henderson: "Hamilton's dragoons came from Leith at a hard trot. I saw them ride through the city brandishing their swords,—heard them huzza as they passed, which was cheerfully answered, not only by those in arms, but by the whole crowd,—the horses and men, though raw and young, looked extremely well, and any man would have been tempted to put too much trust in them, which I fear too many did."

Their horses, according to a custom since abrogated, were placed at grass in the parks near the quarters of the men. The denizens of the burgh felt much annoyed by the soldiery.

In November 1736, the inhabitants of Haddington lodged a complaint with the magistrates on the burden they sustained from the quartering of dragoons in the burgh, while their horses, (whereby they might have derived some benefit from their dung as manure,) were sent to country-stables. The magistrates agreed to draw up a representation, and to wait on General Wade on the subject. They appear, however, to have got no particular redress; for, on January 11th, 1738, Captain Fall, M.P., was empowered to represent the grievances of the inhabitants of Haddington, in having dragoons quartered on them, while their horses were put up in barracks belonging to noblemen and gentlemen in the county, "whereby the King's revenue and the town's was diminished, and their stables going to ruin."

For the accommodation of the cavalry horses, stables, commonly called "the Barracks," were erected in a park within the north-gate at Lethington; and at Bara, in the parish of Garvald.

In 1766, April 10th, Richard Millar, merchant in Haddington, feued a piece of ground, lying on the south side of the turnpike road, near the Peghdaloan, to build a riding-school for the use of the troops which might be quartered in the burgh.—*Council Reg.*

† "Save himself who can."



talions on their defeat at Waterloo, when the fatal war-cry of the descendants of the same Lochiel arose. The infantry, deserted by their supporters, either to lighten them in their flight, or to signify that they had surrendered, threw down their unloaded pieces, without staining a bayonet with blood. Many fell upon their knees, imploring that mercy from the impetuous highlanders, which the exigency of the moment would scarcely allow them to grant. One small party alone, out of the whole army, had the resolution to make any resistance. They fought for a brief space, under Colonel Gardiner, who, deserted by his own troop, and observing their gallant behaviour, unfortunately put himself at their head. This brave band only fled when they had suffered severely, and when their excellent leader fell pierced with many wounds.\* The fate of "the gallant and good Gardiner," was sin-

\* Colonel Gardiner was cut down near the west end of the village of Meadow-mill (which however was not built at that period,) beside a thorn-tree, which is still pointed out as the scene of his death-blow. He was within a quarter of a mile of his own residence of Bankton.

"One man he had, who by him staid,  
Until he on the field was laid,  
And then he fled to the Meadow Mill,  
Where he acquainted was right well:  
Thence in disguise returned again,  
And bore him off, from 'mongst the slain.  
His stately dwelling was near by;  
But now he could not lift an eye."—GRAHAM'S *Hist. Reb.*

As the flight of the army was in the direction of Bankton, Gardiner's servant, it is said, having borrowed clothes from the miller, conveyed his dying master to the manse of Tranent, where he soon afterwards expired, and was buried in the west end of the church; but no tablet marks the grave of this gallant soldier and admirable Christian. When digging the found of the present church, his bones were discovered. The hair quite fresh, and part of his *quene*† remaining. I believe a monumental inscription had been placed over his remains by his wife, Lady Frances Erskine, (a daughter of David fourth Lord Cardross); but it had been removed or covered up in the building of the new church.

"The slain were buried near a farm-house, called Thortree Mains, erected since the battle, (says the Rev. John Henderson); and towards the close of last century, in making some drains to the north-east of the farm-steading, the workmen came upon the bodies, when the clothes were said to be so entire, that they could distinguish between the royalists and the rebels. One or two cannon balls have also been found in fields near Cockenzie, which, in all likelihood, were among the few that were discharged at the disastrous battle of Preston.

"A few coins of the reign of James V. and Mary, were discovered in 1828, while making improvements on the post-road to the west of Tranent, and might probably have been concealed there about the time of the battle of Pinkie in 1547."—*New Stat. Act.*

† In that age of military foppery, of powder and pomatum, the *Quene*, or Club, formed an important part of the soldier's toilet-dress. Mr R. Chambers states (on the authority of a friend,) that about thirty years ago, regiments passing on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, were inspected by sergeants, who attentively measured the length of their *Quenes* with a pair of compasses!

cerely lamented by both parties. He had taken leave of his family at Stirling only a few days previous, with a fatal presentiment, it is said, of his approaching fall. "Honest, pious, bold, Gardiner," says General Wightman, in a letter to the Lord-President Forbes, died in the field, and was stript near the threshold of his own house. I believe he prayed for it, and got his desire; for his heart was broken by the behaviour of the dogs he commanded." Deserted by his own squadron, and suffering from two shot and sabre wounds—one in the shoulder, the other in the forehead—he still attempted to rally a party of infantry, but in vain; and was cut down from behind, by the stroke of a scythe, or weapon, with which many of the Macgregors were armed.\*

Dougal Graham, the metrical historian of the Rebellion, who, like the Chevalier Johnstone, appears to describe the scenes which he witnessed, gives the following description of the forlorn situation of the infantry, in his homely style:

"The poor foot, on field, I can't forget,  
 Who now are caught as in a net,  
 From 'bove Cowcanny [Cockenzie] to Preston-dike,  
 About a mile, or near the like,  
 'Bove three hundred lay on the field,  
 Fifteen hundred were forced to yield:  
 The rest with Cope got clear away;  
 And so ended this bloody fray,  
 They were beat backward by the clans,  
 Along the Crofts 'bove Prestonpans,  
 Till the high dike held them again,

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\* Captain Macgregor, of the Duke of Perth's regiment, for want of other arms, procured scythes, which he sharpened and fixed to poles of from seven to eight foot long. With these he armed his company, and they proved very destructive weapons. They cut the legs of the horses in two, and their riders through the middle of their bodies. Macgregor was brave and intrepid, but, at the same time, whimsical and singular. When advancing to the charge with his company, he received five wounds; two of them from balls that pierced his body through and through. Stretched on the ground, with his head resting on his hand, he called out to the highlanders of his company, "My lads, I am not dead!—by G—, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" The highlanders instantly fell on the flanks of the infantry, which being uncovered by the cavalry, immediately gave way; and so rapid was the victory (says Chevalier Johnstone,) that, in five minutes, we saw no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground.—*Memoirs Reb.* Yet the Author of *Waverley* says, the English infantry "stood their ground with great courage!" though Lord London, in his account, says, "as soon as the highlanders approached our foot, immediately a panic struck them," which was confirmed by Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford, independent of Sir John Cope's testimony.

Where many taken were and slain ;  
 Although they did for quarter cry,  
 The vulgar clans made this reply,  
 ' Quarters ! you curst soldiers—mad,  
 It is o'er soon to go to bed.'  
 Had not their officers and chiefs  
 Sprung in, and begg'd for their relief,  
 They had not left one living there ;  
 For in a desperate rage they were,  
 'Cause many clans were hack'd and slain :  
 Yet of their loss they let not ken ;  
 For by the shot fell not a few,  
 And many with bayonets pierced through.  
 Since call'd the battle of Prestonpans,\*  
 Fought by John Cope and Charlie's clans,  
 September the twenty-first day,  
 Below Tranent a little way.  
 From Gladsmuir church † two miles and more.  
 The place old Rhymer told long before,  
 ' That between Seaton and the sea,  
 ' A dreadful morning there should be,  
 ' Meet in the morning, lighted by the moon,  
 ' The Lion his wound here, heal shall not soon.'  
 In Thomas's book of this you'll read,  
 Mention'd by both Merlin and Bede."—*Hist. Rob.* chap. ii.

The mode of fighting, as practised by the highlanders, set at naught the tactics of the school of Marlborough. It has been thus described by the Chevalier Johnstone, who was engaged in all the actions fought during this campaign. " They advanced with the utmost rapidity towards the enemy, gave fire when within a musket-length of the object, and then throwing down their pieces, drew their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand along with the target, darted with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of their opponents' bayonets, bending their left knee, they contrived to receive the thrust of that weapon on their targets; then raising their arm, and with it the enemy's point, they rushed in upon the soldier,

\* In the eastern wall of the new churchyard of Prestonpans, a monument is erected, in memory of Mr Stewart of Physgill, an officer in the royal army, who was inhumanly and barbarously slain by the highlanders.

† The author has heard a prophecy ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer, in which it was stated, that " The corbie-craw would drink blood out of a *frugh-stane* in Gladsmuir churchyard, and that the 'Gine-burn would run red," which was considered verified in the above conflict, which by the Jacobites was called the " battle of Gladsmuir."

now defenceless, killed him at one blow, and were in a moment within the lines, pushing right and left with sword and dagger, often bringing down two men at once. The battle was thus decided in an almost incredible time, and all that followed was mere carnage.

“ There never was a victory more complete, (says Sir Walter Scott). Of the infantry, 2500 men, or thereabout, scarce 200 escaped; the rest were either slain or made prisoners. It has been generally computed that the slain amounted to 400 men; for the highlanders gave little quarter in the first moments of excitation, though these did not last long. Five officers were killed, and eighty made prisoners. The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of 2000.” Many of them exhibited a frightful appearance, being hideously cut with the broadsword.

The field of battle, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, “ presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with hands, legs, and arms, and mutilated bodies; for the killed all fell by the sword.— General Cope, by means of a white cockade,\* which he put in his hat, similar to what we wore, passed through the midst of the highlanders without being known. The panic terror of the English surpasses all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears, of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the highlander. Of so many men in a condition from their numbers to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken possession of their minds. I saw a young highlander, about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the Prince as a prodigy, having killed, it was said, fourteen of the enemy.† The Prince asked him if this was true. ‘ I do not know,’ replied he, ‘ if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword.’ Another highlander brought ten soldiers to the Prince, whom he had made prisoners, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. These were, however, the English soldiers who had distinguished

\* The distinguishing badge of the insurgents. The house of Stuart, in imitation of that of Lancaster, had assumed the white rose as their cognizance; their adherents accordingly wore white cockades in their hats.

† The Chevalier Johnstone, in his zeal to conjure up prodigies of valour from the tartan clans, seems to have underrated the English army at Preston. It is evident that the soldiers, who had been hurried into the field, were raw recruits or levies for the army in Flanders, where so much British blood had been uselessly expended.

themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked among the bravest troops in Europe.” \*

The military-chest of the army had been placed in the house of Cockenzie, and the baggage in a large field adjoining, which during the action was upon the left. It was guarded by a few of the Earl of Loudon's highlanders, the greater part of whom had joined the rebels on the breaking out of the rebellion. This guard on seeing the event of the battle, surrendered themselves prisoners, and specie to a large amount fell into the hands of the victors. Some accounts say to the amount of L.8000. “ Sir John Cope having secured the rest, (says Alexander Henderson,) partly in the Fox man-of-war,† and partly at Haddington, and elsewhere, which was the only prudent action of that officer during his inglorious campaign. The highlanders plundered

\* The same year in which the King's troops acted with so much politroonery at home, they had distinguished themselves abroad under Lord Charles Hay of Linplum, who commanded a company in the 3d regiment of foot guards. According to Fantin, (a French author,) in the midst of that bloody engagement, the battle of Pontenoy, which was fought on the 30th April, 1746, the British and French officers mutually saluted each other, by pulling off their hats. The English being fifty paces distant from the French and Swiss guards, Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, stepped out of the ranks, when Comte d' Haunteroche, lieutenant of grenadiers of the French guards, went to meet him. “ Gentlemen of the French guards,” says the English captain, “ fire!” “ No, my lord,” answered the Comte, “ we never fire first.” The English then gave a running fire, when 19 officers and 360 soldiers of the French fell dead or wounded, and the Duc de Gsammont, their colonel, was killed. At this battle Lord Charles Hay was wounded. This gallant officer had served at the siege of Gibraltar; and in Germany as a volunteer under Prince Eugene of Savoy. He was appointed aide-de-camp to King George II. in 1749, and afterwards served in America. He was third son of Charles third Marquis of Tweeddale, and succeeded to the estate of Linplum, on the death of Sir Robert Hay in 1751. Lord Charles Hay was chosen member of parliament for the county of Haddington in 1741. He died at London in 1760.

† The military arms belonging to the town of Dunbar, consisting of 101 muskets, 26 bayonets, 35 pistols, &c., were shipped on board this unfortunate vessel, which, in a few weeks afterwards was stranded in Tyne sands. In a strong gale from the north-east, during the night of the 14th November, 1746, the Fox man-of-war, Captain Beaver, commander, was cast away near Dunbar, and all on board perished. The last time the Fox was discovered was to the eastward of the May. It is supposed that she struck upon some of the half-ebb rocks near the castle, and lost her bottom, and that the wreck afterwards drifted to Tyne sands, where she was swallowed up in the Horner's-hole, about one mile east from Tyne-water mouth, part of her rigging having at times been seen there. “ I've heard an aged grandam say” that the wails of the drowning seamen were heard at the west-gate end, as if issuing from the back of the castle. Most of the corpses were found there, and others at Westbarns links, where they were buried. It was not till the end of the month, that a corpse recognized to be Captain Beaver, was cast on shore, and honorably interred. The Fox was one of the guard-ships stationed at Leith Roads during the time of the rebellion, and had on board great part of the plate and

some officers both of their money and watches, and some country gentlemen, who were not in arms, were treated in the same manner. I myself (continues Henderson,) surveying the field, before the dead were stript, asked some of the wounded men what had become of Cope. And they all, but especially the English soldiers, spoke most disrespectfully and bitterly of him. After this I went to the roadside where the Chevalier, who by advice of the Duke of Perth, &c., had sent to Edinburgh for surgeons, was standing. He was clad as an ordinary captain, in a coarse plaid and blue bonnet, his boots and knees very much dirtied. He was exceeding merry. Speaking of his army, he said twice, 'My highlandmen have lost their plaids,' at which he laughed very heartily. There were seven standards taken, which when he saw he said in French, a language he frequently spoke in, 'We have missed some of them.' Then he refreshed himself upon the field, and with the utmost composure ate a piece of cold beef, and drank a glass of wine, amid the deep and piercing groans of the wounded and dying. Next day the poor men were brought into Edinburgh upon carts; some were put into the infirmary, others begged through the high streets; but no charity was shown by the rebels, so great was their hatred to a red-coat." Mr Home, however, gives a more favourable view of Charles's humanity: "He remained on the field of battle till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, for the disposal of his prisoners, and preserving, from

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other portable property belonging to the nobility and gentry engaged in the King's service.—See *Hist. Dunbar*. Poor Admiral Byng had then the command of the naval ships at Leith. Although he had formerly given many proofs of courage, he was, in 1757, tried and shot, for alleged neglect of duty, in not relieving Minorca, which afterwards surrendered to the French, while military officers, of dubious character, about the same time escaped. His fate drew forth these lines from Byron:

"And as they spared our foes, so spared we them,  
Where was the pity of our sires for Byng."—*Childe Harold*.

"The wreck of this ill-fated vessel remained under water above thirty years, when a violent storm laid a part of it bare, and several masses, consisting of iron, ropes, and balls, were found on Belhaven sands, near the place, covered over with a very hard ochry substance, of the colour of iron, which adhered thereto so strongly that it required great force to detach it from the fragments of the wreck. Upon examination, this substance appeared to be sand, concreted and hardened into a kind of stone. In a paper upon the subject by Edward King, Esq., and published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, he concludes, 'that there is on the coasts of this island, a continual progressive induration of masses of sand and other matter at the bottom of the ocean, somewhat in the same manner as there is at the bottom of the Adriatic sea.'—

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temper or from judgment, every appearance of moderation and humanity." Having left the field, he rode to Pinkie House, the seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, who was then in London,\* where the Prince took up his lodgings for the night, and next day returned to the palace of Holyrood-house.

The unfortunate Cope, on whom the chief opprobrium of this disastrous day was to fall, after making a vain effort to rally Gardiner's dragoons, for the purpose of supporting the broken infantry, and not being inclined to sacrifice his life like their late gallant leader, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, he gathered together about 450 horsemen, at the west end of the village of Preston, and passing from thence up a narrow path leading to Birsie Brae (which was afterwards called "Johnnie's Cope's road,") retreated with them over Soutra-hill to Lauder, and reached Coldstream that night, a place fully forty miles from the morning's battlefield.

The misfortunes of this day, as regarded bluff Sir John, were not to terminate here; for although, as far as personal courage went, Cope was completely acquitted on his trial, he was doomed to be

" Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,  
And the sad burden of a merry song!"

In the keen language of that satirical song, which is universally "familiar in our mouths as household words:"

" When Johnnie Cope to Dunbar came,  
They speer'd at him, ' Where's a' your men?'  
' The deil confound me gin I ken.  
For I left them a' this mornin.'

" Says Lord Mark Car, ' ye are na blate,  
To bring us the news o' your ain defeat,  
I think you deserve the back o' the gate:  
Get out o' my sight this morning!"

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\* To shew how little the success of Charles was anticipated, the very day on which the victory at Preston was obtained, the Marquis of Tweeddale, in a letter to Lord Milton, (dated *Whitehall*, 21st September,) made the following observation:

" That 2000 men, and these the scum of two or three highland gentlemen, the Camerons, and a few tribes of the Macdonalds, should be able in so short a time to make themselves masters of the town of Edinburgh, is an event which, had it not happened, I never should have believed possible. Some satisfaction, however, it gives to us that from Sir John Cope's landing the troops at Dunbar, and being joined by the two regiments of dragoons, we may hope soon to see the face of affairs in our country changed for the better: to effectuate which, I assure your lordship, I never had the least doubt that any thing in your power would be wanting."—TWEEDDALE.

“ ‘ I faith,’ quo’ Johnnie, ‘ I got a fleg  
Wi’ their claymores and philabegs,  
If I face them again, deil break my legs!  
So I wish you a’ a gude-morning.’ ”

“ Sir Johnnie into Berwick rade,  
Just as the deil had been his guide ;  
Gi’en him the warld, he wadna staid  
T’ have foughten the boys in the morning.

“ Says the Berwickers unto Sir John,  
‘ O what’s become of all your men ? ’  
‘ In faith,’ says he, ‘ I dinna ken ;  
I left them a’ this morning.’  
Hey, Johnnie Cope, &c.”

“ The following Ballad,” observes Sir Walter Scott, “ has preserved for its author a memorial for his name, outlasting the period of his own day and generation.” From its embodying almost the whole talk of the times regarding the actors on both sides, it has been found generally interesting, and attained a celebrity equal to the spirited song and air of *Johnnie Cope*. It was written by Mr Adam Skirving, farmer at East Garleton, in the parish of Haddington, who was father of Mr Archibald Skirving, the celebrated painter.

### The Battle of Prestonpans.

Air—“ *Killiecrankie*.”

“ The Chevalier being void of fear  
Did march up Birslie Brae, man,  
And through Tranent, ere he did stent,  
As fast as he could gae, man ;  
While General Cope did taunt and mock,  
Wi’ mony a loud hezza, man :  
But ere next morn proclaim’d the cock,  
We heard anither craw, man.

“ The brave Lochiel, as I heard tell,  
Led Camerons on in clouds, man ;  
The morning fair, and clear the air,  
They loos’d with devilish thuds, man.  
Down guns they threw, and swords they drew,  
And soon did chase them aff, man ;

\* It appears, however, that General Fowkes and Lascelles, retreating by Seton sands, were the first to reach Dunbar ; “ whither some of the young horses (says Henderson,) after their riders were dismounted, followed them.”



On Seaton's crafts they buff'd their chafts,  
And gart them rin like daft, man.

" The bluff dragoons swore, blood and oons!  
They'd make the rebels run, man;  
And yet they flee when them they see,  
And winna fire a gun, man.  
They turn'd their back, the foot they brake,  
Such terror seized them a', man;  
Some wet their cheeks, some fyled their —  
And some for fear did fa', man.\*

" The volunteers prick'd up their ears,  
And vow gin they were crouse, man;  
But when the bairns saw't turn to earn't,  
They were na worth a louse, man.  
Maist feck gade hame, O fie for shame!  
They'd better staid awa', man,  
Than wi' cockade to make parade,  
And do nae gude at a', man.

Monteith the great, when hersel —  
Unwares did ding him o'er, man;  
Yet wadna stand to bear a hand,  
But aff fu' fast did scour, man.  
O'er Soutra-hill, ere he stood still,  
Before he tasted meat, man;  
Troth, he may brag of his swift nag,  
That bore him aff sae fleet, man.†

" And Simpson, keen to clear the een  
Of rebels far in wrang, man,  
Did never strive wi' pistols five,  
But gallopp'd wi' the thrang, man.  
He turn'd his back, and in a crack  
Was cleanly out o' sight, man,  
And thought it best: it was nae jest  
Wi' highlanders to fight, man.‡

\* The unusual scene of a hostile army marching through East Lothian attracted a number of spectators. The author had several conversations with an old man, Robert Herkes, aged 93, some years ago, (whose parents dwelt at the farm of Muirtown,) who had some recollection of being held up to see the King's army pass by the road leading above the Abbey-mains, by Barny-mains, to Yellow Craigs. The people were surprised in beholding the long lines of infantry and cavalry, and the time they took in passing. As a contrast to the red-coats, Herkes described the highlanders, when seen bivouacking on the neighbouring hills afterwards, like a flock of sheep reposing, from the appearance they made by their lighter dresses.

† The Rev. Mr Monteith, minister of Longformacus, a volunteer. Happening to come the night before the battle upon a highlander in a sitting posture, at Prestonpans, he threw him over, and carried his gun as a trophy to Cope's camp. Several of the clergy had joined the King's army, both churchmen and dissenters. Amongst the former was John Home, the celebrated author of "Douglas," and historian of the Rebellion, and amongst the latter, John Brown, author of the "Self-interpreting Bible," &c.

‡ Mr Simpson, another volunteer presbyterian minister. He vaunted that he would convince the rebels of their error by dint of his pistols, having for that purpose two in his pockets, two in his holsters, and one in his belt.

“ Mangst a’ the gang, nane bade the bang  
 But twa, and ane was ta’en, man;  
 For Campbell rade, but Myrie staid,  
 And sair he paid the kane, man.  
 Four skelps he got, was waur than shot,  
 Frae the sharp-edged claymore, man;  
 Frae mony a spout came running out  
 His reeking het red gore, man.\*

But Gardiner brave did still behave  
 Like to a hero bright, man;  
 His courage true, like him were few  
 That still despised flight, man.  
 For king, and laws, and country’s cause,  
 In honour’s bed he lay, man;  
 His life, but not his courage fled,  
 While he had breath to draw, man.

“ And Major Bowle, that worthy soul,  
 Was brought down to the ground, man:  
 His horse being shot, it was his lot,  
 For to get mony a wound, man.†  
 Lieutenant Smith, of Irish birth,  
 Frae whom he called for aid, man;  
 But full of dread, lap o’er his head,  
 And wadna be gainsaid, man.

“ He made sic haste, sae spurr’d his beast,  
 ’Twas little there he saw, man;  
 To Berwick rade, and falsely said,  
 The Scots were rebels a’, man.  
 But let that end, for weel ’tis kend  
 His use and wont’s to lie, man:  
 The Teague is naught; he never faught  
 When he had room to flee, man.‡

\* Myrie, a student of medicine from Jamaica. This brave man had entered a volunteer into Cope’s army, and was miserably mangled by the highland broadsword.

† “ Major Bowles, (says Henderson,) after he had fallen, with his horse, was desperately backed by the boys who followed the rebels. This was also the fate of Gardiner and the Master of Torphichen. The private men’s heads were almost cut through, the greater number in the back part. Noses, hands, arms, legs, &c. were promiscuously to be seen scattered over the field.”—*Edin. Hist. Reb. Ed. 1762.*

‡ So widely was the scandal of Mr Skirving’s verses circulated, that it called forth an exculpatory advertisement in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, on 6th January 1746, to the following effect: “Whereas there has been a scandalous report spread, to the prejudice of Lieutenant Peter Smith of General Hamilton’s dragoons, that he refused to assist Major Bowles, when dismounted at Preston: I, the said Major Bowles, do affirm it to be an infamous falsehood, Lieutenant Smith not being in the same squadron with me; nor did any officer of the corps refuse me his assistance on that occasion. Witness my hand, at Prestonpans, this 1st of January 1746. (Signed) Richard Bowles.” The limited circulation of this exculpatory evidence, being found insufficient towards wiping off the stain, Lieutenant Smith sent a challenge to the author to meet him. “Gang awa back, (said the honest farmer to the bearer of the message,) and tell Mr Smith that I hinna time to come to Haddington to gie him satisfaction; but say, if he likes to come here, I’ll tak a look o’ him, and if I think I’m fit to fecht him, I’ll fecht him; an’ if no, I’ll just do as he did—I’ll rin awa!”

“ And Cadell drest, among the rest,  
 With gun and gude claymore, man,  
 On gelding grey, he rade that day,  
 With pistols set before, man.  
 The cause was guid, he'd spend his blood  
 Before that he would yield, man;  
 But the night before he left the core,  
 And never faced the field, man.\*

“ But gallant Roger, like a soger,  
 Stood, and bravely fought, man;  
 I'm wae to tell, at last he fell,  
 And mae down wi' him brought, man.  
 At point of death, wi' his last breath,  
 Some standing round in ring, man,  
 On's back lying flat, he waved his hat.  
 And cried, “ God save the king!” man.†

Some highland rogues, like hungry dogs,  
 Neglecting to pursue, man,  
 About they faced, and, in great haste,  
 Upon the booty flew, man.  
 And they, as gain for all their pain.  
 Are deck'd wi' spoils o' war, man;  
 Fu' bauld can tell, how her nain sel  
 Was ne'er sae praw pefore, man.‡

At the thorn tree, which you may see.  
 Bewest the meadow-mill, man,  
 There mony slain lay on the plain,  
 The clans pursuing still, man.  
 Sic unco hacks, and deadly whacks,  
 I never saw the like, man;  
 Lost hands and heads cost them their deads,  
 That fell near Preston-dike, man.

\* The gentleman here alluded to, says Sir Walter Scott, “ had neither time to face the field nor see the fray; ‘ the night before,’ he slept it was understood in his own house in the Cattle, west of Prestompan, somewhat beyond a mile from the battle-field, and ere he could get on his ‘ gelding grey’ on the following morning, the King’s army was routed.”

† Captains Rogers and Brymer, of Lee’s regiment, were both killed. “ In this battle (says Home) there were not wanting instances of generous valour on the side of the vanquished. Captain Brymer, the only officer in the King’s army who had seen highlanders attack regular troops, at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was the only person who seemed to think that there was any thing formidable in their attack.”

William Congalton of Congalton, coming to the camp at Haddington, to inquire for the captain, who was his brother-in-law, found him in his tent reading, and asked What made him so grave when all the other officers were in such spirits, and made light of the enemy? Captain Brymer answered, that he thought his brother officers would find themselves mistaken, for he was certain the highlanders would make a bold attack, which was truly verified. This gallant officer, when the rebels broke in upon that part of the line where he stood, disdained to turn his back, and met a hero’s death with his face to the enemy.

‡ Tradition tells of a highlander finding a gold watch amongst the slain, which, after its movements ceased for want of winding up, he sold for a mere pittance, chuckling on the supposed bargain he had made for *la leed pastie* (dead beast); and of others publicly selling at Perth, chocolate found in Cope’s luggage, under the name of *Johanne Cope’s saw* (salve); and of the purveyors of provision, when they would bring in a sheep on their back from the parks in the neighbourhood of Traucant, throwing it down, and exclaiming, “ Tare’s mair o’ Cope’s paggage!”

That afternoon, when a' was done,  
 I gade to see the fray, man :  
 But had I wist what after past,  
 I'd better staid away, man ;  
 On Seaton sands, wi' nimble hands,  
 They pick'd my pockets bare, man ;  
 But I wish ne'er, to dree sic fear,  
 For a' the sum and mair, man.\*

Song-writing was generally popular in East Lothian during the eighteenth century, when the poet's mantle seems to have fallen upon our farmers, who were highly versant in literature sixty years ago, and excellent scholars. In addition to the satirical productions of Mr Skirving's muse, Mr William Dudgeon, whose father was tenant at Tynningham, wrote *The Maid that tends the Goats*, which was sung in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, and was set to music either by himself or some eminent composer, as he was a proficient on the violin. He was also an excellent painter.† About the same time Mr James Myne, Lochill, produced two tragedies, with a farce, and other poems. Both of these gentlemen were esteemed by Burns. And Richard Gall, the poet of Haddington, while his father was employed on the improvements at Gosford, gave us *My only Joe and dearie!* and *Captain O'Kain*.

At an earlier period our nobility had set the example. John, second Marquis of Tweeddale, had written *When Maggy and I were acquaint*, and Charles Lord Binning, *Did ever Swain a Nymph adore, as I ungrateful Nannie do?* To the sweet warbler of the *Flowers of the Forest*, Mrs Cockburn of Ormiston, we have already alluded. At a more remote period, William Dunbar, a Franciscan monk, entertained our ancestors with *Mistress Musgrave's smiles*, and Sir Richard Maitland favoured them with *The Gudewyfs of the Burroustoun*.

Out of the 'one-thousand-and-one' songs, written in commemoration of the rebellion, *Johnnie Cope* has been the most popular, partly from the inclination the Jacobites had to place its hero in ridiculous circumstances, and partly on account of its lively and original air.‡ James Hogg, the Ettrick shepherd,

\* We have heard that the witty author was robbed of twopence-halfpenny! The highlanders, after their return to Edinburgh, were easily satisfied. Such was their simplicity that, it is said, some among them presented their guns to passengers, and, upon being asked what they wanted, answered, *a penny!*—See *Scots Mag*.

† Mr Dudgeon attended the mathematical-school at Dunbar, with Mr John Rennie, the celebrated engineer, father of the no less eminent Sir John Rennie.

‡ The citizens of Edinburgh were much amused, on Queen Victoria's visit to Scotland, in September 1842, with a clever parody on this song, addressed to the civic authorities, who had been rather remiss in "wanking i' the morning" to welcome her Majesty.

"Hey J\*\*\*\* F\*\*\*\*\* are ye wanking yet,  
 Or are your bailies snoring yet?  
 Get up, the Queen is at the gate,—  
 And we'll hae a merry, merry, morning.

"The frigates' guns began to roar;  
 But louder did the bailies snore,  
 And thought it was an unco bore,  
 To rise up in the morning!" &c.

says, that this song was a great favourite of the late Duke of Buccleuch, whom he had often heard sing it with great glee. The author is unknown to fame—he must have been some person less independent of public opinion than Mr Skirving—but from the local allusion of “gang to the coals in the morning,” it evidently breathes of the atmosphere of Tranent.

As a contrast to the broad and racy humour of the preceding song, we hope the following Jacobite ode will also be interesting to the reader. It was written by an elegant and chaste poet, William Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour, author of the beautiful lyric of the “Braes of Yarrow,” and of the “address to the Countess of Eglinton,” prefixed to Allan Ramsay’s “Gentle Shepherd.”

### Gladsmuir.

“As over Gladsmuir’s blood-stain’d field,  
Scotia, imperial goddess flew;  
Her lifted spear and radiant shield  
Conspicuous, blazing far to view:  
Her visage, lately clouded with despair,  
Now reasum’d its first majestic air.

“Such seen, as oft in battle warm,  
She glow’d through many a martial age,  
Or mild to breathe the civil charm,  
In pious plans and counsel sage;  
For o’er the mingling glories of her face,  
A manly greatness heighten’d female grace.

“Loud as the trumpet rolls its sound,  
Her voice the power celestial raised,  
While her victorious sons around,  
In silent joy and wonder gazed:  
The sacred Muses heard the immortal lay,  
And thus to earth the notes of Fame convey.

“’Tis done, my sons! ’Tis nobly done!  
Victorious over tyrant power:  
How quick the voice of Fame has run,  
The work of ages in one hour!  
Slow creeps the oppressive weight of slavish reigns,  
One glorious moment rose, and burst your chains.

“Mr Hamilton was descended from an ancient family in Ayrshire, and received a liberal education. His genius and delicate constitution marked him out for pacific pursuits; but the ardour of youth led him to join the standard of Prince Charles in 1745. After many wanderings and hardships endured in the highlands, he escaped to France. At length making his peace with government, he came home to take possession of his paternal estate; but the state of his health requiring a warmer climate, he returned to the continent, and died at Lyons. The subjoined verses appear overcharged; but they may be taken as a specimen of the laureate-odes of that period.

“ But late, forlorn, dejected, pale,  
 A prey to each insulting foe,  
 I sought the grove and gloomy vale,  
 To vent in solitude my woe:  
 Now to my hand the balance fair restored,  
 Once more I wield on high the imperial sword.

“ What arm has this deliverance wrought,  
 'Tis he! The gallant youth appears!  
 O warm in field, and cool in thought  
 Beyond the slow advance of years,  
 Haste, let me, rescued now from future harms,  
 Strain close thy filial virtue in my arms.

“ Early I nursed this royal youth,  
 Ah! ill detain'd on foreign shores:  
 I formed his mind with love of truth,  
 With fortitude and wisdom's stores:  
 For when a noble action is decreed,  
 Heaven forms the hero for the destined deed.

“ Nor could the soft seducing charms  
 Of mild Hesperia's blooming soil,  
 E'er quench his noble thirst for arms,  
 Of generous deeds, and honest toil;  
 Fired with the love a country's love imparts,  
 He fled their weakness, but admired their arts.

“ With him I plough'd the stormy main,  
 My breath inspired the auspicious gale;  
 Reserved for Gladsmuir's glorious plain,  
 Through dangers winged his daring sail;  
 Where, full of inborn worth, he durst oppose  
 His single valour to a host of foes.

“ He came, he spoke, and all around,  
 As swift as heaven's quick-darted flame,  
 Shepherds turn'd warriors at the sound,  
 And every bosom beat for fame;  
 They caught heroic ardour from his eyes,  
 And at his side the willing heroes rise.

“ Rouse, England, rouse! Fame's noblest son,  
 In all thy ancient splendour shine!  
 If I the glorious work began,  
 O let the crowning palm be thine!  
 I bring a prince, for such is heaven's decree,  
 Who overcomes but to forgive and free.

“ So shall fierce wars and tumults cease,  
 While plenty crowns the smiling plain;  
 And industry, fair child of peace,  
 Shall in each crowded city reign:  
 So shall these happy realms forever prove,  
 The sweets of union, liberty, and love.”

It seems remarkable that the Jacobite writers should give the name of "the Battle of Gladsmuir" to their victory, the boundaries of that parish being about two miles from the chief scene of the action. It is thus designated by Lord George Murray, who planned the attack at Tranent, and to whose abilities Charles was mainly indebted for his victories,—by the Chevalier de Johnstone, his aid-de-camp (who was the only son of James Johnstone, a respectable merchant in Edinburgh,) to whom the ground must have been familiar,—and by Mr Hamilton of Bangour, in the preceding verses. But we suppose that the cognomen of Preston, assimilating with the village of that name in England, where the insurrection of the Chevalier was crushed in 1715, and where the wheel of Fortune began to waver with Charles in 1745, could not sound very pleasantly in the ears of the Prince. General usage has given the name of Prestonpans to the conflict, which for the reasons stated, and as there is another Preston in East Lothian, is perhaps to be preferred. At all events this important matter seems to have been hardly contested by the neighbouring villages, as we learn from the following document :

" TO THE AUTHOR OF ' THE SCOTS MAGAZINE. '

THE PETITION OF PRESTONPANS, PRESTON, COCKENZIE, SETON,  
AND TRANENT,

HUMBLY SHEWETH.

" That whereas, from all antiquity, it has been, and still is the universal custom, to denominate battles from the field on which they were fought, or from some town or village nearest to such fields;—

" And, whereas, some dignity is thereby added to such fields, towns, or villages, their names made remarkable in the maps, and recorded in history;—witness the small village of Dettingen, which was never of such consideration as to find a place in the maps of Germany, until it was celebrated by the engagement which happened near it a few years ago;—

" And, whereas, on the 21st of September last, there was a battle fought on a field, which is in a manner surrounded by us, the petitioning towns and villages, from one or other of which, the said battle ought undoubtedly to derive its title:—

" Nevertheless the publishers of a certain newspaper, entitled *The Caledonian Mercury*, have most unjustly denominated the said battle from a *muir* on which it was not fought, nor near it,—in which they are followed by several people, who either through malice against your petitioners, or through stupidity have affected to call, and still do call it, *The Battle of Gladsmuir*,—by which practice your petitioners are, conjunctly and severally, deprived of that honour and fame which of right pertains to them, and which, in all histories, future maps and almanacks, ought to be transmitted as theirs to the latest posterity.

" Your petitioners humbly apprehend, that even the conquerors themselves have no right, after a battle is once fought, to determine that it was fought on any other field than where it really was,—

" Shall, then, our fruitful fields and meadow-ground be called by the name of a barren moor? This, sir, is downright transubstantiation, and can be enforced by nothing less than the late fashionable arguments of military execution.

" Your petitioners could have put up with such an encroachment as they take this to be on their property, had it appeared only in a short-lived newspaper, especially when published by a certain authority, or rather command; but it affects us much to

Charles bore his good fortune with great moderation. His followers observed a decorum which could hardly have been expected from mountaineers; and the prisoners were liberated on their parole, which many of them broke. The established clergy were requested the previous evening (it being now Sunday,) to continue the celebration of public worship as usual; but although the bells rung, no clergyman appeared. The shepherds had left their flocks to take care of themselves, and taken refuge in the country. One presbyterian clergyman alone, ventured to appear in his pulpit. His name was Hog, and his charge the inferior one of morning lecturer in the tron-church. He was himself a Jacobite, and had a near relation in the Prince's army. Charles, on learning that he had performed public worship, and that in his prayers he had mentioned no names, said he would bestow a parish on the good man, should he come to his kingdom. Two of the ministers of the West-kirk, being under the

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see the same usurped title of the forementioned battle, find a way into your last September Magazine, which bids fair to perpetuate it.

"May it, therefore, please you, good sir, if you have occasion hereafter to publish any thing concerning the said battle, to denominate it from one of your petitioners; or at least to publish this our remonstrance against the encroachment made upon our rights. And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

To which the Editor of the Scots Magazine made the following laconic reply:

"The desire of the above petition appears to be just and reasonable, for any thing yet seen. But, as in matters of great importance all parties having or pretending to have interest ought to be called, we ordain the said petition to be seen, and answers to be given in betwixt and the tenth day of January next; with certification, that, if no answer is then given in, the desire of it will be granted. And in regard that the honour and fame resulting from the name of this battle, must be confined to one of the petitioners, so that all of them except one must give up their right, for the greater utility of his Majesty's subjects, (for there would not be room in maps or almanacks to conjoin all the petitioners in one), we hereby declare, that, in case no answer is given in against the time appointed, we shall for the future denominate this battle by the name of *Preston*, as this petitioner's title seems to be best founded in the nature of the thing, and as we have the greatest number of precedents for such preference; allowing the other petitioners, nevertheless, to make their objections, if they any have, in due time. And further, in case judgment is allowed to pass in the above terms, which it is hereby declared to do without further form, provided no answers or objections are presented as aforesaid, we hereby give full powers to such of our readers as think proper, to erase the word *Gladsmuir* in all places of our Magazine in which it is used to denominate the battle in question, and in place thereof to write *Preston*; allowing such of them, however, as may have reasons unknown to the petitioners and to us, for preferring the former word, not only to continue *Gladsmuir*, where it already is, but even to write it in place of *Preston*, in case this last word should in its turn be exceptionable; for we are utterly averse to any encroachments on the liberties of mankind, sacred or civil."



shelter of the guns of the castle, also continued their functions, and as usual prayed for King George. One of them, Mr Macvicar, went the length of saying, that, "in regard to the young man who had recently come among them in search of an earthly crown, he earnestly wished he might soon obtain, what was much better, a heavenly one!" When this was reported to the Prince, he laughed heartily, and expressed himself pleased with the tenor of the petition.\*

Flushed as the highlanders were with victory, and the wild enthusiasm of their chiefs, yet none of the inhabitants were either killed or wounded by them, during their stay at Duddingston, where the tents taken from Cope were pitched. Neither was there much pillage; for several of them having put on white cockades, and, under these badges, robbed some people, one of them was condemned by martial law and shot.

On Monday, 23d September, proclamations were issued, ordering all farmers in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to be ready, at twelve hours notice, to furnish their horses for carrying the baggage of the rebels to Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the like distance; and, on the 30th, the magistrates of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, and other burghs in Scotland, received a circular from the Prince's secretary, Murray, commanding them "upon receipt, to repair to the Secretary's office in the palace of Holyroodhouse, there to have the contribution to be paid by the town, for his highness's use, ascertained: to be done according and in proportion to the duties of excise arising out of the said town of Haddington. For the repayment of which contribution, the said duty shall be assigned. This they were ordered, upon pain of rebellion, furthwith to obey, by his highness's command," &c. The town of Haddington's contribution-money, or assessment, amounted to L.50 sterling; and that of Dunbar to L.40, 11s. including expenses.

\* The Rev. Mr Plenderleith, minister of Ormiston, wrote "A Memorial concerning the unnatural Rebellion begun in the north-west of Scotland, carried on mostly by the Highland clans; by which many in this part of the country have already suffered considerably; which not only threatens a greater devastation in the land, but the destruction of the most valuable interests of Britain." Such was the title of this loyal diatribe against Charles, which was read in the church of Ormiston, on the 10th November, 1745.

## CHAPTER XVII.

“ As Alexander I will reign,  
And I will reign alone ;  
My thoughts did evermore disdain  
A rival on my throne.

He either fears his fate too much,  
Or his deserts are small,  
Who dares not put it to the touch,  
To gain or loss it all.

And if no faithless action stain  
Thy love and constant word,  
I'll make thee famous by my pen,  
And glorious by my sword.”—THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

“ Ill starr'd, though brave, did no vision foreboding  
Tell you that fate had forsaken your cause ?  
Ah! were you destined to die at Culloden,  
Victory crown'd not your fall with applause.”—LORD BYRON.

PRINCE CHARLES AT HOLYROOD.—LORD ELCHO—HEPBURN OF KEITH.—THE PRINCE INVADES ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TAKES THE FIELD.—CHARLES DEFEATED—RETREATS TO SCOTLAND—THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN—THE INSURRECTION CRUSHED.—DEATH OF GEORGE II.—THE SCOTS MILITIA.

THE Jacobites, according to Mr Home, were charmed with the appearance of Prince Charles Stuart: they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled, they imagined, in his figure as in his fortune.\* The Whigs beheld him with other eyes.

\* “ The King's Park was full of people, (amongst whom was the author of this history,)” says Mr Home, meaning himself, “ all of them impatient to see this extraordinary person. The figure and presence of Charles were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, in the 25th year of his age, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion: he had a light coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front: he wore the highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St Andrew. He was about 5 feet 10 inches high. Charles stood some time in the park to shew himself to the people; and then though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render him more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback.”—HOME'S *Hist. Reb.*

They acknowledged that he was a handsome person ; but they could not help observing, that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his ancestors, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy ; that he looked rather like a man of fashion and a gentleman, than a hero or a conqueror. Hence they concluded that the enterprize was above the pitch of his mind ; and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved. When Prince Charles came to the palace, he dismounted, and walked along the piazza, towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising his arm aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who enlisted himself in this manner, was James Hepburn of Keith, whom we have already noticed, who, when a very young man, had engaged in the rebellion of the year 1715, and from that time, learned and intelligent as he was, had continued a Jacobite. But along with this spirit he had compounded another ; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James VII., while he also condemned the union between England and Scotland as injurious to his country, saying, in his own words, “ that the union had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than submit to it.” Wrapped up in these notions, he kept himself for thirty years in constant readiness to take arms, and was the first person who joined Charles at Edinburgh ; “ idolized (says Mr Home,) by the Jacobites, and beloved by the Earl of Stair, Lord Milton, and some of the best Whigs, who regretted that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland.”

Amongst those who also held opinions derogatory to the union, was that most liberal and enlightened politician Fletcher of Salton ; but though a determined opponent of that measure, he could not conceal from himself the inability of his country to withstand the power of England without extraneous aid.

It was supposed that if the Prince could have kept his ground in Scotland, the court of France would have found it their interest to maintain him on the throne, and would have exerted them-

selves to the utmost to prevent an union with England; but Charles, like his immediate ancestors, had an extravagant attachment to the English people; he had received assurances of support in that country; and although the English nation had never shewn much devotion to the house of Stuart since their accession to that throne, yet the Prince was determined, contrary to the advice of his friends, not to renounce England for Scotland, when he thought it possible to obtain the diadem of both.

Amongst the noblemen who had unfortunately joined the standard of Charles, was David, Lord Elcho, eldest son of James fourth Earl of Wemyss, by Janet only daughter and heiress of Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield, in the parish of Haddington. He was appointed colonel of the 1st troop of life-guards of the prince.\* Charles, on his first arrival at Edinburgh, rode forward with the Duke of Perth on one hand, and Lord Elcho, on whom he gazed with great complacency, on the other. Alighting from his horse when he had reached the eminence below St Anthony's Well, he paused for a few moments to survey the scenery that skirted the palace of Holyrood, and to receive the homage of that countless multitude, which, in the mutability of human affairs, would in a few months be transferred to the Duke of Cumberland.

Charles remained in Edinburgh till the 31st of October. In the morning before the council met, he held a levee of officers; and dined in public with the principal ones. After dinner he rode out with his life-guards, and usually went to Duddingston where his army lay. In the evening he returned to Holyrood-house, and received the ladies who came to his drawing-room. He then supped in public, and the day generally concluded with a ball!

\* The "Caledonian Mercury," the organ of Charles, states, Monday, 30th September, "There is now forming, and pretty well advanced, a body of horse life-guards, for his royal highness the Prince, commanded by the right honourable the Lord Elcho. Their uniform is blue, trimmed with red, and laced waistcoats; they are to consist of four squadrons of gentlemen of character."

The organ of another party, Andrew Henderson, the Whig historian, says, "Lord Elcho raised a regiment of life-guards, who were clad in blue with red facings: such as had no character to lose listed in it; their pay was but small, for though the private men received 6d. per diem, yet the officers were only paid the fourth part, the arrears being put to the charge of the government, when the peace of the kingdom should be restored: some soldiers, prisoners, likewise listed with them; but as they did this only for present subsistence, so they embraced the first opportunity of deserting."

In the meantime, while Charles was dallying with the Dame Herons of Holyrood; and, according to Leonier, a French poet, found in "the pleasures of Edinburgh, a second Capua,"\* the British troops in Flanders had arrived in England; and these troops, with the Dutch auxiliaries, and the new raised regiments, formed three armies, each of them superior in number to the rebel force. One of these divisions, commanded by General Wade, covered Newcastle; another, advancing towards Lancashire, was commanded by General Ligonier, and afterwards by the Duke of Cumberland; and, lastly, a number of old regiments, both horse and foot, which had been on foreign service, were quartered at Finchley, Enfield, and other villages near London, ready to form a third army, to be commanded by the King in person and the Earl of Stair.

Prince Charles left Edinburgh with about 6000 men. The plan of his campaign was managed with such privacy, that nothing was known of his intentions till, on the 9th November, he invested Carlisle, which surrendered to his forces in three days. This place had formerly been of great strength; but the fortifications had been long neglected, and there were no regular troops in the city, and only a few invalids in the castle.

It was considered matter of surprise, that Marshal Wade, universally allowed to be the best general-officer in the service of England, had not advanced, and endeavoured to stop the progress of Charles. Whether he was afraid of exposing himself to the impetuosity of the highlanders after the disgrace of Cope,—whether he was unable to move from disease in his army, his soldiers not being accustomed to the fatigue of winter campaigns, the ground now being covered with snow,—or whether he had secret instructions not to leave Newcastle, lest the colliers, who were numerous, might have availed themselves of this opportunity of throwing off the slavery of the mines, and revolting to the

\* Charles's deportment was in general pensive; but he could not help shewing some gallantry both to the young and antiquated ladies who attended his entertainments, and took pleasure in contributing their plate, china, jewels, and linen, for his service. As a proof that he lost no opportunity of making himself popular, when passing the house of Windygowl, a little distance from Traquent, a number of ladies came out to greet him. One of the party more enthusiastic than the rest, approached him, and desired to kiss his royal hand. He not only granted this favour, but took the girl in his arms, and gave her a kiss of his lips also, calling her, in compliment, "*a bonnie lassie.*" The Prince shewed a similar mark of his regard to an old lady on Glasgow-green, of which she often afterwards vainly boasted.

Prince ; yet he remained inactive beneath the walls of Newcastle, and drew forth the sarcastic couplet of the punster :

“ Cope would not *cope*—Wade would not *wade* ;  
Nor Hawley *haul* his cannon to the foe.”

The whole of the rebel army having formed a junction at Preston, on the 27th November, Charles pursued his route to Manchester, where he was joined by several gentlemen, and about 300 commoners, having been in some degree successful in getting recruits, through the adroitness of one Dickson, a sergeant, in the Chevalier Johnstone's company, whom he had enlisted (as he says) from among the prisoners of war taken at Gladsmuir. From Manchester, Charles penetrated to Derby, and here he awoke from his dream of ambition, and paused. He and his followers were disappointed in the few adherents who flocked to his standard in England ; for although his father had been proclaimed in all the towns which they passed, few acclamations greeted him—no bells rung save in Preston and Manchester.

Charles, therefore, abandoned Derby, and retreated into Scotland before a harassing enemy, with a celerity and good order almost unparalleled. In the meantime something like order had been restored in Scotland. After the rebel army entered England, Lord Milton, the Justice-Clerk, with several other judges of the Court of Session, attended by the Sheriffs of East Lothian and the Merse, with a good number of the gentlemen of these two counties, entered Edinburgh in procession, and were saluted by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle. The authorities of Glasgow also gathered encouragement from the return of the judges, and followed their example.

Charles having penetrated considerably into Scotland, defeated General Hawley at Falkirk, and met with several other successes ; but the Duke of Cumberland having secured the passes at Perth and Stirling, and as the rebels were now mutinous for want of pay, and exhausted for want of provisions, they were compelled to give battle to a superiorly appointed army, commanded by the Duke in person, on the field of Culloden, on the 16th April, 1746. The rebels in about thirty minutes were routed, and totally defeated ; and suffered a fearful retaliation for their wild ferocity at Prestonpans. Charles himself, with Lord

Elcho, and a few other attendants, escaped on horseback; but the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were made prisoners, and reserved for the awful punishment that awaited them.\*

We cannot enter into the details of this soul-harrowing and sanguinary fight, which drew from Smollett the indignant lines:

“ Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn,  
Thy banish'd peace, thy laurels torn!  
Thy sons for valour long renown'd,  
Lie slaughter'd on their native ground.”

Neither is it requisite we should follow the unfortunate Prince Charles in his wanderings, which continued till the 20th of September,† when, embarking in a privateer, accompanied by the brave Lochiel, he passed through the British squadron in a fog, and landed on the coast of Bretagne in France. By the victory of Culloden the rebellion was completely extinguished; and the highlands were given up to all the horrors of a conquered country.

On the 11th February, 1746, it was agreed by the town-council of Haddington, along with the convention of Royal Burghs, to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland on his success against the rebels; and, on the 8d of May following, it was proposed to address his Majesty on the same theme.

On the 4th July, a congratulatory address was also voted to the Duke of Cumberland, by the town-council of Haddington, to be presented along with a burgess-ticket in a silver box. The arms of the town of Haddington to be engraved on the outside of the lid, and the arms of the Duke in the interior.‡ As his royal highness, on his return from the highlands, made no stay in Edinburgh, many of our civic dignitaries were disappointed of the

\* Lord Elcho died at Paris in 1787, when his titles were vested in his brother, Francis, fifth Earl of Wemyss.

† Exactly one year since the skirmish at Tranent, the day previous to the battle of Prestonpans.

‡ The freedom of the city of Edinburgh was presented to the Duke in a golden box, of curious workmanship. It was sent to him at Maestricht, in the province of Brabant, whither he had gone to head the allied army.

It is related, that his royal highness, when on his way to England, breakfasted at John Marr's, who kept the hostel at Bangley-brae foot. On being remonstrated with, for his exorbitant charge, mine host drily observed, “ That it was not every day Duke's breakfasted with him!”

In 1738, July 30th, the town-council of Haddington agreed, that no gratis burgess-tickets should be given to any of the military except *commissioned* officers, nor to any person living or trading in the burgh, nor to any who had a title to an heritable ticket; and the guldery not to be inserted in any ticket given to gentlemen's servants, or to those who might have a view to trade.—*Council Reg.*

honour of presentation, and Haddington among the rest. The gift from the burgh of Haddington was transmitted to London, through Sir Everard Falconer, the duke's secretary. In the address, he is styled, "the darling of the army, a protector to the oppressed, and a scourge to the rebels."

Fifty pounds having been contributed to the rebels by the town of Haddington, as we formerly noticed, it was found necessary, in 1751, to petition parliament for a duty of two pennies Scots on the pint of ale manufactured in the burgh.\*

In 1759, March 28th, the provost of Haddington received a missive from the provost of Edinburgh, requiring him to make search for all able-bodied seamen who might be concealed, and to cause them to be taken up, that they might be employed in the navy. The town-council further offered a premium of two guineas, exclusive of the government bounty, to induce seamen to enter into his Majesty's service at this critical juncture, for the immediate equipment of the fleet.

In 1760, the abolition of giving *vails* to servants† and a Scots militia, were the subjects of general conversation and deliberation. The former usage was easily disposed of, but the latter met with considerable opposition, particularly from the agriculturists,

\* In 1751, January 15th, the town-council of Haddington ordained, that, in consequence of the great expense they had incurred in building a new town-house and prison, and other public works; and, considering, that during the late rebellion the burgh was compelled to pay L.50 sterling to the rebels,—that the corn-mills, grammar-school and school-house, were ruinous,—the streets in disrepair, &c.,—that they should apply to parliament for an act to levy two pennies Scots upon each pint of ale brewed or sold within the burgh and liberties, and village of Nungate. This resolution was withdrawn on the 27th March, in consequence of the brewers subjecting themselves to pay six-pence sterling on each boll of malt made use of by them for ten years.

1756, April 8.—George Vert, land-labourer and meabeller, was admitted a burgher and guild-brother of Haddington, gratis, in consequence of his having furnished to the rebels, in 1745, by authority, two horses, one of which, worth L.7. sterling was lost, and the other, although recovered, was in such sorry condition as to be rendered almost useless. His servant had also been absent six weeks in attendance on them.—*Council Reg.*

And, in 1745, September 17, William Valey, burgher in Dunbar, was allowed a claim of L.5 17s. 4d., for loss and damage sustained through the dragoons of Colonel Gardner and Hamilton's regiments, by foraging their horses upon two acres and a half of pease, at the rate of 8s. 4d. per boll. The straw was valued at 1s. per thresh.—*Ibid.*

† It was then the custom of gentlemen, when visiting their friends, to give perquisites to servants, in the name of "*vails* or drink-money, which became a serious tax to visitors.



who imagined that the measure would deprive them of the most able-bodied of their labourers. " Shall that fierce and warlike people, proud of the valour of their ancestors (says an opponent to the measure,) be trusted with arms? To give a militia to Scotland, is to arm Scotland against England. The turbulent disposition of the Scots; their propensity on every occasion to revolt, makes it necessary to keep them disarmed, and in that respect to treat them like the inhabitants of a conquered province, not the fellow-subjects of an united kingdom." Such were the futile arguments made use of against this necessary measure, which was, however, in general supported by the landed interest and the clergy.

On the 20th February, the town-council of Edinburgh, resolved to support the militia-bill, and next day the annual committee of the royal burghs met, and issued a letter to every other royal burgh, recommending a like measure to them. To gain their acquiescence, it was urged, " that all the burghs situated on the sea-coast of Scotland, continued under the apprehension of being insulted, or even destroyed, by Captain Thurot's\* squadron; that he was then on the coast of Islay; and that the enemy must always have it in their power, by an inconsiderable force, to distress, and alarm the inhabitants of this country, whilst they remained unarmed and undisciplined. The annual committee were therefore persuaded, that the royal burghs of Scotland would shew a becoming zeal in a matter which so nearly concerned the well-being of the state, and the preservation of the happy government under which they lived; and that they would immediately send proper instructions to their members in parliament in favour of this national measure." In compliance with this requisition, the town-council of Haddington met on the 26th February, and concurred with the annual committee of the royal burghs, in sending a petition to parliament for a national militia, on the same footing as that of England; and Mr Fletcher of Salton, their representative in parliament, was requested by them to support the bill.

On the 12th March, a bill was introduced to the House of Commons, for establishing a militia, which was, however, lost. The measure was allowed to rest till 1762, when, it being under-

\* The Paul Jones of France.

stood, that a bill would be moved for in parliament to amend the English militia laws, it was again revived.

A meeting of noblemen, freeholders, and others, was held at Edinburgh on the 26th January, 1762, when a committee was appointed, and the Earl of Haddington chosen preses. His lordship transmitted a letter to the several counties and royal burghs of Scotland, the substance of which was: "The members of committee think it altogether unnecessary in the present situation of affairs, to recommend a militia to their countrymen. The happy experience of England, secured against the attacks, and formidable to its enemies, by a numerous and well-disciplined militia, sufficiently recommends this defence to the gentlemen of Scotland, who cannot be supposed insensible to the exposed and defenceless state of their country. With a sense of duty and regard to the public safety, it is to be presumed, that a respect to the sentiments and example of a sovereign so dear to his people, will conspire and co-operate to excite a zeal for militia, and a disposition in every man to stand forth, and become himself a part of the defence of his king and his country."

On the 18th February, Dr James Lundie, provost, laid the above requisition before the town-council of Haddington, but "they declined giving in an application to parliament for a national militia under the present circumstances of the country." The burgh of Haddington thus declared against this measure, while the county, and the burghs of Dunbar and North Berwick, supported it.

A considerable number of farmers, manufacturers, and others, of the county of East Lothian, who were also hostile to the measure; met at Haddington on the 19th March, and drew up a series of resolutions, which shews the sentiments of those who opposed it, and of which the following is a transcript:

"The present is a most improper time to make application to parliament for a militia-law, on account of the great scarcity of hands over the whole country, for carrying on the necessary work of agriculture, manufactures, and other valuable branches of trade. Who can dispute the numerous draughts of men made by the army and the navy within these few years from the plough, the loom, and other mechanic employments? It is, in fact, to so great a degree, that these arts of peace cannot be cultivated and carried on, although the employer be willing even to pay that extravagant rate to which labour hath already advanced.

"The young men, the idle, and profligate, of our nation, are already swept

The death of George II. having happened suddenly, on the 25th October, 1760, he was succeeded by his grandson, George III. On the 9th December, an address was voted by the town-council of Haddington to his Majesty, on his accession to the throne, which was subscribed by Robert Thomson, provost; and presented by Andrew Fletcher, younger of Salton, member of parliament for the Burghs.

The inhabitants of Haddington had frequent altercations with the soldiery. On the 10th March, 1761, an advertisement appeared in the newspapers, inserted, as was supposed, by the officers of Colonel Hales's regiment of light dragoons. They accused the citizens of cutting and wounding several of their horses on the night of the 23d February last, in such a diabolical manner as to render them unfit for service, and a reward of ten guineas was offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrage. On a precognition being taken by the magistrates, the charge was found to be utterly false, only one horse having been wounded by a kick from another. With a becoming spirit, the calumny was refuted in three successive days in the Edinburgh newspapers. Indeed so far from such arts being practised, we have already seen that the inhabitants, from pecuniary considerations, were anxious to have the horses billeted upon them.

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off by the army and navy; if then a militia-law should be extended to Scotland, and carried into execution, who are left to serve? None else but the honest laborious husbandman; the industrious manufacturer and busy tradesman; many of whose wives and young children must fall a burden upon the parishes. What a melancholy scene from hence opens on our country! And even the landed interest is not without the reach thereof; for oppression in a country, although mostly felt in the first instance, by the inferior ranks of people, yet gradually makes its approaches even unto the top.

"The meeting could not but, with regret, observe the consequences to themselves and country, that must follow upon a late act of parliament, anent the distillation of spirituous liquors, by which not only a further additional duty is laid on spirits drawn from malt, but the exportation and drawback on the article, by the conditions of the act, puts it as effectually beyond the reach of merchant or distiller in North Britain, as if they had been prohibited by act of parliament. At the time such bill was passing into law, it ought not to have been below the notice of our militia-patriots, to have instructed their representatives in parliament accordingly; but it is to be feared their burning zeal for the one, hath made them overlook the other."—*Scots Mag.* xxiv.

CHAPTER XVIII.

“ When Persia's tyrant to the Athenian coast,  
 Sent forth, indignant, his barbarian host,  
 At Freedom's call, a firm and faithful band,  
 Undaunted rose, to guard their native land;  
 Their valour forced unnumber'd foes to yield,  
 Pursued o'er Marathon's immortal field.  
 Lives there a Briton blest with Freedom's laws,  
 Less firm, less faithful, to his country's cause?  
 Breathes there a soul, which patriot zeal inspires,  
 But feels her wrongs and glows with equal fires?  
 While with gigantic stride, o'er Europe's plains  
 Fell Rapine stalks, and Desolation reigns;  
 While fierce Oppression, with insulting claim,  
 Mock's Freedom's rights, yet rules in Freedom's name.”

*Prologue on the War.*

GEORGE III.—THE AMERICAN REVOLT.—LOYAL ADDRESSES.—  
 CATHOLIC CLAIMS.—IMPRESS OF SEAMEN.—PAUL JONES  
 AND OTHER PIRATES.—DUNBAR CAMP.—FENCIBLE REGI-  
 MENTS.—FRENCH REVOLUTION.—THREATENED INVASION.  
 —YEOMANRY AND VOLUNTEERS.

ON the 3d December, 1761, an address was voted by the town-  
 council of Haddington, to King George III., Queen Charlotte  
 of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, his consort; and the Princess Dowager  
 of Wales, on their Majesties marriage.

In 1763, May 18th, an address was voted to his Majesty, on the  
 late “ successful and advantageous peace.”

Britain held a strong and imposing position at this period.  
 The taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, by the gallant  
 Wolfe,\* who “ died amidst victory's roar,” had placed the whole  
 of the continent of North America in her possession; while the

\* The name of General Wolfe recalls to memory an incident, which carries the imagi-  
 nation from the Tyne to the foaming tide of the St Lawrence. Seventy years had  
 nearly elapsed before British gratitude had erected a monument in honour of Wolfe.  
 It was reserved for a nobleman connected with East Lothian, to carry this object into  
 effect. Through the exertions of George, Earl of Dalhousie, when governor-general of  
 Canada, a public subscription was raised, in 1827, by means of which an obelisk was

taking of the Havannah from the Spaniards, was succeeded by the reduction of the Philippine islands in the East Indies, where her power had been firmly established by Lord Clive, in a series of successful operations. The island of Martinico, hitherto deemed impregnable, with Grenada, St Lucie, St Vincent, and other important places, were also taken from the French with astonishing rapidity. In the short space of seven years she had won by sea and land twelve great battles—reduced nine fortified cities and towns, besides nearly forty fortlets and castles,—destroyed upwards of a hundred ships of war,—and acquired about twelve millions of prize-money.

In 1775, the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies, in regard to the right of taxation, led to that open revolt, attended with such disastrous results, which are too well known to modern readers to require much matter of comment. On the 24th October, the town-council of Haddington voted an address to his Majesty on the subject of the transatlantic rebellion, breathing the most loyal sentiments, which was presented by Sir George Suttie of Balgone, Baronet, M. P. for the county, in the absence of the Hon. Colonel John Maitland, the representative of the burghs.\*

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reared at Quebec, not only in memory of this great hero, but, with a truly liberal spirit, the same inscription bore the name of his rival, the brave Montcalm, who fell in the same conflict. At the masonic ceremony of laying the foundation-stone, his Excellency presided, accompanied by the Countess of Dalhousie and other ladies of distinction; attended by his staff and the rest of the army. The chief justice, the lord bishop, with other authorities were present. For an account of this incident we are indebted to "Sketches of a Summer Trip to New York and the Canadas," by Daniel Wilkie, Esq., writer, Haddington; a journal written in a lively strain, yet containing some illustrative tales, particularly Edward and Alice, and the Last of the Oneida Indians, of exquisite pathos, and scarcely inferior to some of the best pieces of Washington Irving and Cooper. Owing to some inadvertent delays in forwarding the inscriptions for the monument from England, it was not till the 17th September 1834, the anniversary of the battle, that they were affixed, when, by a strange coincidence, Mr Wilkie himself, (a native of the same parish as Lady Dalhousie,) was present, and, to use his own words, "had the satisfaction of seeing the last chisel stroke given in the completion of this well-merited token of national affection and respect."

\* The following is a copy of the address to George III. on the American revolt:

*"To the King's most excellent Majesty,*

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Provost, Magistrates, and Council, of your ancient burgh of Haddington, East Lothian, in common council assembled, filled with the deepest concern at the unjustifiable and rebellious proceedings of some

In 1779, an attempt was made to repeal the penal laws against the Roman catholics, which met with the most strenuous opposition from the burgh of Haddington. On the 18th January, the magistrates received a communication from Mr William Dickson, Edinburgh, respecting a bill which was in progress of being brought into parliament, for repealing the penal laws then in force against Popery; together with a petition, signed by Mr James Watson, for, and in name of a great number of the burghesses and inhabitants of Haddington; accompanied with an extract from the convener, containing the resolution of the nine incorporated trades, all on the subject of opposing this obnoxious bill. The town-council having taken the same into their serious consideration, and being sensible (as they conceived) of the perfidious and dangerous consequences of such a boon, recommended to the provost to cause the following resolutions to be inserted in the newspapers;—"That being fully convinced that such a step would be attended with bad consequences, which every friend to the constitution, both in church and state, must wish to pre-

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of your Majesty's colonies in America, beg leave to approach your royal throne, to testify our entire disapprobation and abhorrence of them, with the most solemn assurances that we will support your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, in maintaining the authority of the legislature, which we conceive does, and ought to extend over every part of the British dominions.

"With regret and indignation we see colonies which owe their existence, and every blessing that attended their late prosperous situation, to this their parent country, unnaturally regardless of the fostering hand that raised and supported them, and affecting distinctions in their dependence, not founded in law or in the constitution of Great Britain.

"We are convinced by the experienced clemency of your Majesty's government, that no endeavours will be wanting to induce our deluded fellow-subjects in North America, to return to their obedience to that constitution which our ancestors bled to establish, and which has flourished pure and uninterrupted under the mild government of the house of Hanover.

"May the Being who governs the universe, so direct your Majesty's councils and measures, that, from the present confusion, order may arise, and peace again be restored.

"That your Majesty may long reign over an happy and united people, is the earnest prayer of,—May it please your Majesty,

"Your Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, the Provost, Magistrates, and Council, of the burgh of Haddington, in common council assembled. In name and by appointment of the council.

(Signed) "JAMES DUDGEON, PROVOST."

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In 1777, January 18th, the portrait of his late royal highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, (the father of George III.) was purchased, by the town of Haddington, at the rout of the effects of the Hon. Andrew Leslie, and hung up in the council-room. The Prince died in 1751.

vent, have resolved, and do hereby publish their resolution, that they are ready to join with the convention of Royal Burghs, with the correspondence of the committee-meeting, society-hall, Edinburgh, or with any other society meeting, in a peaceable and legal manner, in opposing the repeal by every method warranted by the constitution; and further recommend to the provost to correspond with the provost of Edinburgh, to obtain a meeting of a committee of the Burghs for the same purpose." This request, however, was not complied with.

So anxious were the town-council of Haddington to forward their opposition to the repeal of the Catholic disabilities, that, previous to petitioning parliament, which was afterwards adopted, they consulted Mr Fletcher of Salton, whether or not counsel should be employed, to be heard at the bar of the house of commons to that effect, which, however, he thought unnecessary.

These petitions were presented by William Nisbet, younger of Dirleton, M. P. for the county, in the absence of Colonel John Maitland. The proposed repeal of the penal statutes was however reserved for a more liberal age, and dropt that session.

France and Spain having joined in an offensive confederation against Britain, on the 5th July 1779, a letter was received by the magistrates of Haddington, from the honourable Henry Dundas, lord-advocate, which was laid before the town-council. It urged, in the highest degree, the raising of seamen, in consequence of the continental powers having armed themselves against the safety of the British empire. Sensible of the importance of this requisition, the town-council offered a bounty of three guineas to every able-bodied seaman; two guineas for ordinary seamen; and one guinea for every able-bodied landsman, who might reside in the town and parish of Haddington, or the village and port of Aberlady; and who might voluntarily offer themselves to serve in his Majesty's navy, over and above the bounty paid by government. This resolution was advertised in three of the Edinburgh newspapers. In the event of any difficulty occurring in getting the necessary number of volunteers, Mr Dundas observed; "That it was in the power of every magistrate to testify his zeal in the service of government by giving every assistance and protection to those employed in the impress service, so that sea-faring men who would not make a voluntary

offer of themselves, might be *compelled* to give their service in so critical a juncture !” Nine years previous to this period, on the 9th November, 1770, the town-council of Haddington had also shewn their loyalty by offering a premium of 30s. for able-bodied seamen, or 20s. to landmen, to serve in the navy, over and above his Majesty’s bounty.

The exertions in Scotland in support of government at this time, even exceeded those of the sister country. Bounties to volunteers for manning the navy were offered, not only by the county of Haddington, and the burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, &c., but by the Earl of Hopetoun and other noblemen, and, in many cases, by private individuals.\*

While Britain was engaged in her unhappy contest with her American colonies, and every maritime power of Europe was armed against her, our shores swarmed with a host of piratical adventurers. Some of these outlaws of the ocean were not like Falstaff’s “minions of the moon,” but of a superior order. Amongst the first was Paul Jones, a native of Selkirk, in Scotland, who, after a desperate engagement near Flamborough-head, took two king’s ships, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, which he carried to the harbours of the United Provinces, where he found protection ; but from whence he was ordered to depart on a remonstrance from the British government. Indeed, Lord North, in his speech before parliament, on the Dutch war, stated, as one reason for commencing hostilities against that country, the reception they had given this individual into their harbours, with his English prizes.

Another less noted adventurer, Captain G. Fall (who, we presume, was also a native of Scotland,) spread considerable alarm on our coast. He commanded a French privateer belonging to Dunkirk ; and, on the 22nd May, 1761, he appeared in the Firth of Forth, and gave chase to two vessels which took shelter in

\* The Earl of Hopetoun (July 10th, 1779,) offered L.5 to every able-bodied seaman ; L.3 to ordinary seaman, and L.2 to every stout landman, belonging to the counties of East, West and Mid Lothian, and Fife, who should voluntarily enter with any of the officers employed in the impress service, on or before the 1st of August. His lordship also offered 30s. to every constable or other officer, who should deliver over a seaman to the impress-officers. The Earl of Fife went a degree farther in loyalty, and promised L.5 yearly to such volunteers while they remained in the King’s service.

In 1768, October 5th, the town-officers of Haddington were offered a reward of 20s. sterling, for any able-bodied seamen they might apprehend lurking about the town or its liberties.—*Coun. Reg.*



Dunbar. Several shots fell into the town, but happily did no material injury. Not deeming it prudent to venture up the Forth, he proceeded northward, and did considerable damage to the ancient port of Arbroath, by firing on the town, for the safety of which he had the audacity to demand L.30,000; but although he kept up a cannonade at intervals for three days, the coolness and determination of the magistracy at length wearied him out, and he weighed anchor.\*

During the months of April, May and June, an immense fleet of merchant-ships collected in Leith roads, waiting convoy for the Baltic. The Artois, with 100 sail, arrived in the end of April, where ships joined them every day from different ports of England and Scotland. On the 10th June, Admiral Hyde Parker arrived from Portsmouth with nine men-of-war. They had 120 sail under convoy, which, with those formerly in the Roads, exceeded 500 sail. This splendid congregation of ocean-carriers sailed on the 27th, accompanied by Admiral Parker; but so formidable were our combined enemies on the sea, that at one time the merchant vessels were ordered to return, as it was imagined that a fleet lay in wait to intercept them. It was now found necessary, for the protection of the shipping in Leith harbour, to erect a battery between that port and Newhaven.

The alarm created by privateers on the coast, and the dread of an invasion from more formidable foes, also led government to the resolution of establishing a camp at Dunbar. On the 22nd June, 1781, a quantity of camp equipage was sent from Edinburgh castle to the camp then forming at Westbarns links, in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. On the 27th, the flank companies of the 25th regiment marched from Edinburgh castle to the camp. The flank companies of the North Fencibles arrived there on the 19th, the South Fencibles on the 30th, the West Fencibles on the 2nd July, and the Sutherland Fencibles on the 3d.

\* The following is a specimen of the epistolary style of the pirate-captain, which but for the favouring breeze, and the report of a distant gun, might have been handed into Dunbar:—

“ At Sea, May The twentieth-third.

“ Gentlemen,—I send these two Words to inform you—That I will have you to Briaz to, to The french Color in Less than a quarter of an hour, or I set The town in fire Directly; such is the order of My Master the King of france, I am Sent by. Send Directly the Major and The Chiefs of the town to Make Some agreement With me; or I'll Make my Duty. It is the Will of your &

G. FALL.”

Thus addressed: “ *To Mons. mayor of the town Call'd arbrought, or, in his absence, to the Chief man after him in Scotland.*”

On the 1st March, 1785, the town-council of Haddington received a letter from their representative, the Hon. Francis Charteris, younger of Amisfield, respecting a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Ireland. In reply to which, the council authorized him to oppose the measure by every means in his power, as injurious, if not ruinous, to the trade of Scotland in general.

On the 21st February, 1789, an address was voted to the Prince of Wales, on his being appointed Regent during the first aberration of mind of his royal father. This unhappy circumstance, which proceeded from the delirium of a fever, happily subsided in a few weeks, and, on the 14th March, the town-council of Haddington congratulated his Majesty on his restoration to health, while a solemn thanksgiving was celebrated throughout the kingdom.

In 1793, January 5th, resolutions, embodying sentiments of loyalty, were drawn up by the town-council of Haddington, and subscribed by the presiding magistrates, and inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers.

The revolution in France had broken out in 1792, which not only created alarm in every state in Europe, but astonished the world. A similar spirit spread to this country. A society was formed in Edinburgh, which, assuming the name of the British Convention, kept up a correspondence with other societies throughout the kingdom, which was rapidly joined by many individuals, under the name of "the Friends of the People!" To such a height had the false notions of liberty and morality arisen, that men paid their devotion to "human reason," and, under the cloak of what they called "common sense," set every established order of things at defiance. The consequence was, that many young persons of good family and education were either executed, banished, or compelled to flee their country; and many lived to see the rise and fall of a military despotism in France, much worse than the evil which the revolution pretended to cure.

In 1793, the British, in concert with their allies, were engaged in opposing the French republican arms in the Dutch territories. While the confederates kept together, their efforts were successful; but, unhappily dividing, the Duke of York laid siege to Dunkirk, which he was obliged to abandon with the loss of his artillery. After this the army suffered the greatest privations

and hardships from the inclemency of the season and other casualties, in consideration of which, on the 23d October, the town-council of Haddington subscribed five guineas: the one-half for the relief of the wives, widows, or families, of our soldiers abroad: the other half for purchasing warm vests, &c. for the soldiers themselves.

The inhabitants of Haddington being still dissatisfied with having dragoons billeted upon them, the magistrates, on the 5th April, 1794, made offer to Lord Adam Gordon, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, of the ground of the two Gallow-green parks, amounting to two acres and some odd one-hundred parts, for building barracks, to which government did not accede. In March 1796, they made a further offer to Brigadier-major General Delancy, which was also declined; as it was considered that the cavalry barracks at Edinburgh (Piershill,) when finished, would relieve the burgh of Haddington from such burdens in future.\*

In 1795, a great augmentation of the army and of the volunteer fencible corps took place, and voluntary subscriptions were again solicited by the government. On the 28th February, the town-council of Haddington made a declaration of loyalty, and approved of the measures taken by the Lord-Lieutenant and gentlemen of the county, to repel invasion and protect property. As a mark of the esteem in which this declaration was held at such a crisis, Provost Hialop was appointed a deputy-lieutenant by the Marquis of Tweeddale.

\* In 1760, October 1st, Bailie Robert Reid, mason, Haddington, had been empowered by the town-council to build, at his own expense, a barrack of stables for dragoon horses, at the West Port, "between it, and northwards, to the round-house on the corner of the town wall." This barrack was to contain "a full troop of horses, besides a magazine for their forage, and to extend 100 feet from south to north, and 42 feet from east to west, excluding the town wall." The building to be arranged so as to give no interruption to the highway leading to Aberlady. Bailie Reid was also under an obligation to sell the whole dung to the inhabitants of the burgh at the rate of sixpence per cart-load, or five shillings sterling each horse per annum, and to no other person; while, on the other part, the magistrates were bound to billet dragoons in these stables till they were filled. The feu of the piece of ground to be L.2. Scots yearly.

The author had an anecdote from old Herkes, relating to the dexterity of the Essex light-dragoons, when quartered in the neighbourhood of Haddington, about 1760. At a review on Beanston-moor, the men rode full speed, and picked up any articles that were placed on the ground for the purpose. This incident is corroborated by the fact, that in a review of Bourgoyne's light-dragoons, in Hyde Park, by George II., a few days previous to his death, several volunteers in the regiment, who were distinguished by wearing oak boughs in their caps, rode at full speed, and picked up a pistol from the ground, which was laid before the King's pavilion for that purpose.

