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SCOTLAND

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC

MEMORIALS OF LIFE AND MANNERS IN NORTH BRITAIN

"BY THE

REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.
HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

LONDON
CHARLES GRIFFIN AND CO.
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P R E F A C E .

LORD MACAULAY, in one of his essays, thus writes:—
“To call up our ancestors before us, with all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb,—to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, to explain the use of their ponderous furniture ;—these parts of the duty, which properly belongs to the historian, have become appropriated by the historical novelist.” In these pages I have endeavoured to present a portraiture of Scottish life and manners from the Reformation downwards, dissociated from fiction, and founded on original materials. I have collected my information from many sources. I gathered much in the course of antiquarian rambles in different parts of Scotland. The ecclesiastical records have been of especial service. Annals, journals, diaries, provincial histories, club books, and books privately printed, have yielded a store of information. MSS. relating to Scotland in the British Museum, and the Public Record Office, London, and in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, and the General Register House

*

Edinburgh, have been laid under tribute. I have been favoured with communications from intelligent persons in various parts of the country. My special acknowledgments are due to Captain Dunbar Dunbar, author of "Social Life in Moray;" to John Gorrie, Esq., Advocate; and to Hugh Barclay, Esq., LL.D., Sheriff-Substitute of Perthshire. To my accomplished friend, Thomas Laurence Kington Oliphant, Esq., of Gask, I have been deeply indebted for many valuable suggestions during the progress of the work at press. My thanks, lastly, are due to the Grampian Club, for printing this work as the first of their issues.

Snowdoun Villa, Lewisham, Kent.

July, 1869.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE inhabitants of ancient Scotland were differently estimated. By one class of writers they are described as a demi-savage race,*—a people selfish and calculating, incapable of culture, and inconstant in friendship. Others have commended the natives of North Britain for qualities of the very opposite character. By these, Scotsmen have been extolled for their manly independence, sterling integrity, honourable candour and vigorous perseverance. Though stern in manners and rude in speech, their apologists have discovered, under a harsh exterior, no inconsiderable warmth of affection and much genuine urbanity. These pages may cast a measure of light on those conflicting sentiments.

It would not be difficult to draw very opposite conclusions from the revelations of the national historians. Almost in the same page we read of Wallace the patriot and of the corrupt Menteith who betrayed him. In strange contrast with Robert Bruce, who resisted the inroads of southern domination, we read of the eight claimants to the throne, who acknowledged Edward I. of England as their liege lord. In startling opposition to John Knox, who refused a bishopric, and was content to be poor in worldly estate, we discover a grasping no-

* “The people are proud, vain-glorious boasters, arrogant, bloody, barbarous, and inhuman butchers.” See “A modern Account of Scotland, being an exact Description of the Country, and a True Character of the People and their manners, written from thence by an English Gentleman.” Lond. 1714.

bility, who under the pretext of religion, plundered the church and starved the clergy. In the course of one century we find sovereign princes encouraging the people to resist the aggressions of England, and in the next we perceive Scottish monarchs using the English sceptre to crush the liberties of their northern subjects. The same century which produced the adherents of the Covenant, who struggled for religious liberty, was fruitful in tyrants who trampled on the dearest privileges of their fellow-countrymen. The worst persecutors of the Covenanters were recreant Presbyterians. The Marquis of Montrose swore to uphold the Covenant, but the smiles of Court favour led him to crush it. The treachery of Montrose towards the Covenanters evoked similar procedure towards himself: he was betrayed by M'Leod of Assynt, his trusted friend. James Sharp was leader of the moderate Presbyterians; the offer of a mitre changed him into a bigoted Episcopalian and a persecutor.

The happy event of the Revolution was materially promoted by the uncompromising spirit of the Scottish people in resisting the despotism of the Stuart kings; yet Scotland became the scene of three distinct insurrections in support of this exiled house. Sir John Dalrymple, a Scotsman, planned the Massacre of Glencoe, that deed which especially stains the fame of William III. Sir James Montgomery, one of the three commissioners who offered the Scottish crown to William in 1689, declared himself, in a few months, a supporter of King James. The Earl of Mar welcomed George I. on his arrival to assume the British sceptre; then hastened to Scotland to raise a revolt against his government. His lordship's brother, Mr. Erskine of Grange, prayed with

the Presbyterians, got drunk with the Jacobites, and sent his wife into exile lest she should expose his inconsistencies. Lord Gray was a vehement loyalist, but a cold reception from the Duke of Cumberland rendered him a Jacobite. The political Union in 1707 was a happy event ; but it was achieved through the bribery of Scottish nobles.

The Reformation originated among the common people. They were most imperfectly acquainted with the principles for which they contended. There were no parish schools ; inquiry into the doctrines of the church was prohibited ; no translation of the Scriptures had yet been printed in Scotland. Copies of the version published in England had indeed been imported ; but these were exclusively possessed by the wealthy, and could be useful only to those able to read. The sacerdotal order were supreme. They possessed one-third of the lands, and exercised half the power of the state ; they claimed profound reverence ; they extorted confession, and gained the popular secrets. By their excommunications they denied to their opponents food and shelter on earth, and closed the gates of heaven upon them hereafter. Amidst such surroundings the people were not deterred from rallying round the banner of Reformation. They had begun to associate sacerdotal pretension with crushing imposts—ecclesiasticism with injustice. Before the Reformation churchmen levied the tenth of everything ; they took the peasant's tenth egg.* The people at length discovered that they were

* “ 28th July, 1530. The Counsell ordainis Gilbert Robison soll be haldyn and cloissit in hys house for xx dayis and the Sonday thairefter in tyme of hee mess, till he sell offer to the hee altar a candill of twa lib wecht.”—Town Council Records of Haddington.

bound in a disgraceful servitude. They quitted Egypt and spoiled the Egyptians,—they pillaged cathedral churches ; they helped the nobility to seize the revenues of a rapacious priesthood.

Not the people only, but their rulers, joined against the adherents of the ancient hierarchy. In 1561, when Queen Mary was residing at Holyrood, the Town Council of Edinburgh caused a proclamation to be published at the Cross, ordering “all and sundry monks, friars, priests, and all other papists and profane persons,” to quit the city in twenty-four hours. The proclamation added that all who were found disobedient to the order should be “burned in the cheek,” and “hailed through the town upon ane cart.” In the following spring a Romish priest was tried at Edinburgh for baptizing and solemnising marriage according to the rites of his communion ; and in another year the Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews was put to an assize for celebrating mass, and on this account convicted and imprisoned. Within other two years a priest was, for exercising the offices of his religion, mobbed in the streets of the capital, pilloried, and egg-pelted. Prosecutions for being present at mass were common ; and the offenders were subjected to imprisonment and forfeiture.* For asserting the authority of the Pope, John Ogilvie, a Jesuit priest, was in 1615 seized by Archbishop Spottiswood, and hanged. The country mansion of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh was burned in the winter of 1668-9 ; the students of the university were believed to have been the perpetrators, to mark their sense of the magistrate’s papistical leanings.

* In a *dittay*, or indictment, of 1591, two penalties of non-conformity are set down as “tinsall (loss) of all mouable guidis, togidder with the lyfrentis of thair landis.”

The Reformers associated the places of worship with the obnoxious rites which had been conducted under their roofs. Knox said, "Pull down the nests." It was enough. The religious houses were unroofed ; some were thrown down ; all were pillaged. Parish churches were deprived of their ornaments ; the statuettes of saints were torn from their niches and bruised ; the ancient oak furniture of cathedrals and convents was broken up, carried off, and burned. In 1574 the Kirk session of Aberdeen ordained "that the organis with all expeditioun be removit out of the kirk, and made profeit of to the use and support of the poore." Similar enactments were made everywhere. The Synod of Fife held periodical "visitations" for removing from the different parish churches "sindrie desks," "crosier staffes," "Bischops armis," and "divers crosses."

Monuments, cenotaphs, and tombstones, which, in the parish churches, commemorated the piety of churchmen, or the beneficence of members of the laity, were ruthlessly destroyed. The General Assembly condemned them as monuments of idolatry ; only a few escaped destruction. Their contents were rifled ; coffin mountings were torn off, and the dust of departed worthies scattered about. In 1640 the General Assembly ordained Presbyteries and Provincial Synods to complete the destruction of monuments in churches. The Act was renewed in 1643, with an additional provision "inhibiting persons to hang pensils (little flags) or brods to affix honours or armis . . . to the honour or remembrance of any deceased person within the kirk."

Many ancient Runic crosses stood in the vicinity of parish churches, whither they had been removed for

greater safety. Presbyterian ecclesiastics associated these with Romish practices, and the General Assembly and the inferior judicatories ordered them to be demolished. Some were concealed in the earth, but the majority were destroyed.

Some persons were unwilling to remove their family tombstones at the bidding of the church. On such occasions strenuous measures were adopted by the ecclesiastical courts. On the 19th June, 1649, the Presbytery of Irvine held a special meeting at Kilmarnock, respecting a tomb in the church of that place, which had been condemned by the Kirk session as containing “a graven image.” The following deliverance was passed : —“Anent ane superstitious image upon my Lord Boyd, his tomb, it was the Presbytery’s mind, that his lordship should be written to that he would be pleased to demolish and drag it down, and if he did not, then the Presbytery was to take a farther course.” That “further course” would have been a sentence of excommunication. So Lord Boyd removed the statue of his ancestor from the family tomb.*

The zeal of the Reformers in the removal of objects of decorative art did not pause at the threshold of the parish church. In 1640 the Kirk session of Aberdeen ordered the removal of a portrait of “Reid of Pitfoddels” from the vestry of the church, because a military gentleman had denounced it “as smelling somewhat of Popery.” The church likewise exercised a vigilant superintendence in respect of carvings or other ornaments in private houses. The Presbytery of St. Andrews, at

* For a detailed account of prosecutions for non-conformity, see Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. i., part i., p. 435, and part ii., p. 38. Edinb., 1833. 4to.

their meeting on the 30th August, 1643, heard the report of two of the brethren, who had been appointed in a certain inquisitorial piece of business. The minute proceeds thus :—

“ Mr. David Forrett shew that he and Mr. John Barron were at the house of Pitcullo, and declares there are upon the frontispiece of the house some monument of superstition. The presbytery appoints a letter to be written to the Lord Burghley, intreating him to give orders for demolishing all monuments of the kind.” No doubt, Lord Burghley had to part with the sculptured tablet on the front of his mansion.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries churches were erected without any semblance of ornament ; and the sculptures and ornaments of the older structures were buried in the walls. The larger stones, which had formed altar-pieces, or been connected with the ancient tombs, were used as pavement. From those edifices which had escaped destruction, carved entablatures, niches, pinnacles, and mullions were carefully removed. Pillars and groined arches were besmeared with plaster and otherwise discoloured.

The Reformers abhorred the idea of consecrated places ; they encouraged the people to enter places of worship with their heads covered. For nearly two centuries after the Reformation, the male members of every congregation sat on the forms, or in the pews, with their hats on till the minister entered the pulpit and announced the opening psalm. They remained uncovered during praise and prayer, but when the text was announced they resumed their hats. When the minister in his discourse said anything uncommonly striking, he was applauded by a beating on the

pavement, or the clapping of hands. So lately as the commencement of the present century, the Reverend Sir Henry Moncreiff, Bart., an eminent evangelical clergyman at Edinburgh, walked from the vestry through the church covered, only removing his hat when he reached the pulpit. In rural parishes the peasantry still enter the church covered. Neither minister nor people engage in private prayer at the commencement or close of the service. When the benediction is pronounced, all rush from the building with alacrity, and often with confusion.

The Presbyterian clergy conducted divine worship long after the Reformation without any regard to external reverence. Country ministers wore in the pulpit "hodden grey." When the weather was cold, they enclosed themselves in plaids and cloaks. The latter practice was disallowed by Act of Assembly in 1575. By the same Act the clergy and their wives were enjoined to wear grave and becoming apparel, and were prohibited "all kind of light and variant hues in clothing, as red, blue, yellow, and such like," also "silk hats, and hats of divers and light colours," and "the wearing of rings, bracelets, buttons of silver, gold, and other metal."

After his accession to the English throne, James VI. was struck by the superior costumes of the English clergy, and sought to impress on Scottish pastors the propriety of adopting a more becoming attire while discharging their public duties. At his royal request, the Estates of Parliament passed a decree providing that "everie preacheour of Goddis Word sall hereafter wear black, grave, and comelie apparel;" and the king was further authorized to prescribe the precise style and character of the pulpit robe. The General Assembly

enjoined the clergy to attend church courts in their gowns. But the Acts of the Estates and of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory were both habitually transgressed. During the last century few country ministers used either gown or band.

The Presbyterians avoided every practice, whether in worship or private life, which could in any measure recall the usages of the Romish ritual. In reference to this peculiarity, Sir Andrew Weldon, an English satirist, who attended King James in a royal progress to the north, has used these bitter words :—“ They (the Scots) christen without the cross, marry without the ring, receive the sacrament without repentance, and bury without Divine service.” Had the ill-natured knight known all, he might have added that funeral sermons were proscribed, and that a little mound of earth was the only monument permitted to denote the burial-place of a departed friend. An Act of the General Assembly, passed in 1638, discharging funeral sermons, as savouring of idolatry, was afterwards negatived by common consent, and tombstones were permitted.

The question of postures in public worship is still unsettled. The early Presbyterians knelt during prayer, and stood while engaged in praise. When constituting the meetings of the court, the Moderator of the General Assembly prayed upon his knees. But the early Reformers, ever anxious to eschew imitation of ancient rites, contrived gradually to introduce a new system. During the seventeenth century, nearly every Scottish Presbyterian congregation retained their seats at praise, and stood while the pastor conducted their devotions. These practices continue, but there is some prospect of a salutary change. The irreverent manner of Scottish

Presbyterian worshippers during public prayer is a scandal to the Christian world.

Before the Reformation the principal churches were provided with organs ; in the smaller places of worship musical choirs conducted the department of praise. Many of the hymns chanted were in the Latin tongue, and both words and music were unintelligible to the people. The Scottish Reformers proceeded to an opposite extreme. They adopted the "Godlie and Spiritual Songs of James Wedderburne," composed some years before the Reformation, which adapted to devotional words the tunes which had heretofore been associated with the popular minstrelsy. The plan did not succeed, and the Reformers were compelled to fall back on sacred tunes, and to adapt these to a metrical version of the Psalms of David. In the earlier portion of the last century, when hymns were beginning to be used by other churches, it was suggested in the General Assembly that the church ought to possess a collection of sacred songs, apart from the metrical psalms, for the use of congregations. The proposal was resented as a dangerous innovation ; but it was agreed to appoint a committee to consider the proposition, and to report upon it. After the subject had been discussed in successive Assemblies, a small selection of paraphrases and hymns was adopted in 1745, and these have since, along with the Scottish version of the Psalms, been bound up with copies of the Bible published in North Britain. The older clergy positively refused to use the paraphrases ; but they have for upwards of half a century been sung in all the congregations. Modern attempts to add to the number of the paraphrases and hymns have uniformly failed.

The destruction of church organs at the Reformation

has been referred to. No attempt at their restoration was made till 1617, when an organ was built, and choristers introduced into the chapel royal, by James VI. In 1631 Charles I. issued an edict ordering that organs should be erected in every cathedral church. Five years after this date we find the Town Council of Edinburgh entering into proposals for building an organ in St. Giles' church ; but the celebrated General Assembly of 1638 put a stop to any further progress towards the restoration of instrumental music in Scottish churches.

The organ question remained quiescent till 1806, when the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, minister of St. Andrews church, Glasgow, resolved, with the entire approval of his people, to use an organ in his place of worship. An organ was accordingly built, and was used in St. Andrews church on the last Sunday of August, 1807. The boldness of this proceeding caused a profound sensation. Both the presbytery and the city council resisted what they characterized as a most dangerous innovation. Meanwhile Dr. Ritchie accepted a call to the High Church of Edinburgh, and the controversy was closed. Through the efforts of the late Dr. Robert Lee, minister of Greyfriars church, Edinburgh, and professor of theology, the organ question, along with the subject of postures in worship, and other ecclesiastical matters, was brought prominently under the notice of the church courts a few years ago. Dr. Lee first used a harmonium, and afterwards erected an organ in the Greyfriars church. The General Assembly was at first disposed to disown and crush the movement, but milder counsels prevailed ; and it has been ruled in the supreme judicatory that any congregation desiring to use an

organ in their public devotions, may be permitted to do so with the approval of the local presbytery. Many congregations have availed themselves of the indulgence.

For a century after the Reformation, Presbyterian church services were protracted to a length of which we can now hardly form a conception. In the western districts the churches were on Sundays opened at sunrise, and closed only at dusk. During the whole of that period religious services were conducted. An official called *the reader* read portions of Scripture, and when he was exhausted others took his place. There were occasional interludes of psalm-singing. The service conducted by the clergyman continued about four hours. Two clerical services were held. Both prayers and discourses were delivered without book or manuscript notes ; and were, consequently, full of repetitions and commonplaces. Some of the more zealous clergy “insisted”—that is, expatiated in their discourses for two hours ; others prayed for an hour without intermission. At the annual or biennial celebration of the communion, a succession of clergymen preached both in the church and from a tent in the churchyard. Tent preachings were not entirely discontinued at the commencement of the present century.

The church courts enforced attendance upon ordinances. Kirk sessions were enjoined to see that every parishioner was present at each diet of worship, and to “delate,” or accuse those who absented themselves. The church likewise insisted that every adult should at least once a year partake of the communion. The latter regulation was ratified by the Estates of Parliament. In 1600 the Estates enacted that certain penalties should, for the use of the church, be inflicted on those who

neglected the ordinance. From an earl was exacted the penalty of one thousand pounds Scots ; a lord was mulcted in one thousand marks ; a baron or landowner in three hundred marks ; and a yeoman in forty pounds, Scottish money. Burgesses were held liable to pay such fines as their several corporations might impose.

When attendance on ordinances was compulsory, and the services were protracted, it may be supposed that many persons would seek rest in slumber. At the commencement of the seventeenth century sleeping in church, on the part of elderly females, was so common, that the General Assembly ordained Kirk sessions "to take order for the suppression of the habit and the punishment of offenders." Accordingly, females were prohibited from wearing plaids or hoods upon their heads in time of Divine service, that they might not sleep unobserved. By several of the local judicatories it was ordained that sleepers should be wakened by the beadle, or sexton, who was provided with "ane long pole" wherewith to arouse them.

During the ascendancy of Episcopacy, the ecclesiastical tribunals were especially severe in punishing those disobedient to their authority. On his restoration to the throne, Charles II., who, in the days of his adversity, had consorted with the Scottish Presbyterians, and sworn to uphold the Covenant, proceeded to evince a deadly hatred to the Presbyterian cause. On the 10th July, 1663, the Estates of Parliament, at the king's instance, passed an Act, ordering all ministers who had entered on their livings from 1649 to procure presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop, on the pain of being held as seditious. Laymen who refused to conform to episcopacy were deprived of a fourth

of their goods. The result is well known. A large proportion of the clergy renounced their livings ; but these were not permitted to minister to that portion of their flocks who might adhere to them. They were banished to localities at least twenty miles from their former scenes of labour. The treacherous and unprincipled James Sharp, Archibishop of St. Andrews, on his accession to power in 1671, procured an Act of the Estates, which conferred on the bishops greater power against the Presbyterians than they ever ventured to exert. He established the notorious High Commission Court, which prosecuted without an indictment, suborned witnesses, allowed no one to plead till he had made some declaration that his conscience disapproved, and which sentenced Presbyterians to be scourged, branded with red-hot irons, and banished to Barbadoes.

On the 8th May, 1685, the Estates of Parliament enacted, at the special request of James VII., that further penalties should be enforced against the frequenters of conventicles. The Presbyterians were now pursued by troopers, and shot like dogs ; the Scottish bishops commanding these acts of atrocity and bloodshed. Sir James Turner, an Englishman, who commanded a troop of horse in the work of suppression, afterwards declared that he could never satisfy Scottish churchmen that his severities were sufficient. The Earl of Lauderdale, one of the most violent of the persecutors, was a coarse sensualist ; he would not have interfered in the concerns of religion, about which he cared nothing, unless for the mean flattery of the bishops. General Dalziel was partially insane ; he loved war, and was willing to do the bidding of those who could recommend him to court favour. Grierson of Lag was a tool

in the hands of the church. John Graham, of Claverhouse, was not originally a man of blood. When he held the office of Constable of Dundee, he obtained permission from the Privy Council to inflict on delinquents milder punishments than those prescribed in the statute-book. But Graham possessed implicit faith in the episcopal clergy, and persuaded himself that the execution of a refractory Presbyterian was an act useful to society, to religion, and the church. In reference to this portion of the national history, we quote from the "History of Moray."*

"In time of presbytery, after the year 1638, ministers who would not subscribe the Covenant, or who conversed with the Marquis of Huntly or the Marquis of Montrose, or who took a protection from them, were suspended, deprived, or deposed; and gentlemen who took part with Huntly or Montrose were tossed from one judicatory to another, made to undergo a mock penance in sackcloth, and to swear to the Covenant. Under Prelacy, on the other hand, after the Restoration, the Presbyterians, and all who opposed court measures, had no enemies more virulent than the clergy. They informed against them, made the court raise a cruel persecution, and made insidious and sanguinary laws for fining, imprisoning, intercommuning, and hanging them."

At the Revolution in 1688, Presbyterianism was re-established, while those who adhered to the Episcopal church, by strongly attaching themselves to the cause of the exiled Stuarts, lost the favour of the court, and were not even permitted to assemble for worship. In February, 1712, an Act was passed, which secured

* "History of the Province of Moray." By the Rev. Lachlan Shaw. Elgin, 1827. 4to.

toleration to such of the Episcopal clergy as should take the oath of abjuration. The enactment was keenly resisted by the Presbyterians. They contended that the Act dispossessed them of the power of enforcing uniformity of worship, which they conceived had been granted them at the Reformation.

Presbyterian discipline was rigid in the extreme. Church courts took cognizance of every species of offence ;—they presented delinquents for punishment to the civil authorities. They met every Sunday to inquire concerning evil reports, on which they instituted proceedings rigorous and inquisitorial. Sir Andrew Weldon, the English satirist, writes, with a measure of truth, “Their Sabbath exercises are a preaching in the forenoon, and a persecuting in the afternoon.” They condemned merry-making of every sort. The vocations of “minstrel” and “piper” were proscribed. In 1569 “two poets” were hanged.

Those arraigned before Kirk sessions were not permitted any legal counsel. They were urged to make confession—when they confessed, punishment uniformly followed. The modes of punishment were various. Those absent from a single diet of worship, or those who had committed some other minor offence, were “sharpie rebukit.” Few escaped so easily; the majority were sentenced to stand one or more Sundays on a sort of pillory, about three feet in height, placed in front of the pulpit. In most parishes, those who were mounted upon the pillory, or repentance stool, were compelled to wear a dingy white dress, as an emblem of humility and penitence. Those who attempted to conceal their faces in the folds of their garments were subjected to further indignities. The jugs, and other instruments

of ecclesiastical censure, are described in the seventh chapter of the present work.

For three centuries Presbyterianism has been the religion of the people. The yoke of its severe discipline has not retarded its acceptance. The introduction of the laity into the church courts has considerably tended towards its popularity. The parochial judicatory, or kirk-session, is constituted by the clergyman as perpetual moderator, with leading parishioners as ordinary members. These kirk-session courts formerly assessed for the poor, and generally administered the parochial affairs. In matters of discipline they exercised unlimited control, for though appeals to the superior judicatories were permitted, these were carried out with difficulty, and were therefore seldom attempted.

The principal concern of kirk-sessions in the earlier times was the suppression of witchcraft. It is a deplorable illustration of the inconsistency of human nature to find the Presbyterian clergy, who were striving to uproot Romish superstition, evincing a credulity respecting demoniacal possession such as had not been cherished by the Papacy in its worst times. They were the chief promoters of prosecutions for witchcraft, and were ready to condemn without proof all who were accused. Prickers of witches were rewarded by kirk-sessions, which likewise voted supplies of fuel to consume the miserable victims. Committees of the clergy attended every burning, and none were more unmoved by the screams of the sufferers.

When nearly every other description of educated persons were satisfied that the crime of witchcraft had no real existence, the clergy continued to urge the reality of the offence, and insisted on its punishment. In 1702, a

witch was hanged at Edinburgh. One of the ministers of the city, with a humanity greater than was ordinarily manifested by those of his profession, approached the convict, and requested her to repeat after him the Lord's prayer. The poor victim assented. "Our Father which art in heaven," said the clergyman. "Our Father which wart in heaven," said the woman. "Say," added the minister, "I renounce the devil." "I unce the devil," said the woman. The clergyman retired, and informed the bystanders that the case was hopeless, since the witch had invoked the devil twice. The poor woman had spoken her mother tongue! On the repeal of the statutes against witchcraft, in 1735, many of the Scottish clergy strongly remonstrated. In 1743, the Synod of the Secession Church issued a declaration denouncing the measure as invoking the displeasure of Heaven.

The rigid discipline of the Church did not materially ameliorate the manners even of the clergy themselves. John Kello, minister of Spott, was executed, in 1570, for poisoning his wife. For the infraction of his marriage vow, Paul Methven, minister of Jedburgh, sought pardon from the General Assembly, in 1563. For a similar offence Robert Menteith,* minister of Duddingston, was,

* The following notice of Robert Menteith, by a contemporary, we have discovered among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum :—

"Upon the 17th of September, 1633, the lewd lyfe and sinful and most filthy presumption of Maister Robert Menteith, son to Alex. Manteith, merch^t burgee in Ed^r, cam to licht by falling with ane honorable Ladie Dam Annas Hepburn, dochter to the Laird of Wanchloun, and spous to ane worthy and Nobill man, Sr. James Hamiltoun, son to Sir Thos. Hamiltoun, who was president of Scotland. True it is the foresaid Maister Robert Menteith was minister in Duddingstoun when this noble woman was one of his Parochiners, for she dwelt in Priestfield." She is described as "the maist beautifull woman that was in

in 1633, deprived of his charge, and sentenced to outlawry ; he found refuge and promotion in the Catholic Church of France. Thomas Ross, minister of Cargill, proceeded to Oxford to study for the Church of England ; he was found guilty of lampooning his countrymen, and was hanged and quartered for the offence. Two grandchildren of Sir John Erskine, superintendent of Angus, were executed for the murder of two relatives. Many of the early Presbyterian clergy kept alehouses to supplement their emoluments ; the behaviour of these brethren was a source of anxiety to the Assembly.

The degraded condition of the clergy was mainly due to the rapacity of the nobles. In resuming possession of lands wrested from their ancestors, the nobility were indifferent with respect to the worldly condition of the Reformed teachers. In 1275, the revenues of the bishopric of St. Andrews were equal to £37,000 of modern money, and, at the Reformation, they had reached the value of £45,000. Eleven other bishoprics were also most liberally endowed. Many of the abbeys and monasteries were celebrated for their opulence. In 1561, a regulation was made by which the rents of benefices were to be divided into three parts, two of which were to be retained by the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, while the remaining third was to be dedicated to the support of the Reformed Church, and towards supplementing the ordinary revenues of the country. Nominally a third of the third was set

our country." It is added, " Upoun that day, being the last of October the year forsaid, the said Mr. Robert Menteith was charg'd at the croce of Ed. to compeir to answer to the Lawes of the country, but did not appear. The Lord forgive him, for he has been a great sckandal to our kirk."

apart for the maintenance of the new teachers. In reality the grant for ecclesiastical purposes was limited to £2,400 Scottish money, which, had all the thousand parishes been supplied with ministers,* would have allotted not more than thirty-six marks, or less than two pounds sterling, to each incumbent. As one of the ministers of the city of Edinburgh, John Knox was allowed a stipend of 400 marks, or £20. The ministers of Glasgow, St. Andrews, Perth, Aberdeen, Stirling, and Dundee received incomes varying from £12 to £15. But the parochial clergy seldom possessed an income exceeding a hundred marks, or five pounds sterling.

From a return made to the General Assembly about the middle of the last century, it appears that the stipends of 40 parish ministers were under £40, 40 under £45, 126 under £50, 84 under £55, 119 under £60, 94 under £65, and 119 under £70. So recently as 1810, 196 livings were under the annual value of £150. These have been raised to £150 by an Exchequer grant.

Presbyterian discipline did not improve the morals of the nobility any more than extend their liberality. The nobles paid an external respect to ordinances, but

* In 1567 there were about 289 ministers and 715 readers. Many of the readers had been parish priests, and were probationers for the Reformed pastorate. In some of the rural parishes the priest renounced his status to become reader to his flock in the Reformed Church. John McVicar, priest of Inverary, suited himself to the two parties of his parishioners—those who embraced the Reformed doctrines, and those who remained in the old faith. He continued to conduct ordinances according to both systems. The further appointment of reader was forbidden by the General Assembly in 1581, but the office was not entirely abolished till 1645.

were really unconcerned about every description of religious belief. They carried arms, and used them against each other on the slightest provocation. They accepted bribes in dispensing justice, and offered them in return. When compelled to undergo an assize they brought their followers to court, and overawed the jury. They changed from Popery to Presbytery, and then to Prelacy, as their interests prompted. They subscribed the Covenant to avoid the censure of the Kirk, and joined Episcopacy to gain the favour of the King. "The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen" was an appropriate title given, by a witty Scotsman, to a work on the political history of his country. Church discipline was equally lost on the humbler classes of society. Knox styled those who destroyed the cathedrals "the rascal multitude." The people long continued in brutish ignorance. A comet, an eclipse, the occurrence of an earthquake, moved them to consternation. They ascribed pestilential diseases, witchcraft, and storms and tempests to the devil. Convictions for witchcraft were accomplished by means of witch-finders, who were rewarded with half the goods of the accused. There were persons in every district who would swear to anything. Slander, uncleanness, and blasphemy abounded everywhere.

The Scots regarded every domestic and social occurrence fit occasion for indulging in the national beverages. These were originally of an inoffensive character. The Highlanders punctured the birch trees in spring, and extracted from them a liquid which fermented, and became a gentle stimulant. The ancient Lowlanders prepared a species of liquor from the mountain heath. At what period usquebaugh or whisky was introduced cannot be discovered. It was certainly distilled in the fifteenth

century. Onward from that period copious libations of ale and whisky have attended the infant in his cradle and the aged in his shroud. The peasant-sire has hailed his first-born in the foaming *bicker*,* and when he has lost wife or child has again resorted to it in the hope of comfort.

From discharging her duties at a birth the midwife was not expected to retire perfectly sober, and “neibour wives” congratulated the parents at banquets of “buttersaps” and whisky. The christening was a merry occasion. The only guests who left retaining perfect self-command were the minister and his “leddy.” Marriage feasts continued several days, and the dissipation which they occasioned was a scandal. The lykewake, or watching of a corpse after death till burial, was attended with revolting intemperance; recreation being forbidden, drinking was the only employment permitted to the watchers. At funerals men drank so hard that occurrences were not rare in which funeral parties dropped the body in their progress to the churchyard. Bargains and transactions of all sorts were commenced or ratified with libations of ale or whisky. “Here’s to the guude cause,” said a Scottish soldier to his comrade, as he quaffed a gill of whisky immediately before a battle. “Oh, man, an’ drinkin’ wad do it!” heartily responded his associate.

Alehouses were abundant everywhere. Forty public breweries in a town of 3,000 inhabitants was a common average. In addition to these, every community possessed a body of dames known as *brewster wives*. These made the “home-brewed,” which they retailed to “parti-

* A timber bowl, or drinking vessel.

cular freens,"* as they affectionately termed those who patronized their taverns.

Drinking was confined to no particular class. All tippled, from the prince † to the gaberlunzie. Till 1780 claret was imported free of duty ; it was much used by the middle and upper classes. Noblemen stored hogsheads of claret in their halls, making them patent to all visitors. Guests received a cup of the wine when they entered, and another on their departure. Claret was described as a cure for all ailments ; in winter it diffused warmth, in summer it negatived the bad effects of more potent beverages. The aristocracy dined early. During the sixteenth century, twelve o'clock was a dinner hour in highest fashion. Two o'clock in the following century was more common among the upper ranks. A later hour was not adopted till long afterwards. The substantials of dinner were consumed without liquor ; drinking set in afterwards. The potations of those who frequented dinner-parties were enormous ; persons who could not drink remained at home. There was a system of toasts and sentiments, which prevented any member of the company escaping without his proportion of liquor. Every guest was expected to name an absent lady, while to each lady was assigned an absent gentleman. Both were toasted in a glass which must be drunk off, and upturned in evidence of enthusiasm. The sentiments were legion ; some were coarse, others ingenious. When the guests were vociferously celebrating the sentiment, " May ne'er waur be amang us," there were some in a helpless condition under the table. A landlord was considered inhospitable who permitted

* Chosen allies.

† James VI. was considerably addicted to intemperance.

any of his guests to retire without their requiring the assistance of his servants. Those who tarried for the night found in their bedrooms a copious supply of ale, wine, and brandy, to allay the thirst superinduced by their previous potations. Those who insisted on returning home were rendered still more incapable of prosecuting their journeys by being compelled, according to the inexorable usage, to swallow a *deoch-an-dorus* or stirrup-cup, which was commonly a vessel, like the Lion bicker of Glammis, of very formidable dimensions.

The Edinburgh clubs were scenes of dissipation in its most revolting forms. The Poker club was composed of men of letters, whose social indulgences ill corresponded with their literary tastes. From their club the members staggered home more or less intoxicated. Their conversation was most unworthy of those who could compose elegant essays and produce volumes of philosophy. "Where does John Clark reside?" imperfectly articulated the celebrated advocate of that name, to one of "the guard," at four in the morning. "Why, you're John Clark himself," answered the guardsman. "Yes," said the querist, "but I was not asking for John Clark, but for his house." All public business in Edinburgh was transacted in the tavern. When clients applied for the advice of learned counsellors, the parties retired together from the Parliament House to one of the taverns in "the square," and the learned gentleman first consulted as to what his client would have to drink. The Glasgow clubs were very numerous, and very drunken. At these gatherings there was neither art nor science to restrain the levity of wit, or check the profanity of the conversation. The

clubs of provincial places were worse, if a worse state of society could exist. The levity of the club-house stalked abroad, and poisoned social manners.

At public entertainments there were usages of an outrageous character. One custom which prevailed till the close of the last century may be noticed. When the company had drunk deeply, but were not quite intoxicated, they relieved the monotony of the evening by engaging in a pastime which had nothing, save its barbarity, to recommend it. The landlord introduced farm spades and shovels, and on these the members of the dinner-party endeavoured to raise each other by turns. The more robust succeeded in elevating the weaker, whom they next endeavoured to throw to the greatest distance. The person thrown was supposed to be protected by his neighbours from falling heavily, but he would occasionally be deposited upon the table, whence he scattered the shivered glass upon the floor of the apartment.

Apart from the Estates of Parliament, the Convention of Royal Burghs regulated the concerns of trade. The corporations of the different towns, composed, as they generally were, of the most enterprising and prosperous merchants, framed enactments more practical in character and more adapted to the public weal than were the edicts of Romish churchmen. These burghal institutions early countenanced the promoters of the Reformation, and became important bulwarks in defence of the new faith. At a meeting of the Town Council of Edinburgh, held on the 2nd of January, 1593, it was unanimously resolved that the proceedings of future meetings should be opened with prayer. At the same time a form of prayer was submitted, and agreed to, of the

following tenor :—“ O gratiouſ God our loving Father, we humblie beseik ye hallie majtie for ye Chrystes ſaik to be present in mercie wi^t us, in geving ane blessing to all o^r effaires, and ſeing thou art onlie wyſe be thou oure wiſdome in all o^r adoiss, and grant that p’tialatie and all corrupt affections quhatſumevir ſet aſyde, we deill in all materis presented to us w^t upright haſts and ſingill eyes, as in ye preſence ſua, yet ye frewill o^r travellis by ye ſpeciall grace, may always tend to the glorie of ye name, the weilfare of thiſ our native toun, and th’ fort of everie member of ye ſaim, throw Jesus Christ o^r Lord and Savio^r, to quhome with the indw^e ye holie ſpeiritt be all prayſe, glorie, and hono^r, for now and evir.” *

Like the other national institutions, Town Councils latterly degenerated. The principal business of civic corporations was, during the eighteenth century, conducted by “ committees,” who assembled in chosen taverns. These committees bore designations ſufficiently imposing. “ The Session,” at Stirling, ſtill holds occasional ſittings; “ the Presbytery,” at Falkirk, has ceased but recently: and the “ Cupar Parliament” was not long ſince in active operation. Discussions were conducted with conſiderable decorum, for no depth of drinking could induce any member to address his neighbour by a designation more familiar than that of his municipal office. Distinctions of rank were absorbed under the imposing titles of Provost, Bailie, Dean of Guild, Councillor, or Deacon.

At many of the clubs, drinking was regulated by the game of “ High Jinks.” “ This game,” writes Sir Walter

* Extracted from the Edinburgh Town Council Records.

Scott, "was played in several different ways. Most frequently the dice were thrown by the company, and those upon whom the lot fell were obliged to assume and maintain, for a time, a fictitious character, or to repeat a certain number of Fescennine verses in a particular order. If they departed from the characters assigned, or if their memory proved treacherous in the repetition, they named forfeits, which were either compounded for by swallowing an additional bumper, or by paying a small sum towards the reckoning."

By our late friend, Dr. Strang, the condition of the Glasgow clubs a hundred years ago is thus described : *

"In 1750, and for many years previous, it was the custom for persons of all ranks and conditions to meet regularly in change-houses, as they were called, and there to transact business, and hold their different clubs. The evening assemblies were passed in free and easy conversation, and without much expense,—persons of the first fashion rarely spending more than from fourpence to eightpence each, including their pipes of tobacco, which were then in general use. In some of those clubs the members played at backgammon, or 'catch the ten,' the stake exceeding but rarely one penny a game. In the forenoon all business was transacted or finished in the tavern. The lawyers were there consulted, and the bill was paid by the client. The liquor in common use was sherry, presented in mutchkin stoups, every mutchkin got being chalked on the head of the stoup or measure. The quantity swallowed was, on such occasions, almost incredible."

Municipal and parliamentary electioneering was rotten

* "Glasgow and its Clubs," by John Strang, LL.D. Lond. 1857.
4to. Pp. 1, 2.

to the core. Money achieved everything. “What are your terms?” was a question put to the agent of every candidate for parliamentary or municipal honours. Candidates bribed in person. A hairdresser had received five pounds from a candidate for shaving him. The day after the candidate ascertained that the hairdresser had shaved his rival with a similar recompense. “ You have been shaving Lord—,” said the candidate to his quondam friend. “ Yes,” replied the hairdresser, “ I wanted to pleasure ye baith.”

The celebrated George Dempster, of Dunnichen, obtained his seat in Parliament, in 1762, by bribing the magistrates and councillors of the Fife and Forfar burghs. Having been opposed by an opulent competitor, he had to dispose of two estates to secure his seat. The city of St. Andrews was one of the chain of burghs. On his retirement from public life, Mr. Dempster occasionally resided at this ancient seat of learning. Visiting an old friend one morning, he found him employed in his garden. “ I am sorry I canna shake hands wi’ ye, Maister Dempster,” said his friend, “ for my hands are soiled ; I’ve been diggin’.” “ Don’t heed,” said the ex-member ; “ many a dirty hand I’ve shaken in St. Andrews.” Mr. Dempster referred to the hands which had accepted bribes.

In 1775, the Court of Session disfranchised the burgh of Stirling, for corrupt practices, a judgment which was confirmed by the House of Lords. The particulars of this case may not be unacceptable. Several burgesses of Stirling brought a complaint against the magistrates and council, alleging that certain of their number had bound themselves by an illegal compact, and for their personal gain, to bear permanent authority

in the burgh. The instrument of compact, which was discovered by the complainers, was in the following terms :—

“ We, Henry Jaffray, James Alexander, and James Burd, all presently members of the Town Council of Stirling, considering that we have each of us at present a considerable interest in the said Council, and that, by joining together and modelling the Council at the next and other Michaelmas elections in time coming, we may secure to ourselves the total management of the burgh during our lives, and that this will be much for the benefit of us and our friends, do therefore solemnly agree, and bind, and oblige ourselves to the following articles :—

“ *Imprimis* :—That we shall stand by and support each other during our lives in the politics and election matters of the burgh, and particularly that each of us shall have an equal number of friends in the merchant council, as near as may be, who are to be brought in under engagements to support our joint interest ; and no person is to be named by any of us without the consent of all the three ; and in order more effectually to carry this our plan into execution, we here agree to weaken the interest of Nicol Bryce, and by degrees to exclude him and his friends from the Council altogether ; and in general we are to unite and consider ourselves as one man in managing the elections of the burgh, and to take no step but for the mutual interest and with the concurrence of each other.

“ Secondly. —That we shall likewise be united in the administration of the affairs of the burgh, and of the hospitals ; and that each of us shall have an equal share in the disposal of all such offices as are

dependent upon the Council, and shall bestow them upon our friends ; but in such manner that they shall go in rotation among them, and shall not be too long enjoyed by the friends of any one of us, to the prejudice of the friends of the others. 3rdly. Whereas we have agreed to elect John McGibbon, junior, into the office of town clerk, jointly with his father, and to succeed to the said office upon his death, on condition that a part of the emoluments of said office shall be at our disposal, and that it appears to us that £25 sterling is a reasonable sum to be paid by him to us ; we do therefore agree to divide the said £25 per annum equally among us, or that the sum shall be equally at our disposal ; and the said John McGibbon is to grant bond to us accordingly. 4thly. Whereas it will be in our power, in time coming, at every election of a member of Parliament for the district, during our lives to give the vote of the burgh of Stirling to any candidate for the said district who shall be most acceptable to us ; and that we will be entitled, at every such election, to receive money and rewards suitable to the occasion, and which rewards it is reasonable we should divide equally among us ; we do therefore bind and oblige ourselves to make an equal division of all moneys so to be received by any of us upon occasion of any election for the district, and of all profits and emoluments arising from offices conferred upon any of us by the members of Parliament, or by any person or persons standing candidate to represent us in Parliament during our joint lives. 5thly. In order to render ourselves popular in the burgh, and that our management may be acceptable to the whole inhabitants, we engage that when a vacancy happens in the charge of any of the town's ministers, we shall procure the same to

be filled up by an evangelical minister or preacher, such as shall be most agreeable to the bulk of the people. And, lastly. We do solemnly engage that each and all of us shall keep this bond an inviolable secret from every other person. In witness whereof," &c. In addition to this remarkable document, the complaining burgesses produced a list of councillors who had promised to vote in every municipal question precisely as they might be asked by the persons subscribing the compact. The Court of Session pronounced the compact "illegal, unwarrantable, and *contra bonos mores* ;" reduced the two preceding elections of town councillors, severely reprobated the three "bondsmen," and deprived the burgh of its municipal privileges.

A prosperous merchant at Stirling, named Cowan, had early in the seventeenth century bequeathed his estate to the Guildry for the support of decayed burgesses. The bequest included a considerable estate in the vicinity. For many years the administrators of the charity conserved their individual benefit, in farming the lands, and dispensing the bounties. An Act of Parliament was procured, which put a check to these discreditable practices.

Town Councils were liberal in granting honorary privileges to those who could not use them. They were reluctant to confer municipal rights upon those who proposed to engage in trade. Heavy imposts were exacted. By a minute, dated 4th March, 1543, the Town Council of Haddington authorized the provost and bailies to lock up all persons' doors that are not burgesses, until they be made such. When the celebrated James Watt started as a mathematical instrument maker in Glasgow, in 1757, he was so strongly opposed by the trading

corporation that he was obliged to abandon his shop, and seek refuge and employment within the walls of the university. When the imposts were paid, permission was granted to enter upon a particular branch of trade ; but the new trader was warned that he must, under the penalty of additional payment, strictly confine himself within the limits of his craft.