In the month of April the same year, the nuptials of his royal highness George, Prince of Wales, with the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, were celebrated.

On the change of the magistracy of Haddington in 1797, the town-council's politics appear to have wavered; for, on the 19th April, on the motion of Bailie M'Laren, it was voted, "that a petition should be presented to the King, requesting him to remove his present ministry, by which means it was supposed that the blessings of peace might be restored." The petition lay in the council-chamber for the signature of the inhabitants.\*

The beginning of 1798, however, seemed to unite the majority of the nation in the propriety of arming themselves against the common enemy. The menaces of the French republic to invade Great Britain and Ireland still continued. Though their navy was greatly reduced, with their usual energetic ardour they had projected rafts to supply its place, on which they intended to transport their troops and artillery. The danger and difficulty of this undertaking appeared to professional men unsurmountable; yet it was necessary that Britain should prepare for the "hot bloody trial," and use every means to repel a landing. To harass this country, the French government had recourse to a violent and decisive measure. English goods were suddenly seized, and confiscated, throughout the Republic; and a proposal was even made to shut their ports against every neutral vessel that had touched at an English harbour during her voyage; and they even dared to declare war against all the maritime powers that should act as carriers of her produce or manufactures. This measure had scarcely been promulgated when three millions value of goods, belonging to the English, were seized at Paris.

In the meantime parliament used every effort to increase the military force of the country. The army consisted of 217,450 effective men, including 15,120 yeomanry cavalry, and 51,360 volunteers, besides 117 companies of artillery.

An alteration was made in the more material provisions of the Scottish militia act of last session. His Majesty's lieutenants were now authorized to hold their first meeting on the 12th of February, or on any day after, before the 1st of March.

\* The town-clerk was allowed L.5 sterling additional yearly, for his trouble in billeting soldiers, with power to admit a deputy billet-master.—*Coun. Reg.* Oct. 31st, 1797.

The King was impowered by the new act to apportion the number of men to be raised over the counties and burghs, which had returned lists, provided the number so appointed did not exceed 5,500 men; and in the event of the number falling short, the deficiency was to be supplied by an additional apportionment on the counties. A supplemental militia was also established, from whence those willing to enter into the regular service were to be drafted. The total number, returned by the lord-lieutenant of Scotland, liable to be ballotted for the militia, amounted to 24,330 men. Of these the county of Haddington returned 609, of which 137 were ballotted.

Voluntary contributions were now collected to strengthen the hands of government, to which his Majesty contributed L.20,000 from his privy purse. On the 18th March, 1798, the town-council of Haddington met to consider the exigencies of the state, and the threatened invasion by (to use their own words,) their "mortal and daring enemy the French." At this meeting they shewed their patriotism by contributing L.100 sterling for the service of the state, in the defence of the country. It was also agreed "that public entertainments should cease during the present war, excepting a few glasses of wine to be drunk at the cross on the King's birth-day."\*

In the month of May, a circular letter was sent by Mr Dundas to the lord-lieutenant of the county, recommending the formation of associations in every district, and pointing out the measures which appeared best calculated for carrying a plan into effect for the general defence of the country. This paper recommended: First, to drive the live-stock off such parts of the country as might be exposed to the inroads of the enemy, as also for saving other descriptions of property as much as possible, in the event of an invasion. Secondly, that the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry, were to supply such number of waggons, carts, and horses, as might be necessary for the King's service, and to contribute their share of flour, wheat, oats, hay, straw, and fuel, in case of an invasion: and, thirdly, a plan for insuring a regular supply of bread to the army in the same exigency. No volunteer was to be admitted into the armed association, but such as resided within the division of the county where they were formed.

The yeomanry cavalry were to consist of troops of 40, and not

\* Alexander Maitland, provost.—Council Reg.

more than 80 men each. The officers to be recommended by the lord-lieutenant. The troops to be trained for six hours, once a-week; and, in case of invasion, to serve within the military district to which they belonged.

The armed infantry to consist of companies, from 60 to 120 men each, armed as the volunteer corps of towns, or a certain proportion with pikes, with uniform clothing, or a fair allowance for this accoutrement. To be under the command of resident officers, having no less than L.50 income yearly in land, within the county, or renting land to the amount of L.100. The sons of persons so qualified to be eligible, without any restriction. Those accustomed to military services were to be preferred, and to be allowed full pay. To be trained six hours a day, once in the week. Every man of the volunteer corps, who might think proper to claim it, were to be allowed 1s. per week by government. A depot for arms was to be provided at a safe place within the county. None but known and respectable housekeepers, or persons who could bring at least two such housekeepers to answer for their good behaviour, were to be admitted.

It was further decided, that should the urgency actually exist, that from that moment, every description of armed force, and every association, formed with a view to impede or annoy the enemy, or to support and assist our own forces, would come under the immediate orders of the military commander of their district. It was also recommended that every petty jealousy respecting the military arrangements should be set aside, that all might co-operate, heart and hand, in the defence of their altars and of their homes.

While such were the arrangements of government for the safety of the country, and a harmonious enthusiasm pervaded a large body in regard to the yeomanry and volunteer system, it appears that the militia-act for Scotland was considered by many as a severe measure. We have formerly noticed how unpopular it was amongst a party of the agriculturists of East Lothian; but as they confined themselves to the constitutional mode of seeking redress by petitioning or similar methods, it led to no disagreeable results. Unhappily, however, we have to record, that the same spirit led to a scene of revolt among a different class of people, which we have narrated in the following chapter.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

—————“ Let them come :  
 They come like sacrifices in their trim,  
 And to the fire-eyed maid of smoky war,  
 All hot, and bleeding, we will offer them.”

KING HENRY IV.

**DREADFUL RIOT AND MILITARY MASSACRE AT TRANENT, ON  
 THE FIRST BALLOTING FOR THE SCOTS MILITIA FOR THE  
 COUNTY OF HADDINGTON.**

THE introduction of any novel measure, whether it be good or bad, is generally opposed by the multitude. The agitated mass look to present inconveniency rather than to future benefit: hence the turnpike-act, which, by giving the country excellent roads, and was the first thing to improve our internal traffic, was strenuously opposed on account of the trifling tax it levied, which was nothing compared to the advantages it brought. In like manner the temporary and necessary measure of a national militia was violently opposed. However fond our ancestors might be of the deadly game of war, the modern “ gudewives of Scotland” could not bear the idea of the male branches of their family, just after they had reached the age of manhood, and just after they had acquired some useful profession, of being compelled to enter the ranks even for a limited period; and, it was rather unfortunate, that the task of “ taking up the names,” or making up the lists of those liable to serve in the militia, should have fallen on the parochial schoolmasters,—an employment which many a worthy man amongst them regretted,—as it rendered them unpopular in the eyes of the parents of the children they had hitherto taught; and, as a necessary consequence, first laid the foundation of “ subscription,” or what were called “ opposition schools.”\*

\* The following extracts, from the official papers, give a specimen of how the schoolmasters were treated, and may serve as a preamble to the chapter.

Robert Paisley, schoolmaster in Tranent, took up the list of persons liable to serve under the militia-act in that parish, and while in the discharge of his

The night previous to the first lieutenancy-meeting at Tranent, for the purpose of ballotting for the militia, the mob, after visiting the Meadow-mill and the village of Seton, passed through the streets of Prestonpans, about ten o'clock, to the tuck of the drum, and carrying the session-books of Tranent by way of

duty many complaints and threats were used against him. On the evening preceding the meeting of the lieutenancy at Tranent, on the 29th August 1797, he heard a drum coming down the town, accompanied by a mob, and being warned by some persons that it was not safe to remain at home, he took shelter in the minister's house, till the mob left the town, which was in course of half an hour. On his return to his house, he learned from his wife, that the mob had come to it, and threatened to tear him in pieces could they have got him;—that they demanded the parish books and lists, along with the extracts of the young men's ages, and other papers relative to the business;—all of which she was compelled to deliver except an uncorrected copy of the list, which had been left at the house of John Glen, where the lieutenancy were to meet next day:—they also threatened to burn his master's house (meaning Mr Anderson's of St Germain's, one of the deputy-lieutenants.)

Paisley immediately went to St Germain's, and acquainted Mr Anderson with what had happened, where he also met with Mr Cadell of Tranent, another deputy-lieutenant. As he considered himself in imminent danger, the gentlemen excused him from attending the meeting next day. He accordingly went to Bankton, a farmer's house in the neighbourhood: from thence to Prestonpans, and afterwards, for greater safety, to Edinburgh; and did not sleep in his house, nor hold a school, till one month had elapsed from the time of the riot. One reason that Paisley gave for being so much afraid of returning to his own house, was, from the excitement raised against him, by a paragraph which appeared in the "Scots Chronicle," (a paper lately started in Edinburgh,) as introductory to the account of the affair at Tranent, wherein it was mentioned in substance, that the deponent's wife had deceived the people in giving them a wrong book. Paisley afterwards called on Mr John Johnstone, the printer of the newspaper, and told him he was in danger of his life from that paragraph, upon which he promised to correct it in the next publication. Paisley, therefore, wrote a paragraph in the printing-office for insertion: but, in place of it, Johnstone substituted another, which did not answer the purpose. This was adduced as proof against the publisher of the "Scots Chronicle," in an action raised against him by the Lieutenancy of the County for a libel.

David Graham, schoolmaster of Salton, took up the lists of persons liable to serve in the militia for that parish. In the course of doing so, threats were used against him; and a day or two previous to the meeting of the lieutenancy at Tranent, about forty or fifty people assembled in the village of Salton, for the purpose of getting up the list and books from him; but keeping within doors, and some person informing the mob of the danger of their conduct, they desisted and retired. Graham continued teaching till the night previous to



triumph, but which they promised to take care of. They called upon the people to turn out, for the purpose of opposing the militia-bill, and threatened those who did not. The general interrogatory to those they met, was, "Were they for a militia, or not?" and, according to their negative, which in few cases they durst evade, were they left unmolested. Mr Anderson was under considerable alarm that the mob would burn his house; and sent off his children during the night to a farm-house in the neighbourhood; but, on coming near to St Germain's, the mob turned to the left, and proceeded as above mentioned to Seton and the Meadow-mill.

The first symptoms of outrage appeared on the evening of the 28th, when an orderly dragoon, riding through Tranent, was assaulted by the people with stones, and driven out of the town, on the supposition that he was carrying some message relative to the militia business. In the course of the night, Mr Anderson of St Germain's received a note from the Marquis of Tweeddale, the lord-lieutenant of the county, which he forwarded to Major Andrew Wight at Port Seton, commanding the latter to send his troop of yeomanry cavalry to Haddington, and to be present at the meeting at Tranent himself. Major Wight accordingly went up to St Germain's early in the morning, where, along with Mr Anderson, he found Captain Finlay of the Cinque Ports cavalry, with a party consisting of about twenty-four of his regiment. In the course of the morning Mr Anderson's troop of yeomanry also assembled there, and Mr Cadell of Cockenzie, and Mr Gray of Southfield, two other deputy-lieutenants, also arrived in the course of the morning. Several people came in, confirm-

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the military-meeting; when, fearful of molestation, and that the lists might be taken from him, he went down to Tranent, and slept in the house of John Glen, whither he carried the lists: but left the session-books at home.

Alexander Thomson, schoolmaster of Ormiston, took up the names, and made up the lists of the people liable to serve in that parish, which he affixed on the church-doors, during which he met with no threats or obstruction of any kind; but on the day of the Lieutenancy-meeting, when on the road to Tranent, and a little way from the village, he was met by a crowd of women, who demanded from him his papers. At first he told them that he had none; but the mob insisting, and saying that they would not harm him if he gave up these papers, and as he saw it was needless to resist, he allowed them to take them from his pocket, after which he was allowed to proceed to the house of John Glen at Tranent.

ing the opinion of the agitated state of the country, particularly Hugh Ramsay, the schoolmaster of Gladsmuir, who said he had been threatened, and turned out of his house. Meanwhile a great assemblage of people had taken place, and were increasing every minute at Tranent, which gave ground to suppose that great outrages would be committed. It occurred to Major Wight, that the small force assembled at St Germain's, would scarcely be sufficient to enable them to carry on the business of the day without interruption, although it might be sufficient to protect them from danger, he accordingly proposed to Mr Anderson, that they should send to the camp at Musselburgh for a reinforcement, which the latter at first declined; but as it was represented to Captain Finlay, that, from the situation of Glen's house where they were to meet, and the narrowness of the street, a determined mob might drive his party out of the street, and by getting an opportunity of assaulting the house, break up the meeting, about eight o'clock in the morning an orderly dragoon was sent to the commanding officer at Musselburgh for a reinforcement.

The deputy-lieutenant left St Germain's for Tranent a little after eleven o'clock. They were escorted by Mr Anderson's troop of yeomanry cavalry, and a detachment of the Cinque Ports light cavalry, commanded by Lord Hawkesbury.\* These were afterwards joined by a party of the Pembrokeshire Cavalry, about eighty in number. Mr Cadell, Major Wight, and the other gentlemen, rode in the rear of the soldiers. They passed several assemblages of people on the road, particularly women and children. When they came near the village of Seton, where the road strikes off to Tranent, they saw a congregation of women and children, among whom there seemed to be a good deal of talk. One of them in particular, who seemed to be the leader of the party, came up, and, in a very insulting manner, addressed Mr Cadell, saying, "John, take care of your head!"—and this woman's behaviour seemed to indicate that mischief was intended.

On arriving at Tranent the party and the cavalry proceeded to Glen's house, where the meeting was to be held. They found a

\* Afterwards Earl of Liverpool and prime minister. His lordship was blamed for remaining at Haddington, as his presence might have prevented the outrages of the soldiery—the opprobrium of which fell on Captain Finlay.

great concourse of people in the town; but still chiefly women, who were running about extremely clamorous and abusive. One tall thin woman, the very prototype of Meg Merrilees, acted a conspicuous part. She came running up to the head of the horses, holding out a great stone in her hand, and swearing that "she would have their heart's blood!" Much about the same place of the street, Major Wight and Mr Cadell passed some women sitting upon a wall, one of whom called out to them, "that they should have their brains knock'd out!" Upon which the gentlemen smiled, when another woman cried out, "Ay, you may laugh now; but it will be otherwise with you by and by!" Upon arriving near the head of the village, where the road joins with the high road from Edinburgh to Haddington, they heard a drum beating a little to the right, which they conceived to be some signal for assembling the people, or commencing a riot, as the mob had got possession of the town-drum the previous evening, upon which Mr Cadell and Mr Gray rode forward towards the drum; but shortly returned to Glen's, as the streets were now crowded with men armed with sticks and stones, and attended by a great number of women: one of whom, called Crookston, advised Mr Cadell to go home; and another told Mr Gray, "that he should not go home with his life if he entered Glen's inn."

Upon finding most of the schoolmasters assembled, the deputy-lieutenants proceeded to execute the business of the day. About this time a reinforcement arrived from the camp at Musselburgh, consisting of two troops of the Pembrokeshire cavalry, which were ordered to take post, with the other detachment, in the upper part of the town: the gentlemen studiously avoiding to post any of the troops in front of the house, lest it should have been said by the people, that they were interrupted or intimidated from coming up to the house with their objections.

After choosing Mr Anderson of St Germain's, preses; and Mr Thomson, schoolmaster of Ormiston, clerk; it was thought proper to announce to the people, the mode in which the gentlemen intended to conduct the business. Major Wight accordingly went to the window, and, in an audible voice, announced to the people in the street, that the meeting were now ready to hear their appeals or objections against the lists, as given in by the schoolmasters; that they should do so, parish by parish; and

that, first, the name of the parish, and then the individual names of that parish, as they were called, should be announced to the people from the window." By this time the mob had commenced throwing stones, one of which struck the house, near the window, where the Major stood. Some of the people called out, "that they could not hear for the noise what he said; and that if he would come down to the street, that he should be perfectly safe." Upon this Major Wight went down to the street, in front of the inn, when the people formed a small circle around him; and he repeated what he had told them from the window. Some of the people listened to him with great attention; but the majority were clamorous, and bellowed out: "That they would have no militia!—no militia!"

At the same time, a man of the name of Duncan, a collier, whose person the Major knew, came forward into the circle, and told him that the people wanted to make a proposition to the gentlemen. Upon which the Major asked him what that proposition might be? He said that the proposition was, "That if the gentlemen should agree that there should be no militia, that then the people should come to an agreement:" in other words, that if the deputy-lieutenants would go away, without attempting to carry the militia-act into execution, the mob would permit them to do so without breaking their heads! Major Wight told Duncan, "that the meeting could listen to no such proposition;—that they had come there to execute the act by hearing appeals, which they were ready to do, but would attend to nothing else." Upon which Duncan replied, "They would have no militia!" in which he was joined by several of the people about him. The Major continued, "That the act must be executed; that they were determined to execute it; and warned the people not to oppose it at their peril." Duncan persisted: "That they would have no militia; for it was against the union." The Major answered, "That he (Duncan) knew nothing about the union, and was talking nonsense." He then left the mob, and returned to the meeting.

The deputy-lieutenants proceeded first with the upper parishes of the district: They began with Humbie and Salton, and then proceeded to Ormiston. From both of which various appeals were heard, and the names of several persons crased, who had

brought forward what were considered as sufficient objections. From the parish of Ormiston one man was struck off, on an authority not a little remarkable. His father had been a quaker, and, on the score of age, his appeal was granted, on the evidence of an entry in the family-bible, which the meeting held to be sufficient, on account of the practice of quakers not registering their children.\*

The meeting then proceeded to the parish of Prestonpans, and had gone about half through the list, when a man called Nicolas Coutterside, a potter, whose name was in the roll, came into the room, and produced a paper, which was put into Major Wight's hands. Conceiving it to be some certificate relative to the person's age, it was received; but, on examination, it was found to contain resolutions of the most seditious, if not treasonable nature, and threatening the gentlemen of the meeting with *personal* violence if they proceeded with their business.† It was addressed to the gentlemen of the meeting in general, and signed by about thirty people, including Coutterside, mostly potters in Prestonpans, in the form of a circle, or what sailors' call "a round robin:" a method adopted to place the signature on an equal footing in regard to presidency. The meeting having taken the paper into consideration, moved that Coutterside should be committed for presenting such a paper, but, after some deliberation, it was agreed, on the suggestion of Mr Anderson, and

\* A person of the name of Christie.

† The subjoined is a copy of this absurd communication:

"To the honourable Gentlemen assembled at Tranent, for the purpose of raising six thousand Militia-men in Scotland,

Prestonpans, 28th August, 1797.

"Gentlemen,—The following are the declarations and resolutions to which the undersigned do unanimously agree:

"1.—We declare that we unanimously disapprove of the late act of Parliament for raising six thousand militia men in Scotland.

"2.—That we will assist each other in endeavouring to repeal the said act.

"3.—That we are peaceably disposed; and should you, in endeavouring to execute the said act, urge us to adopt coercive measures, we must look upon you to be the aggressors, and as responsible to the nation for all the consequences that may follow.

"4.—Although we may be overpowered in effecting the said resolution, and dragged from our parents, friends, and employments, to be made soldiers of, you may infer from this what trust can be reposed in us, if ever we are called upon to disperse our fellow-countrymen, or to oppose a foreign foe."

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The signatures of this silly document have not been preserved. The gentlemen very properly dismissed Coutterside *simpliciter*.

because Counterside appeared to be a remarkably stupid fellow, that he should only be severely reprimanded and dismissed. While this man was in the room the women continued very clamorous on the street; but when he was dismissed there was a sudden stillness, and some of the constables or other people in waiting, who were standing near the window, said that the women were going away; upon which, one of the gentlemen observed: "We shall have the men upon us immediately!" Some one called out, that the men were assembling from all quarters; and the words were hardly spoken, before a violent attack was made on the house by a volley of stones, which were thrown in at the windows. Upon this an officer, with six or seven dragoons, came riding up to the door, on a signal from Captain Finlay, with their swords undrawn by their sides. One of the women threw a stone at one of the soldiers, upon which the officer ordered them to draw their swords. The men then pranced their horses about, as they often do at reviews, to keep back the crowd. The people proceeded to throw stones, broken bottles, and sticks, and many men continued to join the mob. The stones came with such violence, that the gentlemen were forced to rise from the table, which was opposite the window, and take refuge in different parts of the room for safety, while some of the schoolmasters, more timorous, retired to the back apartments. Mr Cadell now thought it advisable that the riot-act should be read, a copy of which had been sent to him by Mr Craw, clerk of the peace at Haddington, that morning.

Although there was a guard of a serjeant and ten men at the door, and opposite the window, they had little influence in restraining the mob. Stones continued to be thrown, upon which Mr Cadell opened the window, and entreated the people to desist, and, at the same time, attempted to read the riot-act, but he was soon forced to retire. The Cinque-ports and Pembrokeshire cavalry now rode along the streets for the purpose of dispersing the mob. For a considerable time they rode backwards and forwards, firing their pistols in the air, without ball, which had no other effect than to encourage the audacity of the mob, who called out to one another, that "they need not be afraid, as the soldiers were firing without ball!" When the streets were a little cleared, Mr Cadell again attempted to read the riot-act; but he could not be heard. The dragoons made a second attempt to

form opposite Glen's inn ; but they were again assaulted so violently, as to be immediately driven back, and one of their sergeants either fell, or was knocked from his horse, much stunned and stupified, with his helmet off. At this time the mob occupied two lanes,\* which led to two yards, and these being considerably higher than the street, and otherwise so situated, that the dragoons, who had only their swords drawn, could not reach them, they were annoyed with impunity ; and each time that the dragoons were driven past the house, the mob renewed their attack upon it, by throwing stones in at the windows, and by pressing upon the door.† About this time also a party of the mob had gone round into a field at the back of Glen's house, and commenced throwing stones in the same violent manner into the back windows, and particularly into the room where the gentlemen had met, so that it was no longer possible to find a place of safety in the room, or even in the house.

Major Wight now perceiving that they were all in imminent danger, as the house apparently would be forced, were the people not dispersed ; and, unhappily, from a conviction of the necessity of the measure, for the personal safety of himself and the other gentlemen, in the heat of the moment, called out to a party of dragoons as they were riding past the house, " Why don't you fire ? " Upon this the dragoons in the front of the house began to fire with their pistols upon the mob, but at first seemingly without effect : at length, however, from the horrid yell which arose from the people immediately opposite the house, it was evident that the shots had taken effect, and, accordingly, the mob began to give way. At a short interval afterwards, the dragoons began firing their pistols on the mob at the back of the house ; and, particularly, one dragoon was observed dismounted, and firing his carabine, apparently at some object on the top of a house, on the same side of the street with Glen's inn.‡

\* The inn then possessed by John Glen was the house opposite that now occupied by Mr Black, and presently inhabited by Mr Brockley, tinsmith, &c. These two lanes were " Glen's close," directly opposite the inn, and the " Lady's close," a little farther east on the same side.

† It is reported, that but for the herculean strength of the late Mr William Dods, tenant in Westbank, who was in the yeomanry, and happened to be in the room, the door would have been forced open.

‡ Some person who had taken his station there to throw stones. Supposed to be William Hunter, among the first killed.

The mob now dispersing, and the village appearing tolerably quiet, several gentlemen went down to the street with a view of pacifying the misguided multitude. While Major Wight and Mr Cadell were standing at a little distance from each other on the street, they observed the man Duncan, who had formerly addressed them. Mr Cadell called out, in a loud and determined manner: "That fellow ought to be seized;" upon which the Major sprang forward with a view to lay hold of him, but Duncan made off, and ran up a lane into a small stackyard, which was much crowded with people, who all of them seemed to have sticks or bludgeons in their hands. Duncan perceiving from the nature of the place that he could not escape, turned round, and struck the Major a blow upon the head with his stick. The blow did not stun him, but beat down his hat and spectacles upon his face, in such a manner that he could not immediately see Duncan, to apprehend him.\* Mr Cadell, however, having followed them up the lane, immediately knocked down Duncan, and, with the assistance of Mr Steele, one of the constables, they seized him and several others. Some of the dragoons, who had been ordered to dismount, came up the lane into this court or yard, to whom the prisoners were delivered. The dragoons were further ordered to search the lanes and houses in the neighbourhood, and seize such of the rioters as they could find, which they accordingly did, and apprehended a great number.

The village appearing now to be sufficiently cleared, it was thought proper that the business of the day should be resumed. Accordingly Mr Cadell and Mr Gray returned to Glen's inn; and having collected the schoolmasters and their papers together, they proceeded to hear the remaining objections. A number of people who had taken refuge in the neighbouring houses, came forward, when they were heard with the same degree of attention as formerly, and some names were struck out of the list of each of the remaining parishes. The business of this unhappy day being concluded, the persons apprehended, to the number of thirty-six, were sent under a guard to Haddington, to be afterwards examined.

Previous to having recourse to extreme measures, the military suffered much provocation from the mob; but after they were

\* Major Andrew Wight was a native of Ormiston. He was in the Honourable East India Company's service.



authorized to act offensively, they exercised barbarities worse than that used by the highland caterans against the covenanters in the west, and which would not now be tolerated. Parties of cavalry, armed with pistols, carabines, and swords, rode through the fields and high roads, to the distance of a mile or two around Tranent, and, without the smallest provocation, wantonly and barbarously fired upon, or cut with their swords, many persons at that distance, and actually put to death several decent people, who were going about their ordinary business, and totally unconcerned or unconnected with what was going on at Tranent. No blame, however, was laid to the charge of the yeomanry—under such leaders as the late Mr Anderson of St Germain's,\* none could be incurred.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded, agreeable to the deposition of the witnesses at the inquest:

#### KILLED.

1.—Isabel Roger, (the sister of Archibald Roger, the writer of a letter giving an account of the transaction, which was inserted in the "Scots Chronicle," and libelled on). She was a girl of nineteen years of age. She was pursued by a dragoon into the passage of a house in Tranent, and there shot dead by him. She was buried on the day following, her brother attending the funeral.

2.—William Smith, upon a stair, opposite the inn, in Tranent.

3.—William Hunter, shot on a house-top, adjoining to the inn.

4.—George Elder, on the street.

5.—Peter Ness, a sawer of timber, residing at Ormiston. He had not been in the street of Tranent at all during the riot, and was in a field on the south of the village, going towards Ormiston, when the mob had dispersed. He was attacked by five or six dragoons, who firing at him repeatedly, killed him, and then dismounting from their horses, were believed to have robbed him of his watch, as he wore it that day, and was found dead with his pockets turned inside out. John Gould, sawer of timber, who had accompanied Ness to Tranent, on their ordinary business, escaped the fate of his companion, by remaining within a house

\* David Anderson, Esq. was appointed president of the board of Revenue in Bengal, when the celebrated Warren Hastings was governor-general, in February 1781. Mr Anderson returned from India with Mr Hastings in 1785. For several years he took the lead in the public measures of the county of Haddington, and filled the important office of vice-lieutenant at his death, which happened in 1826.

in the village till after the scouring parties were called in from the country. Gould had been informed, that the soldiers were galloping up and down the fields shooting people like partridges! and took this precaution.

6.—William Lawson, carpenter in Tranent, when walking along the highway, with his carts loaded with wood, from Ormiston to Tranent, and at the distance of half a mile from the town, was met by a party of cavalry, one of whom shot him in the groin without the least provocation. When the murderer presented his pistol, Lawson begged of him not to fire, till he should hear him speak, as he had not been near Tranent that day, since the morning that he went to bring home his wood. Notwithstanding this reasonable remonstrance, the ruffians fired and mortally wounded him. Lawson instantly fell; and while lying on the ground, another of the dragoons came up, and snapped his pistol three times at his head. Lawson, on his death-bed, said to his surgeons and his friends who attended him, that he thought the last man the most cruel of the two for repeatedly endeavouring to fire at him in that situation.

7.—Stephen Brotherston, who had no concern in the riot, when walking on the Ormiston road, about a mile from Tranent, with his wife and an old man of the name of Crichton, were met by a party of the cavalry, and, on their approach, they stepped aside into a field by the way side. As the party came up, one of them fired, and shot Brotherston; after which the same, or another dragoon of the party, alighted, and came into the field, where the unhappy man, mortally wounded, was supported by his wife and his old friend Crichton, and struck the latter six times with his sword; by one of which strokes the poor man's face was laid open through the nose to the bone. The dragoon then turned to the dying man, Brotherston, whom he struck across the belly and the legs with his sword; during which, Brotherston's wife, who held her dying husband in her arms, repeatedly called out, to "strike her rather than her husband, for they had shot him already!" The only reply the dragoon made to this appeal, was to "damn her soul," and ride off.

8.—William Laidlaw, a farmer's servant, who had no concern in the riot, when at his lawful occupation in the fields, was wantonly attacked by the same party, and shot.

9.—William Kemp, a boy of eleven years of age, walking on the road to Ormiston, a mile from Tranent, was attacked by a dragoon, who, in riding past him, “damned his soul!” and made a stroke at him with his sword, which cut off a piece of a small switch, which the boy had in his hand. His brother, a lad of thirteen years of age, on seeing the dragoons riding up, ran out of their way into an adjoining field, whither he was pursued by one of them, who wantonly and barbarously stabbed the boy in the breast, and then by a merciless, repeated blow, cleft his head in two.

10.—Alexander Moffat, servant to William Hunter, brewer in Pencaitland, who was not present at the riot, was in a field at a short distance from the Pencaitland road, when a dragoon rode up, and fired his pistol at him, but, missing his aim, he stopped to load his pistol, during which another dragoon pursued Moffat. This man’s helmet happening to fall off, he called on Moffat to turn back, and lift it up, and he should receive no harm. Moffat did so, and, after delivering the helmet into the dragoon’s hand, he turned about, and was going away, when the dragoon fired his pistol or carbine at him, and shot him dead!

11.—John Adam, a collier, in a small village, about a mile and three quarters from Tranent, when walking quietly on the public Haddington road, was shot through the head by a dragoon belonging to one of the parties of cavalry. Adam, on receiving the shot, fell down into the ditch by the road-side; and three or four other dragoons of the party as they came up fired their pistols at the wounded man’s body as he lay in the ditch, and others hacked the body with their swords. He had got 2s. out of the family purse that morning, to buy some necessaries for his wife, then lying in child-bed. Some of the troops having dismounted, were supposed to have robbed the dead body of the 2s., as no money was found about Adam when his corpse was brought into his house.

#### WOUNDED.

1.—Adam Blair, a school-boy, when walking peaceably through a field, to the north of Tranent, was ridden down by a party of the cavalry, who damned him, stabbed him in the arm as they rode over him, and left him for dead lying on the ground. Blair had so far recovered from the effects of the first attack upon him, as

to be able to walk homewards to Penston, a village situated on the south-east of Annfield near Tranent. He was walking in company of a boy of the name of William Tait, when the dragoons came up. One of them pushed Blair into the ditch by the wayside, and was going to stab him, when the boy called out for "mercy," as he had not been in the mobs. The dragoon, however, struck Blair with his sword repeatedly on the head; and others of the party, in passing, also struck him, while he was lying in the ditch with his face downwards. In this situation the boy received four wounds in his head, and a stab in his neck, during which one of the soldiers called out: "That is the b—— whom I stabbed before;" and the dragoon who made the last stab at him, said: "It is needless to put off any more time with him, for he is certainly dead now!" Blair miraculously survived these repeated attacks; but by the great loss of blood, havoc of his person, and terror of his mind, he was for some time in a very feeble state of health, approaching to imbecility.\*

2.—Alexander Robertson, servant to James Clark, farmer at North Winton, who had not been at Tranent on the day of riot,

\* The school-boy, Blair, was afterwards a very eminent man—the late Rev. Adam Blair, minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig, author of the *History of the Waldensis*, &c. Mr Blair, in a letter with which he favoured the author writes:

Ferry-port-on-Craig, near Dundee, 4th June, 1835.

"Dear Sir,—I shall never, while I retain my senses, forget the bloody work at Tranent.—I went to the school of Tranent that morning, by the master's previous desire; but finding no teacher, and the scholars dispersed, I remained some time in Tranent, and stood in the street while the Lieutenancy arrived with the Yeomanry and Cinque-port Cavalry. I saw also a party of the Pembrokeshire Cavalry arrive. I remained in the town till the throwing of stones began, and the soldiers rode four times through among the people. When the firing commenced I left the street, and walked along the north-side of the town, where two lads and myself heard a ball, and five or six dragoons rode over me as described above.

"I was examined by the sheriff-substitute in Haddington, along with many others, with a view to the prosecution of the Lieutenancy. This is said to have been set on foot by some of the Whigs of the time; but the matter was dropt.

"I have had some thoughts of drawing up a short account of the Tranent Riot, but it will be more permanent in your larger work.

"Yours, &c. ADAM BLAIR."

To Mr James Miller, editor of the *Haddington County List*.

Mr Blair was a native of Penston in East Lothian. He was distinguished as a man of learning, a general scholar, and had a profound acquaintance with systematic theology. He died in the thirty-second year of his ministry, universally regretted as a faithful pastor by his flock, 28th November, 1840. He was about compiling a body of divinity, which promised great success from his deep research: as the author of the *History of the Waldensis*, he is justly celebrated.

was attacked by a party of these dragoons in a field on the south east of Tranent; and, on his begging for mercy, one of the dragoons without speaking, or attending to what he said, struck at him with a sabre, when Robertson lifting up his right arm to save his head, he received a severe cut in his hand. By a second blow on the left side of his head, he was struck to the ground senseless, where he remained a long time, and was at last taken up, and assisted to go home, his face and clothes being covered with blood.

3.—Robert Ross, mason in Pencaitland, who had not been at the riot, when walking upon the high-road near Buxley, in company with William Symington, coal-grieve in Pencaitland, was attacked by a party of dragoons, about eighteen in number, one of whom rode up to Ross, and, presenting his pistol, said, “Damn you, you b——, I will put you into eternity in a moment!” At the same time another dragoon rode up to Symington, and, presenting his pistol, threatened to put him to death; upon which both these persons implored mercy; and Ross observing one of the party, apparently in the dress of an officer, he ran up to him, and got under his horse’s neck, calling out: “Sir, I expect mercy from your hands at least!” While the poor man was in this situation, a private of the party cried out, “Damn him: put a dozen of bullets through him!” But the officer, whose protection he had claimed, and to whose horse’s neck he still clung, would not permit him to be put to death.

4.—John Blackie, a carter, walking peaceably along the Haddington road, near a place called Annfield, about a mile and a half east from Tranent, was met by a party of dragoons, one of whom, on coming up, fired at him with a pistol, the ball of which grazed Blackie’s right ear. Three others, in passing, struck at him with their sabres, but he fortunately eluded their blows.

5.—William Tait, a boy of seventeen, who was walking on the highway in company with Adam Blair when he was so grossly maltreated, was attacked by four dragoons of the same party, who discharged their pistols at him. The shot did not take effect; but one of the dragoons in passing made a stab at Tait with his sabre, which went through the left pocket of his jacket. Tait, on this assault, leapt over the ditch by the side of the road, crept through a hole in the hedge, and hid himself under a cart on the other side, where he lay till the dragoons were out of sight.

6.—William Montgomery, an old man, some years above 70, was employed in spreading manure on his little farm, on the north of the Haddington road, nearly opposite to the place where the inhuman murder of John Adam was perpetrated, when some of the party who had committed that crime approached him, and one or two, in an exulting tone, as on the discovery of fresh game, called out: “ We’ll shoot the old b—— ;” and were going wantonly to take aim, when an officer interposed, and saved the old man’s life.

7.—The same party then rode on to the farm-house of Adniston, which is situated at the distance of two miles from Tranent; and here again most wanton outrages were committed. A number of dragoons rode up to the door of the house, possessed by the farm-servants of Adniston, and knocked violently.\* The mistress of the family immediately opened the door, and submissively asked their commands, on which a dragoon fired his pistol at her: the ball luckily struck the lintel of the door, and passed over the woman’s head, but the flash of the powder was so near as to singe her face, and nearly put out one of her eyes. The poor woman, wounded and terrified, shut her door, and locked it, upon which the dragoons began to fire in at the windows, whilst others of them broke open the door, by battering it off the hinges with large stones. In the meantime the distracted family, consisting of a man, his wife, his brother, two fellow-servants, and two children, attempted to make their escape from the fury of the soldiers, by leaping out of a back window, into a garden behind the house. But by the time they had run a few paces, the dragoons having broke open the front door, and burst through the back window in pursuit of them, apprehended and carried them prisoners to Tranent, though they had not even heard of the riot there; and could not comprehend on what account they had been thus attacked, and carried off as prisoners.

8.—The same party, in returning to Tranent, visited the house called “ Haldane’s or Jailor’s Hall,” possessed by Mr Carnegie of Leith, where (that gentleman being from home) some of the dragoons amused themselves, among other violences, with holding the points of their naked sabres close to Mrs Carnegie’s breast for several minutes.

\* Mr George Pillans inhabited the house.

Such are the particulars of these fatal and disgraceful outrages, which we could scarcely believe possible to have happened, except in a country overrun by an invading army. Had any of the ring-leaders fallen, there would have been less cause for regret; but the majority were innocent and harmless persons, who had not mingled in the riot, and who were even at a distance pursuing their ordinary avocations at the time the riot happened.

The facts above detailed became the subject of precognitions, by the authority of the Court of Justiciary, at the instance of the relations of the murdered persons; and they were laid before the Lord Advocate of Scotland, with a view to prosecution; but his lordship, for reasons best known to himself, did not think it proper to institute such prosecutions. On the contrary he lodged a complaint against Alexander Ritchie, W. S., who was employed in taking these precognitions, for having, as his lordship alleged, instigated the unfortunate people to these steps. His petition and complaint, however, was dismissed by the Court of Justiciary as incompetent, and his lordship saw the futility of renewing his prosecution against Mr Ritchie.

These melancholy events excited the indignation of the whole community. One Archibald Roger, whose sister had been slaughtered, addressed a letter to his wife, detailing the unhappy affair, which was published in the Edinburgh Scots Chronicle, and became the matter of a serious prosecution of Johnstone, the printer of that paper, by the Lieutenancy of the County: It was expressed in the following words:

*“ Letter from a person at Tranent, to his wife in Edinburgh.*

“ Dear Wife,—This comes to acquaint you, that you need not weary for my returning home, for my sister is to be buried this afternoon at four o'clock, and I cannot come away till I see her decently interred. I am sorry to inform you of the cruelties that were committed here yesterday: There were six persons shot dead on the spot, of which my sister was one, and she was shot within the door of a house in the town. The number of wounded is not yet ascertained, but I am just now informed that fifteen dead corpses were this morning found in the corn-fields; and it is not known how many more may be found when the corn is cut, as the Cinque-ports Cavalry patrolled through the fields and high roads, to the distance of a mile or two miles round Tranent, and fired upon with pistols, or cut with their swords, all and sundry that they met with. Several decent people were killed at that distance, who were going about their lawful business, and totally unconcerned with what was going on in the town. I am informed that this was unprovoked on the part of the people, for they assembled peaceably by public intimation from the Lord-Lieutenant and his

Deputies, to state their objections, if they had any, to the roll ; but when they presented their petitions and certificates, they were totally rejected, especially by Mr \*\*\*\*, who told the people he would receive none of them, as they were determined to enforce the act ; and as the people insisted to be heard, he, with his own hands, pushed them from the door, upon which some boys and women threw several stones at the windows. The assistance of the cavalry was immediately called for, and ordered to charge sword in hand, and then followed the bloody business above related. But my hand can scarcely hold the pen longer to give you any further details.—I am your loving husband,  
Tranent, August 30th. (Signed) A— R—.”

As a necessary consequence the deputy-lieutenants felt hurt at the animadversions made on their character in the above anonymous letter, which was not only declared to contain a false and erroneous statement, but was considered to be a fabrication of the Whig or opposition party connected with the paper. An action was therefore entered before the Court of Session, at the instance of Mr Cadell, against John Johnstone, the printer of the Scots Chronicle, and John Morthland, advocate, the supposed editor and proprietor of that paper. They were pursued for L.5000 sterling damages, less or more, as the Lords should decern, besides L.500 in name of expenses.

In his defence Mr Johnstone stated, that this action though carried on in the name of Mr Cadell, did not originate with him ; and that, therefore, it should not be entertained by the court ; that the printer had caused soften several expressions in the letter, so as to prevent any just grounds of offence ; and that he had no *animus injuriandi* against the prosecutor, with whom he was altogether unacquainted.

Mr Cadell, in his condescendence, stated, “ that, without the imputation of vanity, it was from a sense of duty that he distinguished himself by his exertions to appease the tumult, and to convince the people of their error.\* He made repeated attempts to speak to them from the windows of Glen’s house, notwithstanding that he was at every time pelted with a volley of stones and brick-bats. Afterwards, when the riot increased to such a degree that the lives of the gentlemen in the house were evidently in danger, the pursuer, who was a justice of peace for the county, and had brought a copy of the riot-act in his pocket, again went to the window in order to read it to the people, and to warn them of their danger, but he was again driven back by a shower of

\* John Cadell, Esq. of Tranent.



stones. Having failed in this attempt, he read the riot-act upon the stair of the house ; but still, as it was possible that this might not be known to the majority of the people, so anxious was Mr Cadell to prevent mischief, and to put the deluded people on their guard, that, in spite of the remonstrances of the rest of the gentlemen, he actually went down to the street, where he publicly proclaimed to the people that the riot-act had been read, and warned them of the consequences of persisting in their outrageous behaviour. In doing which he was most grossly maltreated by the mob ; and it was with great difficulty that his own servant rescued him from their hands, and got him pulled back into the house, the doors of which were immediately barricaded."

All this happened before any orders whatever were given to the soldiers either to charge or fire. In short, it was argued, that the whole of the proceedings of that day were marked upon the part of the deputy-lieutenants and justices, by the utmost propriety and impartiality in the execution of the act, and by the greatest tenderness and humanity towards the people, in their attempts both to prevent and quell the riot ; and that in consequence of the publication libelled, Mr Cadell's family were thrown into the greatest alarm and consternation, apprehending that he would be waylaid and assassinated, or that his house would be burned.

Morthland, in his replies, endeavoured to prove that he had no connection with the paper further than its occasional legal adviser ;—that the present prosecution had been marked with an anxiety to trace (evidently for a different and unavowed purpose) what, or whether any assistance or countenance had at any time been given by him to the newspaper called the Scots Chronicle. Johnston in his defences, on the matter libelled, stated, as a mark of the orderly nature of the mob ; 1st. That the deputy-lieutenants were escorted into Tranent by Mr Anderson's troop of yeomanry cavalry, and a detachment of the Cinque-ports Light Cavalry, commanded by Lord Hawkesbury. These were joined by a party of the Pembrokeshire cavalry, about eighty in number. The people conducted themselves in so quiet and orderly a manner after the arrival of the deputies, that the attendance of the whole of that military force was deemed unnecessary. Accordingly the whole of the yeomanry corps was

detached to Mr Anderson's house at St Germain's ; and the noble commander of the Cinque-ports Cavalry perceiving no appearance of riot or disturbance, considered his presence to be unnecessary, and set off to Haddington, leaving the command of the cavalry to a young gentleman, one of his captains. He then goes on to state, that " the deputy-lieutenants, perhaps offended by the appearance of the crowd,—perhaps misapprehending the nature of their duty,—spoke to the people in a menacing style, and one of them even went so far as to strike a young lad with a stick, who presented a paper, said to be the extract of his baptism ; and this before there was any appearance of riot on the part of the people," who did not commence throwing stones till some of them had been pushed from the door, and their petitions rejected. The defender then proceeded to give a detail of the killed and wounded, after the cavalry were ordered to charge, as we have already narrated.

The parties were next commanded to bring forward witnesses in proof of their condescendence, before the sheriff-deputes of Edinburgh or Haddington, while Mr Cadell moved the production of the business books of the Scots Chronicle office, which was granted.

The schoolmasters and the other gentlemen, who were examined as witnesses for the pursuer, gave in general a favourable view of the proceedings of the meeting. Andrew Gray, Esq. of Southfield, declared ; That he was present at a meeting of the lieutenancy of Haddington, when a newspaper was produced containing the letter libelled ;—that the meeting were unanimously of opinion, that this letter was a scandalous and infamous attack upon the lieutenancy and Mr Cadell, and the latter having proposed to prosecute, the meeting unanimously agreed to support him,—in other words, to bear their share of the expenses. This witness, however, made one deposition rather against the equitable character of the court ; namely, " that he saw from notes and markings upon the printed papers sent to him by Mr Cadell, that some articles of Mr Johnstone's condescendence were not allowed to go to proof by the Court of Session.

In the course of the examination of Mr Morthland, and John Lauder, clerk to the proprietors of the paper, it appeared that the Earl of Lauderdale, General Macleod, Sir John Henderson, Mr

Dugald Bannatyne, and some other gentlemen, had been connected with the original establishment of the Scots Chronicle;—that his lordship had subscribed L.100 as his contribution to the concern; and that in July 1798, Morthland had applied to the Bank of Scotland for a cash account, to the extent of L.600 in his name; the co-obligants along with him to be Lord Lauderdale and Mr Stirling of Drumpellier, which application was, however, refused by the directors.

It further appeared that Morthland was nearly involved in a dispute respecting some reflections in the Scots Chronicle upon the volunteer corps, and, particularly, upon two individuals, who had been active in endeavouring to apprehend a person, who was attempting to raise a disturbance on the evening of the King's birth-day, one of whom was Mr Thomas Scott, W.S., a brother of Mr (afterwards Sir Walter) Scott,—the latter of whom waited upon Morthland, and got a public and satisfactory explanation.\*

As a proof of the obnoxious nature of the libel inserted in the Scots Chronicle, it appears to have been inserted by Mr Johnstone in the hurry of the moment after softening down some of the expressions, and with great hesitation. He had been dragged

\* It may be interesting to state this evidence, from the circumstance of Sir Walter Scott having been connected with it. In the year 1796, a few days after the King's birth-day, a paragraph appeared in the Scots Chronicle, reflecting upon the behaviour of two volunteers on the evening of that day, one of whom was Mr Thomas Scott, W.S. Being informed that Mr Morthland was connected with that paper, either as editor or conductor, Mr Scott went in search of him, for the purpose of telling him his mind on the subject. He did not meet with Mr Morthland in the parliament-house, where he first went, but afterwards met with him on the bridge, and then told him that he had seen such a paragraph in the Scots Chronicle,—and asked him whether he was the author of the paragraph, the conductor of the newspaper, or in any way connected with the paper? Mr Morthland returned such vague and confused answers, that Mr Scott could not make out whether he confessed or denied his concern with the paper: on which he told him, “that the author of the paragraph was a d— liar, and the editor or publisher of the paper an infamous scoundrel, and at the same time gave his name to Mr Morthland. From Morthland's behaviour on this occasion, it struck Mr Scott that he was the author of the paragraph. After he went home, he received a note from Mr John Clerk, advocate, mentioning that he would call upon him at six o'clock in the evening upon particular business. Conjecturing what this business would be, he sent for Mr George Abercrombie, advocate, to be present at the meeting. Mr Clerk accordingly came, and in presence of Mr Abercrombie and Mr Walter Scott, declared that Morthland had no connection with the Scots Chronicle but as its legal adviser, and that the paragraphs were shewn to him before insertion, merely that he might give his opinion whether or not they were actionable. After this and other explanations, a hostile meeting between the parties was prevented. The friends of Mr Scott, however, thought it necessary that a contradiction of the offensive paragraph should appear in the newspaper, and Mr Walter Scott wrote to Morthland and Johnstone to that effect.

from his bed for this purpose; and, through the carelessness of the compositor, the paper was allowed to go to the press (1st September, 1797,) without some contemplated alterations. The public mind was so much excited, that a considerable crowd had assembled previous to the publication of the paper in front of the printing-office. In the meantime Mr Johnstone was undergoing an examination before the Sheriff, and, on his return, he found that some corrections had not been made. The press was stopped a second time, and further alterations adopted; but the people were so urgent for copies, they would not wait: so that Johnstone was under the necessity of breaking away a capital letter, which appeared to be C., in the communication sent by Adam Roger, evidently intended for Mr Cadell.

After about fifty witnesses had been examined on both sides, Mr Johnstone was found guilty of the libel cited by the Court of Session, and fined in L.800; but on the cause being appealed to the House of Lords, the sentence was reversed, and Mr Cadell, (who represented the lieutenancy,) was fined in the same sum, but which we believe was never exacted.

The day after the riot, the Earl of Haddington, Mr Law, the sheriff; James Wilkie, Esq. of Gilchriston, and other justices, took a precognition at Haddington respecting it, when it was evident from the whole of the depositions that the deputy-lieutenants had acted under great irritation at Tranent, and had not used that conciliating conduct which has the best effect upon the ignorant, or with those who consider themselves in any manner aggrieved. It appeared that a different conduct had been pursued by Mr Sheriff Law and Mr Wilkie the day previously at Haddington, when employed in a similar business, with the happiest effect; though no doubt they had a different class to deal with, being chiefly country people or agriculturists, while the others were colliers and salters; and it being well understood, as one of the justices observed, that "the best way to manage the colliers; is not to rub them against the hair!"

The thirty-six persons taken prisoners to Haddington only suffered a few days confinement in the jail of the burgh, while the precognitions were going on. Several of them were taken to Edinburgh, to undergo a justiciary trial; but the soldiers, who

were the only evidence brought against them, contradicted each other, particularly respecting the identity of a person considered the principal leader of the mob,—in consequence of which, it is believed, they were *all* acquitted, with only a severe reprimand.

—————" Man, vain man !  
 Dress'd in a little brief authority,  
 Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
 As makes the angels weep."—SHAKSPEARE.

After this unfortunate riot, a considerable antipathy was manifested against the soldiery, which was particularly directed to those who were considered to have been engaged in the late murderous affair. Two of the Cinque-ports cavalry having gone into a public-house in Aberlady, were dogged by a joiner, who was employed at Gosford, for the purpose of revenge. He went into the room where the soldiers were drinking, and gradually edging himself up to the fireplace, where he observed a large poker, he seated himself by the ingle-nook, and called for drink. The soldiers invited him to taste with them, which was readily accepted; and the joke went round on varied subjects, as men will talk over their cups. One of the dragoons happening to rise for some purpose, while his back was turned, the joiner, watching the opportunity, seized the poker, and, aiming a blow at his unconscious comrade, laid him senseless on the floor, while the next moment the other soldier shared the same fate. The ruffian immediately made his escape as adroitly as possible, in which he seems to have been favoured. He durst not, however, return to his employer; but made the best of his way to Leith, where his friends found means to get his working tools conveyed to him. Here he got on board of a vessel, which conveyed him to London, from whence he embarked to North America. On the banks of the Hudson the smiles of fortune visited him; and after the lapse of many years, when care had silvered his brow, and the Trantent riot was forgotten, the joiner returned to his native land with a small competency. In the neighbourhood of Salton he plied his vocation within these few years, undisturbed and unchallenged, and, doubtless, in his calmer moments regretted the rashness of youth.

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## CHAPTER XX.

“ Loudon’s bonnie woods and braes,  
 I maun leave them a’, lassie,  
 Wha can thole when Britain’s faes,  
 Wad gie Briton’s law, lassie?  
 Wha wad shun the field o’ danger,  
 Wha frae fame wad live a stranger,  
 Now, when Freedom bids avenge her,  
 Wha wad shun her ca’, lassie?”

LORD MOIRA’S *Farewell*.

THE EAST LOTHIAN FENCIBLES AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY.—  
 SIR DAVID BAIRD.—CAMP AT WESTBARN.—GENERAL DON.  
 —BERWICKSHIRE MILITIA.—HADDINGTON, DUNBAR, AND  
 NORTHBERWICK VOLUNTEERS.—ERECTION OF BARRACKS  
 AT HADDINGTON AND DUNBAR.—THE FALSE ALARM.—THE  
 EARLS OF MOIRA AND LAUDERDALE.—HADDINGTONSHIRE  
 LOCAL MILITIA.—DUELLING.—SHIPWRECK OF THE PALLAS  
 AND NYMPH FRIGATES.—THE EARLS OF HOPETOUN AND  
 DALHOUSIE.—FALL OF NAPOLEON AND DEMOLITION OF THE  
 BARRACKS.

At the close of the year 1797, public affairs wore a gloomy aspect. A vain attempt had been made by Lord Malmesbury to negotiate a peace with the French Directory,—Spain had joined the league against Britain,—a run on the Bank of England created considerable alarm,—and a revolt of a most extensive nature had broken out in our fleet at the Nore; while the success of the French arms on the continent, under the modern Attila, to whom crouched alike the hereditary duke and the despotic czar, left our country single-handed to combat her inveterate foe, and, in the words of one of Scotland’s gifted poets:

“ Hope for a season bade the world farewell,  
 And Freedom shriek’d when Kosiusko fell!”—CAMPBELL.

Under the exigencies of the state we have noticed the loyalty and munificence of the town of Haddington, which happily extended to the gentlemen and tenantry of the county.

The East and West Lothian Scots Fencible Cavalry were raised about 1795. They were commanded by Colonel J. Hamilton of Pencaitland, and Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Baird. In 1800 they were stationed at Deal.\*

The East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry was enrolled in 1797, under the command of Sir James Gardiner Baird of Saughtonhall, Baronet, a distinguished veteran officer. It consisted of three troops, averaging 50 men each, commanded by Captains Charles Maitland, David Anderson, and Francis Walker. The fourth or Dunbar troop was not raised till 1803, by Robert Hay, Esq. of Spott, and was 75 men strong.

In 1798, another attempt to negotiate with the French having proved abortive, the army and navy were powerfully recruited,—volunteer associations became numerous throughout Britain,—and gratuitous contributions were raised to the amount of one million and a half sterling. The patriotic exertions of all classes at this crisis became in the highest degree necessary. From the claims of the Roman catholics being still denied, chiefly from the scruples of the king to this measure, an insurrection broke out in Ireland, which increased the danger of the country. A numerous body of troops had assembled on the northern shores

\* About the year 1796, a sanguinary example of military discipline was exhibited at Gullan links. Four unfortunate men, who belonged to "Grant's Fencibles," were condemned to be shot for mutinous conduct, which we believe amounted to little more than insolent language made use of to their commanding officer (Colonel Cumming,) in consequence of the hard drills to which the men were subjected. The place of execution was a spot, called "Yellow Mires," on the west side of Gullan links, where the spectators were stationed. The regiment, to which the criminals belonged, formed three parts of a square, with one end open towards the sea. In the centre of the square the men were placed. As a precautionary measure the soldiers of the "Grants Fencibles" were deprived of their gun flints, except 16 men, who were ordered to fire on the prisoners—there were 32 men of the Scots Brigade from Dunbar, with loaded arms behind them, ready to fire if the infantry had shrunk from their painful duty. The cavalry were drawn up behind the infantry, while the artillery, with two field-pieces and lighted matches were placed in the rear. One of the men had been reprieved, and another of the three was to be pardoned. Lots were drawn for this man; and it is impossible to describe the exultation of the individual on whom this unexpected deliverance fell. He capered and jumped about in an excess of joy. One of the soldiers met his death with great fortitude. He kneeled, and deliberately dropt the signal handkerchief, and in a few moments ceased to exist; but the other, proving refractory, required to be tied, and, refusing to kneel, fell flat on the ground, which caused a number of shots to be put into him, and his body to be dreadfully mangled, before he expired. The criminals came to the ground in two mourning coaches, accompanied by clergymen; a cart following them with the coffins. The corpses were interred in Aberlady churchyard. The soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons of Edinburgh, Leith, and Musselburgh attended, with a vast concourse of people, which were drawn together to witness such a novel spectacle.

of France, which assumed the presumptuous name of the "Army of England," while an expedition sailed from Toulon for the conquest of Egypt. At the close of the year public affairs looked less disastrous. Britain succeeded in forming an alliance with Russia; and while victory seemed to trace the path of France on the shore, our march o'er the mountain-wave had never been more splendid. Admiral Jervis, while cruising off Cape St Vincent, with fifteen sail of the line, beat a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships,—the gallant Duncan, in a contest with abler and braver seamen, gained a signal victory over the Dutch fleet off Camperdown,—and the immortal Nelson crowned "the glorious day's renown" with the battle of the Nile.

Britain, with that chivalrous spirit, ever ready to succour the distressed, and perhaps too ready to engage in quarrels not absolutely her own, turned her eyes to her old ocean-rival, the Dutch, with a view of rescuing her from the bondage of France. A body of 19,000 men, under the gallant Abercromby, aided by 17,000 Russians, landed in Holland, took Helder fort, and, in some degree, effected this object.

The British power was, in the mean time, strengthened in India, by the overthrow of Tippoo Saib, by an army of 18,000 men, under General Harris. Seringapatam was taken by assault, after a desperate defence, through the skill and bravery of General Baird, who commanded the troops, aided by Colonel Wellesley, now the illustrious Wellington. Tippoo's body was found buried amidst heaps of slain. The greater part of his dominions were seized by the East India company, and a vast deal of treasure fell into the hands of the British.\*

\* General the right honourable Sir David Baird, Bart. G.C.B. K.C., was the fifth son of William Baird, Esq. of Newbyth, in East Lothian, where he was born in 1757. He appears to have been born a soldier; and gratified his early predilection for the military life by entering as an ensign in the 2nd regiment of foot, just as he had completed his fifteenth year; and joined his regiment the year following at Gibraltar. He distinguished himself at an early period in India, and, in an affair with Hyder Aly and Tippoo Saib, he was dreadfully wounded, having received two sabre wounds on his head, a ball in his thigh, and a pike wound in his arm, while his company of the 73d regiment was, literally, cut to pieces. Captain Baird and five of the officers were put in irons, and suffered a confinement of three years and eight months in one of the principal prisons of Seringapatam; and it was not till the expiry of his tedious imprisonment, that he first received letters from his family and friends; and by a singular coincidence the gallant Baird was preserved to revenge the fatal devastation of Perambakum by the conquest of Seringapatam. He died at Fern Tower, near Crieff, in 1829, where a monument, in the form of an obelisk, of the exact dimensions of a pillar in Egypt, called Cleopatra's needle, has been erected on a romantic and beautiful hill to his memory by his amiable and accomplished lady.



The close of the eighteenth century was rendered memorable by Bonaparte's throwing off the mask, and, under the title of First Consul, assuming the supreme power in France. Amongst his first acts of policy was to hold out the olive branch to this country while the thorn rankled beneath, which his Britannic majesty in the posture of public affairs did not think it prudent to accept. This rejection, however, only served to stimulate the ambition of the French ruler to those hostilities which led to the victorious field of Marengo, and the prostration of Austria.

In 1801, the union between Great Britain and Ireland was happily effected,—an expedition, under Admiral Nelson, destroyed or took the Danish fleet at Copenhagen,\*—and the gallant and lamented Sir Ralph Abercromby, by his own example, and the valour and courage of his troops, taught the French in Egypt, that they were not invincible to the British arms. Nor were our countrymen less successful at sea. Sir James Saumarez, with a small squadron in the Mediterranean, carried destruction into the enemy's fleets. But what spread most joy throughout the land, couriers, with flags of truce, were daily passing between London and Paris; and at length Lord Hawkesbury, whom we had occasion to mention in our last chapter, and who was now secretary of state for foreign affairs, suddenly announced the preliminaries of peace with France, Spain, and Holland.

Gratified with this event, on the 29th May, 1802, the town-council of Haddington voted an address to his Majesty on the definitive treaty of peace being signed at Amiens by Lord Cornwallis, on the 27th of March.

The repose of Europe was, however, of short duration. Bonaparte sent a large fleet to the West Indies, which excited our jealousy,—assumed the dominion of Italy, and subjugated Switzerland. Britain, as a *sine qua non*, refused to deliver up Malta unless the treaty of Amiens was respected, and that France should give up those countries which she had seized in violation of that treaty. This demand was of course refused, which led to an immediate rupture with France; and, on the 18th May, 1803, war was declared against that nation. The First Consul immediately

\* Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir Anthony Maitland, K. C. M. G., brother of the present Earl of Lauderdale, served as a midshipman at the battle of Copenhagen, where he was wounded.

exerted himself in preparing an army for the oft-vaunted invasion of England; and besides repairing his shattered navy, expended vast sums in the building of flat-bottomed boats.

Every precaution was now used by the county to guard against invasion, or of being surprised by the enemy. Telegraphs and signal-stations were erected on the heights of St Abb's and Blackcastle, in Lammermoor, which communicated with Dunbar battery, North-Berwick Law, and East Garleton-hill, a short distance from Haddington; and thus not only commanded Berwickshire, but the whole extent of coast and inland country all the way to Edinburgh.

The first encampment during the revolutionary war had been formed at Westbarns Links, near Dunbar, in 1794. It was composed of the Scots brigade in two battalions, (afterwards the 94th foot,) under the command of General Francis Dundas, and the 4th regiment of Dragoons. These were relieved on the same ground, when the Scots brigade embarked at Dunbar, by the Dumbarton, Lanark, and Dumfries Fencible Cavalries. These forces were gradually withdrawn; but after the rupture of 1803, when Napoleon and his bridge of boats formed the theme of the morning's debate and the terror of the midnight dream, the greatest military force ever assembled on these shores in latter times, was now encamped on Westbarns Links, under the vigilant command of Major-General Sir George Don. The regiments consisted of the Lanarkshire, Perthshire, and Fife militias, the Galloway militia as gunners, and a few dragoons to do duty for the general.

The Berwickshire Militia, with which the East Lothian was incorporated, was raised in 1802. Alexander, Earl of Home, was appointed colonel-commandant, and Sir George Warrender of Lochend, Baronet, lieutenant-colonel.

The Haddington volunteers were embodied in June 1803. They consisted of two companies, under Captains William Wilkie and William Cunningham of Haddington, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hay Mackenzie of Newhall. Their equipment, in the first place, was muskets, havresacks, and canteens, which was afterwards augmented; and they were allowed the common rate by government for clothing. Their dress was scarlet, faced with green; gray trousers, and common round hat with a black

cockade and tuft. The officers wore the dress of the militia officers of that period.

The corps drilled twice in the week, in the East-mill Haugh, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and, from the robust condition of the men, had a stout soldier-like appearance. It was recommended by General Don, that previous to the volunteers going into quarters, in order that they might feel as comfortable as possible when on duty, that they should be provided with great-coats, knapsacks, and camp-kettles. It was also the wish of the Earl of Moira that each man should carry sixty rounds of ball-cartridges; the boxes, however, were only enlarged to forty. To carry these orders into effect, on the 1st of November, 1803, the town-council of Haddington authorized the provost to subscribe the sum of L.21 towards the extra expense of clothing and other contingencies, of the two companies of Haddington volunteers; to be under the disposal of the officers of the corps, and a committee to be named by the subscribers to this fund. The town-council also empowered the magistrates to reserve in the articles of roup of the East-mill Haugh, liberty for the volunteers to exercise and drill in that pleasant meadow by the Tyne; and, in the event of any other corps applying for the same privilege, the magistrates were to have the power of the grant, on being answerable to the tacksman for any damage that might be sustained.

As a proof of the scarcity of men in an agricultural district, and of their value to the army at this period, on the parish being deficient of two men to serve in the militia, a penalty of L.10 for each was incurred; but the Earl of Home, commandant of the Berwickshire militia, (to which this county furnished its quota of men,) agreed to supply substitutes at one-half the expense.\*

The Dunbar volunteers were also reindodied in the month of June, 1803, in a more effective manner, by Major Middlemass, under the name of the "Dunbar Loyal Volunteers." This battalion was very complete, with all the appurtenances of a regular regiment. It consisted of four companies, rank and file, which,

\* In the course of the war, men at length became so scarce, that even the sum of L.65 was paid for a substitute. This led to the establishment of a "militia insurance society," by Mr John Croumbie, ironmonger, Haddington, through which, those who could afford to pay L.2, 8s. for an insurance, were protected from the service in the event of being drawn at the ballot.

for the conveniency of field movements, were subdivided into eight companies of forty men each, including a grenadier and light company. They were armed as the Haddington volunteers; and were allowed the usual rate for clothing, which being of a finer fabric than that used by the regular army, the difference was defrayed at their own expense. Their clothing was scarlet, faced with green, white lace; white breeches and long black gaiters; with high round military cap and feather. They had also a good band of music. In short, the smart appearance of this battalion, with its spirited manœuvres, and its finer garb and music, gave it considerably the lead of the neighbouring volunteer corps in point of appearance.\*

The North Berwick volunteers were embodied about the same time, under the command of Captain Robert Burn; but as they consisted of only one company, they acted as light-infantry. Their accoutrements were similar to the others. They had scarlet clothing and blue pantaloons.

The military mania continued to spread throughout the country, pervading all ranks with a generous enthusiasm. The yeoman harnessed his steed for the battle—the artisan left his workshop—the hind the plough—the merchant his desk—and the scholar his cell. And this ardour was much whetted by the bloody atrocities of the French revolutionists, who, in asserting the rights of man, acted the part of demons, creating a complete revulsion of feeling in Britain in favour of the established order of organised society. This mania spread to our youth, and for the sake of “playing at soldiers” every other athletic sport was set aside. This spirit was further encouraged by the volunteer drills happening on the schoolboys’ half holidays, with a view to inspire martial ardour into the rising generation.

\* A volunteer regiment formerly existed in Dunbar. In 1793, a corps had been raised by Major George Hay. They were called the “Dunbar Defensive Company;” were furnished with arms and accoutrements by government, drilled twice a-week, and received 2s. weekly of pay. The company consisted of 75 men, which was afterwards augmented to 100. They wore blue coats, with red facings; and blue striped trousers, which were afterwards changed to tight pantaloons; and plain round hats with cockades. On the appointment of Major Hay to a militia regiment, the command devolved on Christopher Middlemass, Esq., as the next senior officer. At the same time a gentleman-company was enrolled, who furnished themselves with clothing, and served without pay. As a mark of distinction they were placed on the right of the corps. They wore blue coats with red collars, white vests, white breeches and stockings, with short black gaiters. This regiment was disembodied in April 1802.—See *History of Dunbar*.

Government having come to the most determined resolution in prosecuting the war, it was necessary that more substantial cantonments should be found for the soldiery than the tented field; accordingly, in the autumn of 1803, barracks were erected at Haddington and Dunbar with surprising celerity, and at a vast expense. They were begun in some instances ere the crop was off their site, and occupied by the 1st of November. The huts were built with wood, pitched over, and covered with red tiles, and each accommodated twenty-four men.

The Haddington Barracks were constructed to contain about 1800 men and 500 horses; viz. 326 cavalry, 301 artillery, and 1158 infantry, of which the following is an abstract, furnished to the author by the late James Roughead, Esq. barrackmaster.

RETURN OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF HADDINGTON BARRACKS.

| BARRACKS.        | CONSTRUCTED FOR |           |                       |                  |                                         |         |                    |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------|--------------------|
|                  | Field-officers. | Captains. | Subalterns and Staff. | Quarter-Masters. | Non-commissioned Officers and Privates. | Horses. | Hospital Patients. |
| Cavalry, .....   | 2               | 5         | 11                    | 4                | 304                                     | 320     | ...                |
| Artillery, ..... | 1               | 2         | 10                    | ...              | 288                                     | 140     | ...                |
| Infantry, .....  | 4               | 10        | 60                    | ...              | 1084                                    | 40      | ...                |
| Hospital, .....  | ...             | ...       | ...                   | ...              | ...                                     | ...     | 96                 |
| TOTAL, .....     | 7               | 17        | 81                    | 4                | 1676                                    | 500     | 96                 |

Of stores a field officer was allowed 5 bushels of coals, and 2 lbs candle weekly;—captains, subalterns, and staff, 2½ bushels coals, and 1 lb candles;—non-commissioned officers and privates, every 24 men, 4 bushels coals and 1½ lbs candles. Each open room in the hospital, 1 room's allowance; viz. 2½ bushels coals and 1 lb candle. Mess-room, if above 3 officers' mess, a field-officers' allowance. If 3, or under, a captain or subaltern's allowance.

The *Cavalry Barracks* were situated in a field lying north from Craig Lodge, bounded by the Aberlady road, belonging to Patrick Dudgeon, Esq. W.S.—They consisted of 44 huts; viz. 1 mess-room, 4 field-officers' rooms, 16 for officers, 4 quarter-masters, 4 sergeants, 12 soldiers; besides stables for 320 horses, hay-sheds, granaries, guard-house, store-rooms, &c.

The *Infantry Barracks* were situated in that field, in a line with the former (from which it was divided by a park,) lying eastward of the road leading to Harperdean, which chiefly belonged to the late Robert Vetch, and William Wilkie, Esqrs., and bounded by Goatfield (the property of Thomas Pringle, Esq.) and the great north post-road. They consisted of 104 huts; viz. 2 mess rooms,\* with kitchen, cellars, &c.; 8 field-officers' rooms, 42 for officers, 45 for

\* The house, now called "Goatfield," was the Barrack mess-room.

soldiers, 25 servants; and 2 for staff-sergeants. Besides stables for 40 horses; as hospital, store-houses, guard-houses, &c.

The *Artillery Barracks* were situated in that field, which lies betwixt Sunny-bank and the river Tyne, belonging to the Earl of Wemyss, and presently occupied by Bailie Andrew Pringle. They consisted of 34 huts; viz. 1 mess-room, 2 field-officers' rooms, 12 for officers, 12 soldiers, 7 servants; besides stables for 140 horses; gun-shed; smiths', farriers', wheelers', and saddlers' shops, guard-house, stores, &c.

Among the first regiments that occupied the barracks were the Perthshire, the 18th or Royal Irish militia, and the Galloway militia; the latter, being a small corps, were trained and acted as gunners. These were followed by the York, the 25th or Sussex, Northumberland, Aberdeenshire, and Lanark militias, &c. The 2nd or Queen's Dragoon Guards were the last that occupied the cavalry barracks.

East Lothian had now most decidedly turned her ploughshare into a sword, and was armed at all points to meet the threatened invasion; and a more vigilant officer than General Don could not have been appointed. He had already been severely wounded in actual service; he knew the cunning enemy he had to deal with, and was sensitively alive to the care and circumspection necessary for the important post which he filled. On the 19th November, 1803, he issued the following instructions for the regulation of the yeomanry and volunteer infantry of the county of Haddington, in the event of being called into service:

“ INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CORPS OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY, AND REGIMENTS AND CORPS OF VOLUNTEER INFANTRY IN THE COUNTY OF HADDINGTON.

“ On the signals being made for an enemy's fleet being off the coast, or that a descent has been effected in the north of England or in Scotland, or that positive intelligence is received to that effect, the corps of yeomanry and infantry will instantly assemble at their respective alarm-posts, where each horseman is to be provided with a cloak, great-coat, or blanket; and with two days' provisions for himself, and two days' corn for his horse: And where as many ball-cartridges and flints are to be issued to the infantry as each man can carry (60 rounds if possible,) and where each soldier of infantry is to be provided with two days' provisions, (to be carried in a havresack or knapsack,) and with a great-coat or blanket, to be rolled up and slung over his shoulder. Such of the infantry as have not yet been armed with firelocks or pikes, must be provided with pitchforks, or any other weapon which can be procured for them.

“ *East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry.*—The first, second, and third troops of this corps, will, on an alarm, assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the brigade have marched from

it, these troops will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as soon as possible. The 4th troop of this corps will assemble at Dunbar, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the column have marched from thence, the troop will follow and join it as soon as possible.

“ *Dunbar Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*—This regiment will, on an alarm, assemble at Dunbar, and immediately join and act with the brigade at that town.

“ *North Berwick Regiment of Volunteers.*—On an alarm, this corps will immediately assemble at North Berwick, and join and act with any troops that may be stationed at that town.

“ Should the enemy land to the eastward of Dunbar, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed by Whitekirk and Tynningham Bridge to Dunbar, where the commanding officer will inform himself of the march of the brigade from that town, and follow the direction of the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible.

“ Should the enemy land at Tynningham Sands, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position of Lawhead.

“ Should the enemy attempt to land at Peffer Sands this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position on Whitekirk heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy at the said sands, taking care to secure a retreat to the above-mentioned heights.

“ Should the enemy attempt to land at Dirleton Bay, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the high ground and woods to the westward of Archerfield; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in the above bay, taking care to secure a retreat to the heights at Featon Tower.

“ Should the enemy attempt to land at Gulane or Aberlady bays, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position at Gulane heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in these bays, taking care to secure a retreat to Kilduff Hill, and afterwards to the strong position at Garleton hills.

“ Should the enemy land between Aberlady Bay and Prestonpans, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed along the coast, and act upon the left flank of the enemy, taking care to secure a retreat to Garleton hills.

“ Should the enemy land at Musselburgh, or to the westward of that town, this corps will march from North Berwick, and will proceed along the coast, and endeavour to join the brigade at Musselburgh, under the command of Major-General Sir James St Clair Erskine.

“ On the taking up of any of the foregoing positions, the commanding officer of this corps will send forward a guide on horseback, (who must be previously secured at North Berwick) to Major-General Sir James St Clair Erskine or myself, according to the line of march the corps may have moved on, and to report its situation, and receive further orders.

“ In the above movements and operations, this corps will act as a *light corps*; and, when opposing the enemy, will take extended order behind hedges and walls, and in ditches or in woods, and endeavour as much as possible to conceal its force,

“ On the march of this corps from North Berwick to any of the above-mentioned positions, the corps will kill all the live stock which may not be driven from the coast or employed on the public service, particularly horses.

“ *Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*—This regiment will assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed there. Should the brigade have marched from thence, the regiment will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible.

“ Given at West Barns, this 19th day of November, 1803,

GEO. DON, Maj.-Gen.

“ *The Hon. Lieut.-Colonel HAY MACKENZIE, commanding the Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*

On the last day of January 1804, an incident occurred, which at least placed the zeal of the yeomanry and volunteer corps beyond a doubt. The watchman at Hounamlaw, in Roxburghshire, mistook an accidental light, which arose at a *house-heating*, situated upon an eminence in the neighbourhood of Dunse, for the beacon of Dunse Law, and she in her turn lighted up when she saw the former in a blaze.

“ That's no the castil lycht I see,  
That shines sae fayr and sae brycht,  
For feit it daunceth frae tree to tree,  
Like Will o' the Wisp at nycht.”—*Anc Tale of Dunse.*

According to another version, in a note to “ the Antiquary,” it was the person stationed at Home Castle, who was deceived by some accidental fire in Northumberland; consequently the signal was immediately repeated through all the valleys on the English border. Luckily the watch stationed at St Abb's Head considered that had there been a descent on the eastern sea-coast, the alarm must have come from that quarter, and did not fire his beacon; otherwise the alarm would have blazed from Blackcastle to Garleton, and alarmed the whole of the north of Scotland.

In Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire, the volunteers got under arms with wonderful rapidity; and next morning the inhabitants of Dunbar were surprised by the arrival of the Berwickshire yeomanry at an early hour: some of whom were no doubt chagrined at the hoax, while others were agreeably disappointed. The same day the Dunse volunteers came to Haddington, being their appointed place of rendezvous in the event of an invasion, and the Selkirkshire yeomanry, notwithstanding their remote distance from the alarm-post, reached Dalkeith by one o'clock.



On the 7th May, 1804, the Haddington volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hay Mackenzie, went on permanent duty into the North Barracks of Dunbar for fourteen days; and, on the 19th, the whole of the military stationed in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, including the garrison of Haddington, were reviewed on Westbarns Links by the Earl of Moira, then commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. The regiments reviewed were the first and second battalions of the 18th or Royal Irish; the Perthshire and Galloway militias, the latter as gunners; and a brigade of Royal Artillery; also a brigade of volunteer infantry; viz. the Dunbar, Haddington, North Berwick, Dunse, Eyemouth, and Coldingham regiments; and the Berwickshire and East Lothian yeomanry; the whole amounting at least to 5000 men.

The erection of the barracks was the golden-age of East Lothian. It not only brought a vast population to the burghs, and set a great deal of capital in circulation, but the cattle and victual consumed by the troops; the forage by the dragoon horses, and the value of their manure, was of material service to the agriculturists. The farmer, in place of his keg of aqua or cask of country-brewed ale, could now treat himself to a pipe of wine; and the merchant could introduce the piano into his drawing-room as a substitute for his grandmother's spinning-wheel! Many active persons, also, who had formerly moved in a very obscure sphere of life, came suddenly into notice, and by dint of honest industry, and other means, acquired moderate competencies; and he who but yesterday held the plough, might now be a candidate for the highest civic honours of the burgh. Not content with individual gains, our municipal rulers also wished to turn occurrence to public advantage; accordingly, the town of Haddington, which holds a right to part of the anchorage of Aberlady, turned her eyes to the harvest that might be reaped from her sea-port; and, on the 6th October, 1804, the town-council presented a memorial to government, recommending the port of Aberlady as a fit place for a *naval* station; and requested the Lords of the Treasury to cause a survey of the coast to be made for that purpose: a scheme which we are not aware met with any consideration, as its proximity to Leith could have rendered it of little utility. The plan of Dunbar new harbour, we believe, was

at that time also suggested, which not only possessed greater natural advantages as a basin, but appeared pregnant with utility as a fishing station.

In 1805, Napoleon having made another overture for peace, the Earl of Lauderdale was despatched to Paris on the 2nd August, invested with full powers to conclude this desirable object, negotiations for which had been in progress by the Earl of Yarmouth; and he now joined that nobleman in the arduous task of treating with such equivocal diplomatists as Talleyrand and Bonaparte. The Earl of Yarmouth was recalled. It soon appeared evident that the French ruler's intention was only to gain time to pave the way to future aggrandisement,—the war between France and Prussia broke out in September, which led Napoleon to Germany; and, after much temporising, the object was abandoned, and Lord Lauderdale's last note to Talleyrand, on the 6th October, demanded his passport.