New burgh settlers were expected to place themselves under the guidance of those who regulated the municipal concerns. A course of independence was dangerous. Calumny was a weapon always ready to assail the unyielding stranger. An evil report speedily gained ground when many were concerned in its propagation, and under its blighting influence the new settler generally fell. Old burgh politicians resisted every proposal for physical improvement. Innovators were not tolerated ; they were deemed unfit for municipal employment. Those burgesses who sought to lodge their families in commodious dwellings were subjected to ridicule and insult.

Burgh magistrates rejoiced to see streets, lanes, sewers, and dust-heaps, preserved in the condition in which they remembered them in boyhood. With a feeling of affection they recollected the thistles which had sprung up in the streets since childhood, and they desired that the national symbol might be spared. The long grass of the causeway fed the burgh sheep. The boulder-stones which protruded in the main thoroughfares formed useful stepping-stones, when the intervening spaces were, after showers, converted into pools. The timber dwellings which bordered leading streets were combustible, but comfortably warm. The porches of lumbering tenements narrowed the thoroughfare, but they

contained outside stories to upper floors, and concealed the jaw-hole.* The latter was a somewhat inconvenient substitute for underground sewage ; but it was less costly. Occasionally the water of the public wells gave forth an unpleasant odour, but a little whisky or a sprinkling of oatmeal was deemed a sufficient deodorizer. When dung-heaps were removed, and cesspools cleansed, the air was foul for a season ; but the occasion was embraced for a pleasant trip into the country.

Police regulations were lamentably defective. Even in the capital, streets were unmarked by numbers till late in the eighteenth century. In 1702, a landed proprietor in Morayshire was, during a visit to Edinburgh, addressed by a correspondent in these terms :—

“ For Mr. Archibald Dumbair, of Thundertane, to be left at Capt. Dunbair, entry chamber at the iron revell, third storie below the Cross north end of the close at Edin.”

When the magistrates of Edinburgh had at length determined that every house in the city should be denoted by a number, William Glass, poet and house-painter, undertook to inscribe numerals on the houses of the Canongate, for the recompence of a glass of whisky for each numeral depicted by his brush.

Preservation of order at Edinburgh was entrusted to a body of red-haired Gael, denominated the *Highland Guard*. The minor burghs employed old pensioners as guardians of property. The municipal rulers of Stirling enjoined the inhabitants to watch by turns—two being expected to mount guard every evening. When the present writer entered on a ministerial office in this

* Cesspool.

place in 1855, he was waited upon by an officer of the corporation with the message, that it was his turn to keep watch. He was somewhat disconcerted, since the following day was Sunday, when he had to conduct service. His anxiety was allayed by the assurance that a payment of two shillings would provide a substitute.

About the commencement of the present century there was a movement towards burghal reformation. The first crusade was against trees, which municipal authorities resolved to uproot from their streets and suburbs. Thousands of the monarchs of the forest perished by the woodman's axe. The noble limes and birches, which adorned St. Andrews in its leading thoroughfares, were hewn down. Many fine old trees at Glasgow were subjected to the hatchet. In 1816, the town council of Stirling sold the trees skirting their suburban streets, to a carpenter in the place. A neighbouring proprietor purchased the trees from the carpenter, and so preserved them from destruction. A poem of fourteen stanzas was addressed to the town council of Stirling, with reference to their ruthless intentions. The poet makes the trees offer a petition that they might be spared :—

O ye who in your hands have now
Power to condemn and power to save ;
Need ye be told how oft to you
In early life we pleasure gave ?

* * * * *

And ever and anon we've been,
To all who built beneath our shade,
A constant and a powerful screen
From eastern blasts that oft invade.

* * * * *

To some, perchance, our forms recall
The dear loved spot that gave them birth,
A tree that near their father's hall
Was rooted in their native earth.

To some, when autumn browns the vale
And lays their leafy honours low,
A whisper floats upon the gale,
How frail the state of man below !

In spring, when nature's charms abound,
And leaves break forth upon the tree,
The meditative mind will find
The hope of immortality.

During the eighteenth century, municipal rulers and others completed the deformity of the ancient churches. In executing repairs on these venerable fabrics, the workmen were instructed to remove or obliterate all traces of sculpture. The authorities deemed that they were advancing the cause of Presbyterian doctrine.

Rural hamlets were in a deplorable condition. Piggeries were erected in every corner, and dunghills were spread at every threshold. The streets were besmeared with ordure. Offensive exhalations issued from the alleys. Noisome weeds sprang up everywhere. The different dwellings were altogether wretched. An English tourist, who visited Dunkeld in 1746, thus describes the domestic condition of the peasantry in that neighbourhood :—

“ The Highland houses hereabouts are very oddly built, and look most miserable and desolate, they being composed of blocks of peat, stones, and broom. As to chimneys, they are little acquainted with them ; there is sometimes a little hole left open in the top, for the smoke's exit ; other times it is in the end, and most

frequently the door performs this office. Nay, what is more odd, in coming into this town, I saw in one house a chimney made of a cart-wheel, and out of the hollow for the axle passed the smoke."

In the Lowlands, the huts of the peasantry were commonly reared of stone and mortar ; in other respects the description of the English tourist is applicable to the whole country. There were no ceilings ; there was no ventilation ; the windows were in the lower sills filled with immoveable timber-boards ; the glass frames of the upper sills were covered with spiders' webs, the removal of which implied "bad luck." The earthen floors were seldom swept, and so accumulated the rubbish of generations. The fireplace occupied the centre of the apartment. The fuel rested upon the floor ; and when "a blazing ingle" was designed, the members of the family stretched themselves on their faces, and blew upon the fagots. The smoke was intended to find egress by an aperture in the roof, but it more frequently encircled the room, ultimately issuing from the door, which was seldom closed. The cooking process was simple. Most of the peasantry subsisted on brose, which consisted of oatmeal moistened with hot water, and seasoned with salt. Each meal was a repetition of the former, till the introduction of potatoes, which were used at supper.

The burial-ground was commonly situated in the centre of the hamlet. It was surrounded by dwellings, to the lower windows of which the soil was raised by successive interments. The occupants of these dwellings did not complain ; for they were familiar with damp walls, and they could view from their windows the sepulchres of their fathers. The parish church, which stood in the burial-ground, displayed on its inner walls

a green mould, but it could be removed by the sexton's broom, and the musty atmosphere of the place was familiar to all worshippers. Landowners, the clergy, and other persons of quality, were, as they died, buried under their pews. Graves were ordinarily four feet in depth ; but in certain districts it was deemed respectful to the deceased to place their coffins within one foot from the surface. Mr. Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris, in the Isle of Lewis, was, according to his wish, interred in the passage near the door of the church in which he had ministered. According to the practice which obtained in Harris, the shell containing his remains was placed only a few inches under the soil. About twenty years after his interment, the sexton, in sweeping the earthen floor of the church, raised a skull, which he recognised as that of the deceased clergymen.*

In opening new graves, the sexton gathered up the fragments of decayed coffins, which he deposited in a corner, to be collected as fuel by poor parishioners. The ashes of the dead have been treated with similar irreverence. When the new parish church of Dunino, Fifeshire, was erected in 1825, the remains of the heritors and parochial clergymen, who had been interred in the former structure for successive generations, were sold for £3 to a neighbouring farmer, for manuring his fields. An aisle of Glasgow Cathedral was used as the burying-

* The practice of interring in churches was prohibited by order of the General Assembly in 1643, but was continued by many of the landowners long after. The Kirksession Records of Dunfermline contain an account of the forcible entrance of the parish church of that place in 1660, for the interment of the " Laird of Rossyth," a deceased land-owner in the district.

place of the parish ministers since the Reformation. About twenty years ago the aisle was opened up, and the mould ruthlessly scattered.

The old Scottish hamlet was generally situated on the margin of a stream. Bridges were rare; they were unnecessary, for the women who ordinarily dispensed with shoes and stockings, contrived, by an easy arrangement of their garments, to carry their male friends across the water upon their shoulders.* The rivulet was the common sewer and the general lavatory. In its waters "gudewives" washed their linens, and "gude men" cleaned their faces on Sundays. When "sow day" came round, a day on which the hogs were slaughtered, the river served the purpose of carrying off the accumulated refuse of the piggeries.

Epidemic diseases were common. During the seventeenth century eight or ten plagues visited the country, and swept off half the population. The terrible nature of these scourges can hardly be conceived. Within a few days the messenger of death would visit almost every dwelling. Here a parent, there a child, would lie uncoffined. During some of the *visitations*, as these epidemics were termed, many persons left their homes for tents in the open fields. Town Councils, Kirk-sessions, and other public bodies suspended their sittings. The Kirksession of Stirling held no meetings on account of "the plague" between the 14th August, 1606, and the 29th January, 1607. In 1604 a pestilence raged at Edinburgh with such severity that it was found essen-

* James VI. was wont facetiously to inform his English courtiers that he had in his native kingdom a town of 500 bridges. He alluded to the hamlet of Auchterarder, where every house in the long street had an entry bridged over the public strand.

tial to compel those elected as magistrates to accept and execute their offices. Attributing these visitations to sorcery or the direct agency of Satan, the Church was content to redouble its exertions against witchcraft and the power of the evil eye. Sanitary measures were unthought of. The people believed as they were taught.

The sanitary condition of the Scottish capital in 1730 has been described by a contemporary. At that period the gentlewomen of Edinburgh and their cooks cast the household slops into the public streets.

In allusion to this practice, a gentleman who accompanied the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland in 1746, writes:—"It is not a little diversion to a stranger to hear all passers by cry out with a loud voice, sufficient to reach the tops of the houses (which are generally six or seven stories high, in the front of the High Street), 'Hoad yare hoand,' *i. e.*, hold your hand, and means, 'Do not throw till I am past.'"

The practice of scattering refuse from the windows on the public streets having at length become obnoxious to the citizens, many of whom were daily soused in the polluted waters, the civic authorities enacted that an open tank should be placed at the entrance of every dwelling for the reception of refuse. But the new scheme was no adequate improvement, since the odour of the tanks was only less offensive than the being drenched in their contents. Swine moved about the streets in droves. The children of respectable citizens rode upon their backs. The daughters of Lady Maxwell of Monreith, including Jane, afterwards Duchess of Gordon, were among the last of Scottish maidens who practised this amusement.

The present condition of the peasantry in some of the Western Isles is sufficiently degrading. In the island of Lewis, agricultural labourers live under the same roof with their cattle. There are two apartments, in one of which the family are accommodated, the other is the *byre* or cowhouse. The latter presents, after the half-yearly cleansing in spring and summer, a considerable hollow, which is supposed to be conducive to the welfare of the kine. The hollow is gradually filled up by the accumulation of straw and manure, the existence of which is believed to generate a healthful warmth. There are no windows in Hebridean cottages, but a little light is admitted from apertures at the lower portion of the roof. The constant smoke and improper ventilation of these huts are most prejudicial to the young. One-third of the children born in the Hebrides, and in certain districts of the Highlands, die under the age of twelve.

In one respect the discipline of the Scottish Church has proved beneficial. To this cause may be ascribed the reverent observance of Sunday, which has so long been a characteristic of the people. This observance has occasionally assumed a morose character, and tended to present religion, especially to the young, in forbidding aspects; but on the whole it has been salutary, especially in a country where potent beverages are used so unsparingly. The early plantation of parish schools, due to the sagacity of Knox, has mainly conducted to the success of natives of Scotland in countries other than their own. To a native of the north a little learning is not a dangerous thing; it prompts him to aspire to higher attainments and greater proficiency.

The civilization of Scotland is largely due to the

genial influences of her English neighbours. In the eleventh century came the Saxon refugees who fled from Norman invaders. At their head was Margaret, niece of Edward the Confessor, who, espousing Malcolm Canmore, became queen. This admirable woman taught the people to spin; she introduced the industrious arts. During his long captivity, James I. acquired a fund of knowledge in England, which he applied, on his return, in the promotion of learning, and in the equitable dispensation of justice. English artists were invited to settle in Scotland by James III. The queen of James IV., daughter of Henry VII. of England, largely promoted English manners at the Scottish court. During the reign of Queen Mary, and the minority of her successor, intercourse with England was close and constant.

The reformation of Scottish manners was greatly accelerated by the accession of James VI. to the English throne. That sovereign had no sooner been established in his new possessions, than thousands of adventurers from the north flocked to London to solicit the royal protection. Some claimed payment of old debts; others preferred claims for personal service to the monarch or to his progenitors.

Among the documents of the State Paper Office relating to Scotland in this reign, is a letter from Sir George Calvert to Secretary Staunton, dated Greenwich, June 21st, 1619, in which the writer proceeds:—"Sir,—This is the man who solicits for the merchants of Scotland, on whose behalf I moved the Board yesterday, by his Majesty's commandment. It was referred, as you may remember, to the Commissioners of the Treasury. I pray you give him what

despatch you may, for he will also importune and trouble his Majesty." Repressive measures became essential for the protection of the weak monarch against the supplications of his northern subjects. The MS. "Register of Letters of Sir William Alexander," preserved in the Advocates' Library, contains a manifesto dated April, 1619, and despatched in the king's name to the Scottish Secretary of State, in which the monarch discharges "all manner of persons from resorting out of Scotland to this our kingdome, unlesse it be gentlemen of good qualitie, merchands for traffiques, or such as shall have a generall license from our Counselle of that kingdome, with expresse prohibitioun to all masters of shippes that they transport no such persones." The proclamation further informs his Majesty's Scottish subjects that "Sir William Alexander, Master of Requests, had received a commission to apprehend and send home, or to punish all vagrant persons who came to England to cause trouble, or bring discredit on their country." This royal edict was proclaimed at the crosses of the principal towns; but the exodus could not be stopped. Scotsmen still proceeded to the southern marts, some as pedlars, others as workmen, and so commenced that amalgamation of the two races, which has proved most salutary to the empire. The plain rough manners of the strangers were destined, long after the termination of repressive measures, to evoke the ridicule of their more favoured neighbours. A couplet composed at their expense we have excavated from an oblivion in which, perhaps, some northern readers may conceive it might have been allowed to rest.

"Bonny Scot, all witness can,
England has made thee a gentleman." *

The political union of 1707 proved the last and most important epoch in the history of Scottish civilization. With a view to the discharge of their duties in the British Parliament, many of the more considerable nobles and landowners were called on to reside a portion of the year in London, where, with their families, they acquired new habits of culture. Salutary as were its results, the union was accomplished by means which proved the degraded condition of those who were taken into partnership by their more civilized and more opulent neighbours. The sum of £20,000 was brought from England, and deposited in the castle of Edinburgh, to induce Scottish barons to come to easy terms in a settlement of the international compact. To the Earl of Marchmont was handed a bribe of 1,100 guineas, while Lord Banff was content with the sop of eleven pounds!

Lord Seafield, the Scottish Chancellor, objected to his brother, Colonel Ogilvie, dealing in cattle, as being derogatory to his rank. "Tak your ain tale hame, my lord," said the colonel; "I sell nowt,† but ye sell nations." An English satirist *improved* the occasion in these lines :—

"I wondered not when I was told
The venal Scot his country sold,
But very much I did admire
That ever it could find a buyer."‡

* MS., British Museum.

† Black cattle.

‡ Cole's MS. in the British Museum (5,832).

One of the first legislative enactments in reference to Scotland was not creditable to the united Parliament. The restoration, in 1712, of lay patronage in the Established Church was fraught with disastrous consequences to the best interests of the country. Formerly the depraved habits of the multitude were kept in check by the pious teaching and virtuous example of the clergy, who, deriving their livings from the direct invitation of the people, sought to consecrate their gifts to the spiritual well-being of their flocks. The restoration of patronage led to the appointment of a new order of teachers,—men who were, indeed, enemies of superstition, but to whom evangelical doctrine was equally obnoxious. For a century subsequent to the passing of the Act restoring patronage, no inconsiderable portion of the clergy ignored the doctrine of justification by faith, and ridiculed the devoted ardour of their covenanting progenitors. Many of them were avowed Arians. A parish minister in the county of Peebles composed a work in support of the doctrine of Socinus, which was published posthumously.* Among the rural clergy were some who adopted a course of life inconsistent with the sacred office. They were habitual toppers.

The judicious exercise of patronage by the lay impro priators might have resulted in a better state of things. But church patronage was notoriously maladministered. One clergyman obtained his living by helping his patron at the curling rink; another got his cure because he remained sober at a dinner-party, when

* “An Essay on the Nature and Design of Scripture Sacrifices.”
1823. 8vo.

his constituent and his other guests got quite drunk. Another received his presentation because he showed his independence, when tutor in his patron's family, by refusing, when company was in the house, to take dinner in his own chamber.*

In his interesting work, "Social Life in Moray,"† Captain Dunbar has presented, from the repositories of the patron of Duffus, several letters written on the part of candidates for that living during a vacancy which occurred in 1748. An adjacent proprietor pleads the cause of his *protégé*, by offering to become bound that he should "demit" the living whenever the patron was tired of him. The reverend assistant to the late incumbent, writing from the "manse of Duffus," makes his proposals in a business-like fashion. Assuming that his application would succeed, he begins by the minor promise, "that should he receive the presentation, so that he might be settled before Michaelmas," he would allow the patron a half-year's stipend "for any particular pious use or other just intention." Then follows the more substantial part of his engagement:—"And if ye shall judge it proper to bestow any particular friend or relative of yours upon me as my wife, I also hereby promise not only to keep my affections free, but also, with God's assistance, to accept of her preferably to any other person whatever, as my future spouse; and for this effect I also hereby promise to take and re-enter (at least) the twenty pounds sterling class in the

* See our "Illustrations of Scottish Life" and "Traits and Stories of the Scottish People" *passim*.

† "Social Life in Former Days, chiefly in the Province of Moray," by E. Dunbar Dunbar, Edinburgh. 1865. 8vo.

Widows' Fund, as the same is established by Act of Parliament; and I shall always consider that, along with your relation, you have also given me one thousand pounds Scots yearly to maintain her."

Towards the close of the last century, Mr. Alexander Brodie, minister of Dunino, Fifeshire, was presented by the Earl of Kellie to the neighbouring parish and better living of Carnbee, on the condition, stipulated in writing, that he would not trouble his patron for repairs on the church property, or for an augmentation of stipend. Mr. Brodie, having entered on his new living, proceeded to claim the full rights of the cure. In defence, Lord Kellie produced the minister's letter, and the subject was discussed in the Court of Session. The court ruled that the compact was illegal, and gave a decree in favour of the incumbent. "A minister is not obliged to keep his word," indicates the case in the margin of the Court Records.

Appointed to their livings under a system obnoxious to the people, the clergy began to lose that firm hold on the affections of their parishioners which Presbyterian pastors had formerly possessed. Disputed settlements were frequent. The members of Presbytery, who assembled to induct obnoxious presentees, were often debarred from performing the ceremony in the churches. At least one hundred of the clergy were, in the course of the last century, settled in their cures under the protection of a military escort.

Acrimonious feelings on the part of reclaiming congregations were, it must be acknowledged, generally proportioned to the unreasonable character of the opposition. When a congregation set their affections on a particular clergyman, and determined to secure him as

their pastor, they could not be persuaded that any other could minister to their edification. When another clergyman appeared as presentee, they prepared to resist his induction. During a recent vacancy at Dunbog, Fifeshire, the parishioners were disappointed in obtaining the minister of their choice. The settlement of the presentee was resisted without success, but an attempt was afterwards made to effect a new vacancy by the explosion of a grenade at the window of the minister's sitting-room.

About one-half of the population have, at different times, seceded from the Established Church, and nearly every secession has been promoted by what the dissentients characterized as "the burden of patronage." The first secession took place in 1733, when four ministers, soon joined by four others, constituted the *Associate Presbytery*, the nucleus of the United Presbyterian Church. The last secession took place in 1843, when 474 ministers renounced their livings, and established themselves as the Free Church of Scotland.

The division of the people into different sects may have proved beneficial in promoting emulation, but the effect has, on the whole, been pernicious. So long as the clergy were chosen by the people and supported by the State, parishioners attached themselves to the pastors whom they had invited to labour among them ; while they were convinced that any undue interference with the privileges of the ministerial office might be efficiently resisted. But when the people came both to appoint and support their own pastors, a different relationship ensued, which has often resulted unhappily. The Free Church has wisely constituted a sustentation fund, to

which the more opulent members contribute, and from which the clergy derive the chief portion of their revenues.

The diminished fervour of the clergy, and a relaxed ministerial supervision, revived early in the last century those degrading practices which had been in abeyance since the Reformation. The love of potent liquors increased among all classes. Ribald songs and profane ballads were sung everywhere. The Falkirk Chapmen books, impure in every page, constituted the literature of the people. Social irregularities became lamentably prevalent. In the rural parishes, the clergyman, the schoolmaster, and the elders, were almost the only persons who were of untainted lives. The delicacy of Scottish maidens was blunted by the limited accommodations of their cottage homes. In domestic service they were unwisely prohibited by housewives from all companionship with men of their own age and rank. They consequently held in secret those interviews with their lovers which ought to have been permitted openly. The clandestine character of these meetings degraded the moral sentiment and proved unfavourable to virtue.

From country parishes the social evil migrated into the populous centres. Except in the county of Aberdeen, illegitimacy is now diminishing in rural districts. In Edinburgh social irregularities maintain a dark pre-eminence. An intelligent writer, who from philanthropic motives explored "the dens" of Edinburgh a few years ago, thus describes what he personally witnessed:— "Old and young are mixed up together,—the former with their lives shrivelled into nothing; the latter rushing with blinded eyes to accomplish the desperate determi-

nation they have come to of abandoning themselves to their violent passions. The end is never far out of sight. The poor creatures hurry themselves out of the world, and many, like her who sought the ‘Bridge of Sighs,’ may be glad to go. Were all the tragedies thus enacted in one city known, the death-bell might never cease ringing. . . . Those who have seen suffering in these resorts of wickedness may have some idea of the horrors attending it ; those who have not can have none, however graphic may be the description presented to them. There may be comparative quiet in the daytime, but the scenes within and around the ‘sick chamber’ at night are terrible. The boisterous and unceasing conversation is almost maddening. The foetid, stifling air can find no escape ; and even the change from life to death may pass unobserved by those who have been accustomed to associate there for the gratification of their mean and gross desires. The places of the victims are quickly filled up. One night the ‘mistress of the house’ is found ill and helpless ; the next night she has been removed and her place taken by another.”

The administration of justice in ancient Scotland might form an interesting chapter in the history of jurisprudence. When James I. returned from his English captivity in 1424, he found the country so misgoverned that robbery and spoliation were rampant in every hamlet. The strong plundered the weak without remorse, and the retention of property and goods being so uncertain, industry was completely paralyzed. James, in redressing the wrongs of his injured subjects, dispensed with the ordinary forms. He suspended purses of money in the public places, and employed persons

to keep guard in their vicinity. When a purse was taken down, the thief was suspended in its place. The executioners of the law proceeded everywhere gibbeting sturdy marauders, highway robbers, and notorious thieves. These active measures produced a restoration of civil order, and afforded security to property ; and it can hardly be doubted that if the life of the monarch had been prolonged, he would have effectually stemmed that torrent of vagabondism which, owing to his early death, continued to devastate the kingdom. The short lives of the three succeeding sovereigns prevented their materially aiding in the suppression of felony. But the youthful James V., as soon as he had attained freedom of action, raised a powerful force of cavalry, at the head of which he proceeded to the border counties to seek the extermination of those who subsisted by plunder. He was on the borders with his mounted followers in June, 1529 ; he then apprehended and hanged forty-eight notable thieves, including their leader, the celebrated Johnnie Armstrong.

When the sovereign was required summarily to interfere in the punishment of crime, it may be concluded that judicial arrangements were incomplete. The precise character of ancient Scottish judicatories has not been ascertained. There were three chief justiciars. These are mentioned in chartularies so early as the twelfth century. They possessed both civil and criminal jurisdiction. There were likewise inferior justiciaries, whose appointments were hereditary. The office of sheriff, which is of great antiquity, was attended with considerable authority. The Court of Session, with its fifteen judges, was instituted by James V.

in May, 1532, for the cognizance of those offences, and of civil causes, which had formerly been determined by the King and Council, or a Committee of the Estates.

The greater number of civil and criminal causes were decided by the feudal barons and lords of regality. The barons exercised a powerful jurisdiction ; their courts consisted of a seneschal, a chamberlain, a dempster or doomster, and other officials ; they adjudicated in momentous civil causes, and in criminal cases passed and executed sentence of death. As a rule, every land-owner was a lord of regality, and possessed jurisdiction over the property and persons of those who resided on his estate. Originally the feudal courts were styled justice-aires, and were held on the high places ; many hills are still known in the lowlands as "laws." Subsequently the barons constructed justice-rooms in their castles and manors. The hall of justice at Doune Castle is tolerably entire.

The barons were exempted from personally attending to their judicial duties. They appointed deputies or bailies, who presided in their absence, and always occupied the judicial bench in outlying districts. The punishment of felony was death. Sentence was pronounced by the doomster, and execution speedily followed. Latterly the doomster discharged the twofold office of pronouncing sentence and executing it.

Capital sentences pronounced in baronial and regality courts were carried out by two methods. The lowland convicts were hanged ; in highland districts condemned females were allowed the alternative of perishing in the water. The Baron Court of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, held at Drainie, Morayshire, on the 25th

August, 1679, sentenced Janet Grant, on a charge of theft, to which she pleaded guilty, to be drowned next day in the Loch of Spynie.* Heritable jurisdictions were abolished in 1747.

The assize courts were, in dispensing justice, less governed by the evidence than by the character previously borne by the accused. The Circuit Court at Jedburgh was chiefly engaged in the trial of persons accused of plunder, and the proof which insured conviction was so slender that Jeddart or Jedburgh justice passed into a proverb.

Magistrates of burghs were chosen by municipal corporations. Those who ruled in the country towns were seldom able to subscribe their sentences, but they claimed judicial capacity by imitating the rural barons in the severity of their judgments. Each burgh retained an executioner or hangman. He was known by the milder designation of *lockman*, on account of his receiving a lock or small quantity of meal from every sack of grain exposed in the market-place. The Dumfries executioner took his *lock* from the sacks with an iron ladle ; the Stirling hangman used a timber cap. From their treasurer's accounts it appears that the Edinburgh town council amply remunerated the lockman for particular services. In October and November, 1703, William Donaldson, lockman for the city, received from the treasurer the following payments :—

“ For executing Marion Dalglish £	7	7	4
For setting Andrew Drummond on the Tron	2	0	0	
For scourging Mary Graham	1	0	0	”

* See Captain Dunbar's “ Social Life in Moray.”

On the 10th December, 1538, the magistrates of Haddington sentenced one Howm or Hume, for an act of theft, “to be bundyn at the erss of ane cart, and to gang trow all the streittis of the town, and the lockman to stryik hym with ane vand, and that the servands se that he execut his office on him and to haif ane fresche vand at ylk streit end and to forsweir the towne and oblliss him to be hangit be the sheriff and ever he cum in the towne again.”

Humanity had not made much progress among burgh magistrates after the lapse of two centuries, for the magistrates of Elgin, in 1700, paid their marshal twenty shillings, Scots, for “scourging two, lugging two, and burning two thieves.” The punishment of “lugging,” or depriving the criminal of his ears, was inflicted only on serfs or notorious felons. Branding was a common punishment; it was inflicted chiefly by the regality courts. The branding iron of Dunfermline was a rod two feet long, having a square lump of iron at the end, on which were engraved the letters *Dun + Reg*—Dunfermline Regality. The square end of the instrument was made hot and then thrust against the brow or right hand of the offender. The impression could not be obliterated.

Females were branded on the cheek by an instrument called *the key*. The Burgh Records of Haddington contain the following:—

“29th Octr. 1544. The qlk. day, Issobell Gowinlock was ordainit to be banist the towne for steling of Patrik Shairpis caill, and gyf evir sche cum in it againe the key to be sett on her cheik.”

Burgh magistrates inflicted severe penalties on those who refused their jurisdiction. In 1663 the Town

Council of Dumfries deprived a burgess's wife of her municipal privileges for appealing to the sheriff against a judgment of the Burgh Court. The minute is curious:— “Dumfries, 5th September, 1663. The Council, considering the great abuse of their authoritie by Elizabeth Gibson, relict of Thomas Crawford, by writing an address to the sheriff-depute of Nithsdail for repairing a wrong done by one of our burgesses to her, whereby she has endeavoured to move the sheriff-depute to encrotch upon the privileges of this burgh, contrarie to the bound prerogative of a burgess's wife ; therefore the magistrates and counsel discharge hir of aney privilege or libertie she can claim of freedom of trade within this burgh.”

In 1650 the magistrates of Linlithgow inflicted penalties on certain burgesses who had been wanting in respect to municipal authority. One burgess is fined for “not giffing reverence,” or taking off his hat in obeisance to a bailie ; another, for “in his great raschnes and suddantie destroying the head of the toun's drum,” is “discharged the freedom of the burgh,” fined £50 Scots, and obliged to “sitt doun upon his knees at the croce at ten houres before noone, and crave the provost, bailies, and counsall pardon.”

The provincial sheriffs were disposed to inflict milder sentences, but occasionally they caught the spirit of the times, and sentenced barbarously. On the 8th May, 1758, Agnes Blyth was, by decree of the sheriff, whipped through the city of Edinburgh, and afterwards banished the country. Her offence was hen-stealing. The Justiciary Courts possessed the power of commuting the punishment of death for that of perpetual servitude. On the 5th December, 1761, four men were tried at Perth by the Circuit Court. Having been convicted,

they were liable to the punishment of death ; but the sentence was mitigated "into perpetual servitude at the Court's disposal." One of the convicts was bestowed upon Sir John Erskine, of Alva, with a view to his being employed in the silver mines on his estate. Some years ago a metal collar was dredged up in the Firth of Forth ; it bore the following inscription :—" Alexr. Stewart found guilty of death for theft at Perth, 5th of December, 1761, and gifted by the Justiciars as a perpetual servant to Sir John Arskine of Alva." The unhappy convict, depressed by the degrading character of his punishment, had no doubt in a fit of frenzy plunged into the sea.

Till 1775 miners and salt-workers remained in a condition of villenage, being bound to reside on the same estate and follow the same employment from one generation to another. They were transferred with the works on which they laboured, when these were sold. The following anecdote is related by Dr. Robert Chambers, in his "Domestic Annals." In the year 1820 the late Mr. Robert Bald, of Alloa, was on a visit to his friend, Mr. Colin Dunlop, at the Clyde Iron-works, near Glasgow. Among the workers was an old man, commonly called "Moss Nook." In Mr. Bald's presence, Mr. Dunlop asked this individual to state how he became connected with the establishment. "Nook" proceeded to relate that he had formerly been with a Mr. McNair, of the Green, but that his master taking a fancy to a pony possessed by Mr. Dunlop's father, he was niffered * for the beast, and sent to the works.

Personal liberty was not generally respected. Between 1740 and 1746 one of the bailies and the town-

* Exchanged.

clerk-depute of Aberdeen, with some others, kidnapped persons in the rural districts, and despatched them to the American plantations, where they were sold as slaves. A vessel sailed from Aberdeen for America in 1743, containing sixty-nine kidnapped persons, and it has been estimated that in the six years during which the Aberdeen slave trade was at its height, six hundred individuals were illegally transported to the plantations.

Against assaults on their persons or property the old barons and highland chiefs were more indebted to arrangements among themselves than to the majesty of the law. Highland and lowland landowners constituted two separate interests. Among the former, the chief of every powerful clan possessed a body of retainers in his kinsmen, who resided on his estate, bore his family name, and owed him a patriarchal supremacy. In addition to these he commanded the services of his allies or native men—the adherents or kinsmen of neighbouring and less powerful chiefs. These by bonds of manrent undertook to make common cause with him against all his enemies, on the condition that they personally received his protection in seasons of emergency. But these engagements were not undertaken solely for defensive purposes. Highland chiefs of high rank conceived themselves warranted in levying black-mail from lowland barons ; that is, they assumed a right to appropriate their cattle unless they received a stipulated annual payment to forbear. When such payments were made, the recipients undertook to defend the property of the taxed against the forays of other marauding clans. Illegal as the impost was, highland chiefs did not hesitate to enforce payment in the courts of the lowland barons, who were moved by personal considerations to

decide against the statute. At a Quarter Sessions Court held at Stirling on the 3rd February, 1689, the Laird of Touch and other Justices of the Peace ordered the inhabitants of certain parishes "to pay black mail to Captain MacGregor,* for protecting their goods and gear."

Mr. Abercromby, of Tullibody, father of the celebrated Sir Ralph, though living on the banks of the Forth, about twenty miles from the highland border, felt himself obliged, consequent on the frequent loss of cattle, to offer payment of black-mail to Rob Roy. The laird of Westerton, Stirlingshire, who persistently refused payment of the impost, was carried off to a distance of twenty miles from his residence, and then permitted to return without his shoes.

Parish schools were established at the Reformation, but little progress was made in the education of the masses. The gentry discouraged their tenantry, who, in their turn, discountenanced their hinds from seeking other than the rudiments of learning for their children. Indeed, the schoolmaster was not often competent to communicate extensive knowledge. His emoluments did not justify the expectation, for his salary was one hundred pounds Scots (£8 6s. 8d.), with such fees as his pupils could afford to pay.

In the highlands and islands the wide extent of the parishes, and the consequent distance of many families from the parish school, together with the want of Gaelic literature, kept the body of the people in lamentable ignorance. About the commencement of the present century, the late Principal Baird, of Edinburgh, induced the General Assembly to plant schools in the less

* Rob Roy.

favoured districts of the highlands. The venerable Principal was wont to relate this anecdote. When he was examining one of the schools, a young urchin burst into a paroxysm of crying, which he made no effort to subdue. Having been coaxed to communicate the cause of his distress, he made the sobbing reply, "I have trappit grandfather in spelling synagogue, and he winna let me abune him." The schoolboy was clamorous because, having spelt a word more correctly than his grandsire, his ancestor refused to allow him a higher place in the class, according to the rule.

Country squires were not much better informed than their inferiors in social rank. Reading was confined to the clergyman, the lawyer, and the physician. In 1683 Scotland possessed only one printing press, and when it was proposed to license a second printer, the widow of Andrew Anderson, of Edinburgh, King's printer, endeavoured to keep David Lindsay out of the field, alleging among other reasons against a licence being granted him, that she had hitherto possessed the sole privilege, and that "one press is sufficiently able to supply all Scotland." A century ago few of the country gentlemen could spell or compose an ordinary letter without a succession of grammatical blunders. The following communication, printed *verbatim* from the original, was addressed by Mr. Grant of Dalvey, afterwards Sir Ludovick Grant, Bart., to Mr. Archibald Dunbar, of Thundertoun. It is dated "Dalvey, 14th March, 1764":—

"DR. SIR,—Your kind favers of no Deat I was faverd with this afternoon your servt Brought to my miller 6 firlots of badly Drest smuty whit. Vpon my Examininge itt I found itt would dow discredit to my milen to mak flour of such whit till such time as its washed on wh. acct I have sent you the same quantity of my Good

flour that yours would a produst had itt been Ground and Entirely Drest and free from smut to mantien the Caractor of my millen in the first please and then the satisfaction to think that you and the lady will Eat Good holsum Bread —— As to your plants my Gardners Laft at me when I asked for them they say that at this season thers no such thinge the only time for plantinge them is in the month of June or July in that season you may have as many as you chuse from my gardin thers sent you p berar a duzon more of lickras plants wh. is all that can be speard from my small plantation att this time. I have Been makinge all the Enquiry I Culd for a Turkie Cok to your hen tho as yete to no purpos. I aplyed Lady Kelraick who has some turkis, but she Could spear non so I am afryed I shall have wers findinge a Cok then I had a hen—forgive Erors I am much thronged with Company Mrs Grant and daughter joines me in our Respectful Complments to you your Lady and miss Dunbar and I am Sir

“your most obtt. Hbl Servtt,

“LUD. GRANT.”

Public opinion was in Scotland originally expressed by placarding. When Darnley was murdered, a writing was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth or Parliament House of Edinburgh, naming Bothwell, Chambers, and “black” Mr. John Spence as the perpetrators. Another followed, naming as inferior actors Signor Francis Bastiat, John of Bordeaux, and Joseph Rizzio. The marriage of Queen Mary with the infamous Bothwell was denounced after the same fashion.

The first Scottish newspaper, designated *Mercurius Caledonius*, was established in 1661 ; but it soon died from insufficient support. The *Edinburgh Gazette* was originated in 1680, and continued to maintain a precarious existence. In 1689 the Town Council of Linlithgow arranged to despatch a weekly messenger to Edinburgh to obtain “ye Newes Letters, and Gazets,” and to pay two-thirds of the cost—the remaining third

having been undertaken by one of the burgesses, who proposed to establish a news-room. The arrangement proved unsatisfactory. After a year's trial, the enterprising burgess was relieved from his engagement, "considering he made little or no advantage by ye Newes Letters," and in the month of November following the Council resolved "to be at noe more expenses for newes letters in tyme to come." Till 1707 communication between Edinburgh and Glasgow was conducted by a foot post. A mounted post was afterwards employed.

The news of public and other events was carried into the rural districts by the smuggler, the chapman, and the gaberlunzie. Smuggling was conducted along the entire seaboard, and venders of contraband wares perambulated every portion of the country. Illicit distillation was prosecuted in the Highlands and outlying districts. Every Highlander conceived that the principles of charity and good neighbourhood required him to protect the smuggler and his goods from the grasp of the excise, while those who robbed the public revenues were liberal in rewarding their protectors with rum and whisky.

The chapman pursued a calling profitable to himself and most useful to society. He belonged to an ancient brotherhood ; for in a country where there were few towns, a scattered population, and limited means of conveyance, itinerant merchants met with early encouragement, and were readily hailed as an institution. In exchange for his commodities the chapman accepted poultry, eggs, bacon, meal, and potatoes, which he converted into coin on his return to commercial centres. He was prolific of news, could communicate the latest tidings from London, and detail every particular of the

latest scandal at "the place" or "big house."* He sold for a penny the latest ballad, and supplied the delighted children with halfpenny broadsheets, detailing the wonderful histories of Jack the Giant-Killer, Sir William Wallace, and Cock Robin. A more affluent class of chapmen proceeded abroad on horseback, carrying their merchandise on pack-saddles. These had transactions with the country gentry, to whom they gave long credit on accounts, in which the prices were doubled. Mr. Robert Heron† relates an anecdote of a chapman and a Highland laird, so illustrative of the manners of ancient Scotland that we owe no apology for reproducing it. A chapman proceeded from Perth to the residence of a Highland landowner with the view of craving him for payment of a debt. He arrived at the laird's residence in the evening, and was hospitably received and accommodated for the night. Looking from the window of his apartment next morning he saw an object, which seemed the body of a man, suspended on a tree. Inquiring of a servant what the spectacle meant, he received the reply that a chapman from the low country had come to crave the laird for a debt, and as the fellow had been insolent, the laird, in a fit of passion, had hung him up. This was enough. After breakfast the visitor expressed his obligations to the laird for his hospitality, and hastened off without referring to his claim. The object suspended was a lay figure, which the laird retained to alarm those whose claims he found it inconvenient to discharge.

The Scottish chapman has migrated into the more

* These names were commonly applied to the residences of the nobility and landowners.

† "Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland," by Robert Heron, vol. i., p. 93. Perth, 1793, 2 vols., 8vo.

promising region of the south, where he generally succeeds in realizing a competency and attaining position. Scottish *hawkers*, as they are termed, possess headquarters in the principal towns of England, from which they make periodical circuits into the country.

The poverty of the soil, the lack of trade, and the want of any well-defined system of relieving able-bodied persons out of employment, constituted a body of mendicants, who derived a precarious subsistence by begging. Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, represents the eleemosynary condition of the country in 1698 in the following terms :—" There are at this day in Scotland two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress, yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature. No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them ; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who, if they give not bread or some kind of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them), but they rob many poor people, who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days ; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other like occasions, they are to be seen, both men

and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together. These are such outrageous disorders that it were better for the nation they were sold to the galleys or West Indies, than that they should continue any longer to be a burden and a curse upon us. Now what I would propose upon the whole matter is, that for some present remedy of so great a mischief every man of a certain estate in this kingdom should be obliged to take a proportionate number of these vagabonds, and either employ them in hedging and ditching his grounds, or any other sort of work in town or country ; or if they happen to be children and young, that he should educate them in the knowledge of some mechanical art. Hospitals and almshouses ought to be provided for the sick, lame, and decrepit, either by rectifying old foundations or instituting new. And for example and terror, three or four hundred of these villains that we call jockies might be presented by the Government to the State of Venice, to serve in the galleys against the common enemy of Christendom."

The impetuous character of the writer is sufficiently conspicuous in these observations. George Martin, of Claremont, Secretary of Archbishop Sharp, a contemporary of Mr. Fletcher, has described the jockies as descendants of the ancient minstrels, and as persons of reputable lives. He was informed, he writes, that "there were not above twelve of them in the whole isle."

The gaberlunzie, or ancient beggar, would seem to have been a decent sort of personage,—a good retailer of news, and one who might be entrusted with family secrets. Girded with a wallet, the first and fifth Jameses made *incognito* visits to their subjects, and performed those acts of gallantry which have been associated with

their names. Two songs, entitled "The Gaberlunzie Man," and "We'll gang nae mair a-rovin'," were composed by James V. in celebration of his adventures as a mendicant. One kind of beggars was sanctioned by the Court. These were the King's bedesmen, or blue gowns. Their number was regulated by the age of the sovereign. They received annually a cloak of coarse blue cloth, a pewter badge, and a leathern purse, containing as many Scottish shillings or "pennies sterling" as the years of the monarch's life. Many of the older ballad-makers were of the mendicant order; they rewarded their more conspicuous benefactors by celebrating them in verse. Highland bards were supported in the halls of the chiefs, when the order had disappeared from Lowland districts. The last wandering minstrel of the Lowlands was Edward Aitchison, the bard of Peeblesshire. He died in 1856, and was interred in the rural churchyard of Tweedsmuir. A tombstone, erected to his memory, is inscribed with a poetical epitaph, composed by the late Mr. John Wilson, tenant at Billholm, son of the author of "The Isle of Palms."

Travellers of all ranks were regarded with veneration in those times, when locomotion was attended with much cost and many difficulties, and when few even of the yeomanry left their native district unless circumstances of unusual exigency compelled them. In 1763 one stage-coach proceeded monthly between Edinburgh and London, and the journey occupied between fifteen and eighteen days. Even at the commencement of the present century, the journey from Edinburgh to London could not be completed in less than a week; and as casualties were not infrequent, prudent persons executed a settlement of their affairs

before setting out. When the *laird* returned from his English tour, his tenantry and retainers were eager to learn and to comment on every incident which had befallen him in his travels. Some landowners practised on the credulity of their neighbours by narrating adventures which had not happened. When the imposition was detected, the bards took vengeance. A Fife baronet had in this manner transgressed, and these stanzas, and others, were written at his cost :—

“Ken ye aught o’ Sir John Malcolm ?
Igo and ago.
If he’s a wise man I mistak him,
Iram, coram, dago.

“To hear him o’ his travels talk ;
Igo and ago ;
To go to London’s but a walk,
Iram, coram, dago.

“To see the leviathan skip ;
Igo and ago,
And wi’ his tail ding owre a ship,
Iram, coram, dago.”

Since the commencement of the present century, Scottish civilization has marched onward with a steady pace. The native rudeness of the peasantry has been somewhat subdued. The licentious habits of the upper and middle classes have decreased. Scotsmen marry, obtain baptism for their children, and carry their dead to burial, without expending their substance on ardent spirits, and causing their neighbours to become intoxicated. Manly exercises are encouraged. There are village libraries and reading-rooms, mechanics’ institutions, schools of art, and Christian associations. At the Saturday evening concerts, songs elevating, alike in sentiment and music, are sung and enjoyed.

The sanitary condition of towns and hamlets has been improved. Every hind possesses a house of two or more apartments, and the internal arrangements are convenient. Cottage gardening societies have stimulated the cultivation of flowers and vegetables. The thistle is cut down without compunction, and the rose is cultivated in its place. National jealousies have departed.

In one respect only does the distinctive character of the Scotsman remain unchanged. He retains the enterprising spirit of his sires. He passes into all lands, and engages in stupendous undertakings. No impediment can check his progress or diminish his aspirations. Prompt in device and vigorous in action, he meets difficulties with patience, and overcomes them by energy of purpose. His ardour renders him conspicuous, and his indomitable resolution and unbending integrity secure him confidence and friendship.

CHAPTER I.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

THE customs of a people are the ordinary developments of their inner life. These may be of an ephemeral character, but they point to the different stages of thought and action through which the nation has passed. They have seldom been dwelt upon by the historian.

The middle class of society in Scotland was, a century ago, very imperfectly defined. The farmer was head of the house, while his hinds were held as members of the family. Except the married servants, every one connected with the farm dined together at the same board. The farm kitchen was termed the ha';* it was the dining-room of the establishment. The farmer or *gude-man* sat at the upper end of the table; next him sat the *gudewife*, and at each side of the upper end were arranged the children and visitors. The hinds were seated at the lower end of the board. In some farm-houses a line drawn with chalk distinguished the upper from the lower end of the table. In others the family salt-dish was placed so as to denote the boundary line between the members of the family and their dependants. Dinner was commenced with broth, better known as kail. There was no tureen; the plates were filled direct from the kail-pot by the maid-servants, who

* Hall, or principal apartment.

supped their own share on their knees, seated on stools at the fireplace. When any of the hinds desired a second supply of broth he rose from his place, and proceeded to the kail-pot. All sat at table with unwashen hands. The hinds retained their bonnets, unless when the *gudeman* asked a blessing, when each drew his bonnet over his eyes. The broth was supped with short spoons from plates of timber or pewter. The spoons were made on the premises from the horns of slaughtered cattle.

After the kail a joint of beef or mutton was placed on a wooden trencher before the *gudeman*, who took from his pocket a clasped knife and fork, with which he "divided" it. The expression *divide* had a literal significance, for the joint was not sliced, but cut into lumps proportioned to the capacities of the different consumers. Knives and forks were presented to strangers, but the ordinary company separated and ate their portions with their fingers. When the joint was eaten, the broth which remained in the pot was placed upon the table, and was served along with a copious allowance of oat-cakes and barley bannocks.

Butcher meat was not a uniform part of the farm-house dinner. It appeared just thrice a week, while its place was on other days supplied with such dairy produce as butter, cheese, and eggs. Those days on which animal food was not presented were termed *meagre*. Twice or thrice a year the farmer dined alone. These were the occasions of the parochial clergyman's annual visitation, or when some notable friend from a distance chanced to arrive. At such times the *gudewife* served her husband and the guests. Dinner being brought in, she proceeded to wipe the chairs with a fine linen towel,

and invited the company to sit. Then placing herself behind her husband's chair she gently reminded him from time to time of his duties as a host, and in the intervals of serving snatched from his plate with her fingers a potato or portion of meat. She joined freely in the conversation, and sat down to serve the haggis or pudding.

The morning and evening meals at the farmhouse consisted of porridge or brose. Porridge was made of oatmeal boiled in water to a proper consistence. Brose was prepared by mixing a few handfuls of meal with hot water in a wooden dish. The latter description of food was prepared by the hinds for their own use.

At breakfast and supper the members of the family took their viands apart ; but all assembled together in the ha' for evening worship. The practice of family devotion was during the last century nearly universal. The farmer and his wife breakfasted and supped on porridge ; but the dish was rendered more palatable by the rich cream with which it was supped. The *gude-man* prefaced the matutinal meal by swallowing a glass of whisky, which was designated his *morning*. In upland districts a second dram, or "mindram," was administered at noon. A laird in Forfarshire, who died within the recollection of the writer, took eight drams as his ordinary allowance daily.

In upland districts the natives subsisted chiefly on venison. The ancient Highlander prepared his venison without fire. The steaks or slices were simply compressed between two battens of wood, so as to force out the blood. This species of food was acceptable at all hours. In the county of Perth salmon was so abundant that the farm hinds stipulated on engaging that it

should not be presented to them as food oftener than thrice a week. The great-grandfather of the writer engaged his farm servants on this stipulation.

Tea was introduced into Scotland in the spring of 1682 by the Duke of York. He was residing at Holyrood as Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and in order to conciliate the nobility, he caused his Duchess and the Princess Anne to provide a grand entertainment for the ladies of the court. Tea formed part of the fare ; it had not been seen in Scotland before. It was sold at Edinburgh twenty-five years later at 25s. per pound. Physicians prescribed it to their delicate and more opulent patients. A century ago tea was sparingly used in the Scottish farmhouse. Some of the gudewives dispensed with the liquor, and entertained their guests with the leaves mixed with butter.

With the exception of tea and sugar, farmers seldom obtained any articles of food from the shops. Ale was brewed on the premises. The household bread was baked by the *gudewife* and her maidens. A bullock, called the mart, was killed at Martinmas ;* a few crock ewes† were killed about the same season. These were carefully cured, and constituted the family provision in beef and mutton during the year. Whisky and other potent liquors were obtained from the smugglers ; the casks were concealed underground.

The family garments were, like the household food, prepared upon the farm. Both wool and lint were spun on the premises. The parish tailor made periodical visits, and remained till he had fashioned or restored

* The 11th day of November.

† Ewes which had ceased producing lambs.

garments for all the male portion of the establishment. He was recompensed with the daintiest food, and wages varying from twopence to fourpence a day. The females of the family were expected to fabricate their own apparel, and to keep the household in stockings.

The costume of the Scottish farmer a hundred years ago may be described. His head was protected by a round blue bonnet, the flat circle of which was in front raised to an angle, terminating in a point. Hats were introduced for Sunday wear about the beginning of the last century. The neckcloth or overlay consisted of a square of tweeling or coarse yarn, which, after twice enclosing the neck, was buttoned in front to one of the vests. Two vests were worn, the lower of which was termed the surcoat. This garment was made of plaiding, and was closely buttoned over the breast. The upper vest or waistcoat was provided with skirts extending to the thighs. It was made secure to the loins by a belt of buff leather. The coat, or uppermost garment, was worn only on Sundays or holidays, or when visitors were expected. It was a capacious garment, liberally adorned with gilt or brass buttons. The coat and upper vest were of hodden grey, or dark blue, the wool having been procured and spun on the farm. The trousers, fashioned of the same material, descended a little below the knee, where they were met by hose of grey plaiding, to which they were buttoned. The feet were enclosed in shoes of *neat* leather, fastened with brass buckles. Highland farmers wore brogues, composed of half-dried leather, with holes to admit and let out moisture. The ancient brogues were constructed by huntsmen, who encompassed their ankles with undressed deer's hide, hair outwards. These

were laced upon the feet and limbs with leathern thongs.

The farmer's wife was unambitious of showy attire. Her gown, a garment worn only on Sundays, was of homespun material. Her outer dress usually consisted of a short gown, which rested loosely on the shoulders, and otherwise resembled the farmer's upper vest. She wore hoggens, or stockings, which enclosed the ankles, leaving the feet uncovered. When she proceeded abroad, she threw round her person a plaid, in the ample folds of which she was enabled entirely to enshroud herself. The wives of traders adopted a similar outdoor attire. An English tourist,* who visited Edinburgh in 1746, thus describes the street costume of the citizens' wives :—

“The women here use the Scots plaids about their heads and shoulders, exactly of the shape and worn after the same manner with the *Flemmingers'* veils; only these are of different colours, made of worsted, and the foreigners' always black silk: these are very good cover-sluts, and serve to hide the nastiness of their undress.”

Shortly after her wedding, every Scottish matron prepared her shroud. She inured her children to hardness by denying them the use of shoes and stockings. Servants were apparelled in the same manner as the master and mistress, but in materials of coarser texture. The wages of farm servants in 1750 averaged £3 per annum, with a cow's pasture, two ells of harn,† and as much hoddon ‡ as would make a jacket. Occasional farm labourers, or *orra men*, were more liberally recom-

* “A Journey through Part of England and Scotland with the Army of the Duke of Cumberland.” London, 1747.

† Coarse tweedlinen.

‡ Coarse woollen cloth.

pensed. The following letter, addressed by a neighbour to Mr. Archibald Dunbar, of Thundertown, Nairnshire, sets forth the remuneration given to this class of operatives in the middle of last century :—

“Elgin, May 1st 1749.

“Hon^{as} SIR,—I have inquired for Flail men which are very Ill to be hade this Busie time of year. I have found tuo, and they are to find other tuo; they desire you'l send word tuo days beforhand because they are for common hyred befor hand there wadges is Six-pence p^r day with a bottle of ale and a pig of Bread, but I bargent at Seven pence for all. They cannot tell how much they cane thresh in a day it is according to the Cornis being good or bade to Thresh. They desire that four horses be sent about Ten o Clock the day they begin & then they cane tell how much they cane doe against night. I thinke it wold be proper to send in a man to grieve them as straw is so valowable a thing. Since the Comprising cannot be fownd there is no help for it is all.—Honrd. Sir your most obed^t Humble Ser^r
ALEXANDER PIERSON.”

In 1750 female servants received the half-yearly recompence of ten shillings, with the privilege of sowing a little lint, and the bounteth* of a pair of shoes. These shoes were called “single soles,” and it was expected that the wearers would in the evening hours *double* or *treble* the soles with their own hands. As shoes were worn by the maidens only on Sundays and holidays, a single pair of shoes was more than sufficient for a year’s wear. Even the female servants of the Lords of Session performed their domestic duties barefooted. In 1770 the half-yearly wages of domestic servants had increased to 25s. and 30s. The yearly wages of superior housekeepers did not exceed £3 in 1744. The following letter on this subject, from Mr. James Bennett, writer

* Bounty.

in Aberdeen, to his client, Mr. Archibald Dunbar, may be read with interest :—

“D^r. SIR,—I have now to advise, that a few days ago I had an answer from the Gentlewoman (Mrs. Larges) which I wrote you about: she is willing to engage with you @ £3 per annum. She writes that she only takes in hand, to keep House, look over the Cook &c, in short to do every thing thats usuall for one in her station, unless the teaching of Children which she by no means will promise to do. If she can answer your purpose in this shape I shall be glad, as I know she is an excellent, honest Servant, & has been in the Family of Elsich for about 10 years.—I am with great regard D^r. Sir your most obliged and most hum^l. Serv^t JAMES BURNETT.

“Aberdeen 3 Nov^r. 1744.”

While the remuneration of domestic and farm labourers was so limited, it is proper to refer to the prices of provision at the same period. Beef was sold at 2d., mutton and lamb at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., per lb. of $17\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. Cheese brought only 3d. and 4d. per lb. of 24 ounces. Beef was used sparingly. The slaughter of an ox in a country-hamlet was regarded as an event. A crowd assembled, and the animal was led to the slaughter-house, having on its head a chaplet of flowers, while a piper preceded, discoursing martial music.

The farmer's household fuel was prepared in the muirs and commons. It consisted of peat and bogwood for the winter fires, and of broom and whin for use in summer. Coal was discovered in the thirteenth century. The Abbot of Dunfermline received authority to work a coal mine in 1291, and about the same period it was dug up and burned as fuel by the monks of Newbattle. Monks gave portions of coal, or “black stones” to the poor as alms. But coal was not generally used till the forests were broken up, and wood and charcoal became costly. Coals were first stately used at the black-

smith's forge, then in the kitchen of the lesser barons, ultimately in the farmer's ha'.

The imperfect condition of the roads prevented the use of coal in districts far apart from the coal-fields. Except the highway from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to Berwick, there were no turnpike roads in Scotland before 1750. Bridges were rare, and many travellers perished in attempting to cross the fords of rivers. In 1760 the Marquis of Downshire, in attempting to make a journey through Galloway in his family carriage, was obliged to stop near Wigton and remain in his vehicle during night. When the roads were impassable, carts were in little use. Carriers conducted the transmission of goods in sacks suspended on the backs of their horses. The horse of the farmyard was used in carrying the master and mistress to church, or in aiding to carry seedcorn to the fields. Horses, being little used, were imperfectly attended to. The carrier and hawker fed their horses on bruised thistles; the farm horse had his pease-straw in winter, and in summer the straw of oats and barley.

Oxen were used for draught and tillage. In hard and clayey soils, eight oxen were yoked together to drag a single ploughshare. The unwilling ox was goaded by a long rod pointed with a sharp instrument. When manure began to be used in husbandry, women were employed to carry it to the fields in wicker baskets. In certain localities sledges drawn by cattle were early substituted.

The tenantry possessed no stimulus to the cultivation of their waste lands. They had no leases, and might be removed at the landlord's will. The poverty of the landowners ultimately led to a better

state of things. On entering a farm, the tenant was expected to pay a *grassum*, and the payment of this impost was turned to account by the lessee to extort leases from reluctant proprietors. When a large *grassum* was offered, leases extending to three lives would have been conceded.

The payment of *cane* or dairy tribute was a burden which considerably oppresed the tenantry. The tenant became bound to provide eggs and butter and a certain number of fowls for the landlord's table at all seasons and on the shortest notice. Farmers were not unfrequently obliged to purchase fowls and dairy produce at high prices, to fulfil the stipulations of their lease. The system of *thirling** the tenantry to particular mills was one of the latest restrictions on Scottish husbandry.

Nearly every farm consisted of two portions, which were styled *infield* and *outfield*. The *infield* portion was enclosed, and in the immediate vicinity of the home-stead. It was entirely under tillage, the crops raised consisting chiefly of oats and bear, or barley. Wheat was seldom raised, and always in small quantities. The *outfield*, or unenclosed portion, was no better than moorland, from which "the hardy black cattle could scarcely gather herbage enough in winter to keep them from starving." Towards the latter part of last century an entire change was effected. Through the exertions of Lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, and others, an impulse was given to agricultural improvement. The Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, established in 1783, has fostered enterprise and encouraged competition, and under its auspices Scottish husbandry has become popular throughout the world.

* Enthralling.

Attachment to the ancient owners of the soil was formerly cherished among the rural population with the warmth of a passion. Clansmen acknowledged the Macnab, or the Mackintosh, or Glengarry, long after these chiefs had ceased to possess any territorial importance. The Scottish lowlander also was proud of the old families, and rejoiced to uphold their importance. The departure of a landed family from their possessions was a cause of deep lamentation to the tenantry, even though the departing owners had extorted rack-rents and possessed no personal virtues. The successors of old families were proportionately obnoxious. The most abundant beneficence on the part of new comers did not propitiate the favour of those who, remembering the old folks with a species of loyalty, could only regard their successors as intruders. Early in the present century Mr. Izzet, an opulent hat manufacturer at Edinburgh, purchased an estate in Perthshire, and proceeded to reside on his possession. He was persecuted ; his windows were broken ; he was assailed with threatening missives, and was denounced as a trader who had no right to occupy a manor-house. Old hats were thrown into his policies and placed upon his gateposts. He sold the property in disgust, and returned to the capital.

In 1783, Mr. William Forbes, a prosperous trader in London, purchased the estate of Callander, which had formerly belonged to the noble house of Callander and Linlithgow. Mr. Forbes was a person of most liberal views, and at once indicated his intention to employ many labourers on his demesne, to attend to the interests of his tenantry, and liberally to support the poor. Weekly at Callander House a number of indigent persons received a supply of clothes, food, and money. The

new landowner was foremost in every scheme for the benefit of the neighbourhood. His efforts to reconcile the inhabitants to his possession of the Callander estate altogether failed. He was abused by old and young. He was occasionally mobbed. People broke into his demesne, destroyed his fences, and violated his flower-gardens. Mr. Forbes bore all these indignities with composure ; he overcame prejudice at the last.

Respecting the convivial habits of the Scots much has been written. About a century ago the ordinary beverage of the people was a light home-brewed ale. This liquor was manufactured in every hamlet. The brewers were generally the publicans' wives, and the occupation would seem to have thriven with them, for "a brewster wife" became a designation for any female who was enormously fat. In 1661 twelve brewster wives, all of portly condition, undertook a race to the top of Arthur's Seat,* for the prize to the winner of a cheese weighing one hundred pounds.

The ale produced at the public breweries was of three qualities ; it was distinguished at the country residence as *ostler* ale, *household* ale, and *best* ale. The first was drunk in the stable, the second was the ordinary beverage of the domestics, and the *best* or strong ale was prepared for the family table. But the upper classes usually drank claret. The price averaged fivepence per bottle. When a vessel laden with the precious liquor arrived from Bordeaux at the port of Leith, the owners immediately notified the intelligence by carting a number of hogsheads through the streets, and causing

* A hill of trap rock at Edinburgh, rising 822 feet above the level of the sea.

an attendant to proclaim where the liquor might be purchased. Casks were also hurled about on wheel-barrows, and the claret sold in stoups. The "stoup of old claret" is frequently mentioned by Sir Walter Scott.

Claret was formerly imported from the mainland into the Western Isles. This was forbidden in 1609; but finding that the practice continued, the Privy Council in 1616 issued an "Act agans the drinking of wynes in the Yllis." Of this ordinance the tenor was as follows:—

"Apud Edinburgh xxvj of Julij 1616.

"Forsamekle as the grite and extraordinar excesse in drinking of wyne commonlie vsit amangis the commonis and tenentis of the Yllis is not onlie ane occasioun of the beastlie and barbarous cruelteis and inhumaniteis that fallis oute amangis thame to the offens and displeasour of God and contempt of law and justice, bot with that it drawis nvmberis of thame to miserable necessite and powertie sua that they ar constrainyt quhen thay want of thair nichtbouris. For remeid quhairof the Lordis of Secret Counsell statvtis and ordanis, that nane of the tenentis and commonis of the Yllis sall at ony tyme heirefter buy or drink ony wynes in the Yllis or continent nixt adiacent, vnder the pane of twenty pundis to be incurrit be euery contravenare *toties quoties*. The ane half of the said pane to the Kingis Maiestie and the vther half to thair maisteris and landis lordis and chiftanes. Commanding heirby the maisteris landis lordis and chiftanes to the saidis tenentis and commonis euery ane of thame within thair awine boundis to sie thir present act preceislie and inviolablie kept and the contravenaris to be accordinglie pvnist and to vplift the panes of the contravenaris and to mak reckning and payment of the ane halff of the said panes in

[his] Maiesteis excheckar yierlie and to apply the vther halff of the saidis panes to thair awne vse."

A more stringent ordinance was passed in 1622. We present it entire.

"ACT THAT NANE SEND WYNIS TO THE ILIS.

"Apud Edinburgh 23 Julij 1622.

"Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to the Lordis of Secretit Counsell that one of the cheiff caussis whilk procuris the continewance of the inhabitantis of the Ilis in their barbarous and inciuile form of leeveng is the grite quantitie of wynes yeirlie caryed to the Ilis with the vnsatiable desire quhair of the saidis inhabitantis are so far possesst, that quhen their arryvis ony ship or other veshell thair with wynes they spend bothe dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking, and seldome do they leave thair drinking so lang as thair is ony of the wyne rest and sua that being ouercome with drink thair fallis out mony inconvenientis amangis thame to the brek of his Maiesteis peace. And quhairsas the cheftanes and principallis of the clannis in the Yllis ar actit to take suche ordour with thair tenentis as nane of thame be sufferit ta drink wynes, yitt so long as thair is ony wynes caryed to the Ilis thay will hardlie be withdrawne from thair evil custome of drinking, bot will follow the same and continew thairin whensoeuir thay may find the occasioun. For remeid quhairof in tyme comeing The Lordis of Secretit Counsell ordanis lettres to be direct to command charge and inhibite all and sindrie marsheantis skiparis and awnaris of shippis and veshellis, be oppin proclamation at all placeis neidful, that nane of them presoume nor tak vpoun hand to carye and transporte ony wynes to the Ilis nor to sell the same to the inhabitantis of the Ilis except se mekle

as is alloued to the principall chiftanes and gentlemen of the Ilis vnder the pane of confiscatioun of the whole wynes so to be caryed and sauld in the Ilis aganis the tenour of this proclamatioun or els of the availl and pryceis of the same to his Maiesties vse."

These repressive measures deprived the Hebrideans of the wines of Bourdeaux, but did not render them more temperate. They had recourse to more potent beverages. Their ancestors extracted a spirit from the mountain heath; they now distilled usquebaugh, or whisky. Whisky became a greater favourite than claret, and was drunk copiously, not only in the Hebrides, but throughout the Highlands. It did not become common in the Lowlands till the latter part of the last century. The Lowland baron or yeoman, who relished a liquor more powerful than claret, formerly used rum or brandy.

The old nobility, when they had tired of claret at their feasts, introduced the punch-bowl. Several bottles of brandy were poured into it. Sugar and hot water were added, the latter sparingly. The merchants of Glasgow prepared punch of rum, which was drunk cold.

The ancient drinking vessels consisted of horns mounted with silver. During the reign of James III. mazers or goblets were used by the sovereign and nobles. Certain families possessed drinking vessels of peculiar construction. Sir Walter Scott mentions, as the prototype of the *Poculum Potatorium* of the Baron of Bradwardine, a massive silver beaker in the shape of a lion, which was preserved at Glammis Castle, the ancient seat of the Earls of Strathmore. It contained an English pint, and it was the established rule that when the vessel was set before a guest, he should drain off its full measure of wine in honour of the noble owner.

Sir Walter Scott furnished in his own person some materials for an anecdote in connection with the lion beaker of Glammis. He has recorded that, during a visit to the castle, he had the honour of swallowing the contents of the vessel. But the occurrence had a sequel for which we are indebted to another informant. The contents of the *lion* proved somewhat too potent for the great Minstrel, who, on leaving the castle, lost his way. He called at the parish manse to receive directions, but in remounting his horse dropped his whip, which next day was picked up by the clergyman's wife. This lady, Mrs. Agnes Lyon, was an accomplished verse-writer ; she celebrated Neil Gow, by composing his "Farewell to Whisky," and she was afterwards induced to try her powers of song somewhat at the expense of the author of "Waverley." We quote Mrs. Lyon's verses :—

“ Within the towers of ancient Glammis
 Some merry men did dine,
 And their host took care they should richly fare,
 In friendship, wit, and wine.
 But they sat too late, and mistook the gate
 (For wine mounts to the brain).
 Oh, 'twas merry in the hall, when the beards wagg'd all,
 Oh, we hope they'll be back again,
 We hope they'll be back again.

“ Sir Walter tapp'd at the parson's door,
 To find the proper way ;
 But he dropt his switch though there was no ditch,
 And on the steps it lay.
 So his wife took care of this nice affair,
 And she wiped it free from stain ;
 For the knight was gone, nor the owner known,
 So he ne'er got the switch again ;
 So he ne'er got the switch again.

" This wondrous little whip remains
Within the lady's sight ;
(She crambo makes, with some mistakes,
But hopes for further light) ;
So she ne'er will part with this switch so smart,
These thirty years her ain ;
Till the knight appear, it must lie here,
He will ne'er get his switch again,
He will ne'er get his switch again."

In a note appended to "The Pirate," Sir Walter Scott thus describes a large drinking vessel kept at Kirkwall :—" The bicker of St. Magnus, a vessel of enormous dimensions, was preserved at Kirkwall, and presented to each bishop of the Orkneys. If the new incumbent was able to quaff it at one draught, which was a task for Hercules or Rorie Mhor of Dunvegan, the omen boded a crop of unusual fertility." In a "Description of the Isles of Orkney," published in 1700, the bicker of St. Magnus is referred to in these terms :—" Buchanan tells a story which is still believed here, and talked of as a truth, that in Scapa—a place about a mile from Kirkwall to the south—there was kept a large cup, which, when any new bishop landed there, they filled with strong ale, and offered to him to drink, and if he happened to drink it off cheerfully, they promised to themselves a noble bishop, and many good years in his time."

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the dining rooms of country landowners were neither lathed nor plastered. The dining tables were supported on tressels, which at the conclusion of the dinner were "closed," or folded up, the boards being raised against the wall. When served up, dinner was announced by the clangour of horns and trumpets. At the beginning of the repast, and at its close, a servant proceeded round the table,

carrying a basin ; another followed, bearing a towel. This arrangement was needed, since knives and forks were unused. Two persons were served from one plate. The plates or trenchers were commonly of wood, but occasionally consisted of thick slices of barley bread. These were afterwards thrown into the alms-basket, and distributed to the poor. One drinking vessel, which was usually composed of timber, served the entire company. The more *recherché* viands consisted of swans, cranes, and sea-gulls, which were eaten with bread, sweetened with honey, and flavoured with spices. "Redfische," as salmon was then called, was partially used, but the porpoise was considered a greater delicacy.

When James ascended the English throne, knives had been introduced at table, but forks were still unknown. The knife used was the *Jockteleg*, derived from the name of its original maker, John of Liege, a celebrated cutler of the sixteenth century. The clergy carried a knife and fork with them when they expected to be asked to dine in the course of their pastoral visitations. Glasses were rare even in good families within a century and a half. Armstrong of Sorbie, a celebrated border laird of the last century, used to remark that "the world was better when there were more bottles and fewer glasses ! "

There were special occasions of rural festivity. The more notable were when the country squire succeeded to his inheritance, when the heir was christened, and when each young member of the family left the parental home to begin the battle of life. About a year after the death of his predecessor, every landowner gave a grand entertainment to his dependants and neighbours. The birth of the firstborn was celebrated by

bonfires on the hills and a banquet to the tenantry. When a young member of the family was proceeding to leave home for the city or a foreign shore, he received his *foy* (*feu-de-joie*), that is, his father handed him a sum of money for the entertainment of his companions.

The Scottish fashionable dinner-party early in the last century was attended with proceedings differing essentially from those which obtain in modern society. When dinner was announced, the ladies proceeded from the drawing-room together. The gentlemen followed in single file. When the members of both sexes reached the dining-room, partners were chosen, each gentleman selecting a lady as his associate at table. These old-fashioned dinners displayed a vastness unknown at modern tables. Barley broth was invariably presented as the first course. It was composed of the liquor of beef, boiled with greens and thickened with barley. During winter the beef was salted; the summer beef was of the coarsest quality, since the cattle were fed during winter on straw and the hay of natural grasses, turnips and artificial grass being yet unknown. Cabbages were boiled with their stems. The barley was ill prepared; it was neither milled nor scaled, but simply bruised in a trough, rubbed with a coarse cloth, and partially winnowed. Friars' chicken, a dish so named from being a favourite in the religious houses, was always presented; it consisted of chickens cut into small pieces, and boiled with eggs, parsley, and cinnamon. Cocky-leeky was equally popular; a well-fed cock was boiled with young leeks. A boiled pig frequently occupied the centre of the board. The haggis was an unfailing accessory. Along with the broth cabbiclaw was occasionally presented. This was

a salted cod-fish served up with horse-radish and a sauce, prepared with eggs and butter. Roasted provisions were not common, since the culinary appliances for their production were imperfectly understood. A spit was the only instrument used in roasting ; it was turned by the younger handmaiden, or by a dog specially trained for this cruel service.

The following extracts from the treasurer's book of the Edinburgh Town Council, in relation to the cost of a corporation dinner in October, 1703, may be read not without interest :—

" For a large dish of broth with fruits and marabon ... £1	0	0	
For a hind quarter of boil'd mutoun w th colliflower			
turnip and carrots 2 8 0			
For Rost bife 2 8 0			
For a goose and 4 douks 3 18 0			
For two large pigs 3 12 0			
For a dish of foul with murfoull grouse and pidgons 6 0 0			
For a dish of mincht peyes (minced pies) 4 14 0			
For fruit & cheese butter & almonds 2 0 0			
For osters (oysters) 0 18 0			
For nyne pints & chapon of wine 29 0 0			
For two pints & chapon of sack 6 0 0			
For a mutchkin of brandie 1 0 0			
For 28 pints of ale 2 16 0			
For bread to the table & servants 2 16 0			
For pyps and tobaco 0 16 0			
For ye cook 0 7 0			
	£69	13	0 "

At the entertainments of the country gentry, liquor was used sparingly during the progress of the repast. A dram was swallowed after fish, and the haggis was jocularly said to deserve a second. Port and sherry were placed on the table, but were seldom used. Champagne appeared only at the tables of the nobility.

When the ladies rose to depart, they bade farewell to the society of their male friends for the remainder of the evening. "The retiring of a guest to the drawing-room," writes Dr. Strang, "was a rare occurrence indeed; and hence the poor lady of the house was generally left to sip her tea in solitude, while her husband and friends were getting royal over their sherbet."

Even in more polished circles the after dinner conversation was boisterous. Oaths were common. The jests were petty and loathsome. Potations were protracted for six or eight hours. Those who joined the ladies hastened back to their boon companions to resume the revelry they had left. When the dinner hour was four o'clock, the loud merriment of the company began to subside about eleven. At that hour most of the guests were asleep under the table. Before midnight, the entire party sank into a drunken slumber. While these convivial practices existed among gentlemen, the manners of the gentler sex were only slightly in advance. Dames of the highest rank indulged in conversation which would now be characterised as indecorous or profane. A Scottish gentlewoman, describing the ladies of Edinburgh during the earlier portion of the last century, remarks that "many of them threw aside all restraint." The following letter addressed to Mr. Archibald Dunbar, of Newton, by Mrs. Brodie, of Brodie, wife of the Lyon King at Arms, is sufficiently curious. It is dated "Brodie House, June 6th, 1749."

"SIR,—The bearer is sent with one of our mares to your neighbourhood in order to be carryed to your horse, if you please to allow it; I know you will not refuse the horse without a good reason, but if there is any that makes it inconvenient, I beg you will send the mare back with the same freedom that I sent her.

"There are two other mares here that I am told should be sent to a horse, but whether to yours or not shall be determined by your answer, which I again beg may be a refusal, if the thing is improper. I am ashamed to give you so much trouble, and hope you will not take it amiss if we should beg to be allowed some share in the food of a beast that seems full as useful to your friends as to yourself, as was mentioned formerly.

"It will give me much pleasure to hear that your family at home and abroad are well; you and they have the kindest good wishes of my children as well of, Sir, your most humble and obliged servant

"MARY BRODIE."*

The absence of female delicacy during the early and middle portions of the last century may be traced to a temporary reaction from that scrupulosity of demeanour which set in soon after the Reformation. The Reformers prohibited as sinful both music and dancing; proscribed minstrelsy and sent pipers and fiddlers into exile. They destroyed or sold church organs, and insisted that a precentor or master of the song could efficiently conduct the psalmody of congregations. To obliterate the recollection of the hymns sung in the choral services, they caused them to be parodied in profane ballads. The tunes of "John come kiss me now," "Kind Robin loes me," and "John Anderson my Jo," were originally adapted to words of sacred song, which were chanted by cathedral choirs. A subsequent attempt to spiritualize some of these secular ballads resulted in a ludicrous failure.

The love of music was anciently a characteristic of the Scottish people. So early as the twelfth century many of the clergy played upon the harp. At festivals the harp was handed round, and the members of the company sang to it by turns. At the coronation of

* We are indebted for this letter to Captain Dunbar.

Alexander III., in 1249, a harper, arrayed in a scarlet tunic, discoursed the genealogy of the monarch upon his knees. James I. accompanied songs of his own composition on the harp and lute.* He introduced organs into the cathedrals and abbeys ; he composed anthems, and established a choral service for church music.

James III. was a patron of the musical arts. He invited celebrated musicians to his court, and conferred on them emoluments and honours. Of these the most conspicuous was William Rogers, an Englishman, who, having accompanied an embassy of Edward IV., was induced permanently to attach himself to the Scottish Court. Under royal patronage he founded a musical school, in which he inculcated a scientific knowledge of his art. He received the honour of knighthood, and was sworn of the Secret Council ; but, like other favourites of his royal master, he was, in 1482, put to death by the nobility.

The musical tastes formed in his boyhood were sedulously cultivated by James IV. He played skilfully on various instruments, and retained a choir of thirty-one English minstrels, under Sir Richard Champlayns, as a portion of his household. Queen Mary was an accomplished musician. The enticing strains of David Rizzio, an Italian musician of obscure origin, recommended him to her confidence, and conducted towards those misfortunes which, commencing with the slaughter of that hapless favourite, embittered her future life.

The Scottish harp was doomed at the Reformation. When the lofty music of the organ was put to silence, the strains of the harper no longer rang in the baro-

* According to Fordun (*lib. xvi. cap. 28*), James I. played "in tympano et choro, et psalterio et organo, tibia et lyra, tuba et fistula."

nial mansion. Harp and church organ disappeared together. Only two specimens of the ancient harp have been preserved. These are retained in the family of Robertson of Lude. One of the instruments was, in 1563, presented by Queen Mary to Beatrice Gardyne, an ancestress of the family.*

The clairschoe, an instrument resembling the harp, with strings of brass wire, was anciently used in the Highlands. For several centuries it has been silent. The monicordis was a favourite instrument at the court of James IV.† According to Mr. Robert Pitcairn, it was a one-stringed instrument; Dr. Jamieson describes it as having many chords, which the name would imply. It was probably a sort of violin. The bagpipe, used by eastern nations, seems at length to have found a home in the Highlands and islands of Scotland.

About the close of the seventeenth century the Church withdrew its anathemas against dancing, and permitted musicians to practise their art uncensured. On the 22nd November, 1695, the Feast of St. Cecilia, a musical concert was held at Edinburgh. The orchestra consisted of upwards of thirty amateur performers, nineteen of whom were persons of rank. A weekly dancing assembly was established at Edinburgh in 1723; it was numerously attended, and was followed by similar assemblies in other towns. The town-council of Glasgow in 1728 appointed a dancing-master, with a salary of £20, to teach dancing to the families of artisans. In 1762, two hundred gentlemen in Edinburgh sub-

* See "Historical Enquiry respecting the Performance of the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland." By John Gunn. Edin. 1807. 4to.

† Accounts of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, quoted by Mr. Robert Pitcairn. "Criminal Trials," *passim*.

scribed towards the erection of an assembly-room. This was constructed at the junction of the Cowgate with Niddry's Wynd, a locality now sufficiently humble, but then a fashionable centre. It was known as St. Cecilia Hall.

The levity which had characterized the manners of Scottish gentlewomen was followed by a marvellous reaction. From 1760 till the close of the century matrons of rank were remarkable for a dignified reserve. Unless among old and familiar friends, they were difficult of approach and excessively haughty. They taught their daughters to repel the advances of those gentlemen whom they casually met in society. They adopted a style of dress which admirably suited their lofty manners and repulsive behaviour. They wore gowns with lengthy waists, and the skirts distended by hoops to the girth of four and a half yards. They disfigured their faces with patches, and drew their hair down upon their foreheads, which they strewed with hair-powder. Their head-dresses, composed of Flanders lace and ribbons of showy colours, were placed on the front of the head, and towered upwards for six or eight inches. They wore high-heeled and sharp-pointed shoes. In their chairs they sat with an upright stiffness; they always wore gloves. Elderly spinsters were distinguished by wearing small white aprons. They spoke familiarly only to those whom they had long known. To ordinary remarks they replied by an *umph!* and were careful not to smile. In walking out they were attended by their handmaids in close-fitting, short-sleeved gowns and white mutches, but without shoes or stockings. Instead of parasols, which were unknown, they used green paper fans, nearly two feet long, which they carried attached to their waists.

by a ribbon. In church they enwrapped their heads and shoulders in plaids of black silk.

Married ladies took snuff, which they carried in small boxes, and handed to their friends. No unusual gift from a young gentleman to the fair object of his affections was a little snuff-box, adorned with devices emblematical of love and constancy.

The Scots were anciently fond of ornamental and ambitious clothing. On this subject we quote from an Act of the Estates passed in 1457, in the reign of James II.

"That sen the realme in ilk estaitie is greatumlie pured throwe sumptuous claithing baith of men and women, and in special within Burrowes and commons of Landwart, the Lordis thinkis speidful that restriction be thereof in this manner: That na man within burgh that lives be mechandise bot gif he be a person constitute in dignitie as alderman, baillie, or either gude worthy men that ar of the Council of the toune, and their wifes weare claithes of silk nor costly scarlettes in gownes or furrings with mertrikes. That they make their wifes and dauchters in like manner be abuilzied, gangand and correspondant for their estate, that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hudes, as ar used in Flanders, England, & uther cuntries. And as to their gownes, that na women weare mertrikes nor letteis, nor tailes unfitt in length nor furred under, bot on the Halie-dae. And in like manner the Barronnes, and uther puir Gentlemen, and their wifes, that ar within fourtie pound of auld extent. And as anent the commounes that na laborers nor husband men weare on the wark daye, bot gray and quhite, and on the Halie-dae bot licht blew, greene, redde, & their wifes richt-swa, & courchies of *their awin making*, & that it exceed not the price of XI. pennyes the elne. . . . And as to the Clerkes, that nane weare gownes of scarlet, nor furring of mertrikes, bot gif he be ane person constitute in dignitie in Cathedral or Colledge Kirk: or else, that he may spende two hundredth markes, or great Nobiles, or Doctourees."

The costume of the Scottish gentleman of the last century may be described. Each wore a wig, copiously

sprinkled with scented hair-powder. In retiring to his chamber, every gentleman placed his wig on a block outside the door, that it might be repowdered for the following day. Landowners and personages of distinction wore in the cities cocked hats ; younger persons used velvet caps. Some invited attention to their importance and rank by fringing their hats or caps with gold or silver lace. In most districts hats were worn only by the clergyman and the schoolmaster. The bonnet, which has been described as the head-dress of the Scottish yeoman, was, with a corresponding difference of quality, common to all classes. Black clothes were never worn, except at funerals. The coat was blue or grey, or a sort of dingy brown ; the waist-coat of a gaudy buff or striped. Shirt ruffles were universal ; they were displayed conspicuously. The neck was inclosed in a white stuffed neckcloth, which nearly covered the chin. Drab breeches with white stockings, and shoes with large shoe-buckles, or boots and tops, completed the costume. In the Highlands the chiefs used brogues made of skins, tanned with the bark of the willow, and sewn with leathern thongs. From a pocket in the waistband of his breeches, under the waistcoat, every gentleman of consideration displayed a watch-chain, to which was attached a bunch of seals. As he walked out, he grasped a long staff, which he moved forward as if groping his way. During wet and cold weather, the more dignified citizens of Glasgow wore scarlet cloaks. Towards the close of the last century the long staff was replaced by the gold-headed cane.

The evening dress of the gentleman of fashion was sufficiently imposing. He wore a blue or brown coat, a white satin vest and black silk breeches with silk stock-

ings of the same colour. Both his wig and whiskers were carefully curled and sprinkled with fragrant hair-powder.

The Highlander has always dressed differently from the Lowland Scot. Every Celt wore a kilt or philabeg, with a plaid of the same material swung across his shoulders. These plaids were often seven or eight yards long ; they were a protection against rain by day, and at night suited the threefold purpose of blanket, sheet, and counterpane. Every Highlander wore a plume in his bonnet, and carried a pouch to hold his money, his tobacco, and his snuff-box. In full dress he wore a dirk ; a knife and fork were stuck into his stockings, a little below the knee. Every clan has its distinctive tartan, the ancient livery of the chief. Tartan is believed to have been invented by Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore, as a substitute for the system of tattooing which obtained previously.

Besides a distinctive tartan, each Highland clan formerly bore particular insignia. Thus, the Macleods wore juniper ; the yew was the badge of the Frasers ; the Macdonalds bore the crimson heath, and the box was carried by the McIntoshes. Certain clans possessed a particular war-cry. That of the Grants was *Craigelachie*. To the call of *Tullichard* the McKenzies sounded to arms. Every clansman regarded his chief as the father of his people. Chiefs of renown received special names to denote their patriarchal dignity or individual qualities. The Duke of Argyll was termed Mac Callum More, or the son of the great Colin. The Highland chief, with an income of £400 per annum, maintained a state not inferior to that of a German prince. Though occupying a square tower of four or five storeys, each storey comprising only one apartment, he kept a numerous

household. His principal officers were his *henchman* or secretary, his bard, spokesman, sword-bearer, carrier-over fords, the leader of his horse, his baggage-bearer, his piper and piper's attendant. Of these the more important functionaries were the henchman, who conducted correspondence, and the minstrel, who celebrated the doughty deeds of the chief's progenitors, preserved his genealogy, and sang his personal achievements. The latter office was hereditary, unless the heir was absolutely incapable of performing the minstrel duties. For the maintenance of the bard, a portion of ground was allotted ; it was the best cultivated portion of the chief's possessions.

The accommodations of the Lowland baron were not more ample than those of the chieftain. His apartments were few, and excepting the dining-hall were circumscribed. The internal walls of each apartment exhibited the native masonry, though wainscoting latterly became common. The furniture of the Scottish manor a century ago was convenient and substantial. The principal rooms were carpeted. The dinner-tables were made of oak, and supported on well-carved pedestals. There was a rage for family portraits, which covered the walls of the dining-room and entrance hall. In the manors of the more opulent, the family arms were conspicuously displayed in the oak panelling, along with representations of scriptural scenes, or of some remarkable events connected with the history of the house. Fire grates were confined to the reception rooms ; in all the bed-rooms fire was kindled on the hearth. Bedsteads were not common. There was one for the laird and lady ; the other members of the family and the guests slept in box-beds provided with sliding doors, which enclosed and concealed them. Silver plate

was rare ; a large silver salt-cellar, which was placed in the centre of the dinner table, constituted the most valuable article. Servants were called by a handbell, or by the forcible impress of the heel upon the hard floor. In front of the house was a *dais*, or stone seat, covered with turf, on which the laird could sit to enjoy his tobacco pipe ; also a *loupin-on-stane*, a raised platform of masonry, for the accommodation of gentlewomen, in mounting or dismounting their horses. The garden, which immediately adjoined the mansion, was laid out with grass walks, and ornamented with plants of holly and boxwood shaped into grotesque figures of men and animals. Flowers, with the exception of tulips, were seldom cultivated.

The farmhouse consisted of three or four apartments ; it was roofed with thatch, and fronted the farm-yard. The presence of the manure-heap before the windows was so familiar that it never occasioned inconvenience. The farmer retained the kindly feelings of his neighbours by giving an annual dinner and by attending the district club. The dinner took place some days after the killing of the mart. It was sometimes called “the spare-rib dinner,” because the principal dish consisted of a roast of that portion of the animal. The farmers’ club assembled in a central tavern. Business commenced over a substantial repast. Broth was, as usual, the first portion of the feast. It was anciently composed of nettles boiled with sheep’s head and trotters. Cromwell’s soldiers introduced cabbages into Scotland, and these were substituted for the coarser vegetable. The *castock* or stem was eaten with the joint, constituting the second part of the entertainment. But every hospitable *gude-wife* showed kindly feeling by warning her guests to

"stick weel to the *skink*,"* and not trust to the castocks." When potatoes became common, about 1760, castocks disappeared from the dinner table, and were preserved for the beggars. Eating and drinking constituted nearly the entire proceedings of the old farm club. When agriculture was better understood, farming societies were formed, with their attendant shows and competitions. But these are comparatively modern.

Eighty years ago business proceeded slowly, even in the commercial centres. The Glasgow merchants dined at one o'clock, and closed their warerooms till the repast was concluded. Their wives were content to entertain their female friends in their bedrooms, while they permitted their guests to aid in gathering up the fragments, washing the teacups, and adjusting the apartment.