At this period, when such large drafts of men were required for foreign service, and the demoralizing system of recruiting was pursued to its full extent, the army was necessarily composed of some of the very worst of characters: the serjeant, decked with his cockade of many colours, had only to bring

“ A Scotchman frae his hill;” and

“ To clap in his cheek a highland gill,”

To secure his victim: hence the denizens of the burgh had frequently reason to complain of the nightly forays in the neighbourhood. It appears that the barracks had been tenanted for eighteen months without the necessary adjunct of a wall. On the 2nd July, 1806, the magistrates of Haddington considering that many depredations had been committed by soldiers wandering from the barracks under night, and that no wall had as yet been built to enclose them, recommended that a memorial should be transmitted to the Lord Advocate for the purpose of soliciting that such a desirable object should be obtained.”\*

On the 17th July in the same year, on the motion of Mr George Haldane, seconded by Mr William Cunningham, a congratulatory address was voted to Lord Melville on his acquittal from the

\* Mr John Hay, tenant in Duncanlaw, was attacked by two soldiers at a plantation, on the Gifford road, a little above the Nungate-toll. Being a powerful man, he succeeded in struggling with his adversaries till some of his friends came up to his assistance. The men were secured and punished, and a piece of silver-plate was given to Mr Hay by the tenantry, as a mark of respect for his resolution and bravery.

charge of "high crimes and misdemeanours" imputed to him by the House of Commons; but as some of the counsellors had only got eight hours notice, Bailies Alexander Nisbet and James Simpson, and several counsellors, paired off, after taking protest. In consequence of which, on next council meeting, it became a question, "Whether or not the provost might, on extraordinary occasions, call the council together on a less notice than twenty-four hours, which was decided in the affirmative by a majority of ten to eight.

In 1806, a plan had been introduced into parliament for new-modelling the army, and raising men for a limited time, instead of enlistment for life. A scheme similar to this was extended to the militia, which rendered the volunteer corps unnecessary.

In 1808, the Haddingtonshire Local Militia was embodied: the right honourable Lord Sinclair, colonel-commandant; and Lord Binning, lieutenant-colonel; upon which the volunteer regiments of the county transferred their services to that corps. The regiment was 686 strong: their clothing was scarlet, with yellow facings, and gray trousers; and in other points similar to the regular militia.

The chief military force was now concentrated at Haddington under Brigadier-General Hope. This place, from its situation between the capital and the coast, was the most central for any accidental movements; hence the garrison of Dunbar now consisted only of the 94th regiment of 696 men, while that of Haddington, which was composed of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, amounted to 2000 men.

The year 1809 was memorable for a jubilee in honour of George III., who entered into the 50th year of his reign. This event was celebrated by most ranks of people in a manner worthy of the nation, by social assemblies, fire-works, and illuminations. On this occasion the town-council of Haddington with their usual loyalty, authorized the "police committee" to draw up a congratulatory address to his Majesty; and, on the 25th October, butcher meat and bread were distributed to the poor in the town and neighbourhood. The address was presented by Sir George Warrender, Bart.

In the mean time Napoleon was pursuing life's mad career of unbounded ambition; and his first campaign in Spain was attend-

ed with his usual success. From the convention of Cintra to the retreat to Corunna, the British forces, from the inactivity of the Spaniards and the apathy of the Portuguese, suffered the greatest privations and disasters. These were, however, in some measure retrieved, by the bold and honourable stand which the troops, under Sir John Moore, made at Corunna, when they successfully kept a superior number of the French at bay; and earned the advantages of a victory which they could not reap. Sir John Moore, when cheering the gallant 42nd, as the words "remember Egypt!" fell from his lips, was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, which carried away part of his shoulder: the command then devolved on our own hero, General Sir David Baird, as the next senior officer; but he had scarcely taken his post, when he was so severely wounded, as to cause the amputation of an arm. The charge of the army next fell upon Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, (afterwards fourth Earl of Hopetoun) to whose zeal and valour was attributed the success of the day, when the enemy were repulsed at every point of attack.\*

As a proof that the tide of loyalty continued unabated, on the 26th May, 1810, it was agreed by the town-council of Haddington, "that the King's birth-day should be celebrated as formerly, and that the burgesses should be regaled with wine and toddy at the cross as usual, at the town's expense."

One of those summary and useless methods of acquiring fallacious fame occurred at this time in the garrison at Haddington, when a duel was fought, and Captain Rutherford of the 25th regiment of foot was killed. A similar accident happened at Dunbar barracks, which also proved fatal to an officer of the Edinburgh militia. †

\* A monument was erected to his lordship's memory in 1824, near Haddington.—See Part III. of this volume.

† On the 20th August, 1810, a duel was fought at Haddington, attended with fatal consequences. Captain Hugh Blair Rutherford of the 25th foot, had some trifling dispute with Dr Cahill of the same regiment, respecting the reading of a paper in the newsroom of the mess-house. The meeting took place in a small-glen, on the farm of Harperdean, near the highway leading to East Garleton, sufficiently obscure for the purpose, when Captain Rutherford was shot, and mortally wounded. From the confined nature of the ground, which was a small dell, surrounded by high banks, a more murderous spot could scarcely have been selected by the seconds. Thus perished, at the premature age of twenty-four years, a gentleman who might have proved of service to his country.

In 1810, a disastrous shipwreck of two of his Majesty's frigates happened in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. On the night of the 18th December, 1810, about half-past 10 o'clock, some people on the quay of Dunbar were alarmed by the appearance of rockets to the eastward. This proceeded from the Pallas frigate, which, in company with the Nymph frigate, was returning from a cruise in the North Seas, when, mistaking the lights of some limekilns in the neighbourhood for the Isle of May, and the May for the Bell Rock, they both ran ashore to the eastward of the town. The Nymph ran so close up to the drawkiln below Skateraw, that the sailors landed by means of the masts when they went overboard. The tenantry, alarmed by the signal guns, had previously come to their assistance. The Pallas, however, was less fortunate. She had struck on a reef of rugged rocks a little to the east of Broommouth park and the Vault shore; her keel was literally torn asunder, and from the rate at which the vessels were going, which was calculated at ten knots an hour, the shock must have been dreadful. From the pitchy darkness of the night, it was impossible to render the crew any assistance, or even to ascertain their situation till the dawn of day, when they were beheld clinging to the wreck, and exposed to the breakers of a tremendous sea, while the strand was strewed with planks, beams, spars, casks, and all the machinery of a shipwreck.

A party of the Royals, then in quarters in Dunbar barracks, mounted guard over the wreck, and along with the inhabitants, who had come to the spot, gave every other necessary assistance. As soon as it was practicable, the life-boat was launched, under the direction of David Laing (shipbuilder in Dunbar,) who succeeded in landing two cargoes, of about 50 men. On taking in her third cargo, considerable confusion ensued, partly from the number of people crowding into her, by which she was overloaded, and from the difficulty of getting on board the captain, who had fallen down in a state of complete exhaustion. On observing this

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A plain monument was erected by his brother officers to his memory in Haddington church-yard.

A hostile meeting also took place between Lieutenant Scott and Lieutenant Lewis Reid of the Edinburgh militia, when quartered in Dunbar barracks, which proved fatal to Lieutenant Reid. Another dispute occurred between Lieutenant Dodds and Ensign Christison of the Berwickshire militia, when the former received his antagonist's ball in his knee.

accident, Mr Laing, unfortunately quitting the important post of steersman, rushed to his assistance, when the boat, broaching-to, upset; and being, by this accident, thrown into water too shallow for her recovering, in consequence of her projecting stems getting entangled among the rocks, from which the tide had so much ebbcd, that it was impossible she could regain her right position. Mr Laing himself made a narrow escape; he caught hold of a rope from the frigate, but a drowning man seizing it at the same instant, got his legs over Mr Laing's shoulders, and completely immersed him in the waves, from which with difficulty he extricated himself, and got on board the frigate.

Next to the exertions of Mr Laing, the conduct of the Duchess of Roxburgh was above all praise; the rooms of Broxmouth-house were prepared with mattresses and hot blankets for the reception of the half-drowned crew, as they were carried from the shore in a helpless state; and through the unremitting attention of Drs Johnson and Turnbull, the whole (with the exception of the first lieutenant of the Pallas and two sailors,) were so far recovered as to be able to leave Broxmouth in the evening. When the first lieutenant was brought on shore, he was apparently dead, and an hour and a half elapsed before he was able to move from the beach. Ten of the seamen, and a man belonging to the port, perished; amongst whom were some of the best swimmers, who, in attempting to reach the shore, were dashed against the rocks. The Nymph mounted 86 guns, and the Pallas 83. The latter was taken from the French by Lord Cochrane in Basque Roads, who mounted two of his favourite brass guns on her bow. It is somewhat singular, that a ship of this name, (probably the same vessel) belonged to the squadron of Paul Jones, when he was off Dunbar. The Pallas was such a complete wreck, that she was sold in lots on the spot; but the Nymph, being in a better condition, was purchased by a shipbuilder from Sunderland, who not only built a ship and loaded a brig from her remains, but got more from government for the old copper, at a fair price, than he had paid for the whole lot! A small vessel, called the "Lovely Ann of Aberdeen," came ashore shortly after, and lay stranded between these vessels, upon which, in allusion to the Pallas, it was wittily observed, that the goddess of Wisdom had led the two ladies astray.\*

\* History of Dunbar.

On the 6th February of the same year, the Prince Regent, owing to the melancholy state of his Majesty's health, assumed the reins of the executive government, which he carried on with the same ministry that had been appointed by his father, the king.

On the 7th October 1813, Lord Wellington entered France with his victorious army. He crossed the Adour, and attacked Marshal Soult at Orthes, where a desperate conflict took place: but the enemy being at length compelled to retreat, Sir John Hope laid siege to Bayonne. The people in the south of France received the British as friends and deliverers from a yoke thrown over them by a soldier of fortune, which they were ready to cast off on the first opportunity. The Earl of Dalhousie was despatched with 5000 men to Bourdeaux, when the citizens immediately declared for the Bourbons, upon which deputies were sent to Louis XVIII., and the British invited to enter the town. The close of the campaign in the south of France was marked by one unfortunate event. In a sortie which the French made from Bayonne, about three in the morning, the picquets of the British were driven in, and General Sir John Hope was made prisoner.

In the mean time the allied army entered Paris with the Emperor of Russia at their head; and on the 1st April, 1814, Napoleon was deposed, and Louis XVIII. chosen sovereign in his stead. The conditions of peace gave great satisfaction to the country; and a day of general thanksgiving was appointed. On the 6th July, the town-council of Haddington voted a congratulatory address to the Prince Regent on this happy event; and at the same time entreated him to use his exertions at the approaching congress of the continental sovereigns, to obtain a total abolition of the slave trade.

The Earl of Dalhousie remained detached at Bourdeaux till the general peace was concluded; and superintended the return of the British army, which he brought home in 1814. Such proceedings could not pass unnoticed by a burgh with which his lordship was in some degree connected. Accordingly, on the 11th August, the town-council of Haddington resolved that the freedom of the burgh should be conferred on the Earl of Dalhousie, on his return to his native country, as a mark of respect for his character, and the sense entertained by them of his distinguished

public services; and that a dinner should also be given to his lordship on the occasion.\* Mr John Martine was then provost.

The voluntary abdication of Napoleon followed these successes. Marshal Marmont, previous to surrendering Paris, had stipulated for the personal safety of the ex-emperor, and, as a mockery of his former greatness, the sovereignty of the petty island of Elba was awarded to him, with a garrison of 400 men, and an annual revenue of two millions of francs. He was conveyed thither by British ships, under the surveillance of Colonel Sir Neil Campbell. Europe awoke as from a dream; and, in the energetic language of Byron, "wondered that she had been the footstool of a thing so mean." The revolution in the affairs of this astonishing individual, had a strange effect over the country. The destinies of mankind seemed to hang on his successes or his defeat. It was now ordained that the barracks, which had arisen with as much celerity as if the magic wand of Aladin had been employed in their erection, should be as speedily removed; and, accordingly, on the 7th October, 1814, the magistrates of Had-

\* George, ninth Earl of Dalhousie was born 22nd October, 1770, and succeeded his father in 1787. The same year he entered the army as cornet in the 3d Dragoon Guards. In 1700 he raised an independent company of foot, and, in 1791, he joined the Royals as captain at Gibraltar. In 1792 he obtained the majority of the Queen's regiment, which he accompanied as lieutenant-colonel in the expedition to the West Indies. He commanded this distinguished corps in the attack on Martinique in 1796, where he was severely wounded,—through the expedition to the Helder,—before Belleisle,—and at the memorable battle of Aboukir in Egypt in 1801. His lordship was appointed brigadier-general in 1803. At the time of the threatened invasion, he held a command in Scotland; and, afterwards, as major-general, was placed on the staff in England. He proceeded to Holland with the expedition to the Scheldt in 1809, and held a command at Flushing. In 1812 he joined the army under the Duke of Wellington in Spain, and commanded the 7th division at the battle of Vittoria, and during the actions in the Pyrenæes.

In 1816, the Earl of Dalhousie proceeded as lieutenant-general to Nova Scotia, whence, in 1820, he went to Quebec as governor-general of North America, and, in 1829, he went as commander-in-chief to India; but having suffered severely from the effects of the climate and his former wounds, he returned to England in 1832. His lordship was fifty years in the army, and, like Sir David Baird, was all his life a soldier. He died at Dalhousie castle, on the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, March 21st, 1838, in the 68th year of his age.

His lordship married on the 14th May 1806, Christian, only child and heiress of Charles Brown, Esq. of Coalston, descended from one of the most ancient families of East Lothian, having flourished there since the reign of Alexander II. Her ladyship died in 1839. James Andrew, Earl of Dalhousie, who was born in 1812, succeeded his father. He married, in 1836, Lady Susan Georgiana, daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale. His lordship represented the county of East Lothian in parliament, in 1838. On his lordship being called to the house of peers, he was succeeded in the representation of the county by Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton, Baronet.



dington were authorized, on the approaching sale of the barrack materials, "to buy the fire-engine belonging to government; as also to make some arrangements with Mr Robert Vetch for purchasing the powder magazine, and getting a lease of it from him." On the 11th November, Provost Thomas Pringle stated to the town-council, "that at the late sale of barrack materials, he had purchased the powder magazine for L.9, 9s.; but as the proprietors would not permit it to remain on their ground, it was proposed to remove it to the West-mill Haugh.\* Thus, after the brief space of eleven years, the barracks, both at Haddington and Dunbar, were disposed of by public auction, and as totally removed by the month of November as if they had never existed.†

\* The powder-magazine now stands in that nursery next to the Pencnaitland road. A specimen of one of the barrack huts may be seen at Roschall old toll-bar.

† A memorial, of which the following is an abstract, was drawn up by Mr Ronghead, with a view of retaining the cavalry barracks at Haddington, which however did not meet with the approval of government.

"Haddington has immemorially been a cavalry quarter, and it is understood to be the first station in Scotland where forage is procured of a superior quality, and at the lowest prices. It has been often observed that his Majesty's horses quartered there, were in better condition than those at the other stations.

"From its pleasant healthy situation, and other favourable circumstances, it was the intention of government to build cavalry barracks at Haddington, at the time they were erected at Piershill, Hamilton, and Perth; and an architect was sent to Haddington to look at the ground proposed for that purpose, which being found too small, the idea was given up until the year 1803.

"These barracks from the time they were finished, till the 23rd September, 1814, had been constantly occupied, frequently to their full construction,—had been repeatedly the head quarters of the cavalry stationed in Scotland,—and were then possessed by three troops of the 2nd or Queen's Dragoon Guards.

"The rent paid by government for the ground was L.33, 7s. 7d. per annum; and it was considered, in the event of the barracks being taken down, that it would, in the opinion of judges, cost six or seven hundred pounds before it could be made fit for the purposes of agriculture, as the ground had been rendered perfectly useless by the soil being carried off its numerous foundations and roads, and its extensive parade, which was covered with eight inches of road metal, and three inches of gravel on the top, whereas, when it was delivered up to the barrack department, the land was in a high state of cultivation.

"From the particular attention paid to agriculture in the neighbourhood of Haddington, stable-dung brought a higher price at that time than at any other quarter in North Britain; and though then reduced upon the peace establishment, the dung from the horses in the barracks, sold at the rate of L.14, 13s. a-week, or L.563, 16s. per year."

## CHAPTER XXI.

"Come, Haddington, the kind and gay,  
 You've graced my causeway mony a day;  
 I'll weep the cause if you should stay,—  
 Carle, now the King's come!

"Come, Tweeddale, true as sword to sheath;  
 Come, Hopetoun, fear'd on fields of death;  
 Come, Clerk, and give your bugle breath:  
 Carle, now the King's come!

"Come, Wemyss, who modest merit aids;  
 Come, Roseberry, from Dalmeny shades;  
 Breadalbane, bring your belted plaids;  
 Carle, now the King's come!

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

FIELD OF WATERLOO.—THE RADICALS.—THE EAST LOTHIAN  
 YEOMANRY CALLED INTO SERVICE—RECEIVE THE THANKS  
 OF THE COUNTY AND CITY OF EDINBURGH.—GEORGE IV.'S  
 VISIT TO SCOTLAND.—THE MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE.—  
 THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.

A FEW months had only elapsed, when Napoleon, to the astonishment of Europe and the dismay of Louis, suddenly left Elba, and landed at Frejus. He was immediately joined by Ney, and most of his old marshals and officers; and, as none opposed his progress, his return looked rather like a triumph than an invasion. He soon found, however, that his power had been irremediably shaken; and although he led a numerous army into the field, his raw levies, crippled as France had been by his former conscriptions, could not stand against the veterans of Prussia and Britain. In the mean time, the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher had marched towards the frontiers of France, and encountered Napoleon on the Belgian territory. After defeating the Prussians on the Sambre and at Ligny, he was opposed by the British on the field of Waterloo; and here the two greatest captains of the age were at last brought into personal conflict together. The re-

sult was that a complete victory was gained by the British, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to detail as they are familiar to our youth as household words: suffice it to say, that 40,000 of the French were killed, three hundred pieces of cannon taken, and 40,000 prisoners, while the Prussians lost 16,000 and the British 13,000 men. One feeling of commiseration and applause ran throughout the country,—commiseration for the families of the brave men who had fallen, and applause for their heroic courage. Taking this matter into consideration, on the 27th July, 1815, the town-council of Haddington subscribed ten guineas in aid of funds raised for the relief of the widows and children of the British who fell at the battle of Waterloo.\*

The sudden transition from the feverish state of war to a profound peace, left Britain in a similar state to the valorous man, who having nearly exhausted the last drop of his blood in defence of his property, or expended his last farthing in a vain speculation, feels after the struggle a heart-depressing weakness, while he is surrounded by a clamorous family. This depression was soon felt throughout the country, and pressed severely upon our agriculturists and manufacturers. The foreign powers, whom we had saved by our arms, and supported by our subsidies, could now turn their spears into the pruning hook, and erect warehouses for themselves; and England found her markets glutted with goods for which there was no demand. The consequence was that the un-english system of stack-burning and frame-breaking commenced, and the ignorant classes took vengeance on their employers, who were suffering as well as themselves. The mechanic, who during the war had been earning enormous wages, never thought of providing for the day of adversity, and could not now brook to sit down in his lonely home surrounded by his

\* Captain William Frederick Browne, formerly of the Enniskillen Dragoons, distinguished himself greatly by his gallant conduct at the battle of Waterloo. He continued to charge the enemy at the head of the troop which he commanded after having received several wounds; nor did he quit his post on that glorious day till late in the afternoon, when his horse was shot under him, and, exhausted by loss of blood, he was laid prostrate on the ground. In this defenceless state a body of French lancers rode over him, inflicting, as they passed, additional wounds, and left him apparently lifeless on the field. Captain Browne's health was so much impaired by the injuries he sustained at Waterloo, that he soon afterwards was compelled to quit the army, and resided principally at North Berwick. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of the late Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet. He died at North Berwick, on the 10th March, 1842.

weeping wife and famished family. He preferred rather to join the political crew in the market-place, where some jaundiced demagogue fed him with seditious speeches; ascribing all their present miseries, not to the acts of former statesmen, but to their present rulers. In this country when any grievance starts up, the public voice is commonly raised against the leader of the dominant party; but now it fell with unmitigated severity on the Prince Regent. Government, sensible of the embarrassment of the people, and of the disaffection which prevailed throughout the kingdom, met on the 28th January, 1817, to adopt measures for granting relief, when, as the Prince Regent was returning from parliament, he was not only most grossly insulted by the mob, but a stone or ball from an air-gun, perforated the glass of his state carriage, and endangered his life. This daring attempt to assassinate the representative of majesty, excited alarm in the ministry, and called forth expressions of loyalty in the country. In accordance with which, on the 8th February, a congratulatory address was voted by the town-council of Haddington to the Prince Regent, on his late narrow escape from the daring outrage offered him on his return from the opening of parliament. Mr John Martine was then provost.

This political ferment which distracted the country, was in some measure allayed by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, whereby the seditious were prevented from holding their lawless meetings, after a few unhappy men, who were found guilty of conspiracy, were executed.

On the close of 1817, the people of Great Britain were called upon to deplore heavier calamities which befel the royal family; for, on the 13th December, it was the painful duty of the town-council of Haddington to vote addresses of condolence to the Prince Regent and Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, on the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, only daughter of the former, and to whom the latter had been married on the 2nd of May, 1816. On the death of so young and so amiable a princess, public respect and sympathy were shewn to a considerable degree by a general mourning. The following year, December 8th, 1818, the town-council of Haddington had also to vote addresses of condolence to the Prince Regent on the death of Queen Charlotte, his royal mother.

A faction had arisen in the country, who, under the specious name of radical reform, sought to sweep away at one fell swoop every vested right, and to root up every ancient establishment. There may be "something rotten in the state of Denmark;" but it requires cautious hands to remove the leaky planks of the national vessel, and a skilful carpenter to supply timber of a better quality. The plausible doctrine of universal suffrage was also widely circulated. A doctrine than which nothing can be more absurd; for as long as talent and industry continue to tread on the heels of imbecility and sloth, so long will distinctions in society necessarily exist.

In August 1819, a tumultuous meeting at Manchester, headed by the orator Hunt, had been dispersed by the yeomanry, which led government to adopt energetic measures to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful and bloody scenes as then followed, by passing acts against the people training and arming themselves for insurrectionary purposes. The town-council of Haddington watching the progress of such events, met on the 28th October, and voted "an address to the Prince Regent on the disaffected state of the country, accompanied with assurances of their duty and loyalty, amidst the frantic clamours of faction, under the specious pretext of reform," which was transmitted to Lord Sidmouth. Mr Thomas Pringle was then provost.

The month of January, 1820, was remarkable for the death of the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria; and of George III., at Windsor, in the 82nd year of his age and 60th of his reign, having swayed the sceptre of Britain for a longer period than any other monarch.

Treasonous practices still continued in England. A desperate party headed by Arthur Thistlewood, had formed the design of assassinating the members of the privy-council, who were to meet at the house of Lord Harrowby, which was happily frustrated; and Thistlewood and four of his companions tried and executed. Commotions followed, particularly about Huddersfield, where the insurgents were dispersed by the dragoons and the yeomanry. In Scotland the flame of sedition had spread to such an extent that the manufacturing classes in Glasgow and Paisley held regular drillings, and had the audacity to issue proclamations enjoining labourers of all descriptions to desist from

work, and join their standard. Government in consequence of these proceedings, issued orders that the yeomanry of the neighbouring counties should assemble at Glasgow; and in a few days 5000 troops were collected in that city. Overawed by this imposing force, the insurgents retired to their dark recesses, and durst not openly assemble in the streets; but an armed party of them proceeded to Bonnymuir, near Kilsyth, in the expectation of being joined by numbers of their associates. A troop of hussars, however, under Lieutenant Hodgson, was sufficient to rout these deluded men, of whom nineteen were taken prisoners. Three of them were executed, and the rest pleading guilty were transported.

The zeal and energy of the yeomanry cavalry, and the celerity with which they came into the field, was a great means of overawing the insurgents, and effectually quelling these disturbances, which immediately ceased. During these commotions the East Lothian yeomanry, under Sir James Gardiner Baird, having been ordered to Edinburgh, while the Berwickshire came to Haddington, the thanks of the city were conveyed to the former in the following letter, addressed by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to the Earl of Haddington:

*To the right honourable the EARL OF HADDINGTON, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of East Lothian, &c.*

Edinburgh, December 18th, 1819.

MY LORD,—I beg leave to return your lordship the thanks of the magistracy of this city, for the readiness with which your lordship complied with the request made to you, to move up the corps of yeomanry of East Lothian, for the defence of Edinburgh; and to the corps themselves for the zeal and alacrity with which they turned out on the occasion.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

JOHN MANDERSTON, Lord Provost.

*To the right honourable the LORD PROVOST of Edinburgh.*

Tynningham, 20th December, 1819.

MY LORD,—I am this instant honoured by your lordship's letter of the 18th, conveying to me the thanks of the magistracy of Edinburgh, for moving the corps of East Lothian yeomanry for the defence of that city, and also to the officers and privates of the regiment, for their zeal and alacrity on that occasion.

I am extremely gratified to have obtained the approbation of the magistracy of my native city, as it proves to me that I have not been deficient in my duty, however small. To the corps of yeomanry I shall convey your thanks; and

allow me to say, that the alacrity with which they repaired to Haddington, and the celerity of their movements, richly deserve this great mark of your approbation. They were all present, and considering the time allowed, and the distance from which many of them came, it yet seems to me almost incredible.—Excuse me making this eulogium. It is entirely due to their own merit, and the attention and care of their commanding-officer and the other officers of the corps. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

HADDINGTON, Lieutenant.

The thanks of the county of Edinburgh having also been transmitted to the East Lothian yeomanry cavalry, through the Earl of Haddington, the following acknowledgment was transmitted by his lordship:

*To the most noble the MARQUIS OF LoTHIAN, &c. &c.*

Tynningham, March 4th, 1820.

MY LORD,—I am this instant honoured by your lordship's letter, conveying to me the very flattering thanks of the county of Edinburgh to the yeomanry of East Lothian, for their promptitude and zeal on a late occasion.

I shall, with much pleasure, communicate to the regiment this high mark of approbation of the gentlemen of Mid-Lothian; and I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

HADDINGTON, Lieutenant, county of Haddington.\*

The Scots, like the Spaniards, are a grave and a proud nation, fond of decorum, dress, and exterior shew; "jealous of honour, and in reputation strong," hence many a time has the pensive eye rested on the towers of Holyrood, when musing that "a stranger filled the Stuart's throne," and that the regal glory of Scotland had departed. The last royal personage who had visited Scotland was Charles II. in 1650, with the exception of the unfortunate Prince Charles Edward in 1745. It is, therefore, impossible to describe the satisfaction that pervaded the "Land of Cakes," when Lord Melville communicated in a letter to the Lord

\* Charles, eight Earl of Haddington, was captain of the grenadier company of the Duke of Buccleuch's fencible regiment in 1778. He succeeded his father in 1794; and was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Haddington in 1804, which high office he filled till his death in 1823. His lordship was chosen one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage at the general election in 1807. He was distinguished for his public spirit, accompanied by that urbanity of manners, which enabled him to execute the duties of the various offices which he filled in the county with satisfaction to all. His lordship married, in 1779, Lady Sophia Hope, third daughter of John, second Earl of Hopetoun: a lady eminent for her private virtues and extensive charities.

Provost of Edinburgh, the intention of his Majesty, George IV. to pay a visit to the ancient residence of his ancestors. His Majesty embarked at Greenwich, for Scotland, on the 10th August, 1822. The royal squadron appeared off St Abb's Head about nine o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 14th. On passing the shores of Dunbar, a salute was fired from the battery, and from some pieces of cannon placed on Doonhill by Mr Hay of Spott, where a bonfire was lighted in the evening. Several persons went off in boats, and had an opportunity of seeing the King, who bowed with his usual affability to the spectators. The squadron arrived in Leith Roads in the afternoon. We shall never forget the excitation of the moment, or the spectacle which the Forth presented (which we had the good fortune to witness from an elevated window of the telegraph coffee-room,) when the "adamantine lips" of every ship was tipped with fire, and Leith poured her heaviest ordnance in a royal salute, which reverberated from Salisbury crags to the farthest nook of Fife. From the bad state of the weather (for the rain fell in torrents) the King deferred landing that evening. Sir Walter Scott, who was among the first to strike his minstrel lyre to "*Carle, now the King's come!*" with several distinguished persons, went on board the royal yacht, and welcomed his Majesty to his Scottish dominions with his usual ingeniousness.\* Exactly at noon, a gun from the royal yacht announced that the King had embarked, and soon after the barge entered the harbour amidst the thunder of artillery, and the enthusiastic cheering of an immense multitude. At the landing place, which was a platform covered with scarlet cloth, his Majesty was received by the Duke of Dorset, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Cathcart, the Earl of Fife, Sir William Elliot, Sir Thomas Bradford (commander of the forces,) the judges of the supreme courts, and the magistrates of Leith, all of whom he shook cordially by the hand. His Majesty then proceeded to his carriage, which was open at the top, and being seated with the Duke of Dorset and Marquis of Winchester, it

\* The song by Sir Walter Scott, first appeared, we believe, in the "London Courier." Some verses of a song, "Come list the pibroch's martial strain," or "George IV.'s Welcome," by the author of the present volume, appeared at the same time in the Edinburgh papers, and was copied from them into the Leith "Royal Minstrelsy." This song, in an enlarged form, was printed in Oliver and Boyd's "Historical Account of the King's visit," and was afterwards published along with the author's poem of "St Baldred," &c.



drove off at a slow pace, guarded by the company of Royal Archers, under the command of the Earl of Elgin, and a detachment of the Scots Greys. The head of the cavalcade reached the barriers of Edinburgh about one o'clock, when the lord-provost, accompanied by the magistrates, presented his Majesty with the silver keys of the city, which he immediately returned with a short and courteous speech. The procession proceeded by York Place and St Andrews Square to Prince's Street, when turning eastward it moved by the Regent Bridge to Holyrood House. It was our good luck, after leaving the pier of Leith, again to witness this splendid pageant from the Calton Hill, which was literally paved with human beings, surrounded by all the romantic and architectural grandeur of "Scotia's darling seat;" and proud were we of the same feelings which animated his Majesty when he exclaimed, amidst the cheering of his subjects, and the clouds of waving hats and handkerchiefs, "How superb!" After receiving the congratulations of the authorities, the King went in his private carriage to Dalkeith House, where he resided during his visit. Fireworks were exhibited in the evening in the city, while beacons blazed on the summit of Arthur's seat, Traprene-law, Lammerlaw, Doonhill, Garleton, and every mountainous point of East Lothian; and on the following evening there was a general illumination \*

On the 17th his Majesty held a levee at the palace of Holyrood House, which was numerous and splendidly attended. On this occasion a congratulatory address on his visiting Scotland, was voted by the town-council of Haddington on the 7th. Mr Peter Dods was then provost.

On Monday the 19th, the Berwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry went into quarters at Musselburgh; and next day the East Lothian Yeomanry assembled at Haddington. Both regiments, with about 3000 cavalry, chiefly yeomanry, were reviewed by his Majesty on Portobello sands, on Friday the 23d August.

\* "From hill to hill the tidings fly,  
Proud Arthur's crest is blazing high,  
Traprene glowers up, and lights the sky,  
To welcome royal Geordie.

"Dunedin's streets are in a blaze,  
As when great Nelson ruled the seas:  
Is Wellington upon the breeze?—

O no! it's royal Geordie!"—*Author's Song.*

On the 29th his Majesty, after partaking of a splendid déjeune prepared for him by the Earl of Hopetoun at Hopetoun House, embarked on board the royal yacht at Port Edgar, near Queensferry, amidst the cheers and adieus of spectators assembled from all parts of the adjacent country. His departure was announced to our eastern shores by some guns placed on the Bass, about seven o'clock in the evening.\* A bonfire was immediately lighted at Dunbar pier-head, and a salute fired from the battery, which was replied to by the guns placed on Doonhill; but the wetness and darkness of the night precluded any view of the squadron, save the glimpse of a solitary light at one of their mast heads.

To commemorate this event, on the 22nd November, the town-council of Haddington subscribed L.10, 10s. to the fund for erecting an equestrian statue to his Majesty in memory of his late visit to Scotland. This statue, by Sir Francis Chantrey, (which is pedestrian,) was erected where Hanover Street crosses George's Street, Edinburgh.

On the 19th February, 1824, the town-council of Haddington contributed L.10, 10s. towards the fund raised for the relief of the Spanish refugees in this country.

On the 25th January, 1827, the town-council of Haddington voted an address of condolence to the King, on the death of his royal brother, Frederick, Duke of York.

On the 26th February, the town-council of Haddington conferred the freedom of the burgh on the right honourable Francis, Lord Elcho, with a vote of thanks for the eminent services he had rendered the town on various occasions.

The same year, three troops of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry were disembodied; viz. the Salton, Seton, and Gifford; but the officers were allowed to retain their commissions. The Dunbar troop, under James Hunter, Esq. of Thurston, continued to serve without pay.

The demise of George IV. took place at Windsor, on the 26th June, 1830. On the 2nd of July the town-council of Haddington took the oath of allegiance to William IV. on his accession to the throne; and voted an address of congratulation on the event.

\* The guns placed on the Bass rock, were under the direction of the late John Martin, vintner in North Berwick, who had served in the royal navy, and who accompanied Captain Sir Edward Parry in his voyages to the arctic regions.

On the 20th June, 1837, the town-council of Haddington voted an address to her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on her accession to the throne; and, on the 28th June, 1838, the coronation of her Majesty was celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout the county.

Actuated by the spirit that had emanated from the metropolis of the British empire, it was the wish of the city of Edinburgh that Scotland should erect some national monument to record the splendid military achievements of Field Marshal his grace the Duke of Wellington, during a life exclusively devoted to the service of his country in various quarters of the globe. In aid of this great object, on the 16th January, 1840, a large meeting of the nobility, landed proprietors, and tenantry, of the county of East Lothian, was held in the assembly-room, Haddington, where men of every shade of political party mingled in unison to carry the object of this lasting testimonial of a country's gratitude into effect. Up to the close of the year, the munificent sum of L.1158, 8s. 6d. had been subscribed; a considerable portion of which was contributed by the ladies of East Lothian.

In the beginning of 1840, an event occurred, which excited considerable interest throughout the united kingdom. On the 10th February her Majesty, Queen (Alexandrina) Victoria, was married to Francis-Albert-Augustus-Charles-Emanuel, Duke of Saxe, Prince Coburg and Gotha, which was celebrated with great rejoicings in Haddington and throughout the county. On this joyous occasion the burgh shewed its ancient liberality in a propine to the burghesses. This happy event was further augmented on the 21st November, 1840, by the birth of the Princess Royal of England, which was also celebrated with the greatest demonstrations of loyalty.

On the 1st September, 1841, the right honourable Thomas, Earl of Haddington, was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty, on the formation of the new cabinet, submitted to her Majesty by Sir Robert Peel, Baronet.\*

On the 11th November, 1841, great rejoicings took place in the county on the birth of his royal highness Albert-Edward Prince of Wales. At Haddington, on the arrival of the news, the

\* During the administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1834, his lordship was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

bells rung a loud, long, and merry peal; and, in the afternoon, the magistrates and inhabitants met in the assembly-room, from whence they walked in procession to the cross, where, after pledging some glasses of wine to the health of her Majesty and the infant heir to the throne, they returned to the place of meeting, and spent the evening with that joy and hilarity which such an uncommon and happy occurrence was calculated to inspire.

The county had next to perform a pleasant duty in shewing a public mark of respect to a nobleman, who had filled the office of lord-lieutenant for twenty years, and had patronized all the societies of any importance belonging to East Lothian. The Marquis of Tweeddale having been appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the presidency of Madras in the East Indies, the members and friends of the East Lothian Agricultural Society entertained his lordship at a public dinner in the assembly-room, Haddington, on the 20th May 1842. Upwards of 150 gentlemen were present: the chair was ably filled by Lord Elcho, with his noble guest on the right; supported by the honourable Captain Keith of Monkrig, Sir Charles Dalrymple Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bart.; Sir Charles Gordon of Drimnin, secretary to the Highland Society; Mr Trotter of Mortonhall, Mr Wauchope of Edmonstone, Mr David Milne, younger of Milne-Graden; Captain Hay of Belton, Mr Cadell of Tranent, Colonel Cadell, Mr Aitchison of Alderston, the Rev. Dr Cook, Mr Riddell, sheriff-substitute; Bailie Pringle, and the principal tenantry of the county, &c. Mr William Aitchison of Drummorie, officiated as croupier.

Mr David Milne, Mr Trotter, Mr Claud Russell, Mr Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Mr Scott of Craigmory, directors, attended the dinner as a deputation from the Highland Society, of which the Marquis of Tweeddale had long been one of the most active vice-presidents.

The feelings of the meeting towards their noble guest cannot be better expressed than in the words of the chairman :

“ I feel a deep consciousness of my own incapacity (observed Lord Elcho,) to convey the sentiments which every one of you entertain for our noble guest, and to express the great regret which we all experience at the loss we shall sustain by his departure from among us. But happily these feelings are counteracted by others of pleasure and satisfaction, when we consider that he is about to remove to that country where the hero of

the age commenced his glorious career, and displayed those signal military talents that were afterwards developed in the Peninsular war, where the Marquis of Tweeddale had the good fortune to attract the attention of that illustrious commander, who repeatedly placed him in offices of trust and responsibility, and by his heroism gained that distinguished commander's good opinion, which, on a recent occasion, he took a public and memorable opportunity of expressing.\* The country has not been unmindful of the noble Marquis's services, but, placing the utmost confidence in his abilities, she has conferred upon him one of the highest honours in her gift, by conferring upon him a double appointment, where, by his sound judgment and energy, in unison with those combined with him, I trust the dark cloud which now hovers over our possessions in the East will speedily be dispelled, and the sun of British glory will again shine out in bright and unclouded lustre."†

This just exordium of the noble chairman was received with the loudest expressions of applause, to which the Marquis of Tweeddale replied in the following energetic terms :

"When I call to recollection the cause which has induced the East Lothian Agricultural Society to pay me this mark of respect, by inviting me to this meeting in a manner so agreeable to my feelings, previous to my leaving my native country to occupy the high and important situation which has been alluded to by my noble friend,—when I reflect upon the kind terms in which my noble friend has introduced my health to this meeting, and the way in which your acclamations have received the toast, one

\* George eighth Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T. C. B. was aid-de-camp to Viscount Wellington at the battle of Busaco, on the 27th September, 1810, where he was wounded. His lordship was born in 1787. He succeeded his father in 1804, and entered the army the same year. He was promoted to a majority in the 41st or Welch regiment of foot, in May 1819; colonel in the army, and aid-de-camp to the king, in 1832; and held the rank of major-general in 1837. In 1816, his lordship married Lady Susan Montagu, daughter of the Duke of Manchester. On the 18th April 1839, Lady Elizabeth Hay, fourth daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, was married to Arthur Marquis of Douro, eldest son of the Duke of Wellington. This joyful event was celebrated at Gifford, by the tenantry, farmers, and villagers, with a festival, ball, and illumination.

George seventh Marquis of Tweeddale, his lordship's father, was appointed lieutenant of the county of Haddington in 1802. He married, in 1786, Lady Hannah Charlotte Maitland, daughter of James seventh Earl of Lauderdale. His lordship, accompanied by the Marchioness, went abroad in 1802, on account of the state of his health, and unfortunately happened to be in France at the commencement of hostilities in 1803, when the British were detained by Bonaparte. The Marchioness died at Verdun, on the 8th May 1804, and the Marquis in the August following, in his 51st year. Their remains were deposited in the glaciis of the citadel of that city, from whence they were removed and brought to Scotland in 1806, and buried at Yester.

† His lordship alluded to the disastrous affair at Cabul, which was afterwards retrieved by the successes of General Sale and Sir Charles Napier.

would naturally suppose that the first question I would put to myself is, Why are you induced to leave the society of your kind friends? How can you make up your mind to leave the comforts of home? How can you deprive yourself of those pursuits which you enjoy so much, and in which, from what has been said, it would appear with such advantage to those whom I have the honour to address? The answer to these questions was taught me in early life. I then said to myself, Go and serve your country while you have youth on your side—while you have strength of mind and vigour of constitution. . . . This going to India was no seeking of mine: I was commanded by my sovereign. I was asked by the East India company, in these times of difficulty, to serve them in a civil capacity, and also in a military capacity; and sorry would I be to think that any one bearing my name, when such a call was made upon him, would refuse the last drop of his blood in the service of his native country. My noble friend has alluded to the compliment paid me on a late occasion, as well as to my services under that great man whose career commenced in India. I, as a humble imitator, go to follow in his steps; and I feel that it is the greatest advantage which could have been conferred upon me that the people of the country over whom I am to preside should be made aware that in leaving my own, I possess the confidence, and carry with me the respect and esteem of those with whom I have been in the habit of living. . . . And I trust there is not a man in this country from the one end of it to the other, who will be so far led astray as to believe that in supporting the cause of her Majesty in India, he is supporting any other than the great cause of civil and religious liberty, as well as the civilisation and improvement of the millions that inhabit that interesting country."

Early in the summer of 1842, the intelligence of the Queen's intention to visit her Scottish dominions was received with the greatest satisfaction; and as no event since the days of George IV. had been contemplated with greater interest by the nation, while the just popularity of her Majesty gave a double zest to the anticipated pleasure, every effort was made to welcome her with the pomp and splendour due to her exalted station. As the time approached crowds of people from all parts of the country, and equipages of every description, from the blazoned carriage to the humble cabriolet, poured daily into the metropolis, where all was bustle, preparation, and anxiety, to witness the novel spectacle of a Queen in Caledonia. Inspired with the enthusiasm that animated all classes, the author of the present volume wrote the following verses:

“TEN THOUSAND VOICES ON THE BREEZE!”

A Song,

ON THE ROYAL VISIT TO SCOTLAND.

INSCRIBED TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERY, K.G.

TEN thousand voices on the breeze  
 Proclaim the Queen is coming,  
 With gallant warriors in her train,  
 And beauteous smiling women.  
 From Dee to Don—from Tay to Tweed,  
 Loud shoutings rend the welkin,  
 While Britain's Queen receives the meed  
 Of a right highland welcome.

CHORUS.

*For, O, she's fair beyond compare,  
 To Freedom true, and a' that ;  
 Her queenly smiles each heart beguiles  
 To guard her throne and a' that.*

Since good King James his progress made,  
 To rule the British nation,  
 This land has ne'er such zeal display'd  
 In every rank and station ;  
 No longer words, and hostile swords,  
 Our parties are dividing,  
 But north and south, from mouth to mouth,  
 Proclaim the happy tiding.

When proud Queen Bess, so fond of dress,  
 Led forth her court so gaudy,  
 Around her throne those chieftains shone,  
 Who beat the fierce Armada :  
 In latter days we've won the bays,  
 That grace our fair Victoria,  
 And Wellington, a host alone,  
 Has crown'd her line with glory.

O'er the dark caverns of Dunbar  
 The royal standard's streaming,  
 Where echoing to the notes of war,  
 The sea-bird's wildly screaming :  
 While, bursting on the raptur'd sight,  
 The yachts and barges looming,  
 Bid the old burgh blaze in light,  
 To tell the Queen is coming !

From Arthur's crest to far Cantire,  
 Where bagpipe's blithe are bumming,  
 A thousand mountains tipt with fire,  
 Tell that the Queen is coming !  
 One heart—one soul—propels the whole,  
 With loyal, true, devotion, -  
 They bless the gale which wafts the sail  
 Of her who rules the ocean.

She brings the consort of her choice,  
 To be our Prince and a' that ;  
 And Albert's name, our bards of fame,  
 O'er a' the land will blaw that.  
 When sterling worth and rank combine  
 To raise the royal station,  
 We hail the sovereign gifts divine,  
 As blessings to the nation.

Old Holyrood's green solitudes,  
 Again beat high with pleasure ;  
 And noble Scott\* may bless his lot,  
 Who holds the royal treasure.  
 Great Haddington† and Hamilton,‡  
 In honour's paths so zealous,  
 Assume the rein, to please the Queen,  
 In royal park and palace.

\* The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G.

† The Earl of Haddington, first Lord of the Admiralty, to whom the King's Park belonged by right of free forestry.

‡ The Duke of Hamilton, hereditary keeper of Holyrood palace.



Edina's crowded walks display  
 Fair Scotland's rank and beauty ;  
 Dalhousie's\* archers, bold and gay,  
 With Roxburgh† do their duty ;  
 Great Lauderdale‡ the standard wield,  
 While Elcho§ with his bowmen,  
 And Eglinton,|| in tourney fields,  
 Will beat each traitor foeman.

Within those awe-inspiring halls,  
 Where dwelt the Bruce and Stuart ;  
 Where armour glitters on the walls,  
 That never graced a coward :  
 Old Scone resumes her regal smile,  
 With more than Gothic splendour,  
 And hails the Queen of Britain's isle,  
 In all her moral grandeur.

Breadalbane's¶ plaided ranks appear,  
 Where lovely Tay's meand'ring,  
 His princely lawns are wild with cheer,  
 Where happy groups are wandering.  
 Great Erroll\*\* shews his mace of state,  
 Approved in peace or danger,  
 And Staines's turrets gleam elate,  
 To hail the royal stranger.

Now Drummond's castled towers and shades,  
 In autumn's pride are blooming,  
 Where tartan clans and lovely maids,  
 Trip to the bagpipe's booming :  
 Lord Willoughby†† stands at his gate,  
 With all his lusty yeomen,

\* The Earl of Dalhousie, brigadier-general of the Royal Archers.

† The Duke of Roxburgh, brigadier-general of the Royal Archers.

‡ The Earl of Lauderdale, hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland.

§ Lord Elcho, major-general of the Royal Archers.

|| The Earl of Eglinton and Winton.

¶ The Marquis of Breadalbane.

\*\* The Earl of Erroll, hereditary grand constable and knight marischal of Scotland.

†† Lord Willoughby De Eresby, joint hereditary great chamberlain of England.

While cannon roar a loud salute,  
To tell the Queen is coming!

Benvorlich's cavern'd echoes ring,  
The deer starts from his grazing ;  
The eagle soars on lofty wing,  
Where glitt'ring tubes are blazing.  
No solitary hunter's horn  
Among the hills is bumming ;  
But lord and duke, in every neuk,  
Proclaim the Queen is coming !

On Stirling high, the banners fly,  
O'er silvery Forth far swelling,  
Where Douglas wight display'd his might,  
Even Snowdon's knight excelling.  
Old Bannockburn heaves up her urn,  
Immortal ranks are forming,  
Of godlike mein, to hail the Queen,  
Their ancient haunts adorning.

Linlithgow's palace looks as gay  
As when the royal blossom,  
Those matchless charms did bright display,  
Which rack'd Elizabeth's bosom :  
How blest had been her hapless lot,  
How blest the Scottish nation,  
Had Mary ruled the wayward state,  
With our young Queen's discretion.

There's pleasure in the fields of fame,  
There's pleasure on the ocean ;  
There's pleasure in a virtuous dame,  
There's joy in pure promotion ;  
" But all the pleasures mortals know,  
Are three times doubled fairly,"  
While Scotland hails, with smiling brow,  
The sovereign she lo'es dearly.

On the 31st August 1842, so early as five o'clock in the morning, the burgh of Dunbar announced the commencement of their demonstrations to welcome her Majesty by the ringing of bells. On the old castle a flag-staff was erected, and the union-jack of England fluttered in the breeze. From this eminence, and from the pier during the day, many an anxious eye was turned towards St Abb's head; but it was seven in the evening before the Queen's yacht was descried from this lofty promontory. The squadron passed Dunbar about eight o'clock, when a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the castle, which was answered by a beautiful flight of rockets from her Majesty's fleet. Fires were immediately lighted on Doonhill, the Vault point, the kirk-hill and castle of Dunbar, the estate of Ninewar; and every elevated point in East Lothian was soon shrouded in smoke and flame. And, indeed, among the many modes which Scotland adopted to testify her loyalty to her Majesty, none were of a more imposing nature than the large bonfires lighted on the summits of her lofty mountains. From the Garleton hills, which are nearly in the centre of the county, and which were also lighted up, as many as thirty of these colossal fires were observed. Amongst which the high conical peak of North-Berwick Law shone conspicuous—Craigleith island on the adjacent coast—the promontory of Seacliff-house—Doonhill and Blackcastle—Traprene-law—Lammer-law; and the whole range of these pastoral hills which stretch from Dunglas to their termination at Soutra.

In the expectation that the royal fleet would have appeared in the Firth by noon, most of the prominent heights of the county were also covered with spectators, anxious to catch the first glimpse of the squadron; and, during the day, many a telescope and eager eye were turned towards North-Berwick Law, in the hope of obtaining a view of the signal which was to intimate to the metropolis the approach of her Majesty. It is calculated that one-third of the population of Haddington visited the highest top of the Garleton hills for this purpose, and many a quegh of "mountain dew" was quaffed in anticipation of the joyful event. The shades of an autumnal evening rapidly closing in, a few accidents happened to some of the lingering spectators in hurrying or frolicing down the steep sides of the hill; but which were happily unattended with any serious consequences.

On the morning of the 1st September, 1842, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert landed at Granton pier from the royal steamer, at nine o'clock, and proceeded to the palace of Dalkeith.

On the 2nd, the city of Edinburgh was brilliantly illuminated.

On the 3d, the Queen and Prince Albert made a public entry into Edinburgh, accompanied by Sir Robert Peel and a long train of the nobility, amidst the most enthusiastic acclamations.

On the 5th her Majesty held a levee at Dalkeith palace, when the following address, from the town-council of Haddington, was presented by Provost Lea of that burgh:

“ TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

*“ The humble address of the Provost, Magistrates and Counsellors, of the royal burgh of Haddington, in council assembled :*

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ That we, your Majesty's faithful subjects, approach the throne with renewed assurances of our duty and loyalty.

“ We most cordially welcome and congratulate your Majesty on your visit to your ancient kingdom of Scotland.

“ In this visit we recognise a pointed demonstration of your Majesty's affectionate regard for your people, and we cherish the delightful feeling that it will prove the source of reciprocal and lasting happiness to your Majesty and the inhabitants of this portion of your empire.

“ We feel grateful to divine Providence for your Majesty's safe arrival in the metropolis of our native land, and trust and pray for your felicity during your sojourn here; and that your Majesty may be long spared to reign over a free, a loyal, a united, and happy people, whose interests the events of your Majesty's government have eminently tended to promote, is our most fervent prayer.

“ Signed at our desire, and in our name by

“ THOMAS LEA, Provost of Haddington.”

The council remitted to the magistrates at the same time to prepare an address to Prince Albert, in the name of the provost, magistrates, and counsellors of the burgh of Haddington, and authorized it to be subscribed by the provost; with a recommendation that he should present these addresses in person.—The council also agreed that the vacation of the town's schools should be continued a week longer, owing to the Queen's visit to Scotland.

On the 6th her Majesty and Prince Albert left Dalkeith palace on a tour to the Highlands, and returned on the 13th.

The burgh of Dunbar, with a similar loyalty, forwarded two addresses : one to her Majesty, and the other to his royal highness Prince Albert. The first was presented through the Earl of Aberdeen, the foreign secretary, and the other by Mr Anson, the treasurer of his Royal Highness's household ; to whom they were conveyed by the Earl of Lauderdale, treasurer of the burgh of Dunbar, when on a visit to Taymouth castle, while her Majesty was spending a few days with the Marquis of Breadalbane.—The following are copies :

“ UNTO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ Most gracious sovereign,

“ We, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the magistrates and council of your ancient burgh of Dunbar, in council assembled, with hearts full of the warmest affection, beg permission amidst the universal acclamation of a free and united people, to present our humble duty at the foot of your throne, and joyfully hail your Majesty's welcome to Scotland. May your Majesty be graciously pleased to accept of this humble tender of our unvariable attachment to your sacred person and government ; and it shall ever be our earnest prayer that the great Ruler of the universe may direct and prosper all your counsels. That your Majesty's visit to Caledonia may be pleasant and happy, blessing and blest, in the devoted attachment of a free, loyal, and grateful people,—and that your Majesty may return in health and safety to the metropolis of your kingdom, and long fill that high throne amongst the nations, in which your Majesty's exalted virtues are so eminently conspicuous.—CHRISTOPHER MIDDLEMASS, Provost.”

“ UNTO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE ALBERT.

“ We, the provost, magistrates, and council, of the ancient and royal burgh of Dunbar, in common council assembled, beg to express, on the happy and auspicious occasion of the royal visit to Scotland, our heartfelt prayer that a kind Providence may watch over and protect your royal highness while sojourning in the land of the mountain and the flood,—amid the most enthusiastic rejoicings of a loyal and delighted people.—That living, as your royal highness does, in the affections of your royal consort, our illustrious Queen, your royal highness may be long spared with her gracious Majesty to form the pride and glory of the British nation, encircled with every blessing which providence can bestow.

“ CHRISTOPHER MIDDLEMASS, Provost.”

These addresses were most graciously received by her Majesty and Prince Albert ; and, on their return to Dalkeith palace,

answers of acknowledgment were transmitted to the town-council of Dunbar, couched in the most flattering terms.

On the 14th September, Provost Lea of Haddington reported that he had attended the Queen's levee in the palace of Dalkeith, on the 5th of the month, and presented in person the address of the council to her Majesty, which was graciously received. The provost further stated, that an address had been also presented to Prince Albert.

The council unanimously agreed to a vote of thanks to Provost Lea for his conduct in the presentation of the town's address to her Majesty, and that his official robes and incidental expenses should be defrayed by the burgh.\*

On the 15th the Queen and Prince Albert embarked at Granton pier, at half past nine o'clock morning, and landed at Woolwich on the 17th, at 15 minutes before ten morning, both highly gratified with their visit to her Majesty's Scottish dominions.

\* The presentation robes were a black silk tabby gown, faced and trimmed with crimson silk velvet; a cocked hat; and a set of court-dress knee and shoe buckles.

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## NOTES.

### ANECDOTES OF THE REBELLION.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE EDINBURGH-COURANT.

“ Sir,—Observing a paragraph, extracted from “ the London Review,” regarding the death of Colonel Gardiner at the Battle of Prestonpans, I think it proper to mention the following facts. In doing so, I do not mean to say that Colonel Gardiner's body servant was not a dragoon, or not attached to his master. As soon as the army took up its ground, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of Colonel Gardiner's residence at Preston (Bankton), he got a guard of 70 dragoons placed round his house.† Prior to which he had sent his two daughters, the one afterwards Lady Baird, (the mother of the late Sir James Gardiner Baird, Baronet, commandant of the East Lothian yeomanry,) and the other Mrs Inglis, (mother of William Inglis, Esq. W.S.), to the house of the late Mr Andrew Wight, Ormiston, where they remained till some time after the rebellion.

“ Mr Wight was the particular friend and acquaintance of Colonel Gardiner, and was in the field with him the night before the battle, till betwixt nine and ten o'clock, when he left the colonel very much dissatisfied, as the other field officers were, at Sir John Cope not making an attack that evening.

“ Mr Wight being much interested for his friend, Colonel Gardiner; more so in having the charge of his two daughters, left Ormiston next morning by break of day for the field of battle. He had not proceeded far when he met with several of the dragoons in full flight. But whether the body servant was one of the panic-struck, who galloped with Sir John Cope straight on to Lauder, and thence to Berwick, or halted and parted with his horse and armour to the miller, is doubtful. Be that as it may, Mr Wight pro-

† Scots Magazine, vol. vii. p. 441.

ceeded on to the field of battle, and learned the fate of his friend Colonel Gardiner.—Being acquainted with the Duke of Perth,\* he went forward, and asked permission to search for, and remove the body. The Duke answered, that as the officers were all coming up to wish the Prince joy of the victory, if he would wait a little, he would ask from the Prince the permission wanted. He accordingly came aside, and granted the request, at same time pointed out near to the spot where Colonel Gardiner fell.

“Mr Wight proceeded as pointed out, and found the Colonel mortally wounded, and almost stripped, still alive, but he never spoke. He bought a Highlander’s plaid, and had him wrapped in it, and carried to the manse of Tranent, (then occupied by the Rev. Charles Cunningham, brother-in law to Mr Wight,) where the Colonel died, and was interred within the church there, where a stone, with a suitable inscription, was put up to his memory. Mr Wight, upon application to the Duke of Perth, got a guard placed upon Colonel Gardiner’s house immediately after the battle, to prevent pillage.

“Ormiston, 1st September, 1828.

VERITAS.

\* James Drummond, Duke of Perth, Colonel Gardiner, and Mr Wight, were members of “the Ormiston Agricultural Society,” instituted and patronized by John Cockburn, Esq. of Ormiston, in 1738.—See *Farmer’s Magazine*, No. 18.

#### FLIGHT OF THE DRAGOONS.

GARDINER’S and Hamilton’s dragoons fled from Coltbridge on the afternoon of Monday the 16th September, and to avoid the city of Edinburgh, passed to the northward, by the Long Dykes (where the New Town stands) in full view of the people assembled upon the Castlehill and other places. At this time Brigadier-General Fouke, just arrived from London, had assumed the command of the dragoons, and at their head marched eastward, with a view of joining Sir John Cope, who with his army had taken shipping at Aberdeen for the first port that could be gained upon the Lothian shore. On Monday evening the two regiments encamped on the Panwoodleas, a little to the south of Prestongrange, a park in which were several old coalpits imperfectly filled up. It so happened that a straggling horse having fallen into one of these pits, the noise thereby occasioned, alarmed the encampment so much, that without inquiring into the cause, the whole body got on horseback in the dark, and set off by the sands for North Berwick, where they arrived soon after sun-rise. At North Berwick the troops drew up on the street, and the commander ordered bread and beer for the men, and oats for the horses, to be provided without delay. The chief magistrate of the place, Baillie Robert Hogg, a sagacious man, thinking the victuals of the town would be eaten up by such a number of men and horses, resolved to use the means of getting quit of them as speedily as possible. For that purpose he mounted his servant on horseback, directing him to take a bye-way out of the town, and to return by the public road as hard as he could gallop, crying all the way, as loud as he could, “that the Highlanders were at Gullan!” These orders were punctually obeyed, and the consequence was, that the two regiments, without waiting for their bread and beer, got on horseback directly, and took the road to Dunbar without losing a moment.

At Dunbar their fears were somewhat allayed by a junction with the army of Sir John Cope, who had come into the harbour that morning. That day and the next, the troops, with their baggage and stores, were landed; and, on Thursday, the whole marched westward, with a view of encountering the Highlanders. At passing Linton bridge, where a vast number of people were assembled to see such an uncommon sight, the soldiers, particularly the dragoons, appeared to be in high spirits, calling out to the country girls as they went along, “Come, lassie, and go with me to Charlie’s wedding!” &c. That evening the army encamped in a field betwixt Haddington and St Laurence-house, as we formerly narrated, chapter xv. p. 263.

END OF PART FIRST.

THE

# HISTORY OF HADDINGTON.

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## PART II.

### ECCLESIASTICAL ANNALS.

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#### CHAPTER I.

“ There is a temple in ruin stands,  
Fashion'd by long-forgotten hands.  
Out upon Time! it will leave no more  
Of the things to come than the things before!  
—What we have seen our sons shall see,  
Remnants of things that have pass'd away,  
Fragments of stone, rear'd by creatures of clay!”

BYRON.

TOWARDS the end of the fifth century, St. Colme preached the faith of the cross in Lothian. Kentigern, afterwards St. Mungo, the tutelary saint of Glasgow, having heard him preach before Brudeus, king of the Picts, was so charmed by his divine words that he was instantly converted. Kentigern was the son of Thametis, daughter to Loth, king of the Picts, by Eugene the Scottish king.

Kentigern was succeeded in Lothian by Baldred, one of his disciples, who, in Keith's catalogue of the Saints, is designated “priest and confessor,” and is the first Christian priest or missionary stationed in East Lothian of which we have any record.—According to Boece, he was of Scottish descent; and during the reign of Brudeus, king of the Picts, held his pastoral charge in East Lothian, which then formed part of the kingdom of Pictland.

The Breviary of Aberdeen contains some particulars with regard to Baldred, which have not been met with elsewhere, in which it is stated, that “this suffragan of St. Kentigern flourished



in Lothian in virtues and in illustrious miracles. Being eminently devout, he renounced all worldly pomp, and, following the example of John the Divine, resided in solitary places, and betook himself to the islands of the sea. Among these he had recourse to one called *Bass*, where he led a life, without all question, contemplative and strict, in which, for many years, he held up to remembrance the most blessed Kentigern, his instructor, in the constant contemplation of the sanctity of his conduct.”\*

While residing in this sublime solitude, Baldred died on the 6th March 607-8.† He was held in such veneration by the natives, that on his demise the three neighbouring parishes of Aldham, Tynningham, and Preston, laid claim to his remains. It being impossible to satisfy the multitude without supernatural agency, the enraged embassy were on the point of deciding their right by blows, when a Pictish sage judiciously advised them to spend the night in prayer, that the bishop of the diocese might have an opportunity of settling their dispute in the morning.—“When day dawned, (says Holinshed,) there were found three biers with three bodies decently covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance that no man might perceive any difference. Then by commandment of the bishop, and with great joy of all the people, the said several bodies were carried severally unto the said three several churches, and in the same buried in most solemnwise, where they remain unto this day, in much honour with the common people of the countries near adjoining.”‡

A Saxon monastery of St. Baldred was established at Tynningham at an after period, whose diocese comprehended the whole of East Lothian, and whose lands says Simeon, the monk of Durham, extended from Lammermoor to Inveresk. “*Et tota terra quæ pertinet ad monasterium Sancti Balthere, quod vocatur Tynningham a Lambermore usque ad Escemuthe.*” Two Saxon arches, the remains of an old chapel, still ornament the beautiful domain of Tynningham.§

\* Dr. Jamieson's Hist. Culdees.

† Boece's Chron. and Keith's Cat.

‡ Such was the credulity of the people that this event was advanced as an irrefragable proof of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Camerarius gravely observes that the dispute between these parochial churches was at last effected by the prayers of the saint himself, while John Major asserts the doctrine to be supported by the fact.—For a further history of the saint, see the author's poem of St. Baldred.

§ In 941, Anlaf, the Dane, spoiled the church, and burnt the village of Tynningham, which Chalmers observes, is a very early notice of the kirktown of this place.

Amidst the darkness of the sixth and seventh centuries, when stray rays of truth must be gathered and separated from legend and fable, the immediate successors of the worthy Baldred cannot be traced. The year 635 was the epoch of the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, which extended over the ample range of Lothian till the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom. On the cession of Lothian in 1020, to the Scottish king, the jurisdiction of the Bishop of St. Andrews was established over that district, and the Archdeacon of Lothian, who derived his power from this bishop during the reign of David I. and Alexander I., exercised his authority over the whole clergy of Haddingtonshire. Of old the three Lothians, and the eastern part of Stirlingshire, formed the two deaneries of Linlithgow and Lothian, which lay within the diocese of St. Andrews. The latter, at the epoch of the ancient Taxatio, in 1176, included the whole parishes of Haddingtonshire, and nearly the half of the churches of Mid-Lothian.

Previous to 1275 the deanery of Lothian had changed its name to the deanery of Haddington, which it retained till the Reformation. The dean of Haddington, and the archdeacon of Lothian, were ecclesiastical persons of great authority under the bishop of St. Andrews, as can be proved from the ancient chartularies.\* For the governance of the clergy, the bishop of St. Andrews used to call *episcopal* synods; which for the accommodation of the monks of Northumberland were held at Berwick; but which were recently held at Haddington.† In 1245 there was a composition between the prior and chapter of St. Andrews on the one part, and the monks of Haddington on the other, in which the chapter "*Orientali Laudoniæ*" of East Lothian is distinctly stated. The authority of the bishop of St. Andrews continued till the bishoprick of Edinburgh was established by Charles I. when his power was transferred to the latter. By this new arrangement the ministers of Tranent, Haddington, and Dunbar, were constituted three of the nine prebendaries of Edinburgh. And such con-

\* There is a charter of Richard bishop of St. Andrews to the monastery of Haddington, in which Andrew, the archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness, and others of a similar purport.—*Trans. Scots Antiq.*

† The bishop sometimes granted dispensations from attending these meetings. According to Bede, he granted an exemption to the monks of Durham from attending his synods at Berwick; and, in 1293, Bishop Lamberton exempted the abbots of Dryburgh from attending synodial meetings at Haddington, except on urgent occasions, in which case a pension was to be paid them by the Dean of Haddington.—*Chart. Dryburgh.*

tinued to be the ecclesiastical state of Haddington till the Reformation placed it under the jurisdiction of presbyterian synods.

The first notice we have of the church of Haddington, is in the ancient Taxatio of Lothian in 1176, where it is assessed at 120 merks, while the church of Dunbar "cum capella de Whytingeham" is rated at 180 merks. The following churches of the deanery, which now constitute the presbytery of Haddington, were thus rated :

|                                                                        | MERKS. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Ecclesia de Haddington, .....                                          | 120    |
| Capella, St. —* .....                                                  | 5      |
| Ecclesia de Golyn (now Dirleton) .....                                 | 80     |
| Ecclesia de Travenent, .....                                           | 65     |
| Ecclesia de North-Berwyk, .....                                        | 60     |
| Ecclesia de Penkatland, .....                                          | 40     |
| Ecclesia de Bothani (Yester, which was dedicated to St. Bothan,) ..... | 30     |
| Ecclesia de Saltoun, .....                                             | 30     |
| Ecclesia de Keth-Hundby (Humble), .....                                | 30     |
| Ecclesia de Keth-Marschall, (now merged into Humble,) .....            | 12     |
| Ecclesia de Barwe, (now merged into Garvald,) .....                    | 20     |
| Ecclesia de Garvald, .....                                             | 15     |
| Ecclesia de Bolton, .....                                              | 20     |
| Ecclesia de Morham, .....                                              | 20     |
| Ecclesia de Setoun, (now merged into the adjacent parishes,) .....     | 18     |
| Ecclesia de Ormistoun, .....                                           | 12     |
| Ecclesia de Elstanford, .....                                          | 10     |

\* The name of this chapel is not apparent ; but the chapel of St. Laurence, which belonged to Haddington, was rated at five merks. So early as 1202, Laurence, the Archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness to a charter of Eber Malvoisla.

Aberlady parish, notwithstanding its local situation in the deanery of Haddington, and diocese of St Andrews, was included in the bishoprick of Dunkeld.

Gladsmuir parish did not exist till 1685, when it was formed by abstractions from those of Haddington, Aberlady, and Tranent.

Prestonpans parish was created in 1606, by dismembering Tranent.

The following churches, now in the presbytery of Dunbar, complete the list of those belonging to East Lothian :

|                                                                  |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whytingeham, .....             | 180 |
| Ecclesia de Lintoun (Prestonkirk,) .....                         | 100 |
| Ecclesia de Haldhamstok, .....                                   | 60  |
| Ecclesia de Tynningham (now merged into Whitekirk,) .....        | 40  |
| Ecclesia de Aldham (which also now belongs to Whitekirk,) .....  | 6   |
| Ecclesia de Innerwyk, .....                                      | 30  |
| Ecclesia de Hanus, or Petcocks, (now merged into Stenton,) ..... | 10  |

The church of Cockburnspath (anciently Coldbrand's-path), does not appear in the ancient Taxatio. As it seems never to have been connected with any religious house, it was perhaps only a chapel,

Spott was a "rectoria" belonging to Dunbar. There was also a chapel at the prebendary of Pinkerton, and at Hetherwick (Ninewar.)

### St. Mary's Church.

" Mony Pape are passit by,  
Patriarkis, prelatiis, and prelatiis,  
Sen nocht has leif that heir ma last,  
This world is bot a vanite."—GLASSINBERRY.

The ancient church of Haddington was dedicated to St. Mary, who, according to Chalmers, was the common patroness of similar establishments in this district.\* About the year 1134, David I. granted to the priory of St. Andrews, in perpetual alms, the church of St. Mary at Haddington; with its chapels, lauds, tithes, and other emoluments belonging to it within the same parish. This pious monarch afterwards gave to the church of St. Mary at Haddington and to the priory of St. Andrews, the lands of Clerkington, according to their true boundaries on both sides of the Tyne, to ascertain which the limits had been perambulated. He also conferred on those churches a toft in Haddington near the church, with the tithes of the mills and other subjects within the whole parish.† The grants were confirmed by the grandsons of David, Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. They were also confirmed by the successive bishops of St. Andrews.

It appears that the monks of Haddington had occasional disputes with their superiors; for, in 1245, a meeting was held at the church of Lauder, when a convention was entered into between the prior and convent of St. Andrews, and the master and monks of Haddington, for settling reigning disputes in regard to tithes and other ecclesiastical dues.

The patronage of the church of Haddington belonged to the prior of St. Andrews.

\* Chalmers's Cal. ii. 514.; who quotes *Diplomata Scotiæ*, pl. xvi.

† The *tofts* of the burgh seem to have been liberally parcelled out amongst the religious orders, which leads the scrutinizing Mr. George Chalmers to remark, that "the Scottish kings had a *court* at Haddington, to which they were studious to reserve certain services.

Malcolm IV., in 1159. granted to the monks of Kelso a toft in Haddington.

David I. granted to the church of St. Mary in that place a toft in Haddington.

\_\_\_\_\_ to the priory of St. Andrews a toft in Haddington.

\_\_\_\_\_ to the monks of Dunfermline "unam mansutam" in Haddington.

\_\_\_\_\_ to the monks of May a full toft "in burgo meo de Hadintuh, free of all custom and service."

William the Lion granted a toft in Haddington to the monks of Coldingham.

Roger de Quincey, the Earl of Winton, gave the canons of Dryburgh a toft "in tilla de Hadinton."

### Ancient Chapels.

There was a chapel, dedicated to St. Laurence, which belonged to the mother-church of Haddington, and was rated at 5 merks. The patronage of this chapel belonged to the nuns of Haddington. A village, about a mile west from the burgh, goes by the name of St. Laurence house, where it probably stood.

The town of Haddington contained the following chapels:

A chapel dedicated to St. John, which probably belonged to the Knights Templars.\*

A chapel dedicated to St. Catherine. On the 29th October, 1577, a deputation was sent from the town-council of Haddington to Edinburgh, to consult the Regent Morton "on St. Katherine's chapel and the Kirk anuel, and to compone with his Grace as they best might."†

A chapel of St. Ann, which has escaped the notice of former antiquaries. On the 12th November 1804, the town-council of Haddington purchased the tenement called St. Ann's chapel, which belonged to Thomas Shanks, wheelwright, in order that it and the contiguous tenements, might be taken down, and an open aera formed as an ornament to the street. The town paid L.155 sterling for this ruinous tenement, and an equal sum for one adjoining, belonging to Widow Borthwick. This projected improvement, however, was not carried into effect, and the ruins of St. Ann's and Borthwick's tenement were sold in 1813, to Mr M'Watt, late builder in Haddington, in whose hands the author has seen the title deeds. Mr. M'Watt erected those substantial buildings, called St. Ann's Place, on the spot.

There was also a chapel within the barony of Penston, which formed the western extremity of Haddington parish, till it was annexed to Gladsmuir in 1695.

\* A tenement belonging to the Knights Templars stood opposite John Hume's house, at the custom-stone, Haddington. This tenement has been recently removed to make room for projected improvements on that corner of the street.

The house, belonging to the family of the Earls of Winton, also stood in this neighbourhood, where Sir William Seton died.

The Knight-Templars were brought into Scotland by David I. They possessed immense riches, and had above 9000 houses in Christendom; and in Scotland there was scarce a parish wherein they had not some lands, farms, or houses. This order was instituted about the eleventh century, ostensibly for the defence of the Christian religion.

† Council Reg.—A chapel stood on the west side of the north-east port, where a tenement has been built by Mr. Andrew Pringle. A quantity of human bones were discovered in clearing away the rubbish to make the new found.

### The Abbey of Haddington.

"I hear the still small moan of Time  
'Mong the ivied ruins play,  
Where the palace in its glory's prime,  
Stood by the fair Abbaye."—*Balcan.*

Ada, countess of Northumberland,\* daughter of the Earl of Warren in England, widow of Prince Henry, son of David I., king of Scotland, and mother of Malcolm IV. surnamed "the Maiden" from the fairness of his complexion; and William surnamed "the Lion," kings of Scotland; founded a priory of nuns at the Abbey, near Haddington, in 1178, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was situated about a mile to the eastward of the burgh, on the banks of the river Tyne, where there is still a village of that name; but the monastery itself is entirely demolished: the ruins having been gradually trenched on by agricultural improvements.†

The foundress bestowed on the convent the lands of Begbie, Clerkington, and several other temporal lands in the vicinity of Haddington. Hugh de Giffard of Yester bestowed on the priory the lands of Nunside or Nunlands, now called Huntington.—Richard, bishop of St Andrews, with the consent of the prior and canons of that diocese, bestowed on it the church of Athelstaneford, with the teinds of that parish, and of the lands of Byres, Barns, and Harperdean. It was afterwards enriched with many other benefactions, and was (says John Major, who was himself a native of this county,) "*Monasterium pulchrum et opulentum.*" The priory was of the Cistercian or Bernardine order.‡

Eva, the prioress of Haddington, was a subscriber to Ragman's roll in 1296, and, on submitting to Edward I., along with the

\* This pious lady gave rise to the proverbial expression of "the grace drink." Many of the nobles of Scotland, who had the honour of dining at the royal table, were in the habit of going away, individually, as each had finished his repast. She promised them that if they would stay till dinner was over, and hear a grace said, that she would give them an additional drink. Since that time this proverb has been often used in a sense very different from what the pious matron intended.—Sir G. BUCHAN HEPBURN.

† A small portion of the old churchyard of the Abbey still remains, which has been used as a burial ground within these last twenty years. In an old farm-house near this spot, an atrocious murder was committed, in 1829, by one Emond, a pedlar, who belonged to North Berwick, on the body of Mrs. Franks, his sister-in-law, and her daughter, for which he was executed in Edinburgh.

‡ A Cistercian nunnery, the beautiful ruins of which still remain, was founded at North Berwick, by Duncan, Earl of Fife, about 1154.

prioress of North-Berwick, she had her rights restored.\* There is a charter of James II., dated 31st August 1458, confirming one granted by William bishop of St Andrews,† to the prioress and monastery of the nuns at Haddington, on the 21st May, 1349. This charter, from the bishop, proceeds on a narrative, that, in consequence of the destructive wars that had long subsisted between Scotland and England, not only the rights of many religious houses had been destroyed, but even the monasteries themselves burned and laid waste; and that particularly the monastery of the nuns at Haddington, being situated near the marches of England, had been frequently plundered by the English, and its charters, bulls, and muniments destroyed, and that therefore, in consequence of a humble supplication made to him, and after a strict inquisition concerning all ancient writs and evidences relating to this monastery, and, particularly, a search into the ancient registers belonging to the archbishop of St. Andrews, and on the uncontroverted testimony of many witnesses, both clergy and laicks, he had clear and undoubted evidence, that the prioress and nuns of Haddington possessed the churches, teinds, lands, tenements, and others, therein particularly specified.

In 1358, on the nativity of the Virgin Mary, a most extraordinary inundation nearly destroyed the nunnery. The rivers, swollen by excessive rains, swept away villages, houses and bridges; and

\* Prynne, vol. iii. For a list of the gentlewomen of East Lothian, who swore fealty to Edward at the same epoch, see chap. iii. page 29.

The following are the Ecclesiastical persons in East Lothian, who had lands in Scotland in 1296. The original instrument is in the archives of the Tower of London. Upon swearing fealty to Edward, they got letters to the different sheriffs in whose jurisdiction their lands lay, ordering them to be put in possession.

Priorissa Sancti Leonardi, juxta villam, St. Johannis, vicecomitibus Perthæ, Edenborough. Haddingeton, Fife.

Priorissa de North Berwick, vicecomitibus de Fife, Haddington, Edenborough, Berwik, Rokishurge.

Willielmus, parsona ecclesie de Aldham, vicecomiti de Edenburgh.

Willielmus Spot, parsona ecclesie de Tynningham, vicecomiti de Edinburgh,

Bartholemus, magister domus Sancti Germani, juxta Hadyngton, vicecomitibus de Berwyk, Edinburgh.

Priorissa de Haddington. vicecomitibus de Berewyk, Fife, Hadyngton.

Bartholomeus, magister domus Sancti Germani de Tranenyt, vicecomiti de Aberdeen, Kyncardyn.

Magister Hospitalis Sanctæ Trinitatis de Houston, vicecomiti de Hadyngton.

Robertus de Waighton (Waughton) parsona capella de Waighton, vicecomiti de Edenburgh.—BORTHWICK'S *Inquiry into Feudal Dignities*.

† William Landals, or de Landalis.—KEITH'S *Catalogue of the Bishops*.

many lost their lives in attempting to save their property. Not only cattle, but oaks and large trees were carried down by the torrent to the sea. Sheaves of corn were brushed of the adjacent fields. The suburb of Haddington, called Nungate, was levelled to the ground. As it approached the Abbey, a certain nun snatched up the statue of the Virgin, and threatened to throw it into the water, unless Mary protected the house from destruction. At that moment the river subsided, and gradually retired within its ancient limits. An anecdote is related by Fordun of John Birley, an inhabitant of the Nungate. When the waters approached his dwelling, he got upon the roof, where having constructed a raft, he floated towards the bridge, and clung safely at anchor till the waters decreased. An expression, said to have been used by him on the occasion, afterwards became a proverb in the neighbourhood :

“ Row we merrily, quoth John Birley.”