The procedure attendant on courtship and marriage may next be mentioned. Prior to the Reformation a practice called *hand-fasting* existed in Scotland. At the public fairs, men selected female companions with whom to cohabit for a year. At the expiry of this period both parties were accounted free ; they might either unite in marriage or live singly. From the monasteries friars were despatched into the rural districts to inquire concerning *hand-fasted* persons, and to bestow the clerical benediction on those who chose to exchange their exceptional condition for a state of matrimony. *Hand-fasting* was one of the social irregularities which the Reformers sought to suppress. In 1562 the Kirk-session of Aberdeen decreed, that persons who had been cohabiting under *hand-fast* engagements should forthwith be joined in wedlock. Except in Highland dis-

* Broth or strong soup.

tricts, where it lingered, *hand-fasting* ceased within twenty years after the Reformation.

Among the peasantry, betrothals were conducted in a singular fashion. The fond swain, who had resolved to make proposals, sent for the object of his affection to the village alehouse, previously informing the landlady of his intentions. The damsel, who knew the purpose of the message, busked herself in her best attire, and waited on her admirer. She was entertained with a glass of ale ; then the swain proceeded with his tale of love. A dialogue like the following ensued :—“I’m gaun to speir whether ye will tak’ me, Jenny ?” “Deed, Jock, I thocht ye might hae speir’t that lang syne.” “They said ye wad refuse me, lassie.” “Then they’re leers, Jock.” “An’ so ye’ll no refuse me, lassie ?” “I’ve tell’t ye that twice owre already, Jock.” Then came the formal act of betrothal. The parties licked the thumbs of their right hands, which they pressed together, and vowed fidelity. The ceremony possessed the solemnity of an oath, the violator of such an engagement being considered guilty of perjury. In allusion to this practice, a favourite Scottish song commences,—

“There’s my thumb, I’ll ne’er beguile thee.”

The pressure of moistened thumbs, as the solemn ratification of an engagement, was used in other contracts. The practice, as confirmatory of an agreement, existed both among the Celts and Goths. The records of the Scottish courts contain examples of sales being confirmed by the judges, on the production of evidence that the parties had licked and pressed their thumbs on the occasion of the bargain. The Highlander and the Lowland schoolboy still lick thumbs in bargain making.

At the close of the eighteenth century another method of betrothal was adopted. When the damsel had accepted her lover's offer, the pair proceeded to the nearest stream, and there washing their hands in the current, vowed constancy with their hands clasped across the brook. A ceremony of this description took place between Burns and "Highland Mary." When the parties had mutually betrothed themselves, they proceeded diligently to revive their acquaintance with the Church Catechism, for every clergyman insisted that candidates for matrimony should be able to repeat the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. A marriage was stopped by the Kirksession of Glasgow in 1642, until the bridegroom should inform himself of these religious fundamentals. Latterly the Church has permitted persons to enter into the nuptial bonds without any inquiry as to their scriptural knowledge.

Between the first Sunday of the proclamation of banns and the day of marriage, forty days were allowed to elapse. The reason of the delay has not been explained. On the evening before the wedding, the bride was attended by her maidens, who proceeded to wash her feet. Much diversion was a concomitant of the ceremonial ; it ended with festivities.

A wedding was the most important of rural celebrations. When a country bridal was arranged, the neighbours hastened to send contributions. At a remote period, a penny Scots, equal to a modern shilling, was levied from those who intended to be present at the festival ; hence the name *Penny Bridals*. During the last century these entertainments were prepared in pic-nic fashion. Lairds contributed joints of beef and mutton ; cheese, eggs, and milk came from the farm dairies, and

the minister and schoolmaster supplied the cooking utensils. The relations of the bride provided only one dish, which was designated the "bride's pie." Every guest was privileged to receive a portion of it.

In the Highlands marriages were solemnized in the churches. In Lowland districts the nuptials were generally performed at the residence of the bride's parents. There was a custom in certain localities, where the bride went bareheaded to the nuptial ceremony, and so continued all that day, but was covered ever after. Nearly all avoid contracting marriage in May. The Lowlander was disinclined to marry on Friday. In Ross-shire that day was deemed the most hopeful for the occasion. In Highland districts a marriage was held only to promise good fortune, when prior to the ceremony all knots in the apparel of both parties had been loosened. At present no couple in Orkney would consent to marry unless in the increase of the moon.

When the marriage ceremony was performed, the bride received the congratulations of her relatives. She was expected to proceed round the apartment, attended by her maidens, and to kiss every male in the company. A dish was then handed round, in which every one placed a sum of money, to help the young couple to commence housekeeping.

At the marriages of persons of the upper class, favours were sewn upon the bride's dress. When the ceremony was concluded, all the members of the company ran towards her, each endeavouring to seize a favour. When the confusion had ceased, the bridegroom's man proceeded to pull off the bride's garter, which she modestly dropped. This was cut into small portions, which were presented to each member of the company.

After luncheon the bride and bridegroom prepared to depart on their trip. They passed through a double file of their friends and the household domestics, each of whom carried a slipper. When the couple had entered their carriage, a shower of slippers was thrown, in token of "good luck."

It was the duty of the bridegroom's man to attend to the public intimation of the nuptials. We present some specimens of matrimonial announcements from the *Glasgow Journal*, one of the most fashionable of Scottish intelligencers a century ago.

"March 24, 1744.—On Monday last, James Dennistoun, junior, of Colgreine, Esq., was married to Miss Jenny Baird, a beautiful young lady."

"May 4, 1747.—On Monday last, Dr. Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the University of Glasgow, was married to Miss Molly Baird, a beautiful young lady with a handsome fortune."

"August 3, 1747.—On Monday last, Mr. James Johnstone, merchant in this place, was married to Miss Peggy Newall, an agreeable young lady, with £4,000."

At rural weddings the newly married pair remained to enjoy the festivities provided for them by their friends. A hundred persons frequently assembled on these occasions, and the rejoicings were protracted during a succession of days. Francis Semple of Beltrees has, in an amusing song, described the merriment attendant on the Penny Bridal. Some of his verses are subjoined,—

Fy let us a' to the bridal,
For there'll be liltin' there,
For Jock's to be married to Maggie,
The lass wi' the gowden hair ;
And there'll be lang-kale with pottage,
And bannocks o' barley meal ;
And there'll be good saut herrin',
To relish a cogue o' gude yell.

And there'll be Sandie the souter,
 And Will wi' the mickle mou',
 And there'll be Tam the plouter,
 And Andrew the tinkler I trow ;
 And there'll be bow-leggit Robbie,
 Wi' thoomless Katie's gudeman,
 And there'll be blue-cheikit Dallie,
 An' Laurie, the laird o' the lan'.

* * * * *

And there'll be girnagain Gibbie,
 And his glaikit wife, Jennie Bell,
 And misly-chinned flytin' Geordie,
 The lad that was skipper himsel' ;
 There'll be a' the lads wi' the lasses,
 Sit down in the mids o' the ha',
 Wi' sybows and reefarts and carlins,
 That are baith sodden an' raw.

And there'll be badges an' brachen,
 And fouth o' gude gabbocks o' skate,
 Powsoudie and drummock an' crowdie,
 And caller nouts put on a plate.

* * * * *

And there'll be meal-kail an' castocks,
 Wi' skink to sup till ye rive ;
 And roasts to roast on a brander
 An' flouks that were taken alive.

Scraped haddock, wilks, dulse an' tangle,
 And a mill o' gude sneeshin' to pree ;
 When weary wi' eatin' an' drinkin',
 We'll sup and dance till we dee.

Fy, let us a' to the bridal,
 For there'll be liltin' there,
 For Jock's to be married to Maggie,
 The lass wi' the gowden hair.

During the seventeenth century *Penny Bridals* had degenerated into scenes of social disorder. In 1645

they were condemned by the General Assembly, and in 1647 the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar insisted on their suppression as "the seminaries of all profanation." By these courts it was ordained that not more than twenty persons should assemble at weddings, and that piping and dancing should cease. Kirksessions subjected pipers and fiddlers to their severest censures for discoursing music at bridals. Persons who were convicted of "promiscuous dancing" were mulct in considerable penalties and placed on the stool of repentance. Ecclesiastical tribunals subsequently discovered that the irregularities at the penny wedding did not arise from the arts of the musician or of the dancing master, but were owing to the quantity of liquor which was consumed. They passed regulations to check the extent of the potations. It was provided that the festivities should not be prolonged beyond a single day. The presence of strangers from neighbouring parishes was prohibited, except when a considerable payment was made to the Kirksession for the privilege of receiving them. When marriage feasts were furnished by publicans, Kirksessions ruled that the *lawin* should not exceed a certain amount. A lawin of six shillings of Scottish money, was commonly allowed.

When the bride was led into her future home, she paused on the threshold, and a cake of shortbread was broken on her head. The fragments were gathered up and distributed among the young people as *dreaming bread*. In some districts of the Highlands the newly married couple were sent to sleep in a barn or out-house, while the neighbours made merry in their dwelling.

The pastime of *winning the broose* was common at

marriages in the southern counties. After the marriage, the men of the bride's party rode or ran to the bride's former dwelling, and the first who entered it was held to have won the *broose*. It was a nominal honour, for a basin of soup constituted the prize.

In allusion to this practice an anecdote may be related of the Rev. William Porteous, the eccentric minister of Kilbucho, who, at the close of his marriage service, and almost as a part of it, used to exclaim, "Noo, lads, tak' the gait, and let us see wha amang you will win the broose."

In border villages, and certain towns of Ayrshire, those who had been present at the bridal assembled next morning to *creel the bridegroom*. The process consisted in placing upon his back a *creel*, or wicker basket, and then laying a long pole with a broom affixed over his left shoulder. Thus equipped, he was forced to run a race, while the bride was expected to follow, to disengage him of his burden. The alacrity with which she proceeded in her chase was supposed to indicate her satisfaction with the marriage. In Argyllshire the bride and bridegroom made daily processions, preceded by a piper. They visited those families who had contributed to their bridal festivities. These processions closed on the eve of the *kirking** day, after which the couple settled down to the ordinary concerns of housekeeping.

In Haddingtonshire, a burlesque serenade, termed Kirrywery, was enacted at the doors and windows of persons who for a second time had entered into matrimonial bonds. The serenade was conducted by youths, who made a sort of mock music with kettles, pots, and other

* Churhing.

culinary utensils, accompanying the din with boisterous shouting.

Pay weddings are still common in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, chiefly among the mining population. Every marriage is celebrated on Friday, and is followed by a tavern dinner, to which the neighbours contribute. The festivities are continued during the whole of Saturday, which is styled the *backing up day*.

The notorious marriages of *Gretna Green* have almost ceased. In the beginning of the century a man named Paisley, who was originally a tobacconist, performed these weddings. The parties who sought his aid declared before him that they were single, and that they desired to be united in matrimony. He then pronounced them married, and handed them a certificate in the subjoined form. The style and orthography are preserved:—
“This is to sartify of all persons that may be concerned, that A. B., from the parish of C., and in the county of D., and E. F., from the parish of G., in the county of H., and both comes before me, declayred themsels both to be single persons, and now marryied by the form of the Kirk of Scotland, and agreeable to the Church of England, and given under my hand this — day of 18 — years.” Paisley’s terms varied according to the rank and condition of his employers. He married the poor for a *noggin*, that is, two gills of brandy. Many persons visited him from motives of curiosity. He prosecuted his vocation nearly fifty years.

In the burgh of Rutherglen, Lanarkshire, till within the last twenty years, persons were married, without proclamation of banns, by a peculiar arrangement on the part of the authorities. A friend of the parties was sent to the Procurator-Fiscal, to lodge information

that they had been married without legal banns. The Fiscal summoned the delinquents before the Sheriff, who, on their admitting the charge, imposed a fine of five shillings. The Fiscal took the penalty, and handed to the parties a printed form, duly filled up, which, by discharging the fine, certified the marriage. *Ruglen* or Rutherglen marriages have passed into a proverb.

A birth was attended with much concern to the wives of the neighbourhood. They hastened to make personal inquiry concerning the mother's health, and to embrace the young stranger. Every new-born child was, irrespective of the season of the year, plunged into a vessel of cold water. Before touching the infant the female visitors crossed themselves with a burning brand. When the heir of an estate was born, he was exhibited to the tenantry. The neglect of such a proceeding would have led to unfavourable rumours concerning the appearance of the young stranger. There is a tradition in Fifeshire that one of the infant kings was exhibited to the public on a payment proportioned to the rank of each spectator, and that the humbler classes were admitted to see the juvenile monarch on the presentation of a small coin, equal to the English halfpenny, and which consequently was styled a bawbee.*

In a note to "Guy Mannering," Sir Walter Scott has supplied some curious information respecting certain festive practices which obtained at births. We quote his own words:—"The *groaning malt* was the ale brewed for the purpose of being drunk after the lady, or goodwife's safe delivery. The *ken-no* has a more ancient source, and perhaps the custom may be derived from the secret rites of the *Bona Dea*. A large and rich

* Baby.

cheese was made by the women of the family, with great affectation of secrecy, for the refreshment of the gossips who were to attend at the *canny* minute. This was the *ken-no*, so called because its existence was secret (that is, presumed to be so) from all the males of the family, but especially from the husband and master. He was accordingly expected to conduct himself as if he knew of no such preparation ; to act as if desirous to press the female guests to refreshments, and to seem surprised at their obstinate refusal. But the instant his back was turned, the *ken-no* was produced, and after all had eaten their fill, with a proper accompaniment of the *groaning malt*, the remainder was divided among the gossips, each carrying a large portion home, with the same affectation of great secrecy."

The customs which attended occasions of death and burial were sufficiently singular. When the head of a family died, large spots of white paint were strewn on the door of his dwelling. In towns and villages, every death was announced to the neighbours by the church officer, who proceeded through the streets uncovered, ringing a bell, and announcing the event. This ceremony was styled, "The passing bell." The body of the deceased was watched from the hour of death till the day of interment. This practice was known as the *lykwake*, or latewake. In the duties of watching, all the neighbours took part ; it was continued day and night, one party of watchers succeeding the other. In Lowland districts, the watchers dispensed with conversation, and occupied the time in imbibing liquor, with which the chamber of death was copiously supplied. In the Highlands the watchers relieved the monotony of their occupation by various amusements.

"At burials," writes Mr. Shaw in his *History of Moray*,* "they retain many heathenish practices, such as music and dancing at likewakes, when the nearest relations of the deceased dance first. At burials mourning women chant the coronach, or mournful extemporary rhymes, reciting the valorous deeds, expert hunting, &c. of the deceased. When the corpse is lifted, the bed-straw on which the deceased lay is carried out and burnt in a place where no beast can come near it; and they pretend to find next morning, in the ashes, the print of the foot of that person in the family who shall die first."

An intelligent English tourist discovered that the same practices existed in Argyllshire early in the present century. "In some parts of the country," writes Dr. Garnett,† "the funeral dances are still kept up. These commence on the evening of the death. All the neighbours attend the summons; and the dance, accompanied by a solemn melancholy strain called a lament, is begun by the nearest relatives, who are joined by most of those present; this is repeated every evening till the interment."

In Morayshire, during the seventeenth century, musicians were hired to discourse strains for the entertainment of those who attended the latewakes of the opulent. The following receipt is extracted from the entertaining work of Captain Dunbar:—‡ "I, Thomas Davidstone, Maister of the Musick Schooll in Aberdeene,

* *History of the Province of Moray*, by the Rev. Lachlan Shaw. Elgin, 1827. 4to. P. 291.

† *Tour through the Highlands*, by T. Garnett, M.D. London, 1811. 2 vols. Vol. I., p. 119.

‡ *Social Life in Former Days*. 2nd series. By E. Dunbar Dunbar. Edinburgh, 1866. 8vo. P. 83.

grants me to have receaved all and hail the soume
of two pound, auchteine shillings Scotts money, for
singing at umquill Sir Robert Farquhar of Monnay his
Lyk be this my tikit of resset subscryvit with my
hand, at Aberdeene the 13 day of Januaris 1666 yeers.
Thomas Davidsone."

In some of the outlying districts the proceedings of the latewake culminated in a festival, at the chesting of the corpse. This took place on the night preceding the funeral, the festivity being known as the *dargies* or *dirgies*. The occasion was often attended with boisterous levity and merry-making. When the apartment became crowded, some of the company would seat themselves in front of the bed in which the corpse lay uncoffined. On such occasions the company looked upon the remains of mortality without feelings other than those which would prompt the merry laugh or excite the ill-timed jest.

Persons whose education might have led society to expect becoming behaviour at their hands, indulged in practical jesting at the latewake. About the close of the last century a dargies was held in the parish of Monifieth, Forfarshire. A large gathering took place in the chamber of the deceased. Among the number was Mr. William Craighead, the parish schoolmaster, a man of some literary attainments, and author of a popular system of arithmetic. There had been much romping and giggling on the part of the female portion of the watchers, and Mr. Craighead unwisely judged that an alarm which he planned with a confederate would check the evil. Having induced the watchers to leave the apartment for a little, he hastily removed the corpse into the barn, while his confederate lay down in the

bed, habited in the dead man's shroud. It had been arranged that on a renewal of the merriment he should rise up to startle the company. The gaiety had some time been resumed, when Mr. Craighead, surprised that his confederate gave no sign, opened the shroud and found that he was dead. The impressive event put a perpetual stop to the improper merriment of the dargies in that district of the Lowlands.

The length of the latewake depended on the rank or circumstances of the deceased. A pauper's "lykwake" lasted only so long as the carpenter was occupied in preparing a coffin. The latewakes of the opulent lasted two or three weeks. Dying persons anticipated the gathering of their friends on these occasions with considerable satisfaction, and not unfrequently gave instructions that liberal festivities should be provided. Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Bart., of Forglen, a Judge of the Court of Session, died in March, 1727. Dr. Clark, his Lordship's physician, in calling at his residence on the day of his decease, was admitted by his Lordship's clerk. "How does my Lord do?" inquired the physician. "I houp he's weel," replied the clerk, who conducted the physician into a room, and showed him two dozen of wine under the table. This was sufficient intimation of his Lordship's decease. Other visitors presented themselves, and the clerk proceeded to relate full particulars of his Lordship's last hours, as he hastily passed the bottle. The visitors rose to depart. "No, no, gentlemen," said the clerk, interrupting their egress, "it was the express will o' the dead that I should fill ye a' fou', and I maun fulfil the will o' the dead."

Funerals were scenes of enormous dissipation. When the hour of starting was fixed at two o'clock, the com-

pany were expected to assemble about eleven. The interval was spent in drinking. A person waited at the gate and offered a glass of whisky, which was drunk in silence, and with a slight inclination of the head. Another glass of the potent liquor was offered at the threshold, which was likewise duly drained off out of respect for the deceased. The proceedings in the interior were protracted to four and five hours, when the viands were profuse and the liquor was bountiful.

When "the lifting" was announced, only a portion of those assembled were able to proceed on their mission. Many lingered about the premises or proceeded to the nearest tavern to continue their potations. Of those who could walk to the churchyard only a few might be entrusted with carrying the bier. The procession was marshalled under a master of ceremonies, generally a discharged recruit. Anciently, at the funerals of distinguished persons, torch-bearers preceded, sounding trumpets. Highland chiefs were conducted to their last resting-places amidst the wail of the *coronach*. This was sung by hundreds of voices, and its doleful strains must have reverberated far among the hills. The coronach has been superseded by the far-sounding pibroch. At most funerals in Argyllshire a piper preceded, accompanied by a party of hired female mourners, uttering lamentations. The corpse was borne on handspikes by eight of the company, who were relieved at certain stages, when the procession halted on the word "Relief" being sung out by the conductor. When the men were too drunk to convey the body, women undertook the duty.

Dr. Garnett relates the following occurrence:—"A person, originally from Oban, had spent some time in

the neighbourhood of Inverary, in the exercise of some mechanic art ; and, dying there, his corpse at his own request, was carried by his friends towards Oban for interment. On a hill between Inverary and Loch Awe, just above Port Sonachan, they were met by the relations of the deceased from Oban, who came to convey the corpse the remainder of the journey. The parting could not take place without the use of spirits, which had been plentifully provided by the Oban party ; and before they separated, about forty corpses were to be carried down the hill ; in these however animation was only suspended, for they all recovered next day."

An occurrence of even a more degrading character took place at the funeral of Mrs. Forbes, of Culloden. When the funeral party reached the place of interment it was found that the corpse had been forgotten. Duncan Forbes, a son of the deceased, had conducted the festivities ; he subsequently became a most distinguished Judge, and President of the Supreme Court.

When the company had committed to the dust the remains of friend or neighbour, they proceeded to renew their potations. In the Lowlands funeral parties adjourned to the different taverns. In Highland districts, the company retired to the hill-side, where, accompanied by a piper, they spent the remainder of the day in dancing and drinking toasts.

That such occasions should have been attended with disputes and brawls cannot excite surprise. Often deadly encounters took place just after the combatants had stood together at the grave of a neighbour. In 1707, David Ogilvie, of Clunie, thrust himself on a funeral party at Meigle, Perthshire. He induced several of the party to accompany him to the tavern. After

drinking hard he proceeded to ride homeward in company with Andrew Couper, younger, of Lochblair, a neighbouring landowner. A quarrel arising from a trivial occurrence, both parties used hard words. At length Ogilvie drew a pistol from his belt and shot his companion dead. He effected his escape, but became insane. A similar tragedy took place at Forfar on the 9th May, 1728. Charles, sixth Earl of Strathmore, accompanied Mr. James Carnegie, of Finhaven, to the dinner table of a gentleman whose daughter's funeral they had attended. After drinking together for several hours they quarrelled. A scuffle ensued, when Lord Strathmore received a fatal wound. Carnegie was tried for murder before the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh, but was acquitted by the jury on the plea that he was "mortally drunk" when he committed the fatal act. So lately as the commencement of the present century the County Courts were occasionally occupied in arranging differences which had occurred between persons walking together to the grave of a friend.

As in Greece before the time of Solon, funeral banquets were provided on a scale of sumptuousness, which proved nearly ruinous to children and heirs. Two years' rents of a Highland landlord would have been expended in the convivialities attendant on his funeral. In many instances widows found themselves impoverished by discharging the costs of their husbands' funerals. When Lachlan Mackintosh, chief of clan Mackintosh, died in 1704, entertainments were provided at his mansion for a whole month. That the provision might be properly prepared, cooks and confectioners were brought from Edinburgh. This expenditure embarrassed the heads of clan Mackintosh for four or

five generations. Sir William Hamilton, Lord Justice Clerk, died early in the last century ; his funeral cost upwards of £5,000 Scottish money, equal to two years of his lordship's salary. The funeral expenses of Sir Hugh Campbell, of Colden, in 1716, amounted to £1,647, which included an item of £400 for whisky. The expense of emblazoning with heraldic devices the hearse and horse cloths used at the funeral of Mrs. Barbara Ruthven, daughter-in-law of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, in 1695, amounted to £240. In thickly peopled districts, a thousand or fifteen hundred people frequently assembled on the occasion of a funeral.

The extraordinary numbers who assembled at funerals suggested the use of such meetings for political purposes. When Campbell of Lochnell was interred in 1714, about 2,500 persons, well armed, under the command of Rob Roy, joined the procession. They availed themselves of the occasion to deliberate on certain Jacobite measures.

Letters of invitation to funerals were seldom issued. There was another method of securing an attendance. A person was sent round the district with a bell which he rung at intervals, and then called out, "All Brethren and Sisters, I let you to wit that there is a brother departed this life, at the pleasure of Almighty God ; they called him ——, he lived at ——. All brethren and sisters are expected to attend the funeral, which is to take place at ——."

There were funeral ceremonials common to different districts. In Caithness a hand-bell was rung, and a flag displayed in front of the processions. "It is," communicates Mr. Sheriff Barclay, "not more than sixty years, since was pulled down an ancient chapel near the

cathedral of Glasgow, where a bell was rung whilst funerals passed to the ancient *church-yard*, and when it was expected that those at the funeral would in return drop a piece of money in an aperture in the wall surrounded by a suitable scriptural quotation." "Up to the same period," adds Dr. Barclay, "great numbers of beggars surrounded the house from which funerals departed, and received pence doled out to them, and which, if withheld, brought a severe censure on the surviving relatives." In some districts, gentlewomen followed the bier, arrayed in showy garments and decked with ornaments. Females of the humbler ranks attended funerals in red cloaks. The inhabitants of the Hebrides strewed plants and flowers on the coffins of their relatives. The people of Orkney buried their dead in their shrouds and uncoffined. The southern portion of the cemetery was selected as the place of honour. Unbaptized children were buried under the dropping of the church roof. At Edinburgh persons who committed suicide were interred in the lonely burying ground at St. Leonard's Hill. It was one of the superstitions of the Argyllshire Highlanders, that the spirit of the last person who was buried watched the churchyard till the occurrence of the next funeral.

Notwithstanding their coarse fare, imperfect lodgment, and excessive drinking, the inhabitants of Scotland have generally been long-lived. To a pamphlet of Dr. John Webster, of London, physician to the Scottish Hospital, we are indebted for a list of persons who died in Scotland during the past century at ages far exceeding the ordinary span of human life. We quote some remarkable examples:—

In 1736 John Ramsay died at Distrey, at the age of 138. Alexander McCulloch, who had been a soldier in Cromwell's army, died at Aberdeen in 1757, aged 132. In the same year John Walney, the survivor of eleven wives, died at Glasgow at the age of 124. Donald Cameron, who was a bridegroom in his hundredth year, died at Rannoch in 1759, aged 130. In 1762, Catherine Barbour died at Aberdeen at the age of 124. John Mouret died at Langholm in 1766, aged 136. Archibald Cameron died at Keith in 1791, aged 122. An inspector of lead works at Edinburgh died in 1793 at the age of 137.

Before the establishment of public journals, with their accompanying obituaries, the Scots testified their sentiments respecting notable persons deceased in epitaphs, which passed from mouth to mouth. Those individuals who had excited dislike, but whose positions in life enabled them to resist censure, were sure not to escape satire at the hands of the epitaph writers. A MS. volume, in the handwriting of Sir James Balfour, and preserved in the Advocates' Library,* contains a collection of epitaphs written upon conspicuous Scotsmen of the seventeenth century. Some of these are complimentary, others are crushing pasquinades. An exacting money-lender is thus depicted :—

“ Heir layes ane vsurer of an excellent quality,
That never tooke his principall without his venality.”

Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Priestfield, Lord President of the Court of Session, and latterly Earl of Haddington, died in 1637. He had awakened some hostile

* MS. Collection of Epitaphs. Folio. (Press mark). 32, 2, 7.

feelings, for on his decease his epitaph was written in these sarcastic lines :—

“ Heir layes a Lord, quho quhill he stood,
Had matchles beene had he beene ——

“ This epitaph’s a sylable shorte,
And ye may adde a sylable to it ;
But quhat yat sylable dothe importe.
My defuncte Lord could never do it.”

Sir William Alexander, of Menstry, Earl of Stirling, a man of remarkable culture and boundless ambition, excited the envy of the nobles without evoking the sympathy of the people. A poet, a scholar, a man of refined manners and elegant conversation, he might have enjoyed a lasting prosperity by being content to dwell peacefully on his paternal acres. But he courted ambition, and gaining ascendancy over a weak prince, he went to court, where high offices and honours awaited him. He became successively Master of Requests, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Signet, Commissioner of Exchequer, and Extraordinary Judge of the Court of Session. He received knighthood, was raised to the peerage, was elevated to an earldom. The profits of the copper coinage were conferred upon him. By royal charter he received a grant of the minerals and metals in the Crown lands, with a reversion of the gift to one of his sons. Further, he was empowered to vitiate the medium of exchange, by producing a base coin, denominated *turners*. Higher privileges were granted. He was appointed Lieutenant-General of Nova Scotia, with a grant of territory equal to several States of the present American Union. In connection with his Transatlantic possessions he obtained vice-regal

honours—he could create baronets and appropriate the fees. For his sons he procured state offices and emoluments. Fond of show, he built a splendid mansion at Stirling, adjoining the royal palace, and furnished it in a style of great magnificence. He closed his career unhappily. He had contracted numerous debts, and his creditors at length seized his estates, including the lands of Menstry. He died at London in 1640. At the command of Charles I., with whom, as well as with James VI., he had been a constant favourite, his remains were conveyed to Stirling, and there interred by torch-light in an aisle of the High Church. A monument, long since demolished, recorded his titles and virtues. His failings are set forth in these lines, contained in Sir James Balfour's "Collection," and now for the first time published :—

"Vpone ye twelfe day of Appryle,
 In Stirling kirke and Bowies yle,*
 The Nova Scotia Governouris,†
 The Tinkeris of ye New Turnours,
 Wes castin in a hole by night,
 For evill doers hattes ye light.
 Earles of a housse in Strevelinges‡ toun,
 Whilk I heir tell will be pulled doun;

* The former name of an aisle in the High Church of Stirling, which the Earl of Stirling acquired by purchase.

† The ruthless bard seems desirous of including in his anathemas the earl's son and grandson. The former, William, Viscount Canada, died at London on the 18th May, 1638, and was buried at Stirling. William, second Earl of Stirling, son of Viscount Canada, died in childhood, about three months after the death of his grandfather, the first earl.

‡ The old spelling of Stirling.

For whay ther master, ye Earle Argyle,*
Fra wham thesse mooneshyne Lordes did wyle
Ther feus of lait. They were his vassalls,
Tho' now become grate Dinnie vassells,
Will pull it doun, as I suppose,
Becaus it standes juste in his nosse.
The Reassone no man can denay it,
Whay that ther buriall was so quiet ;
Becaus ther Landes beyond ye lyne
Layes so far off, as I devyne,
Ther subjects in ye winter wither
Could not conveniently come hither.
Yet Victrie, quhen ye spring begins,
He's vow'd to mourne in Beaver skins,†
Becaus his patron, as ye know,
Became Knight Beaver longe agoe.
Some Baronetts hes vowed to make
Ther Orange Ribands ‡ to turne blaire.
Both Tullieallan and Dunipeace
And Thornton's § wold qhyte their place,
To have their moneyes back againe,
Wich they on him bestowed in vaine,

* Sir William Alexander was in early life tutor and travelling companion to Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll. During his embarrassments, Lord Stirling conveyed his mansion at Stirling to Archibald, eighth Earl of Argyll, who added to it two wings and an entrance archway. The fabric is now used as the Garrison Hospital of Stirling Castle.

† On attaining the vice-sovereignty of Nova Scotia, Lord Stirling received a beaver as his crest, with authority to wear supporters to his arms. A bear sejant, proper, was the original crest of the Alexanders of Menstry.

‡ The Nova Scotia baronets received a silver medal attached to an orange riband.

§ The baronets referred to under the designations of Tulliallan, Dunipeace, and Thornton were Sir John Blackader, of Tulliallan, Sir David Livingstoun, of Dunipace, and Sir Alexander Sjrachan, of Thornton.

With many a poor gentleman more,
 Whose meins this Earle did devore.
 Yet I am glad for Mr. Harrey,*
 Who drunken Vanlor's lasse did marey ;
 Who, to redeime his father's land,
 Will give ten thousand pounds in hand.
 I think he'll scorne to take ye name
 Of Mr. of worke for very shame ;
 Or to be Agent to the Burrowes,
 To quhom he wrought a thousand sorrowes.
 Ane Earle, a Viscount, and a Lord,
 With such poore stylles will not accord.
 Yet to conclude, t'will make a verse
 Vpone My Lord hes father's hearse.

EPITAPH.

Heir layes a farmer and a millar,
 A poet and a Psalme booke spiller,†
 A purchasser by hooke and crooke,
 A forger of ye service booke,
 A copper smith who did much euill,
 A friend to Bischopes and ye Devil,

* The Hon. Henry Alexander, third son of the first Lord Stirling, and afterwards third earl, married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Peter Vanlore, Bart., of Tylehurst, Berkshire. In 1637 he succeeded his brother, Sir Anthony Alexander, as Master of the King's Works in Scotland. He also held the post of Agent for the Convention of Boroughs. In connection with both these appointments he is rallied by the poet.

† Some of the allusions to the earl's supposed employments or to his faults are not very obvious. He assisted King James to prepare a metrical version of the Psalms, and was vested in the copyright of the same for the period of thirty-one years. He was favourable to episcopacy, and privately approved of the introduction of the service-book ; but he was no active partisan, and took no public part in the disputes between the Court and the Scottish Church.

A vaine, ambitious, flattring thing,
Late Secretary for a king ;
Four Tragedies* in verse he penn'd,
At last he made a Tragick end.
The Beggars that could mak no verse,
Strewed on ther Tourners on his herse.

* The earl's four tragedies of "Darius," "Croesus," "The Alexanderian," and "Julius Cæsar," were published in 1607, under the general title of "Monarchic Tragedies."

CHAPTER II.

DROLLERIES.

A JESTER or fool was attached to the Scottish Court ; subordinate jesters were also employed. " John Bute the fule " is mentioned by the poet Dunbar in connection with the court of James IV. In the *Treasurer's Book* he is described as " Gentil John ye Ingliste fule." He was employed on active service, and seems to have had charge of providing beasts and birds for the royal menagerie. John Machilsie was jester to James V. An assistant of this personage is mentioned by his sobriquet of *Gille-mowband* in the treasurer's accounts. Archy Armstrong, jester to James VI., was the most celebrated of his order. He indulged in jests at the expense of noted courtiers, and even of the monarch himself. Emboldened by his triumphs, he unwittingly attempted a joke at the cost of Archbishop Laud. The prelate was proceeding to the council-table, when Archy accosted him, " Wha's fule now ? Doth not your Grace hear the news from Edinburgh about the Liturgy ?" The reproof fell heavily on the proud Churchman, who insisted on Armstrong's dismissal. The following entry occurs in the Privy Council Records :— " March 11, 1637-38.—It is this day ordered by his Majesty, with the advice of the Board, that Archibald Armstrong, the king's fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and proved to be uttered by him by

two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the king's service, and banished the Court ; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the king's household is prayed and required to give order to be executed." Though the king thus degraded his old favourite, no real injury was inflicted. Archy, ostensibly "a fool," had evinced much worldly wisdom in respect of his emoluments ; he retired from the Court in independent circumstances.*

Some of the nobility employed a kind of juggler, who amused the juveniles, and got up necromantic entertainments on gala days. James IV. pensioned James Hog, "a tale-teller," † or reciter of legendary stories, who was also employed in the royal armoury. There were humourists of mark in the farmer's ha' and the peasant's cottage. Nearly every district possessed its "wit," some one who, under the colour of jesting, uttered wise sayings and administered prudent counsel. The village smithy was a place of rendezvous for old and young. Here the new jest and the stirring tale found willing listeners ; while these retailed to wife and weans at the various ingle-sides served to beguile the evening hours.

Four centuries ago the manners of the Court were, in point of decorum, not more refined than those of the peasantry. One has only to read the poetry of William Dunbar, which found favour among princesses, to perceive that at his period (1465—1536) the proprieties of civilized life were at the lowest ebb. The long alienation of the Scottish Royal house and of the principal nobility from the purer Court of England, and the

* Archy once once said grace thus : " All praise to God and little laud to the devil." † " Treasurer's Accounts," *passim*.

importation of noxious manners from France, produced this social degradation. The first impulse to a better state of things was imparted by James I., on his return from his English captivity. By constituting certain manly exercises as royal sports he improved the habits of the nobles. Among the common people he established many amusing games and healthful exercises. By his songs and music he enchanted all classes.

The early death of James I. interrupted the progress of social reform, and the nobility of the third generation were ready to reject the regal authority of James III., because he preferred artistic studies and literary society. During the reign of James V. the manners of the upper classes had considerably improved ; yet Queen Mary, on her return from France, had occasion to remark that her nobility were unrefined and vulgar.

Among the popular games encouraged by James I. were “tossing the kebar,”* “casting the bar,” and “throwing the hammer.” These have been popular ever since. Leaping has long been a favourite pastime. “The high leap,” “the low leap,” and “hop, step, and leap,” have each particular characteristics.

Dancing may be traced to an early period. The patriot Wallace, in arranging his troops at the battle of Falkirk, exclaimed, “I have brocht ye to the ring ; dance gif ye can.” In the opening lines of his poem of “Chryst-Kirk,” James I. refers to the prevalence of dancing at the annual merry-makings.

“Was nevir in Scotland heard nor sene,
Sic Dancing and Deray,
Nowthir at Falkland on the Green,
Nor Pebills at the Play.”

* The trimmings of young plantations—young trees.

Morrice (Moorish) dances, which were common in England at an early period, were practised at the Scottish Court during the reign of James IV. Though included in "the games lawful to be observed" in King James's "Book of Sports," published in 1618, these dances were nearly unknown after the Reformation. The morrice dancer was arrayed in a fantastic costume, covered with bells, which played chimes consequent on his evolutions in the dance. In the possession of the Glover Incorporation of Perth, a morrice-dancer's costume has been preserved. The following account of this piece of ancient attire was furnished to Sir Walter Scott, and is appended in a note to his "*Fair Maid of Perth*":—

"This curious vestment is made of fawn-coloured silk, in the form of a tunic, with trappings of white and red satin. There accompany it two hundred and fifty-two small circular bells, formed into twenty-one sets of twelve bells each, upon pieces of leather, made to fasten to various parts of the body. What is most remarkable about these bells is the perfect intonation of each set, and the regular musical intervals between the tone of each. The twelve bells on each piece of leather are of various sizes, yet all combining to form one perfect intonation, in concord with the leading note in the set. These concords are maintained, not only in each set, but also in the interval between the various pieces. The performer could thus produce, if not a *tune*, at least a pleasing and musical chime, according as he regulated with skill the movements of his body."

Promiscuous dancing was proscribed by the Presbyterian Reformers. There were, it must be acknowledged, some weighty reasons. The dances of the Scottish Court were attended with libidinous practices. Queen Mary

introduced new dances from the French Court, which, in their evolutions and accessories were even more reprehensible than those which already degraded Scottish fashionable life. The Queen sought the pleasures of the dance when her people were inclined to clothe themselves in sackcloth. "On the day on which the news arrived of the massacre of Vassy, the Queen by accident or design gave a ball at Holyrood. St. Giles's pulpit rung with it, as may be supposed, the succeeding Sunday; and when the preacher was called to answer for his language, he told Mary Stuart that she was dancing, like the Philistines, for the pleasure taken in the displeasure of God's people."*

Till the close of the seventeenth century, all persons found dancing were dragged before Kirksessions, and fined or otherwise censured. In some portions of the Highlands the old prejudices against dancing have not quite subsided. In 1868, Mr. Peter Clark, farmer, was, by the Kirksession of the Free Church congregation at North Knapdale, Argyllshire, denied a certificate of church membership, because he was known to indulge in the practice of dancing. The case was, on appeal, discussed at the higher judicatories, when the reverend minister at North Knapdale strongly maintained that dancing was "a scandal," "a flagrant inconsistency in a communicant," and "a sin and bitter provocation to the Lord." The reverend gentleman was without a seconder.

Killie-kallum, or the sword dance, has long been practised in the Highlands. According to Olaus Magnus, it was originated by the Norwegians, from whom it had been received by the inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland.

* Froude's "History of England," vol. vii., p. 408.

There are some amusements of a grotesque description seldom omitted at the annual *Saturnalia*. "Climbing the greasy pole" never fails to excite the hearty laugh. The performers endeavour to secure the prize of a leg of mutton by ascending a smooth round pole, rendered slippery by a thorough greasing. The competitors increase in enthusiasm at each successive defeat, till some one at length bears off the well-won prize amidst the plaudits of spectators. *Hurling a wheel-barrow blindfold* is a favourite recreation. The performer undertakes a most difficult task, since instead of proceeding to the right spot, he is likely to describe a circle and return to the vicinity of the place from which he started.

The most ludicrous of these holiday amusements is the *sack-race*. Each competitor steps into a corn-sack, which is made fast about his neck, his uncovered head alone escaping the ludicrous disguise. The competitors start together at a preconcerted signal, and of course all do their utmost to reach the goal first. But difficulties attend them *at every step*. In the course of a few seconds one half of the competitors are *hors de combat*, and their fruitless struggles to resume the upright posture cannot be contemplated without laughter. With those who speed on after a certain rollicking fashion the race-course is strewn ere long. Probably not a single competitor maintains his footing. This sport is humorously described by Dr. William Tennant in his poem of *Anster Fair*.

O 'twas an awkward and ridic'lous show,
To see a long sack-muffled line of men
With hatless heads all peeping in a row,
Forth from the long smocks that their limbs contain;

For in the wide abyss of cloth below
 Their legs are swallow'd and their stout arms twain,
 From chin to toe one shapeless lump, they stand
 In clumsy uniform, without leg, arm, or hand.

* * * * *

As when on summer eve a soaking rain
 Hath after drought bedrench'd the tender grass,
 If chance in pleasant walk along the plain
 Bursting with foot the pearl-hung blades you pass,
 A troop of frogs oft leaps from field of grain,
 Marshall'd in line, a foul unseemly race,
 They halt a space, then vaulting up they fly,
 As if they long'd to sit on Iris' brow on high.

So leap'd the men, half sepulchred in sack,
 Up-swinging with their shapes be-monstring spy,
 And cours'd in air a semicircle track,
 Like to the feath'ry-footed Mercury ;
 Till, spent their impetus, with sounding thwack
 Greeted their heels the green ground sturdily ;
 And some, descending, kept their balance well,
 Unbalanc'd some came down, and boisterously fell.

The greeted earth, beneath the heavy thwacks
 Of feet that centripetal down alight,
 Of tingling elbows, bruised loins and backs,
 Shakes passive, yet indignant of the weight,
 For o'er her bosom, in their plaguy sacks,
 Cumbrously roll, (a mortifying sight),
 Wreck'd burgher, knight, and laird, and clown, pellmell,
 Prostrate, in grievance hard, too terrible to tell.

And aye they struggle at an effort strong,
 To reinstate their feet upon the plain,
 Half-elbowing, half-kneeling, sore and long
 Abortively, with bitter sweat and pain,
 Till, half-upraised, they to their forehead's wrong
 Go with a buffet rapping down again,
 And sprawl and flounce, and wallow on their backs,
 Crying aloud for help t'uncord their dolorous sacks.

Meetings for the practice of these old Scottish games are still held annually. The *Northern Meeting* at Inverness continues several days, and is attended by noblemen and gentlemen from all parts of the country. The *Braemar Gathering* is a famous assembly; it was for many years graced by the presence of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. A meeting for practising some of the national amusements is held triennially at Stirling. The annual celebration of Scottish games at Innerleithen formerly attracted a large concourse of people, including many literary celebrities.

Tennis and quoits are not peculiar to Scotland. During the seventeenth century, tennis courts were common. John Law of Lauriston, the celebrated financier, excelled at the game of tennis. A native of Alva, Stirlingshire, named Rennie, lately attained the championship of British quoit-players.

Hallowe'en was an important yearly celebration. On this evening (the first of November) the emissaries of the Evil One were believed to wield unusual power, while warlocks and witches held a grand anniversary. The rites of Hallowe'en were various. A chief ceremonial was pulling up a cabbage stock with the eyes closed. The appearance of the stock fixed the character and description of the future helpmate. A large or small stock determined whether the future spouse would be tall or short, stout or slender. When earth adhered to the root, it betokened that there would be *tocher* or fortune. The taste of the stem indicated the temper of the future spouse. The stems were placed on the top of the door, and the Christian names of the parties proceeding afterwards into the house fixed in succession the names of the forthcoming helpmates.

Nuts were burned on the grate. A lad and lass were named to each particular nut laid in the fire ; and just as these burned quietly together, or started up from each other, so would be the course and issue of the courtship. An apple was eaten before a mirror, when, by the light of the candle, the face of the future partner was supposed to appear. A person stole out unperceived to the peat-stack, and sowing a handful of hempseed, called out—

Hemp-seed, I sow thee,
Hemp-seed, I sow thee,
And he who is my true love
Come after me and pu' me.