The extensive manors and wealth of the monastery tempted the rapacity of the neighbouring barons ; and, in 1471, the injured nuns of Haddington were under the necessity of appealing to the privy-council against the lairds of Yester and Makerston, for forcibly seizing their lands of Nunhopes, without the least shadow of justice. Such, indeed, was the anarchy of the times, that at their grange of Nunraw they were compelled to raise a fortification : a plan which was generally followed by the convents. And so far from things taking a more favourable turn, more than seventy years afterwards, in 1547-8, the prioress, dame Elizabeth Hepburn, was summoned before the regent Arran in council, and came under an engagement either to keep the fortlet of Nunraw from their “ auld ynimies of Ingland and all utheris,” or cause it to be razed.\*

During these troublous times a new scene was witnessed at the Abbey of Haddington, where the Scots had established their camp. On the 7th July 1548, a parliament was convened within its sacred walls, when, through the influence of the Queen-mother, the French general Dessé, and the ambassador D'Oyssel, it was agreed that the young Queen should be educated at the court of France preparatory to her marriage with the Dauphin.

In 1561, when the reformation took place, dame Elizabeth Hepburn was required to give a statement of the monastic

\* See Hist. Annals, p. 65 of this volume.



estates, with a view to their confiscation and the suppression of the house, when it appears that the convent then consisted of eighteen nuns, who were allowed L.4, yearly, for clothes; 4 bolls of wheat, and 3 bolls of meal; with 8d. a-day for flesh and fish. The revenues appear from the books of assumption, to have amounted to L.308, 17s. 6d. annually; besides 7 chalders, 11 bolls, of wheat; 40 chalders, 1 boll, 2 firlots, 3 pecks, of bear; 42 chalders, 4 firlots of aitts (oats); 11 chalders of meal,—paid out of the temporal lands of Haddington and Crail; with the lands of Begbie, Garvald, Newton, Carfrae, Newlands, and Saawdon; the kirklands of Bara; with the tithes of St. Martin's kirk, the lands of Barns, and the half of Harperdean; and of the kirks of Garvald, Athelstaneford and Crail.

The Prioress, with the consent of her chapter, in 1567, disposed the greatest part of the lands belonging to the monastery, which Queen Mary conferred on her secretary, William Maitland, younger of Lethington. They were afterwards erected into a temporal lordship in favour of John, Master of Lauderdale.

### St. Martin's Church.

This church, the ruins of which still remain, was a chapel belonging to the abbacy of Haddington. It is situated on a gentle eminence, at the eastern extremity of the suburb of the Nungate; and although its structure bears evident marks of antiquity, it has been rather a substantial than an elegant building, measuring in length about 60 feet, by 15 wide; and, what is rather remarkable in a Catholic chapel, the principal entrance is by the east. The churchyard contained some very ancient monuments, which have either been destroyed or delapidated. Several persons who died of the cholera in 1832, were interred on the north side of the church, as those who claimed the burying ground on the south, protested against their kindred being mixed with infected dust. Since then it has not been used as a burial ground.

It appears from the records of the presbytery of Haddington, that so economical was the reformed church, that the cure of the churches of Haddington, St. Martin's, Bolton, and Athelstaneford, were served by the same clergyman, Mr. James Carmichael, from 1592 to 1602, and probably for several years before that

period. Carmichael (of whom we shall have much to say hereafter,) was also master of the grammar-school. To him succeeded Mr. George Grier, who was ordained minister in 1602. He appears to have had no successor in this chapel, as the parish church was afterwards apparently sufficient for both congregations.

Grier was a man of a bold spirit, and had many formal bantlings with King James's prelates. At the meeting of the general assembly at Perth, in 1620, the acts of which afterwards created so much discussion, Mr. Spotswood, bishop of St. Andrews, placed himself in the moderator's chair, *without election*. Upon which Mr. Grier requested that the order of free election might be kept, when the bishop answered, saucily, that "The assembly was convened within the bounds of his charge, wherein so long as he served, he trusted no man would take his place!"\*

The founder of St. Martin's church is unknown; but the name of the saint was an honourable term in East Lothian. During the reign of William the Lion, Alexander de St. Martin, granted to the monks of Newbole, a peat-moss, called Crumber-struther in this county; and, Magistro Alexandro de St. Martino, is a name frequently appended to its clerical charters.

### **Dominican Monastery.**

There was a monastery of Dominican, or Black Friars, in Haddington, who were also called *Fratres Prædicatores*, because of their frequent preaching. These monks came into Scotland during the reign of Alexander II. in 1219.† The time of the establishment of this monastery is unknown; but one of the same order was instituted at Edinburgh by this monarch in 1230. A convent stood nearly on the same spot where the Episcopal chapel of Haddington is built: its ruins having been cleared away for that purpose about 1765. This present year (1843) several human bones and the vestiges of some coffins were discovered, in making the found of a new building immediately behind the chapel park.

\* Calderwood's Hist.

† In 1218, Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery of Red or Trinity Friars in Dunbar. And, in 1263, Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery for Carmelites, or White Friars, at Dunbar.

**Franciscan Monastery;**

AND,

**LUCERNA LAUDONIÆ, OR THE LAMP OF LOTHIAN.**

There was a monastery of Franciscans, or Grey Friars, in Haddington, who were also called Minorite (*Fratres minores*), or *Cordeliere* Friars. Their superiors were called *custodes* or wardens. This order was established by their patriarch, St. Francis, a rich merchant of Assise in Italy, in 1206, and they came into Scotland during the reign of Alexander II. The precise time of the foundation of the monastery is unknown. According to the Rev. Dr. Barelay, it stood on the same spot, where a house was built by John Henderson, Esq. of Leaston, about 1785.\* That the monastery was not only richly endowed but of considerable antiquity, is evident from their church being so magnificent, when it was almost destroyed by Edward III. in 1356, that we are told by Fordun and John Major (who flourished at that period) it was styled "*Lucerna Laudoniæ*," either from its beautiful structure, and the enlightened character of its inhabitants, or more probably from its lofty quire being constantly lighted up, and seen at a distance by the lonely pilgrim during the night. Major, after indulging in an invective against these holy fathers for building so costly an edifice, makes this laconic observation: "*Fortasse in eorum et villæ peccatum voluit Deus omnia incendio dare. Opus certè quod sumptuosum erat, ac totius patriæ illud solatium singulare, cujus chorum quidem, ob luminis claritatem, Lucerna Laudoniæ vocabatur.*"†

This sumptuous church was early used as a place of sepulchre for the noble and the pious. It is thus noticed in the appendix to Keith's Catalogue: "At Haddington there was also a monastery of Friars, where William, first Lord Seton, was buried, to whom he founded six laid of coals, to be tane of his coalpit of Tranent weekly, and forty shillings of annual, to be tane of

\* Now called Elm House.

† Fordun, lib. xiv. c. 13.—See also "*Historical Annals*," p. 37. of this volume. With all due deference to Fordun, the monks were not always to blame for enjoying luxurious residences. James I., who sought by salutary laws to encourage civilization, when he built the monastery of the Grey Friars in Edinburgh, invited the Franciscans of Cologne, in Germany, to send some of their brethren into Scotland, for the propagation of piety and learning. In conformity to the King's request, they sent Cornelius of Zurich, a man of reputation, and some others of their order. A house was prepared for their reception, so magnificent for the times, that the friars in their humility and self-denial, declined to lodge in it; nor was it without difficulty, that the repeated entreaties of the

"the Barnis." This place of sepulchre, according to Sir Richard Maitland, who lived in the neighbourhood, in his MS. History of the House of Seton, was the "*Cordelere Frieris*."

About the time that the celebrated Captain Grose, (the bon vivant of Burns,) published his *Antiquities of Scotland*, it had become a matter of doubt, whether or not the present venerable pile now used as a parish church, was in reality that of the Franciscans, or one erroneously supposed to have belonged to the nunnery founded by Ada. To satisfy these doubts, this acute antiquarian published a letter which he received from a clergyman resident near the place:

"SIR,—I am favoured with yours of the 28th of last month; and, in answer to it, am to acquaint you, that I am decidedly of opinion that our present parish church formerly belonged to the Franciscans, or Minorites, and is the same that is styled by John Fordun and John Major "*Lucerna Laudoniæ*." As a proof that it belonged to the Franciscans, the ground adjoining to the churchyard is still denominated "the Friars' Croft." The convent stood nearly on the same spot, where an Episcopal chapel has been lately built, and some of its ruins were dug out and removed a few years ago, so that not a vestige of it now remains. In what part of the town the Dominican church and Monastery stood, I have not been able to discover, as the town is possessed of no public records of any kind prior to the beginning of the last century;\* and the town was not only almost entirely destroyed during the memorable siege about the middle of the sixteenth century, but since that time was almost wholly consumed by fire."

To FRANCIS GROSE, ESQ. F.S.A.

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Bishop of St. Andrews prevailed on them to accept such spacious accommodation.—(Keith's Cat. 275.) There was an altar dedicated to the Three Magi-Kings of Cologne in the parish church of Haddington.

Some eminent men of this order have belonged to East Lothian. William Dunbar, the celebrated poet, (born about 1465) who has been styled the Horace of Scotland, and the Burns of the fifteenth century, is supposed to be the immediate descendant of Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil. From a misprint in Ramsay's "*Evergreen*," Mount Salton had been long, but erroneously, considered the place of his birth. An elegant edition of Dunbar's works, edited by Mr. David Laing, was published at Edinburgh in 1834.—The subjoined lines give a characteristic view of the poet's disposition and writings:

"Gif evir my fortune wes to be a freir,  
The dait thereof is past full mony a yeir;  
For into every lusty toun and place,  
Of all Yngland, from Berwick to Calice,  
I haif into thy habeit made gud cheir."—DUNBAR.

Nicolas Hepburn, of the family of Hailes, who lived about 1488, was also of this order. The same family furnished prioresses to our convents. In 1500, George Hepburn, son of the Baron of Hailes, was Dean of Dunkeld; and John Hepburn was prior of St. Andrews.

\* This is a mistake, which we have had the good fortune to rectify.

A farther proof of this being the Franciscan church, arises from the circumstance of that house having suffered by a flood; an event very likely to happen from its vicinity to the river.

It appears from other MS. histories, that upon the festival day of St. Ninian, in 1421, the waters by constant rains swelled to such a height, that many houses in the town were entirely defaced or demolished, and that the people went into the church in a great boat; and also that the sacristy, with the fine library and ornaments for divine service, were spoiled.

We have, however, been able to trace notices of at least fourteen altars, which existed in the parish church of Haddington, which seem decidedly to prove that this structure was the costly edifice alluded to by Fordun and John Major.

1. *The altar of St. Duthacus.*—In 1314, Sir John Congalton, styled “nobilis vir dominus de eodem,” in devotion to the souls of his father and mother, gave a donation to the Minorites of Haddington, for furnishing bread and wine to the altar of St. Duthacus, which stood in the nave of the church, on condition that while three brethren remained in the convent that they should celebrate the anniversary of the donor, his father, mother, ancestors, and successors.\*

2. *St. Peter.*—“The 28th day of May, the zer of our Lord 1426, John of the Furde gaife a sylver chalys, weyand xij. vnce and viij<sup>d</sup>. to Saynt Peteris altar,” in the kirk of Haddington.†

3. AND 4. *St. John the Baptist and Our Lady's altar*—1454, 30th July, these altars are noticed as being situated in the parish-kirk of Haddington.

“The xxx. day of ye moneth of July, in ye zer of oure Lord a Thousand Four Hundreth Fyfte-four zeris, Robert of Nigaldiston, burges of Hadington, wt

\* Sir Robert Douglas's Baronage.

† Chartulary Town of Haddington.—The extracts that follow are copied from a folio volume, written on vellum, in wooden boards, with iron clasps. The first twelve leaves alone are written on, in a fine bold old English character, and are not very difficult to read, being a chartulary of the town of Haddington, containing copies of sasines, charters, deeds of mortification, &c. from 6th March 1424, to June 1463. The author must here state his obligations to David Laing, Esq., librarian of the Signet library, Edinburgh, (a gentleman to whom most of our eminent modern writers on Scottish history have been greatly indebted,) for favouring him with the substance of most of the early extracts. The books from which they are transcribed, are not only, in many instances, much mutilated, but they are written in that chancery-text style, which, when negligently executed, it is almost impossible to decipher.

ful consent and assent of Anny his spous, for the weil of yair saulis, yair antecessours and successours saulis, and for al crystin saulis, gaf, grantyt, and infest, pur and perpetuale almons to ye altar of St. John ye Baptist, in the parysch kirk of Hadyngton, and til a chaplane yar, for ye saulis forsaid, to do mes [mass] ilk Wedneaday for evermair, ane annuale rent of Twenty Shillyngs of vsuale mone of Scotland zerly, to be raysyt and uptane at Wytsonday and Martymes in wyntr be euyne portions, of al and hale his tenement of land wt ye pertinente liand in ye said burgh, on ye south sid of ye Market Street of yt ilk, betwix a land of Thom of Cokburnes on ye est part on ye ta part, and a land of Henry Vaus on ye west part on ye tother part, al annalis beand payt ontht of the said tenemet; yt is to say, ye burowmale till our Lord ye Kyng, and til oure Lady altar in the Parysch kyrk of Hadyngton Thretten Shyillyngs, and to the ayris [heirs] of John Boumaker\* a Merk. To be haldyn and to be had ye said annuale rent of Twenty Shillyngs, wt the ptmenir to the said altar of Sant John, and to thair chaplane thar doand the said mas, with al profits, fredomis, and asiamentis, &c.

*Item*, the said Robert of Nigaldiston wil and has grantyt yat ye said chaplane sal be chosyn be hym and be Anny his said spous, and be ye langest lyfar of you undersyning al ye days of your lyfe; and after your decease to be chosyn be ye balzeis and ye consale of ye said burgh yat sal be for ye tym: throu vertu and strength of ye quilk gyft and grant ye forsaid Robert of Nigaldiston, vested ye forsaid annale rent in ye hands of James of Ayton, balze yat tym of ye said burgh; and ye forsaid balze be ord and stane, and a penny of siluer, gaf state possession and sesyng of ye said annale of Twenty schillyngs to Thom Alanson, kyrkmaister of ye said kyrk, in ye name and behalf of Sant John ye Baptist, after ye forme and tenor of ye said gift and grant; and yis was done in presence of thir witnesses vnderwrittyn, yt is to say,

Willm. Clerk, balze of ye said burgh; John Patonson,† John Hyndmers, Nichol Syale, John of Crumby, Wil of Redpeth, John Gray, Robert of Capronston, Thom of Nigaldiston, Andro Duntellyn, Wil Clerkson, John of Pynkerton, and Sym of Crag Seriandis; Alexr. Clerk, public notar; and Henry Vaus, songer; with mony uther.

**5. St. John.**—This altar is noticed as being situated in the parish-kirk of Haddington.

1454, September 7th, Gylbert of Redpeth, brother to William of Redpeth, burgess of Haddington, gave and granted in perpetual alms, for the weal of his soul, his ancestors and successors, and all Christian souls, to God and to St. Mary the Virgin, and to St. John the Baptist,—and to the altar of St. John in the parish kirk,—and to a chaplain there for to do “Goddis service for the saulis aforesaid,”—an annual rent of Twenty Shillings yearly, at the usual terms of Whitsunday and Martimas, of all and hail of his tenement of land “with the pertinence liand in the burgh of Haddington, in the vwend of the Sydgate, on the west side of the pule of Poldrate,” &c. In witness whereof, John of Pynkerton, John Fayrbarm, chaplain, &c.

\* John Bowmaker, or Bowar, was a baillie of Haddington in 1395. Walter Bower, the historian, was probably his son or relation.

† Cordiner.

**6. St. Michael the archangel.**—1470, June 27th, this altar is noticed as being situated in the parish-kirk of Haddington.

John Patonson, burgess of Haddington, gave and infest to the altar of St. Michael the archangel, in pure and perpetual alms, xij. shillings and iiij. d. yearly, of a tenement of land on the south side of their Market Street, for an obit to be done for the soul of the said John Patonson and of Laurence, his son, and for the souls of his three Daughters and "twa Wyffs," and for all Christian families, after the decease of the said John Patonson, on the day of his anniversary, &c.

1470, August 2nd, Thomas Alanson, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Margaret his spouse, granted in perpetual alms, for the weal of his soul, his Wife's, his Balrns, Ancestors, &c.,—to God and to St. Mary the Virgin, and to St. John the Baptist,—and to the altar of St. John in the parish-kirk, and to a chaplain there, to do mass for the aforesaid, an annual rent of Forty Shillings of usual money of Scotland, of his tenement of land, with the pertinent lying in the said burgh on the north side of the King's Street, &c.

1530, September 20th, Friar Adam Harlaw is mentioned as warden (superior) of the "Freir Minouris" of Haddington; and Sir William of Cokburn as chaplain to St. John's altar in the parish-kirk of Haddington. At the same time Patrick Hepburn, master of Hailis, Thom Sinclair, and Alexander Hepburn, were chosen bailies for a year.\*

**7. St. Crispin and Crispinianis.**—1531, July 4th, this altar is noticed as being situated in the high church of Haddington.

"The which day, the bailies, council, and community, granted the craft of Cordinaris (shoemakers) for the upholding of Crispinis and Crispinianis' altar, and St. Michael's altar in the *He-Kirk*, of ilk master a *d.* (one penny) in the week; and ilk servant, j. half *d.* (halfpenny,) and ilk prentice, when he is bundyn, half a merk; and ilk wpset (upset) x.s.; and that the officer shall pass with the deacon of the craft, and poind thame that will nocht pay the said *d.* weekly, and upset, and prentyss" fee.

The cordiners of Edinburgh had also an altar in St. Giles's church, dedicated to the same saints, to which they contributed one penny weekly for religious purposes.

**8. The Baxter's allar.**—1532, November 5th, an act ratified, "which was made among the baxstaris (bakers) anent the uphaldyn of their altar," &c.†

\* The extracts following this date, are taken from a large thick folio volume, in a black leather cover, containing a "Register of the Proceedings of the Burrow Court and Court of Consale of Haddington," beginning the 28th June 1530, and continued to the last day of April 1556. There is unfortunately a blank of five years of this important period, from December 1545, to March 1551.

† In 1622, the town-council granted a warrant for the Tailzor-craft of the burgh of Haddington, to "big ane sait in ye said kirk, in that pairt thair of besyde ye Baxteris

9. *The Holy Cross*.—In 1535, June 15th, “ The which day it was found that Sir Patrik Mauchlyn,\* rud-priest (or holy cross,) should have four *l. x.s.* for findyn of the bairns and books in the Queir (choir) in the year.”

“ Item, that Sir Thomas Mawchlyn suld half termle for his seruice, *ij. li.*, and for to find lychtes *ij. merkis.*

“ Item, to Sir Vylzem of Cokburne for his seruice termle, *ij. merkis* and a half merk.

“ Item, to Mr George Kerynton, for his seruice, termle, *ij. merkis* & half a merk.

“ Item, to Sir Adam Browne, for this terme, *v. merkis.*

“ Item, to Sir Alex. Henryson, termle, *v. li.*

“ Summa, termle, to the Queir of Haidintoun, is *xix. li. & x.s.*”†

10. *The Holy-Blood altar*.—1544, April 29th, Sir John Crosar is mentioned as chaplain of the Haly-blud altar within the kirk of Haddington.

At the same date Sir William Cokburn is mentioned as chaplain of St. John the Baptist's altar; and Sir Thomas Mauchlyn as lady-priest of the burgh of Haddington.

The family of Mauchlyn appear to have held several offices at this period in Haddington church. In January 1531, Sir James Mauchlyn is noticed as curate in the kirk; Sir Thomas Mauchlyn as lady-priest there; and Sir Patrick Mauchlyn, count kirk-master in the same: And on the 20th January, 1534-35, Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, chaplain, appointed Mr. Patrik Cokburn, Mr. Jhon Lytill, and George Kerynton, his procuratoris in all actions.

11. *The Holy Rood*.—1544, June 23d, Sir Archibald Borthwick was appointed chaplain of the Rood in the college-kirk of Haddington.

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\* saitt, on ye south side and end of ye bodie of the said kirk, beneath Sir Johne Setoun “ of Barnis, knyght, his loft or saitt.” (James Gray, common clerk of the burgh.)—*Chart. Incorporation Tailors.*

\* The title of *Sir* was not formerly peculiar to knights: it was also given to priests, and sometimes to inferior personages. Dr. Johnson thinks this title was applied to such as had taken the degree of A. B. in the universities, who are styled *domini*, Sirs, to distinguish them from the M. A.'s, who are styled *magistri*, Masters.—PEARCE'S *Reliques*, I.

† 1543, January 24th, “ the chaplanis of the Quire declared, in *verbo sacerdoti*, that Harre Cokburn owed to them *xx.s.*; and the provost ordained the same to be paid within *xv. days.*”



" The which day the provost, council, and community of this burgh, universally convened by the sound of the hand-bell and officers of the same, in the council-house, have given, and by the tenor hereof give, to Sir Archibald Borthwick, chaplain, the service of the [Holy] Rood chaplainry within the college-kirk of Haddington, now vacant in their hands by decease of Sir Patrick Mauchlyne, last chaplain thereof, with his stall in the Quire, all oblations, emoluments, profits, ornaments, and all other manner of profits that the said late Sir Patrik Mauchlyne had of before; and ordains a gift to be made hereupon, under their common seal, as effeirs, in due form."

Sir Adam Browne, chaplain, was, at the same time, presented to the chaplainry of the parish clerkship of Haddington, which Sir Archibald Borthwick had held before.\* Also, Sir Robert Symson, chaplain, obtained the gift of the ten merks of pension, which the said Sir Adam Browne had before, &c.

**12. *Three Kings of Colognes' altar.***—1554, October, Sir Thomas Kerington is noticed as chaplain of the " *Thre Kingis of Culan's altar, situated in the parochie-kirk of Haddington.*"

These three kings were, Balthasar, king of Saba; Gaspar, king of Thrase; and Melchior, king of Araby, who, according to the legends of the middle ages, visited Bethlehem at the birth of our Saviour.

" The three Kyngis of the Orient, quhillkis made the first offerat (offering) till our Salvatour Christ Jhesu, callit the Three Kingis of Collene."

Sir David Lyndesay's Heraldry, 1542, contains the armorial bearings of the Three Magi-Kings, with the above designations.

In the cathedral of Cologne these worthies were interred in their own chapel, with their tomb of gold, studded with precious stones, and encrusted with enamel, and their *bona fide* skulls, surmounted with coronets.

**13. *St. James.***—1558, April 28th, Sir James Mauchlyne was chaplain of St. James's altar, situated within the college-kirk of Haddington.

**14. *The Holy Trinity.***—1563, September 12th, the chaplainry of the Trinity aisle (probably altar), in the parish kirk of Haddington, was granted to Mr. Patrik Cokburn.

**15. *The Flesher's altar.***—1572-73, July 11th, this altar is noticed as situated in the kirk of Haddington.

" The town-council ordered the treasurer to glaze the kirk window foreanent the Flesher's altar, and to bigg the kirk styles with steps, that no bestial might have entry to the kirkyard; and the steps to be out with the " *cobill, and ny trees to reiklangis.....*" (?)

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\* 1542, July 18th, " *Dauid Fowrroiss, in name and behalf of Sir Archibald Borthwick, asked instrument that he had produced our Soverane Lordis writing in judgment, making mention that it is his Grace's mind, the said Sir Archibald be suffered to remain in his Grace's service,*" &c.

Such then was the magnificence of this venerable establishment, which was scarcely inferior to any in the diocese of St. Andrews. In the number of its endowments, it approximated to the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, which it equalled nearly in the extent of its structure. For although the cross aisle of Haddington is nineteen feet less, the building is four feet longer than the former. In the church of St. Giles it has been ascertained that there were 36 altars, many of them dedicated to the same patrons as those in the Lamp of Lothian: such as St. Duthacus, St. John, St. Michael, St. Crispin, the Holy Cross, Holy Blood, &c.; but as there is a blank in our "Burrow Court Register," from which the above extracts are copied, of more than five years, many interesting entries must be lost. The chapter of these collegiate churches, consisted of a provost, curate, so many prebendaries, a minister of the choir, four choristers, a sacristan, and beadle. As the altars of such churches had commonly more than one chaplain, besides inferior functionaries employed in other parochial duties, a body of at least sixty persons may be computed to have been employed in this establishment, who were supported by mortifications, oblations, and donations.

It appears from many charters and other documents in the cartulary of the priory of St. Andrews, that the parish church of Haddington, and most of the teinds of the parish, belonged to that priory. The following very ancient charters are preserved, but as few of them have dates, these are supplied by the time when the bishops who granted them filled the see of that diocese:

Carta Ricardi\* Episcopi (St. And.) de Ecclesia de Hadintun, cum terra de Clerchetune (Clerkington), Ecclesia St. Andreae et Canonicis.

Carta Rogeri† Episcopi, de Hadintona.

Carta Wilielmi‡ Episcopi, Vicariae de Hadingtoun.

Carta Davidis§ Episcopi, de Ecclesiis de Hadintun, et Lynlithcu, data anno gratiae 1253.

Carta Davidis Regis, de Ecclesia de Hadinton.

\* Richard, chaplain to Malcolm IV. He was elected in 1163, and died 1173.—*KEITH*.

† Roger, son to Robert third Earl of Leicester. His cousin, William the Lion, preferred him to be Lord High Chancellor in 1178. He was consecrated Bishop of St. Andrews in 1198, and died in 1202.

‡ William Malvoisin, preferred to be Lord High Chancellor in 1199. He was translated to St. Andrews in 1202, and died in 1233.

§ David Benham, or Bunham, Bishop of St. Andrews.

Carta ejus de terra Clerchetune, data Ecclesiae de Hadintou.  
 Confirmatio Comitris Henrici, de Eccl. de Hadintou, et de Clerchetune.  
 Carta Comitissae Adae, de Tofta in Hadintou.  
 Carta Willielmi Regis, de Ecclesia de Hadintou.  
 Inter Priorem Sancti Andree et Conventum ex una parte, et Magistrum.  
 Priorissam et Moniales de Hadintou, ex altera parte compositio, data A. D.  
 1240.\*

The Earl of Morton whilst he was regent, appointed the Bishop of Caithness commendator of St. Andrews; but, to use a cant phrase well known at that time (observes Dr. Barclay,) he was only a Tulchan prelate,† for he immediately granted a lease to Morton and his heirs male during their lives, and for five nineteen years after his decease, of the whole revenues of the Priory, for a very paltry tack-duty.

The Priory reverting to the Crown by the Earl of Morton's forfeiture, James VI. erected it into a temporal lordship, in favour of his cousin Esme, Duke of Lennox. His son, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, disposed the patronage of the parish kirk of Haddington, with its whole teinds, parsonage, and vicarage, on the 2nd November 1615, to Thomas, Lord Binning and Byres, who was afterwards Earl of Haddington; and who obtained a charter of them from the Crown, on the 1st August 1620.

The Earl of Haddington, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, sold that patronage along with his property in the parish, to Charles first Earl of Hopetoun, in whose family it is now vested.

It seems evident, therefore, from the "Burrow Records" and other authorities we have quoted, that the present high-church, although it had changed its original masters, was undoubtedly the "Lucerna Laudonis" of Fordun. It does not appear, however, like St. Mary's church, to have borne the name of any particular saint; for it is uniformly called, the "parish-kirk"—the "he-kirk"—or the "college-kirk." But this may occur from its having been early wrested from the Franciscans. It was no uncommon thing for the English invaders to remove such friars

\*The curious reader will find copies of the above charters, which are written in Latin, printed in the Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, (vol. i. p. 212.) to whom they were communicated by the Rev. Dr. Barclay of Haddington.

† Tulchan was a calf's skin stuffed with straw, to cause a cow to give milk. He was, therefore, called a "Tulchan Bishop," who caused the bishoprick to yield its revenues to the lord or patron who procured it.—*PETRIE'S Church Hist.*

as were inimical to their government, and to substitute English monks in their convents. Edward I. protected those orders who swore fealty to him in 1296; but, in 1333, when Edward III. entered Scotland as a conqueror, he removed several preaching friars, and placed others in their stead, who in their turn were destined to feel the effects of the torch and the ravages of the invader. This church, however, continued to flourish in the reign of James IV.; for, on his marriage with the Princess Margaret of England in 1503, while she lodged at the Abbey of Haddington, her company and horses were “ordoned provysyon” at the Gray Freres” for two days.\*

The church of Haddington is a beautiful Gothic fabric, of a chaste style of architecture, which harmonizes well with the nature of the adjacent scenery. It is quite divested of that excess of floral embellishment, which in Melrose and Roslin leads the imagination of the vistor to the studio of the artist; but it is sufficiently rich to interest the eye of the traveller. The nave of the church is 210 feet long from east to west, and 62 feet broad. The transept or cross aisle, from north to south, is 110 feet wide, surmounted by a square tower, 90 feet in height, of figured stonework, and almost entire: each right angle, in the upper storey, containing niches for two saints, with an escutcheon in the centre. The chancel, or western part of the building, is still used as the parish church. The principal approach by this door has been richly chiselled. The capital of the pillar, which divides the porch, exhibits the hands and feet of the martyr, tied with cords, and pierced with the nails of the cross. The fabric is built of a fine reddish freestone, which is supposed to have been brought from a quarry in the neighbourhood of Garvald.†

Before proceeding to the modern history of the parish church of Haddington—its early ministers, scholars, and teachers—we shall, for the sake of connecting events, take a short view of the proceedings of the presbytery of Haddington after the Reformation, in asserting their rights and resisting prelacy.

\* Leland's Collectanea.—See also p. 51.

† Tradition asserts, that the labourers were placed in a line, and conveyed the stones in this manner, one to another, from the quarry to the church. In an age when there was nothing but foundrous roads, this assertion might be believed, had there been no horses to carry burdens, or joiners to instruct the people how to make sledges.

There is also a tradition, that the fine bells of the Franciscan church of Haddington, were carried to Durham by the English invaders.—See p. 27.

## CHAPTER II.

“ It is Johne Knox in deid quhome of I mene,  
 That fervent, faithfull, servand of the Lord,  
 Quhome I dar bauldly byde at till have bene  
 Ane maist trew preicheour of the Lordis word.  
 I rak nathing quhat rebalds heir record—  
 Bot that this may be maid mair manifest:  
 I will discurs sum thing in speciall,  
 Tuiching this *Lamp*.”—M. IOHNE DAVIDSONE, *minister of Salt-Preston*

THE REFORMATION.—JOHN KNOX—GEORGE WISHART.—THE  
 PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON UNDER PRELACY, AND ITS  
 CONTESTS WITH THE BISHOPS DURING THE REIGN OF  
 JAMES THE SIXTH.—PATRONAGE AND POPULAR ELECTION.  
 —CRUELTY AND LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE AGE.—POPISE  
 MUMMERIES.—JOHN HOME AND THE TRAGEDY OF DOUGLAS

WITHIN a hamble cottage, and within view of that venerable church which we have just described, was John Knox, the hero of the reformation, born. At least tradition says so : and for a time we shall indulge in the idea. It was, at all events, when attending the grammar-school of Haddington, and musing in the shades of its monkish cloisters, and poring over his favourite St. Jerome or St. Augustine, that he imbibed those free ideas of church government which afterwards astonished the world.

The earliest destruction of the monasteries began at Perth, on the return of Knox from Geneva, in 1559. From thence the ferment spreading over Fife and across the Forth, soon travelled through the whole kingdom. Fourteen years previous to this period, George Wishart had commenced the arduous task which his pupil completed ; and, in his missionary tour through Lothian, preached at Haddington. This burgh at that time being completely under the control of the Earl of Bothwell, Wishart met with such an indifferent reception, that he complained bitterly of the usage, and was led to rebuke the people for their contempt of the gospel, and foretold, what scarcely required prophecy in that archial age, that “ strangers should possess their houses, and

chase them from their habitations." To this teacher Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his private instructions. During his last visit to Lothian, Knox waited constantly on his person, and bore a sword (a very unmeet symbol,) which was carried before the preacher from the time that an attempt was made to assassinate him at Dundee. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal and talents of Knox, and seems to have presaged his future line of conduct, at the same time that he laboured under a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom. Wishart, after preaching at Haddington, went on foot, with Mr. Cockburn of Ormiston, and two of his friends, to the house of Ormiston. Knox was anxious to accompany him; but Wishart, after taking his sword from the former, dismissed him with these words: "Nay, return to your bairnes (pupils), and God bless you: ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."\*

It was fortunate for Knox that he did not accompany Wishart. In the course of the night, the house was beset by the Earl of Bothwell, who demanded Wishart to be given up to him. Cockburn and his friends, however, refused to comply, till the Earl gave the most solemn promises that he should be kept in safety, and not given up to his enemies. Cardinal Beaton was at that time at Elphingston castle, a seat in the neighbourhood, anxious to get Wishart into his power. Bothwell refused to comply with the Cardinal's demand, and stood to his promise. But he was soon prevailed upon to give him up to the timid and irresolute Arran, who was then regent of Scotland. Solicited by the Queen-mother, Arran delivered up his unfortunate charge to the Cardinal, who carried him to St. Andrews in the end of January 1546, where he was burnt at the stake, on the 1st March, in the view of Beaton and his friends, who beheld the martyr's sufferings from the window of that castle, where he soon after atoned for his savage cruelty beneath the assassin's dagger.

\* Knox having relinquished all thoughts of officiating in the church, which had invested him with clerical orders, entered as tutor into the families of Hugh Douglas of Longniddrie, and John Cockburn of Ormiston, two gentlemen in East Lothian who had embraced the reformed doctrines. That the people in the neighbourhood might derive advantage from his instruction, he catechised his pupils publicly in a chapel at Longniddrie, in which he also read to them, at stated times, a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks.—M'CRIE'S *Life of Knox*. The memory of this fact has been preserved by tradition, and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called "John Knox's kirk."

In 1560 the first general assembly of the reformed church was held at Edinburgh; and, in March 1561, Mr. John Spottiswood was appointed superintendent of Lothian. In the third head of the policy of the reformed church it was ordained, That all monastic places of public worship, cathedrals, canonries, colleges, &c. should be destroyed, with the exception of those used for parish churches or schools. "Thereupon (says Archbishop Spotswood,) ensued a pitiful devastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm. No difference was made; but all the churches were either defaced or destroyed."

In 1571, November 30th, the town-council of Haddington "ordained all anuellis of the chaplainries and altars within the burgh to be collected and applied to a master of the school, or to a reader, for teaching of bairns, and exhorter in the kirk, so that there be a qualified man gotten with advice of the council," &c.\* In the following year Mr. James Carmichael was admitted minister; and at the same time received a gift of the common school of the burgh. These pluralities he only enjoyed till 1576, when it was thought proper that the double offices should be separated.

After the defeat of the plot to seize the young king, James VI. at Stirling, on the 6th May, 1584, he came with his whole army to Edinburgh. At his Majesty's coming, some persons, suspected as partakers in the surprise of Stirling, were charged to appear before the King and council at Holyrood. Several ministers, suspecting themselves to be pointed at for trafficking in this conspiracy, fled the country before any charge was brought against them; especially Mr. Andrew Polwarth, subdean of Glasgow; Mr. Patrick Galloway, minister at Perth; Mr. James Carmichael, minister at Haddington; and Mr. John Davidson, minister at Liberton (afterwards of Prestonpans); and so by that means apparently taking the crime upon themselves. And upon the 8th of June, Mr. James Lawson, and Mr. Walter Balcanquhal,† ministers of Edinburgh, also took the alarm, and fled from their flocks to England, unpursued or unsuspected.‡

Patronage, *versus* the right of popular election, was early view-

\* Haddington Council Reg. † Mr. Walter Balcanquall was a reader of the common prayers in the church of Haddington in 1572.—*Ibid.*

‡ Moyses's Memoirs.

ed with a jealous eye by the presbytery of Haddington. On the annexation of the temporalities of the bishopricks to the crown, the patronages connected with them were disposed of to different noblemen and gentlemen; but as the church courts exerted themselves in obtaining the presentation for the person who was most acceptable to the parish, few objections were offered to a practice, from whence few evils resulted. The general assembly at the same time held a ruling power over the presbyteries; for on the appointment of a second minister to the town and parish of Haddington, the presbytery claimed the right of nomination; but Mr. Carmichael having produced and read the act of assembly in 1562, they relinquished their claim. The King's prerogative was sometimes found fault with, of which the following is an example: Mr. Andrew Forester, minister of Corstorphin, having laid before the presbytery of Haddington, a demission of the vicarage of Tranent by his father, and a presentation of it to himself by the King, confessed, after some interrogatories, "that bayt (both) ye dismission and presentation foirsaid wer taken be (with) his foirknowledge, and accepted be his consent." The presbytery therefore found that they could not proceed to collation and admission, because he had not obtained license of transportation, and "because be his foirsaid dealling he is fallin vnder danger of ane act of the generall assembly decerning sic persons as takes giftes of ony benefices of cure w<sup>t</sup>out foirknowledge and consent of the kirk, to be *rei ambitus*, of the quilk fault he is to be tryit befor his judge ordinarie."\*

The next case was that of Aberlady. The parishioners requested the presbytery, "that ane lite myt be made of qualifeit men, and sent to teache in their parochie kirk upon several sabboth dayes per vices, to the end yt ye Brethrene of the Presbyterie w<sup>t</sup> their consent myt out of that number chuse ane fittest for the rowme." Mr. Andrew Blackhall, younger, being put on the leet, was suspected to be *reus ambitus*, and ordained to make his purgation. Having satisfied the presbytery, after a strict examination, that he did not know of the presentation, "till it was past the seallis, and as yet had not acceptit of the same, nather yet was myndit to accept of the same w<sup>t</sup>out ye special advyse of the presbyterie," they found "the said Mr. Andro not to be *reus*

\* Record Presbytery of Haddington.



*ambitus*;" but still they exercised their power over the incumbent by the following resolution :

" At Hadingtoun, ye 24 Martij 1602.

" The quilk day ye brethrene being to nomiate and elect ane of the thrie yt was vpon ye lite for Aberladie, to be placit as pastour thare, before yt ye said mater sauld be put in voting tho' meit yt Mr. Andro Blakhall suld subscriyve ye submission following :

" I, Mr. Andro Blakhal, younger, am content to put, and presettlie puts ye gift and presentatoun of ye vicarage of Aberladie, obtainit in my name, in ye hands of ye presbyterie of Hadingtoun, to use it as they think gude.

" Sic subscribitur, M. A. Blakhall."

A curious instance of procedure is quoted by Dr. M'Crie, in the case of an unpopular presentee, which occurred in the same presbytery long after the introduction of episcopacy. In 1621, Mr. Michael Gilbert having obtained from the king (Charles I.) a presentation to the parish of North-Berwick, the presbytery appointed him to preach in that church, and the people to send commissioners to testify what was " ther lyking or approbation of him." Commissioners, accordingly, attended next meeting of the presbytery, and reported " in name of the whole people, that they were not content wt Michael Gibbert, and that universallie ye people had no lyking of him, and thawcht him not meit for that place."\*

The presbytery were, however, perfectly satisfied with Mr. Gilbert's abilities; but under the circumstances of the case, craved the advice of the Bishop of St. Andrews. His lordship seemed willing, in the first place, to yield to the wishes of the people, as, according to the opinion of Chrysostom, he deemed it necessary to consider the qualities of men in regard to their prudence as well as in their teaching; but, after some delay, the presbytery received instructions from the Bishop to proceed with Gilbert's settlement.†

It appears that the consent of the people was signified in different ways. When it was proposed that Mr. John Davidson (regent of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews,) should be settled minister of Salt Prestoun and the Pannis, " ane gritt multitude of the honest men of bayth the touns foirsaidis came and shew thair gude lyking of Mr. Jhone and his doctrine to us of the presbyterie (met at Tranent) desyring us maist earnestly with ane voyce,"

\* Record of the Presbytery of Haddington, August 15th, 1601. † Ibid, Oct. 5, 1597.

&c., while at the same time thanks were returned to my Lord of Newbotle, whose concurrence had been requested, and obtained by the presbytery.\*

Another novel feature of the times exhibited itself in the general assembly, which began on the 31st March 1589, appointing all the ministers of the church to fight their examination battles over again, and to be tried *de novo*, nominating certain individuals as assistants to each presbytery in this work. In consequence of this decree, a rigid examination commenced, from which the ministers in general escaped with a gentle admonition.†

\* The following is the copy of a formal written call, which is the earliest document of the kind Dr. M'Crie had met with in his presbyterial researches.

" Unto zor godlie W. (wisdoms) of the presbyterie of Haddingtoun, humlie menis and schawis, we, zor bretherne, the prors. (parishoners) of Gullane, wt the speciall consent of our pastor, Mr. Thomas Makghe, that q<sup>r</sup>as it hes pleisit God in the age, infirmitie, and often diseises of our said pastor, to offer occasion of support to him and to us both, be Mr. Androw Makghe his sone, of quhome we having had pruiff and tryall the twa zoris bygane, dois testifie his doctrine to be sound, sensible, and edifying; his lyffe and conversatioune to be honest and unrebukeable. In respect q<sup>r</sup>of haneing gude expectatiome yt he salbe ane profitable instrument amangis vs for advancement of goddis glorie and our awin salvatioune, hes, wt ane voyce, thought expedient meist ernstlie to request zor wisdomes to proceid wt that diligence zor w. sall think maist expedient to the admission and ordinatioun of the said Mr. Andro to the office of ministerie within our congregatioun, that being warrandit be ye outward calling and autoritie of the the kirk, he may be answerabill to our said expectatioun in the synceir preaching of Goddis word, ministering of ye sacraments, discipline, and all vther externall benefites of ye kirk according to ye reull of the said word and commoun practise of the reformat kirk w<sup>ch</sup>in this cuntrey. Unto quhome in the Lord, ane and all, we promise saytfullie our concurrence and obedience to the vttermost, according to our dewtie. And zor godlie w. answer humlie we besich.

" Sic Subscribitur, Mr. Thomas Makghe, minister of Gullane.

|                             |                              |                   |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Ro <sup>l</sup> . Hepburne. | Jhone Sinclair.              | Daniel Broun,     |
| Alex <sup>r</sup> . Tod.    | George Ker.                  | Michael Tod.      |
| Mr. Mark Hepburne.          | P. Levingtoun of Saltcottis. | James Sandilands. |
| George Dudgeon.             | Ro. Congalton of that ilk.   | George Walker.    |
| Andro Robesone.             | Walter Ker.                  | George Seeveis.   |
| William Marshall.           | George Halyburton.           | Thomas Wilson.    |

" This is the mynd of the hail rest of the pro<sup>rs</sup> yt cannot subscriye, as thay have testifyt be thair consent quhen thair voittis wes requyrit, desyryng me notar, vnderwriten, to subscriye in thair names.

" Ita est Joannes Craik, notarius publicus ad premissa requisitus testem his meis signo et subscriptione manualibus. "—*Rec. Presb. Haddington, Dec. 7. 1597.*

† The tryall was by question and answer, of which the following is an abstract:

1. Mr *Thomas Macghe* (Gullan.) His passage of scripture was 46 Isaiah unto the 5th verse. Having exposit and collected the same, and thereafter removed, the Brethren censur'd, and thus gave their opinion—" He is judged to be well versed with the Scrip-

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there was as great a struggle between episcopacy and presbyterianism in Scotland, as there had been formerly betwixt the latter and popery, and which at length led to fields of blood "in either Charles's reign." With a view of gradually introducing prelacy, it was proposed that "constant moderators" should be admitted to the general assembly; in other words, that bishops should be moderators of provincial assemblies, and that the moderators of presbyteries should be constant members of the general assembly. This led to a deal of cavaling in the church, and while some obeyed willingly, others yielded through dread. In the month of March 1607, several presbyteries were charged, under the pain of horning, to admit *constant* moderators. The commissioners from the secret council to the Synod of Lothian, were Walter, Lord Blantyre, Sir Thomas Hamilton of Monkland, and John Preston of Pennycuik. The presbyteries of Peebles, Haddington, and Dalkeith, delayed accepting; but Edinburgh, Dunbar, and Linlithgow, were persuaded to satisfy the King's commissioners.

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tures. Being examined upon the authority of the Scriptures, he is thought prompt to confound the enemies of truth with the word of God and guid doctrine."

2. *James Gibsons*. (28 Julij, at morning.) Having "teichet publiklie at his appointit hour, being removed, he was judgeit to have done weil. Yet he omitted what he promesit to defyne, as also he repeated sundrie impertinent words bayth in doctrine and prayer, wherefore he is admonisit to beware."

3. *Thomas Greg*. (28 Julij at efternoon.) His passage of scripture was 3 Galatians to the 4th verse. On being removed "he was judged to have done well, and appeared to be versed with the scriptures. Being examined as follows: "It is not ane falt to Godis pepill to embrace the things that God commandis, ergo it is not ane falt to the Christians to keip the ceremonial law," with other pertinent questions respecting faith and works. He understood the arguments and answers; but was found not versed in logic.

4. *James Rid*. (23 October.) Being "hard mak privie exercise, the brethrene judged he had done better than before. Yet he had not clearly exponit the text, whereof he was desyred to be mair popular, qlk he promesit to do, God willing, protesting that at his next heiring he may be heard at mair length, to the effect he might collect his doctrine mair amplie in the place, quhillk cane not be done in half ane hour, to satisfie for the description of ane ample text."

The sentences pronounced were: Mr. *James Carmichael* meit to be continued in the ministry in a better degree.—Mr. *John Ker*† unmeit to be continued; therefore deposed him from the function of the ministry; "Zit the brethern jugeis that if occupyit with his book he may do better heirafter."—*James Lamb* (Bolton,) meit to be continued in the ministry in the lowest missour.—*Daniel Wallace* meit to be continued in "ane low missour."—*James Rid* unmeit to be continued: therefore deposed him from the function of the ministry for the present.—*Thomas Gregge* meit to be continued in a gude degree.—Mr. *Thomas Macghie* meit to be continued in a better degree.—*Alexander Forrester* meit to be continued "in sum reasonable degrie."—*James Gibsons* meit to be continued in "ane reasonable gude missour."—*Records Presb. of Haddington*.

\* Minister of Pencaitland. † Of Prestonpans.

On the 18th August, the synod of Lothian was held at Dalkeith. Mr. George Grier, (minister of St. Martine's) Haddington, the last moderator, had the exhortation. He alledged out of *Beza de Gradibus*, that a "constant moderator" was the first step to the popedom;—that when they were to choose a new moderator, the King's commissioners produced their commissions, together with a copy of the act of Linlithgow, recommending constant moderators in provincial synods, as well as in particular presbyteries; but that the words of that act were obscure and ambiguous, and referred the same to the next general assembly.

To unite more closely the Scottish with the English church, James prevailed on John Spottiswood, archbishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, bishop of Galloway; and Lamb, bishop of Brechin, to accept consecration from the hands of the English bishops.

A general assembly was held at Glasgow, on Friday the 8th June 1610. George Home, Earl of Dunbar, had come to Scotland as commissioner from the King, and along with him Drs. Hampton, Mirrison, and Hutson, with whom he had three days serious conference how to order matters at the meeting. Spottiswood was chosen moderator. It was reported that money was given largely to such as served the purpose of the King and the Bishop, under pretence of covering their travelling charges. The constant-moderators, who were present, got each their L.100 Scots; but John Lauder, minister of Cockburnspath, coming rather late, was content to take L.10, 40 pennies, less. Of this assembly the Earl of Dunbar was the commissioner: among the nobility were Lords Lindsay and Blantyre; Mr. James Carmichael from Haddington, and Messrs. Edward and Thomas Hepburn, and John Lauder, from Dunbar; and the Lairds of Waughton and North Berwick.

Amongst other regulations drawn up for the discipline of the kirk, it was thought expedient "that the bishops should be moderators in every diocesan synod, and that these synods should be held twice a-year in April and October, and that where the dioceses were large, two or three synods should be held in convenient places for the accommodation of the clergy."

Bishop Gladstones was appointed to hold the diocesan synod of Lothian in Haddington, on the first day of November, 1610. In

his missive to the presbytery of Haddington, he required as many of their number as were of that diocese to be present, accompanied with two or three commissioners from every parish, assuring them, that he could do no less than award the penalty, appointed by the last assembly, for the wilful answer of any of the ministers. To this arrogance the presbytery of Haddington could not accede. They, therefore, resolved upon a gentle request or supplication to the Bishop, which Mr. James Carmichael, their moderator, should present, subscribed by him and the clerk in their names; praying that in order to preserve themselves and their flocks from inconstancy and perjury, that they might not be pressed to accept any other discipline or government of the kirk than that which they already possessed.

On the day appointed, the bishop, after preaching from Judges. xi. 12. "came down to the table, and gratified the presbytery by allowing them to choose their clerk. When the Bishop was asking votes for the clerk, Mr. James Carmichael, moderator of the presbytery of Haddington, was silent, notwithstanding his brethren had given him many signs to discharge his commission. Being assembled, Bishop Gladstones asked Mr. John Ker, minister of Prestonpans, whom he thought most meet to be appointed clerk? He answered, "Sir, there is another matter, which must go before the choosing of a clerk." The Bishop demanded what it was? Ker boldly answered: "That their presbytery had given commission to Mr. James Carmichael, to present some few lines in their name, which he trusted the assembly would find reasonable." The Bishop replied, "That nothing could be received conveniently, either by word or writ, without a clerk, and therefore prayed him to give his vote. The other answered: "I will not stand to give my vote except under protestation, that it shall not be prejudicial to what may be said or done by me or my brethren afterwards." The clerk being chosen, Mr. Ker again urged the matter, which the Bishop perceiving, called upon Mr. Carmichael to speak. "He made (says Calderwood,) a tedious and unprofitable harangue, hindered the reading of their smooth protestation or request, which was more sharp and pertinent than his speech. At last he came to that, which was committed to him by the presbytery, but uttered it well sparingly, and omitted the last clause." Mr. Andrew Mak-

gic assisted Mr. Carmichael, and Mr. Archibald Oswald followed, when the Bishop perceiving by his preface, that he meant both in his own name, and in that of the presbytery, to renounce his lordship's judicatory, he raise in a fury, and said, "What is that I am doing? I am not come here to reason or contend with words, but to execute laws; and, therefore, I will not hear you, nor any man speak more so in public," and commanded him to be silent.

Upon which Mr. Oswald said, "if ye will not hear me, but command me silence, I shall be always silent."

"I mean not to hinder you," said the Bishop, "to speak in right time and place. Ye shall be heard in the privy conference with your bills and protestations; and if they be reasonable, they shall have a reasonable answer." He then commanded silence till the names were called over, and so choosed the conference, None disaffected to him were chosen, except one. The three ministers above named, found no assistance, although it was promised both by their own brethren and by the presbytery of Dalkeith. An accident happened to Bishop Gladstone while going out of the church, which was considered by the superstitious as a just visitation. "While the Bishop was going to dinner (says Calderwood,) he had almost broken his leg; for a great stone at the entry of the kirk door, almost six quarters square, steeped within, and fell down with him; howbeit two or three hundred had gone out before him: whereupon was made a pretty epigram in Latin."

In the afternoon the matter proponed by the three brethren was treated of in the privy conference, when a deal of altercation ensued on both sides. "Obey it, or not obey it, upon your own peril," said the Bishop, "for ye know the consequences." None of the presbytery of Haddington were, however, called upon to appear that night except James Carmichael, who being distinguished as a man of business as well as a preacher, sat, voted, and reasoned on the matter in question.

It was intimated to Bishop Gladstones on the day following, that the presbytery of Haddington would reject either his censure or trial. He was, however, disinclined to meddle with them in any case, till he was forced in a matter concerning the plantation of North Berwick. Some of the ministers having gone out before the names were called, the rest would not vote. Mr.

James Reid, one of their number removed himself, and came in again to be tried. There was afterwards no more opposition in this synod. The bishops overawed the majority of the other synods by their wealth, their influence, or the King's assistance; and although there was much murmuring and discontent, yet there was little resistance.

Every art was used to assimilate the Scotican church as nearly as possible to that of England. Mr. John Home of Dunbar, Mr. George Grier of St. Martin's, Haddington, and four other ministers, were summoned to appear before the high commission at Edinburgh on the 26th January, for not preaching on holidays, and of not administering the communion (kneeling) agreeable to the forms prescribed by the Perth assembly. There were none present on the day appointed but the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and the Isles, and Mr. Walter Whiteford. They were therefore dismissed, and warned to appear again before the same tribunal in March; and in default of this mandate, that they must renounce their ministry. Through the interest of the Earl of Melrose (Haddington), the name of Grier was excluded from the summons, while Home ascribed some reason for his conduct, which the Bishop of St. Andrews undertook to answer betwixt and Pasch. His answers, however, were very frivolous, and rather confirmed Home in his opinions. Mr. John Scrimiger, minister at Kinghorn, was less fortunate; for having celebrated the communion conform to the former practice of the kirk, without *kneeling*, he was deprived of his living.

But the various ways in which the conscientious presbyterians were now persecuted by the lordly prelates, at the instance of the British Solomon, who was a pope in every thing but the name, were truly ridiculous. The ministers were exhorted to make every concession to the King's pleasure—to shorten their communion tables, and to give the elements out of their own hands. Every means continued to be employed for the gradual introduction of the English forms of worship. The introduction of the Five Articles,\* however, was carried by a small majority, several

\* The grounds of the Five Articles, to which so much importance was attached, were that communicants should celebrate the Lord's supper on their knees,—that, in the event of sickness, the pastor might administer the sacrament in the invalid's house,—that children should be baptised the first Lord's day after their birth; and, if possible.

of whom voted by proxy, which was considered a new mode of procedure in Scotland. Sir Robert Hepburn and the Laird of Preston were commissioners for the county of Haddington; Mr. James Cockburn for the burgh of Haddington; George Purves for Dunbar; and George Bailie for North Berwick. The Earls of Melrose and Winton voted for the measure; the Lords Yester and Elphingston dissented; and the Lords Blantyre and Lauderdale were either absent or their votes uncertain.

It was afterwards ordained, "that ministers should teach no other doctrine in the Lord's day afternoon, but some part of the catechism," with a view, as was conjectured, of preventing their indulging in invectives against the doctrines of those who differed from them in opinion. To these arbitrary acts against the clergy were added the imposition of fines, and the imprisonment of the laity who countenanced them. This was followed up by a proclamation against holding conventicles, or meeting privately, for the purposes of preaching and exhortation; a measure which afterwards paved the way for the downfall of the unfortunate house of Stuart.

George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who had been the chief instrument employed in enforcing the new discipline of the presbyterian church, died at Whitehall, on the last day of January 1611.\*

The death of the Earl of Dunbar did not heal the wounds of the presbyterian church; but James, from the plausible duplicity of his conduct, succeeded in quieting the people. His death happened on the 27th March 1625.† Charles, urged by his own

openly in the church,—that children, of eight years of age, should be catechised by the priest, and presented to the bishop for his blessing,—that the festival days commemorative of the nativity and sufferings of Christ should be observed.

\* "So he was pulled down from the height of his honour, (says Calderwood,) when he was about to solemnize magnificently his daughter's marriage with the Lord Walden. He purposed to keep St. George's day after, in Berwick, where he had almost finished a sumptuous and glorious palace, which standeth as a monument to testify, that the curse which was pronounced against the rebuilders of Jericho, was executed upon him. Of all that he conquered in Scotland, there is not left to his posterity so much as a foot-breadth of land."—A splendid monument was erected to his memory in the church of Dunbar. It was repaired in 1820, by Mr. St. George, for which the Duke of Roxburgh contributed L.100.—See p. 192 of this volume.

† James did not confine himself to meddling with the church. He was determined, agreeable to the Jewish law, that not a witch "should be suffered to live!" and, for the edification of his subjects, wrote his *Demonologie*, or a Treatise against Witchcraft. The history of the tricks and tragedies the weird sisters played in East Lothian were written by Mr. James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, and will be noticed in Part



bigotted and inflexible character, went a degree of despotism beyond his father, while the mercenary and unprincipled ministers of Charles II. hurried the drop-scene of the drama of persecution, from the ashes of which religious toleration arose with healing in its wings. As the measures pursued during the reign of the two Charles's, have already been amply detailed, it is unnecessary to recapitulate the subject.

The following are the names of the ministers in East Lothian, who were nonconformists to prelacy in 1633, and who were either banished, confined, or turned out of their parishes :

PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON.

Mr. Robert Ker of Haddington ; John Macghe of Dirleton ; and Thomas Kirkaldy of Tranent.

PRESBYTERY OF DUNBAR.

Mr. John Baird of Innerwick.

PRESBYTERY OF DALKEITH.

Mr. John Sinclair of Ormiston.

In 1633, the church of Haddington was appointed one of the twelve prebends of the chapter of Edinburgh. At an episcopal

III. James had also a great antipathy to tobacco, and wrote his famous *Counterblast* against a weed, which he deemed only fit for diabolical fumigations. The last Vicar of Gullan is said to have been deposed by his Majesty for indulging in this now very common luxury. James, on many occasions, shewed little respect to his bishops, and his vicious favouritism extended to his dogs. In a letter from David Hume of Godscroft to Mr. James Carmichael, (March 1684.) he writes: "The king is become very ill: I will say no worse. For, being at the hunting, he drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called *Tell-true*, to whom he spake thir words: *Tell-true* I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig."—CALDERWOOD MS. iii. Such was the prince, styled the British Solomon!

Among those who perhaps justly incurred the displeasure of the King, was James Gibson, minister of Pencaitland. In a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh, he made use of the following indiscreet language: "I thought that Captain James Stewart, Lady Jesabel his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have found the truth, that it was the King himself: As Jeroboam and his posterity were rooted out for staying of the true worshipping of God, so I fear that if our King continue in his present course he will be the last of his race."—Gibson was immediately brought before the privy council, and having acknowledged the above expressions, he was imprisoned on the charge of high treason; but he was afterwards liberated, and suspended from the ministry by the general assembly. Being apprehended a second time for resuming the exercise of his office, Duncanson, one of the King's chaplains, said that the people were offended that he was so hardly used, while Jesuits were overlooked. James replied, that "no Jesuit had wronged his person so much as James Gibson."—*Rec. Presb. Haddington.*—CALD. MS. iv.—WODROW MS.

Mr. David Calderwood, the eminent historian of the church, and who was afterwards minister of Pencaitland, was also imprisoned and banished for opposing the religious and dogmatical opinions of James VI.

visitation on the 16th September, 1635, it was agreed, in presence of the Bishop of Edinburgh, the magistrates of Haddington, and several of the heritors, that a second minister was necessary for the kirk of Haddington. In consequence of this decision, in the year following, Mr. William Trent was collated to that charge. His stipend consisted of 600 merks, payable out of the revenues of the burgh. The town claimed the right of patronage to this second minister, whom they had established. This pretension was contested by the Earl of Haddington, then proprietor of the barony of Byres in the parish, which gave rise to a remarkable law-suit, in 1680, between his lordship and the burgh, which was decided in his favour. There is an elegant pleading of Sir George Mackenzie in support of the town's right, published by him in his specimen, "Eloquentiæ Forensis Scotiæ," a decision which was afterwards regarded as a precedent in the House of Peers.

It will now be necessary to take a short view of the manners of the age during the period we have described until the revolution: so far, at least, as they came under the cognizance of the church courts.

Sir Richard Maitland, (who flourished previous to 1586,) in his *Satire on the Town Ladies*, attacks the wives of the Burrows-toun on the laxity of their morals; by which it appears that the servants did not profit much by the example of their mistresses, which he ascribes to that root of all evil in the fair sex, their love of dress, or "newfangilnes of geir."\*

\* Sir Richard, however, was forced to confess, that between them and nobles of blood, there was "na difference but ane velvet huid!"

"Some wyfis of the burroustoun,  
Sa wonder vain are, and wanton,  
In ward they wait not what to wear;  
On claithes they ware mony a croun,  
And all for Newfangilnes of Geir." [\* Accountments.]

"And some will spend mair I hear say,  
In spice and druggis on ane day,  
Nor would their mothers in a year;  
Which will gar mony pack decay,  
When they sa vainly waste their gear.

"Leif, burges men, or all be loist,  
On your wyfis to mak sic cost,  
Which may gar all your bairnis bleir;  
She that may not want wyne and roist,  
Is abill for to waist sum geir.

1575, it having been considered that “ the playing of clerks’-plays, comedies, or tragedies, upon the canonical parts of scripture, induceth and bringeth in with it, a contempt and profanation of the same ; ordained that no such plays be acted either of the new or old Testaments, on the Sabbath or work days, in time coming, and that the contraveners, *if they be ministers*, be deprived of their functions ; if others, that they be censured by the discipline of the kirk. And that an article be given in to such as sit upon the policie, that comedies, tragedies, and other profane plays, which are not made upon authentic parts of scripture, may be considered before they be acted publicly ; and that they be not acted upon the Lord’s day.”

Among the first religious spectacles exhibited, were representations, in dumb show, with short speeches intermingled, representing the most interesting scenes in the history of our Saviour. These representations, from the nature of the subject, acquired the name of *Mysteries*, in which allegorical personages, such as Sin and Death were introduced. By degrees dramatic pieces were formed from such personifications, and these were entitled *Moral Plays* or *Moralities*. In the course of time humorous subjects were introduced ; and hence the distinctions of tragedy and comedy arose. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, these performances became so popular and common that the church complained of them as a nuisance. In the houses of the nobility the chaplain was commonly the author of these holy plays, from which they got the appellation of *Clerk’s Plays* ; and the menial servants, or retainers of the family, were the performers. The taste for Clerks’ Plays prevailed to a considerable extent at Haddington. In the last sermon which George Wishart preached in that church, in 1544, he inveighs violently against the people for their love of these amusements, which it appears from his observation were attended by thousands of persons, while the reformer could not obtain a hundred auditors.\*

\* George Wishart, on his arrival in East Lothian, took up his abode with Hew Douglas of Langniddrie, the patron of Knox. He remained with him some days, and preached two Sandays at Tranent to a great confluence of people, with whom he appears to have been pleased. In the latter end of the Christmas holidays, by consent of the gentleman with whom he resided, he went to Haddington, where it was supposed there would still be a greater confluence of people, both by reason of the town and the country adjacent. “ The first day before noon (says the historian of the Reformation.) the auditors were reasonable, and yet nothing in comparison of that which used to be

Among the graver observances of our ancestors, was the annual commemoration in honour of the dead. The death of our Saviour, and of their favourite saints and martyrs, each of whom had his consecrated altar, was religiously observed, (hence arose

in that (Haddington) church. But the afternoon, and the next day following before noon, the auditory was so slender, that many wondered. The cause was judged to be, that the Earl of Bothwell, who in those bounds used to have credit and obedience, by procurement of the Cardinal (Beaton) had given inhibition, as well unto the towne as unto the country, that they should not hear him, under the pain of his displeasure. The first night he (Wisbart) lay within the towne with *David Forrest*, now called 'the General,' a man that long professed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended. The second night he lay in *Lethington*, the Laird whereof (Sir Richard Maitland) was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion. The day following, before the said M. George past to the sermon, there came to him a boy, with a letter from the Westland, which received and read, he called for John Knox, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothiane, with whom he began to enter into purpose, that he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to weary of God. The cause of his complaint was, the gentlemen of the west had written unto him, that they could not keep the meeting at Edinburgh. The said Jo. Knox wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before sermon (for that was not his accustomed use before) said, 'Sir, the time of sermon approacheth, I will leave you for the present to your meditation. And so he took the bill containing the purpose aforesaid, and left him.—The said Master George walked up and down behinde the high altar [of the church of Haddington] more than half an hour. His weary countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his minde. At last he passeth to the pulpit; but the auditory was small. He should have begun to have treated of the second Table of the Law: but thereof in that sermon spake he very little. He began on this manner:

"O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy Word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their owne salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been, at any vaine *Clarke Play*, two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the eternall God, of all the towne or parish, cannot be numbered one hundred persons: Sore and fearfull shall the plagues be, that shall ensue upon of this thy contempt, with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued: Yea, thou Haddington, in speciall, strangers shall possesse thee, and you the present inhabitants shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not knowae, nor will not know, the time of God's mercifull visitation.'

"In such vehemency and threatning continued that servant of God near an hour and a half; in which he declared all the plagues that ensued as plainly, as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said (continues the historian) 'I have forgotten myself, and the matter that I should have treated of: But let these my last words concerning publike preaching remain in your mindes, till that God send you new comfort.' Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the second Table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy, and so ended, as it were making his last testament, as the issue declared fully. The spirit of truth and of true judgment were both in his heart and mouth; for that same night was he apprehended before midnight, in the house of Ormiston, by the Earl of Bothwell, made for money butcher to the Cardinal."—Knox's *Historie*. After Wisbart had parted with Knox at Haddington, in the manner we formerly narrated, he passed to Ormiston, accompanied by his host, with John Sandilands, younger of Calder; the Laird of Brunston, and others, with their servants, all on foot, for it was a vehement frost. "After

'the procession on Corpus Christi day); and at an era when, according to common belief, the prayers of the faithful were not breathed in vain for those who had passed the dark portals of this world, we may readily conceive that these ceremonies were observed with a becoming solemnity.

In reference to these ancient usages, it appears that in the months of May and June 1532, there was a dispute between the incorporations of the masons and wrights of Haddington, as to the order of precedency in the procession, &c. on *Corpus Christi* day.\*

1540, March 30th, "The which day the bailies and community ordained, that whoever might be made *Abbot* this year, that he should take the same on him within 24 hours next after he was chosen and charged therewith: or then to refuse the same, and pay their 40s. ilk ane after other, as they refuse; and this to be observed in time to come."

supper (says the historian) he held comfortable purpose of God's chosen children, and merrily said, 'Methinke that I desire earnestly to sleep:' and therewith he said, 'Shall we sing a psalm?' And so he appointed the one-and-fiftieth Psalme, which was put in Scottish meeter, and began thus, 'Have mercy on me now, good Lord, after thy great mercy, &c.' Which being ended, he past to his chamber, and sooner then his common diet passed to bed.—Before midnight the place was beset about, that none could escape to make advertisement. The Earl Bothwell came and called for the Laird, and declared the purpose, and said, 'That it was but in vain to make him to hold his house, for the Governor and the Cardinal with all their power were coming, (and indeed the Cardinal (Beaton) was at *Elphinston*, † not a mile distant from *Ormeston*): But if he would deliver the man to him, he would promise upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that it should passe the power of the Cardinal to do him any harme or hurt. Allured with these words, and taking counsell with the said Master George, who, at the first word, said, 'Open the gates, the blessed will of my God be done,' the unfortunate martyr was delivered up to his enemies.

Wishart was carried first to Edinburgh by the Earl of Bothwell: "thereafter (continues the historian) brought backe, for fashiou sake, to the house of *Hailes* againe, which was the principal place that then the Earl Bothwell had in Lothian. But as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him."—*Ibid.*

\* In 1542, April 27th, the bailies and council of Haddington "ordained Johnne Scharp and Villiam Mason, to pass in their leayn (linen) claythis on Corpus Christiis day, afore the sacrament, all the time of the processiou, and there to offer to the bailies, in name of the town, ilk ane a pound valix (wax), and ask the bailies' forgiveness, and oblige them never to fault to the town again, for breakin of the knok (clock); and to restore to the town the expenses made upon the mending of her; and if they refuse, to be banished the town for a year."—*Haddington Council Reg.* Sharp appears to have committed this misdemeanor as an act of revenge, as he had previously agreed to keep the clock for five crowns in the year, while "the battelyne of the Towbuyth was biggit."

† The massive square tower of Elphinstone, which forms a prominent object in the western point of East Lothian, is supposed to have been built in 1300. Another house was added to it in 1600, which is still inhabited, and was formerly surrounded by very fine trees; but they are now cut down.

“ The which day, James Horne was chosen by the bailies and community Abbot of Unreason for this year ; but failing of him, Patrick Dowglace, flesher ; and failing of him, John Dowglace, mason ; syne Philip Gipson ; syne Robert Litstar ; syne James Raburn ; syne John Dowglace, baxter ; and George Vaik.”

The first person mentioned (Horne,) must have refused this office, as it is stated, July 20th, “ The bailies and assize will (resolve) that the first burgess that beis made, except burgess-air, be given to Patrick Dowglace, [that is, the fees paid when a person was admitted burgess,] for his Abbot of Unreason—that he should have ; and which will relieve the town of the bond that they are bound to him therefore.”\*

The *Abbot of Unreason*, who was also styled the *Lord of Misrule*, presided over Christmas gambols with dictatorial authority, and with an address or epilogue closed those scenes of festivity. He sometimes assumed a farcical character in the interlude, and, in the garb of a dignified clergyman, entertained the rabble with his ceremonies. Our present *guisards*, or masks, during the *daft days*, (who still have their Judas) are the only remains of these mummeries.†

The Duke of York (James VII.), as if he had sought by the gaiety of novel sports to make the people forget the real grievances of his administration, was the first that introduced a regular company of comedians into Scotland. It was about the same time that he introduced the iniquitous *test* act, which might be a good reason for the presbyterians long looking with no complacent eye upon the stage.

\* Haddington Council Register.

† It was not till after the Reformation (as we have observed,) that the church prohibited plays of every sort from being performed on the Sunday, and of such theatrical performances as exhibited the canonical subjects of Scripture. Besides these representations, the populace amused themselves with other games, in honour of the ancient deities of paganism, or of their favourite heroes. Upon this principle the *King or Queen of May* may be traced from the *Floralia* of the Romans, while the feats of *Robin Hood*, the bold and popular outlaw of the twelfth century, and the exploits of his squire, Little John, were annually celebrated with military parade in the same month. Nor was it till a public statute was obtained for the purpose, that the populace relinquished their favourite amusement ; and, in 1592, the general assembly complained to the legislature of the profanation of the Sabbath by making of Robin Hood plays ! The ancient custom of mustering on the Sunday, for the purpose of being trained in archery, may have led to this practice. John Major blames Robin for rapine and theft, but “ of all theeves he affirmeth him to be the prince, and the most gentle theeve.”

“ So curteyse an outlawe as he was one,  
Was never none yfounde.”—Percy's *Reliques*.

In 1681, December 20th, several members of the town-council of Haddington refused to take the test oath; and, in 1682, Mr. James Gray, one of the ministers of the 2nd charge, demitted his office as pastor on the same head. This troublous period has already come under our observation.—(See p. 245.)

But after the presbyterian clergy had railed against the stage upwards of a century and a half, observes Arnot, “it was a matter of no small mortification to them to behold a play written by one of their own order, acted in presence of several of their number, and received with universal applause.” The tragedy of Douglas, by Mr. John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, was performed first at Edinburgh, on the 14th December, 1756. It was acted for numerous successive nights, before persons of all ranks and professions, and had a run unprecedented in any theatrical piece ever exhibited in Scotland.

The presbytery of Edinburgh alarmed, or apparently shocked at the circumstance, called before them such ministers within their own district as had witnessed the performance of the play, and passed upon them a sentence of temporal suspension from the pastoral office. They wrote circular letters to those presbyteries in which any clergymen resided who had been present at the theatre on the performance, recommending rigorous proceedings against them.\* While they attacked the play itself, on account of its irreligious and immoral tendency; bringing forward, in support of their charge, selected passages, containing what they

\* The first private rehearsal of the tragedy of Douglas, took place in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs. Sarah Ward, one of Mr. Digges's company of comedians. The characters were sustained by some of the most distinguished literary men that then flourished in Scotland. The following was the cast of the piece:

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

|                               |                                                      |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Lord Randolph, .....          | William Robertson, D.D. principal of the University. |
| Glenalvon, .....              | David Hume, Esq. the historian.                      |
| Old Norval, .....             | Rev. Dr. Carlyle, minister of Musselburgh.           |
| Young Norval (Douglas,) ..... | Rev. John Home, the author.                          |
| Lady Randolph, .....          | Professor Ferguson.                                  |
| Anna, her maid, .....         | Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, minister of the high church.    |

The audience that day consisted of several distinguished persons. Besides Mr. Digges and Mrs. Ward, were the Right Hon. Patrick Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, Lord Kames, Lord Menboddo, (the two last were then only lawyers); the Rev. John Steel and William Home, ministers. The company, with the exception of Mrs. Warde, dined afterwards at the Griakin club, in the Abbey.

considered impious invocations, mock prayers, horrid swearing,\* and sentiments calculated to encourage suicide.

The presbytery also drew up an act and exhortation to their flock, which was read from all the pulpits, and afterwards appeared in some of the periodical publications: in which their zeal went beyond the truth in asserting, that the Christian church, in all ages, condemned dramatic representations.† The presbytery of Glasgow also joined in the hue and cry, “lamenting the melancholy fact, that there should be a tragedy written by a minister of the church of Scotland.”

The earliest opportunity was used in communicating with the presbytery to which the author belonged. In January 1757, the presbytery of Edinburgh, addressed a letter to the presbytery of Haddington, informing them: “That a gentleman of their number had attended the playhouse in Edinburgh, for a number of nights successively, during the representation of a profane play called ‘Douglas,’ of which that gentleman was commonly reported to be the author; and that as the scandal happened within the bounds of the presbytery of Edinburgh, that body had thought themselves bound in duty to give regular intimation of the same to the presbytery of Haddington.”

Before the presbytery of Haddington, however, could enter into an examination of this heresy, the “Noble Shepherd” had been acted on the London stage. Mr. Home had set off for the metropolis in the beginning of February, and did not return to his charge till the 4th of May. It does not afterwards appear from the presbytery records of Haddington, that any measures were pursued relative to the communication they had got from Edinburgh, nor with respect to Mr. Home’s long absence from his parish: it being generally understood that after the ensuing term of Whitsunday he intended to resign his charge, which he

\* It was rather unfortunate for a clerical author that in some scenes of the play invocations to the Deity were introduced. An expression, particularly obnoxious, (observes Arnot) was “By him that died on the accursed tree!” an oath almost verbatim from the old English ballad of “Adam Bell, Clym of the Cleugh.” This line does not appear in modern editions. It seems to have been softened down to—“As I hope for mercy at the judgment-seat of God.”

† The general assembly had previously admitted of theatrical exhibitions, provided the subject was not scriptural.—*Buik of the Universal Kirk*. It has been remarked by the advocates of the drama, that St. Paul, 1 Corin. xv. 33. gives a verse from the *Thais* of Menander; and that George Buchanan, and some of the early fathers and bishops, wrote dramatic pieces.



accordingly did, at a meeting of presbytery, held at Athelstaneford, on the 7th June, 1757. Mr. Home had evidently no violent attachment to his profession. He had previously, in 1755, been admonished by the Presbytery of Haddington, for being absent from his parish for the space of three months at one time, without leave asked or given; and, what is rather a singular trait in the character of a presbyterian clergyman, although he had been ten years minister of the parish, he had never taken up his residence in the manse.\*

\* Home is supposed to have written the tragedy of Douglas in the retirement of Kilduff-house, where he chiefly resided; the manse not being found convenient for the gay company with whom he associated. Wandering amidst the romantic scenery of the Garleton-hills, he was wont to pour forth his musings to the midnight air, to the no small terror of the benighted traveller or the village rustics.

It is rather singular, that in the same age in which Home was compelled to resign his charge on account of his dramatic writings, that the performance of plays was tolerated in the public schools by the same presbytery, which will be noticed when we come to speak of these seminaries.

The Rev. John Logan, author of a popular volume of sermons, and nearly twenty of the most beautiful translations and paraphrases used by the church of Scotland, from the odium attached to his character by a party in the church, for writing some dramatic pieces, such as *Ruminations* (of rather a political tendency,) and other poems, was also compelled to resign his charge. Mr. Logan was minister of Leith, where Mr. Home was born, and of which the father of the latter was town-clerk.

“The dark and sullen humour of the time,  
Judged every effort of the muse a crime,  
Verse, in the finest mould of fancy cast,  
Was lumber in an age so void of taste.”—COWPER.

The merit of Mr Home's dramatic works are unquestionable; and “*Douglas*” continues to be read in the closet and performed on the stage with equal interest; but the pulpit was evidently not his vocation; and although the Church of England has produced Dr. Edward Young, Milman, and some other successful play writers, yet the chastened nature of the clerical profession in Scotland, does not seem favourable to the wide range that the genius of the poet requires to unfold the dark and varied characters of the drama. It is pleasant to turn from presbyterial contests to the scene itself. To behold the spot where the manse stood, and the retired garden, where, although Home could not domesticate himself, ROBERT BLAIR sat and meditated, and composed his no less celebrated poem of *The Grave*.

The spot where the old manse of Athelstaneford stood is now the minister's garden. The room where the poet sat and wrote his poem was called The Grave, so long as the old manse stood.† As we believe Mr. Blair (like Pollok, author of the *Course of Time*;) died previous to the publication of his poem, he also reaped his honours in The Grave.

† New Statistical Account.

CHAPTER III.

" Hail to the state of Britain! And conjoin  
 With this a salutation as devout,  
 Made to the spiritual fabric of her church,  
 Founded in truth—by blood of martyrdom  
 Cemented—by the hands of wisdom rear'd  
 In beauty of holiness, with order'd pomp,  
 Decent, and unreprieved. The voice that greets  
 The majesty of both, shall pray for both;  
 That, mutually protected and sustained,  
 They may endure long as the sea surrounds  
 This favoured land, or sunshine warms the soil."—WORDSWORTH.