Then, from behind the left shoulder, stood forth the apparition of the future spouse in the attitude of pulling the hemp. A sieve "full of nothing" thrown up in a dark barn, brought the figure of the future lover before the eyes. The white of an egg or melted lead was dropped into water. If a fine landscape appeared, the operator was destined to live in the country ; if steeples and high houses met the eye, his lot was a town life.

The kiln charm is one of the most elaborate. A journey to the nearest kiln is performed solitarily and at night. The party who experiments must cast into the kiln-pit a clue of blue yarn. A clue is wound up from the old one, and towards the end some one is supposed to hold the thread. The question is put, "Wha hads ?" (who holds) when an answer is expected from the kiln-pit, naming the future spouse.

In Lowland districts the superstitious rites of Hallowe'en have disappeared. The occasion is still observed in the Highlands, but after a different fashion. Bonfires

are kindled at every dwelling, and torches blaze on the hill-sides. The latter were composed of ferns, gathered on the morning of the day. On being kindled, they were borne to great distances. Occasionally an entire hill-side displayed these moving lights, which produced, in conjunction with the bonfires, a singular effect. Sheriff Barclay informs us that, travelling thirty years ago from Dunkeld to Aberfeldy on Hallowe'en, he counted thirty fires blazing on the hill-tops, with the phantom figures of persons dancing round the flames; while the distant sounds of a wild chorus imparted to the spectacle the aspect of unearthliness. During Her Majesty's residence at Balmoral, in the autumn of 1866, a Highland celebration of Hallowe'en was witnessed by the Queen and the Royal family.

The observances of *Beltein** (the first day of May) have ceased. This day was dedicated, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, to peculiar observances. In Lowland districts the cowherds assembled in the fields or on the hill-sides, and proceeded to prepare a refection of boiled milk and eggs. They also ate a kind of cakes prepared for the occasion, having small lumps raised on the surface. In the evening they carried about lighted faggots, which they procured by the contributions of their employers.

In upland districts the ceremonies of *Beltein* were observed by adults. Herdsman and shepherds cut a square trench, placing the turf in the middle; on that they kindled a fire of wood, on which they dressed a caudle of eggs, butter, oatmeal, and milk. Some of the caudle was spilt on the ground by way of libation.

* *Bel* is the name of the sun in Gaelic, *tein* in the same language signifying fire.

Every member of the party then took a cake of oatmeal, on which were raised nine square knobs, each dedicated to a particular being ; these being the supposed preservers of the herds, and their real destroyers. Having armed himself with the charmed bread, the devotee turned towards the fire, and breaking off each knob, dedicated them in succession to such votaries as the eagle and the fox, while he cast them into the flames. Martin, in his "Description of the Western Isles," records, that the natives of Barvas sent a man early on May-day morning to cross the Barvas river, to prevent any female crossing first on that day. Should this happen, it was held that salmon would not come up the river during the remainder of the season. The practice of gathering dew on May-day, long so popular among females of the humbler ranks, has nearly ceased.

The *Rocking* was a meeting of neighbours at each other's houses during the moonlight of winter or spring ; and to this females brought their rocks, or distaffs. It was attended with merry-making. The rejoicings of *Yule*, or Christmas, were allied to those of the sister kingdom. *Hogmanay*, the last day of the year, is attended with various observances. In certain districts the hinds, arrayed in masquerade dresses, proceed to the farmhouses, where they expect to be regaled with cakes and whisky. They are termed *guizers*. The following distich is sung :—

Hogmanay,
Trollalay !
Gie me o' your white bread,
I'll ha'e nane o' your grey.

On Hogmanay the children of the poor visit the dwellings of the more prosperous, and after singing

some doggerel rhymes, receive donations of bread and money. Some of these rhymes are curious. In Aberdeenshire, the children sing,—

Rise up, gudewife, and shak' yere feathers,
Dinna think that we are beggars,
For we're but bairns come tae play,
Rise up an gie's oor hogmanay.

Another version is common in southern districts :—

Get up, gudewife, an' binna sweir,
But deal your cakes while you are here,
For the time will come when ye'll be dead,
An' neither want for meal nor bread.

In Fife, the last day of the year is better known as *Cake-day*. The petition for cakes is the following couplet, more frequently said than sung :—

“Our feet are cauld, our shoon are thin,
Gie's our cakes, an' let us rin.”

The evening of hogmanay is termed, in Fifeshire, *Singin'-e'en*, on account of an old belief that the bees on that evening sing in their hives. In Orkney, bands of working people proceed from house to house, singing in full chorus the following song :—*

Peace be to this buirdly biggin'!
We're a' Queen Mary's men,
From the stethe † into the riggin';
And that's before our Lady.

* “Summers and Winters in the Orkneys,” by Daniel Gorrie. London, 1868. 12mo. P. 50.

† Foundation.

This is gude New Year's Even nicht,
 We're a' Queen Mary's men;
 An' we've come here to claim our richt ;
 And that's before our Lady.

The morrow is gude New Year's Day ;
 We're a' Queen Mary's men ;
 An' we've come here to sport and play ;
 An' that's before our Lady.

The hindmost house that we came from—
 We're a' Queen Mary's men—
 We gat oat cake and sowens scone,
 The three-lugged cog was standing fou' ;
 We hope to get the same from you ;
 And that's before our Lady.

Gudewife, gae to your kebbock-creel—
 We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
 And see thou count the kebbocks weel ;
 And that's before our Lady.

Gudewife, gae to your gealding-vat—*
 We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
 And let us drink till our lugs crack,
 And fetch us ane an' fetch us twa,
 And aye the merrier we'll gang awa' ;
 And that's before our Lady.

Gudewife, gae to your butter-ark—
 We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
 An' fetch us here ten bismar-mark,†
 See that ye grip weel in the dark ;
 And that's before our Lady.

May a' your mares be weel to foal—
 We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
 And every ane be a staig foal ;
 And that's before our Lady.

* Fermenting vat.

† Bismar is an old weighing instrument of the Orkneys. A mark is the lowest denomination of weight.

May a' your kye be weel to calve—
We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
And every ane a queyoch calf ;
And that's before our Lady.

May a' your ewes be weel to lamb—
We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
And every ane a ewe and a ram ;
And that's before our Lady.

May a' your hens rin in a reel—
We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
And every ane twal' at her heel ;
And that's before our Lady.

Here we hae brocht our carrying-horse—
We're a' Queen Mary's men,—
An mony a curse licht on his corse ;
He'll eat mair meat than we can get ;
He'll drink mair drink than we can swink ;
And that's before our Lady.

"At the conclusion of the song," writes Mr. Gorrie, "the minstrels were entertained with cakes and ale, and sometimes a smoked goose was set before the company. The singing men in starting were few in number, but every house visited sent forth fresh relays, and the chorus waxed in volume as the number of voices increased." "The original of Queen Mary's men," adds Mr. Gorrie, "were probably the friars, many of whom considered themselves as much privileged mendicants as the Edie Ochiltrees and king's beadsmen of other days. At all events, the Orcadians were good Catholics, addressing the Virgin as 'Our Lady of the Song.' The 'carrying-horse' mentioned in the last verse was the clown or jester of the party, who suffered himself to be beaten with knotted handkerchiefs, and received double rations as the reward of his folly."

A custom existed at Biggar of kindling a bonfire on the top of an eminence. This was called “burning the old year out.” In his Tour to the Hebrides, Dr. Johnson remarks :—

“At New Year’s Eve, in the hall or castle of the laird, where at festal seasons there may be supposed to be a very numerous company, one man dresses himself in a cow’s hide, upon which other men beat with sticks. He runs with all this noise round the house, which all the company quit in a counterfeited fright; the door is then shut. At New Year’s Eve there is no great pleasure to be had out of doors in the Hebrides. They are sure soon to recover from their terror enough to solicit for readmission, which, for the honour of poetry, is not to be obtained save by repeating a verse, with which those who are knowing and provident take care to be provided.”

On the last day of the year the members of families reassembled under the paternal roof. The evening was enlivened with toast and sentiment. Twelve o’clock was eagerly anticipated. At the first stroke of the hour a rush was made to the window, which was thrown open, to facilitate the egress of the old year. Before the clock had ceased striking, the gudeman opened the house-door, “to admit the new year.” Then followed congratulations and embraces, health-drinking and shouting. Some seized the kettle containing the “hot pint,” bent on being “first-foot” to their neighbours. It was a matter of concern to the parties visited that he who first entered was *sonsie* and well-favoured. Should a decrepit person, or one empty handed, be the *first-foot*, unhappy consequences were supposed to follow. In localities where draw-wells were used, gudewives

crowded eagerly, on the first stroke of twelve o'clock, to procure "the cream of the well," as the first draught was designated.

The direction of the wind on New Year's Day Eve was supposed to indicate the condition of the coming year. Hence the following rhyme :—

" If New Year's Eve night-wind blow south,
It betokeneth warmth and growth ;
If west, much milk, and fish in the sea ;
If north, much cold and storms there will be ;
If east, the trees will bear much fruit ;
If north-east, flee it man and brute."

New Year's Day was associated with some peculiar superstitions. It was deemed *uncanny* to retain a dead body in the house on that day. Funerals were hastened to avoid the supposed peril. Highlanders burned juniper before their cattle. There were social festivities. In the first Statistical Account of Tillicoultry, Perthshire, in 1793, the parochial incumbent relates the following narrative :—A miner had been confined to bed for eighteen months by a severe attack of rheumatism. From a neighbourly feeling a number of miners met in his apartment on New Year's Day, that he might join in their festivities over some bottles of Alloa ale. The invalid drank of the ale so copiously that he became intoxicated. When his friends retired, he fell asleep. Next morning his rheumatic pains were gone ; an abundant perspiration had eliminated the morbid element. He rose and proceeded to his work. He survived twenty years, and did not experience any return of his ailment.

The first Monday of the year is termed *Hansel* Monday. On that day the hinds and cottars on a farm

breakfasted on fat brose* in the farmer's kitchen. Handsel Monday is now claimed by farm-servants as a holiday.

Old Candlemas, the thirteenth of February, was a yearly gala day among the young. There was a festival in every village school. In the morning the children proceeded to the school-room, clad in holiday attire. They were received by the schoolmaster with marks of consideration, and each placed in his hand a sum of money. The schoolmaster offered each pupil an orange, the eating of which constituted the first portion of the festival. The money handed to the schoolmaster was originally applied to an illumination of the school-room, and the occasion was styled "the Candlemas breeze." This application of the fund was latterly abandoned, and the schoolmaster substituted a social entertainment to the young folks. During this celebration the boy and girl who had presented the greatest largesses were proclaimed king and queen; they received coronal bands on their heads, and were enthroned on a dais at the upper part of the room. Ceremonial introductions and state attentions to these royal personages, in which the schoolmaster joined, rendered the proceedings abundantly joyous. "In some schools," writes Mr. Sheriff Barclay, "the king and queen were carried by the undergraduates shoulder high, though not with much comfort and less grace." "On Candlemas Day," writes Mr. McDowall, "Latin scholars were required in their converse with each other, in and out of school, to speak exclusively in that tongue." †

* Brose prepared with suet.

† History of Dumfries, by W. McDowall. Edinburgh, 1867. 8vo.
P. 596.

On St. Valentine's Day young people met at the houses of the more hospitable. The names of the blooming lasses of the hamlet were written on slips of paper, put into a bag, and drawn for by the lads. There was a similar proceeding with the names of young men, whom the lasses drew. The system of despatching love missives on St. Valentine's Day is still common.

Fastren's E'en, a corruption of Fasting Eve, corresponding with Shrove Tuesday, was distinguished by an unwonted consumption of eggs. In England and Ireland it is known as *Pancake Day*, in many parts of Scotland as *Brose Day*. The brose of Fastren's E'en was made of fat skimmings of broth and of eggs and oatmeal. At Stirling, the young folks procured eggs, which were discoloured in the morning with various devices, and in the evening boiled and eaten in the open fields. In the border towns the entire day was employed in the sport of the hand-ball. In East Lothian, on Fastren's E'en, married women challenged the spinsters to the game of football. The sport terminated at sunset, when, if the game was undecided, the ball was cut into equal parts, which were handed to each set of competitors. The proceedings at Kilmarnock on Fastren's E'en were sufficiently exciting. The fire-engines of the place were brought to the cross, and filled with water. An expert individual, selected to the work, threw the water in all directions, to the delight of the assembled gazers, many of whom were thoroughly drenched. Mr. John Ramsay, a native poet, has thus described the observance :—

“Out owre the heighest house’s tap
He sent the torrent scrien,
The curious crowd aye nearer crap
To see sic feats achieven ;

But scarcely had they thicken'd weel,
 And got in trim for emilin',
 When round the pipe gaed like an eel,
 And made a pretty skailin'
 'Mang them that day.

A foot-race followed, to which *eclat* was imparted by a procession of the magistrates and town council. The town drummer bore on a halbert the prizes to be awarded to the successful competitors—these consisting of a leathern purse, a blue bonnet, and a pair of breeches.

On the Saturday preceding Palm Sunday the boys of Lanark paraded the streets with a large willow tree decorated with daffodils, mezereon, and box tree.

The three last days of March were the *borrowing days*, so named in commemoration of the Israelites borrowing the property of the Egyptians. Superstitious persons refused to lend and were indisposed to borrow on these days. When the *borrowing days* were tempestuous, it was held that the season would be favourable; if fine, a bad summer was anticipated. *All Fools' Day*, the 1st of April, was always observed. The "fool" was despatched for the loan of a *blind* sieve, in quest of which it was contrived he should make the round of the parish.

Pastimes and social customs were connected with particular localities. An exciting sport was *fishing with geese*. This species of diversion was practised by the old Earls of Menteith, on the Lake Menteith in Perthshire. A line with a baited hook was fastened to the leg of a goose, which was placed on the water of the lake. A boat containing a party of lords and ladies followed the bird. Soon a marauding pike took hold of the bait. A capture ensued. The splashing, floundering, wheeling of the combatants was overpowering as a source of

merriment, till at length, amidst the clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs, the goose proved triumphant, and bore a prisoner to land, his sharp-toothed adversary.

At Kelso, on the summer holiday, a barbarous practice was enacted. A cat was placed in a barrel, half filled with soot, which was suspended on a cross beam between two high poles. The merrymaking fraternity, consisting of hinds, mechanics, and others, then rode on horseback between the poles, each striking the barrel with a large club, until it was fractured to pieces. The cat, emancipated from its horrid imprisonment, now fell to the ground half blinded with soot, when the players proceeded to kill the poor animal by laying upon it with their clubs. They then suspended a goose by the legs, each player in passing giving a wrench to its neck till the head was pulled off.

In minor burghs particular days continue to be set aside for especial jollity and merrymaking. At Queensferry, the day before the summer fair, a personage is arrayed in a mock suit of chain armour, and, being mounted on two staves, is paraded through the streets. Every citizen is invited to offer him a gift, and all the youths of the place follow in his train. His costume consists of a flannel vestment, which is stuck over with the flowers of the burr thistle. On the first of July, the memory of St. Serf, the tutelary saint of Culross, is honoured in that burgh by various rites of rejoicing. *The Riding of the Marches* is an ancient burghal celebration. Most of the towns, to which the observance was attached, had received lands from the sovereign, and it was considered proper that the boundaries of these possessions should be determined annually.

by a procession. In the course of time many of these lands became alienated, yet the practice of encircling the ancient boundaries by an annual pageant was continued. The occasion led to a general holiday ; the old rejoiced in its early associations, and the young relished the diversion.

The burghs of Lanark and Linlithgow preserve the practice of *riding the marches*, with all the ceremony of former times. The celebration at Lanark takes place on the last Wednesday of May, old style. A procession of boys is formed, preceded by a band of music. The procession stops at "the ducking-hole," on the border of the burgh lands, where those who have joined the diversions for the first time are compelled to wade in and touch a stone in the centre of the pond. They are tumbled over and drenched. The procession next marches to the plantations of Jerviswoode and Cleghorn, where the youths cut boughs from the birch trees, with which they proceed through the streets in boisterous triumph. They finally assemble at the Cross, where, under a statue reared to the memory of Wallace, they sing "Scots wha hae."

The juvenile celebration terminates at noon. The magistrates and town-council now appear at the Cross, attended by the town-drummer on horseback. A procession is formed, which, after inspecting the marches, enters the race-ground. There, amidst demonstrations of merriment from the assembled multitude, a race is run for a pair of spurs. The proceedings terminate in a banquet in the county-hall. The celebration at Linlithgow is not dissimilar. The Sovereign's health is drunk at the Cross. When the glasses are drained off they are tossed among the crowd. A procession is formed. The

members of the corporation, seated in carriages, take the lead. Then follow the trades, bearing banners. The farm-servants of the neighbourhood, mounted, and displaying from their bonnets a profusion of ribands, bring up the rear. After a march of several miles the procession returns to the Cross, whence the different bodies proceed to their favourite taverns, to dedicate the evening to social mirth.

The ceremonial of *riding the marches* at Dumfries, in the seventeenth century, is thus described by Mr. McDowall, in his history of the burgh :—

“ Every 1st of October the magistrates, town-council, incorporated trades, and other burgesses, assembled at the market-cross or White Sands, and, having been duly marshalled, proceeded with banners and music along the far-stretching line which enclosed the property of the burgh. Their course was first to the Castle, then down Friar’s Vennel, and along the green sands to the Moat, at the head of the town. As a matter of course, the cavalcade was accompanied by a crowd of juveniles, who at this stage were treated with a scramble for apples—the town officers throwing among them the tempting fruit. The marchers then passed through the grounds of Langlands and Lochend, to the north side of St. Christopher’s Chapel, and thence to the village of Stoop, at the race-ground, near which a race was engaged in for a saddle and pair of spurs. Thence they went eastwards and southwards, betwixt the town’s property and the estates of Craigs and Netherwood, stopping at Kelton Well, at which point the superiority of the burgh terminates. Here, after being refreshed with something stronger than the produce of the well, the officials heard the roll of heritors read over by the town-clerk, a note

being taken of all absentees, who were liable to a fine for not being present at the ceremony. This over, the procession returned to town. The Riding of the Marches is a usage of the past; though it has been performed several times during the present century."

There were sports and social observances peculiar to Lammas—the first of August. About a century ago this day was celebrated in a singular manner by the herds of Mid-Lothian. Early in summer the herds associated themselves in bands. Each band agreed to build a tower in a central locality, which should serve as a place of rendezvous on Lammas. The tower was constructed of sods ; it was usually four feet in diameter at the base, and tapered towards the top, which rose about eight feet from the ground. A hole was left in the centre for the insertion of a flag staff. The erection of the tower was commenced precisely one month before Lammas. A great point was made of its being preserved, during the process of construction, from the attacks of neighbouring communities, and one of the builders constantly kept watch. The watcher was provided with a horn, with which, in case of an assault, he sounded an alarm. When Lammas approached, each band selected a captain. He was entrusted with the duty of bearing the standard (a towel borrowed from a neighbouring housewife), decorated with ribands, and attached to a pole. On the morning of the festival he displayed the flag on the summit of the tower. The assembled herds waited, under his leadership, to resist an assault of the enemy. They sent out scouts at intervals to ascertain whether any adversary was near. When danger was apprehended horns were sounded, and the little army marched forth to meet the enemy.

At some engagements a hundred combatants would appear on each side. After a short struggle the stronger party yielded to the weaker; but there were instances in which such affrays terminated in bloodshed. If no opponent appeared before the hour of noon, the communities took down their standards and marched to the nearest village, where they concluded the day's pastimes by foot-races and other sports.

A celebration bearing some relation to the miracle plays of the Romish Church is observed annually at St. Andrews. The celebrants are students attending the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard during the fourth year. Kate Kennedy's day, for so the celebration is named, does not fall on a day specially denoted in the calendar, but is yearly fixed by the observers for the last week of February or the beginning of March. The celebrants meet at an appointed rendezvous at noon, when they array themselves in masquerade dresses. They next form a procession. The leading performer, designated Kate Kennedy, is clad in female attire, and mounted on horseback. Kate has a body-guard, attended by a mounted escort. A drummer precedes, discoursing martial music. Each member of the procession represents some historical character. The Pope is seldom absent. The more popular of the Stuart kings are represented. Roman citizens and Greek philosophers are occasionally present. The Irish peasant, talking blarney, and the St. Andrews fish-woman, with her creel, are conspicuous. The cavalcade first proceeds to the College quadrangle, where *Kate* receives a congratulatory address. They next visit the private dwellings of the different professors, who are

cheered or hooted, according to their popularity or the want of it. The proceedings are terminated by a banquet. The origin of this celebration is involved in some doubt. It seems to combine the honours paid in Romish times to the memory of St. Catherine with a public recognition of the good services of the pious James Kennedy, bishop of the see, who founded St. Salvator's College in 1455. A bell was placed in the College steeple by Bishop Kennedy, who dedicated it to St. Catherine. This was recast the third time in 1686, when a procession attended its suspension. Probably the modern observance began at this period. The festival of St. Catherine is observed by the Romish Church on the 25th of November.

Anciently a procession took place at Edinburgh on the king's birthday, when every new-made burgess who presented himself, was initiated by being bumped against a stone. According to Mr. Sheriff Barclay, when march stones were placed, young boys were tied to the erection and chastised with birches, that they might possess a better remembrance of the position of the landmarks! The corporation of Selkirk, on admitting burgesses, compelled them, at a public entertainment, to *lick a birse* or bristle, which had previously been mouthed by all the members of the board. There were observances connected with the harvest-field. A farmer in Bendochy, Perthshire, kept a piper to discourse music to his reapers. As the performer was instructed to walk behind the slowest reaper, the plan was found useful as an excitement to diligence. There was a harvest-field practice peculiar to Fifeshire. Every gentleman who chanced to approach the field, was waited on by a feminine deputation, and requested to "remember

shearers' drouth.* This request for a gratuity might not be resisted. If signs of impatience were manifested, the visitor was surrounded by the whole band of reapers, tripped up, and caused to "ride the stang." This punishment usually consisted in the obnoxious individual being set astride a pole and carried aloft; it was inflicted on those who were accused of maltreating their wives. But "the stang" of the harvest-field was different. The person of the victim was impinged on the ground till a gratuity was conceded.

One practice of the harvest-field was "crying the *kirn*." When the last handful of grain was secured, the reapers proceeded to the nearest eminence, and by three cheers proclaimed that harvest was concluded. A bandster now collected the reaping hooks, and, taking them by the points, threw them upward; the direction of the falling hook was supposed to indicate the direction in which the reaper, to whom it belonged, was to be employed next harvest. If a hook broke in falling, the early death of its owner was predicted. When the point of a hook sank into the soil, the party possessing it received an augury of marriage. At the close of harvest a substantial supper is provided by the farmer for his hinds and reapers. This is termed the *kirn* or *maiden feast*. A fiddler discourses music, and eating, drinking, and dancing are carried on till morning.

Juvenile amusements abounded. "The king's come," a drawing-room game, was popular; old and young engaged in it. Seats were placed round the apartment, to accommodate every member of the party save one. A sort of lot determined the individual who should

* Thirst.

remain unseated. All the others having seated themselves, the individual left standing took his position in the centre of the group. He called out "Change seats! change seats!" then added, "The king's come," when all rose up and changed their seats. The sport consisted in the bustle occasioned by every one in the company endeavouring to avoid becoming the unfortunate one who should remain unseated.

Hurly-hawky is an old sport. It consisted in one boy dragging another along the sloping side of a hill or steep place; *hurly* was the performer or whirler, while *hawky* represented the youth who was dragged about. An eminence at Stirling is known as *Hurly-hawky*. There the youthful James VI. prosecuted this juvenile diversion.

The game of "Scots and English," or *Set-a-foot*, was common among the border youths. It has been described by a writer in *Notes and Queries** in these words:—

"It consisted of a heroic contention, imbued with all the nationality of still older days. The signal for war was chaunted as by bards:—

Set a foot on Scotch ground,
English, if ye dare.

And forthwith the two bodies of eight, ten, twelve, and even more schoolboys, were arranged on either side, the one representing the Scotch and the other the English forces; and be it said, in honour of these representations, they fought for the victory of their accepted cause as earnestly as if the battle were real. . . . The field was

* *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, Vol. II., p. 97. London, 1868.

thus ordered :—The green sward, divided by any natural hollow, was chosen if possible ; if not, a conventional line was drawn, and the combatants confronted each other across the imaginary border. In a heap, perhaps a hundred or two hundred yards behind each, was piled a booty of hats, coats, vests, and other clothing, and chattels, which stood in the stead of property to be harried, or cattle to be lifted. The game was played by making raids to seize and carry off these deposits, as whenever either store was exhausted, the nationality that guarded it was beaten. The races and the struggles to achieve this victory were full of excitement. Sometimes one swift of foot would rush alone into the exploit, sometimes two or three, to distract the adversary, without leaving their own side defenceless or exposed to inroad. Then the chase ; the escape of the invader with his plunder ; or his being obliged to throw it down for personal safety ; or his being captured and sent back with it, there to stand, chapfallen and taunted, until one of his comrades should run in and touch him, when his restoration to the ranks was the result, though perhaps his ransomer was made prisoner in his stead. And so the war was carried on as long as a rag was left to the pillager ; and it was a sight to see occasionally, near the close, the awful condition of the losing side of the combatants. Almost every stitch of raiment was gradually devoted to the exigences of the battle, and deposit after deposit was harried, till every article, shoes, stockings, braces, &c., was “won away,” and many of their discomfited wearers at last succumbed to their fate, with nothing to cover their nakedness but trousers and shirt.”

The youth of Glasgow had a game called *smuggling the geg*. Two parties were chosen by lot ; they were of

equal number ; one was called *outs* and the other *ins*. The *outs* went out from the goal, the *ins* remained. The *outs* deposited something, such as a penknife ; they then concealed themselves, and called "Smugglers." The *ins* gave pursuit, and if the holder of the geg or deposit was taken, the parties exchanged places. *Canlie* is still in lively exercise. From the players one is selected to act as *Canlie*. A space of ground is assigned as his territory, into which, if any of the other boys enter, and be caught by *Canlie*, he is obliged to take *Canlie's* place. *Hy-spy* is an old sport. There is a place fixed on as a *den*. The players are divided into *ins* and *outs*, the latter being entitled to hide themselves. After effecting their concealment, they shout *Hy-spy*. The *ins* endeavour to lay hold on the *outs* before they reach the *den*. *Cat i' the hole* is a Fifeshire sport. Holes are made in the ground for each player save one. He who is excepted stands at some distance, holding a ball ; the other boys stand by their holes, each armed with a short stick. When the ball-holder makes a signal, all change holes, each running to his neighbour's hole and putting his stick in it. It is the object of the ball-holder to anticipate some of the players by putting his ball into an empty hole. If he succeeds, the boy who has not got his stick into the hole to which he had run is put out, and becomes ball-holder. When the stick or *cat* is in the hole, the ball may not be put into it.

Among the corn-yard games was *Barley-bracks*. A corn-stack was fixed on as a goal ; here a boy remained to seize the rest. When all had run out of sight, he set off to seize them. He who was captured could not rejoin his associates, but was detained to assist his captor in securing the others. When all were captured the

game was concluded, and he who was seized first was bound to act as captor in the next game.

Keenie-oam is a game common among the boys of the counties of Perth and Fife. One selected by lot places his head against a wall, and further guards himself against seeing by covering his face with his hands. The rest of the party run off to conceal themselves. The last who disappears calls out *Keenie-oam*. The boy who has had his face against the wall then proceeds to search for his hidden companions. The first he lays hold on takes his place in the next game. *Shue-gled-wylie* is a game in which the strongest acts as the gled or kite, and the next in strength as the mother of a brood of birds, those under her protection remaining behind her, one holding by the back of the other. The *gled* tries to seize the last, while the mother cries *shue, shue*, and endeavours, with extended arms, to ward him off. Should the *gled* catch all the birds he wins the game.

Through the needle e'e was a very popular amusement. The children formed into a circle, each taking one of his neighbours by the hand with extended arms. The leader now passed under the arms of every second person, backward and forward, the rest following, while all repeated a rhyme with a certain musical cadence. *Bannet-pie* or *Hecklebirnie* is a punishment inflicted on those who break the rules of a game. The boys form themselves into two files, standing face to face, the intervening space being only sufficient to enable the offender to pass. Through this narrow lane he is compelled to proceed, with his face bent down to his knees, while the boys belabour him on the back with their bonnets.

As a lottery for regulating games the following lines are repeated :—

One-erie, two-erie, tickerie seven,
Alibi, crackerie, ten or eleven,
Pin, pan, muskidan,
Tweedle-um, twaddle-um, twenty-one.

The *Jingo-ring* is a game played among girls. They join hands, form in a circle, and move slowly round one of their number, who, armed with a handkerchief, gives a stroke to each in turn. In their gyrations they sing the following rhyme :—

Here we go by jingo-ring,
By jingo-ring, by jingo-ring,
Here we go by jingo-ring,
And round about Mary Matan' sy.

The game was formerly played at Edinburgh, and among the girls of Tweeddale and Fife. It is still practised at Glasgow and in the western counties. At the end of the verse the players bend down, and on rising resume the song and movement without variation. The game is common among girls in the Netherlands, who, in practising it, surround and kneel to a figure of the Virgin. The words "Matan' sy" in the Scottish rhyme are clearly an abbreviation of *matins say*, and would assign the origin of the recreation to pre-Reformation times.

Many of the old Scottish household games are passing away. Southern amusements have been introduced, both in the domestic circle and on the public playground. Croquet, unknown to our ancestors, has become a universal pastime. The bowling-green is constructed and resorted to at every hamlet.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC SPORTS.

LARGE portions of the Lowlands were covered with dense forests. These were inhabited by the wolf, the wild boar, and a species of wild cattle. The wolf made his lair in the Caledonian forest, which embraced the counties of Stirling and Linlithgow. This animal was also found in the forests of the north. According to the legend, King Malcolm II., on his return southward from the defeat of the Danes at Mortlach, in Morayshire, in 1010, was pursued by a wolf in the forest of Stochet. Just as the animal was about to make an assault, a younger son of Donald of the Isles came up, thrust his left hand, covered with his plaid, into the animal's mouth, and, with his right, plunged his dirk into its heart. For this act of service the King rewarded his follower with the lands of Skene, in Aberdeenshire. Another anecdote connected with the wolf-hunt we have received from Mr. Skene of Rubislaw. The Macqueens of Corriebrock were a small sept dependent on the support of the more potent clan Mackintosh, one of the most considerable in the Highlands. A wolf had appeared in Strathdairn, the country of the Mackintoshes, and the chief forthwith invited his kinsmen and allies to assemble for the destruction of the intruder. Messengers ran in every direction, and a large body of clansmen rapidly assembled. Somewhat late came Macqueen and his followers. Mackintosh

expressed his surprise that his ally had been so long in rallying against the common enemy. "Is it wolfie ye're makin' a' the wark aboot?" replied Macqueen; "I met the bit beastie comin' down the glen, and there's its head." Macqueen unfolded his plaid and produced the trophy. The Macqueens have since born a wolf as a charge in their escutcheon. The last of Scottish wolves was slain by Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, in 1680.

The wild boar inhabited the woods of Fifeshire. The city of St. Andrews was originally designated Muckross, the promontory of boars. A district in the vicinity of St. Andrews is styled, by the older historians, *Cursus Apri*, the Boar's Chace. This territory extended eight miles in length, with an average breadth of four miles. A portion of it is still known as Boar-hills. Hector Boece records the destruction in those parts of a boar of gigantic size, which had killed both men and cattle. At the period when he wrote, (about 1520) the tusks of the animal were attached to the altar of St. Andrews Cathedral. They were sixteen inches long.

Wild cattle occupied the woods of the southern counties, and were also found in the Caledonian Forest. They are thus described by Sir Walter Scott:—

"Their appearance was beautiful, being milk-white, with black muzzles, horns, and hoofs. The bulls are described by ancient authors as having white manes, but those of later days had lost that peculiarity, perhaps by intermixture with the tame breed." King Robert the Bruce hunted the wild ox. An adventure of the monarch in pursuing an ox is recorded by Hollinshed. After a long race the King overtook the animal, and was about to thrust his spear into its loins when it turned and made a charge. The royal hunter was in

the greatest peril, when one of his party rushed forward, and seizing the animal by the horns, overthrew it by main force. For his timely act of service the King bestowed on him lands and immunities, with the family name of Turnbull. Sir Robert Sibbald, who wrote about the end of the seventeenth century, remarks that in his time wild cattle were found chiefly upon the mountains. A breed of them has been preserved in Cadyow forest, Lanarkshire.

Deer-stalking is an ancient sport. David I. hunted the deer. He built a hunting-house at Crail, on the east coast of Fife; and many spots in the district, such as Kenly, Kingsbarns, and Kingsmuir, retain names derived from the practices of this royal sportsman. According to the legend, the Abbey of Holyrood was founded by this pious prince, to commemorate his deliverance from an infuriated stag, which had turned upon him in the chase and dashed him from his horse. William the Lion was an ardent deer-hunter. Alexander III. was hunting the stag at Kinghorn, in Fife, when he fell from his horse and perished. King Robert the Bruce added deer-stalking to his other kingly recreations. There is an anecdote in connection with his hunting. He had been repeatedly baulked by a white deer, which started among the Pentlands. At an assembly of his nobles he asked whether any dogs in their possession could seize the game which had baffled the royal hounds. Sir William St. Clair of Roslin staked his head that two of his dogs, Help and Hold, would kill the deer before it crossed the March-burn. The King accepted the offer, and pledged the forest of Pentland Muir in guerdon of success. He stood on a hill to witness the pursuit, while some sleuth-hounds were let loose to beat

up the deer. Sir William slipped his favourite dogs and proceeded to follow them on horseback. He had just reached the March-burn, when his dog *Hold* stopped the deer in the brook, while *Help*, coming up, drove him back, and killed him on the winning side of the stream. King Robert descended from the hill, embraced Sir William, and granted him the forest as his reward.

A legend connected with deer-hunting is associated with the rise of the ducal house of Buccleuch. Two brothers, natives of Galloway, had been banished from that county for rioting. Being well skilled in winding the horn and other mysteries of the chase, they proceeded to Rankleburn, in Ettrick forest, where their services were accepted by Brydone, the royal keeper. Kenneth Macalpine, who then held the Scottish sceptre, soon after hunted in the forest. He pursued a buck from Ettrick hough to the glen now called Buckcleuch, near the junction of the Rankleburn with the Ettrick. Here the stag stood at bay, but the royal party were unable to proceed, owing to the steepness of the hill and an intervening morass. One of the Galloway brothers came up, and seizing the buck by the horns, threw him on his back, and carried his burden to the royal presence. The King rewarded his enterprising follower by appointing him ranger of the forest, and bestowing on him the name of Scott, in memorial of his gallantry.

A hunting anecdote connected with James V., and illustrative of the manners of the feudal period, may be related. The King was at Stirling Castle, expecting guests. He despatched huntsmen to the hills of Kippen, twelve miles to the westward, there to kill deer. Several fine roes were secured, but the huntsmen, in returning home, passed through the lands of Buchanan of

Arnpryor, without yielding that feudal baron the customary homage. Buchanan gave pursuit, and, while allowing the huntsmen to escape from danger, appropriated the venison. When the huntsmen remonstrated against the detention, by alleging that the venison was procured for the royal table, he sternly replied, that, if James Stuart was king of Scotland, John Buchanan, meaning himself, was king at Kippen. Bold as was the laird's procedure, it did not exceed the bounds of law, and James, who relished such acts of daring, resolved speedily to make acquaintance with one who so sturdily asserted the privileges of his order. He proceeded, unattended, to Arnpryor, and knocked at the gate of that moorland fortalice. He requested an audience of the chief. The porter assured the visitor that the chief, being at dinner, might not be disturbed. "Tell him," said the stranger, "that the gudeman o' Ballingeich * has come to dine with him, and he will no doubt be satisfied." The porter reluctantly obeyed. Buchanan at once discovered the illustrious rank of his visitor, and came out with all humility to receive him. With characteristic frankness the King assured him that he only desired, as a neighbouring sovereign, to partake of his hospitality. The laird entertained his royal guest most sumptuously, and James, interested by his rough humour, invited him to the castle. Buchanan was presented at court, and the King ever after made him a companion of his sports, calling him familiarly "the King o' Kippen." Queen Mary did not deem hunting an unwomanly sport. She first met Darnley while sojourning at Wemyss Castle, Fifeshire, during the progress of a deer-hunt. In Mar Forest she

* A well-known *nom de guerre* of James V.

hunted frequently. The learned William Barclay of Angers was in his youth attached to Mary's court. In his work in defence of monarchical government he has presented the description of a hunt in Athole Forest under the personal auspices of the Scottish queen. We present his narrative in the words of Pennant's translation :—

"I had a sight of a very extraordinary sport. In the year 1563, the Earl of Athole, a prince of the blood-royal, had, with much trouble and at vast expense, made a hunting-match for the entertainment of our most illustrious and most gracious Queen. Our people call this a royal hunting. I was then a young man, and was present on the occasion. Two thousand Highlanders were employed to drive to the hunting-ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Athole, Badenoch, Mar, Moray, and the countries about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly, that, in less than two months' time, they brought together two thousand red deer, besides roes and fallow deer. The Queen, the great men, and a number of others were in a glen, when all these deer were brought before them; believe me, the whole body moved forward in something like battle order. This sight still strikes me, and will ever strike me, for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved. This leader was a very fine stag, with a very high head. The sight delighted the Queen very much, but she soon had cause for fear, upon the Earl (who had been from his early days accustomed to such sights) addressing her thus :— 'Do you observe that stag who is foremost of the

herd? there is danger from that stag ; for, if either fear or rage should force him from the ridge of that hill, let every one look to himself, for none of us will be out of the way of harm, as the rest will all follow this one, and having thrown us under foot, they will open a passage to the hill behind us.' What happened a moment after confirmed this opinion ; for the Queen ordered one of the best dogs to be let loose upon one of the deer. This the dog pursues ; the leading stag was frightened, he flies by the same way he had come there ; the rest rush after him, and break out where the thickest body of the Highlanders was. They had nothing for it now but to throw themselves flat on the heath, and to allow the deer to pass over them. It was told the Queen that several of the Highlanders had been wounded, and that two or three were killed. The whole body would have escaped had not the Highlanders, by their skill in hunting, fallen upon a stratagem to cut off the roes from the main body. It was of those that had been separated that the Queen's dogs and those of the nobility made slaughter. There was killed that day three hundred and sixty deer, with five wolves and some roes."*

Alarmed at the spectacle of a naked sword, James VI. did not wince at sight of the hunter's knife. Hunting was his favourite sport. He had just returned from a hunt in the forest of Athole, in August, 1582, when he experienced that detention at Ruthven Castle, historically known as the Raid of Ruthven.

Taylor, the water-poet, has described the manner in which deer-hunting was conducted in the Highlands

* See Barclay's *De Regno et Regali Potestate adversus Buchananum.* Parisius, 1600. 4to pp. 279-80.

during the sixteenth century. Five hundred men, he writes, would, early in the morning, enclose a circuit of eight or ten miles, bringing the deer to such a place as the hunters might appoint. The deer were collected in different herds of several hundreds each. The hunters lay down on the ground, and despatched scouts, called *Tinkhell*, to drive forward the deer. When the herds descended from the hills, the hunters proceeded to destroy them with their firelocks and dirks.

Royal warrens were protected during the time of Alexander II., who began his reign in 1214. Trespassers were punished with death and confiscation. David II. granted a royal charter to William Herwart, as keeper and "cunningare" (conie-keeper) in "the king's muire in Craill, in life-rent."* Game laws applying to the royal forests were passed in 1594, and it was enacted by the Estates, in 1621, "that no man hunt or hawk at any time thereafter who hath not a plough of land in heritage."

On the breaking up of the larger forests, fox-hunting took the place of the deer-hunt. Both landowner and yeoman, actuated by mutual interest, concerned themselves in the destruction of the fox. A huntsman was kept in every district, who was recompensed by money payments from the landowners, and by grants of farm produce from the tenantry. He received a special reward for every fox which he destroyed. Every farmer kept a couple of greyhounds. Several days were occupied annually in the pursuit of the fox, when the entire inhabitants of the district turned out. In Forfarshire these gatherings were convened by the parish beadle while the congregation left church. An ancestor

* Robertson's Index of Charters. Edinburgh, 1799. 4to, p. 57.

of the writer heard a beadle in Strathmore summon a dispersing congregation to attend at the hunting-field, in these words :—

“ Ilka man and mither’s son,
Come hunt the tod on Tuesday.”

Hawking, or falconry, was a royal sport. According to the legend, the Danes had made an incursion on the east coast of Forfarshire. They penetrated from Montrose to Perth, devastating the country in their progress. The Scottish army, under Kenneth III., attacked them on the field of Luncarty, where a bloody engagement took place. The centre of the royal army, commanded by the monarch, maintained its ground, but the right and left wings were broken and pursued by the enemy. In the course of their flight, the fugitives got into a narrow lane, formed by a hedge and a mud wall. A farmer, named Hay, and his two sons, intercepted the passage, each armed with a plough-share. They reproached their flying countrymen with their cowardice, and called on them to rejoin their sovereign in his conflict with the invaders. Thus intercepted, the fugitives turned upon their pursuers. The Danes, dreading a reinforcement, threw down their arms and fled. Hay was brought into the presence of the monarch, who offered him, in reward of his service, as much land as a hound would course over in one heat, or across which a falcon would fly before resting. Having chosen the latter, the patriotic yeoman obtained possession of the western district of the Carse of Gowrie. If this story is well-founded, hawking must have been practised in Scotland so early as the tenth century.

The restoration of James I. from his lengthened captivity in England was due to an incident connected

with falconry. The regent, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, had a valuable falcon, which was coveted by his eldest son, Walter Stewart, who frequently expressed a desire to possess it. The Duke refused to part with his favourite, which so aggravated the youth that he seized the bird and destroyed it. Shocked by his son's cruelty, the Duke resolved that he should not succeed him in the regency, and negotiated for the recall of his lawful sovereign.

James I. was fond of falconry. It was a favourite sport with James IV. James V. procured falcons from the eyries of Caithness.* He sent falcons as royal gifts to the King of France, the Dauphin, and the Duke of Guise. When a youth at Stirling, James VI. practised falconry. He got falcons from Craigleith, a rocky summit of the Ochils. During his reign a pair of falcons were valued at £2,000 Scots. So long as the Dukes of Athole retained the depute-sovereignty of the Isle of Man, they acknowledged fealty to the British sovereign, by presenting a pair of falcons at every coronation.

The Grand Falconer was an hereditary officer connected with the Scottish Court. For a succession of generations the office was retained in the family of the Flemings of Barrochan Tower. Peter Fleming received a hawk's hood set in jewels from James IV., for having defeated the King's falcon with his *tiercel*; it has been preserved in the family. There was a salaried depute-falconer. The last who held office, Mr. Marshall, retired in September, 1840. Among the latest promoters of Scottish falconry were Archibald, Lord Montgomerie, great-grandfather of the present Earl of Eglinton; Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Pollok, grandfather of Sir William

* Treasurer's Accounts, June and September, 1539.

Stirling Maxwell, Bart. ; and the late Mr. Wallace of Kelly, M.P. As a national pastime falconry has ceased.

Archery, an early amusement of the English people, was much encouraged by James I. That monarch enacted, in his first Parliament, "That all men busk themselves to be archers, from the age of twelve years ; and that in each ten pound worth of land there be made bow-marks, and specially near parish churches, where, upon holy-days, men may come, and at the least shoot thrice about, and have usage of archery, and who-soever uses not the said archery, the lord of the land shall raise from him a wedder, and if the lord raises not the said penalty, the King's sheriff or his ministers shall raise it to the King."