RENOVATION OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF HADDINGTON.—  
 THE CHURCHYARD—ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF THE NOBILITY AND OTHER EMINENT PERSONS.—THE HISTORY OF THE MINISTERS OF HADDINGTON—ITS EARLY SCHOLARS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

THE doctrine was inculcated by John Knox, that " the best way to keep the rooks from returning, was to pull down their nests:" a maxim which, in too many instances, was literally applied to several of our cathedrals and monasteries. But such destructive measures we are bound to confess, were neither countenanced by the government, nor by the early reformers themselves. The former commanded their emissaries " to tak down the hail images thereof, and bring thaym furth to the kyrkzayrd, and burn thaym oppinly. And siclyk east down the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye." But at the same time they were cautioned to " tak guid heyd that neither the dasks, windocks, nor darris, be ony ways hurt or broken—either glassin wark or iron wark." Robert Pont, commissioner of Murray, and one of the lords of session, observes: " A great many, not only of the raskall sorte, but sundrie men of name and worldly reputatien, joyned themselves with the congregation of reformers, not so much for zeale of religion, as to reape some earthly commoditie, and to be enriched by speyle of the kirkes and abbey places. And when the preachers told them that such

places of idolatrie should be pulled downe, they accepted gladly the enterprise; and rudely passing to worke, pulled down all, both idoles and places where they were found. Not making difference betweene these places of idolatrie, and many parish-kirks, where God's word shuld have bin preached in many parts where they resorted, as in such tumultes and suddainties useth to come to passe; namelye, among such a nation as we are."\*

In compliance with such a spirit, the eastern part of the parish church of Haddington was unroofed—the quire destroyed—the arches that canopied its storied windows broken—its altars cast down—every thing that bore the figure of a saint demolished,—and even the angels, with mutilated faces, shorn of their wings. It was probably from the influence of the Earl of Bothwell in the first place, and latterly to the Maitland family, to whom part of the church lands were dispoised, and who resided in the neighbourhood, that any part of the fabric was saved from the general ruin.

From the conflicting state of public opinion at the era of the reformation, the congregations of the parish churches must have been comparatively small, and their ministers but ill provided. Accordingly we find that the first reformed clergy of Haddington added the task of schoolmaster to that of preacher; and in some places they pursued less honourable and less useful employments.† In the progress of time when the church grew more established, it was joined by many of its secret friends, who from necessary or prudential motives had hitherto stood aloof, and increased in numbers and respectability. The consequence was, that pew was added to pew, and gallery to gallery, till the parish church of Haddington exhibited as crowded a house of prayer, as would have gladdened the heart of Wishart or Knox to have witnessed, and from which many hundreds were excluded from want of accommodation. What made this grievance more apparent, several respectable dissenting chapels and meeting-houses had arisen, which, in point of comfort, were superior to the church, and but little inferior in regard to preachers.

\* Pont's Sermons against Sacrilege.—Edin. 1599.

† In some places the clergy were so illiterate, that the church found it necessary to impose a restriction upon any receiving holy orders who were ignorant of the Latin tongue, unless they were found qualified by the general assembly of the church of Scotland to discharge the pastoral office by reason "of their singular graces and gifts of God."—*Book of Universal Kirk*, 144. They are represented as living like beggars; and as being obliged to keep taverns and ale-houses, which, however, the church quickly prohibited."—*Ibid.*

Taking all these important matters into consideration, on the 13th March, 1896, the provost (Mr. Banks) reported to the town-council of Haddington, that there was a plan in agitation to repair and improve the parish church, which had been long complained of as uncomfortable and inconvenient, and that a meeting of heritors was to take place for this purpose. The council appointed the Provost and Bailie Nisbet to attend the meeting, and support the proposition, agreeable to such a plan as should seem to them most conducive for the convenience and accommodation of the inhabitants.

At a future meeting, on the 16th October, at which were present the Hon. Baron Hepburn; Alexander Houston of Clerkington; Robert Steuart of Alderston; John Martine, provost of Haddington; James Deans, bailie; George Banks, dean of guild:—Baron Hepburn, preses:—The heritors were of opinion, that before any specific repairs were agreed on, it would be proper to ascertain what proportion of these expenses were to be paid by them, and in what manner the area of the church should be divided. In particular, that the town of Haddington should previously declare with what proportion of that area they should be satisfied, and whether they were willing to pay in the same proportion for the repairs now made, and in time coming;—as also to consult the incorporations as to their claims for seats in the church. Agreeable to the recommendation of the meeting, a permanent committee was appointed by the council, consisting of Messrs. Banks, Cunningham, and Convener Nisbet, to attend, along with whatever magistrates might hereafter be in office, to the interest of the town till the repairs of the church should be settled. In consequence of this necessary measure being still delayed, the town entered a complaint to the presbytery, who were decidedly of opinion that the church was unfit to accommodate the congregation, both on account of its ruinous state, and the want of a sufficient number of seats. The council, therefore, appointed a list to be made up, of the “*examinable*” persons, in Haddington and Nungate, of twelve years of age and upwards, to ascertain what share of the area of the church the town was entitled to by law, when it was found that no less than 644 persons, entitled to accommodation, were excluded.

After the exertions of Provost Martine and the committee had brought matters near a settlement, and an elegant plan was fur-

nished by Mr. James Burn, Haddington, a new obstacle was started by the incorporated trades of the burgh, (September 1806), who had severally occupied seats and galleries from time immemorial, and some of them upon written titles, who now laid in their claim for a proportion of the church, which was urged by the heritors as a plea for longer delay. After a strong representation by Provost Martine, the council decided, that an action should be instituted in the court of session, at the instance of the magistrates, as representing the community, against the whole heritors, or such as did not concur in supporting the motion proposed, and that the Provost, Bailie Roughhead, and Mr. Banks, should be appointed a permanent committee to see the process carried into effect. At a future meeting of the heritors, Governor Houston proposed, that to avoid further disputes between the landward heritors and the town of Haddington, that a proportion of the area of the church after it should be repaired, corresponding to one half, should be allotted to the magistrates and town-council of Haddington, as representing the community; provided they agreed to pay one-half of the expense of repairs, and relieved the landward heritors of all claims that might be made by the incorporated trades, burgh heritors, &c. This proposal was agreed to by the council; but it was recommended to the committee to use their utmost endeavours to get a new church built, rather than the present one renovated, particularly as the congregation would be deprived for a considerable time of a place of worship while the other underwent repair.\* Fortunately for those who admire the preservation of the ruins of monastic grandeur, this plan was not adopted; and it was at length agreed that the west end of the church should be repaired.

After another tedious delay of seven months, on the 27th April 1809, the town-council of Haddington were under the necessity of raising an action against the whole heritors for their tardiness in fulfilling their promise; at the same time they sent letters of thanks to the Earls of Hopetoun and Wemyss, and to Mr. Steuart of Alderston, for the interest they had shewn in getting the matter forwarded, and ultimately amicably arranged.

\* As a proof of the liberality which now began to expand among religious classes of different denominations, the members of the church were accommodated with the use of the Rev. William Hogg's west secession meeting-house, between their own sermons while the other place of worship underwent repair.

The heritors being thus urged, by the 11th October, 1811, the repairs of the church were nearly completed. In the interior the old seats were removed—the arches cut up, and raised, to make room for the new galleries,—and the floors re-laid, &c. by Peter Begbie, wright in St. Laurence-house, and Francis Buchan, North Berwick, the contractors. The western fabric was to a great extent renovated, and the delapidated walls were restored, by Alexander Ireland, mason, Butterdean, according to a plan by Mr. Archibald Elliot, Edinburgh, architect. The expenses were paid in equal proportions by the town and the heritors, leaving it for after decision how the church should be divided.\*

Formerly the town had paid one-fifth of the repairs. Each of the nine incorporations of the burgh had a separate seat, on which were painted or gilt their armorial bearings in every honourable shape; and as it is the common desire of mankind for every one to ride foremost, considerable altercation took place, where there were so many interests to consult, in the division of

\* [*Magistrates' Seat.*]—On the 24th October 1809, the town-council decreed, that the magistrates' seat, in the parish church of Haddington, should, in future, be occupied by themselves alone. This motion was made by John Martine, dean-of-guild; and seconded by Thomas Pringle, treasurer.

Some years previously, (on the 9th October 1802,) application had been made to the magistrates and council, in name of the deacons of the different incorporated trades of that burgh, setting forth the dignity and respectability of the office of their convener, and praying that he might be permitted to walk to the church with the magistrates, and to sit in the seat appropriated to them. Prior to that period the convener had not been allowed to sit in the seat occupied by the magistrates. A similar request had been made some thirty years before, but had been refused on the ground that, through the influence of politics, a convener might be chosen "of so little respectability," as the magistrates might not be inclined to associate with; and when the application was granted in 1802, it was expressly understood, that the trades should take care to obviate such an objection. Convener George Harley, coppersmith, when elected at Michaelmas 1808, received a written notice that he should not be allowed the privilege of sitting in the magistrates' seat. The convener accordingly abstained from coming to the seat till his re-election, in 1809, when he applied to the magistrates for liberty to sit in their pew. This request was refused by a letter from Provost Deans, sanctioned by the other magistrates, yet notwithstanding this denial, Convener Harley went to the seat on Sunday 22nd October, in the forenoon, and finding the door shut, and guarded by the town-officers, he went round to the front of the church, and by leaping over some other seats, forced himself into the pew, which then stood on the ground floor. He repeated the same in the afternoon, although one of the magistrates shoved him back, and endeavoured to prevent him from making an entrance. This attempt led to a process before the court of session. On the 27th October, 1810, the town-council recommended that the actions between<sup>d</sup> Convener Harley and the town should be compromised.—This pertinacious suit cost the town L.57, 14s. 6d., each party paying their expenses. The case was decided in favour of the magistrates, on the plea that it had only been a grant or favour in 1802, under certain restrictions; and that Mr. Harley had not come to the seat, on his former election, when he was prohibited.

the church. The sheriff-depute of the county (Mr. Law.) to whom a remit was granted by the Lord-ordinary Robertson, to divide the church, ordered all parties having, or pretending to have interest, to lodge their claims with him. One fifth was allotted to the magistrates and incorporations, being the proportion formerly paid by them in repairing the church, and in building and repairing the ministers' manses, &c.; and four-fifths to the landwart heritors. The Earl of Hopetoun, as patron, had a right to the principal seat in the gallery, whether he had been an heritor or not; but this, on his own motion, he handsomely conceded to the magistrates. And, at a former meeting of heritors, on the 19th November, 1807, on the motion of the Earl of Hopetoun, it was agreed "that the pulpit should be placed on the south side of the church, between the two centre pillars. and that the magistrates gallery should face the pulpit."

On this important work being completed, the town-council voted thanks to Mr. John Martine for the great perseverance and attention he had uniformly paid in getting the measure accomplished.

The area of the church was divided by the sheriff, according to the interlocutor, in the remit by the court of session, at Edinburgh, in October 1811.\* Accordingly, on the 2nd May 1812, a division of the church seats took place, when it was agreed that each of the sittings of the first class of seats should be 2s. 6d., the second 1s. 6d., and the third 1s.

The total number of seats in the church are 94, which accommodate sitters in the following manner:

In the area of the church,..... 716

In the gallery, ..... 517

Total..... 1233

Of which only 228 sitters occupied seats belonging to the town of Haddington.

\* The following was the allotment: The Earl of Hopetoun, as patron, was entitled to the first choice of a seat;—the magistrates and council of Haddington to the second choice;—and the landwart heritors the right to the choice of seats, one after another, according to the valuation of their several estates in the parish, until all the seats in the front of the galleries were selected.

Afterwards, it was allotted, that one-fifth of the back seats in the galleries, and one-fifth of the whole under area of the church should be set aside for the magistrates and town-council; and the remaining four-fifths of the galleries, and the said under area to be set aside for the use of the landwart heritors;—afterwards each heritor, who had

### The Churchyard.

The improvements of the church having thus been satisfactorily effected, the heritors suggested the propriety of heightening the churchyard wall, at this time a very necessary measure. Previous to that motion (30th May, 1809,) a public road led through the churchyard to the meadow, called the *Haugh*, which converted the resting place of the dead into a common thoroughfare, and exposed the ruins of the church to that species of delapidation, which in Scotland forms too much of the mobile character, and where a *champ elysee*, if laid open to the people, would scarcely escape injury. It was very properly agreed that, in future, all communication should be cut off with the cemetery, except for burial, or as a road to the church.\* The town-council immediately agreed to bear their share in the expense of this

not already selected a seat, should, according to his valuation, make choice of a seat for himself and family; and then the heritors, beginning with the highest in point of valuation, should have right to the choice of seats for the accommodation of their tenants;—while those holding burghage or feu of the corporation, from lands situated within the burgh, should be accommodated of the one-fifth of the area set aside for the magistrates and town-council. Their claims to be lodged within ten days.

In 1812, March 19th, the town-council considering the inconvenience of the military crowding the church, opposed their admission till after the afternoon's service. It was, however, arranged that they should be accommodated between sermons.

\* It was not till about 1819, that the people became aware that such a practice existed as violating the mansions of the dead, which, in the neighbourhood of the great medical school of Edinburgh, had been carried on to a considerable extent. The merit of this discovery was left to the police-officer of East Linton, and some of the inhabitants of the village (in consequence of some private information they obtained from some rival body-stealers), when some *resurrection men* were detected at Prestonkirk, in lifting the body of a young woman who had been recently interred. After this discovery, watch-houses were built, and mort-safe societies, and associations for the protection of the dead, generally formed throughout the county of East Lothian,

On the 2nd February, 1819, in consequence of the depredations lately committed in the churchyard of Haddington, and other places, by the removal of the newly buried dead, the town-council of Haddington, decreed, that, in future, no grave should be made less than six feet deep; the fees to be 6s. for a grown person, and 4s. for children. And on paying 1s. additional for every two feet, any person might make the grave as much deeper as they chose. Formerly the graves for full grown persons were four feet, at the fee of 4s.; and for children three feet, at the rate of 2s. A number of persons in the town and neighbourhood, having formed themselves into an association for watching the churchyard during the night, the council agreed to build a house for their accommodation on the ground belonging to the town, on the south-west corner of the churchyard.

In 1772, May 2nd, the town-council proposed that a plan of the churchyard and respective burying grounds should be taken.—*Haddn. Council Reg.* A very superior plan was made by Mr. Lea, (the present provost,) about 20 years ago, which has been found of great utility.



useful improvement, and to give up the town's right to what they called "a walk in the churchyard." They also agreed to run a cross wall along the bottom of the foot road on the west end of the sacred enclosure at their own expense. The churchyard since that time has been kept in better order, and has now much the clean appearance of the English places of sepulture, where duty and affection often decks the grave with a bouquet of flowers.

### Ancient Monuments.

—————"I see nothing now  
That minds me of old times, except the stones  
In the churchyard."—SOUTHEY.

There is a most superb monument, erected to the memory of John, Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, chancellor of Scotland, and his lady, Jean, only daughter and heiress of James fourth Lord Fleming, and other members of their family, situated in an aisle on the north-east side of the church of Haddington, belonging to the noble house of Lauderdale.

This monument is 24 feet long, by 18 feet wide, and is 18 feet high. There are two compartments, supported by 3 black marble pillars, 5 feet high each, with capitals of white alabaster, of the Corinthian order, arched above. Below the west of these arches, under the marble bust of a lady, surrounded with nine coats of the armorial bearings of the family, having the Virgin Mary, with the infant Saviour in her arms on the west side, and St. John the Evangelist on the other, is the following inscription upon black marble, in memory of Lady Anne Maitland, the daughter of the Chancellor, who married Robert, second Earl of Winton :

ANNÆ METELLANÆ, Joannis Baronis de Thyriestane Sco. Can. et Janæ  
Flaminie, Filie, Puellæ Nobiliss. Quæ pietate, ingenio, Castitate et  
Morum Elegantia insignis ROBERTO WINTONIAE Comite Disponsata  
Virgo mortua est. ANO. 1609 prid. Non. Quintil. exacto aetat. ANO. 19.  
Eodem cum Matre Funere elata

Joannes Metellanus L. C. unice Sorori Frater Unicus, M.P.

And below, upon another compartment of the same marble, is this inscription, in memory of Jane Fleming, the lady of the Chancellor, who married, secondly, (as noticed on the epitaph,) John, fifth Earl of Cassillis :

JANÆ FLAMINIAE JACOBI BARONIS FLEMING  
EX BARBARA HAMILTONA JACOBI DUCIS  
CASTRI ERAUDI FILIA PROLI UNICAE SERENISSIMAE  
HEROINAE. CUJUS VIRILIS ANIMUS SECUNDIS JUXTA

AC DUBIIS REBUS CONSTANS PERMANSIT: QUAE  
SUMMAE ERGA DEUM RELIGIONIS, ERGA MARITUM  
FIDELI. AMORIS ERGA LIBEROS (DUOS ENIM  
PEPERIT JOANNEM ET ANNAM METELLAN.)  
NOBILITATIS DENIQUE ATQUE HUMANITATIS ERGA  
OMNES VIVENS. MORIENSQUE SINGULARI PRAELUXIT  
EXEMPLO. QUAE QUAMVIS SECUNDIS NUPTIIS  
JOANNI CASILISSAE COMITE JUNCTA. HIC  
TAMEN CUM PRIORI MARITO EODEM SIMUL  
CONDITORE REPONI VOLUIT. INFELICI CALCULO  
EXTINCTA, EDINBURGI 9 CAL. QUINTILIS 1600.  
CURRENTI ANNO ÆTATIS 55.

JOANNES METELLANUS LAUDERIAE COMES  
FILII UNIGENA PARENTIBUS OPT.  
MAJORE PIETATE QUAM IMPENSA.

Below which, lie the full length figures of Lord Chancellor Maitland and his lady, with their coronets on their head, in white alabaster, close to each other, in a recumbent posture. And below these statues, on another compartment of black marble, is the following inscription on the Baron himself:

JOANNI METELLANO, Baroni de Thyrlstane Magno Scotiae Cancellario  
Qui a nobili Metellanae Stirpe oriundas vetustissimae Familiae Decus  
Celebriore Titulo auxit, cujus sincera pietas, heroica Mens, erudito  
Singularis, Gnava fortitudo, posteris emulanda, invidenda antiquis parem  
Vix habuerunt; Liberalitas exprompta, laetus lepidusque Ingenii Vigor devinxit  
Sibi publicae omnes, privatim singulos. Quem post varia in Rep. praeclara gesta  
Munia, JACOBUS ejus Nominis 6. Scotorum Rex (omnium quos Europa unquam  
Vidit Regum Sapientissimus) ad summum Cancellariatus fastigium acclamantibus  
Tribus Regni Ordinibus, in Comitibus publicis evexit. Sed Munus illud Annos vix  
Novem sustinuit, cum ea tamen Prudentia, Integritate ac Laude ut merito  
Affirmari possit, brevis Dignitatis ingentem fuisse Gloriam. Tandem Annos natus  
Quinquaginta, in Medio fere Honorum, et Virtutum Curriculo ereptus, acerbum  
Sui desiderium reliquit omnibus, praecipue Regi optimo. Qui Versibus  
Vernaculis sapremo huicj Marmoris incisus Demortuo parentavit  
Obiit An<sup>o</sup> 1596. 5. Non. Octobris.

In arce de Thyrlstane a se recent. extracta  
JOANNES METELLANUS Lauderiae Comes, Filius Unigena parentibus opt.  
Majore Pietate quam impensa, P. C.

On the top of the monument, which was defaced previous to 1785, and the black marble broken in pieces, was the subjoined epitaph, written by James VI. on his favourite minister:

HAEC JACOBUS REX SEXTUS:

Thou passenger that spy'st with gazing eyes  
This trophy sad of Death's triumphing dart,  
Consider when this outward tomb thou sees,  
How rare a man leaves here his earthly part,  
His wisdom and his uprightness of heart,  
His piety, his practice in our state,  
His pregnant wit, well versed in every art,  
While equals all were ever at debate;  
Then justly bath his death brought forth of late  
A heavy grief to Prince and subjects all,  
Who virtue love, and vice do truly hate;  
Though vicious men be joyful at his fall:  
But, for himself, most happy doth he die,  
Though for his Prince he most unhappy be.

And, upon the east compartment, is the following inscription, detailing the virtues of Lady Jane Maitland, who died at the premature age of nineteen, daughter of John, first Lord Lauderdale.

JANAE METELLANAE Virgini lectissimae, cujus divino Ingenio atque Industriae nihil difficile unquam est visum, quod nobilem pudicamque Puellam deceret, cujus vera Pietas, Formae Venustas, Eximia Castitas, Morum Suavitas et Indolis, praeter Sexum, praeter Aetatem,

MIRACULUM INVIDIAM PARCARUM EXCITARUNT.

JOANNES METELLANUS Lauderdale Comes et ISABELLA SETONIA parentes praepostero Naturae Ordine Superstitibus relicti insperatam, Hoc Memoriam sacr. statuerunt. Vixit Annos 19. Menses 2. Dies 8. Vitam mortalem exiit 6. Id. Decemb. 1631.

*Translation.*—To JANE MAITLAND, a virgin of choicest excellence, to whose divine genius and industry, nothing that might becom a maiden, noble and virtuous, ever seemed too difficult to acquire. Whose genuine piety, beauty of person, singular virtue, sweetness of manners and of disposition, beyond her sex and beyond her years—

IN THEIR UNPRECEDENTED COMBINATION, EXCITED THE ENVY OF THE FATES.

JOHN MAITLAND, Earl of Lauderdale, and ISABELLA SETON, her parents, having been unexpectedly left to survive her, by a reversal of the order of Nature, have erected this sacred to her memory. She lived 19 years, 2 months, and 8 days. She put off mortality, on the 6th of December, 1631.

The funeral sermon of this lady was preached at Haddington, on the 19th December, 1631, and was printed, accompanied with 59 copies of verses in English and Latin. She was highly praised by Dr. Arthur Jonston, rector of Aberdeen, in his poems.

And below, on another compartment of the same marble, is an inscription, in memory of Lady Isabel Seton, second daughter of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, high-chancellor of Scotland, and mother of the above Lady Jane Maitland. Her ladyship died at Lethington, in her 44th year, and had a family of fifteen children to John second Lord Maitland. She is also celebrated by Dr. Arthur Jonston.

ISABELLA SETONIA Lauderdale Comitissa,  
Alexandri Fermilinduni Comitissae, Scotiae  
Cancellariae, et D. Lilliae Drummondae filia, viva  
Gaudium, mortua Mariti Gemitus, hic sita est:  
Quae Matronarum Splendor, Conjugum Honos,  
Pudicitiae Jubar, Sanctimonii Templum, Virtutum  
Et Formae Cumulus, Viram (cum quo mirabili  
Concordia An<sup>o</sup> 28. Mens. 4. transegit) quindecim  
Liberorum Numero auxit. Marium 7. Faemell. 8.  
Superstitibus tantum quatuor, Joanne, Roberto,  
Sophia, Carolo: Quae sic semper vixit, ut Seculum  
Ipsa haud dignum videretur; ita Diem extremum  
Clausit, ut Mors omni Vitae suae Curriculo  
Responderet: Ac, post incredibilem in longiss.  
Morbo Constantiam, Patientiam, Pietatem, fessi  
Corporis Ergastulo soluta, in Terris, ut  
Coelo frueretur, esse desit, 2. Novemb. 1636.

Annos nata 44. M. S. D. 2.

JOANNES METELLANUS Lauderdale Comes,  
Conjux desolatissim. tantae Jacturae propemodum  
Intolerans, Uxori incomparabili, cujus Merita  
Nullus Amor aequare possit, Desiderii sui  
Perpetuum monumentum, indefesso Moerore posuit.

## Underneath the same :

JOANNES METELLANUS Landerae Comes, Locum delegit Sepul.  
Ad Parentum Pedes sibi, et UXORI ISABELLAE SETONIAE; ne, quos  
Singularis Amor, et unanimis Vitae Consuetudo, conjunxit, vel  
Mors ipsa sejungeret Tumulo.

In a vault, east from the monument, the body of John, Duke of Lauderdale, is deposited in a leaden coffin, with the following inscription, upon a brass plate :

In Spem beatæ Resurrectionis, hic conditur  
Illustriss. et Nobiliss. Princeps ac Dominus, JOANNES DUX  
DE LAUDERDALE, Marchio de March, Comes de Lauderdale  
Et Guilford, Vicecomes Maitland, Dominus de Thirlestane,  
Muselburgh, Bolton, et Petersham; sæpius ad  
Parlamenta, et Ordinum hujus Regni Couventus tenenda  
Prorex : a Restauratione Regiæ Majestatis, per viginti  
Annos Solus pro Regno Scotiae, Regum Optimo  
CAUSÆ SECUNDÆ, a Secretis; Præses Secreti Concilii prædicto  
Potentissimo Regi; in Regno Angliæ a Secretioribus  
Consiliis, ex Cubiculariis Primariis Unus; in Scotia, ex quatuor  
Senatoribus Collegii Juridici extraordinariis Unus; Castell  
Regii Edinburgensis Constabularius et Gubernator:  
Nobilissimi Ordinis Garterii Eques.  
Natus 21. Maii 1616. Lidingtoni.  
Obiit 24. die Augusti prope Fontes de Tunbridge,  
Anno Humanae Salutis 1682.  
Anno Ætatis 67.

*Translation.*—In the hope of a blessed Resurrection, here is interred that most illustrious and noble Prince and Lord, JOHN, Duke of Lauderdale, Marquis of March, Earl of Lauderdale and Guilford, Viscount Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, Muselburgh, Bolton, and Petersham; often commissioner for holding the Parliaments and Conventions of the orders of the realm; from the restoration of the kingly power, for twenty years sole Secretary of State for the kingdom of Scotland to CHARLES SECOND, the best of Kings; President of the secret Council to the same most powerful King: In the kingdom of England a Privy-councillor, and one of the Lords of the Bedchamber: In Scotland, one of the four extraordinary Senators of the college of Justice; Constable and Governor of the royal castle of Edinburgh; Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. Born on the 21st May, 1616, at *Lidington*. He died on the 24th day of August, near Tunbridge wells, in the year of the salvation of man 1682, in the year of his age 67..

A large square vase or urn, also of lead, enclosing the Duke's brain and viscera, stands near the coffin, on which is inscribed :

IN HOC VASE CONDUNTUR INTERANEA, PRÆTER COR, OMNIA  
JOANNIS LAUDERDAE, QUI OBIT 24. AUGUSTI A. D. 1682.

*Translation.*—In this vase are deposited all the intestines, except the heart, of JOHN OF LAUDERDALE, who died on the 24th of August, A. D. 1682.\*

\* The following is an account of a visit to this cemetery, in the year 1800.

## THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE'S TOMB.

"While occasionally in Haddington, I have been led, by a passion for the ancient buildings and monuments of my country, carefully to examine the splendid Gothic church, which even in its decay graces that town, and more than once to explore the aisle which contains the cemetery of the noble family of Lauderdale. For the verses, composed by James VI. in honour of his chancellor, I looked in vain, the marble tablet that contained them had long ago fallen down. Cut in block marble, these verses, so distinguished a mark of royal affection, might have remained for ages, had their support been timely repaired.

"To enable one to descend into the vault, a ladder is necessary. Here the most striking object is the coffin of John Duke of Lauderdale.....The coffin is of an enor-

Interred in the same vault are the remains of

JAMES, EIGHT EARL OF LAUDERDALE,

VISCOUNT MAITLAND, BARON THIRLESTANE AND BOLTOUN, BARONET OF NOVA SCOTIA,  
HEREDITARY STANDARD BEARER OF SCOTLAND, LL.D. K.T.

His lordship died at the family seat of Thirlestane castle, Berwickshire, on the 18th September, 1839, in the 81st year of his age; and his obsequies took place at Haddington, on the 20th September. The coffin is simply elegant, enclosed in a leaden case, covered with crimson velvet, and a plate, on which is engraved the titles and age of his lordship. The coffin was lowered into the vault, and placed near to that of the Duke of Lauderdale.

The Earl of Lauderdale was born at Hatton, in Berwickshire, on the 26th January 1750. He was second son of James, seventh Earl of Lauderdale, by Mary Turner, only child and heiress of Sir Thomas Lombe, knight, alderman of London. His lordship received the rudiments of his education under the superintendance of the learned Andrew Dalzel, LL.D. afterwards professor of Greek in the university of Edinburgh: studied at the college of Edinburgh, and the college of Glasgow, where he attended the juridical lectures of Professor Millar, and completed his education at Paris.

On his return to Scotland in 1780, he was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates; chosen member of parliament for Newport, in Cornwall, same year; and for Malmesbury, in 1784. His lordship early distinguished himself as a public speaker; and was rendered conspicuous in the house of commons by his opposition to the administration of Lord North, the hero of Junius. He attached himself to the party of Charles James Fox, whose political principles he embraced, and whose private friendship he enjoyed. He was one of the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings.

mons size, suited to the Duke's vast bulk. As the lead coffin is (if I may use the expression) hermetically soldered; and as, a century ago, embalming was more frequently practised, and consequently better understood, than now, it is probable that the body is still in a state of high preservation. As an evidence that the air is completely excluded from it, the following generally admitted fact may be mentioned. When in 1776, in consequence of the bursting of a water spout in Lammermoor, the Tyne was greatly flooded, it inundated Haddington, and consequently filled this vault with water. When the water had evaporated and filtered away, it was found that the Duke's coffin had floated: its position being entirely changed. To this day, indeed, it lies in an oblique irregular way, with one end resting on the scull of some *ci-devant* countess or earl. To move such a mass would require the united force of a number of men. All the other lead coffins in this vault, except that of an infant (in a small vase), have been broken open and destroyed. The whole vault is very damp. From the roof may be seen suspended several broken stalactical incrustations. On the coffin is an oval brass plate, with an inscription given by the Rev. Dr. Barclay, in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Beside the coffin stands a large square box or urn, inclosing the viscera. The inscription on the vase, however, has by some mistake been omitted. As I copied it from the original, I shall here set it down: "In hac vase conduntur interanea, præter cor, omnia Joannis Lauderdale." As it was common in embalming, to replace the heart in its proper site in the body, the exception "*præter cor*" on the urn, might not seem to be attended with any difficulty but for the following passage in Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Time, (vol. II. p. 905.) "All these things, together with a load of age and of a vast bulk, sunk Duke Lauderdale so, that he died that summer. His heart seemed quite spent, there was not left above the bigness of a walnut of firm substance: the rest was spongy, liker the lungs than the heart." As this decay of the Duke's heart must have forcibly struck the embalmers and his friends at the time, may it not be supposed that the exception has reference to it?"—*Correspondent in the Edinburgh Mag.*

The state of the health of the Earl of Lauderdale at an early period rendering some months residence in a milder climate expedient, he left England in autumn 1792, accompanied by Dr. Moore, an eminent physician, scholar, and novelist, and the father of Sir John Moore. Dr. Moore, in his "Journal during a Residence in France, from the beginning of August to the middle of December 1792," states: "We arrived at Paris on the 7th August, at a most critical period: the attack on the Thuilleries, and the imprisonment of the royal family having taken place three days afterwards. The entrance of the combined armies into France, the departure of Earl Gower, the British ambassador, and the massacre of the 2nd September, rendering it unsafe to remain, his lordship quitted Paris, and proceeded to Calais. He returned again to Paris; but deeming it prudent not to pursue his journey through France, he returned to Britain in December.

His lordship commenced his literary labours in 1794, when he published his "Letters to the Peers of Scotland." In 1796, he published the "Substance of a Speech in the House of Peers on the National Finances," and, in the following years, "Thoughts on Finance," and "Letter on the Measures of Finance;" a bill being then in parliament for tripling the assessed taxes. His lordship's most elaborate work, "An Inquiry into the Nature of Public Wealth," appeared in 1804; this was followed by "Observations on the Review of this work," in the first number of the Edinburgh Review; and, in 1805, "Thoughts on the alarming state of the Circulation, and the means of redressing pecuniary grievances in Ireland," and "Hints to the Manufacturers of Great Britain on the consequences of the Irish Union."

On the dissolution of the Pitt administration in 1806, the Earl of Lauderdale was created a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of Baron Lauderdale of Thirlestane castle; sworn a privy-councillor, and had the great seal of Scotland delivered to him. His lordship had also been despatched to Paris, as ambassador, with a view to accomplish a peace with Napoleon, in which, however, he did not succeed.—(See p. 433.) Having now a hereditary seat in the house of peers, his lordship exerted himself actively in parliament; and, in 1809, published his "Inquiry on the practical Merits of the Government of India." He remained attached to the Whig party till about the time of the trial of Queen Caroline in 1822.

His lordship was chiefly distinguished by his theoretical writings. He was a strict economist and acute reasoner. In private life he was respected by all parties as an indulgent friend; and his judgment was often found instrumental in healing party animosities. The last ten years of his life were spent in retirement, devoted chiefly to agricultural pursuits. Since the beginning of the present century his favourite residence had been Dunbar-house. Indeed, it is believed, that to the invigorating sea-breeze and the salubrity of these shores, his lordship was indebted for that renovated state of health which had been formerly indifferent.

At the north-east extremity of the church, the aisle belonging to the noble family of Amisfield is situated. Here is interred

FRANCIS, FIFTH LORD ELCHO,

WHO DIED AT AMISFIELD-HOUSE, ON THE 20TH JANUARY 1808,  
IN THE 59TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

His lordship was born at Edinburgh on the 31st January 1749, and was chosen member of parliament for the burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, &c., at the general election in 1780, and rechosen in 1784. His lordship's attention in his later years was in a great measure devoted to agricultural pursuits. Of planting, gardening and fencing, he possessed the fullest knowledge; and in lining off, and in making and repairing roads, he was judicious and accurate. His public activity on all occasions was conspicuous, and he spared neither trouble nor expense in executing the various improvements which occupied his attention.

In the *San* newspaper a just tribute appeared to his lordship's memory ; and, in the *Farmer's Magazine*, (March 1808) Lord Elcho is characterized as " A nobleman whose truly amiable manners endeared him to all who were honoured with his acquaintance, the whole tenor of whose active life seemed to be one continued series of kindness, friendship, and philanthropy." And the *Edinburgh Courant* (25th April,) contained " Verses to the memory of the warmest friend, and most benevolent of men, Francis, Lord Elcho."

His lordship married in 1771, Miss Susan Tracy Keck, then one of the maids of honour to the Queen, second daughter of Anthony Tracy Keck, of Great Tew, in the county of Oxford, by Lady Susan Hamilton, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon. He was succeeded by his only son Francis, sixth Earl of Wemyss.

As a mark of respect, his lordship's portrait, painted by Jameson, was placed in the masonic lodge of Haddington.

In the south-east corner, within the ruins of the old church, under a flat grave stone, supported by balusters, and ornamented with a spread bible, the founder of the library of the town of Haddington is interred. The grave is marked by the following lines :

Here lyes Mr. JOHN GRAY, born at Haddington, in 1646; Minister at Tulliallan, near Culross, in 1667—thereafter Minister at Glasgow, from 1672 to 84—then Minister of Aberlady from 1684 to 1689—then deprived upon a publik.....Died October 24. 1717. Aged near 71.

*Mihi vivere est Christus mortuus,  
Fuge nite quod moribus agas,  
Deo gloria Amen.*

*Translation.*—Christ has died that I may live. Shun depending on what thou canst accomplish by mere morals.

A plain monument, in the wall of the west corner of the church-yard, marks the spot where the author of the first Statistical Account of the parish of Haddington is interred, with the subjoined inscription :

Here lies the body of  
THE REV. DR. GEORGE BARCLAY OF MIDDLETON,  
AND ELDER MINISTER OF THE PARISH OF HADDINGTON,

Who, after a life of Edifying Virtue,  
Died here, on the 2nd December, 1786, aged 66 years.  
Here are also interred the bodies of two of his children, Alexander and Mary.

IN THE GREY FRIAR'S CHURCHYARD, EDINBURGH :

TO THE MEMORY OF MARGARET YAIR,  
Relict of the Rev. Dr. BARCLAY of Middleton, Minister of the Gospel in Haddington;  
and Daughter of the late Mr. Yair, Bookseller in Edinburgh,  
Who died the 6th May 1828.

She was a good Mother and a pious Christian.

Her Uncle, the Rev. Mr. Yair, was minister of Campoer in Holland :  
Her husband, the Rev. Dr. Barclay's father, was minister of Ormiston :

His grandfather was minister of Linlithgow :

His granduncle, the Rev. Dr. Barclay of Middleton, was one of the Covenanters in the time of the Persecution. He was much persecuted for his religion ; for some time he found a refuge in Holland : He returned to Britain with King William, on the memorable day, the 5th of November 1688.

Erected by her only surviving Daughter.

In the centre of the churchyard, an obelisk monument is erected to an eminent theological writer of the secession church, Mr. John Brown, author of the self-interpreting Bible, &c.

To the Memory of

MR. JOHN BROWN,

Thirty-six years Minister of the Gospel at Haddington,  
and Twenty years Professor of Divinity under the secession Synod.  
After sustaining an eminent character for piety, charity, learning, and diligence,  
he died, rejoicing in the hope of the glory of God, and admiring the riches  
of Divine Grace to him as a sinner, the 19th day of June 1787,  
Aged 66 years.

An obelisk, on the right of Mr. Brown, marks the burial place of Mr. SAMUEL BROWN, his son; founder of the East Lothian itinerating libraries, and provost of Haddington, in 1836. Another obelisk, on the left, marks where is interred Mr. JOHN CROUMBIE, merchant, a pious and benevolent man, and brother-in-law of the professor.

Epitaphs cannot be expressed in too simple language. We have visited and admired that emphatic one in Melrose Abbey, "Here lies the last of the race of Zair;" and, in the Grey Friars, Edinburgh, on the south-west corner of the church, "Sleeping in Jesus." The following lines, on some children, who were interred near the Alderston aisle, are short and appropriate:

IN HADDINGTON CHURCHYARD.

Sleep on, sweet Babe, and take your rest,  
The Lord takes first whom he likes best.

~~~~~  
Underneath this stone doth lie,  
As much beauty as could die,  
Which, when alive, did vigour give,  
To as much virtne as could live.

IN SETON CHURCH, ENGRAVED ON BRASS.

Instead of Epitaphes and airye praise,  
This monument a Ladye chaste did raise,  
To her Lord's living fame, and after death  
Her bodye doth unto this place bequeath,  
To rest with *his* till God's shrill trumpet's sound:  
Thoch Tyme her Lyf, no Tyme her Love can bound.

IN TRANENT CHURCHYARD.

On Bailie GEORGE SEATON, Farmer at Seton, who died 10th May, 1760, aged 82.

You erre, O Reader! if you should expect  
Big swelling words—I modestly reject:  
How short man's life! 'las, while we live we die,  
To know man's life, keep Death still in your eye!

There is a view of this monument, with Tranent church, in the Abbotsford edition of Waverley.

There were similar verses on a monument in memory of James Chalmers, advocate, in the Gray Friar's churchyard, Edinburgh.

IN WHITEKIRK CHURCHYARD.—ON THE REV. JOHN CLUNIE.

In the 75th year of his age, and 63d of his Ministry.

Those of his Flock who to this stone draw near,  
Shall even from it, an wholesome lesson bear;  
Be yet admonish'd from his silent grave,  
Live as he taught, then you your souls may save.



## IN GLADSMUIR CHURCHYARD, ON MR. JOHN BELL.

Rare gifts of grace and nature brightly shone,  
 In Bell, our pastor, laid beneath this stone:  
 And we his death might mournfully condole,  
 But that we hope it fares well with his soul.

## IN DUNBAR CHURCHYARD.

On an eminent merchant.  
 The bright example of his generous mind,  
 Whose godlike impulse was to serve mankind.

~~~~~  
 On one who died of Consumption.  
 The pale Consumption gave the lingering blow,  
 The stroke was fatal, but the effect came slow:  
 Death heard the sighs that rent my painful breast,  
 Pity'd my cries, and kindly gave me rest.

The following, although evidently in a style unsuitable for so grave a subject, have often been used with semi-serious effect:

## ON MISS GOURLAY, HADDINGTON.

Here lies one—there's not room to say, what?  
 Think what a woman should be, she was that!

IMPROMPTU BY THE REV. MR. SCOTT.

Every woman should be both wife and mother,  
 But she was neither one nor t'other!

## ON A COOK.

Here lies within this tomb confined,  
 Virtue and probity combined:  
 An honest Cook—who many a year  
 To her employer gave good cheer!

The above leads us to the absolutely ludicrous epitaphs, with “uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture deck'd,” which prevailed about the beginning of the last century:

## IN HADDINGTON CHURCHYARD.

Hout, atropos, hard-hearted hag,  
 To cut the shough o' Jammie Crag!  
 For, had he lived a wheen mae years,  
 He'd been our tough for thy auld sheers.  
 But now he's gane, sae maun we a',  
 Wha wres'les Death's ay shure till fa';  
 Sae let us pray, that we at last  
 May wun frae Death a canny cast.

## IN PRESTONPANS CHURCHYARD.

William Matthison here lies,  
 Whose age was Forty-one:  
 February 17. he dies,  
 Went Is'bel Mitchel from,  
 Who was his married wife,  
 The fourth part of his life;  
 The saul it cannot die,  
 Though the body be turn'd to clay;  
 Yet meet again must they,  
 At the last day.

Trumpet shall sound, archangel's cry,  
 “Come forth Is'bel Mitchel, and meet Will Matthison in the sky!”

\* The two last epitaphs are copied from Monteith's Theatre of Mortality.—Ed. 1712.

### The Ministers of Haddington.

"A man he was to all the country dear,  
And passing rich with forty pounds a-year."

GOLDSMITH.

Mr. PATRICK COCKBURN, son to Cockburn of Langton, was the first protestant clergyman settled at Haddington after the reformation. He entered into holy orders at an early age, and went over to the university of Paris, where he taught the oriental languages with great applause. On returning home he embraced the reformed religion, and officiated as minister of Haddington till his death in 1568. Dempster characterizes him as being the most learned and moderate of all the Scots reformers.

In 1568, Mr. Cockburn was appointed chaplain of the Trinity aisle in the parish kirk of Haddington. In 1564 and 65, a complaint was made against him, for absenting himself from the meetings of the general assembly.

It appears from the following entry, in the council register of Haddington, that Cockburn also held the rectory of Petcox, in the parish of Stenton: "1567, October 9.—Tenor Cartæ feudi—*firmæ Wm. Brown, facte duorum tenementorum et acre terre*—subscripte—granted by Patricius Cockburn, rector de Pettikky, "*ac minister verbi infra burgum de Hadingtoun.*" (Written and signed by Cockburn,) Mgr. Patricius Cockburn, manu mea.

The church of Haddington had apparently no settled minister for two years after the death of Mr. Cockburn. On the 31st March, 1570, the town-council of Haddington ordained John Ayton, the provost; and Barnard Thomson, bailie; "to pass to Edinburgh, to mein (apply) to the session for a minister." On the 18th April, in the same year, the council ordained the provost, and "ane othair honest man with him" to pass to the assembly of Edinburgh, at midsummer next, to get an answer to the giving of a minister to the town. And, on the 14th June, they were ordered "to speik the kirk for obtaining a minister, and his stipend."

On the 27th July, the town-treasurer of Haddington was authorized "to pay to Andrew Simpson xxv. merks of byrunnis." The person, who is here alluded to, was probably Mr. Andrew Simson, who was then vicar and exhorter at Bolton; and

who probably supplied the place of a minister at Haddington in the interim, as he was succeeded in his office, at Bolton, by Mr Carmichael, of whom we have now to speak.

Mr. JAMES CARMICHAEL was admitted minister of Haddington, on the 25th August, 1570; when the town-council ordained John Douglas, bailie, to pass to Edinburgh, "to convoy the minister to the burgh against Sunday next."

On the 10th January 1571-72, the town-council authorized the treasurer "to deliver to Mr. James Carmichael, minister, x. merks, to pay his chalmer mail for one year, from Martinmas, in the year of God 1571 years, alanerlie."

As a proof of the poverty of the clerical endowments at this time, Mr. Carmichael was also appointed schoolmaster. On the 16th April, 1572, the magistrates and council of Haddington ordained a gift of their common school to Mr. James Carmichael "with all duties, commodities, and profits, thereto pertaining, and used to pertain; and that during their will alanerlie; and aenent his stipend, he was referred to the town's will." Accordingly, on the 11th July, the treasurer was ordered to pay to the minister-schoolmaster, as stipend, "xl. pounds (Scots) yearly: beginning the first payment at Martinmas next, and that during pleasure."

In the ensuing year, Mr. Walter Balcanquall,\* who afterwards became a celebrated preacher in Edinburgh, was appointed assistant to Mr. Carmichael. On the 28th February, 1572-3, the town-council of Haddington "conducit Mr. Walter M'Canquell, to read the common prayers in the kirk at vii. hours before noon in summer, and viii. hours in winter, and that on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, and to be clerk in the session and doctor in the school; and that during the space of one year from the date hereof, [interlined Martinmas next]; and, therefore, the council

\* Mr. Walter Balcanquall was minister of Edinburgh. He died, after a short illness, on the 4th August, 1616, after having spent forty years in the ministry. He had preached for a quarter of an hour when he was hindered from speaking distinctly by the falling down of his teeth upon his tongue. Before he pronounced the blessing he made a confession of his faith to his hearers; in which he avowed a firm belief in the doctrine and discipline of the reformed kirk; and a conviction that the curse of God hung over those of a contrary Religion!—See *Calderwood*. What a striking mark of the want of liberality of sentiment does this display in well meaning men, who were not otherwise ignorant.

obliged them to pay to the said reader, fifty merks in the year, at two terms, by equal portions."

In 1574, Mr. Carmichael had the laborious charge of Haddington, Bolton, Athelstaneford, and St. Martin's kirk in the Nungate. He resigned Bolton about 1586.

It soon, however, became requisite that the office of schoolmaster should be separated from that of the minister. On the 28th May, 1574, the provost, bailies, and council of Haddington, with advice of the deacons, stated and ordained, "that in no time coming the minister of the kirk should be admitted schoolmaster of the burgh." It does not appear that this measure was carried into effect till two years afterwards. On the 15th November, 1576, an agreement was entered into with Mr. Carmichael, that the offices should be separated, of which the following is a transcript:

"The which day, the provost, &c. and deacons, of the burgh of Haddington, earnestly required Mr. James Carmichael, in consideration of his great burden in the ministry, that he would *condiscend* that they may plant such a master in their school as nowise was charged with any ministry, exhorting, reading, nor any other service, that he might attend wholly upon that charge at all times.

"For answer wherunto, the said Mr. James alledged many reasons in defence of his title and diligence. In respect of the which reasons proposed by him at great length in conference, the said provost, &c., with one voice and consent confessed, that the *bairnis* were abstracted from his school, not so much from his negligence or default in his own person, as through the not planting at all times of that doctor and reader, who should have been sustained upon the Town's expense; and should have waited on the school, as well in the said Mr. James's presence as absence, according to their first promise made unto him, which promise was neglected through the *yearly* changing of the magistrates and council, who knew not perfectly the said promise made betwixt them;—secondly, because they permitted other schools to be held in the town;—and, lastly, in respect of the false rumours raised by the factions of their competitors, who, of malice, staid the progress of good order in the school; and, therefore, they cannot but purge the said Mr. James of the most part of the disorder or inconvenience that has ensued thereupon, and take upon them their burdens of whatsoever slander has arisen through default of fulfilling of their own part. Yet notwithstanding of the earnest request and desire of the council to choose a faithful, learned, and gudely man, who shall be neither minister, exhorter, reader, nor burdened with any charge in the town, the said Mr. James relinquishes his charge, and all commodities, stipends, fees, &c., connected therewith; and the council agree to pay him, in compensation, the sum of One Hundred pounds (Scots), gudc and usual money of this realm;—and he is further requested to attend on their school, till another master be provided, the satisfaction to be at the Town's will thereof;—and also discharged from henceforth all other schools within their burgh, but the high grammar-school alanerlic," &c.

In 1578, we find that Mr Henry Chapman was appointed reader in the church of Haddington.\*

In 1582, all ministers and masters of colleges and schools were required to subscribe a bond, in which they engaged to obey the late acts of parliament, and to acknowledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, under the pain of being forever deprived of their benefices and salaries. The most of the ministers refused compliance with this mandate. Amongst those who fled from the episcopal tyranny of the court, was Andrew Melville, the celebrated scholar, and ex-principal of St. Andrews, who went to London with Mr. James Carmichael, and had several interviews with Walsingham, Bowes, and Sydney, and found these statesmen inclined to befriend them. It appears that Carmichael remained some time in London; for, in 1585, in a letter written by him to the Earl of Angus, he mentions, that the *King's Poesies*† had just arrived; "some sentences and verses of which were not well liked of."

Mr. Carmichael did not return to Haddington till 1587. On the 11th December, "the town-council understanding that Mr. James Carmichael, minister of the word of God, was to repair and come again to the using of his functions at their kirk as before, 22 merks to be paid him in his house maill."‡

During his absence his place had been supplied by Mr. John Ker, schoolmaster. On the 19th November, 1588, the town-council ordered "one hundred merks money to be paid Mr. Ker, in full satisfaction for the parts of the said burgh alsnerlie, of his service done in the function of minister of the word of God, at the kirk of the said burgh, to the hail parishioners there, of these

\* To supply the deficiency of ministers, pious persons who had received a common education, were appointed to read the scriptures and the common prayers. These were called *readers*. If they advanced in knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the scriptures. In this case they were called *shorters*.—M'CRIZ. In the course of time the readers transgressed the bounds prescribed for them, and solemnized marriages, and administered the sacrament. These excesses were restrained by the general assembly prohibiting all readers from ministering "the holle sacrament of the Lord, except such as hes the word of exhortation."—*Buik of the Uni. Kirk*. The practice of reading the scriptures previous to the service being commenced by the minister, still prevails in the south country. The author has heard the schoolmaster perform this duty in the church of Hawick.

† "The Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine art of Poesie." Imprinted at Edin. 1584.

‡ Haddington Council Reg.

divers years bygane.”\* In the month following, December 9th, “an act was passed respecting a manse for the minister.” Previous to this period, the minister, schoolmaster, and others, were lodged in the same house.

Andrew Melville being at length placed under surveillance in London, on the plea of *scandalum magnatum*, the Scottish bishops posted home to hold a packed assembly; but after all their preparations they durst not allow a free election of representatives of the church. Missives were sent by the King to the several presbyteries, desiring them to send such persons as he named to Linlithgow on the 10th December, to consult with the privy council on the means of preventing the increase of popery and curing the distractions of the church. In some presbyteries three and in others six individuals were picked out, according as each had members favourable to the measures of the court; and private letters were addressed to them commanding their attendance at Linlithgow, whether they received a commission from their constituents or not. Feeling this as an insult, as well as an invasion of their rights, some presbyteries refused to give any commission to the nominees of the court, while others positively interdicted them from taking part in the judicial decision of any ecclesiastical question. Mr. James Carmichael being summoned to appear at Linlithgow, the presbytery came to the following resolution :

“ We, the presbytery of Haddington, vnderstanding that our brethren Mr. James Carmichael, Mr. David Orgill, and James Reid, are to repair at his Hienes comaund upon the tenth of this instant, to ane meting of the nobilitie in Linlithgow, and considering *quod omnes tangit debet ab onibus curari, ut quod culpa non careat, qui rei se miscet ad se non pertinenti*; Be thir presents dischargis ye said brethren to vote, conclud, or determine of onie things, the decision quof pertenis to ane generall assemblee, and comand thame in our name, wt all humilitie, to request the nobilitie thair conventit to be suteris to his Matie, that ane frie Generall Assemblee may be convocatt as ye only remeid of all these evillis mentioned in his Hienes letter.” †

Mr. Carmichael was not only a zealous preacher; but was highly esteemed as a scholar. Like Andrew Simson of Dunbar, he was also author of some elementary books, which were at that time used in the grammar-school, one of which was “*Grammaticæ Latinæ, de Etymologia, liber secundus.*” As a proof of his abi-

\* Haddington Coun. Reg. † Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 8th, 1606.

lities, when Sir John Skene published his notes to the *Regium Majestatem*, on its being put to press, the Lords of the Privy Council had such a high opinion of the abilities of Carmichael, that they applied to the presbytery of Haddington to excuse his absence for "the space of tua months or thereby, finding non so meit as Mr. James Carmichaell, to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults yrin as vsuallie occures in every printing that first cumis from the presse."\* There is a poem by Mr. Carmichael at the end of the Scottish translation of that work. †

Mr. Carmichael died in 1628, and closed a long, useful, and laborious life.

Mr. ALEXANDER HAMILTON was collated by the Bishop of Edinburgh, on the 2nd December, 1629, to the church of Haddington. He died in December 1645.

Mr. WILLIAM TRENT, who was the first minister appointed to the second charge, was ordained in July 1636. He died in February 1675. ‡

Mr. ROBERT KERR, translated from Prestonpans, was admitted to the first charge, on the 21st April, 1647. He died in 1677.

Mr. JAMES FORMAN was admitted to the second charge on the 20th April, 1676; and was translated to the first charge in 1677. He died in November 1702.

\* Letter to the Presbyterie of Hadingtounne, Oct. 13. 1608, in Lord Haddington's Col.

† Andrew Melville thus alludes to Mr. Carmichael, in a letter to his brother:

"What is the "profound Dreamer (so I was accustomed to call him when we travelled together in 1584)—what is our Corydon of Haddington about? I know he cannot be idle: has he not brought forth or perfected any thing yet, after so many decades of years? *Tempus Atta veniet tua quo spoliabitur arbos.* Let me know if our old friend Wallace has at last become the father of books and bairns?"—M'CRIG. Wallace was one of the ministers of St. Andrews. He was admitted minister of Tranent, 10th December 1602. James Gibson (whose contumacy to King James we noticed p. 406.) had been translated from Pencailand to Tranent, on the 9th May 1598. On the 6th October, 1602, a report was made of "the deceis of our loving brother James Gibsons, of gud memorie."—*Record Presb. Haddn.*

‡ Mr. CHARLES FAIRME received a call to be second minister of Haddington in 1596 and 1597; but he was appointed regent (doctor) of Edinburgh, and afterwards principal of Fraserburgh.

Mr. LAURENCE CHARTERIS, minister of Bothans (Yester), was Moderator of the presbytery of Haddington, from 1671 till 1676; a circumstance which shews not only that he was held in respect by his brethren, but also that the presbytery were beginning at that time to adopt Episcopalian views and practices. Mr. Charteris was appointed by the Bishop of Edinburgh, in January 1676, to be professor of theology in the university. After the Revolution, he was removed to be minister of Pirliton, where he died.

**Mr. JAMES GRAY** was ordained to the second charge on the 20th January, 1681, and demitted because of the *test outh*, in 1682.\*

**Mr. WILLIAM DENUNE**, ordained to the second charge on the 26th April, 1683, and translated to Pencaitland in 1685.

**Mr. GEORGE DUNBAR** was admitted to the second charge on the 12th November, 1685. He died in 1713.

**Mr. JOHN CURRIE** was admitted to the first charge on the 29th June, 1704. He died on the 18th June, 1720.

**Mr. PATRICK WILKIE** of Rathbyres, was ordained minister of the second charge, Haddington, on the 5th May, 1714; and translated to the first charge in 1720. He was minister of Haddington for the long period of fifty-seven years, and died in August 1771.†

**Mr. Wilkie** was born in Edinburgh. He was father of the late **James Wilkie, Esq.** of Rathbyres and Gilchriston, J.P.; whose son, the late **Rev. Daniel Wilkie**, of the Grey Friars' church, Edinburgh, was eight years minister of Yester.

**Mr. ROBERT PATOUN** was ordained minister on the 18th January, 1722; and was translated to Renfrew in January 1731.

**Mr. EDWARD STEEDMAN** was ordained minister of the second charge on the 16th September, 1731. He died on the 9th June, 1756.

**Mr. DAVID WARK** was ordained minister of the second charge on the 9th June, 1757. He died on the 14th January, 1766.

\* **Mr. GEORGE STEPHEN**, minister of Yester, also demitted on account of the *test*. In August 1681, **Mr. Stephen** had been ordained minister by an edict from the Bishop of Edinburgh. He appears, however, to have been a staunch presbyterian. The following reason, honourable to his principles, is assigned for his removal, in the session records: "January 7th, 1682. No sermon, **Mr. George Stephen**, our minister having left his charge, because he would not take the *test* imposed by authority, as he was required on Sunday last past." In December 1682, **Robert Meldram**, minister of Garvald, was appointed by the Bishop of Edinburgh to be his successor.—*New Stat. Acc.*

**Mr. WALTER PATERSON**, minister of Bolton, was also demitted for refusing the *test* in 1681. He was succeeded by **Mr. John Sinclair**.

† The town-council of Haddington, upon several occasions, have shewn themselves "jealous of honour," and to have sought "the bauble reputation even in the *Canon's* mouth." October 23d, 1738, "The ministers having neglected to salute the magistrates as usual in the kirk after the blessing, the treasurer was ordered to pay them no more stipend, till by their greater civility they gave ground to reverse the act."—*Coun. Reg.* **Mr. Patrick Wilkie** and **Mr. Edward Steedman** were the uncourteous ministers.



GEORGE BARCLAY of Middleton, D.D., minister of Hutton, was presented to the second charge of the church of Haddington, on the death of the Rev. Dr. Wark, by the Earl of Hopetoun. Against this presentation the town-council remonstrated, on account of the "disagreeable character" of Dr. Barclay, and authorized the magistrates to meet with the other heritors of the parish, to petition his lordship against this presentation, and concur with them in every step that might be taken for the good and peace of the parish. Provost Lundie communicated with his lordship on the subject, on the first March an answer was received, and here the matter appears to have been dropt, as Dr. Barclay was admitted to the second charge, on the 17th July, 1766; and was translated to the first charge, on the death of Mr. Wilkie, on the 17th March, 1772.\*

Dr. Barclay was a man of considerable ability. He drew up the Statistical Account of the parish of Haddington, which was communicated to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1785, and was published in the second volume of their Transactions. According to his epitaph, which we have quoted, he died "after a life of edifying virtues," in the 66th year of his age, on the 2nd December, 1795.

Mr. ROBERT SCOTT was ordained minister of the second charge on the 25th October, 1772. He died on the 17th August, 1807, in the 72nd year of his age. His remains are interred near those of his son, Major-General Sir Robert Scott, K.C.B., a few yards south from that of Dr. Barclay, and adjoining the burial ground of the pious and learned family of the Cockburns.

ROBERT LORIMER, LL.D. was admitted minister of the first charge in 1796. He resigned in consequence of the schism in the church of Scotland, in May 1843. He preached his farewell sermon on Sunday afternoon, 28th May. His text was in Hebrews, xi. 25. Psalm xli. and Paraph. xxix. The doctor had been zealously engaged in the ministry of that parish for forty-seven years; and seemed much affected on parting with his parishioners, who felt a similar regret.

\* The following jeu d'esprit, in the shape of an epitaph, was repeated to the doctor by one of his friends:

"Here lies the Rev. Dr. Barclay—  
Quick in apprehension—great in memory—  
*Waiting for judgment.*"

**WILLIAM SIBBALD, D. D.**, was translated from Johnstone, Dumfriesshire, to the second charge, in August 1808. Compelled by the infirmities of age, he preached his last sermon in the church of Haddington, from John iii. 16., on the 30th October, 1825; and was succeeded in his pastoral labours, with much ability and satisfaction, by his assistant, Mr. John Robertson, now minister of Houndwood, till the time of his death.

Dr. Sibbald was born at Wright's-houses, parish of the West-kirk, Edinburgh, on the 15th June, 1760. He was licensed by the presbytery of Glasgow in 1784, and ordained minister of Johnstone, on the 22nd December, 1785. The degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him by the university of Edinburgh, on the 11th June 1800. He died at Haddington, on the 4th June, 1833, in the 73d year of his age.

Mr. **JOHN COOK** was inducted minister of the second charge, Haddington, on Thursday the 19th December, 1833. The Rev. William Stark of Dirleton preached on the occasion, from Isaiah, lii. 7. On the Sunday following, Principal Hill of St. Andrews preached in the forenoon, from Matth. vi. 10., and Mr. Cook in the afternoon, from Deut. iv. 1. On the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Lorimer, Mr. (now Dr.) Cook, was translated to the first charge, in May 1843.

Mr. **JAMES BELL** was ordained and admitted minister of the second charge of Haddington, on the 23rd August, 1843. The Rev. Robert Balfour Graham of North Berwick, presided on the occasion, and preached from Ephesians, vi. 11-18. On the Sunday following, Mr. Bell was introduced to the congregation by the Rev. Hugh Dobie of Kirkmichael, who preached in the forenoon from 1 Peter, i. 25. Mr. Bell discoursed in the afternoon from Galatians, vi. 14.

#### CHURCH, UNDER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S EXTENSION ACT.

**JOHN WALLACE WRIGHT, A. M.**, was ordained minister of St. John's church, Haddington, (which had been built partly from the extension fund, and partly by subscription,) on the 18th April, 1839. On the Sunday following, Mr. Wright was introduced by the Rev. John Sym, of the old Grey Friars, Edinburgh. He resigned, on the schism of the church of Scotland, in May 1848; and is now, conjunctly with the Rev. Dr. Lorimer, one of the ministers of the "Free Church," Haddington.

*Ministers' Stipend.*—The highest stipend of the presbyterian clergy at the reformation was L.600 Scots: the fourth minister of Edinburgh had only L.60; being little more than L.5 sterling. while the priest of Haddington had only L.40 Scots, with 10 merks to pay his "chalmer maill," and 12d. quarterly for the town children as school fee. According to the Tabular state of Mr. George Chalmers, the stipends of the ministers of Haddington in 1755, were, 1st charge, L.100, 13s. 4d.—2nd. L.66, 2s. 2d.; and, in 1798, 1st. charge, L.202, 10s. 9d.—2nd. L.171, 9s. 4d. sterling. The stipends are now nearly equal: the minister of the first charge, Haddington, having 8 chalders of barley, 8 chalders of oats, and 3 chalders of wheat, with L.10 for communion elements; and the minister of the second charge, 17 chalders of victual, with L.33, 6s. 8d. sterling, from the town, with L.10 for communion elements.

In making up the amount of the stipends of the other parishes, the grain has been valued, the wheat at L.1. 6s. 9d. per boll; the barley at 19s. 4d.; the oats at 14s. 9d.; the pease at 14s. 6d.; and the oat meal at 16s. 8d. per boll of eight stone; being an average of the fair prices of Haddington, for the seven years ending in 1796, taking the medium of the three qualities of grain. The allowance for communion elements, and the value of the glebes, are included; but not of the manses and office-houses.

In 1755 and 1798—North Berwick, L.72, 6s. 8d.—L.160, 14s. 8d. Dirleton, L.106, 4s. 4d.—L.215, 3s. 6d. Aberlady, L.79, 9s. 11d.—L.168, 13s. 9d. Gladanuir, L.74, 7s. 6d.—L.164, 19s. 9d. Tranent, L.82, 12s. 4d.—L.153, 16s. Prestonpans, L.116, 16s. 9d.—L.191, 10s. 3d. Pencaitland, L.85, 16s. 9d.—L.178, 18. 8d. Salton, L.84, 10s. 6d.—L.155 3s. 8d. Bolton, L.68, 13s. 9d.—L.124, 12s. Humber, L.77, 4s. 5d.—L.141, 0s. 10d. Yester, L.69, 6s.—L.153, 7s. 6d. Garvald and Barra, L.67 13s: 6d.—L.152, 9s. 9d. Morham, L.69 10s.—L.137, 13s. Athelstaneford, L.71, 1s. 1d.—L.177, 2s. 8d. Ormiston, (Dalkeith Presb.) L.78, 13s. 3d.—L.180, 12s. 4d.

The stipends throughout the presbytery average 18 chalders of victual (304 bolls), with from L.9 to L.10 for communion elements, and glebes of from 4 to 12 acres. The value in money is more than double that of 1755, and in most cases triple.

*Minister's Manse.*—On the 15th April, 1735, the town-council agreed "that the kirk should be repaired, with the first and second ministers' manses. It appears that it was not till the 9th December, 1588, that the council passed "an act respecting a manse for the minister," who was formerly (if not then) lodged in the same house with the schoolmaster.\* Both ministers have now commodious manses, with glebes. The manse, now possessed by the Rev. James Bell, (which was first tenanted by the Rev. Dr. Sibbald,) was built in 1810; and that of the Rev. Dr. Cook, in 1831.

\* In January 1581-82, the old school of Haddington underwent a repair. The town-treasurer was authorized to provide "timber, lead, stane, lime, and sand, for repairing and biggin it, that it might be a lodging for the minister, the master of the school, and others." At the same time William Potter was paid 5s. 6d. per pound for a bell to the school, containing four stone five pounds weight.

### Early Scholars and Schoolmasters.

“Hard is the scholar’s fate, condemned to sail  
Unpatronized o’er life’s tempestuous sea.”

SHERSTONE.

There is a charm in the “long withdrawing aisles of the cloistered hall,” and in the retirements of learning, which we have often felt, yet can scarcely describe. It arises from that association of ideas which creates an ideal world within itself, and to which the sentimentalist and moralist owe much of their present enjoyment. Cold must be the heart that does not meditate with melancholy pleasure where an Addison or Johnson strayed, Shakspeare rambled, Newton studied, or Milton sung; or to come to our own precincts, and while musing o’er the glories of the mighty dead, to pause, and cast a lingering look towards the spot, where Blair wrote his inimitable poem of “the Grave;” Home, his celebrated dramatic compositions; or Robertson, in the retirement of Gladsmuir, dipped his elegant pen into historic lore, to delight and instruct the world. But while talent and genius shall ever claim our regard, we must not forget the stepping stones that led us smoothly over the streams of literature. Next to Guttemberg, the inventor of moveable types, mankind are more indebted to the heaven-inspired Grecian,\* who first arranged the letters of the alphabet, than to all the Alexanders and Napoleons that ever existed. In the words of honest Dilworth, whose portrait graced our arithmetics some fifty years ago:

“Tis to the press and pen we mortals owe,  
All that we have, and almost all we know.”

It is, therefore, with pleasing ideas we revert to the early instructors of youth,—to the worthy men whose delightful task it was, in the words of our favourite Thomson:

——“To rear the tender thought,  
And teach the young idea how to shoot.”

Of the scholastic history of Haddington previous to the reformation little can be gleaned; but it is evident that the town produced some eminent scholars, and among the first was WALTER BOWAR, abbot of Inchcolm. The *Scotichronicon*, the earliest general history of Scotland that has reached us, was written in

\* Cadmus.

Latin, during the reign of Robert II. by John de Fordun, a native of Kincardineshire. He was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, a chaplain of the church of Aberdeen, and flourished about the year 1380. When Fordun was too infirm to continue the work himself, he committed his historical collection to Walter Bower, a native of Haddington, who was born in 1385, during the reign of Robert II. The name of John Bower, or Bowmaker, a bailie of the burgh of Haddington, appears in the chamberlain's rolls in 1395: from whence it is probable, that Walter was either the son or relation of this person. Bower assumed the religious habit at the age of eighteen, and having finished his studies at home, repaired to Paris, that he might perfect himself in the learning of the times. Returning from this celebrated university, he was elected Abbot of Inchcolm in 1418; and, about 1441, after having shared in the civil as well as in the ecclesiastical government of his own country, he retired from his public pursuits in order that he might pursue his favourite studies in tranquillity. Besides being the friend and disciple of Fordun, he was indebted to the friendship of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, for many chronicles and papers connected with the Scottish history.\*

ANDREW DE WYNTOUN, Prior of Lochleven, was contemporary with Bower. He composed his Metrical Chronicle of Scotland about the year 1420, during the regency of Murdoch, Duke

\* The *Scotichronicon*, agreeable to the style of that period, commences with a philosophical disquisition on the round form of the universe, in which the earth is made to move at an equidistant part in the circle of the heavens;—next follows the consideration of the four points of the compass, and of the four cardinal winds,—thence descending to the different divisions of the world, its partition among the sons of Noah, and the exact situation of paradise, he deduces the first emigration of the Scots, in the days of Moses, under Gathelus, son of Neolus, king of Greece, till finally he concludes with the death of David I. Bower commences his continuation of Fordun with the death of David I., and concludes with the murder of James I. in 1436. The style of Fordun, which is eulogised by Bower, is that of the monastic Latinity of the age, rich “in barbaric pearl and gold.” His Chronicle was held in such esteem by the clergy, that after most of the monasteries and churches were deprived of their ancient charters and histories by Edward I., the deficiency was supplied by adapting the *Scotichronicon*, with some inconsiderable additions, and adopting the name of the religious house by which such plagiarism was committed. We, therefore, meet with Fordun, as well as his continuator, Bower, reappearing in different MSS., under the title of “the Book of Paisley,” “the Book of Scone,” “the Book of Cupar,” &c. Although ill-digested, the materials of Bower are considered as valuable and authentic; and although his style may possess little attraction from its fabulous narratives or lengthened digressions, yet even in the infancy of taste, and the credulity of the middle ages, we will occasionally meet with a burst of eloquence.—*Introd. to BELLENDEN'S BOECE.*

of Albany. From the designation of Winton, he is apparently the native of a neighbouring parish.

JOHN MAIR, or MAJOR, a distinguished writer in scholastic theology, was born at Gleghornie, near North Berwick, about 1446. He studied at Oxford and Paris, and became a professor in the Sorbonne in 1509. On his return to his native country, he was appointed principal of St. Salvator's college, St Andrew's. His Scottish history, though scholastic, is more free from credulity than that of his predecessors, and it revived an important study, which had slumbered from the time that Bower had closed his labours in 1437. He died in 1530.

In 1559, the establishment of the presbyterian form of church government was nearly perfected; and schools were generally established throughout East Lothian. The schoolmasters of Dunbar and Spott, Haddington and Prestonpans, particularly distinguished themselves.\*

\* Andrew Simpson taught Greek, at Spott, near Dunbar. He was originally master of the school of Perth, where he had sometimes under his charge 300 boys, many of them sons of the principal nobility. The conversion of Mr. Simpson to the protestant faith is ascribed to the influence of Sir David Lindsay's poems in alienating the pupils and their master from popery. He had five sons more or less distinguished. Alexander Home, the celebrated grammarian, succeeded Mr. Simpson as master of the school of Dunbar. The following is an account of Home's admission to Prestonpans:

"At Hadintoun ye 25 of Junij 1606.

"The qlk day Mr. John Ker, minister of ye (Salt) Panis, productit ye prentatone of Mr. Alexr. Hoome to be schoolmr. of ye schoole of ye Panis, foundit be Mr. Jo. Davedsone, for instructioun of the youth in Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, subscriyvet be yais to qhume Mr. Jon Davedsone gave power to noiat (nominate) ye man, qlk prentatone ye Prebrie (presbytery) allowit and ordenit ye moderator and clerk to subscribe ye samine in yor names, qlk (which) yai ded. As also ordeanit yat ye said kirk of ye Panis suld be visited vpon ye eight day of Julij next to come, for adnissione of ye said Mr. Alexander to ye said office. The visitors were appoynted, Mr. Ard. Oswald. Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. George Greir, Mr. Andro Blackhall, and Mr. Andro Maghye, to teach."

"At Saltprestoun, Julij 8. 1606.

"The hall parischoners being poisit how yai lykkit ye said Mr. Alexr. wt vniforme consent being particularly inqwyrit, schew yair gude lykking of him, and yai willingnes to accept and receiv him to ye said office, Qupon ye said Mr. Alexr. wes admittit to ye said office, and in token of ye approbatone both of visitors and of ye parischoners presnt, both ye ane and ye other tulk ye said Mr. Alexr. be ye hand, and ye haill Magistratis, Gentlemen, and remanet Parischoners presnt faithfullie promisit to concurre for ye furtherance of ye work yat yit restis to be done to ye said schoole, as also to keipt ye said Mr. Alexr. and his scholleris skaithlis; finallic, for farther authorizing of ye sic, it wes thought meitt yat ye haill visitors and parischoners presnt, suld enter ye said Mr. Alexr. into ye said schoole, and yair heir him teache, quik also wes doone."  
—Record of Presbytery of Haddington.

Home was the author of several popular elementary books. His "Grammatica Nova" was appointed to be used in all schools, both by the privy-council and parliament; and amongst the earliest regulations of the high school of Edinburgh, it was enacted, that "the first class and regent thair of sall teache the first and second rudiments of Dunbar, with the Colloques of Corderius, and on Sunday Catechesis Palatinatus."

The Kirkwoods of Dunbar were also among the distinguished scholars who passed their probationary trials at Haddington. James Kirkwood, author of "Grammatica

Mr. ROBERT DORMONT is the first presbyterian schoolmaster mentioned in the records of Haddington. In 1559, October 6th. "the town-council thought it expedient to see Mr. Robert Dormont to be skoilmaster of the burgh, with 24 merks in the year, payable off the common gude; and allowed for *ilk tonn bairn*, 12d. termly of school-house fee, and 4d. termly from the parents or friends of the bairn, as use and wont was. The council to find Mr. Dormant, 'ane chalmer and skoilhouse, mail free.' "\*

Mr. Thomas Cumyng was appointed schoolmaster of the burgh of Haddington, in December 1563. The following is the contract between the provost, bailies, council and community, and their teacher:

"At the burgh of Haddington, the 17. day of February, the year of God 1563 zeri. it is contractit, concordit, and finally agreed, &c. And the said provost, bailies and council, have elected and chosen the said Mr. Thomas to be their schoolmaster within the said burgh, during all the days of his lifetime; which office, the said Mr. Thomas has accepted, in and upon him, and he faithfully promised, bound, and obliged him. to leir and instruct all and sundry the bairnis of the inhabitants of the same burgh diligently in Grammatik letters, in Latyne toung, and moralie vertues, at his possibilitie:—shewing himself by good life, honest behaviour and conversation, example to others, as well as in his instruction and doctrine, as God will give him grace, and at his possibilitie, during all the days of his lifetime; whose entry shall be and begin at the Invention of the Cross, called Beltane, next hereafter to come;—and shall not absent him from instruction and learning of the said bairnis by the space of *three days*, without special license and leave asked and obtained of the said provost and bailies, &c., who bind and oblige them and their successors, to pay to the said Mr. Thomas yearly, the sum of *liijxx*. (70) merks, gude and usual money of this realm; and they shall not permit any school to be holden within the said burgh by the said Mr. Thomas's school alanerlie;—and he shall receive, and uplift yearly, *iiij*. shillings money in the year, at *iiij*. terms in the year, Beltane, Lammas, Candlemas, and Hallowmas:—*ilk term xijd*. of ilk bairn he leirns and instructs, of the inhabitants of this burgh, of skolaige silver alanerlie.

"(Signed) Maister THOMAS CUMYNG, wy<sup>t</sup> my hand."

In 1571, as we have already noticed, the office of minister and schoolmaster were conjoined; and the gift of the common school was granted to Mr. JAMES CARMICHAEL, with all commodities and profits pertaining to it, and that during their pleasure; and.

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*Despauteriana*," was first schoolmaster of Linlithgow, where he quarrelled with the town-council (whom, in a satire, he styles the 27 gods of Linlithgow), and next master of the grammar-school of Kelso, whither he was invited by the Countess of Roxburgh. The celebrated John, Earl of Stair, the soldier and statesman, was taught by Mr. Kirkwood, and "tabled in his house," and his grammar was taught in the schools till it was superseded by Ruddiman. The other was the Rev. James Kirkwood, rector of Astwick in Bedfordshire, whom we will have occasion to speak of afterwards, when we treat of Bible Societies.

\* Haddington Coun. Reg.

in the February following, Mr. Walter Baucanquall was appointed reader in the church, clerk of the session, and doctor in the school.—See p. 434.

Such were a few of the early distinguished scholars of Haddington, where the Maitlands—the Cockburns—and Knox, were educated; and, in later times, Witherspoon and Mylne, men alike distinguished for their literary talents as well as their learning.\*

In 1574, however, it was found necessary to separate the offices of minister and schoolmaster, as Mr. Carmichael, through his great burden in the ministry, could not attend to the double offices, and through the remissness of his doctors, the “bairns were abstracted” by more artful competitors.†

Mr. James Pantoun succeeded the Rev. James Carmichael. He was appointed on the 15th April, 1577. He was allowed by the town of Haddington, “ten pounds money of fee, quarterly, for his stipend, with a chalmer free, and a school free;—and the said Mr. James to have of ilk toun bairn, xii*d.* of stipend in the quarter, and the doctor to have iii*d.*;—and the said Mr. James to be at his advantage of *outlandis bairnis*;—and the doctor to have his meat of all the bairns their day about;—and that he shall find a sufficient doctor under him in the school for teaching and holding of them in good order;—and in case the town finds any fail or fault in the said Mr. James, he shall remove at the *quarter* end—his entry to be at Whitsunday next to come.”

In June 1579, John Ker was appointed schoolmaster.‡ His salary was threescore pounds Scots, yearly, with 4*s.* money of stipend for ilk bairn, at four terms. He was bound to keep a

\* That eminent scholar, the Rev. John Witherspoon, DD. LL.D. president of the college of New Jersey, in America, was born in the manse of Yester. He was sent at an early age to the grammar-school of Haddington, where he distinguished himself by his assiduity and proficiency.

† The Rev. Andrew Mylne, DD. minister of Dollar, and author of several popular elementary books, is a native of Haddington.

‡ In 1623, September 29th, the town-treasurer was authorized to pay to Mr. James Carmichael, elder, their minister, “his byrun house maillis restand awand to him by them, for as many years bygane as are yet unpaid, *desuper act.*”—*Haddn. Coun. Reg.*

§ The form of his *fyein* is given at full length in the burgh records. It is of the same tenor as that of Mr. Thomas Cumyn in 1563.

1578, March 13th, “The council after presentation of Mr. John Ker’s missive bill, sent with Adam Wilson to the town, anent conduction of him to be schoolmaster, they ordained the said Adam to pass over to St. Andrews at the town’s expense, to request him to come with all diligence, that the town might talk with him anent the same, and he shall be honestly allowed his expenses.”



sufficient doctor, who was to have his meat of each scholar in rotation, with 4*d.* termly. In the November following, it was ordained; "that the doctors should have their day's meat of the boarders as well as of the town scholars, and 4*d.* of fee quarterly." It appears that this *feeding* of the assistants was not generally relished; for, in July 1580, the magistrates found it necessary to levy a fine of 8*d.* on such of the inhabitants of the burgh as should refuse to furnish this necessary repast when it fell to their share."

Mr. Ker having given great satisfaction as a teacher, on the 17th August, 1583, he was appointed master of the grammar-school for the space of five years, with threescore pounds Scots of salary; and, on the same day, as a mark of respect, he was made burgess and freeman within the burgh.

During the absence of Mr. Carmichael from his charge, as we formerly had occasion to notice, Mr. Ker acted as minister, and was remunerated by the burgh for his services. On the 19th May, 1591, Mr. Ker demitted his charge; and, on the 28th, the town-council ordered the treasurer "to pay his hail year's stipend, extending to 100 merks, and 10 libs. for house maill; and to pay him, at Martinmas next, 100 pounds for his support, to help to pay his debts."

He was succeeded by Mr. John Callender, son to Robert Callender of Bauclo, on the 29th July 1591, who was "conduccit and feed as teacher of the grammar-school of Haddington, for the space of fifteen months." It was enacted, that "the said Mr. John should diligently, lelelie, and truly, learn and instruct the said school and hail bairns to be put to him, sufficiently in their Latin and Greek grammar affairs, and in all classic authors necessary; and to sustain a qualified doctor under him, to have 125 merks of stipend and fee for his said service during the 15 months, besides the usual scolage from the bairns." And, on the 9th of August, 1592, George Sprot, son to Richard Sprot in Jedburgh, was "feed and conduccit to be doctor to the school; and to take up the psalms in the kirk in times convenient,\* for the space of one year from Hallowmas next; and to serve diligently under

\* After instrumental music was no longer used in the church, precentors and music-masters were of great importance: the office being sometimes filled by those who had served in the magistracy and the master of the grammar-school. These we shall notice by themselves.

Mr. John Callender; and to obey him as becomes a doctor to the master, for teaching the hail bairns, &c., and to have of stipend 50 merks yearly."

His successor was Mr. George Lichtbodie. On the 23d May, the town-council having considered "the long, good, and thankful service, done by Mr. Lichtbodie, doctor of the grammar-school, now and being purposed to remove himself, ordains the treasurer to advance and deliver him xx. lb. for his reward and propine, in token of his long and good service, *desuper act.*"\*

1619, November 5th, Thomas Paterson was master of the grammar-school of Haddington.

1623, November 10th, Alexander Setoun was "conducit and feed to be master of the grammar-school within the burgh."†

1678, February 22nd, William Skien was master of the grammar school. He had a salary of 400 merks. He was obligated to keep a doctor or assistant, who was to receive 50 merks of the salary.

It is somewhat singular that the salary of the rector of the grammar-school has been nearly the same for 200 years, which is an evidence of the early respectability of that seminary.

\* The town-council manifested much liberality at this time. On the 22nd July, 1616, they "ordained the treasurer to deliver to the university of St. Andrews xx. lb. money, for their part of the volunteer contribution, granted at the convention of the burghs, for replenishing the libraries, *desuper act.*"

† The following anecdote shews with what avidity learning was pursued, even by the sons of the nobility, in the seventeenth century. In 1623, on Charles I. visiting Seton-house, Alexander Seton, second son of George second Earl of Winton, met the King at the iron gate of the mansion, and welcomed him in a Latin oration, while his Majesty sat in state, surrounded by the nobility. Mr. Seton was attended by his school-master, and other four masters of arts, all grave, and consequently learned men, clad in black cloth and cloaks, lined through with velvet. The ground was covered a great way from the throne with a carpet. The orator spoke boldly, with a gesture suited to the occasion, for which his Majesty and all present applauded him. Before rising from his knee, the King conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and said: "Now, Sir Alexander, see that this does not spoil your school—by the appearance you will be a scholar." To which, Sir Alexander replied: "No:—please your Majesty." After this, like a tractable youth, he returned to school, and studied with more alacrity than formerly. He went to France in 1636, and remained two years at the college of La Fleche. After visiting Italy, Leghorn, Alicant, Madrid, and making a summer tour through the greater part of France, he returned to England in 1640. To avoid subscribing the covenant, he repaired to Holland in 1643, and being still inexorable against presbyterianism, he was formally excommunicated in Tranent church, 8th Oct. 1644, upon which he again went to France, and waited upon Prince Charles till 1647, when he returned to London. He was employed in several negotiations by Charles II., who created him Viscount Kingston in 1656, being the first baron after his coronation.

As a proof of the last circumstance, and the gaiety that then prevailed, on the 22nd July, 1682, it was intimated, that a *play* was to be performed, on Friday the 28th, by the noblemen and gentlemen's children [attending the grammar-school], in the bowling-green house. For their accommodation, the town-council authorized the treasurer "to take out a door in the said house for an entry, with a stair thereat."

During the residence of the Duke of York at Holyroodhouse, one half of the London company of the Duke's theatre, performed there: hence Dryden, in his poetical address to the university of Oxford, on their giving an academical jubilee, alludes to the circumstance.

"Discord and plots, which have undone our age,  
With the same ruin have o'erwhelm'd the stage.  
Our house has suffer'd in the common woe:  
We have been troubled with Scots rebels too.  
Our brethren have from Thames to Tweed departed,  
And of our sisters, all the kinder hearted,  
To Edinburgh gone, or coach'd, or carted.  
With bonny blue cap—there they act all night  
For Scots half crowns—in English, threepence height."

The taste of the court communicated itself to the gentry, and the academical youth of Haddington imitated their brethren, who might be pursuing their studies a *stage* farther at Oxford.

Previous to this period the high school of Haddington had been convened at six o'clock in the morning, summer and winter. On the 14th December, 1699, the town-council ordained, for the health of the children, "that, from Hallowmas to Candlemas, the school should in future meet at nine morning."

On the 6th June, 1710, Mr. James Dods was sent to Edinburgh, by the town-council of Haddington, to consult the regents (professors) and schoolmasters, about a proper person for teaching humanity (Latin) in the grammar-school, then vacant; and who might also be capable of supplying the office of precentor and session-clerk in the parish.

In 1724, John Leslie was master of the grammar-school of Haddington. On the 8th March, a play was performed by Mr. Leslie's scholars, when he claimed the expense of the erection of the stage, which is thus noticed in the minutes of the burgh: "Thereafter there was a petition given in to the council by John Leslie, master of the grammar-school, humbly shewing, that some time ago, he having caused to be erected a

stage for the scholars acting a play, which was done with a general applause, he was obliged to give his bill to Mr. Anderson for the damage done to the trees and dales made use of in that way; and, albeit, the timber was given back, and part of it made use of by the Treasurer since, yet his bill is not delivered up; therefore, humbly craving the council, to recommend it to the Treasurer, to take up the petitioner's bill from Mr. Anderson, and relieve him from payment of the contents thereof, as the said petition, subscribed by the petitioner, bears." This petition being considered by the town-council, they referred the consideration of it to the magistrates, with power to relieve Mr. Leslie of the expense, which was accordingly done, as the deliverance upon the back of the petition, signed by Bailie Smith, in presence of the council, bears testimony.

Mr. Leslie continued to indulge his scholars in their dramatic amusements; and enlisted the most celebrated Scottish poet of that time, the author of the pleasant pastoral comedy of the "Gentle Shepherd," to introduce his young Thespian heroes to their auditors with an address, of which the following is a copy:

## PROLOGUE,

BY ALLAN RAMSAY.

*Before the acting of AURENGZEBE and the DRUMMER, by the young Gentlemen of the Grammar School of Haddington, August 1727, spoken by Mr. CHARLES COCKBURN, son to Colonel Cockburn.*

Be hush, ye crowd, who pressing round appear  
 Only to stare—we speak to those can hear,  
 The nervous phrase, which raises thoughts more high,  
 When added action leads them through the eye.  
 To paint fair virtue, humours, and mistakes,  
 Is what our school with pleasure undertakes.  
 Through various incidents of life led on  
 By Dryden, and immortal Addison;  
 These studied men, and knew the various springs  
 That moved the mind of coachmen and of kings.  
 Although we're young, allow no thought so mean,  
 That any here's to act the Harlequin:  
 We leave such dumb-show mimicry to fools,  
 Beneath the sp'rit of Caledonian schools.  
 Learning's our aim, and all our care to reach  
 At elegance and gracefulness of speech,  
 And the address from bashfulness refined,  
 Which hangs a weight upon a worthy mind.  
 The grammar's good, but pedantry brings down  
 The gentle dance below the sprightly clown.  
 "Get seven score versus of Ovid's Trist by heart,  
 "To rattle o'er, else I shall make you smart,"  
 Cry snarling Dominies that little ken:  
 Such may teach parrots—but our Lesly\* men.

\* Mr. John Lesly, master of the school, a gentleman of true learning, who, by his excellent method, most worthily fills his place.—*Note by RAMSAY.*

## EPILOGUE.

*After the acting of the Dauncen, spoken by Master MAURICE COCKBURN, another son of Colonel Cockburn's.*

Our plays are done—now criticise, and spare not;  
 And though you are not fully pleased, we care not;  
 We have a reason on our side—and that is,  
 Your treat has one good property—'tis gratis.  
 We've pleased ourselves; and, if we have good judges,  
 We value not a head where nothing lodges.  
 The generous men of sense will kindly praise us,  
 And, if we make a little snapper, raise us.  
 Such know the aspiring soul at manly dawn,  
 Abhors the sour rebuke and carpin throwin:  
 But rises on the hope of a great name,  
 Up all the ragged roads that lead to fame.  
 Our breasts already pant to gain renown  
 At senates, courts—by arms, or by the gown!  
 Or by improvements of paternal fields,  
 Which never-falling joy and plenty yields:  
 Or by deep draughts of the Castalian springs,  
 To soar with Mantuan or Horatian wings.  
 Hey, boys! the day's our own! the ladies smile,  
 Which ever recompenses all our toil.  
 Delights of mankind, tho' in some small parts  
 We are deficient, yet our wills and hearts  
 Are yours; and, when more perfect, shall endeavour  
 By acting better, to secure your favour:  
 To spinnets then retire, and play a few tunes,  
 Till we get thro' our Gregories and Newtons,  
 And some years hence, another tale we'll tell,—  
 'Till then, ye bonny blooming beds—farewell!

The town-council seem to have been actuated with the spirit of their teacher; for, on the 5th August, 1729, they recommended to the magistrates “to commune with Mr. John Leslie, anent a stage to the schoolboys, to act a comedy upon, before the vacation, and to report.” Thereafter, the magistrates reported to the council, “that they had communed with Mr. Leslie anent a stage, conform to their recommendation; and that they found it would be needful to cause make the stage.” The council, therefore, authorized the treasurer “to provide trees and dales, and other materials for the stage, at the sight of the magistrates.”

In 1738, David Young was master of the grammar-school.—On the 5th September, there was a dispute betwixt him and the master of the English school, which was referred to the council, who found “that Mr. Young and his doctors might teach writing to their Latin scholars, but not to those of the English school.”

A proper English schoolmaster was still a desideratum. It was found necessary, on the 15th December, 1747, to appoint a committee to consider the best way of providing the town with a

proper person to teach an English school in the burgh, when Mr. Young and others, were authorized to inquire after a proper person. In furtherance of this object, it was agreed by the town-council, on the 28th February, 1748, that the English teacher should receive of salary 100 merks yearly. Fees, (for the child of a burghess) for English reading, 1s. 3d. per quarter; for English, writing, and arithmetic, 2s.; and for writing, arithmetic, and vocal music, 2s. 6d. sterling. If the candidate were a proficient in book-keeping, to meet with suitable encouragement. By the 13th January, 1750, no proper candidates having offered themselves, Mr. Young was authorized to engage a teacher on what terms he might think proper; and that he should be allowed the terms offered by the council to himself. Alexander Smart was admitted 11th August, 1750.

In 1752, 8th November, Alexander Smart was the exclusive master of the English school. He received as salary 100 merks annually, with an allowance of L.3, sterling, additional, to pay an assistant, as he had upwards of 60 scholars.

*Premiums.*—In 1756, July 3d, the town-council recommended to the magistrates “to visit the grammar and English schools previous to the vacation,—to provide such books as they might think proper, to be given as a premium to the boy who should be found the best scholar in each class; and to invite such gentlemen as they should think competent to attend the examination.”

John Rae, one of the masters of the high-school of Edinburgh, was appointed master of the grammar-school of Haddington, on the 20th January, 1759. He was allowed an yearly salary of 400 merks, with a large new house and garden. The fees (for the son of a burghess,) for Latin and writing, was 2s. 6d. per quarter, with 1s. 6d. to the assistant or doctor. The town-council to have the liberty of presenting one or two poor boys, sons of burghesses, yearly, to be educated gratis.

On the 6th August, Alexander Smart demitted his charge, on being appointed to the school of Tynningham. At the same date, it was ordained that the grammar-school should be examined by the presbytery and magistrates. The latter were empowered by the council to give the former an entertainment, with the usual compliment of sweetmeats to the scholars.

1759, on the 1st November, William Leyden, schoolmaster of Bedrule, was appointed master of the English school of Haddington.

1768, on the 28th June, James Watson, schoolmaster in Selkirk, was appointed rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, after the death of Mr. Rae.

1765, on the 24th October, John Abernethy, formerly schoolmaster of Gifford, and then in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was appointed master of the English school "during good behaviour," in place of Mr. Leyden resigned, to whom a compliment of L.5 sterling was awarded. His salary L.100 Scots.

Mr. Abernethy's salary was 100 merks. On a representation of the high price of provisions, &c. it was augmented 100 pounds Scots per annum, being thus more than doubled, on condition that he assisted Andrew Bower as preceptor, when necessary. William Leyden had demitted on being engaged as master of the grammar-school of Dunbar.

1788, James Johnstone, schoolmaster of Bathgate, was elected rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, on the 30th October, on the resignation of Mr. James Watson on account of ill health, who retired on an annuity of L.25 per annum.

August 18th, the unsuccessful candidates for the grammar-school, Mr. Gillies from Inverary, and Mr. Hastie, Newbattle, claimed, and were allowed, L.2, 2s. each for their expenses.

Mr. Johnstone, who was settled during the pleasure of the town-council, and liable to be removed at twelve month's notice, presented a petition, on the 18th March 1790, requesting that he might be instated during life and good behaviour. This request was granted. It was further agreed, that he should not be compelled to keep a doctor or assistant, till his scholars exceeded 36. At his engagement he had been bound to keep an assistant, whatever might be the number of his scholars, or suffer a deduction of L.12 sterling from his salary. Mr. Johnstone resigned in 1800, having engaged in a mercantile concern.

Baillie Johnstone also resigned being a member of the town-council, in 1811, on his removal to Dunbar, to act as accountant in the bank of the British Linen Company, where he died much respected and regretted.

1792, James Brown, teacher of English in Edinburgh, was elected master of the English school in room of Mr. Abernethy deceased. He was allowed the same salary as his predecessor, provided he kept a proper assistant.\* On his resignation,

1794, James Kirk, schoolmaster of Athelstaneford, was appointed on the 24th May. He resigned on being elected to the grammar-school of Hawick.

1798, Richard Hay was appointed master of the English school, on the 28th July, "during pleasure," either parties being free of the settlement on giving six month's previous notice.

On a petition from Mr. Hay to the town-council, on the 16th August, 1806, the salary of the English teacher was raised to L.20 sterling, annually. His fees, at the same time, were increased as follows—Reading, per quarter, 2s. 6d.; reading and writing, 3s.; reading, writing and arithmetic, 3s. 6d.; writing alone, 2s. 6d. For the sons of poor burghesses, 6d. less.

Mr. Hay was author of a volume, entitled "the Beauties of Arithmetic."

\* In January 1792, the practice of cockfighting, which had been abolished nine years previously, was revived in the schools of the burgh. This will be noticed along with "public amusements."

1800, William Graham, schoolmaster of Dirleton, was elected rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, on the resignation of Mr. Johnstone.

The school having declined considerably during the time of his predecessor, Mr. Graham was not obligated to keep a doctor or assistant, till his scholars amounted to at least forty. Mr. Graham's scholars rapidly increasing, and having twenty-seven boarders, he applied, on the 3d November, 1801, to get his house enlarged, and to be elected rector for life, in place of the vague terms "during pleasure," which request was agreed to by the town-council.

*Mathematical School.*—The overburthened state of the English school, having excited the reprehension of the presbytery, a committee was appointed to inquire into its situation, when it was recommended that a separate seminary should be established for teaching arithmetic, mathematics, and geography. The town-council accordingly, on the 16th February, 1809, wrote to John Leslie, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, craving his advice on the subject, with a request that he should recommend to them a proper teacher. A sub-committee was also appointed, consisting of Provost Deans, Mr. John Martine, and Mr. George Banks, to wait upon the presbytery, with a recommendation for them to urge the heritors of the parish, to establish a *parochial* school, an endowment which, by law, they were bound to support. They also recommended to the presbytery to examine, from time to time, the assistants in the grammar and English schools as to their qualifications for their office.

After some further correspondence with Professor Leslie, he recommended to the notice of the town as a teacher, "a lad of good character and of superior abilities." This lad was no other than the after-to-be-celebrated EDWARD IRVING, A. M.

Mr. Irving was elected teacher of mathematics (including mensuration, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and navigation,) and also geography and arithmetic, on the 27th March, 1809, during the council's pleasure. His salary was L.20, with the fees of 15s. per quarter for mathematics, and 10s. for geography.

Mr. Irving removed from Haddington to Kirkcaldy in 1812. He was afterwards assistant to the celebrated Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, in Glasgow. From thence he was appointed to the Caledonian church, London, where he acquired considerable notoriety from the fervour of his preaching and his theological orations. Mr. Canning, the statesman, and some of the leaders of the beau monde, were frequently among his auditors. Mr. Irving was a native of Annan, in Scotland. He died at Glasgow, at a premature age, whither he had gone for the renovation of his health; and exemplified the ruling passion of the scholar "strong in death," by repeating the verses of the 23d Psalm, in Hebrew, during his last moments.

The following character of Mr. Irving was drawn by an acute, but acrimonious English critic and essayist:



"We conceive it not improbable (says Hazlitt,) that the consciousness of muscular power; that the admiration of his person by strangers, might first have inspired Mr. Irving with an ambition to be something, intellectually speaking, and have given him confidence to attempt the greatest things. He has not failed for want of courage. The public, as well as the fair, are won by a show of gallantry. Mr. Irving has shrunk from no opinion, however paradoxical. He has scrupled to avow no sentiment, however obnoxious. He has revived exploded prejudices: he has scouted prevailing fashions. He has turned religion and the Caledonian chapel topsy-turvy. He has held a play-book in one hand, and a Bible in the other, and quoted Shakspeare and Melancthon in the same breath. He has taken the thorns and briars of scholastic divinity, and garlanded them with the flowers of modern literature. His imposing figure and dignified manner enable him to hazard sentiments or assertions that would be fatal to others. His controversial daring is backed by his bodily prowess. Take a cubit from his stature, and his whole manner resolves itself into an impertinence. But with that addition he overcrows the town, brow beats their prejudices, and belies them out of their senses. All the mad tricks which he has performed have been done on the strength of a remarkably fine person and manner, and through that he has succeeded, otherwise he would have perished miserably."—HAZLITT.

On a representation from Mr. Graham, that clergymen and others trenched on the rights of the grammar-school, he was allowed to teach the English language; and, on a further representation that there had been no alteration in the fees of the grammar-school since 1678, it was agreed that they should be raised to 8s. per quarterly term, and that English should be taught at the rate of 5s., with the reservation of afterwards restricting his number of English scholars if necessary.

1812, October 22nd, Mr. James Brown, student of divinity, was appointed master of the mathematical school of Haddington, on the removal of Mr. Edward Irving to Kirkcaldy. It being now ascertained that the mathematical school by itself, was inadequate to support a separate teacher, unless he had liberty to teach other branches of learning, Mr. Richard Hay was induced to resign on receiving an annuity of L.30 per annum during life. On the 12th October, 1814, the English school was, therefore, conjoined to the mathematical, under the management of Mr. Brown. On the 24th June, 1815, Mr. Brown tendered his resignation, on being appointed a minister of the Scottish church at Calcutta.

Thomas Cumming, his assistant, was appointed master, on the 17th August, on the trial of one year. On the recommendation of the Rev. Charles H. Terrot, A.M., episcopalian minister, Haddington, his appointment was confirmed, on the 22nd August, 1816, with Patrick Hardie as his assistant.

Mr. Hardie succeeded Mr. Cumming, in June 1822, with William Young, afterwards schoolmaster of Bolton, for his assistant.

Mr. Hardie died at Haddington, in November 1837, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory by a number of his pupils, "in grateful recollection of his talents, acquirements, and zealous perseverance, as a successful teacher of youth."

There are perhaps few public institutions more fluctuating in their popularity than boarding schools, or depend more upon the exertions of the master. In 1796, the grammar-school had declined so considerably that Mr. Johnston, the rector, applied to the magistrates for liberty to let his house! while, in 1801, Mr. Graham applied to get his house enlarged. After the lapse of thirty-seven years more, it was found necessary that the burgh schools should be re-organized, when Mr. Graham was induced to retire on the liberal annuity of L.50 per annum.

In March 1838, Mr. William Maxwell Gunn, of the Edinburgh southern academy, was appointed rector, in conjunction with Mr. Robert Burns Nichol as English and French teacher, and John Davidson as mathematical and writing-master. The salary of the rector was L.25, and L.10 each to the English and Mathematical masters. The following were the fees then adopted :

English, per quarterly term, 3s. 6d.—Writing (each hour) including materials, 4s. 6d., (if any other class be taken with it, 3s. 6d. Arithmetic, (each hour) 3s., with any other class, 2s. English literature, 7s. 6d., with any other class, 5s. French, 7s. 6d., with any other class, 5s. Geometry and Algebra, 7s. 6d., with any other class, 5s. Latin, 7s. 6d. Greek, 2s. 6d. Matriculation ticket, 1s. for incidental expenses. Mr. Gunn's terms for board and education, were L.35 for pupils under 12 years of age, and L.40 above that age.

Mr. Gunn resigned in September 1843, on being appointed one of the masters of the high-school of Edinburgh.

Mr. Gunn is author of a volume "on Education in connection with Religion," and editor of the new Edinburgh edition of "Titi Livii Pistorini, Historiarum ab urbe condita Libri quinque Priores," and other of the Latin classics.

In 1839, Mr. John Barclay was appointed master of the writing and mathematical school, on the resignation of Mr. Davidson.

The Rev. William Whyte, formerly classical master of George Watson's hospital, Edinburgh, was elected rector of the grammar-school of Haddington, on Wednesday the 4th October, 1843; and Mr. Archibald Mackenzie was appointed assistant to him for the English department.

The rector's salary is now L.45, out of which he pays L.20 to the English teacher, the mastership of the English school being sunk.

#### BURGH SCHOOLHOUSES.

On the 9th May, 1600, "the treasurer was ordered to bigg and repair the house of the old school." And, in 1673, July 19th, the school having been spoiled by the last great flood, it was appointed that it should "be redd and cleansed by the treasurer, and rafts provided for the bairns to sit on." In 1674, May 4th, L.5 sterling were granted to build desks in the schools.

In 1753, December 4th, it was decreed by the town-council that a new school and school-house should be built.

*Grammar School.*—The present grammar-school was built in 1758. The sum expended on this large and commodious edifice was L.8006, 6s. 9d. Scots, (about L.492 sterling). On the 15th April, 1756, the useful appendage of a brewhouse was added to the grammar-school, "to be built with clay, and harled or casten with lime."

On the 6th August, 1759, a new bell was provided for the school; and several complaints having been made "scent the dampness of the earthen floor, a new one was appointed to be laid."—*Council Reg.*

The town of Haddington was greatly indebted to Andrew Fletcher of Salton, their representative in parliament, for the school-house, which Dr. Barclay states, in 1783, "to have contained the best accommodation for boarders of any he knew in this part of the United Kingdom."

*English School.*—In 1761, the present English school, schoolhouse, and library, were built, by a decree of the town-council.

*Mathematical School.*—This seminary, which forms a left angle with the English school, was built in 1809-10, from a plan and specification by James Burn, architect, Haddington. The estimate was L.290 sterling.

### PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

On the 22nd November, 1822, the plan of adopting a parochial school met with the approbation of the heritors; but the town of Haddington, under the act of parliament then existing, did not consider itself liable to contribute to the expense. On the 19th February, 1824, the establishment of a parochial school was again agitated; but the town was still of the same opinion in regard to its assessment; yet authorized Provost Hislop to enter into a reference for any claim the heritors might have upon the burgh. In 1826 the parochial school was at length established, which is supported by the landward heritors at the maximum salary.

James Johnston was the first master appointed. He died in 1837. He was succeeded by William Young, schoolmaster of Bolton, now of Lasswade. In 1838, Thomas Henderson, formerly schoolmaster of Morham, was appointed master.

The fees for English reading are 2s. 6d. per quarterly term; writing, 3s. 6d.; and arithmetic, 4s. 6d.

### SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

In 1791, a Sabbath-school was established in Haddington. On the 27th December, the town-council "taking into consideration the utility and advantages of the Sunday-school lately established, agreed to contribute two guineas annually towards its encouragement. Mr. James Banks was then provost.

There are at present several Sunday schools in the burgh, taught chiefly by the elders of the Secession and of the Free Church, and other pious persons, who take charge of the young, as far as practicable, in their own districts.

**Music Masters and Precentors.**

————— "New psalmody  
Was his abhorrence, tinkling itching ears  
With its vain sounds; and innovations all  
He could not brook."—*Verses on Dunbar church.*

After the "kist fu' o' whistles" (the organ,) was banished from the church, vocal music formed a material part of the presbyterian worship. One of the earliest works of the reformed clergy was the translation of the Psalms of David into Scots metre, for the purpose of being introduced into the kirk, and sung to the old church tunes. The book of Psalms, by John Knox, containing the common tunes, is still extant, and the harmony of the measure shews that their masters were complete adepts in the art. To enlarge the psalmody, several parts of Scripture, and some old Latin hymns, and other pieces, were soon after added; and as there were no objections to the old music, an effort was made to reclaim some of those tunes from the profane ballads into which they had been burlesqued. A collection of these pieces was printed at Edinburgh, about 1590, under the title of "*A compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, &c.*, with sundrie other Ballads, changed out of prophane Sangs, for avoiding of sinne and harlotrie," &c.

On the 17th June, 1588, "John Buchan was feed and conduced to serve in the office of master of a sang school, and also to uptake the Psalms in the kirk; and to serve at the baptism and communion, as he should be required. To have fourscore merks of money yearly, a house furnished, with a chamber to teach the bairns in, mail free," &c.

This person fell under the censure of the magistrates. On the last day of March 1592, "compeared John Buchane, master of the sang school of the burgh, and meitit him to the council of his present necessities, and desired their good will and benevolence for service done by him the year preceding; and concerning the offence done by him to the town in speaking and giving injurious and slanderous words, he confessed he had spoken the same unadvisedly, in grief, and craved pardon for his offence," &c. The council, on considering the case, ordained the treasurer, on the 26th April, to deliver to the said John Buchan and his creditors, in his name, the sum of xlv. merks."

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\* The first minstrel had the misfortune to fall under church censure. 1578-79, February 6th.—"The quhilk day, Johnne Ker, menstralie, confessit him to have gottin wt Katrene Gray twa barnis by his wyff; ane is ane madin of xiiij. zeir auld, and ane laid of viij. zeris auld: and actit him to compeir in the next daylie conventioun, and thair to rasanee injunctiounis frae the kirk, and failzeing thair of, to be banist the bur. for- ever."—*Hadden. Coun. Reg.* This extract is given in the original spelling, as a specimen of the orthography of the town-council records of that date.

1619, September 13th, James Dunbar, son of the late Patrick Dunbar, who was master of the "Sang scole of this burgh," was continued in his father's place.

In 1677, December 27th, Walter Gray was appointed music-master, for instructing men as well as children, to sing music, and to play upon instruments; for taking up the psalms in the kirk on Sundays and other preaching days; and for reading the prayers and scriptures. His salary to be L.100 Scots, with house mail, besides perquisites. His charge not to exceed 2s. sterling per quarter, for burgesses.

On the 1st July, 1728, Charles May, a famous musician, was engaged for one year. "The provost (Alexander M'Call,) represented to the council, that seeing John Oswald, the piper, had left the town, it was proper to instal another in his place; and that at present there was one, Charles May, a good musician in town, who could play on hautboy, violin, base, german flute, and other instruments; that he had been communing with him, but found that he would not serve at the ordinary fee; and, therefore, he desired the council's opinion anent engaging with him, which being considered by the council, they recommended to the magistrates to settle with Charles May, but not to promise him more than five pounds sterling of fee, for one year after this date."

In 1730, December 8th, the town-council finding that the salary of one hundred pounds Scots, had of late been misapplied in being granted to unqualified persons, for teaching music, deposed Patrick Begbie, and appointed Mr. David Young, first doctor of the grammar-school, and his successors, keepers of a music school, provided they appointed proper persons."

In 1732, February 6th, James Erskine, late provost, was appointed music-master and precentor, with power to choose a deputy.

In 1753, November 17th, William Ray,\* merchant in Haddington, was appointed music-master on the death of James Erskine. His salary was 100 pounds Scots (L.8, 6s. 8d.) The precentor of Haddington church has now L.13 per annum.—St. John's church L.10. The sum of from L.5 to L.8 is paid in country parishes.

\* William Rae Wilson of Kelvinbank, author of *Travels in the East*, is descended from this family on the maternal side.

## CHAPTER IV.

DISSENTING CLERGY.—THE EAST LOTHIAN BIBLE SOCIETIES.  
—CHURCH EXTENSION.—ST. JOHN'S AND OTHER NEW  
CHURCHES.—SCHISM IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—  
EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH.

It is not the province of this work to enter into any minute detail of the various schisms, which have, from time to time, agitated our national church; for

“Who shall decide when doctors disagree?”

But we shall, as briefly as possible, notice the denominations which have sprung from them. About the year 1732, Ebenezer Erskine and a few ministers, having openly decried patronage and other acts of the general assembly, came under the censure of that body, and were expelled from the Scottish kirk. The expulsion of these individuals laid the foundation of the secession church, which now extends over the greater part of Scotland.

*Original Seceders.*—Mr. ROBERT ARCHIBALD may be considered as the father of the secession church in East Lothian. He was ordained minister in Haddington, in 1744; and died in 1762, in the 58th year of his age. He was succeeded by Mr. Laurence Witherspoon, who was ordained July 10th, 1766. He died in August 1779, at the early age of 37. Mr. Robert Chalmers was his successor. He died on the 29th December, 1837, in the 82nd year of his age, and 58th of his ministry. Mr. William White was appointed his assistant and successor in 1836.

Messrs. Archibald and Witherspoon afterwards joined the Antiburghers, on the schism in their church respecting the old burghess-oath.

The late eminent Professor PAXTON, of the original secession church, was born at a farm-steading, called Clacherdean, (which does not now exist,) near Coalston House. His father was the blacksmith of the place.

*United Associate Synod.*—There are two meeting-houses of the united secession church in Haddington. The first congregation was established about 1751, of which Mr. JOHN BROWN, author of the *Self-interpreting Bible and Dictionary*, and several other popular religious works, was 36 years minister, and 20 years professor under the same synod. He died on the 19th June, 1787, in the 65th year of his age.

The Rev. John Brown was born in the small village of Kerpoo, in Perthshire, in the year 1722. Mr. Brown's parents, of whom he was deprived at an early age, were in humble circumstances; but such was his zeal and application, that he acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, almost without a teacher; and in such an unaccountable manner, that his superstitious neighbours imagined that he had acquired his

learning (to use his own words) "in some *sinful* way." Notwithstanding his learned acquirements, Mr. Brown was distinguished for his great humility throughout life, and resignation in distress. Talking about death, a few weeks before that event occurred, he observed it might be written on his coffin—"Here lies one of the cares of Providence, who early wanted both father and mother, and yet never missed them."

Among the celebrated characters that came in contact with Mr. Brown, were the Rev. John Logan, the poet, who was sometime under his tuition; and Robert Ferguson, the Scottish bard, whom he met in the churchyard of Haddington, and to whom he gave a friendly and seasonable admonition.

Mr. Brown was licensed to preach in the year 1750. His stipend was from L.40 to L.50 a-year.

Mr. Benoni Black was ordained minister in 1789. He died in 1829, in the 39th year of his ministry. Mr. Joseph Young succeeded Mr. Black, and was ordained in 1829.

The present church stands nearly on the site of the old meeting-house, and was built in 1806.

*Antiburghers*.—William Hogg, A. M., was ordained minister in 1809. This church now forms the 2nd congregation of the United Secession.

A *Relief Church* was built about the end of the eighteenth century. Mr. Gellatly was minister in 1794. He was succeeded by Mr. Reid.

The *Congregational Church* was established in Haddington, by Messrs. Robert and James Haldane, about the year 1798. They purchased the West meeting-house, which then belonged to the Relief body, whose congregation had either returned to the establishment or joined the dissenters. The church was not properly organized till the 22nd November, 1801, when Mr. Dunn and others officiated. Mr. James Hill, their first pastor, was ordained, 11th December, 1804. He continued to preach in that chapel, which was then called the *Tabernacle*, till 1808, when the Messrs. Haldane having embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, the congregation, with their minister, afterwards met for worship in a house in one of the south cloes of the high-street, which was fitted up as a chapel. Mr. Hill died in 1812. He was succeeded by Mr. William Ritchie, in January 1813. Mr. Robert Ferguson was ordained in 1830: removed to London in 1832. Andrew Russell, A. M., ordained 1833; removed to Dundee in 1840.—Mr. Thomas Drummond Thomson was ordained 16th June, 1841.

The present chapel, in the Herdgate, was built in 1815.

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*Methodists*.—A congregation of Wesleyan methodists was established here in 1806, by Mr. James M'Cullagh, who is still their preacher. Mr. Donald Fraser was the first minister appointed by the Conference, in 1811. Mr. Jackson was appointed in 1814. Daniel M'Callum, M. D. in 1817. Mr. Joseph E. Beaumont, (now M. D.) in 1820. Mr. S. Thompson, 1824. Mr. Maclean, 1825. Mr. Edward Usher, 1827. A vacancy occurred for some years, during which the Dunbar preachers officiated. Mr. Bond was appointed in 1834. Mr. J. Innes, 1836. Mr. John Harland, 1838. Mr. Bromford, 1841.

The methodist chapel was built, partly by subscription, in Sidegate street, in 1816. It cost L.600, and contains upwards of 300 sittings.

## EAST LOTHIAN BIBLE SOCIETIES.

The exertions of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had early in the present century contributed towards printing editions of the Bible, or part of it, into no less than twenty-six different dialects or languages, seventeen of which were spoken on the continent of Europe, led to the formation of a similar society in Edinburgh. Stimulated with the same fervour, a respectable meeting was held in the town-hall, Haddington, on the 24th October, 1809, when the Rev. Dr. Sibbald being called to the chair, a series of resolutions were entered into, which led to the establishment of the East Lothian Bible Society.

The chief features of this society were:—That the poor of the county should be sufficiently supplied with the Scriptures;—that the subscription of half-a-guinea annually should constitute a member; and the payment of ten guineas a member for life;—that each subscriber should be allowed to purchase Bibles or New Testaments at the society's price, to five times the amount of his annual subscription;—that twenty directors, a secretary, and treasurer, should manage the business of the society,—one half to go out annually by rotation. The general meeting to be held annually in the month of June.\*

No cause was ever more popular than the establishment of the Bible Society at its commencement. There was something pleasing to the devout, in the idea of converting the sunburnt

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\* The Rev. James Kirkwood, a native of the parish of Dunbar, in conjunction with the Hon. Robert Boyle, (the celebrated chemist and philosopher,) was the first to circulate the Scriptures in the Gaelic language. A few years after Mr. Kirkwood had passed his probationary trials at Haddington, he was called to preach in the Earl of Breadalbane's family in the highlands, most of the servants of which did not understand Gaelic. It was when here that he beheld the ignorance of the natives. He found the parishes without schools, the people without bibles, and the clergy with indifferent libraries, and immediately set about the remedy. Fortunately he was invited to a small living in England by Bishop Burnet, (formerly minister of Salton,) in 1684. and thence was promoted to the rectory of Astwick, where he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Boyle. Five hundred copies of the Irish bible, by William Beddell, Bishop of Kilmore, were printed in 4to, at London, in 1685, at the expense of Mr. Boyle. This excellent person presented Mr. Kirkwood with 200 copies, one copy of which was sent as a church-bible to each parish in the highlands, that it might be read to the people in their own language on the Sundays. Mr. Kirkwood afterwards printed 3000 copies of the same bible by private subscription, in the Roman character, and 1000 copies of the New Testaments separately for gratuitous distribution. This edition was printed by R. Everingham, London, in 1690. Mr. Boyle, for the same purpose, printed 6000 catechisms and Prayer Books at his own expense. Dr. Johnson, in his tour to the Hebrides, alludes to the above translation: "We were a while told, (says he) that they had an old translation of the Scriptures; and told it till it would appear obstinacy to inquire again. Yet by continued accumulation of questions we found, that the translation was nothing else than the Irish Bible." A library was also established for the clergy in the highlands by Mr. Kirkwood, in 1699.



Indian and the swarthy Moor, and of levelling the blood-shed wheels of Juggernaut; while, in place of the sword of the crusaders, the more powerful and searching weapon of the printing-press was employed, and effected those revolutions in religious opinion among foreign castes, which the steel of all the Cæsars could never have produced.\*

The parent institution of the East Lothian Bible Society immediately gave rise to auxiliary Bible and Missionary associations in Haddington, and the other towns and villages of the county.† The success of the Bible Society was followed by a rival in the same field, "the East Lothian society for propagating the knowledge of Christianity." This society soon became popular, as the subscribers had the power of nominating what particular mission their donations were intended to aid.

In the course of time these societies gave way to the Bible Society of East Lothian, of humbler pretensions, the sum of 4s. 4d. per year constituting a member.

### CHURCH EXTENSION.

The next object that engaged the attention of the religious public was the church extension scheme in Scotland. In furtherance of these views the East Lothian Society for Church Extension was established at Haddington in 1837.

The town of Haddington, as formerly observed, has only one-fifth of the area of the church, while its population amounts to about three-fourths of the parish; consequently there had long been a complaint of the want of church accommodation. In

\* The first address to the public was written by Dr. Sibbald. The following were the original office-bearers of the East Lothian Bible Society:

The Rev. Dr. Sibbald, president: Mr. Andrew Begbie, Barnymains, vice-president; Patrick Begbie, Cairndinnis; George Banks, Alexander Donaldson, William Graham, Peter Dods, William Yule, Haddington; Rev. Robert Chalmers, James Hill, William Hogg, Dr. Lorimer, ministers, Haddington; Rev. William Ritchie, Athelstaneford; Rev. George Murray, North Berwick; Rev. Robert Shirreff, Tranent; Rev. Hugh Jamieson, East Linton; Rev. William Stark, Dirleton; Rev. James Thomson, Prestonkirk; Rev. Benoni Black, Haddington; Rev. Dr. Stewart, Bolton; Rev. Henry Grey, Stenton; Rev. John Henderson, Tranent; were the Directors:—Rev. Miles Jackson, secretary; John Croumbie, treasurer; Samuel Brown, librarian, Haddington.

† The following were the branch societies: Haddington and its vicinity Penny-a-week Bible society; Juvenile auxiliary Bible and Missionary Society. Dunbar auxiliary Bible and Missionary society. North Berwick and Prestonpans Bible and Missionary societies. Tranent Bible and Female Bible society. Aberlady, Bolton, Dirleton, East Linton, Gifford, Salton, Pencaitland, and Humble Bible societies. Ormiston auxiliary Bible society.

1837, a survey was made by a visitation of families in the town and suburbs, and of the tenants of the grounds that hold of the town as superior, to ascertain the amount of this destitution, when it was found that there were about eighteen hundred persons above seven years of age, professing they belonged to the establishment, who could not obtain a sitting in the parish church.

As the heritors were neither legally bound to build a new church, nor enlarge the old one, there appeared no other alternative but to have an additional church, to accommodate so large a proportion of the unprovided population. Accordingly, the kirk-session, with the sanction and concurrence of the Presbytery of Haddington, resolved that a church, in connexion with the establishment, should be built by subscription, to which most of the members liberally contributed. The subscriptions of the parishioners, the heritors, and others connected with the parish, for this object, soon amounted to L.800; the General Assembly's fund contributed L.250; and the county Church Extension Fund, two donations of L.100 each.

### St. John's Church.

A site having been obtained in a park on the north vicinity of the town, the church of St. John's was erected from a plan of Mr. Bryce, architect, Edinburgh, by Messrs. Balsillie, Haddington. The length of the church is about 70 feet, by 57 in breadth, and contains 872 sittings; 514 in the aera, and 358 in the gallery. The edifice cost L.1600: the gas fittings about L.70.

The sittings as fixed by a committee of subscribers, are let from 2s. to 7s. 6d. each a-year, and, if fully let, would amount to L.126, making the general average 3s. 3d. per sitting. There are 35 sittings set apart for gratuitous accommodation to the poor.

It had been resolved, that the new church should not be served as a preaching station merely, but that a third minister, having a distinct parish, should be added to the town. In furtherance of this resolution, the subscribers applied to the presbytery for their aid and sanction, who joining cordially in their views, the new parish of St. John's was constituted.

In the first article of the constitution of St. John's, as granted by the Commission of the General Assembly, on 29th May 1838, it is enacted—"That the church shall be unalienably in connection with the established Church of Scotland, and a clause to this effect shall be inserted in the titles."

The stipend was secured by a bond guaranteed to the minister of L.80 per annum; but it averaged nearly L.125 from church collections, &c.

The park, in which the church is built, is one of the ancient crofts of the burgh, where cattle markets were formerly held. It now belongs to Mr. Davidson, and pays a feu duty of L.4, 10s. annually.

On the 9th September, 1838, St. John's church was opened for public worship, by the Rev. Archibald Bennie, of Lady Yester's church, Edinburgh. The Rev. Dr. Lorimer preached in the afternoon, and Mr. Bennie again in the evening.

On the 15th October, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, the zealous advocate of the church extension scheme, delivered an eloquent address for this object in St. John's church. The same day a public dinner was given to this distinguished individual, at which the Earl of Dalhousie presided.

Under the same auspices a new, or what was termed a *quoad sacra* church, was also built at the fishing village of Cockenzie, in 1838; and another at Belhaven, near Dunbar, in 1839.

### SCHISM IN THE CHURCH.

In 1785, the law of church patronage was apparently agitated for the first time in the burgh. On the 26th February a letter was received by the town-council from the committee of the general sessions of Edinburgh, with a printed copy of the resolutions of the ministers, elders, and deacons of Edinburgh, of date 18th August, 1784, respecting the law of patronage, or presentation of ministers to vacant churches, which was carried by a majority of ten to three, in favour of inquiry. Several, however, declined to vote, and Provost M'Clarren protested against the town of Haddington's funds being applied in procuring any alteration of the existing law.

This spirit, however, was not allowed to slumber; for during a long period the general assembly has been divided by two parties, of which the right of patronage formed the grand touchstone. This feeling communicating itself to the laity, a body was formed, under the title of "Non-intrusionists," with a view to maintain what they considered the rights of the church, independent of the control of the civil power. These sentiments becoming extremely popular, ultimately led to a violent disruption of the church, when about 250 parishes were vacated by their ministers, under the following circumstances. On the 18th May, 1843, the general assembly of the church of Scotland, having met as usual in St. Andrew's church, Edinburgh, before making up the roll, David Welsh, D.D., the old moderator, read a protest, signed by 120 ministers and 72 elders, against the constitution of the assembly, in consequence of the rejection by the legislature of the claim of right adopted by the previous general assembly.

A copy of the protest being then delivered to the clerk, the protesters left the church, and with their adherents proceeded to Tanfield, Canonmills, where they formed themselves into "The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland," and chose Thomas Chalmers, D.D., as their moderator.

The subjoined table contains the ministers of the two presbyteries of East Lothian previous to the disruption of the church:

PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON.

| PARISHES.              | MINISTERS.                    | ORDAIN. | PATRONS.                   |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| Aberlady .....         | John Smith .....              | 1812    | Earl of Wemyss.            |
| Athelstaneford .....   | William Ritchie .....         | 1805    | Sir David Kinloch, Bart.   |
| Bolton .....           | *John Abernethy, A.M. ....    | 1816    | Lord Blantyre.             |
| †Cockenzie .....       | *Archibald Lorimer .....      | 1838    | Male Communicants.         |
| Dirleton .....         | *John Ainslie .....           | 1835    | Mrs. H. N. Ferguson.       |
| Garvald and Bara ..... | *John Sangster, D.D. ....     | 1800    | Crown and the Marquis      |
|                        | *Selby Ord Dods, A. & S. .... | 1839    | of Tweeddale.              |
| Gladsmuir .....        | John Ramay, A.M. ....         | 1814    | Crown & Earl Hopetoun.     |
| Haddington .....       | *Robert Lorimer, LL.D. ....   | 1796    | Earl of Hopetoun.          |
| Second charge .....    | *John Cook, D.D. ....         | 1832    | Earl of Hopetoun.          |
| †St. John's .....      | *John W. Wright, A.M. ....    | 1839    | Male Communicants.         |
| Humble and Keith ..... | James Macfarlane .....        | 1811    | Crown and the Earl of      |
|                        | *James Dodds, A. & S. ....    | 1842    | Hopetoun.                  |
| Morham .....           | James Forsyth .....           | 1827    | Sir C. D. Fergusson Bart.  |
| North Berwick .....    | Robt. Balfour Graham .....    | 1814    | Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart.   |
| Pencatland .....       | *Angus Makellar, D.D. ....    | 1812    | Hamilton of Pencatland.    |
| Prestonpans .....      | *W. Bruce Cunningham .....    | 1833    | Sir G. Grant Suttie, Bart. |
| Salton .....           | *Patrick Fairbairn .....      | 1830    | A. Fletcher of Salton.     |
| Tranent .....          | John Henderson, A.M. ....     | 1806    | Crown.                     |
| Yester .....           | *John Thomson .....           | 1834    | Marquis of Tweeddale.      |

PRESBYTERY OF DUNBAR.

|                              |                                 |      |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| †Belhaven .....              | *William Sorley .....           | 1840 | Male Communicants.        |
| Cockburnspath .....          | Andrew Spence .....             | 1789 | Crown.                    |
|                              | *A. Baird, assis. and suc. .... | 1831 | Crown.                    |
| Dunbar .....                 | John Jaffray .....              | 1821 | Duke of Roxburghe.        |
| Innerwick .....              | *Adam Forman, A.M. ....         | 1824 | Mrs. H. N. Ferguson.      |
| Oldhamstocks .....           | Robert Moore, A.M. ....         | 1797 | Hunter of Thurston.       |
|                              | Mr. Mitchel, A. and S. ....     | 1843 | Hunter of Thurston.       |
| Ormiston (Dalkeith p.) ..... | *James Bannerman .....          | 1833 | Earl of Hopetoun.         |
| Prestonkirk .....            | *John Thomson .....             | 1831 | Sir C. D. Fergusson Bart. |
| Spott .....                  | Robert Burns Thomson .....      | 1836 | James Spott of Spott.     |
| Stranton .....               | David Logan .....               | 1817 | Mrs. H. N. Ferguson.      |
| Whitekirk & Tynningham ..... | James Wallace, D.D. ....        | 1802 | Crown & Earl of Haddn.    |
| Whittingham .....            | John Lumsden .....              | 1804 | Balfour of Whittingham.   |

The ministers thus marked (\*) vacated their parishes, and now belong to the "Free Church of Scotland."

† *Quoad sacra* churches, appointed agreeable to an act of the General Assembly.

The vacancies have in part been filled up by the Rev. Thomas Drummond, Bolton; James Bell, Haddington; James M'Watt, Salton; James Scott, Dirleton; Maxwell Nicholson, Pencatland; John Struthers, Prestonpans; George Weir, Humble; James Porteous, (formerly minister of Riccarton, Ayr,) Prestonkirk; William Paterson, (formerly missionary at Whiteness, Lerwick,) Cockburnspath; James Smellie, (formerly Crosshill chapel, Ayrshire,) Innerwick; Robert Wedrow Thomson, Ormiston; and Mr. Kerr, Yester.

*Free Church.*—New churches were built, in 1843, for the following ministers of the Free Church—Rev. John Ainslie, at Dirleton; Selby O. Dods, Garvald; James Dodds, Upper Keith; Angus Makellar, D.D., Pencatland; W. B. Cunningham, Prestonpans; Patrick Fairbairn, Pilmuir; John Thomson, Gifford; J. Patterson, Tranent; Adam Forman, A.M., Innerwick; John Thomson, East Linton; and James Bannerman, Ormiston. The Rev. Ur. Lorimer, and J. W. Wright, A.M., Haddington; and Archibald Lorimer, Cockenzie; still officiate in the *quoad sacra* churches of these places.

## SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The present Episcopal chapel of Haddington was built in 1770. To the erection of this edifice the Earl of Wemyss was a munificent subscriber, having contributed about L.400 sterling, which was nearly one half of the expense of building. It was not till 1842 that instrumental music was used in this place of worship, when a fine organ was introduced, which cost L.100.

It is uncertain at what time the first Episcopalian congregation was formed in Haddington. The Rev. John Gray, founder of the Haddington library, was probably among its first preachers. Being deprived of his church of Aberlady, when episcopacy was suppressed at the revolution in 1688, he resided afterwards in Haddington, where it appears from some notes in his own handwriting, he occasionally preached in the humble meeting-house of Peldrate, which, according to his own etymology, signifies *Pear-droit*, (i. e. Malt Street.)

Mr. John Wilson was minister, and preached in the same place, in 1714. He was author of "An Essay on National Love and Unity;" and of a poem, entitled "Lamentation for Church Divisions," which was dedicated to the Queen, and printed at Edinburgh in 1702.

The following are a list of the ministers from the existing records :

Mr. George Mylne, appointed in 1735. Mr. Patrick Coutts, 1739. Mr. Joseph Robertson, 1748. Mr. William Richard, 1749. (The three last ministers officiated alternately.) Mr. Abraham Larwood, 1758. Mr. William Bisset, 1760. Mr. John Buchanan, 1762. Mr. John Wilton, 1795. Mr. William Terrot, 1799.

Mr. Miles Jackson, (the first secretary of the East Lothian Bible Society,) appointed 1806.

Charles H. Terrot, A.M., appointed 1814. Now Bishop of Edinburgh and D.D.

Mr. Thomas Scott, appointed 1817. James Traill, A.M., 1819.

In 1843, the chapel was wholly renovated. The exterior of the walls heightened with a new cornice, and a handsome portico built at the door. The interior was entirely new seated, additional galleries erected; the windows new glazed, those near the altar with stained glass; the ceiling handsomely pannelled; and the edifice altogether improved and beautified. The alterations cost above L.800.

The congregation is in the highest degree respectable, including some of the principal nobility and gentry in the county. It was placed, with the minister, under the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1815.

THE  
HISTORY OF HADDINGTON.

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PART III.  
CIVIL AND DOMESTIC ANNALS.

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CHAPTER I.

“ Three times drowned, and three times burned,  
Haddington, thy fate I've mourned !  
Now thy sculptured piles arise,  
Pointing fairer to the skies :  
Now thy rural scenes expand,  
Shining, scathless from the brand,  
Blooming by thy peaceful strand.”—*Author.*

PARISH OF HADDINGTON.—BOUNDARIES.—THE TYNE AND  
OTHER RIVULETS.—REMARKABLE FLOODS.—GEOLOGICAL  
APPEARANCES.—MINERALS.—COAL.—LANDS OF GLADSMUIR.—  
TOPOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THE PARISH.

HADDINGTON, the county town of East Lothian, or Haddingtonshire, lies in 55 degrees, 57 minutes, north latitude, and 17 miles east from Edinburgh, on the great post road to London. The name, though apparently of Saxon origin, is of difficult etymology. In a charter of Richard, the Bishop of St. Andrews, who died in 1168, (as we formerly observed in our introductory chapter,) there is a grant “ de Ecclesia de *Hadintun.*” This was followed by a confirmation of Earl Henry in the same terms. In a charter of David I. the same place is called *Hadintun.* By a charter to Dunfermline, a mansion was granted by the same king, “ in burgo de *Hadingtoun*” This was also the *Hadina* of Camden, and the *Hadintona* of Fordun and Buchanan, while

the inscription on the common seal of the burgh is “*Sigillum cawsarvm bvirgi Hadinœ.*” The *town* and *ton* of the Scots-Saxon are obviously the *tun* of the Anglo-Saxon, which signifies a dwelling-place, village, or town: the latter term being often applied still to farm-steadings in Scotland. From such data the author of *Caledonia* supposes Hadintun to have derived its name from a Saxon settler, because *Halden*, the son of *Eadulf*, was a witness to the *Inquisitio Davidis*; but, as according to Somner, *Hading* signifies, in the Anglo-Saxon, *ordinatio consecratio*, “a giving holy orders,” it seems evident from this etymon, as well as the ancient religious character of the place, that Haddington derived its name from being the *Town of Ordination*.\*

The parish of Haddington is six and a half miles in length from east to west, and about the same from south to north, except in the eastern parts, where it is much narrower. To indulge in a fanciful idea, its shape may be compared to that of a frog, of which the woods of Coalston are the head; the plantations of Letham and Stevenson are the limbs, and the lands at its extremity, between Ballencrieff and Drem, the tail. The parish covers about  $22\frac{1}{2}$  square miles, or contains about 12,000 Scots acres of land. It was formerly of much greater extent; but in 1674, it having been represented to the commission appointed for the plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds, that while the parish of Haddington was spacious and populous, that of Athelstaneford was inconsiderable, the village of Drem, Drem hills, Muirton, Clackmae, and Garleton, were disunited from Haddington and annexed to Athelstaneford. In 1692 a further spoil was made of the lands of Haddington, when the new parish of Gladsmuir was erected, composed from the former and Tranent. The lands taken from Haddington were the barony of Penston, belonging to Mr. Bailie of Lamington; the barony of Samuelston, belonging to the Earl of Haddington; and the

\* In Speed's map of Northumberland, (published in 1610,) there is a place named *Haden-bridge*. There are *Haden-ham* in Cambridgeshire, *Hadden-hall* in Derby, *Haddon* in Huntingdon, and *Haddon* in Northampton. *Adington*, which often appears in the topography of North and South Britain, is the same in substance with the Saxon aspirate (*A*) prefixed; and there is a place named *Haddington* in Lincolnshire.—See CHALMERS'S *Caledonia*. Agreeable to the last hypothesis, by dropping the cockney's aspiration of the *A* before the vowel, we might transfer Haddington to the dwelling-place of the Princess *Ada*, who, in 1130, acquired it as her marriage portion.

village of Trabroun, together with Coates, Laverocklaw, and Merryhatton. The lands annexed to Gladsmuir contained more than 500 inhabitants.

The western part of the parish which is bounded by Gladsmuir, formerly consisted of a large tract of moorish ground which went under that name, and was held by the burgh of Haddington as a commonty. The rulers of the burgh were advised to inclose and plant this district about the beginning of the eighteenth century, which might have yielded a considerable revenue; but instead of complying with this advice, it was feued out in small parcels to favourite citizens, who, in general, were losers by these grants; for, after spending much money in inclosing and liming, the lands for the most part proved sterile and unproductive. On the failure of the original feuars, great part of the commonty was acquired by Mr. Buchan of Letham, who planted about 40 acres with oak, fir, and birch, which in general throve well, and were soon of considerable value.\*

\* The following extracts from the town-council records, detail the transactions relative to the lands of Gladsmuir.

In 1735, April 15th, it was agreed by the town-council of Haddington, that the lands of Gladsmuir should be measured, for the purpose of being feued or set out.

In 1736, September 18th, the committee reported the obligation and declaration subscribed by the feuars of Gladsmuir, which met with the approval of the council, who ordered it to be recorded.

In 1738, it was decreed by the council, that the marches of Gladsmuir should be inspected by a committee.

In 1740, March 24th, Dr. Lundie was allowed to make drains through the town of Haddington's common in Gladsmuir, for carrying off water from the quarries made by him, with a view to find *Limestone* in his own grounds.

In 1749, January 21st. Mr. Buchan offered a compliment of young trees to the town of Haddington for planting.

In 1752, February 5th, it was proposed that such parts of the lands of Gladsmuir, as were not then set, should be remitted to a committee. On the 9th same month, the council unanimously (except one,) resolved to feu out the whole of Gladsmuir, which was not set or feued.

On the 29th June, in consequence of former acts of council, Mr. Buchan of Letham proposed to purchase L.7. sterling, of his several feu and tack duties of Gladsmuir. at thirty years purchase; and to have a clause of redemption of L.1 sterling more, the remainder to be paid as a feu duty, which was ratified; and the magistrates were authorized to grant a feu charter.

In 1752, November 21st, it was agreed by the council that part of the rents and feu-duties of Gladsmuir should be sold to pay the Town's debts. Mr. Buchan of Letham lent L.100. at 4 per cent, for this purpose.

In 1753, June 16th, it was ordained by the council that the tacks of the tenants of Gladsmuir should be converted into feu charters. It was also agreed that feu charters should be granted to such of the tenants as applied for them.

On the 9th July Mr. Buchan obtained a charter of 61 acres, formed feued to George Vert, for L.1, 15s. 7d., and of 10 acres formerly set in tack to Thomas Hilstons, for 10s. 8d. of feu duties yearly.



The northern part of the parish is bounded by the lands of Gladsmuir, Aberlady, and Athelstaneford. It is chiefly composed of the barony of Byres, which is esteemed one of the finest estates of its extent in the county.

The parish is bounded on the east by Prestonkirk and Morham; and on the south by Yester and Bolton.

#### THE RIVER.

The Tyne is the only river in the parish, which runs through it from west to east, and nearly divides it into two equal parts. This stream rises in the parish of Crichton, in Mid-Lothian, about 14 miles to the westward of Haddington. After winding its gentle way by the banks of Oxenford castle and Prestonhall, it increases as it flows by Ormiston, Winton castle, and the holmes of Pencaitland, and receives the tributary rivulets of Salton at Spilmersford, and of Coalston below the parks of Lethington. Passing by the haughs of Haddington, the Tyne divides the burgh from the suburb of Nungate, and proceeding through the lawns of Amisfield and Stevenson, washes the ruins of Hailes castle; and, after foaming and boiling o'er Linton linn, falls into the sea below Tynningham-house, the seat of the Earl of Haddington.

Though generally of moderate breadth, averaging ten or twelve yards, and two or three feet in depth, yet being as a trough to a large extent of sloping grounds, particularly the Lammermoor range of hills to the south, the Tyne sometimes suddenly swells to a great height, and, overflowing its banks, does considerable damage to the labours of the husbandman.

We have already alluded to a remarkable flood, on the nativity of the Virgin, in 1858, when villages, houses, and bridges, were swept away. It appears also from our MSS. histories, that upon the festival of St. Ninian, 1421, the waters, by constant rains, swelled to such a height, that there were many houses entirely defaced in the town, and the people went to the church in a great boat. The sacristy, with the church's fine library and ornaments for divine service, were destroyed.\*

It appears from the town-council records that, in July 1673, there was another great flood, when the schoolhouse was so

\* Spotswood.

much damaged by the inundation, that it was found necessary to provide new seats for the children; or, in the homely language of the times, "for the bairns to sit on." One hundred years previously, on the 24th October, 1572, the town-treasurer was ordered by the council, "to lay to the West Weir the great and small stones borne down by the flood, at the Town's expense."

On the 4th October, 1775, a dreadful inundation of the Tyne took place, when it suddenly rose at two o'clock afternoon, seventeen feet perpendicular above the bed of the river. The whole suburb of the Nungate, and more than half of the town, were laid under water, while the mansion house of Clerkington, (which then stood in the valley, below the present site,) and the wooden Chinese bridge, opposite the Woollen Manufactory, were swept away.\* According to the town-council record, "the water was level with the third step of the Cross (which stood about the middle of the high-street, and with the threshold of the door of Bailie Moffat's house,† next the Tolbooth, possessed by Robert Ronghead." To commemorate this remarkable flood, the council resolved, on the motion of Provost Dudgeon, "that a stone should be put up at the end of John Hume's house, (the low story of which was filled with water,) near the Custom-stone, describing the height of the flood, and the day and year of God thereon," &c. The following is a *fac simile* of the inscription, which is engraved upon a plate, and inserted in the wall:

ON the FOURTH DAY  
of OCTOBER,  
MDCCLXXV,  
The RIVER TYNE,  
At three O'Clock  
Afternoon  
Rose to this PLATE.  
QUOD NON NOCTU  
DEO GRATIAS  
NEMO ENIM PERIIT.

It was conjectured that this inundation proceeded from the bursting of a water-spout to the southward, amongst the ridge of the Lammermoor hills, as the day was not very rainy, and the inhabitants to the northward could scarcely believe what had happened till they saw the effects of the inundation. The main branch of the Tyne, which rises to the westward, in the parish of Crichton, was not much increased. It was chiefly from the rivulet, called Gifford water, that the immense flood poured into

\* This beautiful bridge for foot passengers was built about 1760.

† Now Mr. Matthew's property.

the Tyne. About five o'clock in the afternoon, the waters began to subside, though it still rained violently, and continued so all that night. The greatest devastation was done on the banks of the river; vast quantities of corn, hay, trees, and all sorts of household furniture, were carried down by the current. Upon a medium the water rose up to the second story of the houses from the bridge westward to the foot of the high-street. In the Nungate the inhabitants were obliged to retire to the house-tops. Mr. Forrest, at Gimmer's-mills, had one of his mills entirely carried off, besides a considerable loss in the rest of his houses, corn, hay, &c. He and another gentleman were in his garden observing the rapidity of the torrent, when suddenly they were surrounded with the water, which laid the garden-dike on its back. They had no other shift left but to get up to the top of one of the fruit-trees; and there they were obliged to remain five or six hours, under the most dreadful apprehension of being carried down the current, tree and all. The inhabitants abandoned their houses, and took shelter in the fields. Had it happened later in the day, or during the night, many lives must have been lost, as several of the aged and infirm were saved with difficulty.\*

While it was the opinion of some that this remarkable inundation arose from the bursting of a waterspout, others supposed it arose from a violent convulsion of the earth. A labourer at work, in the neighbourhood of Kidlaw, stated, that a rumbling noise was heard, and the waters seemed to burst from innumerable crevices where formerly there were no springs.

The next severe inundation happened on the 28th October, 1791, when considerable damage was done to the damhead, and breaches were made in the haughs and town mills, which the treasurer was authorized to repair.

In 1797, October, 24th, the damhead and banks of the river were again damaged.

The last inundation of the Tyne of any consequence happened 7th September 1810, when the "west weir," at the "lang cram," was materially injured, and a stack was carried away from Millfield, while the haugh, resembling a lake, was covered with water.

\* At Samuelston, a village four miles above Haddington, several families narrowly escaped; some of them having been taken out at the roofs of their houses; and a tailor, whose cries were for a long time unheard, was found, when access was got to him, standing in his bed, up to the middle in water, holding up his two infants to prevent their being drowned, while the water was washing their feet.—*Edin. Mag.*

Besides the Tyne this parish is watered by a beautiful rivulet on the south, called Gifford or Coalston water, which pays its tribute to the Tyne a little west of Grantsbraes. This rivulet is formed by various small streams, which descending from the Lammermoor hills, unite about a mile from its base, and flowing through the strath of Yeaster, passes by Coalston into the Tyne.\*

## BRIDGES.

There are four stone bridges over the Tyne in Haddington parish, the two first of great antiquity.

The *Abbey Bridge*, about a mile below Haddington, must have been coeval with its religious establishments, as there is no convenient ford at that part of the river. It consists of three arches, of very rare architecture, being pointed Gothic, defended by strong projecting abutments. It is 12½ feet broad in the centre, with a gentle ascent. It is built with that reddish stone so prominent in the monastic buildings of this neighbourhood.

The *Nungate Bridge*, which connects Haddington with that suburb, is also a building of a remote date. It consists of three arches of the common half circular form, with strong projecting abutments. It is only 11½ feet wide in the centre; and being on the principal carriage-road to the south-east several accidents have occurred, particularly on market-days, a girl having been crushed to death a few years ago. In short, this fabric is a disgrace to the burgh in every thing but its antiquity.†

Part of the Nungate bridge was broken down during the memorable siege of the 16th century; and was rebuilt with stone of a different colour and texture from the rest of the fabric.

In 1672, August 27th, the town of Haddington's arms were appointed to be placed on the east end of the bridge.

Towards the west end of the bridge, at the head of the arch, on the south side, there is a strong iron cleek, from which it was wont

\* To detail the pranks of the Tyne, and her moving accidents by flood and field," would occupy a small volume. About 1627, the dike on the south-east of the Haddington distillery was partly carried away, and the fires in the adjoining cottages literally drowned out.

† Notwithstanding its faults, we would still wish to see the old fabric preserved, like the auld brigs of Ayr and of Musselburgh, for the use of foot passengers. In regard to bridge improvements, there is an anecdote told of Mr. John Rennie, the celebrated engineer, who was the architect of the new bridge at Musselburgh. Happening to meet an old woman near the spot shortly after its erection, and being anxious to hear her simple opinion on the subject, he inquired at her how she liked the bridge? "That a brig!" quoth she, "Its nae better than the hie (high) road!" A greater compliment could not have been paid the East Lothian architect, as the rise of the arch is so imperceptible, that, in passing along the bridge, it is scarcely distinguishable from the road.

to hang malefactors. The last use said to have been made of this instrument was after 1745, when a man's hand was suspended for ten years, for being engaged in the cause of Prince Charles, a circumstance by no means unlikely, as when Philip Stanfield was executed for the murder of his father in 1687, his head was placed on the East Port, as being nearest to the public place where the deed was committed.\*

In 1758, April 17th, it was found necessary that the Nungate bridge should be repaired. The county contributed L.60, and the town of Haddington L.50 for this object.

The *Waterloo Bridge* consists of one spacious arch, which connects the East-mill Haugh with the Lethington and Salton roads. The foundation stone was laid, with masonic honours, by the Marquis of Tweeddale, on the 18th June, 1817, being the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. It is built with an iron textured stone from Seggarsdean quarry.

In 1680, March 10th, the bridge at the North-east Port was repaired and widened. This improvement cost L.131, 14s. 2d.†

In 1732, August 3d, a timber-bridge was built at the East-mill haugh. This bridge stood a little above the present Waterloo bridge, near a ford which led to the Salton road.‡

*Begbie or Samuelston Bridge.*—This is a good bridge over the Tyne, of one arch, on the borders of the parish. It was built by Mr. James Burn, Haddington, about 1793:

\* The precincts of the bridge seem to have been set apart for archery, probably on the piece of waste ground where the Bowling Green was afterwards made.

1698, December 1st, "Item, because of the great hurt that the fire does to the bows of the - - - - them that washes thereat causing the stones thereof to loup, and - - - - it is stated and ordained, that no manner of person set any - - - - of the pillars, or other part of the bridge, either to wash thereat, or - - - - pretence, under the pain of xl.s. each fault."—*Hadding. Coun. Reg.* The words omitted are illegible.

† The rights of the river were zealously guarded. In 1540, July 13th, "the assize statute and ordained, that na body lay ony lynt in the water above the Nitataris."—*Hadding. Coun. Reg.*

‡ There is a dangerous ford below this bridge, where postboys have been so incautious as to water their horses. About 1797, a postchaise was carried away by the current, when Mr. Brown, Linton, with the driver, and horses, were drowned. Some years ago one of Mr. M'Donald's postboys, with a pair of horses, shared the same fate on the same spot.

§ In 1741, November 3d, the timber-bridge was so much shaken by a flood during the summer, that it was repaired to prevent its falling.

In 1751, June 16th, L.3 were contributed for repairing the timber-bridge in the Haugh. In 1757, July 16th, L.3 were contributed for the erection of the timber-bridge in the East-mill Haugh. 1759, June 18th, L.5 were contributed for the same purpose.

In 1760, June 26th, L.10 were contributed for building a stone bridge in the same situation, in place of which, the handsome wooden bridge, with stone supporters, seems to have been erected.

On the 31st March, 1777, L.5 were subscribed by the town-council towards defraying the expense of the new timber bridge at the East-mill Haugh, which was erected in place of that carried away by the great flood in October 1775.—*Council Reg.*

*Bearford Bridge.*—In 1776, July 17th, the town-council subscribed L.5, 5s. to aid in building a bridge over Bearfoot burn, at the foot of Bearfoot path. This bridge was much improved and widened, and the ascent on both sides modified about 1818.

There is also a stone bridge over Coalston water, and another on the turnpike road below Lethington.

#### GEOLOGY.

There are few sections of rock in the parish, from which the disposition and direction of the strata can be ascertained. The rock of which the Garleton hills are composed is apparently a secondary trap, approaching to what is called clinkstone, contemporaneous with North Berwick Law and Traprene, the two principal heights in the neighbourhood. Heavy spar is found near the west end of the hills. In the lower grounds sandstone is found of different colour and quality. The alluvial matter in the bed of the Tyne is the debris of secondary trap, with nodules of quartz,

#### MINERALS.

Attempts to discover the minerals of the lands of Gladsmuir have cost the burgesses of Haddington as many anxious thoughts, as ever the fruitless hiding place of the philosopher's stone distracted the studies of the inventor of the logarithms. More than 300 years ago this enterprise excited the attention of the burgesses with more or less success; and the church was called upon to contribute its share to the expense of the undertaking. In 1531, July 11th, we meet with the following entry in the council record: "The which day the council ordains and delivers the kirk to pass as easily as it may; and all the laif of the common gude to be warit (spent) on the wyning of a coalpit on Gladsmuir, and to na other use; and if need be the town to be taxed for mair money."\*

In 1675, April 10th, the town-council appointed that coal should be sought for in Gladsmuir by an engineer. On the 31st July it was agreed to be bored for by John Ronaldson, smith. In 1676, June 10th, places were again to be marked for boring; and, on the 2nd October, Rottenraw was the place fixed on for this purpose, at the expense of 100 merks for 15½ fathoms. It appears afterwards that 20 fathoms were bored.

\* The monks of Newbole had the good fortune to discover, and to work coals on their lands of Prestongrange, so early as 1200-18. The second notice of coal-fields are those of Tranent during the reign of Robert II., if not earlier.

Notwithstanding the failure of former attempts, on the 31st August 1748, it having been again suggested that as there was a great probability of coal being found in the Town's common of Gladsmuir; and as it might tend to the advantage of the county in general, and the town in particular, the council, by a majority of votes, after taking the opinion of a number of burgesses, who were called to their table, agreed to make another trial for this useful mineral; and to advance a sum not exceeding L.30 for the undertaking. On the 29th October, the digging was carried on, agreeable to a scheme of William Wemyss, Esq. of Cuthillhill, to the depth of 16 fathoms; the colliers being allowed L.15 Scots for each fathom. On the 9th January 1749, Provost Ray reported that coal was found; but after boring 14 inches through the seam, the workmen were stopped by an influx of water. It was now necessary to provide a horse-gin; William Ferrier was appointed overseer; and L.200 voted and borrowed in course of the year in furtherance of the object. This work was still carried on, under the advice of Mr. Wemyss, till the 9th January 1750, by which time 25 fathoms had been bored. The spirit of the enterprise and the funds being exhausted, an application was made to the inhabitants for a voluntary subscription to carry on the work three weeks longer; and on the 10th February the scheme was abandoned. Alexander Waldie, town-treasurer, was allowed 6s. weekly while he superintended the work. The money collected and borrowed by him was L.3264, 6s. Scots, above which L.3084, 7s. Scots were expended.

What a public body could not effect, private individuals were foolish enough to undertake; and, on the 29th August 1757, Mr. Andrew Hendrie, Lasswade, was allowed to make trial at his own risk; and, in 1764, Lord Elibank obtained leave to work for coal on his own feu at Gladsmuir for 20 years.

In 1793 the magistrates and council, on the application of about seventy of the burgesses, took into consideration the minutes of a tack granted to Lord Blantyre in 1719, and former minutes respecting trials for coal in Gladsmuir; and as it was the wish of these burgesses to form themselves into a coal company,

\* In 1712, May 6th, the skirts of Gladsmuir were set in tack for fifteen years.

In 1778, Mr. Stobie finished a survey and plan of Gladsmuir for the town, for which he was allowed L.13 sterling.

In 1728, April 18th, part of the lands of Gladsmuir were set in tack to Captain Murray.

the council with a view to encourage their object, granted them a lease for 57 years, with an exclusive right to what coals and minerals they might find; but, in the event of coal not being found in ten years, their right should cease. A pit of 12 fathoms was accordingly sunk on the Town's lands of Gladsmuir, in a field near Clay Barns. Coal was found of variable thickness, from 20 inches to 3 feet; but not being of sufficient consequence to liquidate the speculators, the project was abandoned.\*

Yet notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, a fourth attempt was made by the town-council in 1826, in a field at a small distance from the former. Coal was found at a depth of 19 fathoms, but only 18 inches thick, with a foul coal and bastard parrot coal next the roof, of about 2 feet in thickness. On the coal being pierced through, a strong feeder of water came off, and overpowered the windlassmen. The pit had been sunk by a common windlass; and was comparatively dry till the above accident occurred. It was inspected by Mr. Robert Bald, mining engineer, Edinburgh, on the 21st January, 1827, who recommended, in the first place, that a horse-gin should be applied to dislodge the water; and, secondly, in order to ascertain if the coal was thicker and profitable for working, dip-head levels should be set off both to the north and the south in a true level course direction, and also a mine direct to the rise from the pit bottom. These mines to be from five to six feet wide. He was, however, of opinion, that no workable coal would be found under that to which the engineers had now approached; and he, at the same time, apprehended that the great bed of limestone found at Salton and Pencaitland, should also be found betwixt Gladsmuir and Haddington, as in those parishes it lay under the strata of their coals.† This attempt was now abandoned. It cost the town about L.1800 sterling; and went to establish the fact that the thinness of the coal seam would not repay the work, nor remunerate the proprietors.

*Mineral Spring.*—The only one in the parish is a Chalybeate, at Dobson's well, about half a mile west from Haddington, on the Pencaitland road. In a summer's morning, it is a favourite

\* The committee appointed to represent the burgesses were—Alexander Nisbet, merchant; Robert Somerville, surgeon, (author of the Agricultural Survey); Robert Howden, baker; William Cunningham, merchant; James Pringle, tanner; John Clark, vintner; John Wilson, mason; and Hay Smith, writer, all of Haddington.

† In 1825, February 19th, it was agreed that a search for Limestone should be made in Gladsmuir, which led to no favourable result.



walk of the valetudinarian, to quaff its gently impregnated spring. There is an iron cup, chained, for the service of the traveller.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL APPEARANCE.

The appearance of the parish is that of a rich agricultural district, which is diversified by a waving irregularity of surface, well enclosed and highly cultivated fields, extensive parks of verdant pasture, and elegant seats of the nobility: hence East Lothian has been aptly termed by tourists the Northampton of Scotland, while the town of Haddington situated by the Tyne, with its cathedral-looking church, gives it much the appearance of an English town of the second class. Belts of plantation wind up to the skirts of the Garleton hills on the north, which in their bosom exhibit a miniature specimen of Highland scenery; towards the west the Hopetoun monument forms a prominent object; and on the south the ancient woods of Coalston exhibit oak, hazel, birch, and other indigenous trees, which seem a remnant of that species of copse, which in early times covered the southern district of Scotland.

#### CLIMATE.

The climate is salubrious, and for a considerable time has been remarkably free from fever and endemic diseases, with the exception of the visitation of the cholera in 1832. In early times the ague was a visitor in the spring; but every corner of the soil being now so well drained, it has entirely disappeared.

In 1838, on the 20th January, during an intense frost, which continued for nearly seven weeks at Haddington, the thermometer stood as low as 4° at eight o'clock in the evening; and at twelve the same night, it was 2° below Zero, or 34 below the freezing point. On the 10th of February it stood at 7. above Zero at nine o'clock morning; and, on Friday the 15th, at eight o'clock morning, it was at 11, and the day following it was 10, or 22, below the freezing point.\*

Since this period the seasons have been uncommonly mild,—our harvests in general early and abundant,—and our winters, with so very little snow, that they were apparently “tempered to the shorn lamb.”

\* In January 1740, through the violence of a long storm of frost and snow, many of the inhabitants of the burgh were rendered incapable of working for their bread, and were in a miserable condition for want of firing, and other necessaries of life. On this trying occasion L.8 sterling, being one year's interest of a donation left by Captain Francis Seton, were distributed among the poor in money, meal, and coals.