At St. Andrews a portion of ground by the margin of the bay retains the name of "the Butts." There is a *Butts Well* at the base of Stirling Rock, and a small village adjoins, styled *Raploch*, the place of archery. The ancient "Butts" at Peebles is still pointed out. James I. composed his ballad of "Chryst's Kirk" to promote a love of archery among his subjects. It amusingly depicts the awkwardness of inexperienced bowmen. James II. caused the Estates to enact that bow-marks should be made at every parish church, and that all who did not repair thither on certain days, and shoot at least six shots, should be subjected to a penalty of "twa pennies Scots." The marriage of James IV. to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., led to the promotion of Scottish archery. The Queen was an expert archer ; she shot a buck at Alnwick Park, in the course of her progress from England to her future home. During the reign of her son, James V., she was wont to boast of the superiority of Englishmen in the use of the

bow. On one occasion, according to Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, she brought representatives of the two countries to engage in a public competition at archery. "There came," writes the chronicler, "an ambassador out of England, named Lord William Howard, with a bishop with him, and many other gentlemen, to the number of threescore horse, which were all able men and waled men for all kinds of games and pastimes, shooting, lousing, running, wrestling, and casting of the stone, but they were well sayed (tried) ere they passed out of Scotland, and that by their own provocation; but after they tint, till at last the Queen of Scotland, the King's mother, favoured the Englishmen, because she was the King of England's sister; and therefore she took an enterprise of archery upon the Englishmen's hands, contrary her son the King and any six in Scotland that he would wale, either gentlemen or yeomen, that the Englishmen should shoot against them, either at pricks, revers, or butts, as the Scots pleased. The King hearing this of his mother, was content, and gait her pawn a hundred crowns and a tun of wine, upon the English-men's hands, and he incontinent laid down as much for the Scottish-men. The field and ground was chosen in St. Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the English-men: to wit, David Wemyss, of that ilk, David Arnot of that ilk, and Mr. John Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee; the yeomen, John Thomson, in Leith, Stephen Taburner, with a piper, called Alexander Bailie: they shot very near, and warred the Englishmen of the enterprise, and won the hundred crowns and the tun of wine, which made the King very merry that his men won the victory."*

* Lindsay's "Chronicles of Scotland." Edinburgh, 1814. 8vo.

James V. presented silver arrows to the royal burghs, to which the winners in the annual competitions might attach silver medals in memorial of their skill. These arrows have disappeared, but others substituted in their places, at different periods, have been preserved at St. Andrews, Selkirk, Peebles, Musselburgh, and other towns. Queen Mary was an accomplished archer. It is recorded, to her discredit, that she shot at butts with Bothwell, at Seton Palace, two days after Lord Darnley's murder. James VI. included archery among his "Sunday games."

A body of 7,000 archers was despatched to France in the reign of James I., to assist the Dauphin and the House of Valois against Henry V. of England. These troops, commanded by the Earl of Buchan, gained the Battle of Beaugé, which turned victory to the side of France. Many of these archers settled in France, and, receiving the designation of the Royal Scottish Guard, had important privileges bestowed upon them. Scottish nobles and persons of distinction enrolled themselves in the corps, and attracted to France numbers of their countrymen. During the regency of Mary de Medicis, widow of Henry IV., the Scottish Guard lost the royal favour, and were subjected to open affront. They made a complaint to James VI., who interfered on their behalf. He threatened that, unless their immunities were respected, he would order their recall. Charles I. was also called upon to interfere in maintaining the rights

P. 147. The quaint historian might well exult in this incidental triumph, for the English greatly excelled the Scots in the use of the bow. Roger Ascham quotes a proverb, in these words: "Every English archer beareth under his girdle twenty-four Scottes," referring to the greater skill of the southerners in the art of archery.

of his expatriated subjects, the Scottish Archers, in France.

When the Duke of Buckingham was sent, in 1628, to Rochelle, to aid the Huguenots against Cardinal Richelieu, a levy of 200 Highland bowmen, under Alexander McNaughten, proceeded to his assistance. But the Duke's troops were driven back to their ships, ere the bowmen had an opportunity of proving their efficiency and prowess.

The Company of Archers at Edinburgh is privileged to rank as the Queen's Scottish Body Guard. Its original records have perished. In 1792 the company consisted of a thousand members; they met weekly, exercising themselves in the meadows by shooting at butts or *rovers*. The latter name denoted a game, which consisted in the marks being placed at a distance of 185 yards. The prizes belonging to the company are, a silver arrow, presented by the Corporation of Musselburgh, and shot for so early as 1603; a silver arrow, presented by the town of Peebles in 1626; a silver arrow, presented by the city of Edinburgh in 1709; a silver punch-bowl, made of native silver, in 1720; and a piece of plate, value twenty pounds, called the King's Prize, presented in 1627. The prizes are held by the winners for a year, when they are restored to the company.

Laurence Oliphant of Gask belonged to the Royal Archers. When nineteen years old, he served, in 1745, as one of the aide-de-camps to Prince Charles. Gask, his father's house, was pillaged in the following year. In 1777 he was asked to send his old coat as a pattern for the new generation. He writes thus, on November 6th in that year:—"It is odd if my archer's coat is the only one left. It was taken away in the Forty-six by the

Duke of Cumberland's plunderers; and Miss Anny Grahame, of Inchbrakie, thinking it would be regretted by me, went out to the Court, and got it back from a soldier, telling him it was a lady's riding-habit. But putting her hand to the breeches, to take them too, he, with a thundering oath, asked her if the lady wore breeches?"* Oliphant was the father of Lady Nairne, the poetess. His grandson James, was one of those who escorted Queen Victoria on her visit to Edinburgh in 1842.

A game, practised by the Edinburgh Company of Archers, was called the *Goose*. This sport was attended with much barbarity. A live goose was built in a turf butt, with its head exposed. The competitors took aim at the head, and the first who hit it became winner of the goose prize. This inhuman practice has been abandoned. The uniform of the company is a handsome tartan, lined with white and trimmed with green and white, a white sash with green tassels, and a blue bonnet with a St. Andrew's cross and feathers.

The Kilwinning Archery Company existed, in connection with the abbey of that place, so early as 1488. The members practised archery of two sorts. *Point-blank* archery consisted in shooting at butts, about twenty-six yards distant. *Papingoe* archery implied higher skill. The papingoe is a bird known in heraldry. It was cut out of wood, fixed on the end of a pole, and placed on the steeple of the monastery. The archer who brought down the papingoe was hailed "Captain of the Papingoe," received a parti-coloured sash, was privileged to attach a silver medal to an arrow preserved in memorial of his skill, and presided at meetings

* Gask Family Papers.

during the year. In 1688 the sash was substituted by a piece of silver plate.

An Archery Company flourished at St. Andrews from 1618 till 1751. Three silver arrows, with silver medals attached, which belonged to the company, are preserved in the buildings of the United College. There are medals bearing the names and arms of James, Earl of Montrose, afterwards Marquis ; Archibald, Lord Lorn, subsequently first Marquis of Argyll ; and seventy-seven others. The last medal was appended by Charles, fifth Earl of Elgin, in 1751. In 1833 an attempt was made to revive the St. Andrews Company of Archers, but unsuccessfully.

“The Bowmen of the Border” are composed of a number of noblemen and gentlemen in Roxburghshire, who assemble in virtue of a diploma from the Royal Company of Archers. The members are restricted to eighty ; there are first and second captains.

The joust and tournament were among the sports introduced by James I. Between the joust and tournament there was this difference, that the former was a single combat, while in the latter a troop of knights were engaged on each side. The tournament was held at the will of a sovereign, who despatched a king of arms through his dominions and to foreign courts, intimating his intention to hold a grand assembly for the clashing of arms. The intending combatants came forth in military array, their armorial bearings being depicted on their shields and surcoats and the caparisons of their horses. Each knight was preceded by an esquire, who bore his spears in the right hand, and in the left his helmet and crest, adorned with silken streamers bestowed on him by his mistress.

The spot fixed as the scene of the tournament was enclosed with wooden rails, and gates formed of bars. When the knights reached the barriers, they announced their arrival by trumpets, on which the heralds came forth and recorded their names and arms. Then they suspended their shields on the barriers, in proof that they were worthy.

A knight, traversing the field, singled out from the different shields, that of the knight with whom he desired to engage in combat. He signified the weapon to be used by ringing on the shield of his antagonist with the arms he had selected. Two pages attended the shield, arrayed as Moors or monsters; these, who were termed supporters, informed the challenged knight of the decision of his competitor. The usual weapons were blunted lances and swords. The combat was commenced on horseback, but the combatants often ended their encounter on foot.

Each knight, whether at joust or tournament, contended for the honour of a lady, to whom he dedicated his prowess. Not unfrequently the knights adopted as their heroines fair charmers whom they had not seen, and married ladies, in whom, unless for their pre-eminent beauty, they could not be interested. James IV. professed himself the knight of the Queen of France. Tournaments were witnessed by dames and damsels of noble rank, who encouraged their favourites. The hero of the tournament received a prize from the Queen of Beauty, a lady specially selected by the sovereign to preside.

In 1449 a tournament attended with a sanguinary result took place at Stirling, in the presence of James II. The combatants were, on the one side, two Burgundian knights, brothers of the noble house of Lalain, and

the Sieur de Mariadet, Lord of Longueville ; and on the other side three Scottish knights, two of whom were Douglasses, and the third, Sir John Ross of Halket. The weapons used were the lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger. The combatants commenced with the lance, but speedily abandoned it for the battle-axe, when one of the Douglasses being killed outright, the King threw down his gauntlet and stopped the contest. On this occasion, the Earl of Douglas, brother of one of the combatants, was attended by five thousand followers, at the head of whom he conducted the Scottish champions to the lists.

James IV. was a chief promoter of jousts and tournaments. He issued frequent proclamations to his nobles to assemble at Stirling and Edinburgh, for the prosecution of these and other chivalrous sports. The successful competitors at the joust received his adversary's weapon, and had further bestowed on him by the King a lance mounted with gold.

Among the military spectacles which followed the reception of the Princess Margaret, in 1502, was a series of jousts and tournaments, which took place at Edinburgh. On this occasion the competitors were the border chiefs, many of whom contended with each other with such vehemence that the victor left his opponent stretched lifeless on the field.

Like his royal sire, James V. keenly promoted these knightly recreations. Many tournaments took place during his reign. On these occasions foreign knights presented themselves to challenge the skill of the Scottish nobles. The conflicts were often disputed so warmly that the monarch had to interpose to prevent bloodshed.

The death of Henry II. of France, in June, 1559, resulting from his eye being pierced by the Count de Montgomery, in a joust at Paris, led to the suppression of these chivalrous amusements. In 1594 jousting was practised among the sports which attended the baptism of Prince Henry at Stirling Castle.

A magnificent tournament was held by the late Earl of Eglinton. This spirited nobleman assembled at Eglinton Castle, on the 28th August, 1839, an extraordinary gathering of noble and distinguished personages of both sexes, to assist in reviving the fetes of old chivalry. The proceedings continued three days, and were conducted with a splendour not excelled on those occasions when the Scottish monarch led his knights to the lists. The costumes of the knights were chiefly of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Some were attired in the fancy dresses of the old knights of France, Prussia, and Spain. The national costumes were superb. Lady Seymour, the Queen of Beauty, wore a coronet of jewels, a jacket of ermine, and skirt of violet velvet, with the front of sky-blue velvet, on which was represented her arms, embroidered in silver. Among the distinguished visitors was Prince Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French. He wore a polished steel cuirass over a leather jacket, trimmed with crimson satin; a steel vizored helmet, with a high plume of white feathers; buck-skin tights, and russet boots.

On Thursday, the 29th August, ten knights engaged in conflict. Among these were the Marquis of Waterford, the Earl of Eglinton, Lord Glenlyon, afterwards Duke of Athole, the Earl of Craven, Lord Alford, and Sir Francis Hopkins. All exhibited skill

and prowess ; their lances split almost at a touch ; nor did any untoward occurrence mar the pleasure of the spectacle. A combat with broad-swords, between the Prince Napoleon and Mr. Lamb, an English gentleman, was, on both sides, conducted with skill and vigour. A splendid banquet, followed by a ball, terminated the second day's sport. On Friday, a grand equestrian *mélée* with broad-swords was carried on by the Scottish and Irish knights against those of England. A social entertainment closed the pageant.

Tilting at the Ring, an elegant amusement, was practised on horse back. The sport consisted in riding at full-speed, and thrusting the point of a lance through a ring, suspended in a case by means of two springs, but which might be readily drawn out by the force of the stroke and remain on the top of the lance. A right to engage in this game was granted by James I. to the chapmen or merchant burgesses of Stirling. The late Major John Alexander Henderson, of Westerton, was the last "Principal" of the order. Major Henderson died in 1858. A tilting lance used at the chapmen's sports during the reign of James V. is preserved in the armoury of Stirling Castle.

When the feats of the joust and tournament were concluded, the knights sat down to an open-air repast near the field of conflict. This out-of-door banqueting place was designated the *Round Table*. It was an octagonal mound, of a diameter sufficient to contain several hundred knights, and of such height as to afford comfortable seating. In the centre of the enclosed space a mound was raised for the accommodation of the sovereign and the members of the royal family. The *Round Table* was contrived to enable the

knights to feast together on a footing of equality. According to the legend, a Round Table was constructed at Winchester by King Arthur, for the use of his nobles. The project was revived by Roger, Earl of Mortimer, at Kenilworth, in the reign of Edward I. In 1344 Edward III. constructed a Round Table at Windsor, at which he entertained the knights of Europe. Just a century later, James I. caused a Round Table to be constructed at Stirling. This scene of ancient chivalry was, in 1867, restored to its original condition by H. M. Board of Works, owing to a representation made by the writer of these pages some years previously.

The tournament and its festivities were succeeded by an annual display of arms and other rural sports, which were included under the designation of the wapping-shaw, or weapon-show. In 1535 an Act was passed, making it imperative on the lieges owning land to the value of £50 and upwards, to appear "at the weapon-shawing with hagbuts, culverings, and other instruments." The weapon-show was in later times celebrated on the 1st of May. At early morn the maidens anointed their faces with dew on the hill-tops, while the aged made pilgrimages to wells reputed for their sanctity. The May-pole was erected in a convenient centre, and young persons of both sexes danced around it with merry hearts. Then followed a variety of sports, including archery, fencing, running, and leaping.

In his ballad of the "Siller Gun," John Mayne has celebrated the annual weapon-show at Dumfries, when the competitors sought possession of a silver tube or gun, presented to the burgh by James VI. The

following stanzas illustrate the peculiar character of the sport :—

Louder grew the busy hum
 O' friends rejoicing as they come,
 Wi' double vis the drummers drum,
 The pint-stowps clatter,
 And bowls o' negus, milk and rum,
 Flow round like water.

* * *

And bonny lasses, tight and clean,
 Buskit to please their ain lads' een,
 Lasses whose faces, as the scene
 Its tints discloses,
 In glowing sweetness intervene
 Like living roses.

* * *

But a' this while, wi' mony a dunner,
 Auld guns were battling off like thunner,
 Those parts o' whilk in ilka hunner
 Did sae recoil,
 Fowk thought their liths and limbs asunner,
 In this turmoil.

* * *

The muse is sorry to portray
 The fuddled heroes o' the day ;
 Nae camp, when war has left away
 Her brightest sons,
 Cou'd sic o' messin' scene display
 O' men and guns.

With the alleged intention of making “the Protestant religion less offensive to Papists,” the people “more able for warre” and less addicted to “filthy tippling and drunkenness,” James VI. issued, in 1618, an

injunction, commanding that, on Sundays, at the close of Divine service, no lawful recreation should be withheld from his subjects. Among the recreations pronounced lawful for Sunday observance were archery, Morris dances, leaping, and vaulting.

The manifesto of James VI., on the subject of Sunday games, is historically known as the "Book of Sports." Both to the Scottish Presbyterians and to the English Puritans it proved a source of disquietude. Some years after its republication by Charles I., the Long Parliament, in May, 1643, issued the following edict :—"That the Booke concerning the enjoyning and tollerating of sports upon the Lord's Day be forthwith burned by the hand of the common hangman, in Cheap-side and other usuall places." A broadside copy of the edict is preserved in the British Museum.

Foot and hand-ball are ancient pastimes. Foot-ball long remained popular. Nearly every district had its annual *ba' playin'*. The able-bodied men of one district challenged those of another, or two parties were chosen from the assemblage. If the contending parties were* few, the exercises were toilsome. Forty on each side implied much individual exertion. Certain rules of the game may be mentioned. It was not allowable to touch the ball with the hand after it had been cast upon the field. An opponent might be tripped when near the ball, and more especially when about to hit it with the foot, but a competitor could not be laid hold of, or otherwise interfered with, when at a distance from the ball. The party who, out of three rounds, hailed the ball twice, was proclaimed victor. The Rev. John Skinner,

* At the English schools eleven on each side is reckoned the right number.

in his poem of “The Monymusk Christmas Ba’ing,” has depicted the merriment attendant on this sport :—

Like bumbees bizzing frae a byke,
 Whan hirds their riggins tirr ;
 The swankies lap thro’ mire and syke,
 Wow, as their heads did birr !
 They yowf’d the ba’ frae dyke to dyke,
 Wi’ unco’ speed and virr,
 Some baith their shou’ders up did fyke,
 For blythness some did flirr
 Their teeth that day.

The hurry-burry now began,
 Was right weel worth the seeing,
 Wi’ routs and raps frae man to man,
 Some getting and some gieing ;
 And a’ the tricks of fut and hand
 That ever was in being ;
 Sometimes the ba’ a yirdlins ran,
 Sometimes in air was fleeing
 Fu’ heigh that day.

John Jalop shouted like a gun,
 As something had him ail’d,
 “Fy, sirs ! ” quo’ he, “ the ba’ spels won,
 And we the ba’ ha’e hail’d.”
 Some greened for hauf an hour’s mair fun,
 ’Cause fresh, and no sair fail’d,
 Ithers did Sanny gryte thanks cunn,
 And thro’ their haffats trail’d
 Their nails that day.

Has ne’er in Monymusk been seen
 Sae mony weel-beft skins ;
 Of a’ the ba’-men there was nane
 But had twa bloody shins ;
 Wi’ strenzied shou’ders mony ane,
 Dreed penance for their sins,
 And, what was warst, scoup’d hame at e’en,
 May be to hungry inns
 And cauld that day.

The sport of hand-ball was more common in southern districts. During the period of border warfare the southern chiefs would summon meetings ostensibly for foot-ball sports, when they meditated leading their neighbours and retainers to an English foray. In the year 1600, Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the Middle Marches, was killed by a band of Armstrongs, on their return from a match at football.

The most remarkable hand-ball match in modern times took place in 1815, at Carterhaugh, near the junction of the Ettrick and Yarrow, Selkirkshire. The border banner of Buccleuch, which "blazed over Ettrick eight ages and more," was displayed on the occasion, but the originator of the match was the Earl of Home. His lordship conceived the idea of changing into defeat the triumph assigned to the burgesses of Selkirk, in the old ballad :—

"Up wi' the souters o' Selkirk,
An' down wi' the Earl o' Home,
An' up wi' a' the braw lads
That sew the singled soled shoon.
* * * *

Then up wi' the souters o' Selkirk,
For they're baith trusty and leal,
An' down wi' the men o' the Merse
An' the Earl may gang to the Deil."

Lord Home matched the shepherds of Ettrick Forest against the burgesses of Selkirk. The men of Ettrick were headed by his lordship and the Ettrick Shepherd. The burgesses of Selkirk were conducted to the field by their chief magistrate. There were about two thousand spectators present, including many noble and distinguished personages. Proceedings were commenced by the Duke of Buccleuch throwing up the ball between the

competing parties. After a conflict lasting an hour and a half, the first game was gained by the burgesses of Selkirk. The second game lasted upwards of three hours, and was, after various fortune, ultimately won by the men of Yarrow. According to rule, the combatants should have engaged in a third conflict, but, as the day began to close and great excitement prevailed, it was deemed better to bring the proceedings to a close. A grand social entertainment at Bowhill, the Duke of Buccleuch's hunting-seat in Ettrick Forest, concluded the day's sports.

Golf is a Scottish game of unknown antiquity. In 1457, James II. and the Estates of Parliament passed an Act prohibiting golf, and recommending archery in its stead. The prohibition proceeded on the plea that the practice of golf might render the people effeminate! During the reign of James VI. golf was a common pastime. The King frequently practised the game at Dunfermline, in a locality which still bears the name of Golfdrum. The parish of Kingoldrum, situated on the southern slope of the Grampians, was another scene of the sport. On his accession to the English throne, James introduced the game of golf at Blackheath, in Kent. During his royal visit to Scotland in 1641, Charles I. played golf on the links at Leith. James VII. was a keen golfer.

Golf is played on *links*, or downs, that is, tracts of sandy soil covered with short grass. The best links for golfing are St. Andrews, Prestwick, Musselburgh, North Berwick, Carnoustie, and Montrose. The following description of the game is quoted from *Chambers' Encyclopædia*. It is concise and accurate:—

"A series of small round holes, about four inches in

diameter, and several inches in depth, are cut in the turf, at distances of from one to four or five hundred yards from each other, according to the nature of the ground, so as to form a circuit or *round*. The rival players are either two in number, which is the simplest arrangement, or four (two against two), in which case the two partners strike the ball on their side alternately. The balls, weighing about two ounces, are made of gutta-percha, and painted white, so as to be readily seen. An ordinary golf-club consists of two parts spliced together, namely, the shaft and head ; the shaft is usually made of hickory or lance-wood, the handle covered with leather ; the head, heavily weighted with lead behind and faced with horn, of well-seasoned apple-tree or thorn. Every player has a *set* of clubs, differing in length and shape to suit the distance to be driven and the position of the ball. . . . Some positions of the ball require a club with an iron head. The usual complement of clubs is six, but those who refine on the gradation of implements use as many as ten. . . . The object of the game is, starting from the first hole, to drive the ball into the next hole with as few strokes as possible, and so on round the course. The player, or pair of players, whose ball is holed in the fewest strokes has gained that hole, and the *match* is usually decided by the greatest number of holes gained in one or more rounds ; sometimes it is made to depend on the aggregate number of strokes taken to 'hole' one or more rounds."

The head-quarters of golf is St. Andrews. A golfing society or club was established there in 1754. Two great meetings of the club are held annually, in May and October, when the public competitions are commenced with befitting ceremonial. The victors are

saluted at the close of the competitions by the discharge of artillery and other honours. The rules of the St. Andrews Club regulate all other golfing societies throughout the country.

Curling has existed for a course of centuries. The name of the game and most of its technical phrases, such as *rink*, *tee*, *hack*, *wick*, *witter*, and *bonspiel*, are derived from the German, which would point to its continental origin. The game has never been practised by the Celtic population, and an opinion obtains that it was introduced by those Flemish emigrants who settled in Scotland about the end of the fifteenth century. Kilian, a German writer of the seventeenth century, describes a pastime like *quoiting* on the ice, but no game resembling modern curling is now to be found among the out-door sports of Germany.

Scottish curlers originally made use of round stones, taken from the strand of brooks and rivers, those stones being preferred which possessed indentations or orifices, to suit convenient grasping. Hence the game was anciently known as "the channel-stane." When curling-stones began to be fashioned with the hammer and chisel, small niches were scooped out in them for the insertion of the fingers and thumb. In the Carse of Gowrie is preserved the model of a curling-stone in silver, which is played for annually by several parishes; it was presented for that purpose by James IV. During a severe winter he spent at Peebles, the unhappy Lord Darnley prosecuted "the roaring game" on a meadow, which is now included in the parish glebe. There are two ancient curling stones preserved in the Burgh Museum at Stirling. One, found in the Milton Bog at Bannockburn, had evidently been procured from the

bed of a river. The other is considerably heavier ; it is inscribed on one side,—

“St J^s. B
Stirling 1511”

The word “gift” is engraved on the other side. Both these stones present artificial indentations for the fingers and thumb. A curling stone of oblong form, neatly finished with the hammer, was found in clearing out the foundation of the old house of Loig, in Strathallan, in 1830. It is inscribed “J. M. 1611.” Camden, in his *Britannia*, published in 1607, remarks, in describing the Isle of Copinsha in Orkney, that “there are found upon it plenty of excellent stones for the game called curling.” A Bishop of Orkney, in the reign of Charles I., evinced his delight in curling by practising it on Sunday. William Guthrie, who, in 1644, was ordained minister of Fenwick, is described, in his memoir, as “fond of the innocent recreations which prevailed, among which was playing on the ice.” The poet Pennicuick, whose compositions were published in 1715, describes the game in these lines :—

“To curl on the ice doth greatly please,
Being a manly Scottish exercise ;
It clears the brain, stirs up the native heat,
And gives a gallant appetite for meat.”

Pennant, in his “Tour,” thus alludes to the game in 1775 :—“Of all the sports in those parts, that of curling is the favourite. It is an amusement of the winter, and played upon the ice by sliding, from one mark to another, great stones of 40 or 70 lbs. weight, of a hemispherical form, with a wooden or iron handle at top.”

Edinburgh is the head-quarters of curling. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the magistrates

headed a curling procession every frosty day to Duddingston Loch, whence they returned at the close of the *bonspiel* with similar formality. Local curling clubs have existed for many years. These are regulated by the "Royal Caledonian Club," a central association, which forms the governing body of about 300 others. The Caledonian Club have constructed a curling pond at Carsebreck, Perthshire, where a grand *bonspiel* is played annually.

Curling is common to the Scottish Lowlands, and is especially popular in south-western districts. It is not played in the Highlands. A description of the game we present in the words of the ingenious writer in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* :—

"Curling is played with flattish round stones, about nine inches in diameter, prepared by stone-hewers, each stone weighing from 30 to 45 lbs. Each of the players has a pair. The stones are provided with handles, to enable the player to hurl them on the ice with the proper degree of force. As at bowls, the stones are hurled to an assigned point or mark. The game is as follows :—Sides are made up, usually consisting of four against four, with a director, styled skip, for each, after which a certain length of ice, of from 30 to 40 yards in length, and 8 or 9 feet across, is chosen. This is called the *rink*. Certain marks are then made at each end of the rink, consisting of several concentric rings, called *broughs*, and a centre called the *tee*. A certain number is game, usually 31, and the keenness displayed by rival sides, in competing for victory, is perhaps without a parallel in any other pastime whatever. One on each side plays alternately. The chief object of the player is to hurl his stone along the ice, towards the *tee*, with

proper strength and precision, and on the skill displayed by the players in placing their own stones in favourable positions, or in driving rival stones out of favourable positions, depends nearly all the interest of the game. At a certain distance from each of the tees, a score, the *hog-score*, is drawn across the ice, and any stone not driven beyond this mark counts nothing, and is laid aside."

In certain parishes of Lanarkshire females practise the game of curling. Wives are matched against unmarried women, and each party has a man in attendance to lend an arm to those who are afraid of slipping.

Some local clubs have "Curling Courts." These are held during the progress of a festive entertainment. A president and an officer are elected. The president bears the title of "My Lord," by which designation he must be addressed. His lordship's "officer" is provided with a pint-stoup, to receive penalties for any violation of the laws of court. The laws are so framed that their violation is constant. They prescribe that all honorary designations are abolished, and that each member is to address his neighbour only by his Christian and family names. No member may designate another without the prefix of "Brother." Scratching the head is prohibited; nursing the limb or "leg ouram" is disallowed; hands in pocket or bosom are prescribed. Penalties are enforced by "my lord causing his officer" to shake the pint-stoup in the ears of the defaulter. Any coin is accepted, but applications for change are disallowed. The court usually continues an hour, and at its conclusion the contents of the pint-stoup are put up to auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder. Should the fund fall short of his offer, the purchaser is compelled to make it up, and all profits are denied him.

The initiation of a curler into the mysteries of the craft is a peculiar ceremonial, of which the proceedings may not be divulged to the uninitiated. Curler's fare at these social banquets is beef and greens.

Cock-fighting was formerly common. This cruel sport was introduced into Scotland by the Duke of York, in 1683. A cock-pit under the auspices of His Royal Highness was established at Leith. To this cock-pit the public were admitted at charges varying from tuppence to fourpence. The sport attained such popularity that, on the 16th February, 1704, the Town Council of Edinburgh interfered to prevent its becoming an impediment to business. Later in the century, it was largely patronised by the aristocracy. Every landowner kept a number of game-cocks. On Shrovetide each child carried a cock to the school-room, to take part in these barbarous conflicts. The slain birds and fugees* became the property of the schoolmaster.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Town Council of Dumfries adopted the following regulations in connection with the annual cock-fight :—

“ That at Eastern's Even, upon the day appointed for the cocks' fighting in the school-house, the under teacher cause keep the door, and exact no more than twelve pennies (Scots) for each scholar for the benefit of bringing in a cock to fight in the school-house ; and that none be suffered to enter that day to the school-house but the scholars, except gentlemen and persons of note, from whom nothing is to be demanded ; and what money is to be given in by the scholars, the under teacher is to receive and apply to his own use, for his pains and trouble ; and that no scholars, except who

* Craven birds.

pleases, shall furnish cocks, but all the scholars, whether they have cocks or not, are to get into the school, such children as have none, paying two shillings (Scots), by way of compensation."

For nearly forty years the cock-fight has ceased.

Horses were anciently held in high regard. They were not used for tillage ; the plough was drawn by oxen. Travelling was entirely performed on horseback. Even in the reign of Queen Mary, few if any of the nobility possessed carriages or family conveyances. The ancient Scottish soldier was generally mounted. In 1327, Randolph, Earl of Moray, made an incursion into England at the head of 20,000 cavalry. A statute was passed in the reign of William the Lion, providing that everyone, who possessed landed or movable property, should keep at least one horse for use in the public service. Horses might not be exported prior to the reign of James I. By that monarch the sale of horses in England was encouraged as a branch of commerce. In 1359, a passport was obtained by Thomas Murray, *Dominus de Bothwell*, and Alan, second son of William, fifth Lord Erskine, to enable them to proceed to England with horses for sale. James II. brought horses from Hungary to improve the breed. James IV. selected horses in Spain and Poland for the same purpose ; he received a present of valuable horses from Louis XII. of France, in return for which he sent four of his best amblers to the French monarch. James IV. was an enthusiastic lover of horses. The first notice of horse-racing in Britain, occurs during his reign ; it appears in the following entry in the treasurer's accounts, "April 15, 1503. Item, to Thomas Boswell, he laid doune in Leith to the wife of the *Kingis Innis*,

and to the boy rane the Kingis hors xvijjs." An entry in the following month records a bet lost by the King. " May 2, 1503. Item, to Dandè Doule, quhilk he won fra y^e King, on hors rynnyng xxviii s." James IV. is said to have ridden from Stirling to Elgin, by Perth and Aberdeen, in one day, a distance of 150 miles. James V. was much interested in the breed of horses. He kept a noble stud; and sent his grooms to Sweden to purchase steeds. From Henry VIII. he received a valuable gift of horses. On his Master of the Horse he bestowed a landed estate. He established horse-racing as a royal sport. During the reign of Queen Mary, district horse-races first began. In 1552 an annual horse-race was established at Haddington, the prize promised the winner being a silver bell.

"Horse-racing," writes Mr. McDowall,* "was an established sport at Dumfries from a remote period. When the Regent Morton, towards the close of 1575, held a criminal court in the burgh, for the trial of some offending borderers, 'he,' according to an old chronicle, 'judiciously relieved his grave duties by lighter pursuits.' 'Many gentlemen of England,' we are told, 'came thither to behold the Regent's Court, where there was great provocation made for the running of horses. By chance my Lord Hamilton had there a horse sae weil bridled, and sae speedy, that, although he was of meaner stature than other horses that essayit their speed, he overrun them all a great way upon Solway Sands, whereby he obtained praise both of England and Scotland at that time.'"

During the reign of James VI., horse-racing became common. Annual races were held at Paisley, Dumfries,

* History of Dumfries.

Leith, Peebles, Cupar-Fife, and other towns. In 1608 the Town Council of Paisley constituted an annual horse-race by special edict, and voted a silver bell to decorate the winning horse. The resolution of the Council is in the following terms :—

“ April, 1608. It is concluded that ane silver bell be made of 4 oz. weight, with all diligence, for ane horse-race yearly, to be appointed within this burgh, and the bounds and day for running thereof, to be set down by advice of my Lord Earl of Abercorn, Lord Paisley, and Kilpatrick.”

The restoration of Charles I. led to the following advertisements being published at Edinburgh in 1661 :—
“ The Horse Race of Lanark, instituted by King William about 600 years since, but obstructed these twenty-three years, by the iniquity of the times, is now restored by Sir John Wilkie, of Foulden, as being loath so antient a foundation should perish, and for that effect he hath given *gratis* a piece of plate of the accustomed value, with a silver bell and saddle, to the second and third horse ; it is to be run the third Tuesday in May.”

“ The Race of Haddington is to be run on the 22 of May next ; the prize is a most magnificent cup. This same antient town, famous for its hospitality, has many times sadly smarted by the armies of enemies, yet this glorious Revolution hath salved up all their miseries, as very well was made appear by the noble entertainment given to the Lord Commissioner at the Lord Provost, William Seaton, his lodging, when his grace made his entry to this kingdom.”*

* From “ Edinburgh’s Joy for His Majesties’ Coronation in England,” a scarce Tract in the Advocates’ Library.

The Town Council of Dumfries, in a minute dated 15th April, 1662, ordered the treasurer to provide "a silver bell, four ounces in weight," as a prize to be run for, every second Tuesday of May, by the work-horses of the burgh, "according to the auncient custome;" the regulations being that whenever the bell was borne away by one rider and one horse three consecutive years, it was "to appertain unto the wooner thereof for evir." Two years after, the Council offered "a silver cup of ffourty unce weght or therby," to be run for at the ordinary course within the burgh, by the horses of such noblemen and gentlemen as were duly entered for the race.*

From vessels belonging to the Spanish Armada several valuable horses were thrown on the coast of Galloway. The spirit and swiftness of these animals were generally remarked, and a fresh impulse was consequently imparted to the sport of the turf. The enthusiasm for horse-racing reached such a height that an Act was, in 1621, passed by the Estates, ordaining that no person should win more than 100 marks, the surplus of all bets being granted to the poor.

Annual meetings for horse-racing continue to be held at Lanark, Ayr, Paisley, Musselburgh, and other places, but those who especially delight in the sport have long been in the practice of joining in the English celebrations.

As in other parts of Europe, the mysteries or miracle-plays of the Romish Church had, in Scotland, degenerated into buffoonery at a period considerably prior to the Reformation. There is an unpublished MS., entitled "Superstitious Customs of the People of Perth," written

* McDowall's History of Dumfries, *passim*.



by Mr. James Scott, in 1798.* The writer says:—
“The religious festivals before the Reformation received from the vulgar the name of play-days. The people on these days were exempted from labour, and prohibited by Acts of Parliament from holding fairs or mercats. They therefore employed themselves in such diversions as they found suitable to their several humours, except during the short time in which they attended the service of the Church or assisted at the ceremonies. The annual processions were called plays, either because of the pageantry which accompanied them, or because of their emblematical representations, or the acting of the mysteries.”

For many years before the Reformation municipal corporations annually elected an “Abbot of Unreason,” to lead the sports which were practised in the name of that mock ecclesiastic on the first Sunday of May. The Town Council of Aberdeen chose two personages, who were respectively designated the Abbot and Prior of Bon-Accord. These originally conducted exhibitions of a sacred description, latterly they commemorated persons and events of a precisely opposite character. At the period of the Reformation the Abbot and Prior of Bon-Accord arrayed themselves in green, with yellow bows and brass arrows, as imitators of Robin Hood and Little John, whose lawless conduct they imitated. The Abbot of Unreason became, at length, so unpopular, that burgesses were everywhere indisposed to undertake the duties, and were content, on being elected, to pay the penalties exacted on its declinature. On this subject, some excerpts from the Town Council Records of Haddington may be read with interest:—

* Preserved in the Advocates Library.

"24 April 1537. The qlk day the Sys delyueris that George Rychartson soll pa to the tressaurer 20s at Whitsonday next heir aftir, and oyr 20s at zoull next thair aftir, quhilk 40s George wes awand the town becaus he would not be Abbot of Unreason."

"8 April 1539. The qlk day the baillies after the takyn of the ayts of the 25 personis aboue written, present requirit the said personis quether thai thocht expedient till haif ane Abbot of Unreason this zeir or not, to the qlk ane certain answer it and said thai thocht it expedient to have ane Abbot, and ane uther certain quhais names aftir followes thocht it not expedient, viz. Nicholas Swynton and 7 others."

"The qlk day the baillies and names aboue written that thocht expedient till have ane Abbot for this zeir thynkis thai will gif four pounds and ane burgesschip till him that the town chesis Abbot of Unreason for this zeir and all that refusis it soll gif XLs, the first XLs to be given till him that taks it on him and the laif to cum to the common-weill of this town."

"The qlk day Thos. Ponton wes chosen Abbot of Unreason for this zeir and he had to do service usit and wont and failing of him Thos. Sinclair and failing of the said Thos. Sinclair, Thos. Burrell, and failing of Thos. Burrell, John Aytoun."

"14 April 1539. The qlk day John Payrson ane of the baillies in name and on behalf of the Town askit instruments that the baillies had causit the counsall to convene to the towbuy^t on Tuysday last bypast for chesing of the Abbot of Unreason and allegit that the maist part of the counsall had disassented till have ane abbot as he allegit *testibus comunitate*."

"The qlk day the Counsall aboue wrytten thinks to

put the acts mayd on Twisday till execution and thinks thaim orderlye done in the chesing of the Abbot and ordainis the Baillies to cause thair officer till profer the horn till him that the office is layd on or ellis gif he taks it not till poind him for XLs and the town and common guid till warrand and defend the baillies gif ony pley happen thireafter, and gif that he that is layd on first gives XLs to profer it to the next that it is layd on and syne the third and syne the feyrd and all the comunitie ratifies the samyn &c."

" 23rd April 1539. The qlk day the Counsall delyveris that the baillies pass and put the act to execution of the Abbot chesyng as thai will answer on thair ay^{is} and that incontinent but delay."

" 6 May 1539. The qlk day Davd. Furrous Thesaurer grantit hym ressavit XLs from Thos. Ponton for the forsakyn of the Abbot-chyp and syklyk of Thos. Synclar XLs &c."

The miracle-plays were, on account of the ridicule which they cast on the doctrines and ceremonies of the Romish Church, not discountenanced at the Reformation. At Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Perth, and other places, these practices lingered long after the establishment of the Presbyterian Church. The clergy only interfered when the plays, instead of exposing Romish errors, seemed to foster superstition, or tended to desecrate the Sabbath.

The festival of *Corpus Christi* was observed on the second Thursday after Whitsunday. In the Kirk-session records of Perth, it is recorded, under date July, 1577, that "Mr. John Row, minister, and the elders of the Church at Perth, regretted heavily that certain inhabitants of the town had played *Corpus Christi* play

upon Thursday, the sixth day of June, which was wont to be called *Corpus Christi* day; that this had been done contrary to the command of the civil magistrate, and also contrary to the minister's command, which he had intimated from the pulpit; that thereby the whole town had been dishonoured, and great offence given to the Church of God, for that the said play was idolatrous and superstitious." The Kirk-session further issued a declaration as to the doctrinal errors implied in the celebration of the festival.

St. Oberi's Play was celebrated at Perth, on the 10th of December, with a procession of torches, accompanied by a band of musicians. St. Obert was patron saint of the baxters or bakers. The performers wore masquerade dresses. One of them personated the Devil. A horse was walked in the procession, with its hoofs inclosed in men's shoes. The Kirk-session imprisoned the leader, and succeeded in suppressing the celebration.

James I. promoted theatrical entertainments. On the occasion of the marriage of James IV., a company of English comedians performed before the Scottish Court. In 1538, when Mary of Guise arrived to become Queen, dramatic performances took place at Edinburgh and Dundee. The drama of "The Three Estates," by Sir David Lindsay, was represented at Linlithgow, in 1539, and afterwards at Edinburgh and Cupar-Fife. Theatricals were, in the seventeenth century, performed in the parish schools, and were countenanced by the magistrates and educational authorities. In 1693, the Town Council of Dumfries record a payment of "£7 5s. Scots for 10 pr. deals at 14s. 6d. each, for a stage to the scholars when they acted Bellum Grammatical." The first licensed theatre in Scotland was formally

opened at Edinburgh on the 9th December, 1767. Eleven years previously, the tragedy of "Douglas," by Mr. John Home, had been performed on its boards, an event which necessitated the reverend author to resign his living in the Church, in order to avoid the menaced censures of his Presbyterian brethren. The Edinburgh theatre stood in the Canongate, near the site of St. John's Cross. Theatrical entertainments are now provided at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and some other towns.

The existing sports of Scotland may be enumerated :— Fox-hunting is vigorously prosecuted. Deer-stalking is conducted with the skill of former times. The grouse of the northern hills have attracted sportsmen from the south, and augmented the revenues of Highland land-owners. Anglers continue to find abundant sport in southern rivers and Highland lochs. In the waters of Lochmaben is procured a rare fish, named the vendace. It resembles a small herring in size and shape ; the skin is bright and silvery, and the head, protected by a transparent substance, through which the brain is visible, exhibits on the upper surface the representation of a heart. This fish dies on exposure to the air.

Salmon-fishing was prosecuted at an early period. During the reign of Robert III., the killing of a salmon in close time was punished by a fine of £100 Scots. The ancient method of capturing salmon was more creditable to the skill than to the humanity of the sportsmen. During night, torches were suspended over the rivers, so as to cast light into the depth of the water. Some of the sportsmen attended the torches in boats, while others ran along the river's sides. All were provided with barbed spears, or a sort of shafted

trident, called a *leister* or waster. With these instruments they struck the salmon, which made unavailing efforts to escape from their pursuers. This system of salmon-hunting has long been superseded by the less revolting methods of fishing with the rod and net. The constitution of fishery boards, by the Act of 1862, has largely conduced towards the protection of rivers and estuaries, and must ultimately result in improving the value of the fisheries.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL FOLKLORE.

THE kingdom of superstition has not been quite subdued. What Scotsman would hazard his connubial happiness by marrying in May ? What Highlander could enjoy a festive entertainment at which the bottle was passed round from right to left, opposite to the sun's course ? What housewife would invite a party of thirteen ? What Scottish peasant is without alarm on hearing that particular sound known as the death-drop ? The occult influence of a strong will is largely credited in the Highlands.

The curative powers of certain wells were early recognised. Mineral waters were recommended by the physicians of ancient Greece. The Romans were familiar with the efficacy of thermal and other springs. Among less enlightened peoples, the virtues of healing fountains were ascribed to supernatural agency. Orientals attributed the powers of mineral waters to the operation of angels. The ancient Britons thought that particular wells were originally constructed by devils for the destruction of mankind, but that these had been converted to healing purposes through the prayers of saints. Adamnan relates that there was a well in Pictland, worshipped as a malignant deity,—whoever touched its waters being seized with leprosy or some

other ailment ; but St. Columba invoked a blessing on the fountain, which henceforth became healing.

Owing to exposure, and the want of proper provisions in his adverse days, King Robert the Bruce was seized with a scorbutic disorder, which was called leprosy. He experienced benefit from a medicinal spring, near Ayr. On his gaining the throne, he founded a priory of Dominican monks at the spot, and made an endowment for eight lepers. According to the tradition, King Robert attached the right of placing persons in the lepers' endowment to the descendants of Sir William Wallace, in acknowledgment of the services of that great patriot.

The more reputed fountains in the Scottish Lowlands were, Christ's Well in Menteith, St. Fillan's in Strathearn, the springs at Huntingtower and Trinity-Gask, near Perth, St. Anthony's Well at Edinburgh, and another spring dedicated to St. Anthony at Maybole. A spring in the cave of Uchtrie Mackin, near Portpatrick, was especially famed for its supernatural virtues. In upland districts, the more renowned wells were those of Craigach, in Avoch, Chader, Isle of Lewis, Drumcassie, Kincardine O'Neil, and the spring of Tobar-na-demhurnich, Ross-shire. The Dow Loch, in Dumfries-shire, and the White Loch of Merton were much celebrated.

These fountains operated variously. Some cured at once, others proved remedial by slow degrees. Certain springs were efficacious in cases of insanity ; of these, the most renowned was the Well of St. Fillan. Patients were dipped in the Well, and were afterwards laid bound with cords in a chapel of the saint, which stood near. Here they were allowed to remain during the night. In the

morning each patient was crowned with a handbell dedicated to Saint Fillan. The cure was supposed to be complete.

The spring of *Tobar-na-demhurnich* was believed to denote whether a sick person would overcome his complaint. Water was drawn from the Well before sunrise, and the patient was immersed in it. The water was then examined. When it remained clear, the patient was likely to recover; when its purity was sullied, death was held to be near. The spring of Balmano, in the parish of Marykirk, Kincardineshire, was believed to supernaturally restore imperfect eyesight, and render delicate infants strong and healthy.

To south-running water extraordinary virtues were attributed. When a sick person was unable to drink of it freely, his night-dress was cast into it, and was then thrown about his person. Water drawn under a bridge, "over which the living walked, and the dead were carried," was regarded as peculiarly remedial. It was conveyed at dawn or twilight to the house of the invalid, who was expected to drink of it before the bearer addressed him. It was essential, for the preservation of the charm, that the bearer should have kept silent on his way to and from the stream, and that he should not have permitted the water-vessel to rest upon or even touch the ground. If the sick person was unable or unwilling to adopt this charm, it was supposed to operate when the water was thrown upon his dwelling.

The Well of Craigach, Ross-shire, is still frequented on the morning of the first Sunday of May, old style. The visitors assemble at the Well before sunrise, and each in turn stoops down and tastes the water. Some

years ago, a gentleman travelling in the district visited Craigach Well on the morning when the neighbouring populace made their annual pilgrimage to its waters. The following occurrence took place :—Jock Forsyth, a person of middle age, and much esteemed in the locality for his unaffected piety, stooped down and drank of the Well. Having performed the rite, he rose up, and uttered these words of prayer,—“ O Lord, Thou knowest that weel would it be for me this day an’ I had stoopit my knees an’ my heart before Thee, in spirit and in truth, as often as I have stoopit them afore this Well, but we maun keep the customs of our fathers.”

In the year 1859, the writer joined a funeral party at Stirling, which had assembled to conduct the body of a person in humble life to the parochial cemetery. Perceiving that the corpse was conducted in a direction opposite to that in which the place of interment lay, the writer inquired as to the cause of the movement. He was informed that it was deemed “unlucky” to bear a corpse past a certain well which stood in the direct route, and that hence a circuit had been arranged. Those who frequented wells for healing purposes deposited votive offerings by their margins, in honour of the saints to whom they were dedicated. These were of the simplest kind, consisting of patches of cloth, bits of thread, and shreds of useless apparel. Frequently a small tree or bush grew close by the fountains, and to the branches of these the offerings were attached. The practice of using rags as charms is not peculiar to Scotland. Hanway, in his “Travels,” describes the practice as common in Persia; and Park found it among some African tribes.

After the Reformation, the civil and ecclesiastical

authorities sought to check the Well superstitions. In 1624, the Privy Council appointed certain commissioners to wait at Christ's Well in Menteith on the first of May, and to seize on and imprison in the castle of Doune all who might assemble at the spring. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts respecting the frequenting of Wells are detailed in the last chapter of this work.

Distempers in cattle were believed to be cured when the ailing animals drank water in which the *leugan* or weird stones* had been dipped. The most celebrated of these stones is the Lee Penny. This is a triangular piece of crystal, about half an inch each side, and set in a piece of silver coin, supposed to be a shilling of Edward I. The traditional history of the crystal is as follows :—Sir Simon Lockhart, of Lee, accompanied Sir James Douglas in his expedition to Palestine, in 1329, with the heart of King Robert Bruce. In course of the journey Sir Simon took prisoner a Saracen chief, whose wife tendered a large sum as his ransom. In counting the money, she dropped a gem, and showed such alacrity in restoring it to her purse that the knight's curiosity was aroused. Being informed of its virtues, he refused to give up the chief unless the gem were added to the ransom-money. The lady reluctantly complied, and hence the talisman became the property of the Lee family.

During the seventeenth century, the superstitious use of the Lee Penny was so common that the Presbytery of Lanark brought the matter under the considera-

* Stones used for divination.

tion of the Superior Judicatory. The result is detailed in the following minute of the Provincial Synod :—

“ Apud Glasgow, the 25th October, Session 2nd. Quhilk daye amongst the referies of the brethren of the ministrie of Lanark, it was proposit to the Synode, that Gawen Hammiltoun, of Raptouch, had preferit ane complaint before them against Sir Thomas Lockhart of Lee, anent the superstitious using of ane stone set in silver for the curing of diseased cattel, quilk the said Gawen affirmed could not be lawfullie used ; and that they had deferit to give any desissune therein till the advise of the Assemblie might be heard concerning the same. The Assemblie having inquirit of the maner of using thereof, and particularlie understood the examinatioune of the said Laird of Lee, and otherwise, that the custom is onlie to cast the stone in sume water, and give the diseasit cattel thereof to drink, and yt the same is done witout using onie words, such as charmers use in their unlawful practices ; and considering that in nature there are monie thinges sein to work stronge effect qu^of no humane skill can give an reason, it having pleaseit God to give unto stones and herbes a special virtue for the healling of mony infirmities in man and beast ; advise the brethren to surcease their process, as quⁱⁿ they can perceiue no ground of offence ; and admonishes the said Laird of Lee in the using of the said stone, to tak heid it be usit heir-after wt the least scandall that possible may be.”

The Lee Penny was supposed to impart rare virtues in cases of hydrophobia. About a century ago, Lady Baird, of Saughton Hall, was bit by a mad dog. Her ladyship's relatives at once despatched a messenger to Lee Castle, for a loan of the charmed crystal, which was

granted.* Lady Baird drank of the water in which the amulet had been dipped, and as symptoms of the dreaded malady remained undeveloped, she was supposed to have been cured.

A charmed stone has long been possessed by the family of Stewart of Ardvoirlich. In size and shape it resembles a large egg, and is similar to the jewel on the top of the national sceptre. According to tradition, the arch-druid wore the Ardvoirlich gem as his badge of office.

The Lee Penny has ceased to be an object of superstition. Not so the charmed crystal of Ardvoirlich. Highland graziers make long journeys to procure for their distempered cattle water in which it has been dipped. In Galloway, several round flat stones, about five inches in diameter, and artificially perforated, were used, within the recollection of persons now living, for the cure of distemper in horses. One of the stones was placed in a tub of water, and the ailing animal was sprinkled with the liquor. Mr. Pennant found that crystal stones were used by the inhabitants of the Hebrides in charming water, and rendering it remedial. A crystal which is believed to possess rare virtues is in the possession of the Campbells of Glenlyon. Highlanders attribute the success of Robert Bruce at Bannockburn to the influence of a crystal charm. Adamnan, in his Life of St. Columba, relates that Broichan, one of the Scottish magi, whom the saint had visited with a deadly sickness, on account of his having enslaved a Christian female, was cured by drinking water in which

* The Lee Penny was borrowed by the people of Newcastle to cure an epidemic which was raging in the place. Owing to a legend that it could never be lost, the custodian of the Lee Penny was always ready to grant it in loan.

a white pebble from the Ness had been dipped. In his "History of Rutherglen," Mr. Ure mentions a ring of hard black shistus, found in a cave in the parish of Inchinnan, which was believed to perform remarkable cures. To the present day, many persons in the Western Isles administer to their cattle water in which has been dipped a flint arrow-head—the *elf-shot* of superstition.

There were other charms for the cure of distempered cattle. The animals were held to be benefited by "kindling needfire"—that is, producing fire by the friction of two sticks rubbed against each other. Juniper burned near a herd of cattle was supposed to propitiate the evil powers and avert distemper. When any of the cattle suffered from a complaint, the precise character of which could not be discovered, the owner of the herd repeated the following spell :—

"I charge thee for arrowshot,
For doorshot, for wombshot,
For eyeshot, for tungshot,
For levershot, for lungsshot,
For heatshot—all the maist,

In the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Haly Gaist,

To wend out of fleche and bane

In to sek and stane,

In the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Haly Gaist."

Superstitious rites were associated with different departments of nature. Madness was cured by the use of the Barbreck bone, a small portion of ivory, formerly in the possession of Campbell of Barbreck, and now deposited in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. Salt was, under certain conditions, an effective charm. Thrown over the left shoulder, it averted strife. At

fittings, the salt-box was always first removed, and placed in the new dwelling. It was sometimes scattered about for good luck. When a child met with an accident, a table-spoonful of water mixed with salt was applied to its brow and poured into its mouth; when an adult complained, and the cause of his ailment was unknown, an old sixpence was borrowed from a neighbour, its intended use being kept secret. As much salt as could be raised on the coin was then placed in a table-spoonful of water and melted. The sixpence was next put into the solution, and the soles of the patient's feet and the palms of his hands were moistened three times with the liquid. The patient was made to taste the mixture thrice. His brow was stroked with the solution. The liquid which remained in the spoon was thrown over the fire, with these words, "Lord, preserve us frae a' skaith." The cure was then held to be complete.

There were superstitious rites connected with monoliths and memorial stones. Lovers pledged themselves to mutual fidelity by joining hands through the perforated Stone of Odin, near Loch Stennis, in Orkney. Even the elders of the Church recognized the sacredness of the vow.* The married women of Strathearn passed their hands through the holes of the Bore stone of Gask, to obtain children. A child, passed through the hole of the stone at Stennis, was believed to be free from palsy.

* Principal Gordon, of the Scots College, Paris, who visited Orkney in 1781, relates that, about twenty years previously, the elders of the Kirk-session of Sandwich were particularly severe on a young man, brought before them for seduction, on account of his having broken "the promise of Odin"—"Wilson's Archaeology." Edinburgh, 1851. 8vo. Pp. 100, 101.

in old age. At perforated monoliths the natives of the Hebrides sought help in rheumatic ailments. They believed that they could produce rain by raising the Runic Cross at Borera. A cave in a steep rock in front of Kinnoull Hill, Perthshire, is known as the *Dragon-hole*; it was supposed to have been the dwelling place of a Caledonian prince. A stone connected with the cave was believed to render invisible the person who held it. Green pebbles, picked up at Iona, were supposed to derive an influence from Saint Columba, and to be valuable as amulets. Barren women used to make pilgrimages to the monastery of St. Adrian, in the Isle of May, in the hope of procuring children.

There were curious superstitions connected with beasts and birds. Mischief was associated with the howling of a dog during night. Moles' feet, placed in a purse, secured the owner against want of money. The inhabitants of Morayshire practised a sort of divination with bones. Having picked the flesh from a shoulder of mutton, they turned towards the east, and looking stedfastly on the bone, conceived themselves able to anticipate the future. The bones of certain birds, sewed into the clothes, were believed to preserve the health. The head of a fox, nailed to the stable door, protected the horses from enchantment. The cock crowing at an unusual hour was held to be alarming. The Lady Lanners* was a favourite among the peasantry; it was used by the hinds to discover their future helpmates. When a schoolboy found this insect, he placed it on the palm of his hand, and repeated these lines till it flew off:—

* The lady-bird.

“Lady, Lady Lanners,
Lady, Lady Lanners,
Tak up your clowk about your head,
An’ fie awa’ to Flanners;
Flee ower frith and flee ower fell,
Flee ower pule and rinnin’ well,
Flee ower muir and flee ower mead,
Flee ower livin’, flee ower dead,
Flee ower corn, and flee ower lea,
Flee ower river, flee ower sea;
Flee ye east, or flee ye west,
Flee till him that lo’es me best.”

The feathers of a wildfowl, placed in a pillow under the head of a dying person, were supposed to prolong his life. In the Western Highlands, when the life of a sick person was despaired of, a cock was sacrificed, and buried at the foot of the patient’s bed. For the cure of epilepsy, a live cock was buried with a lock of the invalid’s hair and the parings of his nails. This barbarous practice has not altogether ceased. The sudden appearance of magpies is held to be ominous. According to the adage, “One’s joy, two’s grief, three’s a marriage, four’s death.” There is a prejudice against the yellow-hammer, expressed in the following rhyme:—

“Hauf a puddock, half a taed,
Hauf a yellow-yeldrin,
Gets a drap o’ the devil’s bluid
Ilka May mornin’.”

The popular prejudice against the yellow-hammer is believed to have originated owing to the birds having, by their cries and movements, frequently discovered to the troopers the solitary retreats of the persecuted Covenanters. The peesweep, or curlew, is also obnoxious, and probably from the same cause.

There were superstitions peculiar to fishermen. In a chapel dedicated to St. Columba, in Flodda Chuan, one of the Western Isles, a blue round stone rested upon the altar ; when fishermen were detained in the isle by contrary winds, they washed the stone with water, hoping to propitiate the genius of the storm. The seamen of Shetland, in tempestuous weather, threw a piece of money into the window of a ruinous chapel, dedicated to St. Ronald, in the belief that the saint would thereupon assuage the violence of the storm.

The peasantry of Orkney and the Hebrides held that all drowned persons were changed into seals. The following legend, connected with this superstition, has been kindly supplied by Mr. Skene, of Rubislaw :— “ MacPhee, the chief of Colonsay, observed a beautiful damsel washing her locks, on an isolated rock at some distance from the shore. He entered a swift boat, and fetching a compass, surprised the angel of the deep by coming suddenly behind her. A seal-skin was lying on the rock, which he immediately seized. Perceiving that her robe was gone, the ocean nymph was much confused, but MacPhee gallantly covered her with his plaid ; he then placed her in his boat, and rowed to shore ; he took her to his castle, and she became his wife.”

Northern fishermen exorcised their boats in this fashion :—The cavity or tap-hole was filled with water, supplied by the mistress of the craft. The boat was then rowed out to sea before sunrise, and a waxen figure burned in it, just as daylight began to appear, the master of the vessel exclaiming, “ Satan, avaunt !”

The occurrences of domestic life were bound up with many odd frets. If coon hung from the bars of the grate, a stranger’s arrival was foretold. Should the

cooñ drop off, on the wind produced by the clapping of the hands, the stranger was only to call and pass on. There is a superstition among domestic servants, that it is unlucky to leave making a bed before completing it. The least evil to be apprehended is, that the person for whom the bed is made will lose his night's rest.

In a note appended to his *Mountain Bard*, the Ettrick Shepherd supplies these curious details respecting the superstitions of Selkirkshire :—" When they sneeze in first stepping out of bed in the morning, they are thence certified that strangers will be there in the course of the day, in numbers corresponding to the times they sneeze ; and if a feather, or straw, or any such thing be observed hanging at a dog's nose or beard, they call this a guest, and are sure of the approach of a stranger. If it hang long at the dog's nose, the visitor is to stay long, but if it fall instantly away, the person is to stay a short time. They judge also from the length of this guest what will be the size of the real one, and from its shape whether it will be a man or a woman ; and they watch carefully on what part of the floor it drops, as it is on that very spot the stranger will sit. And there is scarcely a shepherd in the whole country who, if he chances to find one of his flock dead on a Sabbath, is not thence assured that he will have two or three more in the course of the week. During the season that ewes are milked, the buught door is always carefully shut at even ; and the reason they assign for this is, that, when it is negligently left open, the witches and fairies never miss the opportunity of dancing in it all night."

Respecting marriages, curious superstitions linger in sequestered districts. In the more remote Highlands marriages are not solemnized in the month of January.

The practice of forbearing to marry in May is nearly universal. “The evil omen of this antimarital month,” communicates Sheriff Barclay, “is attributed to the fact of the ill-fated Queen Mary being married to Bothwell in this month. But there is evidence that the dislike existed long before her time, and it is to be found in other countries. A more likely origin is, that it is in this month the cuckoo deposits her egg in the wren’s nest. Hence the stupid inference of unfaithfulness being the result of May marriages. The injured husband is depicted with the horns of the cuckoo, and is dubbed a cuckold.” The fairies claim ascendancy in May; the name of the month in several European languages signifies green, which is their favourite colour. It is unlucky to have banns proclaimed in one quarter of the year, and to marry in the next. From the Saturday preceding the proclamation of banns—the contract night—to the Sunday after marriage, the bride and bridegroom must not attend a wedding or funeral, otherwise their first-born will break Diana’s pales or never be married. No marriages are celebrated on Saturday. It is believed that should a marriage be solemnized on that day, one of the parties will die within the year, or that the marriage will prove unfruitful. A voyage undertaken by a bridegroom before marriage is deemed especially hazardous. A sad event lately occurred in Shetland, which will no doubt confirm the superstition. “On Sunday,” writes the newspaper reporter, “a marriage party left Lunnasting in a fishing-boat, intending to proceed to Lerwick, at which place the marriage was to take place. The wind was unfavourable for the party proceeding further than a harbour in the north of the parish of Tingwall, and

there the boat was taken for the night. The bride and a sister of the bridegroom, the only females in the boat, went on shore, and travelled on foot to Lerwick. On Wednesday morning the men prepared to complete their journey in the boat. Sail was set, and all proceeded well until they had advanced some distance to the south of Rovy Head, when the boat was caught by a squall, thrown over, and immediately sunk. In the boat were the bridegroom and his brother, two brothers of the bride, and the owner of the boat. The accident was observed by the crew of another boat, who hastened to render assistance, but the two brothers of the bride were the only persons saved, the others having disappeared almost as soon as the boat sank."

The first couple united by a clergyman are supposed to be unlucky. If the night-dress of a newly married pair be stolen, it prognosticates unhappiness between the couple. The fishermen of Ross-shire marry on a Friday, but never before the hour of noon. On the morning of the marriage a silver coin is put in the heel of the bridegroom's stocking, and, at the church door, the shoe-tie of his right foot is unfixed, and a cross drawn on the door-post. At marriages among the Highland peasantry, every knot in the apparel of the bride and the bridegroom is untied, prior to the ceremony. When the bride reaches the threshold of her future home, she is lifted over it, to secure her "good luck."

Connected with births and baptisms, there were numerous superstitions. In removing a cradle from one house to another, a pillow was always put into it. When a woman was in labour, the husband's breeches were

placed under the pillow, to secure a safe delivery.

After the birth of a child, the neighbours who called for the mother, before touching the little stranger, crossed themselves with a burning torch. When the child was baptized privately, the infant was placed in a basket, on which had previously been spread a white cloth, with a portion of bread and cheese. The basket was suspended from the crook in the fire-place, which was moved three times round. This act destroyed the power of enchantment. "When the child is to be baptized in a place of worship, the bearer," writes Sheriff Barclay, "arms herself with a portion of bread and cheese, which she presents to the first person she meets. Should the party decline to receive the boon, *bad luck* is apprehended for the child, while the evil consequences are attributed to the recusant. Recently an advertisement appeared in an Edinburgh newspaper, begging the woman who had presented the baptismal offering to an unknown gentleman, to call for him at a house in one of the more fashionable streets of the capital. The gentleman had, in his ignorance, rejected the christening boon, and on being informed of his mistake, generously sought to repair his error." When several children are to be baptized together in church, it is deemed essential that the males should be presented first. Should a girl be held up before a male child, she is doomed, it is believed, to wear a beard.

There are prognostications of death which exercise a strong influence on the popular mind. When the grease of a candle falls over the edge in a semi-circular form, it is styled the *dede-spale*, a sign that the person to

whom it is turned will die soon. A *dede-candle*, or supernatural light, is believed to be occasionally seen moving from the dwelling of one who is soon to die, to the churchyard in which his remains are to be interred. When a cat crosses a dead body and afterwards walks over the roof of a house, it is believed that the head of that house will die within the year. The first person on whom a cat leaps, after crossing a corpse, is doomed to blindness. In the pastoral districts of the south, the death of relatives was supposed to be announced by the "dead-bell," that is, a tinkling in the ears.

The *Mettye belt* was used to ascertain the course of an illness. It consisted of a man's belt or a woman's garters. Drawn round the person of the invalid, it was supposed to indicate whether he would recover from his complaint. For the restoration of a patient in consumption or fever, a strange charm was adopted. The nails of the patient's fingers and toes were pared, and the parings put into a rag cut from his clothes. The rag was then waved round his head, and thereafter concealed. No further cure might be attempted.

When a person is dying, no one in the house is allowed to sleep. When death has occurred, the house clock is stopped, and the dial plate covered with a towel. All mirrors are covered. On the corpse being enclosed in its shroud, a bell is laid under the head, while a small dish, containing earth and salt and a burning candle, are placed upon the breast. In conducting a corpse to the grave, should any of the company fall down, it was held that he would next be carried to the grave. This superstition lingers in the Hebrides. In Aberdeenshire the sexton tolls the church bell before commencing a grave. In Caithness, corpses are buried

with the feet to the south. In eastern Lowland districts the head of the corpse is placed in a westerly direction. In East Lothian, unbaptized children are buried at night, under the dropping of the church roof.

There was an old superstition in regard to the discovery of murder. The touching of a murdered corpse as a test to establish the guilt or innocence of the suspected murderer has been transmitted from remote times, and was common to all European countries. The superstition seems to have arisen from the language of the Almighty in denouncing Cain : “The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto Me from the ground.” It was anciently believed that the life was in the blood, and when this notion was departed from, it was held that the soul of the murdered person lingered about his body till the conviction of the murderer. Prior to the Reformation the opinion prevailed that, at whatever distance of time, the body or even the skeleton of the murdered person would impart blood on the touch of the murderer. In Catholic times the ordeal was applied amidst the pomp and circumstance of an imposing ceremonial, the body of the murdered person being stretched on a bier in front of the high altar, while the person suspected as the slayer was led up to it, following a procession of priests singing an anthem. The practice of the test long survived the Reformation. In his “*Dæmonologie*,” James VI. writes,—“In a secret murther, if the dead carkasse be any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to heaven for revenge of the murtherer.” The ordeal continued to be applied, both by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, till the beginning of the eighteenth century. A commission, which sat at

Dalkeith, on the 14th June, 1641, held Christian Wilson guilty of the murder of Alexander Wilson, her brother, because, on touching the body of the deceased, "the blood rushed out of it to the great admiration of all the behoulders, who tooke it for discoverie of the murder." In 1680, a woman was charged before the Kirk-session of Colinton with the murder of her illegitimate child. The minute of session contains the following :—" There is one thing very observable in that business, that, when the mother laid her hand upon the child's nose, there came a little blood from it, which was seen by many persons."

In December, 1687, Sir James Stanfield, of Newmills, was found strangled in a stream near Haddington. According to the testimony of James Muirhead, the surgeon, and of another witness, when Philip Stanfield, the son of the deceased, assisted to place the body in the coffin, blood darted from the left side of the neck upon his touch. With his hands soiled in the blood, he fled from the corpse, exclaiming, "Lord have mercy upon me!" Without any further evidence, Philip Stanfield was convicted of parricide, and executed at Edinburgh, his body being afterwards hung in chains. Law, in his "Memorials," relates, that, when the bodies of two murderers, who had been executed at Glasgow, in June, 1683, were removed to the place where the murder was committed, there to be hung in irons, the arm of one of the criminals "did gush out in blood." James Guthrie, the Presbyterian martyr, executed at Edinburgh, in 1661, was afterwards decapitated,—his head being set on the Netherbow. When the Earl of Middleton, who had been actively concerned in his death, was driving past the spot soon after, some drops of the martyr's blood

fell upon his coach, and the stain of it his servants, it was reported, were unable to remove. In a letter, addressed by a clergyman in Caithness to the historian Wodrow, in 1712, the writer remarks, "Some murthers in this country have been discovered by causing suspected persons touch the deid corps, which, upon their touching, have immediately bled, whereupon some have confessed guilt, and have been executed." *

With particular seasons superstitious notions were associated. It was deemed unlucky to flit on Saturday,—

"Saturday's flit, short while sit."

In cases of fever the symptoms are expected to be more severe on Sunday; if the patient begins to feel better on Sunday, a relapse is anticipated. In Caithness, no member of the family of Sinclair will wear green apparel, or cross the river Ord on Monday. It was on this day of the week, and in their ancient clothing of green, that so many Sinclairs left their native shores to join the standard of James IV. on the field of Flodden, where they were all slaughtered. Mr. Shaw, in his "History of Moray," relates that the withes of woodbine were cut down in the increase of the March moon. They were twisted into wreaths, and preserved till the following March. Children sick of fever and consumptive patients were now made to pass through the wreaths three several times, when they were supposed to be cured. The Highlanders destroy kittens produced in May, believing them to be "uncanny." In certain parts of the Highlands, peasants took off their

* On this branch of popular superstition see an ingenious Dissertation by Mr. Robert Pitcairn. "Criminal Trials," vol. iii., pp. 182—199.

bonnets to the rising sun. To the new moon females made a reverence. During the moon's wane no important business was transacted.

St. Martin o' Bullion's day, the fourth of July old style, is believed to regulate the character of the weather for the six following weeks. Should the weather be dry, it is expected that there will be six weeks' drought; and should it prove wet, that rain will fall daily during the same period.* The condition of the elements on Candlemas day, old style, is also associated with a meteorological prediction:—

“If Candlemas is fair and clear,
There'll be twa winters in the year.”

Martin, in his description of the Western Isles, states that, on Candlemas day, the Hebrideans observe the following custom:—The mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats, and dress it up in woman's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it; this they call Brüd's bed. The mistress and servant's now exclaim three times, “Brüd is come! Brüd is welcome!” This they do before retiring to bed, and when they rise in the morning they look among the ashes, expecting to see the impression of Brüd's club, which, if they do, they reckon it a presage of a good crop and a prosperous year. The contrary is a bad omen. Brüd was of the order of the *Brownies*, otherwise known as *Goblins* or *Urisks*. These were held to be of a character between man and spirit; they derived

* This day corresponds with the anniversary of St. Swithin in the English calendar. Similar superstitions are attached in several European countries to the festivals of different saints which occur about the period of the summer solstice.

their name of brownies from the tawny colour of their skin. They inhabited the caves and corries of untrodden mountains. In their aerial progresses they emitted music like the tones of a harp, the grinding of a mill, or the crowing of a cock.

Indolent naturally, the brownies could, like Robin Goodfellow of English superstition, be brought over by kind attention to perform useful labours. They were capable of extraordinary exertions ; they performed their work at night, and sought no food or other recompense, their only stipulation being that they should be permitted to execute their work without interference. They abandoned their place of work on the offer of thanks. Of affront they were keenly susceptible, and any comparison as to their respective labours they could not endure. The blacksmith of Glammis having got behind with his work, excited the compassion of two brownies, who during night powerfully assisted him. Entering his smithy one morning before his assistants had departed, he was so delighted at the progress of his work, that he could not forbear exclaiming,—

“Weel chappit Red Cowl,
But better chappit Blue.”

“Chap wha we like to,
• We'll chap na mair to you,”

exclaimed the supernaturals, as they threw down the hammers, and disappeared for ever. As the brownies had no garments save their distinctive head-coverings, a farmer, who had been profited by their nocturnal labours, left on his barn-floor a suit of clothes for each of his assistants. This reflection on their habits was intolerable. They assisted the farmer no more. Every hus-

bandman in the Hebrides who was more industrious than his neighbours was supposed to be aided by the brownies.

In the Isle of Skye, *Gruagach*, a sort of female urisk, was supposed to linger about sheep-pens and dairies. She beat with a small wand any one who refused to propitiate her with a daily offering of dairy produce. The milkmaids of the Isle of Troddha propitiated *Gruagach* by pouring a quantity of milk daily in a hollow stone.

There were other beings of the goblin species. "Falm," writes the Ettrick Shepherd, "is a little ugly monster, who frequents the summits of the mountain of Glen Aven, and no other place in the world. My guide declared that he had himself seen him; and by his description Falm appears to be no native of this world, but an occasional visitant, whose intentions are evil and dangerous. He is only seen about the break of day, and on the highest verge of the mountain. His head is twice as large as his body; and if any living creature cross the track over which he has passed before the sun shine upon it, certain death is the consequence: the heart of this person or animal instantly begins to swell, grows to an immense size, and finally bursts. Such a disease is really incident to sheep on these heights, and in several parts of the kingdom where the grounds are elevated to a great height above the sea; but in no place save Glen Aven is Falm blamed for it."

Water Kelpie has been poetically described as "the angry spirit of the waters." He appeared as a small black horse, and in this shape played all manner of mischief. Frequenting the banks of rivers, he allured strangers to mount him, and then darted with them into the water with an unearthly laugh. A place near

Loch Vennachar is named *Coill-a-Chroin*, or wood of lamentation, owing to the tradition that a water kelpie, in the shape of a Highland pony, having induced a number of children to get upon his back, galloped off with them into the lake's depths.

The water kelpie was occasionally useful to mankind ; he was always so when a pair of branks could be fastened on his head. According to the legend, he was so branked by the builder of the parish church of St. Vigean, and compelled to drag large stones to be used in the work. On being freed from his restraint, he emitted terrible menaces. He predicted that the minister who should officiate in St. Vigean's church at a certain period would commit suicide, an event which would be followed by the church falling on the parishioners at the communion first celebrated thereafter. A minister of St. Vigean's at the beginning of the eighteenth century committed suicide, and the parishioners afterwards refused to join the communion in the parish church. After many years the incumbent insisted on celebrating the ordinance : as he proceeded, the people retired from the building, a few persons only consenting to remain. The alarm was at length overcome.

Supernatural cattle were associated with secluded lochs. A water bull was said to have his lair at Loch Awe. Another dwelt in the depths of Loch Rannoch. These could only be killed with silver shot. A water cow inhabited St. Mary's Loch in Yarrow. She was noted for her mischievous propensities. "A farmer in Bowerhope," writes the Ettrick Shepherd, "once got a breed of her, which he kept for many years, until they multiplied exceedingly, and he never had any cattle thrive so well, until once, on some outrage or disrespect on the

farmer's part towards them, the old dam came out of the lake one pleasant March evening, and gave such a roar that all the surrounding hills shook again, upon which her progeny, nineteen in number, followed her all quietly into the loch, and were never more seen."

The Drows or Trows were imaginary beings, which occupied caverns and hill centres. Generally mischievous, they could be propitiated. They were believed to excavate the precious metals for the benefit of their favourites.

Shelly-coat was a gigantic hobgoblin, who wore a coat of shells, which he kept beneath a rock, and assumed when he walked abroad. Destruction attended his progress,—the rustling of his coat appalling the stoutest heart. Shelly-coat was named to children to frighten them into obedience.

Fairies were common to the superstitious of every European country. But Scottish fairies possessed peculiarities considerably differing from those of other lands. Less homely than the elves of England, they were more comely than those of Scandinavia. They partook of a nature between the human and divine. Their bodies were condensed cloud—thinner than air, into which they could disappear in a moment of time. "Ther bodies," writes Mr. Robert Kirk,* "be so plyable through the subtlety of the spirits that agitate them, that they can make them appear or disappear att pleasure. Some have bodies or vehicles so spongious, thin, and defecat, that

* See "The Secret Commonwealth; an Essay on the Nature and Actions of the Subterranean and, for the most part, Invisible People, heretofore going under the name of Elves, Faunes, and Fairies, as they are described by those having the Second Sight, &c." By Mr. Robert Kirk, Minister at Aberfoill, 1691. 4to.

they are fed by only sucking into some fine spirituous liquors, that peirce lyke pure air and oyl : others feid more gross on the foysen or substance of corne and liquors, or corne itself that grows on the surface of the earth, which these fairies steall away, partly invisible, partly preying on the grain as do crowes and mice ; wherefore, in this same age, they are sometimes heard to bake bread, strike hammers, and do such lyke services, within the little hillocks they most haunt."

The fairies inhabited conical eminences in solitary places. Their dwellings were gorgeous halls, illuminated with a brilliant sunshine. They changed their residences every quarter. They held converse as ordinary mortals, but their tones were as the sighing of the gentlest breeze. Their forms were beautiful. The female fairy was a being of seraphic loveliness ; ringlets of yellow hair descended upon her shoulders ; these were bound upon her brow with gems of gold. She wore a mantle of green silk, inlaid with eider down, and bound round her waist with garlands of wild flowers. The male fairy was clad in green *trows* and a flowing tunic. His feet were protected with sandals of silver ; from his left arm hung a golden bow, and a quiver of adder-skin was suspended on his left side. His arrows were tipt in flame.

The fairies feasted luxuriously. The richest viands adorned their boards. They frequented human banquets, and conveyed a portion of the richest dishes into their aerial palaces. They were present at funerals, and extracted the meats and liquor which were presented to the company. Some Highlanders refused to eat or drink at funeral assemblages, in apprehension of elfic interference. "They extracted food from mankind,"

writes Mr. Kirk, "throw a hair-tedder, by airt magic, or by drawing a spicket fastened in a post, which will bring milk as far off as a bull will be heard to roar." Their habits were joyous. They constructed harps, which emitted delicious sounds. They held musical processions, and conducted concerts in remote glens and on unfrequented heaths. In their processions they rode on horses fleeter than the wind. Their coursers were decked with gorgeous trappings; from their manes were suspended silver bells, which rang with the zephyr, and produced music of enchanting harmony. The feet of their steeds fell so gently, that they dashed not the dew from the ring cup, nor bent the stalk of the wild rose. Their dances were performed in circles, and the spots marked by their tiny feet were termed "fairy rings." The unfortunate wight who turned up a fairy-ring with the ploughshare became the victim of a wasting sickness :—

" He wha tills the fairy green
Nae luck again soll hae,
An' he wha spills the fairy ring,
Betide him want an' wae,
For weirdless days and weary nichts
Are his till his deein' day."

The protector of the fairy-ring was proportionately recompensed :—

" He wha gaeas by the fairy green
Nae dule nor pains soll see,
An' he wha cleans the fairy ring
An easy death soll dee."

Scottish fairies had a king and queen and a royal court. The queen originally held the government, but

having chosen Thomas the Rhymer as her consort, she transferred to him a share of her dignity. The fairy queen's offer to the Rhymer has been celebrated in ballad :—

“ An' I will gie to thee, luve Thamas,
 My han' 'but an' my crown,
 An' thou shalt reign owre Fairyлан'
 In joy an' gret renown ;
 An' I will gie to thee, luve Thamas,
 To live for evermair,
 Thine arm soll never feckless grow,
 Nor hoary wax thy hair ;
 Nae clamorous grief we ever thole,
 Nae wastin' pine we dree ;
 An endless life's afore thee placed
 O' constant luve an' lee.”

Hunting was a favourite sport at the fairy court. They rode to the hunting course in three bands. The first were mounted on brown horses, the second rode on grey, while the third, consisting of the king, queen, and chief nobles, sat upon snow-white steeds. One member of the court rode on a black charger : this was Kilmaulie, prime councillor of Fairyland. The hunt was conducted on the hill-sides ; old thorns and upright boulder-stones are supposed to denote the scenes of these fairy pastimes.

The northern elves were of two classes, the “gude fairies” and the “wicked wichts ;” they were otherwise described as the “seelie court” and the “unseelie court.” The members of the seelie court were the benefactors of mankind ; they gave bread to the poor and aged, and supplied indigent but industrious rustics with seed-corn ; they cheered the afflicted and comforted those in despair. They bestowed loans and gifts on those mortals who propitiated their favour. Hence the old rhyme :—

"Meddle an mell
Wi' the fien's o' hell,
An' a weirdless wicht ye'll be ;
But tak' an' len'
Wi' the fairy men,
Ye'll thrive until ye dee."

The "wicked wichts" of Fairydom were always ready to inflict *skaith* or damage upon mankind. They shaved people with loathsome razors, eradicating every vestige of whiskers and beard. When any one, in a fit of temper, commended himself to the Devil, "the unseelie court," took the speaker at his word ; they transported him into the air on a dark cloud, and consumed him to charcoal. They abstracted the household goods of those who offended them, destroyed their cattle by small flints, or "elf-shot," and visited their persons with complicated ailments ; one class of persons was especially obnoxious, those who assumed their livery of green. Lord Dundee was attired in a green uniform at the Battle of Killiecrankie, and to this cause the Highlanders assign his discomfiture and death. Some Scottish families, with a traditional dread of the wicked fairies, avoid using personal or household ornaments of a green colour.

The seizure of infants by the fairies was one of the most universally accepted of the elder superstitions. Handsome children were supposed to be borne away invisibly, while sickly and loathsome *brats* were substituted in their stead. It was no uncommon occurrence for the wives of the peasantry to imagine that their sickly children were brought from Fairyland, in the place of their own healthy offspring. They had recourse to a barbarous charm, to procure restoration of their own infants, by burning with live coal the toes

of the little sufferers. Youths denounced by parents or employers were apt to be laid hold on by the elf-folks. Herds who fell asleep on the pasture, especially after sunset, were liable to transportation to Fairyland ; those who were, under such circumstances, removed, were seven years excluded from human converse. In pulmonary complaints, the soul of the patient was supposed to be stolen away, and that of a fairy substituted.

Beautiful maidens and handsome wives were stolen by the wicked fairies. The miller of Menstrie, who possessed a charming spouse, had given offence to the "unseelie court," and was, in consequence, deprived of his fair helpmate. His distress was aggravated by hearing his wife singing in the air :—

“Oh, Alva woods are bonny,
Tillicoultry hills are fair,
But when I think o' the bonny braes o' Menstrie,
It makes my heart aye sair.”

After many fruitless attempts to procure her restoration, the miller chanced one day, in riddling some stuff at the mill-door, to use a posture of enchantment, when the spell was dissolved, and the matron fell into his arms. The wife of the blacksmith of Tullibody was carried up the chimney, the abductors, as they bore her off, singing :—

“Deidle linkum dodie !
We've gotten drucken Davie's wife,
The smith o' Tullibody.”

Those snatched to Fairyland might be recovered within a year and a day, but the spell for their recovery was potent only when the fairies made a procession on Hallow-eve :—

“ Upon that night, when fairies light
On Cassilis Downan dance,
Or o'er the leas, in splendid breeze,
On stately coursers prance.”

Sir Walter Scott, in the “Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,” relates the following:—The wife of a Lothian farmer had been snatched by the fairies. During the year of probation she had repeatedly appeared on Sundays in the midst of her children, combing their hair. On one of these occasions she was accosted by her husband, when she instructed him how to rescue her at the next Hallow-eve procession. The farmer conned his lesson carefully, and, on the appointed day, proceeded to a plot of furze, to await the arrival of the procession. It came, but the ringing of the fairy bridles so confused him, that the train passed ere he could sufficiently recover himself to use the intended spell. The unearthly laughter of the abductors, and the passionate lamentation of his wife, informed him that she was lost to him for ever.

A woman who had been conveyed to Fairyland was warned by one whom she had formerly known as a mortal, to avoid eating or drinking with her new friends for a certain period. She obeyed, and when the time had expired, she found herself on earth, restored to the society of mankind. A matron was carried to Fairyland to nurse her new-born child, which had previously been abducted. She had not been long in her enchanted dwelling, when she furtively anointed an eye in the contents of a boiling caldron ; she now discovered that what had previously seemed a gorgeous palace was in reality a gloomy cavern. She was dismissed, but, on her return to earth, one of the wicked wights, when she

demanded her child, spat in her eye, and extinguished it for ever.

On the tradition of the removal to Fairyland of the daughter of a labourer at Traquair, and her restoration a few weeks after, the Ettrick Shepherd founded his ballad of “Bonny Kilmeny.” His description of Fairyland is unequalled in poetry :—

“ Kilmeny had been where the cock never crew,
 Where the rain never fell, and the wind never blew ;
 But it seemed, as the harp of the sky had rung,
 And the airs of heaven played round her tongue,
 When she spake of the lovely forms she had seen,
 And a land where sin had never been ;
 A land of love and a land of light,
 Withouten sun, or moon, or night ;
 Where the river swa’d a living stream,
 And the light a pure celestial beam :
 The land of vision, it would seem,
 A still, an everlasting dream.
 They lifted Kilmeny, they led her away,
 And she walked in the light of a sunless day ;
 The sky was a dome of crystal bright,
 The fountain of vision and fountain of light ;
 The emerald fields were of dazzling glow,
 And the flowers of everlasting blow.
 There, deep in the stream, her body they laid,
 That her youth and beauty might never fade,
 And they smiled on heaven when they saw her lie
 In the stream of life that wandered by.

* * * * *

She saw a sun on a summer sky,
 And clouds of amber sailing by ;
 A lovely land beneath her lay,
 And that land had glens and mountains grey ;
 And that land had valleys and hoary piles,
 And marled seas and a thousand isles ;
 Its fields were speckled, its forests green,
 And its lakes were all of the dazzling sheen,

Like magic mirrors, where slumbering lay
The sun and the sky and the cloudlet grey ;
Which heaved and trembled, and gently swung,
On every shore they seemed to be hung."

About the middle of last century, a clergyman at Kirkmichael, Perthshire, ventured to deny the existence of the elf-folk. He was punished for his scepticism. One evening, as he was returning from a meeting of Presbytery, somewhat late, he was suddenly borne aloft into the air, and carried through the clouds, to such a distance from the earth, that it seemed to him no bigger than a nutshell. Having convinced the doubting pastor that their existence was a grand reality, the abductors laid him down gently at his door.

The Rev. Robert Kirk, of Aberfoyle, was less fortunate in his elf-land experiences. Having composed a dissertation, in which he had revealed to mankind their manners and habits, the fairies resolved on his removal from the further intercourse of mortals. In the year 1688, Mr. Kirk sunk down lifeless, while walking on his glebe. It was maintained that his death was only apparent, and that, in reality, he was carried to Fairy-land. According to the legend, he appeared soon after his funeral to a relative, informing him of his existence, and intimating that he would appear at the baptism of his posthumous child. He requested that, on that occasion, a kinsman would throw a knife over his head, which would dissolve the spell, and effect his restoration. At the baptism, Mr. Kirk appeared, but his kinsman having neglected to perform the rite, he retired, and was never more seen.

Toshack, the last chief of clan Mackintosh, occupied a castle, or keep, on the margin of the river Turret, in

Perthshire. He held nocturnal interviews with a fairy whom he had brought with him from abroad. The mode of his reaching the place of meeting, and the nature of his companion, were long a mystery. His wife at length became jealous of the frequent departures of her lord, and, being unable to discover whither he proceeded, resorted to the scheme of attaching a piece of worsted to his button. Thus guided, she followed him down a subterranean passage, under the bed of the river, where, after various windings, she discovered him in conversation with a beautiful lady. The discovery so enraged the matron, that she insisted on the immediate destruction of the stranger, who fled, and the sun of Toshack set to rise no more.

In his poem of "Anster Fair," Professor Tennant represents a fairy arising from the mustard-pot of his heroine, Maggy Lauder, to afford her counsel in the choice of a husband. The description accords with some of the popular beliefs :—

" It reeked censer-like ; then, strange to tell !
 Forth from the smoke that thick and thicker grows,
 A fairy, of the height of half an ell,
 In dwarfish pomp, majestically rose ;
 His feet, upon the table 'stablished well,
 Stood trim and splendid in their snake-skin hose ;
 Gleamed topaz-like the breeches he had on,
 Whose waistband like the bend of summer rainbow shone.