## CHAPTER II.

“Musselburgh was a burgh when Edinburgh was nane.”

CREATION OF THE BURGH BY DAVID I.—CHARTERS OF KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.—ANCIENT EVIDENTIS.—COPY OF A CHARTER OF JAMES VI.—OLD SET OF THE BURGH.—ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE MAGISTRACY.—CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

THE town of Haddington is a burgh of great antiquity; for, when the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* subsisted, there was an appeal from the sentences of burgh courts to the Chamberlain at Haddington, who was empowered to summon an assize, which consisted of three or four respectable burgesses from the towns of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh; and after the two last were possessed by the English, Linlithgow or Lanark. The sentence of this assize was final. At what precise time Haddington was erected into a royal burgh is uncertain; for the town having been several times burnt by fire, and often laid waste by the inroads of the English, its most ancient records are lost or destroyed.

In 1141, David I. besides the establishment of several monastic orders, which were then regarded as the chief seats of religion and piety, where learning was taught, and science preserved, turned his attention to the regulation of civil communities for carrying on commerce and manufacturies, whereby his revenues and power were greatly increased: as the numerous and wealthy bodies of men incorporated by royal charter in cities and burghs, yielded a powerful aid to the sovereign against the turbulence and overgrown power of his vassals; the necessary consequence of feudal kingdoms, where the lord was allowed to exercise the laws of life or death on his servants or clan. It was about this time that Louis le Gros introduced these establishments into France, and it is related that David framed his burgh laws from the information of certain learned men, whom he sent to other countries to observe the constitution that they had introduced. Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, are

supposed to have been amongst the first; for, in an ancient MS. copy of the burgh-laws, which are universally ascribed to David as their author, the titles describe them to be the laws of these four burghs. The chamberlain's court was called "the court of these four burghs," and consisted of three or four delegates from each of the above towns, who, by virtue of a summons from the chamberlain, assembled once a-year at Haddington: and by this court all appeals from the courts of particular burghs were tried and finally determined.

In 1366, Robert I. gave to his town and people of Haddington a grant of their liberties, political and commercial.

In 1371, Robert II. confirmed "a grant of the bailies and community of the town of Haddington to Hugh de Selkyrk," which shews the regimen in elder times of this ancient burgh. For these advantages the sum of L.15 sterling were paid into the king's exchequer. Several pensions were granted by Robert I. and succeeding monarchs, from the great customs of the burgh.

In 1581, July 11th, the "Borrow Register" makes mention of a charter granted by King Robert the Bruce, in the 17th year of his reign (1328), "of the fredome of the bruche of "Haidinton," as then being in the hands of Thome Synclair. Various other old charters are also enumerated.

There is a charter to the town of Haddington amongst the public records from James V., of date 1542. Ten years afterwards, Mr. Robert Maitland, and some of the magistrates were sent as a deputation to Edinburgh, to procure copies of these instruments. In regard to which the following entries are inserted in a Register of the Borrow Court:

1551-52, March 17th.—"The which day, the provost, bailies, and counceil, has decisit and ordainit the fermararis (feuars, or leasees of the public goods,) to deliver to Robert Maitland, for the saifnyng of the evidendis (charters or rights) of the burgh of Haddington, the sum' of viij. merks; and to furnish the Provost, and any that passes with him to Edinburgh, to the Convention of the Burrois," &c.

1552.—"Upon the xxv. day of April, the year of God jm<sup>v</sup>v<sup>v</sup>fiftie-twa zeiris, received fra Robert Maitland the new Infeftment of the freedom of the burgh of Haddington:

Item, ane Gift of King Robert the Bruce of the Freedom of the burgh of Hadingtoun.

The Mortificatioun of St. James's altar.

The Mortificatioun of John Brown [cordwainer,] to St. Crispin's altar.

Ane Instrument of King Robert Bruce of the Freedom of Haddingtoun, and passage to Abirladie.

Ane Remissioun to the hail burgh of Haddington.

Ane Decreit of the Lordis of Council of the Haven of Abirladle," &c.

And a variety of other Evidentis, Charters, &c., of lesser note; the original of all of which are, or ought to be, still in the charter chest of the burgh of Haddington.

In 1742, March 11th, the town-council appointed that the papers in the town's charter chest should be put in order and inventoried.

The most ancient charter now known to be in possession of the burgh, is one from James VI., of date 13th January 1624, confirming all the town's ancient rights and privileges, which was ratified by the parliament of Charles I. in 1633. Of this verbose act the following is a transcript :

## ACT OF PARLIAMENT

IN FAVORIS OF THE TOWNE OF HADINGTOUN,

28th JUNII, 1633.

In the Parliament holdin at Edinburgh upone the twentie aucht day of Junii, the year of God one thousand six hundred and thirty three years, our sovereign Lord,\* with advice and consent of the three Estates of the present parliament, ratifies, approves, and for his Highness and his successors, perpetually confirms the infestment and charter made and granted by his Majesty's umqr (late) darrest father, JAMES, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, of eternal memory, with advice and consent of his Highness's principal Treasurer, deputy Treasurer, and remnant Lords of Secret Council, his Highness's Commissioners, appointed for governing of his Highness's rents and casualties of this realm for the time, to and in favours of the Provost, Bailies, Council, and Community, of the said burgh of Haddington, and their successors, whereby our said late sovereign Lord, his Highness's dearest father, of worthy memory, with advice and consent foresaid, for the causes therein contained, has not only ratified, approven, and for his Highness and successors perpetually confirms, all and sundry, all infestments, erections, mortifications, charters, donations, titles, licenses, and privileges whatsoever, made and granted by his Majesty's said late dearest father, and his most noble progenitors, to the said burgh of Haddington, burgesses and inhabitants thereof, and their predecessors and successors, with all lands, as well property as commontie, kirklands, annual rents, belonging to them, privileges, immunities, fairs, markets, and other liberties, which they then or of auld had, and whereof they were in possession, of whatsoever date or dates, tenor or contents, the same be of which are holdin as before expressed in the said charter; but ALSO, our Highness's said late dearest father, of worthy memory, with advice and consent, has of new made, constitute, create, erected, and incorporate all and hail the said burgh of Haddington, with all and sundry lands, houses, biggings, yards, acres, wastes and others, lying within the burgh roods and territory of the said burgh, with all and sundry other lands, moors, lochs, meadows, acres, and others, pertaining to the said burgh, as well in property as commonty, in "ane hail and frie burgh Royall," to be called in all time coming as of before, the burgh of Haddington; and whereby his Highness's said late dearest father, of worthy memory, with consent foresaid, has given,

\* Charles I.

granted, and for his Highness and successors perpetually confirmed to the said Provost, Bailies, Council, and Community of the said burgh, and their successors, part and being for the time, heritably, all and hail the moor of *Gladsmuir*, with the pertinents and common gate leading thereto, lying near the liberty and territory of the said Burgh, within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh and constabulary of Haddington, (excepting and reserving always to and in favour of Thomas then Earl of Melrose, now Earl of Haddington, Lord Byres and Binning, then president of the college of Justice, and secretary to his Highness's said late dearest father,) his heirs male and successors, these parts of the said *muir* of Gladsmuir, specially mentioned in the said charter pertaining to him heritably, and thereby excepted, and reserved to him and his forefathers in manner therein contained,

As also, gave, granted, and disposed to the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, council, and Community of the said burgh, and their successors, part and being for the time, all and hail these acres of land called *Ranfeglenis*\* Acres, and two acres of land called *Hangman's Acres*;† and all and hail the two Corn Mills of the burgh of Haddington, with the multure and "sequellis" thereof, Mill Haughs and Mill Lands of the same; and all and hail the *Port of Aberlady*, lying in the "baasome" of Peffer-water, and common gate leading to the said port; together with the House of the said Burgh, situated by the said port and shore thereof, commonly called the *Town of Haddington's House*, with the anchorage moneys and other privileges, customs, profits, and duties of a free Port, with the Market weekly upon *Saturday*, and two public free yearly *Fairs*: the one thereof to be held yearly in the Feast of St Peter next, and immediately following the Feast of St. John the Baptist, called Midsummer, and thereafter continuing by the space of eight days; and the other of the said three *Fairs* to be held yearly within the said Burgh, and all other places thereabout, use and wont, beginning yearly the twenty-ninth day of September, and thereafter to continue and endure for the space of other eight days, to be called Michaelmas Fair in all time coming, with all Tolls, Customs, and other privileges, liberties, and immunities of old belonging to the said burgh of Haddington, together with all and sundry lands, annual rents, and possession whatsoever pertaining to the said burgh of before, and with the office of Sheriffship; within the said Burgh, liberty and territory thereof; which burgh of Haddington, and the said tenements, acres, annual rents, free port, anchorage, town-house, office of sheriffship, and others above written, pertaining of before to the said burgh of Haddington; and which *Muir* of Gladsmuir pertaining of before to the said burgh of Haddington, and to the said Thomas, now Earl of Haddington; and were lawfully resigned by them and their procurators, in their names, in the hands of his Highness's said late dearest father, and his commissioners in his Majesty's name, in favours, and for the said infestment thereof, to be made and given by his Highness's said late dearest father to the said Provost, Bailies, Burgesses, Council and Community, of the said burgh of Haddington and their successors, in manner therein contained; and whereby his Highness's father, of worthy memory, for the causes therein contained, or *was* granted and disposed, to the said Provost, &c., and their successors "prit" and to come, all and hail the said burgh of Haddington, [here follows a repetition of the *muir*

\* Supposed to be a strip of land, which extended from the West Port to Letham-gate.

† *Hangman's Acres*.—1563, October 12. "The which day, George Symsonne has given his compt of the two acres, called Hangmanis Acres, which come to the sum of x. lib money of this realm, for x. years by past; and he discharged himself of xl.s. given to the old hangman the time that Monsieur Lorge was in this town, and iii. lib. in the Englishman's time,—they (the acres) lyand waist,—and given to Barnard Thomsoe, treasurer, x.s.; and sa the said George restis (remains) awand the toue at the making of this compt, the sum of x.l. x.s."—*Haddn. Coun. Reg.*

of Gladsmair, Ranfelegnis acres, Hangmen's acres, the two Corn Mills, with the milnures and sequels thereof, Mill Haughs and Mill Lands of the same; the Port of Aberlady, &c. and other verbose terms, which it is unnecessary to repeat]: And making, constituting, and ordaining the said Provost, &c., within the burgh, liberty, and territory thereof, with ample powers and privileges to the said Provost, &c. and their successors, aent the said Burgh and others above written, in free burgnage fee and heritage forever, as the said charter under the Great Seal, of the date the Thirtieth day of January, the year of God jairv & twenty-four (1624) years, at more length proportis, with the precept of seizen following thereupon, under the testimony of the said Great Seal of the same date, and instrument of seizen following thereupon, of the date the — day of — the year of God 1620 years, in all and sundry the heads, points, passes, clauses, articles, circumstances, and conditions therein contained, and after the form and tenor thereof in all points; and our said sovereign Lords and Estates of Parliament will and grants, and for his Highness and his successors decerns and ordains that this present general ratification of the said infeftment, charter, precept, and seizen above written, is, and shall be of as good force, strength and effects, to the said Provost, &c., and their successors, for the "bruiking" and joyeing of the said burgh lands, moor, acres, mills, mill lands, mill-haughis, office of sheriffship, &c. (as enumerated above), and hail privileges belonging to a free burgh royal, as if the said charter, precept, and seizen, were all at length *de verbo in verbum* ingrossed, inserted, and contained in the said ratification. Whereanent, and with all other defects and imperfections which may be proponed against the said charter, and validities of the same, our said sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament has dispensed, and by these presents dispenses forever.

*Old Market-days.*—And because by the said infeftment, there is only power and privilege given and granted to the Provost, Bailies, Council, and Community of the said burgh of Haddington and their successors, to have and hold therein a market-day, weekly, on Saturday, which weekly market is not able to furnish the said Burgh and his Highness's lieges resorting thereto in *Fresh Meats* and other necessary commodities from the one market day to the other, being Eight days betwixt, specially in the summer season, the said burgh of Haddington being a burgh that lies in the high way betwixt London and Edinburgh, whereunto both countrymen and strangers, going and coming, continually now repair: therefore, and for the better furnishing of the said Burgh, and "inhabilitating" of them to serve his Majesty and Heges dwelling therein, and resorting thereto at all times, our said sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament gives and grants power and liberty to the said Provost, Bailies, Council, Burgesses, Inhabitants and Community, of the said burgh of Haddington, and their successors, to have and to hold another market weekly in the said Burgh, on Wednesday in all time coming,\* by and attour the said market which they have weekly on Saturday; and that such like as freely, and in the same manner as the said markets are held weekly within the said Burgh on Saturday, and to receive and uptake the tolls, customs, and other duties and commodities of the said Wednesday market, and to use all the privileges of the said Wednesday's market, suchlike and as freely as they do on the said Saturday's market, wherefore these writs shall be a sufficient warrant to the said Provost, &c., and all other persons haunting and frequenting to the said Burgh and market thereof, in all time coming, and ordains publication to be granted hereupon to that effect in due form, as effairs.

Extracted furth of the Books of Parliament by me, Sir John Hay of Landis, Knight, clerk of our sovereign Lord's Reg. Council and Rolls, under my sign and subscription manual.

(Signed) J. HAY, *Clark Reg.*

\* These markets have long been dispensed with, and gave place to the great Agricultural market, held weekly, on Friday.

the burgh for that year. The present magistrates and council to be continued until his Majesty's further pleasure was signified."

On the 30th November, the magistrates and town-council were nominated by the Lords of Council, agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure. Sir William Paterson, Knight, clerk to his Majesty's privy council, was appointed provost of Haddington.

The following are examples of the arbitrary power of the magistrates in regard to the trades :

In 1702, February 14th, a tailor, who was imprisoned by one of the bailies for keeping up a coat, was liberated by order of the Convener of the Trades, upon which the convener was censured, and imprisoned himself, besides two tradesmen, who refused to assist the town-officers in taking up the convener. The conduct of the bailie was approved of, and declared to be no breach of the privileges of the craft.

In unison with such proceedings, on the 2nd March, 1703, Thomas Reid was imprisoned for refusing to act as treasurer.

To disobey the orders of the Provost incurred the deprivation of burghership. In 1728, April 18th, Alexander Burnet and James Outsidge, fleshers, acknowledged their fault in disobeying the order of the deceased Provost Smith, and craved to be restored to their burgherships, which they had forfeited. The town-council, on considering the matter, reponed the petitioners to their office, and ordained Mrs. Higgins, the wife of their late treasurer, to give up the bill which was granted by them, for the penalty incurred by the breach of the burgh-oath, on their begging pardon of the magistrates for their transgression. Their deliverance was subscribed by the Provost on the back of the petition.\*

In 1730, Oct. 6th, there was a contested election, in which Archibald Millar and James Erskine, were both brought up, by opposing parties, as provost. This led to a law process before the Court of Session, which lasted about nine months, when the election of Provost Millar was sustained. Amongst the votes objected to, was that of Patrick Begbie, town's musician.

The next election of a representative to serve in parliament was a fruitful opportunity for giving rise to the most violent proceedings, which will form the subject of next chapter.

\* These arbitrary proceedings of the magistracy were not confined to Haddington. In 1559, Lord Seton, the provost of Edinburgh, imprisoned one of his bailies; and although the council applied for redress, the town-clerk gave them no satisfactory reason for this conduct.

## CHAPTER III.

"When civil dudgeon first grew high,  
And men fell out they knew not why."—*Hudibras*.

"With pipes and drum, their colours flying,  
To the town-hall the *Nyne* are hieing."—*Anon.*

"THE CONGRESS;" OR, "BURGH POLITICS IN 1734."—FALSE ELECTIONS.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE REAL MAGISTRATES.—RESULTS OF THE MOCK PROCEEDINGS.

IN 1734 considerable turbulence existed in Scotland on the forming of a new parliament. This, as a matter of course, led to divisions and contested elections in the burghs, of which the "faithful" town of Haddington had rather more than its due share. At this time our politicians were divided into two parties; those supposed to favour the ministry were styled the "Court Party," while the more popular, who had the suffrage of the community, were designated the "Country Party," or, in plainer terms, "Jacobites;" for the smothered hopes of the rebellion were not yet extinguished.

The rival candidates for the burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, Dunbar, Lauder, and North Berwick, were Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, and Captain Fall, Dunbar; and as each had their partisans almost equally divided in the town-council, it led to the most virulent contention.

Bailie George Erskine was delegated, on the 14th May, to go to Jedburgh on the 18th, to vote for a member of parliament.\* This was the watchword of discord in the burgh; for, on the 22nd of the following August, Bailie G. Erskine presided, in consequence of the provost, Andrew Dickson, refusing to attend: It was then agreed that Mr. Dickson should be prosecuted for ex-

\* On the 16th, Mr. James Erskine, his brother, received a Burgess-ticket from the magistrates and council of Dunbar, for "the good services done, and to be done" for that burgh. He, with other Haddingtonians, left Dunbar on horseback, having their burgess tickets, with the seal attached to white and blue ribbons, pinned into their blue bonnets. Provost Fall and the rest of the council, waited on them to the stairfoot of the



hibiting a bond from Sir James Dalrymple, and other noblemen and gentlemen in the shire, for considerable sums granted to the town.\*

On the 5th October, controverted elections of Deacons and Crafts' Counsellors followed, when it became a ground for argument, whether the old or new Deacons should vote in these contests? And amongst the votes objected to in the merchant council on the 8th instant, was that of James Erskine, late provost, who, from holding the offices of music-master and precentor, was considered a servant of the town.† The following were elected magistrates: George Herriot, provost; Alexander Hepburn, Richard Robertson, and James Forrest, bailies; Alexander Walker, dean of guild; George Young, treasurer; and John Hay, bailie of Nungate. These were opposed by a well supported

Town-house, and gave them three cheers. Captain Fall was the successful candidate, The Congress, whose bacchanalian exploits are celebrated in song, were of his party.

The following satirical verses, which were written on the occasion, were copied from the recitation of an old member of the merchant-council :

SONG.—ON "THE CONGRESS."

KATTY MACKIE'S lying sick,  
And wat ye what will mend her?  
Fifty shillings in a purse,  
That Captain Fa' has sent her.  
His love to her love,  
Locked in a coffer—  
My service to the bonny lass,  
Katty Mackie's daughter.

The wabsters went unto Dunbar,  
To sell their claith at venture;  
But 'twas nae for to sell their claith,  
But see their Parliamenter.  
The captain made them welcome guests,  
Invited them to dine,  
And, after dinner, did not spare  
To treat them well with wine.

CHORUS.

O fie upon ye, Congress,  
O fie upon ye, fie:  
Had Tyne been made o' claret wine,  
Ye wad hae drank it dry.

Here's your health, my Charlie, lad,  
Take aff the other bottle!  
Drink aff your glass right heartily,  
'Twill gar you drive the shuttle.  
'Twill gar you drive the shuttle,  
And sae will it the spule,  
If we had wanted your vote,  
O we wad lost the dule!

Now Charlie raise to drink his health,  
But kouted down sae low,  
He brak his nose upon the floor,  
And brak the glass also!

There's wabsters and there's can'te-  
makers,  
And tailors wi' tree legs;  
There's dirt drivers and cabbage eaters,  
And Sandy B—— that begs.  
O Simon Saver's got carts and horse,  
And Laurie he got looms;  
And Bairdie he got leather gude,  
A' for to mend their shoons.

\* 1744, April 15.—The council of Haddington authorized L.100 to be borrowed for discussing election processes and an appeal. The money was lent by James Mudie, writer in Edinburgh. And, on the 20th September, Mr. Andrew Chalmers, writer, demanded payment of an account of L.304, 3s. 5d. sterling, which was unanimously refused by the council.

In 1745, January 22nd, Mr. Chalmers raised a horning on the Town's bond to Mr. Mudie, for L.100 assigned to him; and raised a process for L.220, 3s. 10d. sterling, as the balance of his account; but the council opposed the demands, on the plea that they were contracted at the desire of Sir James Dalrymple, who promised to keep the town free of charges.

† This must have been in some degree a Burgh sinecure, as it appears he was allowed to choose a deputy.—*Coun. Reg.*

party, headed by John Herriot, a flesher, who was joined by Convener Sawers, and the majority of the "nyne." The contest was plied with such vigour on both sides that Provost Herriot, backed by the mob, assembled before the Convener's door to demand his vote; but he found him, like Willie Wastle, invulnerable in his castle.\* Meanwhile the "opposition," who were nick-named "The Congress," not only managed with wonderful dexterity to bring up a Mock Magistracy, but had the skilfulness or plausibility to obtain a warrant from Lord Milton, to imprison the whole of the real magistracy and council in Dunbar jail. The following letter, which is printed in *The Thistle*, an Edinburgh newspaper of that date, gives a full account of these

\* *From the Convener's Book.*—"Haddington, 12th October, 1734. The which day George Herriot, late baillie of Haddingtoun, compearing with a mob of people at his back, and at the entry of the Convener's door, he requiring access with the said mob to enter the Convener's house, the said Simon Sawers, convener, asked the said George Herriot what he wanted in his house with the mob at his back,—who answered, that they had come in order to qualify him and the other members in order to the electing of a Convener,—to which the said Simon Sawers replied, that he had a Magistrate already in order to qualify him, his deacons and colleagues; and so required him to remove his mob alongst with him, excepting James Forrest, deacon of the tailors; James Bartram, deacon of the baxters; George Walker, deacon of the skidders; and their sealed colleagues, who had right to vote in the said election; and protested against them if they should secede, and make a separate election, that they and each of them might be liable to the pains and penalties contained in the late Act of Parliament anent the regulation of elections; and thereupon took instruments in the hands of John Gray, notary publick, and also in the hands of James Smail, clerk to the meeting."

The same day Deacon Sawers was put on the leet by Bailie Andrew Wilson, and re-elected convener.

1734, December 4.—"The same day James Bartram, deacon of the baxters, in obedience to the Convener's warning, delivered up his key of the box, and consented that the same should be broken open, in order to inventor the money and papers in the box,—and the Convener paid for the last election dinner." The election dinner then amounted to L.51, 9s. 6d. Scots.

1738, September 2.—To prevent debates or doubts in future, it was appointed that the old Deacons should be continued in the council till the leet day of the Magistrates, when the new Deacons were to be received.

The following are a specimen of the fines imposed upon the contumacious deacons:

1734, November 27.—"The which day James Bartram, James Forrest, and George Walker, who had separated from the other deacons) having failed to appear, were fined each in the sum of L.5 Scots, and ordained to be imprisoned till payment." Simon Sawers, convener.

1738, March 24.—The incorporation of wrights seized from Andrew Dickson six chairs made for him by an unfreeman in the country.

1741, December 28.—John Learmouth, painter, who had assumed the office of Convener, with four other Deacons, were deprived of their burgess tickets, and fined for creating a riot,—and for breaking open the Tolbooth door, and forcibly ringing the bell for a Convener's meeting.

1745, November 7.—It was ordained that Councillors absent without relevant excuse, should be fined 1s. each time.

David Anderson, a slater, was fined half a merk by the deacon, for not attending a funeral of one of the craft; and, on refusing payment, he was imprisoned.

uncommon proceedings, which are tinctured with the spirit and inveteracy of the feudal ages :

*To the Author of the Thistle.*

SIR JOHN DE GRAHAM, KNIGHT.

Wednesday, Oct. 30. 1734.

"SIR JOHN,—As I find that the late remarkable incident at Haddington makes a good deal of noise, I beg you will so far indulge me, as to give the following narrative of the facts concerning it a place in the *Thistle*.

"Some months before the last elections for Parliament, *Thirteen*, out of *Twenty-five* Counsellors of Haddington, entered into an association, called by themselves *The Congress*, whereby the whole number engaged to vote, as the majority of that *thirteen* should carry in their private meeting; so that, in other words, *seven* became the majority of *Twenty-five*. What sort of cement they used, to keep together a body so unreasonably connected, is only guessed at; but so it is, that only *one man*, who saw the artifice and injustice of it, left it, and his place was supplied by another, so that they still continued to have the appearance of a majority in the council.

"The Burgesses of Haddington, generally speaking, were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Congress, and as the Magistracy was to be changed at Michaelmas, the sixteen merchants in the council, who alone, in that burgh, have the choice of four new Merchant Councillors, chose persons not to the mind of the Congress.\* The incorporations were to choose their Deacons; and it was plain, to such as knew the town that the Congress had little to expect there, and the majority of the Incorporations was against them. However, they resolved to have a struggle for it, and therefore made the show of a controversy in two incorporations, the *Hammermen* and *Weavers*.† This was in order to carry the election of Magistrates, in which the electors are *thirty-one* in all, by the addition of the four new Merchant-Counsellors, and two new Trades-Counsellors, to the twenty-five of last year. Who were the legal Trades-Counsellors, depended upon the question concerning the two Deacons; so that these two Deacons, going the one way or the other, made a difference of *eight* upon the whole.

"At the meeting of the Magistrates, on Saturday, the 5th day of October, the Council, for reasons unknown to me, did not that day give judgment upon the merits of the two controverted elections: but allowed the two Deacons, and two Trades-counsellors on each side to give their votes. But upon the election-day, Tuesday, the 8th of October, they determined both questions against the Congress.

"The short state of the question, concerning the Deacon of the Hammermen was this: The freemen met were ten; but of these ten, one was the Town's *Bellman*, having a salary, and as such was disqualified by a particular Act of Council.‡ He did, indeed, in the meeting of the trade, verbally offer to resign his *office*, but that could only be done in council. The artifice was too gross to pass. The man owns he made that offer in jest, and continues to officiate at this date. Another of the ten had not paid up his quarterly dues, and was disqualified on that account, by an express act of the incorporation. The Congress reckoned these two, who, with three more, made them equal to the others, and brought it to the second, or casting vote of the former Deacon; as there can be no doubt, that one, if not both of the two controverted freemen had no vote, it is evident the Congress lost it.

"In a meeting of the incorporation of Weavers, the Congress had but seven to seventeen, that majority was too strong to be brought down by cavils; therefore the

\* Robert Forrest, Thomas Crombie, William Begbie and Alexander Waldie. Waldie resigned, on which William Brown was elected in his place.

† Robert Sawers, deacon, hammermen; Charles Lawrie, weavers.

‡ Robert Dagger's vote was sustained though a town-officer.—Sept. 30. 1732.

Deacon (Laurie) who was of the Congress, told the meeting, that he had no business with the trade at that time. The *seventeen* expressly demanded, If the election was to be that day? To which he answered, That it was not. He now says, that he ordered the Officer to adjourn the meeting to a private house. Which words, the Officer says, he pronounced; but *seventeen* of the meeting affirm they heard no such thing. However that may be, it now appears that the Deacon, with six more, made what they call an election in that private house. They dealed this for some hours; but when, at last, they owned it, the other *seventeen* of the incorporation met, having first required the Deacon to meet with them, and there made an election, otherwise the incorporation must have been unrepresented in Council. I fancy, Sir, not one of your readers will hesitate between these two.

[ Here follows a verbose paragraph "justifying the possession" of the Magistrates.]

"On the day of election the Congress made a separation. They brought there an exceeding curious piece, in form of a Protest, and an Act of Election jumbled together, so full of the most ridiculous blunders, that I believe it would be a good entertainment to print it at large. This protest is given in, in the name of *nine* Merchant-Counsellors as present, though *three* of that number were not there, and *one* was not then in Scotland. Not to mention particulars, it is plain, by this extraordinary piece of stuff, that the election was made before they came there, for so it imports: However, they made a farce of doing it over again, acting as in a separate meeting, one *Heriot*, a butcher, lately a Bailie, officiating both as *Provost* and *Clerk*. No wonder that this was quickly over; and, before the Council had filled up their *secrets*, or possibly could begin their business, the Congress had finished theirs, and straight left the room. They posted to the Cross, and proclaimed themselves Magistrates: thence to the court-house, and held what they called a *court*. And all this before the election was over in the council-room. Next morning they went out to Nungate, and installed their *Baron-Bailie*. Immediately afterwards they broke open the door of the council-room, and were about bolding another court, when the *true* Magistrates arrived.

"These pieces of childishness the Congress call *possession*. The possession of the real Magistrates was of another sort. Their act of election, extracted by the uncontested Clerk from the council-books; the custody of the Town-Seal; and, what is above all, the countenance and obedience of the *Burgesses*. This is actual possession—all others are but symbols of it: And were it otherwise in such a case, the best runner would always be the legal possessor.

"The Magistrates called to the Town-Officers to fence the court. This they refused to do. Then the Provost and Bailies signed a warrant to strip them of their livery-coats (the badges of their office), for their manifest contempt; and, with an audible voice, required the *Burgesses* to assist as in duty they were bound, in executing the warrant, which was immediately done, notwithstanding the opposition of the Congress and their few friends.

"From that day, (the 9th instant) till the 25th, their possession was quiet and undisturbed. It seems the council for the Congress lay at some distance, so that their advice could not be had in less than a fortnight; but at last they thought fit to complain, and by an information (in which they pretended to be the undoubted Magistrates, and asserted many other falsehoods in fact,) to a Lord of Justiciary, they obtained a warrant to imprison the Provost, two Bailies, the Dean of Guild, and Treasurer, almost all the Council and Deacons, and as many other persons as make up *forty* in all, in the next uncontroverted sure prison. The crimes charged are, "That they did in a tumultuary mobbish order, (*Query*, What is a tumultuary order?) enter the Court-house, where the (pretended) Magistrates were sitting in judgment; and having cried out to the *Burgesses* to give help, did attack the four Town-Officers, threatening to strip, and stripping them of the Town's livery coats: That, in doing this, they did drag and twist the Officers' bodies and arms, and invaded them with their staves and fists: That they leapt up upon the council table, and shaking staves over

the pretended Magistrates' heads, threatened and menaced them;—That they particularly threatened the pretended Dean of Guild, with stripping off his cloaths, beat him on the breast, squeezed him by the throat, and twisted his body and arms;—That they jostled and beat another pretended Magistrate, and pulled off his hat and wig;—That they invaded a third, by fixing their thumbs and fingers about his throat;—That they laid heavy strokes upon, and pulled the hair of a fourth;—And all this aggravated by being done in presence of the (pretended) Magistrates and against their remonstrances; and openly, violently, avowedly, of forethought, with a convocation, &c. And thus (concludes the information) the said Magistrates (meaning the pretended ones) have been insulted in the lawful exercise of their office, by threats and menaces, part of them actually invaded, their Officers beat and abused; and by open and avowed insolence, strip of their cloaths,—some of the inhabitants maltreated without any cause: and all this in face of Court; wherethrough a plan is laid down, and encouragement given to those of a mobbish disposition, to join in and promote the like violence and disturbance within the Burgh,—the Magistrates authority contemned, and endeavoured to be suppress, to the subversion and overthrow of government, and good policy of the town, and danger of the inhabitants' lives.

“The warrant is directed *To all concerned, both Civil and Military*; and, as I am informed (but I hope it is not true,) was attended by an order from proper authority to the Commanding Officer of the Troop there, to assist in the execution. On Friday, in the afternoon, the provost, Mr. George Heriot, and four of the Council, were seized by a Macer of Justiciary; and how soon the Congress would have used their warrant, to leave neither Magistrates nor Council, nor any body in the town but themselves, I know not. It is impossible for a judge to know a true from a false allegation, when he hears it. How great then must be the guilt of such as impose, by a false narration, upon persons entrusted with all our valuable concerns, and who cannot be supposed to know the particular circumstances, but by the suggestions of partial, and often designing and malicious informers? The remedy of so great an evil seems to lie only in correcting such vicious dispositions; for, if people are bent to give way to intentions so malevolent, at that rate, it is a very short receipt, if any man whatsoever, without the shadow of right, but his own assertion, desires to imprison a whole Town, and to put them to the charges of finding bail, (which in this case, by the usual fees of the office, would be 27s. 6d. a man, or L.55 Sterling in whole,) he can do it: And if such a sum as 40,000 merks should startle a friend, so as he would not care to be bail for it, the innocent accused person must lie in prison for about three months, besides the charge of running their intimations. And, by the same rule, the adverse party, assuming the same titles, may obtain the same thing against their accusers; so that, by mutual accusations, a trading and manufacturing borough might be desolated in a few hours.

“I make no commentaries on this history. Only, to finish it, I shall inform you, that the Right Honourable the Lord Dun, admitted all of them to bail on Saturday; and, on Sunday, about four in the morning, they were set at liberty:—and came time enough home to go to church with all their formalities; the Congress having made a vain attempt to get some sort of possession in their absence. On Wednesday they intend to drink his Majesty's health at the *Cross*, like loyal and zealously well affected subjects, as they have always been. And, on Saturday night, John Heriot, one of the Bailies of the Congress side last year deforced a Messenger, who had apprehended him for a civil debt. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“A BURGESS OF HADDINGTON.”

On the 31st January 1735, the council books were sent to Edinburgh, to be produced in the processes brought by William Ray and others of the “opposition” for reducing the magistracy, where their cause was lost; while, on the other part, the real

magistracy, after petitioning parliament on the plea of illegal imprisonment, met with no redress. The following notices detail the concluding acts of this ludicrous affair :

FROM THE LONDON PRINTS.

*London, February 1.*—Yesterday the House of Commons heard, and referred to the Committee of privileges and elections, a petition of Sir James Dalrymple, Bart. ; another from the Magistrates of Jedburgh, and of Robert White-repe, George Scougal, and John Porteous, counsellors of said burgh ; another from the Magistrates of Haddington ; another from the Magistrates of Lauder ; another from the Magistrates of North Berwick ; also a petition of John Haswell, common clerk of Jedburgh, concerning the election of the district of burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, Dunbar, Lauder, and North Berwick."

*London, March 13.*—"The 12th instant, a petition of George Heriot, provost of the royal burgh of Haddington ; Robert Forrest, brewer there : John Hay, saddler there ; George Hunter, wheelwright there ; and George Walker, skinner there ; was presented to the House, and read ; alledging that upon application made the 24th day of October last, by James Erskine, John Cluddel, Andrew Wilson, and others, assuming to themselves the names of Magistrates in the said burgh, and complaining that the petitioners had disturbed them in the pretended execution of their offices, the Hon. Andrew Fletcher of Milton, one of the judges of the Court of Justiciary, and also of the Court of Session in Scotland, though there was evidently no foundation for such a complaint, without any jurisdiction to judge of the merits of election of Magistrates for the burgh, without any evidence laid before him, without any notice given to the petitioners, or any of the persons concerned, and so without hearing them or calling them before him, gave forth a summary warrant, directed to all officers whom it concerned, civil or military, to search for, seize and apprehend, the persons of the petitioners, and many others, to the number of forty Bur-gesses or Inhabitants, whereof seventeen were acting as Magistrates or Councillors of the said Burgh, wherever they shall be found in Scotland ; and to imprison them within the nearest sure prison ;—that this warrant was lodged in the hands of Humphry Colquhon, one of the macers or messengers of the court of justiciary, *without the privity of any other of the judges of that court* ; and, as the petitioners have reason to believe, the said Andrew Fletcher ordered the said Macer to take directions from *Patrick Lindsay*, provost of Edinburgh, as to the manner of executing the warrant ; and such directions were accordingly given, as the petitioners have reason to believe, in writing ;—that this warrant was accompanied by an order from *Brigadier Moyle*, then acting as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland to the commanding officer of the Dragoons quartered in Haddington, to assist with his Dragoons in the execution of the warrant ;—that upon the 25th of said month, the petitioners were seized, and though the next *sure prison* was that of Haddington itself, or that of North Berwick ; and though the petitioners desired to be committed there, or to be carried to Edinburgh, the seat of the courts of justice, where they might apply for redress, yet the said Humphry Colquhon told them, his orders were to carry them to the *prison of Dunbar*, and no other place ; a place

20 miles (28) distant from Edinburgh, and 8 miles (11) from Haddington;—and though the pretended crime was *ballable*, and *Alexander Hepburn*, the Sheriff Substitute, to whom the petitioners applied, was by law empowered and willing to admit them to bail, the said Humphry Colquhoun told, That he could not dismiss them upon bail, his *express orders being to take no bail*, but to commit his prisoners to the prison of Dunbar,—where they were accordingly imprisoned, from the 25th to the 27th of October, till by a warrant from the Hon. David Erskine of Dun, another of the judges of the said court of justiciary and session, the petitioners were set at liberty, and execution of the warrant was staid against the rest upon bail given by the petitioners and them; and that, since that time, no criminal prosecution has been moved for any of these pretended crimes;—that these proceedings, as the petitioners apprehend, and are advised, were utterly illegal and oppressive, tending to destroy personal liberties and *freedom of royal burghs*, and the consequence of the *freedom of elections of Members of Parliament*; and as the petitioners can hope for no redress but from the justice of Parliament, therefore praying to take the premises into consideration, and to grant relief.”

A motion having been made that the above petition should be referred to a committee of the whole House, it passed in the *negative*.

The following consolatory verses were addressed to the magistrates on their recent defeat:

#### ON THE FAITHFUL TOWN OF HADDINGTON.

*Stat sua cuique dies, brevis et irreparabile tempus  
Omnibus est vitæ, sed famam extendere factis,  
Hoc virtutis opus.*—VIRGIL.

“O worthy Haddington, unrivall'd Town!  
For honour, in an age corrupted, shewn:  
While o'er fair Caledonia's fruitful soil,  
Each Royal Burgh falls a venal spoil;  
While even Edina's once unblemish'd breast,  
Is by the violating monster prest,  
Do thou, untouch'd, and self-defended stand,  
A beauteous pattern to a purchased land.

Though malice may thy conduct now defame,  
And slaves of power thy honest zeal may blame,  
Fear not the justice of thy cause should fail;  
For everlasting truth will still prevail.  
The time shall come—Oh soon may it arrive!  
That to thy choice shall lasting praises give;  
That shall repay, in equitable coin,  
The wrongs of Glasgow's magistrates and thine.  
This Congress then, like that of Soissons broke,  
Shall, after all their farce, dissolve in smoke,  
Still may thou flourish, Haddington, and thrive,  
And all thy honest sons in plenty live;  
May wealth within thy walls forever wait,  
And Peace and Freedom guard your hospitable gate:  
Long may true patriots rule your happy town,  
Long keep the châtity of fair renown,  
Long boast the prize of faith and virtue won,  
And give a title to a HAMILTON.”—FROM *The Thistle*, July 30. 1735.

The *Country Party* now enjoyed their civic honours unmolested,—drank Queen Caroline's health at the Cross amidst the firing of dragoons, while the “ladies were blooming with joy,”—and were again successful in keeping themselves together at the next election.

## CHAPTER IV.

“ A motley thing made up of shreds and patches,  
Full of old saws and modern instances.”—SHAKESPEARE.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS IN THE COUNTY.—PARLIAMENTARY AND BURGH REFORM.—NEW MUNICIPAL ACT.—ELECTIONS. PROVOSTS OF HADDINGTON.—SHERIFF-COURT—SHERIFFS OF HADDINGTONSHIRE.—COUNTY AND BURGH POLICE—CRIMES—WITCHCRAFT—MURDER—SMUGGLING—FIRE-RAISING.

THE next matter that agitated the burgh was the appointment of delegates to elect a member of parliament. This happened on the 30th March, 1768, under very particular circumstances. Jedburgh was the returning burgh, but the Court of Session having reduced the magistracy of that town for some illegal practices, considerable contention arose in regard to where the meeting should be held. The sheriff of Haddington issued a precept, appointing the burgh of Dunbar to the presidency, while the sheriff of Berwickshire appointed Lauder as next in rotation, to name the place where the member should be chosen. The town of Haddington jealous of the right of the sheriff of Berwick to name a place at all, and considering that by law, in the absence of a delegate from the presiding burgh, she was entitled to a casting vote in the case of equality, and, as a matter of expediency, and to assert her rights, three commissioners were appointed; viz. John M'Laren, Esq. of Dreghorn, advocate, to go to Jedburgh; James Dudgeon, dean of Guild, to attend at Haddington; and David Rae, Esq. advocate, to appear at Dunbar; with provision, that wherever the election might be sustained, the vote of their commissioner should be held valid. The result was that Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Warrender was elected representative in parliament for the classive burghs.

There was a further contest, at the election of the Hon. Colonel John Maitland, on the 31st October, 1774, who was opposed by a party in favour of Mr. Kinloch, younger of Gilmerton.\*

\* This election was opposed by a party headed by Thomas Pringle, deacon of the skinners, who were anxious to support David Kinloch of Gilmerton, Esq., as commissioner



## BURGH REFORM.

This measure, which has engrossed so much attention in our times, seems to have been first agitated on the 8th March 1787, when a letter was submitted to the town-council, from the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, of date the 3d March, as preses of the convention of Royal Burghs, respecting

1. A proposed reform in the constitution of the burghs in Scotland;
2. The encouragement of the Linen Manufacture; and
3. The subscribing to the fund for extending the Fisheries, and improving the sea-coast of the kingdom.\*

This letter being considered the council recommended that their representative in parliament should be instructed to support the second head; but with regard to the other two points, that they be allowed to lie on the table.

In 1819, on the 29th May, Lord Archibald Hamilton, as chairman of the select committee on the Scots Royal Burghs, applied to the town-council of Haddington, for a return to nine separate orders, of which he also presented a draft, and a copy of the schedules to which reference was made, which was granted.

At the same time a letter was presented from Mr. William Wilkie, as preses of a committee, requesting the council to concur with them in forwarding the object of their petition to parliament; viz. "An amelioration in the constitution of the Royal Burghs." This request, however, was considered unnecessary, as the matter was already before a committee of the House of Commons.

In 1819, a petition was presented to the council, on the 28th October, signed by *all* the dissenting ministers, and many of the most respectable inhabitants, praying that the old burghess-oath,

or delegate, to vote at the ensuing election at North Berwick, which was the presiding burgh for the classive districts. Provost Burton was elected by a majority of 18 against 5. The protests were conducted with great acrimony, in which the town-council were accused of being influenced by a certain Peer, or his factor and agents; and the tradesmen and deacons of being corrupted by those ancient tools of bribery—meat, drink, and entertainment. Robert Cunningham, deacon of the masons, who was ordered out of the council chamber, voted at the door.

On the 6th April following, we find Francis Kinloch, Esq. of Gilmerton, voted as representative of the Burgh to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

\* It is astonishing how much corporate bodies were guided by selfish motives, in opposing public measures, which, when ultimately carried, did them no material injury. Thus, on the 1st March, 1786, in reply to a letter from Mr. Charteris, M.P., respecting a treaty of commerce betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, the town-council authorized him to oppose the measure by every means in his power, as injurious, if not ruinous, to the trade of Scotland in general.

which had been considered as unnecessary by a late deed of the convention of Royal Burghs, and had been long disused by several respectable towns, might be set aside, as involving declarations offensive to many, and inconsistent with the spirit and liberality of the times.\* This petition having met with the favourable consideration of the council, on the 19th February 1830, the old oath of "allegiance, assurance, and abjuration," was abrogated, and a more modified one substituted in its stead.

The corporation and test acts were repealed during the short administration of the Duke of Wellington, on the 9th February, 1828. This paved the way for the renewed agitation of burgh reform; and, on the 25th November, 1830, the town-council of Haddington agreed that a petition should be sent to the House of Lords for a reform in the representation of the burghs.

The reform bill was introduced by Lord John Russell in March 1831; and, on the 14th, petitions were forwarded from the council of Haddington, in favour of the measure. The bill passed the House of Commons; but was rejected by the Peers in the month of October following.

In the meantime, while these measures were in progress, considerable exertions were made by the two great parties that ruled the commons, to bring up their own candidates on a new

\* *The old Burgess-oath.*—In 1708, May 24th, the oath of abjuration was taken by the town-council, and recorded. The following is a transcript of that used in the reign of George III.:

"I hereby acknowledge, profess, testify and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King George the Third is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and all others his Majesty's dominions and countries thereto belonging, and I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that not any of the descendants of the person, who pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James the Second, and since his decease pretended to be, and took upon himself, the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eight, or the style and title of King of Great Britain, hath any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other of the dominions and countries thereto belonging;—and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to them or any of them;—and I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be made against him or any of them. And I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend, the succession of the crown against the descendants of the said James, and against all other persons whatsoever, which succession, by an Act entitled, 'An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subjects,' is, and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, † Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants: And all these things I do plainly acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, abjuration, renunciation and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian,—so help me God."

† Granddaughter of James VI.

general election. In 1831, Robert Steuart, Esq. of Alders (whig,) entered the field against Sir Adolphus John Dalrymple, Bart. (tory.) The burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh and Lauder, voted for Mr. Steuart at Jedburgh, on the 23d May; following to the abduction of one of the voters at Lauder, on choosing of a delegate on the 4th May, his election was nullified by the House of Commons.\*

The reform bill was again brought forward in December; and on the 30th April, 1832, the town-council of Haddington petitioned the House of Lords to pass the lingering measure; and again, on the 15th, a petition was sent to parliament in favour of the same object. The bill ultimately passed the House of Lords, through the exertions of Earl Grey, on the 4th June, 1832; and the Scottish burgh reform bill received the royal assent on the 28th August, 1833.

The first election of a member to represent the county of Haddington in the reformed British parliament, (which met on 29th January 1833,) led to a severe contest between the Whig and Conservative parties, the former of which was represented by Sir David Baird of Newbyth, Bart., and the latter by James Balfour, Esq. of Whittingham. Out of a constituency of 617, in which 508 voted, Mr. Balfour was returned by a majority of 39.

The following was the state of the poll:

|                               | Haddington District. | Dunbar District. | Total. |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------|
| Mr. Balfour .....             | 170 ..               | 101 ..           | 271    |
| Sir David Baird, Bart. †..... | 198 ..               | 34 ..            | 232    |

At the election of a member to represent the burghs a similar contest took place, in which Mr. Steuart was successful.

On the 5th November, 1833, the election of the new councillors took place under the Act 2. and 3. William IV. cap. 76.

At the next election for the county, in January 1835, the Whigs had the ascendancy, a very popular gentleman having entered as a candidate. The following was the poll:

|                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| For Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Raith, .....  | 268 |
| For John Thomas Hope, Esq. Luffness, ..... | 231 |
| Majority—37                                |     |

\* Bailie Simpson was forcibly placed into a Haddington postchaise, and carried off by the mob. The examination of witnesses afterwards led to scenes of riot in Haddington, which ended in the imprisonment of parties unconnected with the abduction at Lauder.

† A superb testimonial, in the shape of a silver epergne, was presented to Sir David Baird, as a mark of respect by his party. "This expression of public feeling (says the inscription) emanated from 7000 individuals in the county of East Lothian, whose voluntary contributions were limited from one penny to one shilling.—A. D. 1833."

Mr. Steuart of Alderston was again returned for the classive Burghs, without opposition.\*

On the 31st July, 1837, the conservative party prevailed, when James Andrew Lord Ramsay was elected representative of the county by a majority of 93.

The state of the poll was :

|                                      |     |
|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Lord Ramsay, .....                   | 301 |
| Robert Ferguson Esq. of Raith, ..... | 208 |

The result of the election for the Burghs was :

|                                       |             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Mr. Steuart, .....                    | 268         |
| Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart. .... | 237         |
|                                       | Majority—31 |

On the death of the Earl of Dalhousie, Lord Ramsay was called to the House of Peers, when a new election became necessary.

On the 14th April, 1838, Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton, Bart., was elected for the county without opposition.

In 1841, the conservative party once more gained the ascendancy of the burghs. On the 2nd July, 1841, Mr. Steuart, and James Maitland Balfour, younger of Whittingham, were the candidates, when the latter gained the election by a majority of 9. The following shews the result of the poll :

|                      | Mr. Steuart. | Mr. Balfour. |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Haddington, .....    | 97           | 66           |
| Jedburgh, .....      | 82           | 112          |
| Dunbar, .....        | 44           | 60           |
| Lauder, .....        | 15           | 29           |
| North Berwick, ..... | 26           | 6            |
| Total, .....         | 264          | 273          |

On the 6th July, 1841, Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart., was re-elected member of parliament for the county.

\* On the 30th July, 1841, the burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, Dunbar, Lauder, and North Berwick, subscribed the sum of L.350 for the purpose of presenting a Testimonial to Mr. Steuart, their late representative, as a mark of their unqualified esteem, on his appointment as consul-general for Colombia, South America. This munificent gift was presented in the shape of an epergne and some pieces of silver dinner service, of the richest workmanship, which Mr. Steuart, however, did not live to receive.

Mr. Steuart died at Santa Fe da Bogota, on the 15th July, 1843, where he had been appointed her Majesty's charg  d'affaires and consul-general. It was the third attack of fever, since his arrival in that country, which, in conjunction with ague, was the cause of his death. By the zeal and abilities he displayed in the discharge of his public duties, Mr. Steuart had secured the confidence and esteem of the New Granada government, while his conciliating manners endeared him to the inhabitants of the place. His funeral was a public one, and attended by the authorities, by whom every mark of respect was paid to his remains. Mr. Steuart was born at Alderston, in the parish of Haddington, in 1806. He was the eldest son of the late Robert Steuart, Esq. by Louisa Clementina Drummond, daughter of John Drummond, Esq. of Logie Almond, by Lady Catherine Murray. His parliamentary career commenced in 1832, as representative of the Haddington classive burghs; and he held the office of one of the Lords of the Treasury from April 1835, to May 1840.

The municipal affairs of the burgh are now managed council board of twenty-five persons. The constituency, in amount to 233 burghesses. There are now no distinctions regard to trades' bailies and councillors; but the magistrate point (as formerly) a baron-bailie of the Nungate and of Gmuir; and two burrow-bailies for settling minor differences. Agreeable to the terms of the new act the magistrates and councillors remain three years in office, eight of them going off annually by rotation.

### PROVOSTS OF HADDINGTON.

- |                                                                                                             |                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1296. Alexander <i>le Barker</i> (the tanner.)                                                              | 1742. James Rutherford.              |
| 1454. William Clerk and James of Ayton, bailies.                                                            | 1746. James Lundie, M.D.             |
| 1530. Patrick Hepburn, master of Hailes; Thomas Sinclair, and Alexander Hepburn, bailies.                   | 1748. William Ray.                   |
| 1552. Patrick Lawson, bailie. (1)                                                                           | 1750. Andrew Dickson.                |
| 1552. James Oliphant, provost. (2)                                                                          | 1752. William Ray.                   |
| 1565. Thomas Panton.                                                                                        | 1754. Andrew Dickson.                |
| 1570. John Ayton.                                                                                           | 1756. Robert Thomson.                |
| 1597. Sir William Seton. He succeeded the Earl of Bothwell or his agents.                                   | 1758. Andrew Dickson.                |
| 1649. John Cockburn.                                                                                        | 1760. Robert Thomson. (8)            |
| 1656. William Hatton.                                                                                       | 1762. James Lundie, M.D.             |
| 1661. William Seatoun,                                                                                      | 1764. Henry Hepburn.                 |
| 1681. Henry Cockburn. (3)<br>July 14th, he was commissioner to the Scots parliament.                        | 1766. James Lundie, M.D.             |
| 1686. Sir William Paterson, knight, clerk to his Majesty's privy-council, nominated by the Lords of council | 1768. Robert Thomson.                |
| 1689. William M'Call.                                                                                       | 1770. James Lundie, M.D.             |
| 1691. James Lauder.                                                                                         | 1772. James Dudgeon, surgeon.        |
| 1698. Henry Cockburn. (4)                                                                                   | 1774. Robert Burton, tobacco-nist.   |
| 1700. Alexander Edgar.                                                                                      | 1776. James Dudgeon.                 |
| 1701. William M'Call.                                                                                       | 1778. Robert Burton.                 |
| 1703. Alexander Edgar.                                                                                      | 1780. James Dudgeon. (9)             |
| 1706. Richard Millar.                                                                                       | 1781. John Martine, tanner.          |
| 1707. Alexander Edgar.                                                                                      | 1783. Patrick M'Clarren, merchant.   |
| 1708. Richard Millar.                                                                                       | 1785. David Smith, candlemaker.      |
| 1710. David Forrest.                                                                                        | 1787. James Banks, merchant.         |
| 1712. Richard Millar.                                                                                       | 1789. Richard Somner, surgeon. (10)  |
| 1714. David Forrest.                                                                                        | 1791. James Banks.                   |
| 1715—17. A blank.                                                                                           | 1793. Richard Somner. (11)           |
| 1718. Richard Millar.                                                                                       | 1795. Alexander Hislop, draper.      |
| 1719. Alexander Hay.                                                                                        | 1797. Alexander Maitland, surgeon.   |
| 1720. David Forrest, sen.                                                                                   | 1799. Robert Roughhead, mnkeeper.    |
| 1722. James Dods.                                                                                           | 1801. James Roughhead, merchant.     |
| 1723. Alexander M'Call, by poll election.                                                                   | 1803. William Cunningham, merchant.  |
| 1725. George Smith.                                                                                         | 1806. George Banks, merchant.        |
| 1728. Alexander M'Call.                                                                                     | 1807. John Martine, jun., carrier.   |
| 1730. Archibald Millar (contested with James Erskine).                                                      | 1809. James Deans, painter.          |
| 1732. James Erskine, cordwainer.                                                                            | 1811. George Haldane, manufacturer.  |
| 1733. Andrew Dickson, merchant.                                                                             | 1813. John Martine.                  |
| 1734. George Heriot, sheriff-clerk, (contested by The Congress). (5)                                        | 1815. Thomas Pringle, tanner.        |
| 1736. Robert Forrest. (6)                                                                                   | 1817. John Martine.                  |
| 1738. William Ray, merchant. (7)                                                                            | 1819. Thomas Pringle, tobacco-nist.  |
| 1739. Charles Cockburn of Clerkington.                                                                      | 1821. Peter Dods, nurseryman.        |
|                                                                                                             | 1823. Alexander Hislop.              |
|                                                                                                             | 1825. William Dods, seedsman.        |
|                                                                                                             | 1827. Archibald Dunlop, distiller.   |
|                                                                                                             | 1829. William Dods.                  |
|                                                                                                             | 1831. Archibald Dunlop.              |
|                                                                                                             | 1833. John Ferme, banker and writer. |
|                                                                                                             | UNDER THE NEW MUNICIPAL ACT.         |
|                                                                                                             | 1834. Samuel Brown, ironmonger.      |
|                                                                                                             | 1836. Thomas Lea, draper.            |
|                                                                                                             | 1839. Thomas Lea, re-elected.        |
|                                                                                                             | 1842. Thomas Lea, re-elected.        |

(1) With the exception of Alexander the Barker, there are no mention of provosts previous to 1552. In 1533, May 21st, Mr. Bertyll Kello was notary publik and common clerk of the burrow book of Haddington.

(2) In 1552, December 23d.—“The which day the council statute and actit, that the Provost have na mayr fee but vj. merks. The which day the provost, James Oliphant, protested, that there be ne mayr fee given to na provost in time coming, and that every honest man be made provost in time coming his *year about*.” From a chasm in the records it is not apparent whether or not annual provostships were attended to. In 1556, the provost of Edinburgh was allowed L.100 Scots for clothes and spicery, with two hbds. of wine; and he was sometimes re-elected twelve years running.

(3) In 1671, August 9th, Henry Cockburn, dean of guild, was allowed L.68 Scots, for his charges at Dundee and Edinburgh, when commissioner to the convention at Dundee. In 1681, July 14th, Provost Cockburn, while commissioner to the Scots parliament, was allowed for himself and man, L.5 Scots daily. On the meeting of parliament, the members went to the house in great solemnity; and the procession which they formed, on account of the predominance of equestrian figures (for all except inferior servants were on horseback,) was called the Riding of the Parliament. This scene of splendour was long remembered in Scotland.

(4) The office of chief-magistrate seems, in the olden time, to have been rather an honourable than a lucrative concern. In 1698, May 16th, Mr. Henry Cockburn, late provost, being in great distress, was supplied with “clothes, shirts, gravats, hat, and shoes.” He had been formerly, on the 19th February, allowed 30s. Scots, weekly, as an alimant. Another respectable family suffered from the vicissitudes of fortune. In 1773, June 23d, the daughters of Provost Ray resigned their alimant of L.2, 10s. which they had received from the town, on succeeding to a small fortune on the death of their brother in France. On the motion of Mr. Dickson, this sum was afterwards to be applied to the relief of Baillie Thomas Crombie's widow and family in great poverty; also, on the motion of Baillie Waldie, 20s. of alimant, yearly, were to be paid to Margaret Erskine, daughter of James Erskine, late provost.

(5) On the 8th July, 1735, Provost Heriot and Robert Forrest were allowed L.2, 13s. 6d. of expenses, on being sent prisoners to Dunbar by Lord Milton. It was not till 1747 that the litigious lawsuit which originated with “The Congress” was adjusted, when Sir James Dalrymple (their supporter) sought for a friendly meeting to have an accommodation with the town. Accordingly, on the 21st December, the parties agreed that Sir James Dalrymple and Mr. Chalmers should grant a discharge to the town, and *vice versa* that the town should discharge them.

(6) 1736, October 15th, 30s. were allowed Andrew Dickson for being five days assessor to the provost, at the convention of burghs; and 39s. to the Provost himself.

(7) In 1738, November 9th, the town-council renewed all former acts anent members attending the magistrates to the kirk, under the penalty of 6d. sterling for the absence of a merchant councillor, and 3d. for a deacon or crafts' councillor.

This very ancient practice was abrogated by a majority of dissenters, in the town-council of Edinburgh, on the 16th November, 1843, when it was resolved “to discontinue their official attendance at church, and discharging the officers from carrying the mace or other insignia to any place of worship in time to come, or of the council appearing in their robes,” &c. We are not aware that this example has been followed, but rather the reverse: some burghs, which had laid aside their church paraphernalia, on the passing of the reform bill, having resumed it. This act of the Edinburgh council was followed by a petition to her Majesty from Provost Middlemass and the other magistrates of Dunbar, reprobatng the measure.

(8) 1761, November 17th, it was appointed by the town-council, that gold medals, hung with blue and gold cord, should be worn by the magistrates, as badges of distinction. These have long been superseded by gold chains.

(9) At the election of magistrates on the 14th October, Mr. Dudgeon was not put on the list for provost the second year, which was contrary to the usual practice; and as Provost Dudgeon, Dean-of-Guild Burton, and Treasurer Carfrae, were among those discharged from the new council on the 24th, these proceedings, so different from use and wont, were afterwards remembered by the dignified name of *The damnable purge*.

(10) In 1790, October 19th, Simon Sawers, baillie, objected to the vote of Mr. Alexander Hishop, (who was on the provost's list,) in consequence of his having offered William Marshall, deacon of the shoemakers, a bribe of 15 guineas, to vote contrary to his inclination.—*Coun. Reg.*

(11) In 1793, January 5th, Mr. Richard Somner, provost, was required to accept or demit his office, as he had never attended the meetings of council since his election in October! He accepted.

## SHERIFF-COURT.

The sheriff court is held in the county buildings, Haddi every Thursday, at ten o'clock, during session; and the ordinary sheriff court, under the small debt act, every alternate Thursday. There are also small-debt circuit courts held at Dalkeith, Tranent, and North Berwick. The history and respectability of the sheriff-court will be best learned from a list of its principal personages.

## SHERIFFS-PRINCIPAL OF HADDINGTONSHIRE.

- 1124.—Durand is mentioned as sheriff, in a grant by David I. of the lands of *Cz*  
 1184.—Alexander is mentioned as sheriff of Haddington.\*  
 1306.—Edward I. appointed Ivo de Adeburch, to be sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington, and Linlithgow.  
 1334.—Edward Baliol assigned to Edward III. the sheriffdom, when John de Kingston was appointed keeper of Edinburgh castle, &c.  
 1337.—Laurence Preston was appointed sheriff of Lothian. In the reign of David II. Symon de Preston was sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington, &c.  
 1382.—Adam Forrester of Corstorphin was sheriff of Edinburgh and Lothian. In the reign of Robert III. William Lindsay of Byres was granted, during life, the office of sheriff of Edinburgh and constable of Haddington.  
 1482.—Alexander Hepburn was sheriff of Edinburgh and Haddington.  
 1489.—Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, was sheriff of Lothian and constable of Haddington.  
 1506.—Adam Hepburn (who fell at Flodden,) was sheriff of Haddington.  
 1545.—Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, was sheriff from the Aven to Colbrandspath.  
 1566.—James, Earl of Bothwell. Forfeited in 1567.  
 1584.—Francis, Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington and Berwick; baillie of Lauderdale, and great admiral of Scotland. Forfeited 1594.  
 1607.—Sir William Seatoun of Killesmure, (brother of Robert first Earl of Winton,) appointed sheriff-principal. Died 1634.  
 1677.—John, Duke of Lauderdale, sheriff-principal. Died 1682.  
 In the first parliament of King William, Haddington and Edinburgh are first mentioned as separate shires.  
 1689.—John, Lord Hay of Yester. Afterwards, 1697, second Marquis of Tweeddale  
 1689.—Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenstoun, Bart., appointed 7th December. Died 1713.  
 1714.—Charles, third Marquis of Tweeddale. (Lord-lieutenant.) Died 1716.  
 1716.—Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington. (Lord-lieutenant.) Died 1735.  
 1736.—John, third Lord Belhaven. Died 1764.

## SHERIFFS-DEPUTE.

## I.—Appointed by Sheriffs-principal.

- 1663.—John Hay of Baro, sheriff-depute of Edinburgh and Haddington.†  
 1670.—Patrick Brodin of Colstoun, appointed 8th December. Created Baronet 1686.  
 1681.—George Halyburton of Egliscarno (Eglescairnie), appointed 8th November.

\* In 1300, Hugh Giffard of Yester had also his sheriff, who likewise bore the favourite cognomen of that period—Alexander. The Morvilles of Salton had also their sheriffs in this county. Henry Sinclair of Herdmanston was the sheriff of these opulent barons.

† John Hay was paid L.800 sterling for the bailliery of Dunbar; and John Hamilton had L.500 for the regality of Drem. In 1669, October 5th, John Hay of Baro, burghess of Haddington, was appointed commissioner to the convention of burghs, and also to the parliament; and allowed 6s. 8d. per day.

- 1682.—Adam Urquhart of Meldrum, (then in command of the Earl of Airlie's troop,) was appointed a special sheriff-depute (5th January), by the Estates of Parliament, relative to the suppression of conventicles.
- 1683.—Sir John Ramsay of Fawsyde, knight, sheriff-depute.
- 1680.—John Sinclair, younger of Stevenston, appointed by his father, 7th June.
- 1692.—John Veitch of Dawick, appointed 6th June.
- 1696.—William Baillie, advocate.
- 1697.—Alexander Hay, advocate (1697), afterwards of Huntington, and principal clerk of session. Died 1745.
- 1714.—John Hay of Hope, appointed 18th August.
- 1715.—Charles Brown of Colstoun, appointed 24th Jan. (Married the heiress of Colstoun.)
- 1718.—Thomas Menzies of Lethame, advocate.
- 1725.—John Hamilton, advocate (1708 or 1718)  
Charles St. Clair, advocate, 1722, (of Herdmanston 1728);—or (the second son of Thomas sixth Earl of Haddington, advocate 1725);—*de jure* Lord Sinclair.
- 1736.—Hon. James Hamilton, advocate (1728), brother of John Lord Belhaven.  
Francis Kinloch, advocate (1730), second son of Sir F. Kinloch third Baronet.
- 1744.—David Kinloch, writer, third son of Sir Francis, afterwards fifth Baronet, 1778.
- II.—*Appointed by the Crown in virtue of the Heritable jurisdiction abolition act.*
- 1747.—Hon. James Hamilton of Frierland, advocate, resigned 1762. Succeeded to Lord Belhaven 1764—died 1777.
- 1762.—William Law of Elvingston, advocate (1737), appointed 16th February. Resigned 1803. Died in 1806—aged 92.
- 1803.—John Barnett, advocate (1785). Resigned in 1810, on being appointed judge-admiral of Scotland.
- 1810.—Alexander Macnochie, advocate (1799). Resigned 1813, on being appointed solicitor-general; lord-advocate, 1816; lord of session (as Lord Meadowbank), 1819—resigned 1843.
- 1813.—William Horne of Stirrøke and Seonthel, advocate (1806).

## SHERIFFS-SUBSTITUTE.

- 1607.—Alexander Seaton, sheriff-substitute. Andrew Gray, appointed 12th March.
- 1680.—William McCall (late provost of Haddington,) appointed 9th October.
- 1692.—Alexander Smyth, late bailie of Haddington.
- 1693.—James Lauder, late provost of Haddington.
- 1695.—John Carmichael.
- 1697.—Richard Millar. (Afterwards provost of Haddington.)
- 1704.—Robert Gray. 1729.—Alexander Hepburn.
- 1736.—George Cunningham, merchant.
- 1748.—William Law of Elvingstone, advocate, appointed 4th April. Mr. Law held this office, and afterwards that of sheriff-depute, about fifty-four years. The county was indebted to this excellent and upright judge, for the judicious method he adopted of striking the Fians.
- 1803.—Thomas Fairbairn. 1827.—Thomas Graham:
- 1830.—Robert Riddell, advocate.

## SHERIFF-CLERKS.

- 1663.—James Lauder.
- 1695.—John Middlemas.
- 1695.—William Johnstoun.
- 1699.—James Tweedie, 6th December.
- 1702.—Thomas Reid, 13th July.
- 1718.—George Heriot, (formerly provost.)
- 1753.—William Alston and John Heriot  
Joint-clerks, 10th February.
- 1774.—Alexander Fraser, 1st February.
- 1807.—Henry Davidson, 26th March.
- 1829.—Henry Marshall Davidson, 20th  
January.



The commissary court, of which the sheriff is also the principal official, is held in the county buildings, Court Street, each day when the business of the other court is closed.

Here the Justices of Peace, Trustees of the Great Post Road, and Commissioners of Supply, also hold their meetings at stated periods.

There are at present 18 procurators before the Sheriff-court belonging to Haddington, and 1 to Dunbar; seven of whom are notaries public.\*

#### COUNTY POLICE.

“It is better to prevent crimes than to punish them.”

The superintendent of the police establishment for the county, G. H. List, resides at Haddington. The county is divided into eight districts, which are served conjunctly by about 33 constables.

Mr. List is also the principal criminal-officer. Of the 33 constables, eight are full paid district constables, the remainder are parochial constables, who receive a small retaining fee, and act when called upon. In 1840 the establishment was augmented to its present number in consequence of the increase of crime.

The police establishment of the county was miserably deficient till about the year 1832. Previous to this period Haddingtonshire was divided into six districts, with a superintendent and twelve or sixteen constables, where now there are eight districts, which require 32 officers to do the duties in an effective manner. If any thing were wanting to prove this deficiency, it was completely established in 1821-22, when although there were a series of fire-raising in the neighbourhood of the burgh of Haddington, for the discovery of which L.935 sterling, of reward, were offered at different times by the justices of peace and gentlemen of the county, and L.500, with his Majesty's pardon, except to the actual perpetrators, the incendiaries were never discovered.

In 1831, a new and extended system of police was introduced; and the constabulary force placed under a zealous and talented officer, Mr. Alfred John List, now superintendent of Edinburgh. Previous to this period the agriculturists were much annoyed by numerous bands of gipsies and low Irish, who were distinguished by similar propensities, and were to be found encamped during great part of the year in the retired roads and green loanings of the county. As these wandering hordes were necessarily nurseries of thieves, one of the first objects of Mr. List was to get rid of these vagrants; and it will be seen by the annexed list of crime, that James IV. was not more successful in curbing the thieves of Eskdale, than the new superintendent was in banishing the gipsies and muggers from the county.

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\* The sheriff-court was occasionally held in the houses of the magistrates. In 1694, it met in the “high dining-room of Mr. James Lauder's house, in regard that the Tol-booth of the burgh, where the sheriff-court used to hold, was full of soldiers for the “new levy.”—*Dunbar Coun. Record*. Provost M'Call's house was frequently used for the same purpose.

In 1695, November 8th, “The Sheriff's gloves,” an assessment collected at Michaelmas fair, was set by the magistrates to the town-officers. It was agreed that this tax in future should be set with the customs of the port, and to be part of the patrimony of the burgh.

The following is a brief table of persons convicted for offences, committed in the county and burghs, at an interval of three and four years:

|                                                      | 1836 | 1839 | 1843 |                                            | 1836 | 1839 | 1843 |
|------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|--------------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Assaults, .....                                      | 26   | 38   | 72   | Brought forward,.....                      | 109  | 82   | 267  |
| with intent .....                                    | 1    | 2    |      | Garden breaking, .....                     | 2    | 10   |      |
| and riot, .....                                      | 10   | 4    | 31   | Hawker without a license, ...              | 1    | ...  |      |
| Breach of the peace,.....                            | 17   | 6    | 88   | House-breaking and theft, ...              | ...  | 3    |      |
| Breach publicans' license, 4                         | 2    | 4    |      | Indecent conduct, .....                    | 1    | ...  |      |
| Breach of trust, .....                               | 1    | 1    |      | Light unstamped weights, 1                 | ...  | 28   |      |
| Carters obstructing the road... 1                    | 14   |      |      | Leaving carts unattended, 8                | ...  | 48   |      |
| Deforcing sheriff-officers, 1                        | ...  | ...  |      | Not confining a dog to cart, 1             | ...  | 6    |      |
| Destroying tombstones, ... 2                         | ...  | ...  |      | Poaching at night,..... 14                 | ...  | 11   |      |
| Demolition of property, ... 6                        | 2    | 22   |      | by day,..... 3                             | 6    | 30   |      |
| Discharging fire arms on<br>the turnpike road, ..... | 1    | 2    |      | Pigs straying on the streets. 2            | 3    | ...  |      |
| Drunkenness and riot, .....                          | 3    | ...  |      | Rape, .....                                | 1    | ...  |      |
| on the Sunday, 1                                     | 2    |      |      | Rescuing prisoners from<br>officers, ..... | 1    | ...  |      |
| Drying clothes road-side, ...                        | 12   |      |      | Reset of theft.....                        | ...  | 2    |      |
| Evasion of Toll, .....                               | 5    |      |      | Riding on the footpaths,....               | 1    | ...  |      |
| Excess stage-c. passengers ...                       | 12   |      |      | Riot, .....                                | 7    | 6    |      |
| Fire-raising (whins & copice) ...                    | 1    | ...  |      | Selling spirits without licen... 1         | ...  | ...  |      |
| Furious driving,.....                                | 27   | 12   | 34   | Shooting with intent, .....                | 1    | ...  |      |
| Fraud and imposition, .....                          | 1    | 3    | 1    | Theft, .....                               | 35   | 46   | 74   |
| Grazing cattle on road sides 8                       | 9    | 15   |      | Vagrancy, .....                            | 5    | 3    | 16   |
| Gypsies encamping on<br>roads, .....                 | 3    | ...  | ...  | Window breaking,..... 1                    | 12   | ...  |      |
| Carried forward, .....                               | 109  | 82   | 267  | Wanton cruelty to animals, ...             | 2    | ...  |      |
|                                                      |      |      |      | Total,.....                                | 189  | 164  | 495  |

One-fifth of the crimes were committed by females.

Some novel features in the above table are the vandalish practice of destroying tombstones, furious driving, cruelty to animals, and breaking of windows. The first we alluded to in speaking of the churchyard; the second arises from opposition coaches being allowed to start at the same hour for the same destination. The amount of fines inflicted in 1843, by the sheriff and justices, for furious driving and overloading the stage-coaches, was L.44, 5s. 4d. sterling!

The system of economy introduced by Mr. List into the police establishment is also apparent from his Treatise on Rural Police.

In 1832, at an election of a county member to serve in parliament, 107 pensioners were sworn in as special constables, which cost L.57, 1s. 6d., while in 1837, when 17 district and parochial constables were employed, it cost L.20, 10s.; and, in 1838, when there was little public excitement, it only cost L.1, 15s.

In 1832, at an annual market held during harvest for hiring shearers on different days, 23 special constables were employed at an expense of L.12s. 15s. 6d. In 1838, at the same market, only five constables were necessary, which cost L.4, 16s. 6d.

In 1832-33, the sum of L.12, 9s. 6d. was paid to extra constables, for removing gypsies and muggers found encamped upon roadsides and other places. In 1834, the sum of 15s. only was necessary for apprehending and conveying a party before a justice of peace. Previous to this period it cost the county from L.6 to L.8 annually for removing these vagrants.

The average amount paid to the police in 1834, including superintendent and his horse, was L.336, 8d. The average of fines and moieties of penalties, imposed by sheriffs and justices (the police not being allowed to receive them) was L.26, 9s. 6d. per year.

The following extracts, chiefly from the burgh records, are a specimen of some of the minor offences of the two last centuries:

1570, July 27th, "The council ordained, that if a vagabond, called *David*, be apprehended within the burgh, that he be taken and presented to the provost and bailies, to be incarcerated at their pleasure."

1697, May 8th.—It was ordained by the council, that beggars found in the burgh should be imprisoned eight days, and fed on bread and water; and afterwards to be sent out of the town by the hangman. If found transgressing again, to be imprisoned fifteen days and scourged.

1722, September 11th.—Great abuses took place, such as insulting and beating people on the streets, and breaking of windows, chiefly occasioned by a tumultuous part of the inhabitants assembling under pretence of visiting one another with music, and drinking healths at the Cross: all which were discharged under a penalty in time coming.

1730, December 14.—Barbers were forbidden to shave or dress wigs on Sundays, under the penalty of L.10 Scots,—the one-half to be given to the informer, and the other half to the poor of the parish. The same to be intimated by tuck of drum.

1738, March 28.—In consequence of damage done to corns in the neighbourhood, and several accidents also occurring thereby, swine were prohibited from going on the streets.

April 15th, six of the most respectable burghesses were appointed as constables of the burgh for the suppression of vice and immorality. Among the items the constables were empowered "to challenge any person within the burgh or liberties thereof that shall be found wearing pistols or daggers,—to apprehend all vagabonds, sturdy beggars and Egyptians, and imprison and punish them according to law,—to search all public houses after ten o'clock, and nine o'clock on the Sundays,—to apprehend all drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, blasphemers," &c.

1763, December 19th.—Riding horses at full speed through the streets, to and from the water, disallowed. The nuisance of swine going on the streets again prohibited. Proprietors to be fined in 6d. sterling, for every individual of the swinish species that should hereafter be found at large.

1761, October 21.—Swine were again banished from the streets; dunghills and carts ordered to be removed; and horses, driven loose, prohibited.

1761, November 17th.—The land-labourers at the West Port, having remonstrated against removing their dunghills, were indulged on certain conditions.

1825, June 19th, the town-council prohibited fowls from being allowed to go at large on the public streets.

*The Juggs.*—1781, December 15, the whole of the town-officers were dismissed for refusing to tie the hands of a woman convicted of theft, and thereafter to walk with her through the streets to the Tron, where she was condemned to stand in the juggs, in terms of a sentence of the magistrates. By this disobedience of the officers the culprit got off without the proper punishment and disgrace. Only one of the officers was reinstated on account of his age.

As a contrast to the above, in 1824, a town-officer was compelled to resign one of his offices for obeying the magistrates. On the 17th May, the bellman and grave-digger having officiated as public executioner, by whipping a man through the town, a riot took place, wherein the sexton was very roughly handled. A petition was afterwards sent in by a few burghesses and the Churchyard Association, praying that the sexton might be dismissed from the office of grave-digger, as "they considered that office should be in the hands of a person of trust and respectability; particularly in the present alarming state of the country, when the unhallowed practice of lifting the dead was so general." The town-council dismissed the petition; as although it was rather an awkward situation for a gravedigger to be placed in, yet he could not disobey his orders as a town-officer. He, however, resigned.

Among the last culprits who stood in the juggs was a servant to David Gourlay, distiller. On the 15th September, 1785, he was indicted at the instance of the procurator fiscal of the sheriff-court, and tried at Haddington, for stealing from his master's cellars various quantities of *agnavila*. On this trial Mr. Buchan Hepburn sat as substitute along with Mr. Law, the sheriff-depute, and gave "a very genteel and short charge to the jury." The pannel having been found guilty, the sheriff passed sentence upon him, that he should be put into the juggs for an hour, upon Friday, September 30th, with a label on his breast, in large letters, "infamous thief of his master's property," and that upon Friday, October 7th, he should be pilloried again in the same manner; to be continued in the Tolbooth of Haddington, till Thursday, 13th October, (being Haddington fair-day) and then to be whipped through the town, and within 48 hours after to depart from the county, and never to return, under the pain of being imprisoned within the tolbooth of Haddington for the space of six months, and again whipped through the town of Haddington the first Friday of each month, and banished again under the like penalty.

A prison-board was established at Haddington in 1841, of which the lord-lieutenant, or his deputy, is chairman and convener; and the sheriff vice-deputy. It is governed by eight directors, with a clerk; and is served by a surgeon and chaplain. James Beattie, is keeper; assisted by a matron and warder.

In ancient times the burghesses performed a species of personal service for defence of the town, called watching and warding. By this arrangement tradesmen were bound, in person, to keep watch alternately during the night, to prevent or suppress occasional disturbances. In the progress of manners this personal attendance became so extremely inconvenient, that the burghesses became convinced that the town would be more effectually protected by a commutation of their services into money for maintaining an organized police: hence arose the city guard in the metropolis, and the town officers in the burghs. In Haddington the tolbooth-head was the selected station where the sentinel trod his weary round. As illustrative of these remarks we observe

In 1532, October 22nd, "the town-council ordained Matho Hunter, to 'waik' on the tolbooth head nightly, and to have vi. pennys ilk night of the common good, at the will of the bailies."

In 1538, September 21st.—"The which day the town-council ordained that the town should see four sufficient men to waik (watch) at the four ports of the town during the day, on the town's expense; and that the bailies shall put four men on the night, of the nychtbouris of the town, as that few gangand about the town be warning of the officers; and ordains the ports to be hung and cled with burdis (boards)."

In 1572-73, February 28th, it was ordained that "a watchman should be feed at the Town's expense, to walk nightly on the Tolbooth-head, and to enter at ix. hours, and to leave at iij. hours in the morning."

In 1578, November 7th, "Nicoll Clark alias Laird of Paddowhall, was conducit and feed to be *lockman*, and to inter the bodies of condemned persons. To have four pounds money of fees in the year, or 20s. quarterly."

It may be well imagined that the Lockman was more indebted to his perquisites than his meagre salary. Accordingly, on the 8th February, 1766, owing to the small quantity of meal brought into the market, it was represented that the Lockman lost a considerable perquisite enjoyed by him and his predecessor, (who were allowed something in the shape of multure, to make a dip, or take a certain quantity from each sack,) the council agreed to allow him the sum of 30s. sterling yearly, by way of compensation, to commence from Candlemas last; providing, however, that should he neglect to perform any part of his duty, the said gift should be withdrawn. This grant to be allowed without prejudice against his drawing his ordinary dues for what meal might still be brought to the market for sale.

The other officers were also in the habit of extorting fees from the inhabitants.—August 7th, 1733, it was represented to the magistrates that the Town-officers or Sergeants were in the practice of demanding alms or presents from the counsellors and other inhabitants; and from gentlemen at their houses in the neighbourhood at the time of the holidays yearly, to the discredit of the town,—upon which the council discharged the officers from levying such contributions in time coming, and, in lieu thereof agree to augment their yearly salary L.4 Scots each, and also to add L.2 Scots to the Town Drummer's salary, on condition that he kept his drum in repair in time coming.

There are at present 4 town-officers—the principal officer is also inspector of weights and measures, and has a salary of L.30 sterling yearly. The other officers have L.5 each, and are allowed to follow other vocations. Some of them also acting as sheriff-officers; and one being letter-carrier, another town-crier, and the last the gravedigger.

The town-drummer, or *swascher*, has been an ancient fixture of the burgh: In 1572, March 9th, Archibald Kyle, treasurer, was ordered "to buy a *swasche* for the town." In 1598, April 14th, "William Strawquhan (Strachan) was feed and conducit *swascher* for the space of one year."

Haddington had also its town-piper from time immemorial; but our limits will not allow us to enter into the history of these grey-plaided and interesting musicians. Among the last was James Livingstone, who, having been deposed for some small misdemeanour, was reponed to his office. (Oct. 5th, 1768,) and ordained to play every morn-at five; and, in the evening, at seven—to have a salary of 40 pounds Scots yearly. Old Livingstone was a favourite with the authorities, and shortly afterwards received a cloak as a gift from the town-council. He was eulogized in some verses by GALL.

"When the grey morn began to keek,  
And 'hoon the town is seen uae reek,  
Jamie wad rise, an' his pipes cleek,  
An' then wi' speed  
He'd rouse the town-fouk frae their sleep,  
But now he's dead!

"O but it was right droll to see,  
At e'en, come east the town the *threc*,"  
Than Jamie wad some Scots tune gi'e,  
Fu' queer indeed;  
He'd hit ye'r taste just to a tee,  
But now he's dead!"

\* When the piper and drummer went through at night, for many years they were attended by a lad a little deranged in mind.

## ANCIENT CRIMES AND SUPERSTITIONS.

The limits of this work only allow us to introduce a few instances of the imaginary crimes and dark superstitions of the seventeenth century, which led to the most revolting scenes, and consigned many a luckless wretch to the faggot. Had the monstrous idea been confined to the vulgar, less surprise might now be excited, when we consider that general education had not then shed its "light from heaven;" but princes and priests, country gentlemen and the judges of the land, swelled the catalogue of those who were arrayed against the accused.

In 1649, the Estates of Parliament granted a commission to the magistrates, ministers, and elders of Haddington, on the recommendation of the Presbytery, for the trial of Agnes Hunter, Margaret Dickson, and Isabel Murray, residing in Painston, on the borders of the parish, who had confessed several points of the crimes of witchcraft, and, if found guilty, "to cause strangle them and burn their bodies to death," and for that purpose hold justice courts one or more.—See *Scots Acts* reign of Charles I. The result before the provincial court is not known.

In 1661, April 3d, the lands of Samuelston were so much infested by the daughters of necromancy, that John Earl of Haddington, to appease his tenants, was under the necessity of presenting a petition to his Majesty's commissioner, for the purpose of getting them tried by a court of judicature. A commission was, accordingly, granted, when four women made confession, and dilated eleven others, men and women. Tradition points out the field in Samuelston where the ill-starr'd wretches were burnt, which went by the name of the Birle Knowe, and which is now ploughed up. Sandie Hunter, alias Hattarick, drove a lucrative trade as a warlock in the same district.\*

In 1677, April 20th, Elizabeth Moodie, a poor hypochondriac servant-woman, in Haddington, was imprisoned as a witch, and as usual made confessions, and accused others. In allusion to which we meet with the following entries in the council records:

"The whilk day, John Sleich, your. being commissioned to consult with my Lord Advocate anent Elizabeth Moodie, imprisoned as a witch, judged it convenient that the prisoner should confess before a fenced court, and to subscribe before two notars and four witnesses, whilk accordingly is done; and she having delated ovr. the councill ordaines them to be apprehended and searched, and refers the way thereof to the magistrates.

"The counsell appoints John Sleich, your. to be their commissioner to go to Edinburgh, with the confessions and delations of the witches, and obtain from the secret councill commissions for trial and assise."

Mr. Sleich, the younger, who figured in these transactions, is characterized in a Latin epitaph, inscribed on his monument in Haddington churchyard, as "being notable for entire honesty and constancy of mind, undaunted and venerable for the very majesty of an august personage; and having left a great affection of himself in the minds of all good men, he removed to his heavenly country, 12 Dec. 1689. of his age 58."

At Haddington, 2d June.—"The whilk day John Sleich, your. having given his report of his going to the secret council for the commissions for the persons suspect of witchcraft; and having given in his account, extending to fourtie-two pounds, nineteen shillings, four pennies (Scots) is allowed.

"The samen day the councill appoints John Sleich, your. yr commissioner to go to Edinburgh, to the secret councill, anent ye report of the justices for the persons suspect of witchcraft..

1677, June 30th —"The whilk day John Sleich, your. commissioner, appointed to go to Edinburgh to the Secret Council, anent the report of the justices for the persons suspect of witchcraft reported, that having spoken with my Lord Advocate and the Clerk of Council, answered that they gave him yr. advise that they could not relieve ym; but that the friends of the person imprisoned might supplicate for their relief as the practice of other places is."

The concluding part of these barbarous proceedings are detailed in a note to *Law's Memorials*, who quotes Lord Fountainhall's MS.

"There is one Margaret Kirkwood (says he,) in Haddington, that hangs hirself; some say she was so strangled by the devill and witches. The same happened on a

\* The particulars of the commission granted for this trial, with a concise History of the Witches of East Lothian, may be found in the notes to the author's poem of the *Lost Drave*.

Sunday, in the afternoon: shee bes a serving woman in the church, called Elizabeth Moedie, who makes some disturbance and noise during the sermon, and numbers of her reach fifty-nine, which was her mistress's age, and then cries, the turne was done, which was found to be the very instant in which her mistress was making away hirself; upon this, being apprehended and examined, shee denied till she was searched and pricked; and after the alledged marques were found upon hir, shee confessed hirself to be a witch, and the particular circumstances of it, as I heard her acknowledge them. The said Margaret Kirkwood who hanged hirself, being wealthie, there were severalls who put in for the gift of her escheat, amongst others, the Toune of Haddington, &c. That miserable bodie, Lissie Mudie, who confessed hirself to be a witch, did also dilate five other women in the town of Haddington, two of them midwives, and a man as guilty of the same villanie; and being confronted with them, I saw her constantly (though some, without any ground, alledged she was hypocondriack) abide at delation, and bind them with particular tokens and circumstances; but they denied all. I did see the man's bodie search't and prick't in two sundrie places, one at the ribs and the other at his shoulder; he seemed to find no pain, but no blood followed, though the pins were the length of one's finger, and one of them was thrust into the head; the marks were bluish, very small, and had no protuberancy above the skin! The pricker\* said there were three sorts of witches' marks; the horn mark, it was very hard,—the brief mark, it was very little,—and the feeling mark, in which they had sense and pain."

This sage judge concludes with this ludicrous observation: "The most part of the creatures that are thus deluded by this grand imposture and enemy of mankind, are of the meanest rank, and are either seduced by malice, poverty, ignorance, or covetness: and its the unspeakable mercy and providence of our good God, that the poor devill has not the command of money (though we say that he is master of all the mines and hid treasures in the earth) else he would debauch the greatest part of the world."—*LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S MSS.*

In "Satan's Invisible World" there is a further account of Elizabeth Moedie, agreeing in most particulars with the preceding.

In 1661, the Baillie of Broughton got a grant of the goods and chattels of women condemned for witchcraft, their effects in this instance thus falling to their judges.

## MURDER.

In 1687, Sir James Stanfield, who held the rank of colonel in the parliamentary army, established a woollen manufactory at New Mills, (now Amisfield,) near Haddington, under the patronage of Cromwell. It is said, that while residing in the neighbourhood, the latter formed the plan of this establishment, in the same manner as he established the manufacture of knitted hose in Aberdeen. The pastoral situation of Lanmermoor very naturally suggested the idea to an enterprising mind. Colonel Stanfield, with great success, continued to carry on the manufacture after the Restoration; and Charles II. not only granted him many privileges, but conferred on him the honour of knighthood. But, alas! his prospects were soon blasted; for he was found murdered, and the suspicion fell on his son, who was a profligate youth. Philip Stanfield was tried and condemned for the murder of his father, and his head was placed on the East Port of Haddington, as nearest to the spot where the unnatural crime of parricide was committed. Lord Fountainhall seems to have had doubts on the perpetration of so horrid an act. There are some very silly things in the indictment; such as Mr. John Bell, minister of Haddington,† heard great noise that night, &c.;—that the mother of Philip had the dead-clothes ready;—that he drank the King's confusion, &c.—which shows that political matter was mixed up with the subject. In the defence it was urged, that the unhappy youth was intoxicated when he drank the King's confusion, with which he linked the Pope's, the Chancellor's, and the Devil's; yet the justices found it treason! It is remarkable that the indiscreet zeal of this period, or shortly after, filled our church records with accounts of session courts held

\* In 1649, John Kincaid was employed as *pricker*, at the examination of some witches in the great hall of Dirleton castle. The same year, in an account given out by Alexander Loudon, factor on the estate of Burncastle, for the burning of Margaret Dunhome, are the following items:

"Item, mair to Jon Kinked for brodding of her vi. lib. Scotts

Item, to ye hangman in Hadingtoun, and fetching of him, thrie dolloves for his pens, is iij. lib. xiiii. sh. Scotts."

† Mr. John Bell, minister of Gladsmuir, wrote a MS. Discourse on Witchcraft, in 1705; in which are not only stories of witchcraft and magic, but *Helps against them*.

on blasphemers. The most singular thing in young Stanfield's trial, and that which had most weight with the jury, was the bleeding of the body on being touched by an unhappy youth. A thing not unlikely to happen on a bruised body being moved.

### FIRERAISING.

In our article, under the head of *County Police*, we alluded to the incendiary fires of 1821-22, the perpetrators of which were never discovered. The first happened on the 15th March 1821, when the stackyard at Rosehall, near Haddington, belonged to Dr. Howden was almost consumed by fire. This was the prelude to a series of fireraising in the early part of 1822, a calamity unknown in our neighbourhood for some hundred years.

On the 25th February, the stackyard belonging to Mr. Davidson, near the north-east port toll, was discovered to be on fire about nine o'clock in the evening; and from the wind blowing in a direction too favourable to the destructive element, little was saved. This was followed in a few weeks by the destruction of Mr. Davidson's barn, in the old flesh-market port,—an attempt on Hawthornbank stables and Letham stackyard, which was timeously prevented;—and, lastly, Yellow Craigs cottages, which were burnt to the ground,—the inmates driven almost naked to seek shelter in the fields,—and what rendered this circumstance more systematic and diabolical, the only well near the cottages was choked up with whins.

Although a reward of five hundred guineas was offered by the county, and his Majesty's pardon to informers, the incendiaries were never discovered. Four accidental fires also occurred during the same period in the burgh; viz. a carrier's stable, at Podrate mill; a brewer's malt kiln, and a dwelling-house.

### SMUGGLING.

About sixty years ago, smuggling was carried on to a considerable extent on the sea-coast of the county, and many a keg of "Hollands" and French brandy were deposited in the rocky recesses of the Cove shore and the Bass rock. In fact no crime was more lightly esteemed than cheating the *gauger*, which as a matter of course led to deeds of a darker die. The suppression of this traffic it appears engaged the attention of the authorities at an early period:

In August 1744, the magistrates and council of Haddington having observed with great satisfaction the spirit that universally prevailed over the kingdom to suppress the pernicious practice of smuggling, as fatal to the true interests of the country, and to encourage the consumpt of their own home-made malt liquors and spirits in place of French brandy, came to a resolution to discourage to the utmost of their power, all manner of smuggling whatsoever.

Resolutions similar to those of the council of Haddington had been adopted by the various corporations, societies, and private clubs throughout Scotland. Acting up to this spirit the heritors of the shire of Haddington met on the 1st May, and subscribed resolutions to the following effect, in which not only liquors, but the spinster's favourite beverage was interdicted: "That an expensive and luxurious way of living had shamefully crept in (observed they) upon all ranks of people, who neglecting the good and wholesome produce of their own country, had got into the habit of an immoderate use of French wines and spirits in public houses and private families, which liquors were in a great part clandestinely imported, and smuggled through the country, in defiance of the revenue; as also that the drinking of tea, and especially among the people of lower rank, had arrived to such an extravagant excess, that during the war with France they should not drink French wine in any public house, &c., or use any way in their private houses, brandy or French spirits; and that they should moderate or discourage the drinking of tea in their families."

"When beef and ale on the board were spread,  
Our men were stout, and our women bred;  
And glorious old Bess would have laugh'd with me,  
At the sight of an Englishman sipping tea."

\* Tea was then retailed at 10s. per pound.

## ACCIDENTAL FIRES.

In 1593 the town of Haddington and other burghs were nearly consumed by fire. The calamity is thus alluded to in the town's records: "On the 23d May the town-council thought good that the Provost and Mr. James Carmichael, should travel with the King's Majesty and council, the burghs, and other noblemen, for support, to repairing of the burghs presently and destroyed upon the 18th of May instant. Thomas Spottiswood and Paul Lyle to ride with the Provost and Ministers' first voyage." This conflagration tradition affirms to have been occasioned by the carelessness of a maid-servant in leaving clothes to dry at the fire; but as other towns were burnt in the same night, it more likely arose from the emissaries of the enemy. Since that period the curfew or town-crier perambulates the streets about eight o'clock in the evening during the winter season; and, after tolling a bell, repeats the following rhymes:

"A' gude men-servants where'er ye be,  
 Keep coal and can'le for charitie,  
 In bakehouse, brewhouse, barn and byres,  
 Its for your sakes keep weel your fires;  
 Baith in your kitchen and your ha',  
 Keep weel your fires whate'er befa';  
 For often times, a little spark  
 Brings mony hands to meikle wark;  
 Ye nourices that hae bairns to keep,  
 Take care ye fa' na o'er sound asleep,  
 For losing o' your gude renown,  
 And banishing o' this Burrow's town.  
 Its for your sakes that I do cry,  
 Take warning by your neighbours by."

John Johnston, the celebrated scholar, alludes to this calamity in some Latin verses:

"Planities prætensa jacet prope flumina Tins,  
 Fluminis Arguti clauditar ista sinu.  
 Vulcani et Martis, quæ passa incendia fati  
 Ingemit alterno vulnere fracta vices."

*Translation.*—"A plain, spreading near the stream of Tyne, encircled by the winding of the shrill-sounding river, having suffered from the violence of Vulcan and Mars, and been severely harassed by these alternate ravages, bewails the vicissitudes of Fate."

The following entry in the council record, shows the success of the minister and provosts' mission. December 8.—"The collection which was given by the city of Edinburgh, to those who had their houses and geir burnt within the burgh in May last, was ordered for distribution."

*Gunpowder accident.*—A fatal accident, arising from an explosion of gunpowder, happened at Haddington, on the 22nd December, 1773. About five o'clock in the afternoon, as a young man, apprentice to Messrs. Brown & Crombie, merchants, was engaged about the business of the shop, with a lighted candle in his hand, a spark from it unluckily fell into a cask where some gunpowder was kept, which instantly blew up, and killed the lad on the spot. A servant-maid, who happened to be near him, was so much scorched, that her life was for some time despaired of. On the first notice of the accident, the water engine was immediately set to work, and every assistance given by the provost and magistrates, and a party of the military, which were quartered in the town, to save the goods in the shop and the building; but notwithstanding all their efforts, the house was much damaged, and many of the goods destroyed.

This house, besides the shop, which was long occupied by the late Mr. John Crombie, ironmonger, contained also the trades'-hall. It belonged to the incorporation of wrights and masons, and stands next to the George Inn at the foot of the high-street. The Sunfire-office, with whom the house was insured, shewed great liberality on the occasion; for although the building was not entered as hazardous, yet as it belonged to a charity fund, the company voluntarily agreed to put it in the same condition as it was before the accident happened, which drew forth a letter of thanks from that (at that time) numerous incorporation.



## CHAPTER V.

“ How bonny spreads the Haugh sae green,  
 Near yonder haly ruins seen !  
 The Briery Bank how sweet at e'en,  
 Wi' music's sound,  
 Whare weel the wandering e'e may glean  
 Hk landscape round.”—GALL'S *Address to Haddington*.

HADDINGTON—ITS ANCIENT AND MODERN STREETS—PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND IMPROVEMENTS.—THE TOWN-HOUSE—THE ASSEMBLY-ROOM.—THE COUNTY BUILDINGS.—PUBLIC MONUMENTS.—EMINENT MEN.

THE town of Haddington is situated at the foot of the Garleton range of hills on the north, and is bounded by the Tyne on the east and south, which divides it from the suburb of Nungate.\* The town consists of six streets. The entrance from the west is by court-street, which leads into two parallel streets, called the high-street and market-street. These are intersected at right angles by the sidegate and long-causeway, and on the left by herdgate-street, which leads to the north-east port and the London road. The other, which bears the significant name of church-street, leads to the public schools, the Nungate, and the parish church.† The streets are well kept, and have in general

\* There is a view of the town of Haddington in *Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae*. In 1673, July 19th, ten merks were given to the Lord Lyon for martulating the Town's arms. The armorial bearing consists simply of a goat, on a plain shield. A plan of the town was drawn from a survey of John Wood, Edinburgh, and published in 1819.

† The streets of Haddington were not materially improved till 1814, under the direction of Mr. James Burn, to whom the thanks of the council were voted (7th Oct.) “ for the particular attention he had paid to the repairs and alterations on the public streets.” The streets at this time were considerably raised at the foot of the high-street, and large drains, common sewers, and cess-pools laid down. Previous to this period it was a regular occurrence to see the custom-stone flooded on a heavy fall of rain, particularly a thunder shower. On one occasion it was necessary at a funeral, to put the coffin into a cart, while the people went round by the King's arms inn garden, and met it at the head of Tyne close.

In 1765, August 13th, from the imperfect state of the streets, several *small bridges* at the Custom-stone, foot of the High-street, were ordered to be removed.

In 1766, the streets were so deplorably bad, that part of them, from Mr. Caddell's tenement near the Tolbooth to the Westport, required to be renewed from side to side, considerably lowered in the middle, and a paved canal or drain made on each side to carry off the stagnant water. The street from the North East Port to the South Port was reckoned dangerous to travellers on horseback, by reason of its height in the middle!

the advantages of a side pavement,\* and are lighted with gas.† The houses are chiefly from three to four stories in height, and have a modern and regular appearance; many of the shops in the principal streets being equal to those in the metropolis. The

In 1766, June 10th, the South Port, owing to its ruinous condition, was removed, and the passage or entry made the full breadth of the street. The stones were to be used in making two new cells for the prisons. Previous to this decree, the North-east Port had also been removed as an obstruction, and the bridge there widened and repaired; the town coming under this obligation, on the provision that the county built a bridge over Laurence-house burn, where there was a ford.

It was not till 1768 that outside stairs began to be removed as obstructions.

We meet with the following notices of ancient streets, which have in general merged into the others. The Sydgate and Middleraw still exist in name.

More than four hundred years ago, A. D. 1429, heritable sising was granted to John Patonson, cordwainer, "in feirme of a tenement lyand in the *Sydgate* on the *Kyngis Wall*." And, in 1440, a tenement of land is noticed as "lyand in the burgh of Hadyngton in the *Meditraue*."

1542-43, February 15th, the bailies, at my Lord Bothwell's request, ordained the Fish Market to stand at the *Friar-wall*.

1568, April 4th, a common gait, called *Lydgait*, is noticed "as lying betwixt the common lone passing from the town of Haddington to Aberlady, and the east lone, called the *Borny Lone*, as being alluterlie teit done and destroyed by the possessors," &c.—In 1601, April 24th, the *Lydgait* is noticed as lying on the north side of the town, betwixt *Harnnesfald* and the *Bullie* passing fra the zairdis heidis."

1568-69, March 22nd, Thomas Myllar, in presence of the provost, bailies, and council, obliged himself, to glaze the fore window of the hall of *St. James's Place* with glass, at his expense, "in respect that he was licensiate to theik his house, and therewith has condemned the maist part of the south window of the said hall."

1572-73, February 28th, it was ordained that "a yett should be bigged in the *Friar Gavel*." Item, "ordained the Salt Market and Shoe Market to be used langis (alongst) the *Friar Wall*, from Packwood-house north—the ground to be rede betwixt that and Pasche next."

1674, February.—Whinstacks stood close by the town-hall. 1682, July 22nd, they were discharged from being kept on the streets, under the penalty of L.20 Scots. The north part of the town, leading from the wynd head at the tolbooth, was called the *New-town*.

In 1747, March 26th, Bailie Forrest was fined for encroaching on the street at the back of the *Smiddy-raw*. In 1762, May 31st, the street, from the Westport eastward, (now Court-street) was planted with trees on both sides. Anciently called *Tibbie's dale*.

In 1784, March 4th, we meet with a further notice of some old streets: Richard Purves's tenement is noticed as lying on the west side, near the bottom of *St. John's* or *Queen's-Street*, of the burgh, bounded on the south by the rivulet called *Lothburn*, which, crossing this street, under a conduit, joins *Myldsburn*, a little eastward. This street, with the ancient *Sydgate*, seems to have merged into the *Long-causeway*.—The good taste that named *St. Ann's place*, shows where the *Ladye's chapel* stood. There were also streets of a less dignified appellation. 1764, October 24th, *William Thomson's* ruinous house in *Strumpet Street*, was ordered to be rebuilt.

In 1792, September 11th, Painted boards were placed at the corner of the streets to point the way to strangers. The Cross, Tron, and lamp posts, were ordered to be painted. The names of the streets, on the public corners, were not painted till 1839.

\* In 1826 this immense improvement was made in the comfort of the streets, partly by private subscriptions. On the 11th November, the town subscribed L.50 for this purpose; and, in January 1827, 150 yards of street, extending from the Westport to the Town-house was Macadamised by way of experiment.

1675, July 31st, the causeway was laid at the rate of 4 merks per rood. L.12, 13s. 4d. was paid for stones and sand leading.

In 1783, March 26th, a committee appointed to consider a plan and level for laying and paving the principal high-street.

† Haddington was lighted with gas for the first time in 1836. The work was erected upon a piece of ground, purchased from the town, being part of a park called *Peghdale-loan*, for which the company paid L.50. A contract was entered into with *Shots Iron Company* for the pipes and machinery; *Mr. James Dorward* for the building; and *Mr. Francis Farquharson* for the wright work. The company was formed in December 1834, with a capital of L.2000, divided into shares, which were bought with avidity.

It does not appear that the streets were lighted till 1749, when, on the 14th Septem-

approaches to the town from the west and east are beautified by elegant villas, luxuriant gardens, and extensive nurseries.

#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

*Town House.*—The original part of this building, which faces market-street, was built from a plan of William Adam, the celebrated architect, in 1748. It appears matter of surprise to the moderns how such a small edifice could accommodate the sheriff's court, town-council, and besides afford cells for the prisoners. but we find, at an early date, when the Tolbooth was occasionally filled with new levies of soldiers, that the judicial courts were in the habit of meeting in the spacious dining-room of Provost Lauder; and when every petty baron had his own lock-up house and the jugs at his village cross, less accommodation was required in the burghs for criminals. At that time also the turkey's habitation was not within the precincts of the jail. The building of the assembly-room, about forty years afterwards, served in some degree to remedy that want of accommodation which began to be felt. Accordingly, on the 21st March, 1825, it was thought requisite by the council, that from the deficiency of the town-clock a new one should be procured, and an improved steeple built;\* and, on the 5th April, it was further agreed, that

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ber, the council authorized oil for the street lamps to be provided out of the money arising from the dung of the streets. In 1791, December 7th, the council appointed the lamps to be lighted on Sundays, as well as upon other nights.

\* The first notice we have of a clock being placed in the tolbooth was in the sixteenth century, when, previous to this period, it appears that this edifice was thatched.

1639, November 14.—“The which day the council think it expedient to complete the knok (clock) house, and the slating of the tolbooth this year; and the laif (rest) to be left while they be farther advised.” 1640, October 12.—“The council ordained the treasurer to make diligens to set up the knok or Candlemass.” 1666, June 9.—“The council ordained the treasurer to beit and mend all the faltis of the tolbooth.”

1687, April 7.—John Elliot, surgeon-apothecary, deposited 800 merks for buying a clock for the use of the burgh, to be set up in the tolbooth. It cost L. 25. The monument of John Elliot, chirurgeon, may still be seen about the north centre of the churchyard.

1732, October 4.—Owing to the ruinous condition of the tolbooth, the meetings of the council were held in the town-library; and, on the 17th of the same month, the steeple, town clock, and great bell, were ordered to be taken down as a measure of safety. Nothing can mark the poverty of the burgh more at this time than these extracts, for about ten years elapsed, till, on the 9th November 1741, subscriptions were solicited for a new tolbooth, when the town contributed L.100 sterling. It was contracted for, (June 10th, 1742,) by Robert Reid, mason, and George Pierie, wright, at an estimate of L.500 sterling; and to be 60 feet in length, and 36 in breadth, conform to the elevation of Mr. William Adam, architect.—To be finished by Whitsunday 1744. John Learmouth, painter, received five guineas as the price of the ground on which the new town-house was to be built. The subscriptions not being made effectual the town borrowed L.100 more to give to the contractors.

1745, June 10th.—The council agreed that a new clock should be provided for the town-house, to cost L.30 sterling. This clock was made by Roger Parkinson, Edinburgh. It required winding up every 24 hours, which was performed by the bellman.

The present excellent clock, with chime quarters, which goes eight days, was made by the celebrated Mr. James Clark, Edinburgh, and cost, with the fitting up in the new steeple, about L.300. The clock still strikes on the finè old bell.

the jail should be heightened on the south side. The frequent escape of prisoners,\* no doubt coupled with the strictures of the philanthropic Mrs. Fry and Mr. Gurney,† had convinced the council of the necessity of rendering the prison both more secure and more comfortable. A contract was, therefore, entered into with Messrs. Alexander Wilson and Peter Dickson, both of Haddington, for erecting that handsome structure, which now forms the south side of the town-house; and besides three cells in the under story, contains in the second a spacious town-hall. This room is decorated with a portrait of Frederick, prince of Wales, which hung in the former hall, in the robes of a knight of the garter. In addition to the new building the foundation-stone of the new spire was laid in June 1830, and finished in September 1831. This spire is 150 feet in height, from a plan by Mr. Gillespie Grahame, Edinburgh.‡

*Assembly Room.*—In 1774, it having become desirable that an assembly-room should be built in Haddington, for the use of the county gentlemen, the Hon. Mr. Charteris applied to the magistrates for a piece of ground for the purpose, when it was at first intended that the house should be built at the Little Sands, and should measure 70 feet in length from south to north, by 30 broad. It was afterwards agreed that the waste ground at the town-house, where the bear and oat markets were held, should be feued for this object, “provided the said room was built on pillars, in order that the markets might still be held there.”

The assembly-room, however, was not built till about fourteen years afterwards; for, on the 1st November, 1788, the town of

\* In 1783, May 3d, through the inefficiency of the jail, a prisoner effected his escape by breaking through the partition betwixt the Sheriff-court and adjoining rooms. This called the attention of the council to make the upper parts of the prison more secure.—The town continued to be led into much trouble and expense through the same cause. In 1799, October 28th, David Smeaton, formerly farmer in Overfield, having broke prison, a summons was executed against the magistrates, as representing the town, for payment of a debt due by the prisoner to Robert Brydon of Redfordgreen; and, in 1800, January 20th, the town paid Mr. Diddie, messenger, L.11, 14s. 6d. for expense in vainly endeavouring to apprehend Smeaton. To conclude this affair, on the 24th October, a summons was also raised by Robert Hay, Esq. of Drummeiszier, against the magistrates, for a debt due him by Smeaton. The council recommended the town's agent to settle the business, which was referred by arbitration to the Lord Advocate and Mr. Brown of Coalton. This Smeaton was a desperate character; being in the habit of cutting the throats of the sheep or cattle of his neighbours at whom he took umbrage.

† Joseph John Gurney, the philanthropic quaker, visited the jail in 1819.

‡ In July 1843, the huge gilt vane of the town-house spire had got immoveably fixed, and ceased to perform its duties as a weathercock. A sailor-boy, accidently passing through the burgh, undertook the hazardous experiment of remedying this defect, which might have been attended with dangerous consequences to our slaters, which he accomplished by means of a rope-ladder.

Haddington subscribed 25 guineas towards the building of the new assembly-room, which was then in progress, on the condition that an additional prison-room should be built, and the ground flat be reserved entire for markets. The latter plan however, on the recommendation of Mr. Wilkie of Gilchriston, was abandoned, and a new sheriff-court room, and chambers for the public records, were erected below the assembly room.

The assembly-room is spacious and elegant, being about 60 feet long, by 30 in width. It is decorated with a full length portrait of Sir James Gardiner Baird of Saughtonhall, Bart., in the costume of commandant of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry, mounted on his charger, at a review on Tyne sands, with the Bass in the back ground, painted by John Syme, S.A. Edinburgh, 1827.

*The County Buildings.*—Notwithstanding the additions that had been made from time to time in the edifices we have described, the public courts were found inconveniently adapted for conducting business, and the place appropriated for the custody of the judicial records unfit for that purpose. It was, therefore, resolved, in 1831, to erect a new court-house to remedy these defects, and to obtain an act of parliament to assess the county for the expense. An act was accordingly obtained on the 6th June 1832, empowering commissioners to assess the shire in a sum not exceeding L.5250, on lands according to their valued rent, and on inhabited houses, at a rate not above 3d. in the pound of the assessment for the house tax; and to purchase eligible properties in the burgh of Haddington, near the West Port, for a site to the building. This object being accomplished, the plan and elevation were designed by Mr. William Burn, architect, Edinburgh, who subsequently drew the working plans.\*

The foundation-stone was laid, with masonic honours, on the 27th May, 1833, by Sir John Gordon Sinclair of Stevenston, Bart., in presence of all the beauty and fashion of the neighbourhood.

The building is in the anglo-gothic style. The front is of polished stone, partly from Culello quarry in Fife, and Jerusalem quarry, near Haddington. On the ground story is the justice-

\* The site chosen was that of the remains of one of the oldest buildings in the burgh, which appeared to have been of considerable extent, and to which tradition assigned the importance of a palace. The ruins removed consisted of a vault, and part of an arched passage communicating with it. The pillars of the arches were of the Saxon order. In the foundation-stone of the new buildings is deposited a bottle, hermetically sealed, containing several current coins of the realm, printed extracts of the proceedings of the county in reference to the erection of the building, a copy of the Act of Parliament, and Miller's East Lothian Register.

of-peace court room, 36 feet by 25; the justice-of-peace clerk's office and record room, with the housekeeper's rooms, besides three secure lock-up rooms, and officers' waiting room. An elegant staircase leads from the principal entrance to the second or upper story, to which there is also access on the east side by a staircase. In the west front are the sheriff's room and pre-cognition office; and, in the east end, the sheriff-clerk's office, with sheriff-clerk's room, and two record rooms attached. Behind these is the sheriff-court, 36 feet by 25, with a recess for the bench, 4½ feet by 15, and relative jury and witness rooms. The area of the court is seated like an amphitheatre with rows of seats above others.

The Marquis of Tweeddale, lord-lieutenant; Sir John Gordon Sinclair, Bart.; Sir David Kinloch, Bart.; David Anderson, Esq. of St Germain's, James Hamilton Esq. of Bangour, and Robert Riddell, Esq. sheriff-substitute, were the committee constituted to superintend the erection of the edifice.

The building was contracted for by Messrs. Balsillie, and cost upwards of L.3000. The value of the properties retained for the site, as ascertained by a jury, was L.960.

#### PUBLIC MONUMENTS.

There are two public monuments in the parish of Haddington, erected to the memory of personages distinguished for their public virtues and generosity. The first is dedicated to John fourth Earl of Hopetoun, to whom the gratitude of his tenantry has erected a monument on Byres-hill, in East Lothian, which forms a prominent object from several points of the surrounding counties.

This monument is built in the form of a spiral tower, with an ascent of 132 steps. The foundation stone was laid, with masonic honours, on the 3d May 1824, by Thomas Howden, Esq. surgeon, right worshipful master of the St. John's Haddington Kilwinning lodge. The procession, preceded by a cavalry band, which had come from Piershill for the purpose, marched northward by the Garleton hills, and returned by the Aberlady road. The following is the monumental inscription:

THIS  
MONUMENT  
WAS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
THE GREAT AND THE GOOD  
JOHN, FOURTH EARL OF HOPETOUN,  
BY  
HIS AFFECTIONATE AND GRATEFUL TENANTRY  
IN  
EAST LOTHIAN.  
MDCCCXXIV.

The Hon. John Hope of Rankellour, was sixth son of John, second Earl of Hopetoun. He was born at Hopetoun House, 17th August, 1765, completed his education by foreign travel, in which he was attended by Dr. Gillies, afterwards his Majesty's historiographer, and entered the army in 1784. He began his active services under Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and served latterly in the peninsula. At the battle of Corunna, the command devolved on Lieutenant-General Hope, as we have already narrated. He succeeded John, third Earl of Hopetoun, and died at Paris in 1834.

### MONUMENT TO ROBERT FERGUSON, ESQ.

This memorial has been erected at Haddington, chiefly by the tenantry of East Lothian, in memory of Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Raith, and was finished and opened to public view, on Friday the 2nd of June, 1843.

The monument consists of a fluted column of Grecian Doric architecture, formed of Craig Leith stone, and is surmounted by a colossal statue of Mr. Ferguson, sculptured from a single block of granite, or blue whinstone, taken from the quarry at North Queensferry, belonging to Robert Scott Moncrieff, Esq. chamberlain to the Duke of Buccleuch. The column which is placed upon a square base, raised upon a circular mound, is ornamented at the bottom by four allegorical figures, in alto-relievo, representing Justice, Geology, Art, and Agriculture, as emblematic of the ruling studies of the deceased. The following inscription, on the base of the monument, briefly records the virtues of this accomplished gentleman :

In Memory of  
**ROBERT FERGUSON OF RAITH, M.P.,**  
 LORD-LIEUTENANT OF FIFE, F.R.S.L., F.R.S.E. &c. &c.  
 A KIND LANDLORD,  
 A LIBERAL DISPENSER OF WEALTH,  
 A GENEROUS PATRON OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART :  
 AN ENLIGHTENED SUPPORTER OF THE INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY,  
*This Monument is erected*  
 BY THE TENANTRY OF EAST LOTHIAN,  
 AND MANY FRIENDS OF ALL CLASSES, WHO UNITED IN  
 ADMIRING HIS PUBLIC VIRTUES;  
 AND TO WHOM HE WAS ENDEARED BY EVERY QUALITY THAT FLOWS FROM  
 GOODNESS OF HEART.  
 A. D. MDCCCXLIII.

The monument, including the statue, is 45 feet in height above the mound. The whole has been designed and executed by Mr. Forrest, Edinburgh, the Calton-hill sculptor, and is highly creditable to his talents. The likeness, particularly the profile, is strikingly correct. The monument is placed at the entrance to Haddington from the west. The statue fronts the town. It is believed this is the first attempt in this country to use our native whinstone in sculpture, and it has been eminently successful. In a short time the weather will give the statue all the external appearance of bronze; for which material it may afterwards be found a substitute. This splendid memorial cost about L.650. It is intended to surround it with a cast-iron railing,

Mr. Ferguson was the eldest son of William Ferguson, Esq. of Raith, in the county of Fife. After passing as an advocate at the Scottish bar in 1791, he made the tour of Europe, and spent several years in the continental states, where he enjoyed the society not only of men of the highest rank in Italy, France, Germany, and Switzerland, but also of the most celebrated literary characters of that period. While at Paris he became a member of the Institute of France; and afterwards of the Royal Society, and of the Geological Society of London, and other scientific associations, of which he was occasionally president. Mr. Ferguson died at his house, Portman square, London, on the 3d December, 1840, in the 73d year of his age

## EMINENT MEN.

**ALEXANDER II.** was born in the palace of Haddington in 1198. The most distinguished families, however, who have either been born or resided in this parish, were the Maitlands of Lethington and the Browns of Coalstoun. The former as eminent statesmen and literary characters, and the latter as lawyers, of whom was the celebrated judge Lord Coalstoun.

**SIR RICHARD MAITLAND** of Lethington, who was born in 1496, and died in 1586, aged 90 years, was a man of distinguished merit and abilities. He was many years a Lord of Session and Lord Privy-Seal. James VI., in one of his letters, published by Sir David Dalrymple, states that Sir Richard "had served his grandsire, goodsire, good-dame, mother, and himself, in many public charges, whereof he dutifully acquitted himself." As James IV., the king's great-grandfather fell at Flodden, Sir Richard must have been employed in public offices about 70 years. He and his lady died on the same day.

**WILLIAM MAITLAND**, younger of Lethington, the eldest son of Sir Richard, was secretary of state during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots. The character and fate of this accomplished statesman have already come under our notice. All his brothers were men of uncommon merit and talents; and reflect a lustre on the place of their nativity.

**JOHN MAITLAND**, next brother of the secretary, rose to the highest offices and honours in the state. He was advanced to the dignity of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, which he held till his death on the 3d October 1595. Such was the precocity of his talents, that he held the office of Lord Privy Seal when only 22 years of age. He is eulogised by Spottiswood as "a man of rare parts, deep wit, learned, and full of courage, and most faithful to his king." Robert Johnston, the Latin poet, accuses him of having instigated Huntly to the murder of the Earl of Moray; but had such been the case, the famous Andrew Melville would have been the last man to have celebrated him as he does in the *Delitiae Pectarum Scotorum*, (tom. ii.) His superb and costly monument, in the family aisle, at Haddington, has been already noticed.

**THOMAS MAITLAND**, the youngest brother of the secretary, was highly accomplished as a scholar and gentleman. He is one of the Colloquators in Buchanan's celebrated dialogue *De jure regni apud Scotos*. Some of his Latin poems, published by Scotstarvet, in his *Del. Poet. Scot.*, are extremely elegant, particularly one in praise of Lethington, the place of his nativity, on his return home after many years absence.

**JOHN, first EARL OF LAUDERDALE**, son and heir of the Chancellor, was a nobleman of the greatest worth. He is celebrated by Dr. Arthur Johnston.

**JOHN, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE**, eldest son and heir of the preceding, was born at Lethington, on the 26th May, 1616. His merits and rapaciousness, which are familiar to the readers of Scottish history, have already been detailed.

**RICHARD**, fourth **EARL OF LAUDERDALE**, wrote a translation of Virgil.

**JOHN KNOX**, the celebrated reformer, was born in 1505, of honest parentage. He received the rudiments of learning in the grammar-school of Haddington, and afterwards studied divinity under John Major (also a native of the county,) at St. Andrews, where he completed his education, after which he engaged as a tutor in the family of Douglas of Longniddry. The energy of his character, and his zeal in the cause of the presbyterian church, are too familiar to every Scotsman to require any comment on this subject. He died at Edinburgh in 1572, in the 67th year of his age.

It has been generally imagined that Haddington was the birthplace of the Reformer, in consequence of a family of the name of Knox, residing more than a century ago in a spot in the Nungate called the *Giffordgate*; but it is not evident that this family, even although they had been his relatives, dwelt in this place till twenty-six years after his death.



On the 18th February, 1598, William Knox in Morehame, and Elizabeth Schertz, his wife, were infeft in subjects in Nungate of Haddington, in virtue of a crown charter. This charter (now in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss) contains no statement of the warrants on which it proceeded farther than that the lands formerly belonged to the abbacy of Haddington, and were annexed to the crown.—See *M'Cair's Life of Knox*. There is a great probability that Knox was either born on the lands of Morham, or the contiguous ones of Gifford. In a conversation with the Earl of Bothwell, (when pleading for some favour) Knox gives the following account of his ancestors. "My lord (says he) my great grandfather, gudeschir, and father, have served your lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards; and this is a part of the obligation of our Scottish kindness." Mainsbill, and the eastern part of Morham parish, belonged at the time Knox flourished to the Earls of Bothwell.

Beza, who was contemporary, and personally acquainted with the reformer, styles him "Joannes Cnoxus, Scotus, Giffordienis," evidently meaning that he was a native of the town of Gifford. Spotswood, who was born seven years before Knox's death and who could gain information from his contemporaries, says that "he was born in Gifford, within Lothian;" and David Buchanan, in the memoir prefixed to the edition of "Knox's Historie," in 1677, gives the same account. In a Genealogical account of the Knoxes, in possession of the family of Mr. James Knox, minister of Scoon, it is said that the reformer's father was a brother of the family of Ranferlie, and "proprietor of the estate of Gifford," which, although a palpable mistake, shews at least that he was connected with that district. We are told, on the other hand, by the advocates of awarding the honour of his birth to Haddington, that Gifford, as a village, is of modern erection; but the same rule does not apply to the old term of *Giffordha*. If it is necessary, however, that Knox should have been born at a Gifford-gate, on turning to the Peerage the reader will find one in the neighbourhood of Duncanlaw, which has escaped the notice of other writers on this subject. "Sir David Hay of Yester was served heir of his brother Thomas, (6th April 1434,) and had a charter of Yester, Morham, Duncanlaw, and *Giffardgate*, in exchange for the barony of Teyling, in Forfarshire, from Robert Boyd, Kilmarnock, 10th January, 1451-2." From all these circumstances we are led to believe that Knox was born on the lands of *Gifford*, wherever the hamlet might be situated.

SIR PETER LAURIE, Knight, who some years ago was Lord Mayor of London, and is still distinguished as an active justice-of-peace in the courts of the metropolis, was born in the small farm-house of Sandersdean, on the estate of Coalston, where his father was tenant. Sir Peter was bred a saddler; and it is believed that some favourable government contract paved the way to his fortune. He early evinced considerable oratorical powers, with a talent for public business.

RICHARD GALL, a promising Scots poet, was born at Linkhouse, near Dunbar, in 1776, but received his education at the schools of Haddington, whither he had come at the early age of five years; and for which, in several of his poems, he breathes the warmest attachment. He was engaged at the early age of eleven as apprentice to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder, and who was shortly afterwards employed at the building of Gosford-house. Gall, however, relinquished this business for that of a printer in the office of the Edinburgh Evening Courant, where he was afterwards employed as travelling-clerk. Gall enjoyed the friendship of Burns, Macneill, Campbell, and other eminent Scotsmen; but he died before his promising genius was fully ripened, in 1801, in the 25th year of his age.

#### LIBRARIES.

*Town of Haddington's Library.*—This valuable library was established by Mr. John Gray, episcopal minister of Aberlady, about the year 1717. As a mark of regard for the place of his nativity, he left the whole of his private library for the use of the community, together with 3000 merks Scots, the interest of which was to be devoted to charitable purposes, under the management of the magistrates and town-clerk. Of this sum 25 merks Scots was set apart for the support of the library. In 1807 the town-council voted a further allowance of L.2, 10s. annually for the same purpose, when several additions were made; and, in 1828, the library was re-arranged and new catalogued by James Miller, and many valuable works added. The library (1845) consists of 1736 vols.

In 1738, April 18th, Hugh Bennet was allowed L.1, 1s. sterling, for cutting and setting up the Town's press on the library. A remarkable circumstance lately occurred in regard to one of the books which were among when the new catalogue was made. The "*Westminster Hebrew Grammar*," (Lond. edit. 1736,) was returned to the librarian, under a post-office cover, after more than fifteen years absence.

*Presbytery Library.*—This library, which was the gift of a society of pious persons in London more than a century ago, is kept in an apartment of the parish church.—There is also a *Parish Library* established from the funds of the late Mr. Andrew Begbie, farmer in Barnymains; and a branch of the *East Lothian Itinerating Libraries*, instituted in 1817, by the late Mr. Samuel Brown.

There is an excellent *Subscription Library*, which contains upwards of 1000 volumes of miscellaneous literature.

## CHAPTER VI.

“ Commerce brought into the public walk  
 The busy merchant; the big warehouse built;  
 Raised the strong crane, and choak'd the loaded street.”

THOMSON.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—MARKETS—THE WOOLLEN TRADE—  
 BANKING.—PRINTING.—DISTILLERIES.—REVENUE OF THE  
 BURGH.—PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS—LIBRARIES—SOCIETIES.  
 —CLUBS.—LODGES.—MUTUAL RELIEF ESTABLISHMENTS.—  
 AGRICULTURE—GENTLEMEN'S RESIDENCES.—POPULATION.

SITUATED in a rich agricultural district, Haddington has been reckoned amongst the greatest markets in Scotland for all kinds of grain. It is held on Friday, when the crowd and bustle of that day form a striking contrast to the monotony of the rest of the week. The prices are not only published in the newspapers for the guide of other counties; but the method of striking the fiars, which was introduced by Mr. Sheriff Law, has been held in such repute, as to be referred to by high judicial authorities in settling disputes. The modern traffic of Haddington, consequently, depends chiefly on its corn market.

In early times tanning seems to have been a trade of great importance in the burgh; for, in 1296, Alexander le Barker, the provost, swore fealty to the king. About the end of the seventeenth, and during the last century, the manufacture of woollen was entered into by many speculators with indifferent success.\*

\* During the protectorate of Cromwell, an English company, of which one Colonel Stanfield was the principal person, expended a considerable sum of money in establishing a manufactory of fine woollen cloths. For this purpose they purchased some lands formerly belonging to the monastery of Haddington, erected fulling mills, dying houses, &c. and called the name of the place New Mills. After the restoration, several Scots acts of parliament were made for the encouragement of this company; and Colonel Stanfield had the honour of knighthood conferred on him. Sir James Stanfield, as we have narrated, was found barbarously murdered. After his death the manufactory declined, and the affairs of the company going into disorder, Colonel Charteris purchased their lands and houses, and changed the name of it from Newmills to Amisfield.

Under the auspices of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, (one of the senators of the college of justice), a company was established at Haddington in 1760, for carrying on the woollen manufactory; but the trade proving unsuccessful, the company was dissolved and a new one formed, consisting in part of the former members, by whom it was continued on a smaller scale. This company was also dissolved in 1775, and the business was then carried on by Mr. Sawers, clerk to the former company. By him broad cloths, flannels, and particularly blankets, were manufactured, which last were esteemed equal in quality to those of Witney, in Oxfordshire. On the death of Mr. Sawers in 1787, the house and utensils were purchased by Mr. William Wilkie, by whom a manufactory of coarse woollens was begun. Many weavers in the Nungate also carried on a similar manufacture; but they soon diminished.

In 1815-16 an extensive distillery was erected in the West-mill Haugh, which promised to be of great benefit to the burgh; but, unhappily, from commercial difficulties, this work was suspended about fourteen years after its erection.\* The immediate trade of the burgh now consists chiefly in the exportation of wool and in the tanning and currying of leather,—in the manufacture of agricultural implements and furnishing-ironmongery,—in the preparing bone and rape cake for manure, and the sale of seeds. There are also two extensive breweries in the town,—a coach-work in the neighbourhood, and an iron-forge at Rosehall. There is also a distillery for whisky in the Nungate, and a brewery. In conclusion, we may remark, as a criterion favourable to the trade of Haddington, that there are at present three banking branches, and three printing-offices.

The revenue of the town of Haddington averages from L.1300 to L.1500 per annum, arising chiefly from customs, tacks of corn mills, feus of lands, &c. In 1843, it amounted to L.1392 sterling.

The following is a comparative value of the Town's Patrimony for nearly 200 years back, in sterling money:

|                                                                                                    | 1669     | 1833     | 1843     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Two corn mills and kiln at the West-mill, .....s.                                                  | 177 11 6 | 348 0 0  | 392 6 0  |
| Port and anchorage of Aberlady, .....                                                              | 47 18 0  | 360 14 0 | 1 19 9   |
| Tron weights, stands of Crossgate, and meal, salt, and fish markets,.....                          | 38 16 8  | 27 5 0   | 15 7 6   |
| Waulk mill and West Haugh,† .....                                                                  | 32 6 0   | 78 0 0   |          |
| Feus of lands, (including L.70 for Distillery park,) ...                                           |          |          | 110 6 0  |
| Stands in the flesh market, .....                                                                  | 8 15 0   | 50 0 0   | 38 0 0   |
| Shops in front of the flesh market,.....                                                           |          |          | 12 0 0   |
| Wheat and pease markets, .....                                                                     | 7 3 4    | 133 0 0  | 133 15 0 |
| Bear, malt, oat, and pock markets, .....                                                           | 10 0 6   | 49 10 0  | 70 7 6   |
| Easter Haugh, .....                                                                                | 2 10 0   | 16 10 0  | 16 0 0   |
| Bowling green, (the ground not to be broken,) .....                                                | 1 5 0    |          | 7 2 0    |
| Customs—West port L.144, 10s.—South and S. East L.75, 15s.—North and N. East ports L.116, 15s..... | ...      | ...      | 337 0 0  |
| Steel-yard, .....                                                                                  | ...      | ...      | 9 0 0    |
| M'Call's park (nurseries,) .....                                                                   | ...      | ...      | 47 13 10 |

† In 1833, Feb. 9th, John Wilson took the Mill Haugh for L.3 Scots. Dung, sand, and gravel, (which brought nothing in 1669,) now being L.141, 7s. 11d. Entry of burgesses. L.49, 5s.

\* *Haddington Distillery*.—In 1806, 20th Feb. Mr. Andrew Taylor, distiller at Linton, made offer of L.30 per acre, for two acres of land in the West-mill Haugh, on condition that he was granted a lease of three nineteen years, for the purpose of erecting a distillery, with dwelling-house and other necessary buildings. This ground lay at the west end of the bleachfield, where the present distillery now stands; and he made a further offer of L.8 per acre for the bleachfield. This offer not being accepted, Mr. Taylor erected a distillery at Westburna. In 1815, August 3d, the town-council agreed to grant a lease of the bleachfield to Mr. Archibald Dunlop, for the erection of a distillery, at a rent of L.50 yearly, or of a conversion of wheat at the highest fiars, should the town think it advisable at the end of seven years. The lease to endure for 99 years certain, and to terminate at that period should the town pay the value of the buildings then on the ground; but should this arrangement be declined, the lease to extend to other 99 years, after which the buildings to be given up without any allowance whatsoever. This extensive building was completed by January 1817, when it was inspected by the magistrates and a committee of the council, who highly approved of the improved principles on which the work was executed, and of the suitable and powerful means adopted in the interior for carrying every operation into effect.

**Banks.**—The *Bank of Scotland* was established in Edinburgh, by a charter from William III. in 1695; and first issued notes in 1704. A branch was established in Haddington towards the end of the last century, when Mr. Wilkie of Gilchriston was appointed agent. He was succeeded by Mr. Hay Smith. The agency next devolved on Messrs. Alexander Fraser & Son, who were succeeded by Messrs. Archibald Todrick & Son, the present agents. A branch of the *East Lothian Bank* was established here in 1810, under the agency of Mr. George Banks. This company was dissolved in 1822, in consequence of Borthwick, the cashier at Dunbar, absconding with bills and specie to a considerable amount. The branch of the *British Linen Company* was then established at Haddington, under the management of Messrs. William & John Ferme; and a branch of the *Western Bank of Scotland* in 1836, under the agency of Mr. William Dods.

**Post-office.**—There is a branch of the Edinburgh Post office in Haddington, under the management of Mr. Peter Martine. The London and Edinburgh mails (1844) arrive and depart at midnight. The Haddington and Dunbar post-bags are also forwarded by the stage coaches.

**Tax-office.**—Mr. Hugh Fraser, Haddington, is collector of land and assessed taxes for the county and burghs, and distributor of stamps.

**Excise.**—The excise board, which sits at Haddington, where the collector resides, comprehends with the county, the districts of Dalkeith, Penycuik, Kelso, and Dunse.

**Public Markets.**—The present *Flesh Market* was erected from a plan of Mr James Burn, in April 1804, and does credit to his talents as a useful architect. The estimate amounted to L.1350; but in order that the front might be built with Craigleith stone, and the cornice and blocking course, &c. of Redhall stone, 140 guineas were added to the contract, making about L.1500. The two shops in the front (which are now let for L.6 each,) were at first let, conjunctly, on a lease of seven years, at L.30 sterling per annum.

**Haddington Mills.**—The new West Flour Mill is a handsome building, and was erected in 1842-43 from a plan and specification of Mr. Robert Bridges, engineer, North Berwick. Mr. Thomas Hardie, Haddington, was contractor for the mason work, and Mr. Robert W. Smiles for the carpenter work. The machinery was furnished by Messrs. James Miller & Co., Edinburgh. The building, including mason and wright work, slater's, plumber's, and smith's work, quarried stones, paving, &c. cost L.1377, 16s. 4d., of which L.463, 16s. 2d. was charged for the machinery, which is of a very superior description. The *East Flour Mill*, at Poldrate, has been renovated within the last two years, and also considerably improved. The new West Mill has let for L.300.

**Printing.**—The first printing press in East Lothian was erected by Mr. G. Miller, publisher, Dunbar, in 1795. It was removed to Haddington in 1804, from being a more central situation for the county. In 1813-15, a series of cheap publications issued from this press, which the Messrs. Chambers, in their *Gazetteer of Scotland*, consider "as undertakings in advance of the age." Of the *Cheap Magazine*, the first of these works, which was circulated through the whole of Scotland and in London, from 15,000 to 20,000 copies were printed; and Haddington beheld the novel scene of three printing-presses in motion. This publication, which was followed by the *Monthly Monitor*, was rather of an instructive than literary nature; both of which were written chiefly by the publisher himself, and Mrs. Grant of Duthil, (the sister of Sir Neil Campbell, who accompanied Napoleon to Elba,) a lady who, from pure benevolence, lent her gratuitous services. As a proof how much these publications were considered to answer the object they had in view, they gained the approbation of men of such opposite tenets as the celebrated Wilberforce and Robert Owen. In 1820 the *East Lothian Register or County List*, was projected and published by James Miller, the "Remarkable Events" of which laid the foundation of the present *History of Haddington*. The *County List* is still continued by Messrs. G. Neill & Son. In 1822 & 23, Mr. George Tait published a monthly miscellany, entitled the *East Lothian Magazine*, which partook of a literary character; but the county-town is situated too near the fountainhead of letters in the metropolis for such publications to succeed. In February 1836, Mr. James Allan, Haddington, commenced the original *East Lothian and Berwickshire Advertiser*, a four-page quarto, devoted to advertisements, which is published on the first Friday of the month, and of which 2000 copies are circulated gratuitously. In January 1838, Messrs. Neill & Son commenced a similar publication, which is issued on the last Friday of the month.

**Stage Coaches.**—The first coach of this description, which ran exclusively between Dunbar and Edinburgh, was started by Mr. Henry Laidlaw, in October 1804. Previous to this period, however, there were Haddington coaches, the first of which, *The Fly*, started from the Blue Bell Inn. This vehicle was met with a coach from Edinburgh, at Dolphington, where they mutually exchanged their passengers. Mr. Laidlaw's coaches were succeeded by Mr. John Steele's "Enterprise" and other coaches. There are now two coach companies. The journey from Dunbar to Edinburgh, which formerly occupied five hours, is now accomplished in less than three.

*United East Lothian Agricultural Society.*—The East Lothian Agricultural Society was instituted in 1819, by the exertions of several influential and talented agriculturists in the county. Previous to this period, in 1804, a Farming Society had been established at Salton by General John Fletcher, with a similar object in view; but after the death of its patron the object was neglected, and the place of meeting was found inconvenient to the generality of its members. The funds had also accumulated to the amount of L.700. To form a junction with this society, therefore, became a desirable object with the new institution, which was effected through the consent of the present Mr. Fletcher of Salton. The chief objects of this society are to encourage an improved system of cropping; the introduction of a superior breed of horses, cattle, and sheep; ploughing matches, improved cottages, &c.; and for the encouragement of competitors, public shows are held at stated periods, and premiums awarded. The Society's rooms are at Haddington, where they have a good agricultural library. The meetings are chiefly held at Haddington; and occasionally at Dunbar, Salton, and Gifford. The funds of the society arise from the contributions of members, who are admitted by ballot, on paying, at least, 10s. 6d. yearly,—and from the interest of L.500, originally bequeathed by General Fletcher. The Marquis of Tweeddale is president.

*The New Club.*—This club was instituted in 1810. The principal nobility and landed gentlemen in the county constitute its members, who are admitted by ballot, and pay L.2, 2s. yearly. There are four meetings in the year, held in the George Inn, Haddington. Amongst the honorary members were the late Earl Cathcart, K. T.; and Lord Gillies, and Lord Meadowbank, of the court of session.

There is also a Haddington *Bowling Club*, instituted in 1709,—a *Curling Club*,—and an *East Lothian Rifle Club*, instituted in 1811.

*Masonic Lodge.*—The Haddington St. John's Kilwinning Lodge, (No. 57.) is of some antiquity, having a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 28th December, 1699. It has had several respectable office-bearers, and is decorated with portraits of three of them—Sir John Sinclair of Stevenston, Bart., painted by Deans in 1777; Francis fifth Lord Elcho, painted by Jamieson in 1807; and the late William Ferme, Esq., painted by Watson in 1823.

*The Ancient Fraternity of Gardeners in East Lothian* have a lodge in Haddington, which was founded previous to 1676. The annual procession of this once respectable body, accompanied by "Jock in the Green," was, in former times looked forward to with considerable interest by the juvenile part of the community, while the *hare feast* was contemplated with equal pleasure by the veterans of the lodge.

The modern *East Lothian Horticultural Society* has acquired much of the interest which was attached to the ancient institution.

*School of Arts.*—This institution was established in Haddington in 1821, with the view of promoting a knowledge of the arts and sciences. The town contributed L.10 towards purchasing a chemical apparatus in aid of this laudable object.

*Odd Fellows.*—The "Tyne-side Lodge (No. 3429) of the independent order of Odd Fellows, Manchester unity," was instituted 24th January 1843.

The *East Lothian Mutual Assurance, or Friendly Society*, was established in 1830.—There are two "Yearly Haddington and Nungate Benefit and Savings Societies," which consist, one of 154, and another of 164 members.

*Charities and Mortifications.*—In 1736 William Wood left L.50 sterling to the poor of Haddington. 1757, Captain Seton bequeathed L.160 for the same benevolent object. In 1748 a workhouse was opened for the poor, when seven directors were appointed. In 1774, John Hume, a native and carrier in Haddington, bequeathed to the magistrates that tenement at the foot of the high-street, (which bears a plate marking the height of the flood,) for the purpose of annually binding one of the inhabitants of the town as an apprentice, at the rate of L.8 sterling,—the surplus of the rents to be applied to pious and charitable purposes. In 1801, Mr. David Gourlay bequeathed the interest of L.1200 to the parochial ministers in aid of the industrious poor. In 1823, Feb. 6th, Miss Margaret Burton, Linton, presented to the town-council a donation of L.100 for the *Haddington Female Society*, at the rate of 5 per cent interest. In 1812, 2nd May, it was agreed, that the magistrates, treasurer, and town-clerk, should distribute annually, between Christmas and Whitsunday, 12 guineas among reduced burghesses.—The sum to be augmented to 15 guineas when the property tax should cease.

## AGRICULTURE.

The system of husbandry pursued in the parish of Haddington, is in accordance with the most approved method adopted in the Lothians. The farms are considerable in size; as a proof of which they are farmed by one-half of the number of tenants which occupied them in 1789. Since the time that Andrew Meikle perfected the thrashing machine, and improved our town mills. The implements of husbandry have been considerably improved, and the plough

which, in East Lothian, 300 years ago, was dragged by eight oxen, has long been forgotten, and has given place to the lighter iron instrument guided by two horses. Yet so difficult is it to wean men from their opinions, that it was not till the beginning of the last century that any material improvement was made in the culture of the soil. Mr. John Walker, tenant in Beanston, in this parish, first discovered the usefulness of fallow,—one Hay in Aberlady planted the potatoe,—Mr. Wight, farmer, Ormiston, introduced horse-hoeing husbandry,—Lord Elibank and Sir Hew Dalrymple made known the practice of hollow-draining,—the two Cunninghams were the first to straighten ridges,—and John Marquis of Tweeddale, and Sir George Suttie, were the earliest essayists of turnip husbandry,—while Rennie of Phantassie converted his farm into a garden in appearance, and Brown of Markle taught what the other practised. The improved rotation of crops sprung up amidst these improvements, and drainage and manuring followed in their train. The system of tile-draining, which has become so universal, was introduced by Mr. John Howdon, Ugstone, more than twenty years ago. The Agricultural Society called the attention of our farmers to the rearing and feeding of stock, in which Mr. John Brodie, Abbey-mains, and other gentlemen in the county, have been greatly distinguished. Mr. Patrick Shirreff, formerly of Mungoswells, introduced the Hopetoun oat.

The number of farms in the parish are 34, with 124½ ploughgates. The following is the state of cultivation and produce:

|                                                                             |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| CULTIVATION.                                                                |      |
| The number of imperial acres cultivated in the parish,.....                 | 9312 |
| never in cultivation.....                                                   | 260  |
| capable of being cultivated with a profitable application of capital, ..... | 387  |
| under wood, .....                                                           | 1260 |

|                                                                                                 |         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| PRODUCE.                                                                                        |         |
| Produce of grain, being white crop, grown on, supposed 4800 Scots acres, at L.8 per acre, ..... | L.38400 |
| Potatoes and turnips, 850 Scots acres, at L.7 per acre, .....                                   | 5950    |
| Beans and pease, 525 Scots acres, at L.6. per acre,.....                                        | 3150    |
| Hay, 215 Scots acres, at L.5 per acre,.....                                                     | 1075    |
| Pasture, 1060 Scots acres, at L.2, 10s. per acre, .....                                         | 2120    |
| Gardens and orchards,.....                                                                      | 1000    |

L.52,925

**GENTLEMEN'S RESIDENCES.**

*Amisfield House*, the residence of Lord Elcho, is situated within a mile of Haddington, on the south-east bank of the Tyne. It was built for the Earl of Wemyss about 1760; and afterwards enlarged from a plan of Mr. John Henderson, in 1785, when the wings of the house and other improvements were added. The gallery contained several capital paintings, some of them having cost from 800 to 1000 guineas, amongst which is the Crucifixion of Imperiali. The pictures have been mostly removed to Gosford. *Stevenston*, about a mile eastward, on the banks of the Tyne, is the seat of Sir John Gordon Sinclair, Baronet. *Lennoxloche*, (the ancient Lethington,) is the seat of Lord Blantyre. The old square tower of this mansion was built by the Giffards of Yester; and as a specimen of the strong and lofty is scarcely matched by any fortalice in Scotland. It rises from ground perfectly level, and is surrounded by the minuter beauties of shrubberies and the flower-garden. This place was long the favourite residence of the Maitland family. Amongst the paintings a full length portrait of Francis Theresa Duchess of Lennox. (one of the beauties of Charles the Second's court,) by Sir Peter Lely, has been much admired. There are also some admirable family portraits, two of Queen Mary, the admirable Crichton, the Marquis of Montrose, and Lord Belhaven. Southward from Lethington is the mansion house of *Coalston*, the seat of the ancient family of Brown of Coalston, now belonging to its representative, through the maternal line, the Earl of Dalhousie. This place is celebrated for containing a remarkable heir-loom of the family in the shape of an enchanted pear. Eastward is

the elegant modern mansion of *Monkrigg*, the seat of the Hon. Captain Kea R.N., which was erected in 1835. On the north of the Tyne is the beautiful estate of *Clerkington*, the seat of Sir Robert Houston, K.C.B.; the ancient barony of *Letham*, the property of Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart.; *Alderton*, the seat of James Aitchison, Esq.; and *Huntington*, the property of John Ainslie, Esq.

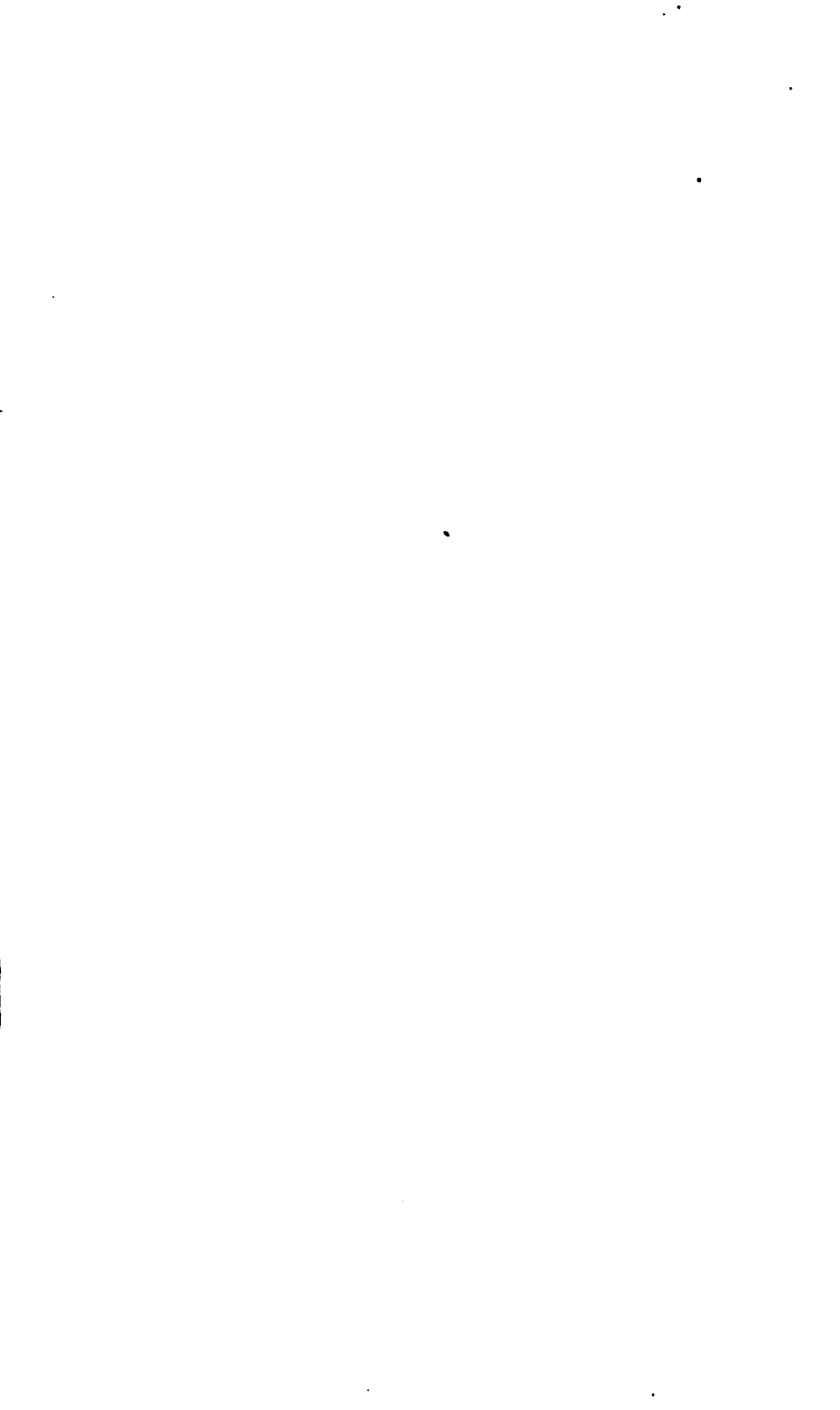
POPULATION OF HADDINGTONSHIRE, ARABLE LAND, &c.  
ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS 1755 TO 1841.

| PARISHES.             | 1755   | 1801   | 1821   | 1831   | 1841   |         |        |        | Extent<br>Square<br>Miles. | Arable<br>acres. |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------|--------|----------------------------|------------------|
|                       | Total. | Total. | Total. | Total. | Males. | Female. | Total. |        |                            |                  |
| Aberlady, .....       | 739    | 875    | 1033   | 973    | 246    | 506     | 544    | 1050   | 6                          | 4000             |
| Athelstaneford, ..... | 691    | 897    | 909    | 931    | 220    | 471     | 520    | 991    | 8½                         | 4000             |
| Bolton, .....         | 389    | 252    | 315    | 332    | 79     | 181     | 160    | 341    | 5                          | 2451             |
| Dirleton, .....       | 1700   | 1115   | 1315   | 1384   | 327    | 762     | 736    | 1498   | 16                         | 7300             |
| Dunbar, .....         | 3281   | 3861   | 5273   | 4735   | 1030   | 2006    | 2391   | 4396   | 11½                        | 7197             |
| Fala, (part of).....  | 106    | 120    | 128    | 125    | 28     | 73      | 71     | 144    | 6                          |                  |
| Garvald, .....        | 774    | 749    | 797    | 914    | 184    | 429     | 433    | 862    | 20                         | 2990             |
| Gifford, .....        | 1091   | 929    | 1100   | 1019   | 220    | 533     | 535    | 1068   | 13                         | 4580             |
| Gladsmuir, .....      | 1415   | 1470   | 1623   | 1668   | 383    | 892     | 897    | 1689   | 9½                         | 5080             |
| Haddington, .....     | 3975   | 4049   | 5255   | 5883   | 1252   | 2598    | 2854   | 5452   | 22½                        | 10900            |
| Humble, .....         | 570    | 785    | 837    | 875    | 196    | 438     | 443    | 881    | 15                         | 7000             |
| Innerwick, .....      | 941    | 846    | 924    | 987    | 204    | 450     | 511    | 961    | 21                         | 4000             |
| Morham, .....         | 245    | 284    | 241    | 262    | 61     | 140     | 147    | 287    | 3                          | 1458             |
| North Berwick, .....  | 1412   | 1583   | 1694   | 1824   | 387    | 813     | 879    | 1692   | 8                          | 3400             |
| Oldhamstocks, .....   | 504    | 466    | 626    | 624    | 148    | 290     | 311    | 601    | 13                         | 1469             |
| Ormiston, .....       | 810    | 766    | 779    | 838    | 190    | 401     | 425    | 826    | 5                          | 3245             |
| Pencaitland, .....    | 910    | 925    | 1145   | 1166   | 260    | 512     | 613    | 1125   | 8½                         | 3660             |
| Prestonkirk, .....    | 1318   | 1471   | 1812   | 1765   | 410    | 933     | 936    | 1869   | 15                         | 6270             |
| Prestonpans, .....    | 1566   | 1964   | 2055   | 2323   | 499    | 1060    | 1176   | 2233   | 2                          | 739              |
| Salton, .....         | 761    | 798    | 834    | 786    | 178    | 388     | 382    | 770    | 5½                         | 3166             |
| Spott, .....          | 727    | 502    | 582    | 612    | 127    | 289     | 313    | 602    | 7½                         | 3780             |
| Stenton, .....        | 681    | 620    | 667    | 686    | 160    | 326     | 360    | 686    | 7½                         | 2900             |
| Tranent, .....        | 2459   | 3046   | 3366   | 3620   | 825    | 1891    | 2002   | 3893   | 9                          | 4248             |
| Whitekirk, .....      | 968    | 925    | 1048   | 1109   | 253    | 564     | 606    | 1170   | 12                         | 6006             |
| Whittingham, .....    | 714    | 658    | 750    | 715    | 142    | 354     | 346    | 700    | 20                         | 3958             |
| Total.....            | 29695  | 29,966 | 35,127 | 36,145 | 8009   | 17,253  | 18,528 | 35,781 | 270½                       |                  |

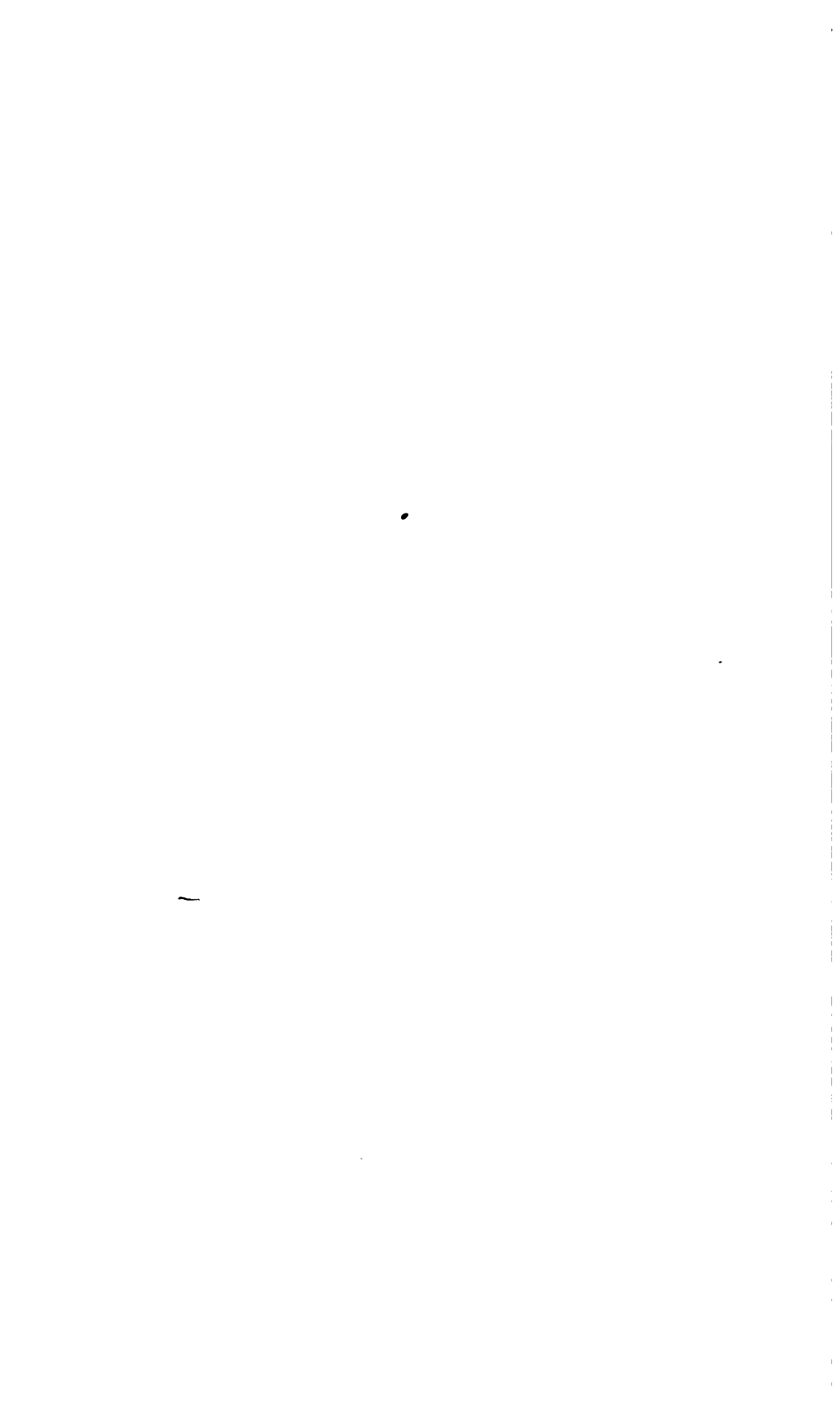
POPULATION OF THE HADDINGTON DISTRICT OF BURGHS.  
CENSUS 1841.

| BURGHS.              | Inhabit.<br>Houses. | Uninhab.<br>Houses. | Males. | Female. | Total. |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Haddington, .....    | 881                 | 49                  | 1796   | 1981    | 3777   |
| Jedburgh, .....      | 429                 | 18                  | 1518   | 1759    | 3277   |
| Dunbar, .....        | 719                 | 119                 | 1390   | 1637    | 2927   |
| Lauder, .....        | 265                 | 9                   | 578    | 570     | 1148   |
| North Berwick, ..... | 241                 | 8                   | 470    | 551     | 1021   |
| Total.....           | 2535                | 203                 | 5722   | 6498    | 12,220 |

THE END.











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