 His coat seem'd fashion'd of the threads of gold
 That intertwine the clouds at sunset hour ;
 And certes, Iris, with her shuttle bold,
 Wove the rich garment in her lofty bower ;
 To form its buttons, were the Pleiads old
 Pluck'd from their sockets, sure by genie-power,
 And sew'd upon the coat's resplendent hem ;
 Its neck was lovely green, each cuff a sapphire gem.

* * * * *

Around his bosom, by a silken zone,
A little bagpipe gracefully was bound,
Whose pipes like hollow stalks of silver shone,
The glist'ning tiny avenues of sound ;
Beneath his arm the windy bag, full-blown,
Heav'd up its purple like an orange round,
And only waited order to discharge
Its blasts, with charming groan, into the sky at large."

A narrow peninsula extends from the southern shore of the Lake Menteith, in Perthshire. Its construction is attributed to the fairies. According to the legend, the old Earls of Menteith, who resided on an islet in the lake, were in possession of a red book, the opening of which was followed by something supernatural. One of the Earls, by accident or from curiosity, had opened the mysterious volume, when up rose a band of fairies, demanding immediate employment. The Earl, after consideration, set them to make a road from the mainland to the island ; and thus far had they proceeded, when his lordship, fearing that the insular situation of his fortress might be spoiled by the completion of the work, and wishing otherwise to get quit of his labourers, required them to undertake a new task. He requested them to twist a rope of sand. The fairies were puzzled, and took their departure.

There are solitary places celebrated as "fairy haunts." A conical hill at Strachur, Argyllshire, is called Sieu-Sluai, the fairy habitation of a multitude. Another celebrated haunt of the "elf-folk" was Coirshian, above Loch Con, near the source of the Forth. There the fairies held rendezvous on Hallow-eve.

The enchantments of Fairydom were overcome by a series of counter charms. Fire had a potent influence

against elfic arts. When a cow calved, a burning coal was passed across her back and round her belly, which was supposed to protect her from fairy influences. In breweries the evil influence of the fairies was negatived by a live coal being thrown into the vat. The inhabitants of the Isle of Lewis made a fairy circle about their houses and farm-yards. They encompassed with a fairy band a bride before she was churched, and children prior to their being baptized.

A sort of female siren, clothed, like the fairies, in green, partook of the threefold nature of the brownie, the fairy, and the witch. By her bewitching beauty she allured travellers to follow her, and having drawn them to a sequestered spot, proceeded to destroy them. On the tradition of the destruction of a hunter by a siren, Sir Walter Scott composed his ballad of "Glenfinlas."

CHAPTER V.

DEMONS AND APPARITIONS.

WITH the name of the Prince of Darkness many stupendous natural objects have been associated. Two features in the rocky scenery of the Devon are styled the *Devil's Mill* and the *Devil's Punch-bowl*. The *Devil's Cauldron* is a narrow and deep cascade on the Lednoch, near Comrie. A steep pathway among the mountains of Glencoe is known as the *Devil's Staircase*. The *Devil's Elbow* is a dangerous turn on the road between Braemar and Blairgowrie. The origin of Ailsa Craig, Tintoock Hill, the Eildons, and other eminences has been ascribed to Satanic agency. Many huge boulders of trap-rock rest on the slopes of Benarty Hill, near Lochleven. They are associated with the following legend of superstition :— The Devil had been at Kirkcaldy, on the Forth. He resolved to march northward to a witch's rendezvous in Gowrie. That his progress might not be intercepted by the Tay, he carried a lapful of boulder stones, to be used for stepping upon in the bed of that estuary. More intent on the accomplishment of his intended feat than in selecting his footing, he stumbled on Benarty Hill, and dropped his burden upon its slopes.. The Scottish peasant, without any conscious irreverence, characterizes as "devilish" aught that strikes him as impressive in nature or effective in art.

At the period of the Reformation the Protestant

clergy discovered that nearly every husbandman left a portion of ground untilled, to propitiate the Power of Evil. It was named the *gien rig*, or *gudeman's croft*: a portion of soil sacrificed to avoid *skauith*. In 1594 the General Assembly condemned the practice, and took measures to suppress it. Till the close of the last century it lingered in northern counties. A tradition obtains that a farmer in Keith, having resolved to cultivate the *gudeman's croft*, one of the oxen drawing the ploughshare through it, was struck dead. There was formerly a reluctance to bury in a new churchyard, owing to the belief that the first body interred in it was the *Devil's Tiend*.

In popular phraseology the devil was designated Nick, or Old Nick. The term is derived from *Niken*, or *Neckin*, a Danish word signifying to destroy. The older chroniclers ascribe many occurrences to the intervention of demons. When an earthquake occurred, or a house fell, or a landslip happened, the great enemy was supposed to be engaged. The persecuted adherents of the Covenant conceived themselves subject to diabolical interference. With their imaginations excited by oppression, they fancied that they beheld the Evil One in corries and caverns and solitary places. Alexander Peden, the prophet of the Covenant, is described as having personally encountered the devil in a cave. A conflict between the arch-enemy and two Covenanters forms one of the legends of Ettrick Forest. Halbert Dobson and David Dun, two proscribed Presbyterians, had constructed a hiding-place in a wild ravine beside a mountain waterfall at the head of Moffat water. In this place of retreat the devil appeared to them with frightful grimaces. He was set upon by the

refugees, who assailed him with their Bibles,—a proceeding which led to his immediate transformation into a bundle of hides. Hence the minstrelsy :—

“ Little ken'd the wirrikow*
What the Covenant would dow !
What o' faith, and what o' pen,
What o' might, and what o' men,
Or he had never shown his face,
His reeket rags an' riven taes,
To men o' merk an' men o' mense.
For Hab Dob and Davie Din
Dang the Deil owre Dob's Linn.

“ ‘ Weir,’ quo’ he, an’ ‘ weir,’ quo’ he,
‘ Haud the Bible til his e’e ;
Ding him owre, or thrash him doun,
He’s a fause, deceitfu’ loon !’
Then he owre him, an’ he owre him,
He owre him, an’ he owre him.
Habby held him griff and grim,
Davie thrash him hip and lim’ ;
Till, like a bunch o’ basket skins,
Down fell Satan owre the Linns !”

Occasionally the adherents of the Covenant were not unwilling to be regarded as spectres or hobgoblins, in order to elude the vengeance of their pursuers. The followers of the outlawed Richard Cameron chose as hiding-places those localities which were associated with demons. On a rumour which had been raised in *Moffatdale* as to the presence of a spectral visitant, where a skulking Covenanter sought refuge, the Ettrick Shepherd has founded his tale of “The Brownie of Bodsbeck.”

One of the most singular cases of alleged demoniacal agency recorded in Scottish annals is the following :—

* Bugbear, scarecrow.

During the months of February, March, and April, 1695, the house of Andrew Mackie, mason, Ringcroft, parish of Rerrick, Kirkcudbrightshire, was the scene of strange procedure. Stones and missiles of all kinds were thrown into the house as by an invisible hand. Voices were heard uttering denunciations and warnings, and adjuring to repentance. Missives written with blood were strewn about the premises. Members of the family were beaten with invisible rods, and dragged about mercilessly. The neighbouring clergy assembled, and subscribed a declaration certifying the phenomena.

Among the Wodrow MSS.* is the narrative of a female who, in the year 1701, was vexed with a devil. Satan appeared to her in different shapes, among which were those of a hare, a hog, and a ram. When he chose the human form, he assumed the head of a man with the four legs of a brute, or walked about “a long wound corpse with a black face.” The supposed demon, by casting heavy weights upon the floor, shook the patient’s bed ; he chased her through the different apartments; and, because she refused to surrender her Bible, struck her violently on the head. Men were appointed to watch ; they heard noises, and believed they saw strange shapes.

About the year 1815, the manse of Kinglassie, Fife-shire, was alleged to be haunted. Every evening bells rang without any visible agency. There were thumps upon the floor, and against the doors and windows, but without any apparent cause. Parishioners — neighbours—the entire inhabitants of the district—assembled, in the hope of discovering the source of the commotion.

* Wodrow MSS., Advocates Library, vol. xxviii., No. 50.

It was revealed after thirty years by one of the maid-servants, in the prospect of death. A Scottish journal lately detailed the particulars of a case precisely similar, which occurred at Falkirk. A family was disturbed by the door-bell ringing violently at midnight. Windows were broken ; the timber covering of a cellar was removed at night. Several police-constables were set to watch, but the door-bell continued to be rung, and other mischief to be perpetrated. The soundings of the bell were at length taken from the front door and also from the kitchen, and on a difference of sound being remarked, suspicion fell upon the servant, a girl of eighteen. Having been charged with the offence, under circumstances which rendered denial altogether hopeless, she acknowledged her guilt. She was brought before the criminal authorities, and sentenced to imprisonment.

The Rev. Andrew Small, a pastor of the Secession Church, who died in 1852, conceived himself the victim of Satanic imps. In a volume which he published concerning his supernatural persecution, he describes "the imps" as entering his bed-chamber by the chimney, through the keyhole, and by the hole of the bell-wire. On effecting admission, the intruders proceeded to deprive him of his bed-clothes, and to throw him upon the floor. On one occasion the arch-enemy appeared in person ; he wore "large hoofs and great horns," and there was "a strong smell of brimstone about him."

There were four kinds of apparitions—the wraith, the tutelary spirit, the genie, and the unrested ghost. The first was a spiritual attendant, which remained with every individual as a guardian from birth till death. The *wraith* bore the aspect and was clad in the attire of his human charge. He was constantly with him, accom-

panying or preceding him in all his movements. He protected his associate in danger, and conveyed to his relatives timely intimation of his decease. In discharging the latter duty only did the wraith become visible ; he appeared in the likeness of his ward, clad in his ordinary apparel, or in a white garment. Sometimes the wraith was seen in the churchyard where his charge would shortly be interred ; at other times he hovered about the dwellings of his kindred.

Some examples of remarkable spectral manifestations may not inappropriately be introduced. Mr. Graham, a manufacturer in Glasgow, as he was retiring to bed one moonlight night, chanced to cast his eyes upon the window-blind. His mother, arrayed in a flannel night-dress, seemed motionless to stand before him. He called his wife, who likewise observed the figure. It shortly disappeared. Next day Mr. Graham received tidings that his mother, who lived at the distance of twenty-five miles, had been found dead in bed. The night-dress corresponded with the costume of the figure which he and Mrs. Graham had seen in their apartment. Mrs. Thomson, sister of Mungo Park, the African traveller, lived with her husband on the farm of Myreton, at the southern base of the Ochils. She was a shrewd, intelligent woman, and was not at all inclined to superstition. At Myreton her brother parted with his wife and family in September, 1804, to proceed on his second African expedition. Some time in 1805, Mrs. Thomson received a letter from her brother, then in Africa, stating that he expected speedily to return to Britain, and that he would not write again till his return. Not long after receiving this communication, Mrs. Thomson, one evening, after she was in bed, fancied she heard the tread of

a horse's feet on the road passing the apartment. On sitting up, her brother seemed to open the door and to walk towards her, clad in his usual attire. Expressing her delight to see him safely returned, she stretched out her arms to embrace him, but she folded them on her own breast. Imagining that he had stepped aside, she rose hastily, and followed the apparently retreating figure. She then proceeded to upbraid her brother for betaking himself to concealment. She was engaged in searching for his lurking-place when her husband came to assure her of her delusion. The precise date of Park's death is unknown. Mrs. Thomson always believed that it took place at that time when she conceived he had returned to her at Myreton.

In his "Philosophy of Sleep," Mr. Robert Macnish has recorded the following :—Miss R., a native of Ross-shire, was deeply in love with an officer who accompanied Sir John Moore in his Peninsular campaign. The constant danger to which he was exposed had a depressing effect on her spirits. After falling asleep one evening, she imagined that she saw her lover, pale and wounded, enter her apartment. He said that he had been slain in battle, and begged she would not mourn too deeply on his account. The lady became ill consequent on her vision, and a few days after expired. Before her death she requested her parents to record the date of her vision. It was found that her lover had perished at the battle of Corunna, which had been fought on the day, the evening of which presented to the deceased gentlewoman the form of her lover.

In the University of St. Andrews a custom obtains that, on the death of a professor, intimation of the event is conveyed by a messenger to the other members of

the institution. In 1842, an aged professor was very ill, and his decease was expected daily. One of his colleagues sat down to his usual evening devotions with his household. His wife was reading a portion of Scripture, when, watch in hand, the professor asked her whether it was not precisely half-past nine. The lady, taking out her watch, answered that it was. When the service was concluded, the professor explained that at the time he had interrupted the reading, he had seen his ailing colleague, who had signalled him an adieu. He felt satisfied his friend had then expired. Not long after a messenger arrived ; he reported that Dr. H. had died that evening at half-past nine !

In the "Nightside of Nature," Mrs. Crowe inserts a letter from Sir Joseph Paton, detailing a dream of his mother, and its accompaniments :—The lady dreamed that she stood in a dark gallery with her husband and family ; an undefined *something* entered, and she felt that *it* was death. The intruder carried an axe, which he raised, and struck down Catherine, her infant daughter. The dream greatly disturbed the matron who feared murder. In three months all her children were seized with scarlet fever. Catherine died almost immediately. Another child, Alexis, who, in the dream, had "flitted out and in between her and the ghastly thing," lingered about a year and ten months, and then expired.

A tutelary spirit was assigned to families of distinction, especially in the Highlands. "That of Grant," writes Sir Walter Scott, "was called *May Moulach*, and appeared in the form of a girl, who had her arm covered with hair. Grant of Rothiemurchus had an attendant called *Bodach-an-Dun*, or the ghost of the hill." When

death was about to visit the family of the chief of the McLeans, the spirit of an ancestor slain in battle rode three times round the family residence, and shook ominously his horse's bridle.

The spirit of an ancestor occasionally acted as tutelary guardian. The following is abridged from a narrative by Sir Walter Scott, appended to "The Antiquary":— Mr. R—d, of Bowland, a landowner in the vale of Gala, was prosecuted for a large sum, accumulated arrears of teinds or tithes, which he was said to be indebted to a noble family. Mr. R—d was satisfied that his father had purchased exemption from the demand, but he was unable, either in his own repositories, or among the papers of those who had transacted business for his father, to discover any evidence of the transaction. He therefore deemed a defence useless, and had resolved to proceed to Edinburgh next day, to make the best terms in a compromise. He went to bed, deeply concerned about his expected loss. He slept, and in a dream conceived that his father, who had been long dead, was talking with him. The paternal shade announced that he had actually purchased the teinds, and that the papers relating to the transaction were in the possession of a solicitor who had transacted business for him on that occasion only. He named the solicitor, who still lived. "If he has forgotten the transaction," he added, "call it to his recollection by this token, that, when I came to pay his account, there was difficulty in getting change for a Portugal piece of gold, and that we were forced to drink out the balance at a tavern." In the morning Mr. R—d proceeded to the residence of the solicitor, whose name had occurred in the dream. He found a very aged gentleman, long retired from business.

At first he could not recollect about the matter, but the mention of the Portugal piece of gold recalled it to his memory. He made search for the papers, and having found them, enabled Mr. R—d successfully to resist the claim which had disturbed his repose.

About the year 1731, Mr. D. of K., in the county of Cumberland, was a student at Edinburgh. He resided with his uncle and aunt, Major and Mrs. Griffiths. Early on a spring morning he had arranged with several young friends to go a-fishing on the Forth, as far as Inchkeith. During the preceding night, Mrs. Griffiths had not long slept when she exclaimed, "The boat is sinking, save them, oh save them!" Her husband awakened her, and said, "Were you uneasy about the fishing party?" She answered that she had not once thought of them, and again fell asleep. In about an hour she again cried out, "I see the boat is going down." At length, in a loud scream, she said, "They are gone, the boat is sunk." On her husband again awakening her, she said, "Now I cannot rest, Mr. D. must not go, for I should be miserable till his return." She proceeded to the chamber of her nephew, and induced him to abandon his intention of joining the fishing party. The next morning was beautiful, but a violent storm afterwards arose, and the boat containing Mr. D's friends was upset. All on board perished.*

During the American War of Independence, the wife of a landowner in Aberdeenshire awakened her husband during night, with the exclamation, "Did you hear that shot?" "A poacher has fired, I suppose," said the gentleman, "but I did not hear the shot." "Ah," said the lady, "I fear our son John has been killed." The gentle-

* Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. XIX., p. 736.

woman became fully satisfied that her son, who was serving as an officer with the British army in America, had been mortally wounded. The arrival of the American mail confirmed the sad presentiment. He fell in battle just at the time when his mother had her dream.

When the mansion of Abbotsford was being enlarged, in April, 1818, Sir Walter Scott, who was occupying the original portion of the dwelling, was one night awakened by a noise resembling the dragging of heavy boards along the floors. During that night, and about the hour when Sir Walter heard the noise, George Bullock, who had charge of furnishing the new rooms at Abbotsford, died suddenly at London. Mr. Bullock had shortly before made a visit to Abbotsford, and obtained the personal regard of the author of *Waverley*.

A respected shipmaster relates the following :—He was sailing in command of a merchant-vessel from the shores of America to the Clyde. There having been a succession of gales, he had been on deck and without sleep for six nights. The storm partially subsiding, he lay down to rest. In two hours he awakened, and remarked to his chief officer, “ We will surely be preserved, for a beautiful lady came to me in my sleep, and that is a good omen.” The vessel becoming leaky, the captain brought her into a bay on the west coast. A farmer’s daughter, observing a ship in distress, went out in a boat, carrying as provisions a sheep, a quantity of potatoes, and a vessel of milk. As she was proceeding to enter the ship, the captain addressed her in a tone of agitation, “ In the name of God, who are you ? ” “ I’m Margaret M——, from the farm, thinking you might need some provisions,” was the fair visitor’s reply.

“We'll buy all you've got,” said the captain. The damsel said they were an offering from her father ; she had also to inquire whether the family could render further assistance. The captain recognised the lady as the counterpart of the beautiful female of his dream. She is now his wife.

The *genie* occupied the remote forest, but likewise frequented the air and water ; it raised storms and allayed them, and was constantly interfering with human affairs. A genie was the supposed sire of a powerful baron of Drumelzier. Those persons who bear the names of Tweed and Tweedie are alleged to descend paternally from the genie of a southern river. “When,” writes Sir Walter Scott, “the workmen were engaged in erecting the ancient church of Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, upon a small hill called Bissan, they were surprised to find that the work was impeded by supernatural obstacles. At length the spirit of the river was heard to say,—

‘It is not here, it is not here,
That ye shall build the church of Deer ;
But on Taptillery,
Where many a corpse shall lie.’

The site of the edifice was accordingly transferred to Taptillery, an eminence at some distance from the place where the building had been commenced.” In the Macfarlane MSS., in the Advocates Library, is contained an account of a spirit named *Lham-dearg*, which haunted the forest of Glenmore, in the Northern Highlands. He was clad like an ancient warrior, and had a bloody hand. He challenged to combat all he met. Three brothers whom he compelled to fight with him died soon afterwards.

The class of apparitions which we have termed *unrested*

ghosts haunted the fancy of the unlettered. They were the supposed spectres of murdered persons, or of their murderer; they hovered, it was believed, about old ruins and sequestered dells. They followed those who had deprived them of their mortal tenements. The murdered, it was conceived, found no rest till they had received Christian burial. Murderers revisited the earth to reveal where they had thrust the bodies of their victims and concealed plundered treasure. A daughter of the Baron of Cromlix, Perthshire, having accepted the proffered love of Sir Malise Graham, "the Black Knight of Kilbryde," permitted him to decoy her to a sequestered spot of his forest, where he seduced and murdered her. He buried his victim in the forest, and retired to his castle. He was not unattended. The ghost of the murdered lady haunted him continually. After his death the spectre continued to glide in the forest, clad in a blood-stained robe. It beckoned all who noticed it to follow. For many years none were venturous enough to comply. At length a chieftain of the family undertook, if the spectre should cross his path, to obey its wishes. His courage was soon tried. One dark evening the spectre appeared to him in his garden, and made the wonted signal. It moved forward, and the knight followed. They descended to the bottom of the glen, where the apparition stood and pointed. Next day the knight caused an excavation to be made at the spot, and there discovered the remains of the long deceased Lady Anne, whose disappearance had been a mystery. He caused the remains to receive Christian burial, and the spectre never re-appeared.

—Alexander de Lindsay, fourth Earl of Crawford, flourished in the fifteenth century; he was styled "The

Tiger Earl," on account of his ferocity. "The Tiger Earl," writes Lord Lindsay, "is believed to be still playing at the 'deil's bucks' in a mysterious chamber in Glammis Castle, of which no one knows the entrance—doomed to play there till the end of time. He was constantly losing, it is said, when one of his companions advised him to give up the game. 'Never,' cried he, 'till the day of judgment.' The Evil One instantly appeared, and both chamber and company vanished. No one has since discovered them; but in the stormy nights, when the winds howl drearily around the old castle, the stamps and curses of the doomed gamesters may still, it is said, be heard mingling with the blast."

Ghosts have often been *impersonated*. When James IV. was planning his hostile expedition into England, his Queen, who was sister to the English monarch, endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise. Her entreaties having proved without avail, she thought of operating on her consort's fears. The King was at Linlithgow, paying his devotions in the parish church prior to placing himself at the head of his army. As he sat in church, an aged man came forward, and stood beside him. The visitor was enveloped in a blue cloak, with a roll of linen about his loins, and an enormous pikestaff in his right hand. He made no reverence to the King, but leaning towards him, warned him to abandon the intended invasion. As the King was proceeding to reply, the visitor evanished! But the stratagem failed.

When refractory tenants have been ejected by their landlords, ghost stories have been raised in connection with the abandoned premises. Housebreakers have originated ghost stories to aid their nefarious practices.

Twenty years ago, the writer occupied a house in High Street, Dunfermline. For several years it had been untenanted. There was a grocery establishment on the area floor. An aunt of the writer, whose hearing was singularly acute, occupied a sleeping apartment immediately above the merchant's office, behind the shop. She often mentioned that she was disturbed during night by hearing noises as if proceeding from the apartment below. Some time after, the writer was asked by a gentleman of the place, whether he was aware that his dwelling had a haunted chamber? "It was," proceeded his informant, "long without a tenant on this account. Noises are heard during night in the mid bedroom." An explanation followed some years afterwards. The merchant's office, it was proved, had long been entered burglariously, and systematically plundered.

Trifling occurrences will originate a ghost story. A joiner in Ettrick Forest was, one winter evening, a few years ago, carrying to the residence of a farmer a clock case which he had constructed. Fatigued with bearing it on his shoulders, he slipped the upper portion of his person into the case, and, so accoutred, proceeded on his journey. A shepherd, coming up, conceived that he saw a coffin walking towards him. He gave alarm, and all who contemplated the moving object were filled with consternation. For nearly a week, rumours of the awakened dead agitated the district.

A gentleman was detained, in a storm, at the country residence of a friend. The mansion was old, and the only spare bedroom was supposed to be haunted. The landlord reported to his guest the "uncanny" reputation of the room. The latter remarked that he had long been desirous of seeing an apparition, and that therefore

a haunted chamber was entirely to his liking. He retired, and kept his candle burning, expecting some trick at his expense. About three o'clock the door of the apartment was opened, and a figure in white slowly entered. He recognized a daughter of the family, who had walked abroad in her sleep. He gently removed her ring, and she soon took her departure. Next morning the visitor acknowledged that he had seen a spectre, and quietly handed to the young lady her ring. She immediately fainted.

About the close of the last century a gentleman was proceeding through the churchyard of Inveresk at a late hour. The night was gloomy, yet he was able to distinguish a moving figure in white, which seemed to disappear under a tombstone. Nothing daunted, he went to the spot, and, seizing the figure, drew it from its concealment. A young lady of unsound mind had escaped from a neighbouring boarding-house, and sought refuge among the tombs.

Taisch, or the second sight, is connected with the class of superstitions now under consideration. Certain persons in the Highlands, more especially in the Western Isles, were supposed to possess supernatural gifts whereby they could witness spectral appearances which boded coming events. The persons held to be so gifted were designated *Taibhsear*, or beholders of visions. Unlike the wizards, or pretenders to necromantic powers in Lowland districts, these Highland seers refused to exercise their gifts for pecuniary reward. Nor did they speak boastfully of their skill. On the contrary, the *Taibhseur* spoke of the possession of their peculiar faculty as a misfortune, from the painful visions with which it was associated.

The *Taibhshear* did not acquire his art by any process of instruction ; it was held to be a native gift. The seventh child of the same sex, born in succession, was believed to be endowed with the faculty. Cattle which exhibited any marked peculiarity were supposed to possess its influence. During the occurrence of a vision, the eye-balls of the seer were turned upward, and rendered so rigid, that, when the vision closed, assistance was resorted to, to restore them to ordinary use. The visions of the *Taibhshear* occurred, it was alleged, without any premonition. When they happened in the morning, their fulfilment was immediate. A vision at noon was realized before the close of the day ; and the later the hour, the more distant was the period of accomplishment. Certain visions were not realized till after the lapse of years. The vision of a shroud was a prognostic of death, and its height above the person indicated the period that would elapse till its consummation. When the shroud rose to the middle, the death of the person seen would happen in a year ; when the head was covered, his dissolution was impending.

When the seer saw a woman at a man's left hand, she was to become his wife ; when two or three women stood at a man's right hand, these were to be in succession united to him in wedlock. The seer foresaw the erection of houses and the planting of orchards, in localities which were covered with huts and cowhouses. He descried the death of children, by seeing a spark of fire fall into the bosom of those who should be bereaved, while the vision of empty seats in a household intimated the removal of parents or adults. Visions of funeral trains were common. At their occurrence the aged seer became pensive, and the novice was covered with a

thick sweat, or fell into a swoon. When a seer was beholding his vision, he could enable another of the *Taibhsear* to witness similar phenomena, by taking hold of his hand.

The second sight has been associated with leading events in the national history. The metrical chroniclers of Wallace and Bruce introduce the Highland seer in connection with their heroes. A *Taibhsear* was consulted by one of the assassins of James I. An Hebridean seer is said to have foretold the unhappy career and violent death of Charles I. Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Tarbet, when sojourning in the Highlands, under a dread of Cromwell's government, employed a portion of his time in investigating the nature of the faculty. He communicated a narrative of its manifestations to the celebrated Robert Boyle, which, with the communications of others on the same subject, is included in the *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*. The curious details of the *Taisch*, contained in the Rev. John Frazer of Tyree's "Authentic Instances," appeared in 1707, and those of Martin, in his "Description of the Western Islands," in 1716. In 1763, Macleod of Hamir, under the appellation of *Theophilus Insulanus*, published a treatise on the second sight, which included numerous illustrations of the gift, industriously collected, together with the opinions of many persons as to its reality. In his "Journey to the Hebrides," published in 1775, Dr. Samuel Johnson, referring to the second sight, is not disposed wholly to reject the testimony by which it was supported. For many years the seer has, unless in a few solitary instances, ceased to have his dwelling in the Scottish Highlands. He has been immortalized poetically in Scott's "Lady of the Lake," and in the poem of "Lochiel's Warning," by Thomas Campbell.

CHAPTER VI.

WITCHCRAFT.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the invention of printing and the publication of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues, a new persecution arose throughout Europe. This originated chiefly through the misinterpretation of a passage in the Book of Exodus, in which death is assigned as the punishment of witchcraft.* Proceeding on this text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," many earnest persons instituted a crusade against those whom credulity had accused of the crime, deeming themselves zealous in the cause of God, proportionately to the determination with which they sought to detect and destroy the supposed emissaries of the devil. To these zealots it did not occur that a class of persons might have existed in the early times of Israelitish history which were represented by no successors, or that the Hebrew word rendered witch in the English versions of the Bible might bear a different interpretation. Whatever construction might have been put on the texts of the Mosaic Law, an examination of New Testament Scripture would have shown that the Saviour of mankind did not destroy the victims of demoniacal possession, but, on the contrary, expelled the demons, and bestowed peace and comfort on those whom they had afflicted. So likewise dealt the Apostles with those who practised sorcery and enchantment.

* Exodus xxii. 18.

The cruel butcheries perpetrated under the accusation of witchcraft form one of the most revolting chapters in modern history. The duty of immolating those charged with the supposed crime was undertaken by Catholics and Protestants with equal zeal. Bulls against witchcraft were issued by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1484, Julius II. in 1504, and Adrian VI. in 1523. Provincial councils asserted the existence of sorcery, and anathematised those who resorted to it. Learned churchmen composed works, maintaining that death was the proper punishment of witchcraft, and those laymen who, in their writings, held similar opinions, dedicated them to the ecclesiastical dignitaries.

The Reformers increased rather than abated the rigour formerly exercised by the Church for the suppression of witchcraft. Luther would have no compassion on those who practised the arts of sorcery. "I would," he said, "burn them all." An outburst of persecution against witches and wizards attended the Reformation in England. Lord Bacon, who fearlessly assailed the philosophy of the schools, remained a firm believer in witchcraft. The pious Sir Matthew Hale pronounced sentence of death against persons accused of sorcery. In charging a jury in 1664, he said, he "did not in the least doubt there are witches, first, because the Scriptures affirmed it, and, secondly, because the wisdom of all nations, particularly of our own, provided laws against witchcraft, which implied their belief of such a crime."

The first public statute in Scotland against witchcraft was passed in June, 1563, by the ninth Parliament of Queen Mary. In this Act it is ordained, "that na maner of person nor persons of quhat-sum-ever estaite, degree, or condition they be of, take upon hand in onie times

hereafter, to use onie maner of witchcraft, sorcerie, or necromancie, under the paine of death, alsweil to be execute against the user, abuser, as the seiker of the response or consultation." On his assuming the government, James VI. indicated his concern for religion by instituting special commissions for the trial and condemnation of witches. On one occasion he prosecuted the members of an assize for permitting a witch, arraigned before them, to escape. He sought to instruct his subjects in the nature of the crime, by publishing his "Dialogue of Daemonologie,"* a work which he regarded as the most valuable of all his publications. On his ascending the English throne, he caused an Act to be passed by the English Parliament, appointing death as the punishment of sorcery.

The Scottish Reformers were indefatigable in seeking the extirpation of witchcraft. Knox denounced from the pulpit persons accused of the offence, and gave personal attendance at witch-burnings. Presbyteries and Kirk-sessions procured commissions from the Privy Council, for the trial of those charged with the crime. Ministers exhorted their parishioners to lodge information against the suspected, and procured materials from the church funds, wherewith to burn the condemned. Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, who died in 1692, has, in his work on Criminal Law, described witchcraft as the greatest of crimes. He adds that "the lawyers of Scotland cannot doubt there are witches, since the law ordains them to be punished."

Witches were believed to have sold themselves, soul

* "Daemonologie in form of a Dialogve, written by the High and Mightie Prince, James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith."

and body, to the Devil. They consented, under a diabolic covenant, to become his servants for ever. In presence of the great enemy, and kneeling before him, with one hand on their heads and the other under their feet, they were supposed to have dedicated all between to the Destroyer. No witch was supposed to be capable of reformation. Self-dedicated to Satan, she was his slave here and hereafter. No Romish priest ever ventured to shrive a witch ; with one who used incantations, no reformed pastor durst attempt to pray. Catholic priests and Protestant clergymen stood on the same platform as respected the punishment of sorcery. Rich and poor united against the votaries of enchantment, as against a common enemy. The supposed witch was persecuted without pity, condemned without mercy, tortured without compunction, and burned amidst shouts of execration.

On receiving her vow of perpetual fealty, the Devil handed the witch a piece of money, and put his mark upon her. The precise nature of this mark was a subject of discussion among those who prosecuted demonological inquiries. Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, has described the mark as a discoloured spot, caused by a nip or pinch, and resembling a farmer's buist, or mark on his flock of sheep. Mr. John Bell, minister of Gladsmuir, writing in 1705, remarks :—

“The witches' mark is sometimes like a blew spot, or a little tet, or red spots like flea-biting ; sometimes also the flesh is sunk in and hollow, and this is put in secret places, as among the hair of the head or eyebrows, within the lips, under the armpits, &c.” In his “Secret Commonwealth,” Mr. John Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, describes the mark “as a small mole, horny and brown-

coloured, through which mark when a large brass pin was thrust till it was bowed (bent), [the witches, both men and women, neither felt a pain nor did it bleed.]

For the discovery of the witch-mark, which was the first process towards conviction, the authorities had recourse to "the pricker," or "witch-finder." Men who prosecuted this vocation were to be found in every district and their occupation, cruel and revolting as it was, did not exclude them from respectable rank, and even civic honours were awarded them. Among the members of this fraternity were John Kincaid and George Cathie, two noted "prickers." The latter resided near Glasgow ; he was considered by the Church courts of the west an expert at his profession, and he continued to retain their confidence, even after he had condemned as witches twelve parishioners of Crawford-Douglas, who were proved on their trial to have been charged by a lunatic.* John Kincaid resided in his villa at Tranent, East Lothian ; his hands were constantly full of work. He was constituted "common pricker" to the Court of Justiciary, and his circuit of employment among ecclesiastical and commission courts extended from the county of Aberdeen to the English border. His fees of service increased as the reputation of his skill made progress. From the Kirk-session of Stow, Mid-Lothian, he received six pounds Scots for "the brodding of Margaret Denham in 1649 ;" but the Town Council of Forfar paid him much more liberally for similar services in 1661, besides voting him a burgess ticket! So proficient was Kincaid in his nefarious art, that he never failed to discover the Devil's mark ; hence all he pricked were sure to perish at the stake. He ventured at length to prosecute his

* See *postea*.

vocation on his own account, by seizing those he personally suspected, and subjecting them to his tortures ; but this display of zeal was checked, the Justiciary Court subjecting him to imprisonment. After experiencing nine weeks' detention in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, he was liberated by the Privy Council, under the promise that he would prick no more without judicial warrant.

In discharging his revolting office, Kincaid proceeded after the most barbarous fashion. Having stripped his victims, and bound them with cords, he thrust his needles everywhere into their bodies. Screams, entreaties, protestations of innocence he heard unmoved. When his victim fell into a swoon, he relented only till sensation was reproduced on the application of restoratives. When, exhausted by an agony too great for utterance, his victim remained silent, Kincaid proclaimed that he had found the *mark!* Every witch-pricker exercised his craft with similar brutality. One of the brotherhood, who was hanged, declared on the gibbet that he had illegally caused the death of one hundred and twenty females, whom he had been appointed to test for witchcraft.

The *swimming test* was somewhat less common. There were witch-pools in different localities. Into these suspected persons were thrown, having previously been wrapped up in a sheet, with the thumbs and great toes fastened together. If the body floated, the water used in baptism was held to reject the accused, who was consequently declared to be guilty. Those who sank were pronounced innocent, but were allowed to perish in the water. A portion of the bay at St. Andrews still bears the name of the *Witch Pool*.

There is also a spot bearing this designation at Kirriemuir, in the county of Forfar.

When the witch-pricker reported that he had detected the Devil's mark in the body of the accused, it was held essential that the victim should be watched. For this proceeding the ostensible reason was that further converse with Satan might be averted; but a stronger motive was to induce confession, since the entire prevention of sleep induced a delirium, of which the incoherent utterances were accepted as an acknowledgment of guilt.

The watchers of persons committed to trial on the charge of witchcraft earned the recompense of cruelty by undertaking to keep the accused constantly awake. They conducted their vigils for twelve, and even twenty-four hours at a time, and inattention to duty was regarded as a highly punishable offence. The following decree on the subject of a witch-vigil was issued by the Kirk-session of Dunfermline :—

“ March 16th, 1643. The Sessioun ordainis the watchers to begin at sex houris at evin and to byd and to continue all that ny^t and the day following till 6 at evin againe, qlk is the space of 24 houris. And whosoever failles herein for ilk 24 houris the failler shall pey 24s.”

When confession was deemed essential, extraordinary means were resorted to. The victim was fastened to the wall of her dungeon by iron hoops, which passed round her person and enclosed her limbs. About thirty stone weight of hoops and chains would be heaped upon the limbs of an old woman already enfeebled by the needles of the witch-pricker. Several instruments of torture were applied in succession, until

"a confession" was elicited. A party of magistrates or ministers entered the cell after the application of each new torture, in order duly to record the depositions of the distracted sufferer.

The principal instruments of torture were the following :—The *pilniewinks* resembled the thumb-screw, used by the Privy Council in State trials. The fingers of each hand were thrust together by means of an iron screw, till the blood was forced from the finger-points. The *turcas* (torquois) were a species of pincers for wrenching off the finger-nails. Needles were thereafter thrust into the lacerated wounds. The *caspieclaws* were used in crushing and bruising the feet and toes. There was a timber frame for bruising the legs from the foot to the knee-joint. When the limbs of the victim were secured in it by powerful screws, the operator struck the frame with a heavy hammer, so as to bruise both flesh and bones. This frightful appliance was known as *the boot*. In certain districts the fingers of suspected sorcerers were made fast in the holes of harrows, wedges being driven in so as to lacerate the flesh and break the joints. The fire-tongs were applied as an instrument of torture. The points, having been made hot, were extended between the shoulders, and applied to each arm till the flesh was burned to the bones. When confession did not follow, the tongs, heated a second time, were made to grasp the body under the arm-pits. The witch-bridle was the last instrument of torture ; its application was reserved till all other modes of inflicting pain had been exhausted. The *bridle* was made to enclose the victim's head ; a bit was thrust into the mouth with four iron points, or prongs, two being directed to the tongue and palate,

and two pointing outwards, and made to pierce each cheek. The bridle was secured by a padlock to the back of the neck, and by a ring and staple was attached to the wall. In localities where a witch bridle was not kept, the heads of persons charged with witchcraft were wrenched with ropes and cords, while needles were thrust into the tongue and palate..

When the instruments of torture applied to the person of the accused failed to elicit a confession of guilt, other atrocities were resorted to. Their parents and children were brought into their cells, and subjected to torture in their presence. Many accused persons died from the effects of their tortures. Their bodies were dragged by horses from their cells to the place of execution, and there burnt. The Kirk-session of Dunfermline ordered the remains of those who "died miserablie in ward" to be "taken to the witch-knowe, and castin into ane hole, without ane kist and yerdit."

The mode of executing witches was alike cruel and revolting. The victims were led to the stake amidst the hootings of an ignorant and exasperated rabble. The clergy, who were present, spoke no words of consolation to those who were about to die ; they were content to witness the burning pile at which they believed the Devil received into his eternal prison those who had sold themselves to his service. The executioner was rough in his handling of those who, as he was assured by his spiritual teachers, were destined to the pit. The cries and ejaculations of the victims were drowned amidst the execrations of the bystanders. Raised aloft over a heap of wood and coals, the victims were bound with ropes to stakes, and then surrounded with faggots. The contents of one or more tar barrels were strewn

upon the holocaust. The executioner now tightened ropes about the victims' necks ; he applied fire, and in an hour there was only a heap of ashes.

In most parishes the resident landowners, and in burghs the town councils, co-operated with Kirk-sessions in defraying the costs of witch-burnings. The Kirk-session of Kirkcaldy, about 1650, paid the third part of £50 Scots, as the expense incurred in burning two witches. The sum of £4 10s. 8d. was expended in coals, and the executioner received the fee of £8 14s. The following record of the expenses of the burning of two witches is contained in the treasurer's book of the town of Dumfries :—

" 27th May, 1657.—For 38 loads of peitts to burn the two women, £3 12s. [Scots]. Mair, given to William Edgar for ane tar barrell, 12s. ; for ane herring barrell, 14s. Given to John Shotrick, for carrying the twa barrells to the pledge [house], 6s. Mair, given to the four officers that day that the witches was brunt, at the provost and bayillis command, 24s. Given to Thomas Anderson, for the two stoupes and two steaves, 30s."

At Aberdeen, witch-burning was, during the seventeenth century, lamentably common. According to the records of the Dean of Guild Court, great expense was incurred for "loads of peattis, tar-barrelis," and other combustibles.

Witches were accused of a great variety of offences. They stopped mills. In the form of boulders, they interrupted the progress of the plough-share. They raised storms, and upset fishing-boats. They entered their neighbour's houses by the key-holes, and concealed or destroyed their goods. They rode through the air

on broomsticks, shod with dead men's bones. They transported the unwary to desert places, or soused them in rivers. They stole children from their graves, and extracted from their bodies an ointment for the practice of enchantment. They promoted the sweating-sickness. Constructing by Satanic arts a waxen image representing their victim, they exposed it to a slow fire, and thrust pins into it. By such means their victim was supposed to become attenuated, and at length to perish from exhaustion. They cast *glamour*, or an evil eye, on the inferior animals, depriving them of strength or life. When a dog or cat became emaciated, or refused to eat, the creature was supposed to suffer from the influence of witchcraft. Cattle which did not prosper on their pastures, and milch cows which did not yield an abundance of milk, were supposed to be under the power of sorcery.

Through the influence of enchantment the witch was supposed to present to the eye that which was unreal, and to change surrounding objects into aspects which they never wore. The aged or experienced witch—

“had much of glamour might ;
Could make a lady seem a knight ;
The cobwebs on a dungeon wall,
Seem tapestry in lordly hall ;
A nutshell seem a gilded barge ;
A shieling seem a palace large ;
And youth seem age, and age seem youth ;
All was delusion, nought was truth.”

To those who acknowledged their arts, and styled them “good neighbours,” the weird sisterhood were believed to perform offices of kindness. They cured diseases by incantation. The following charm was of supposed efficacy in cases of fever :—

"I forbid the quaking fevers, the sea fevers, the land fevers,
And all the fevers that ever God ordeinis,
Out of the head, out of the heart, out of the back,
Out of the sides, out of the knees, out of the thies,
Frae the points of the fingers to the nebs of the taes,
Out sall the fevers go, some to the hill, some to the hope,
Some to the stone, some to the stock.
In St. Peter's name, St. Paul's name, and all the saints of heaven,
In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghaist."

Witches were supposed to hold orgies with the Devil each Saturday, which was styled the witches' Sabbath. The places of rendezvous were dismal solitudes, or the ruins of ancient churches. To these "coven," or gatherings, the foul sisterhood were borne through the air on broomsticks. Each weird sister could mount into the atmosphere when she had anointed herself with the ointment of enchantment. Satan waited the arrival of the weird sisters ; or if he was absent when they met, he could be invoked by beating the ground with "ane fir stick," and calling out, "Rise up, foul thief!" He assumed a variety of forms, both pleasing and terrible. To some he seemed as "a pretty boy, clothed in green;" others saw him as "a tall man, draped in white"; others beheld him as "a meikle black, rough man, mounted on ane black horse." When he appeared in human shape, he wore boots, which were split open at the toes to accommodate his hoofs ! But he frequently appeared in the likeness of the inferior animals ; he preferred the forms of the dog, the goat, and the raven. As a brute he was always black. He commenced the weekly orgies by preaching "ane mock sermone." His pulpit was surrounded with *black* candles, and he wore "ane black gown." His discourse was replete with encouragements to evil and injunctions to devilry. As every witch had

renounced her baptism, Satan rebaptized them "with ane waff of his hand, like a dewing." The devil-baptized did homage by kissing the grim countenance of her adopted lord.

A court was held : Satan exchanged the pulpit for the judgment-seat. Every witch was questioned as to her acts of service. The indolent were scourged with their own broomsticks. The industrious were rewarded with money, or with portions of dead men's bones, ready for the purposes of enchantment. A concert and dance followed. The Devil led the music ; he played on the cittern or bagpipe. The witches danced, screeching Satanic praises. In his description of the witches' gathering at Alloway Kirk, the poet Burns has portrayed this portion of the Satanic ceremonial :—

" Glimmering through the groaning trees,
Kirk Alloway seemed in a breeze,
Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing,
And loud resounded mirth and dancing.

* * * *

And wow ! Tam saw an unco' sight !
Warlocks and witches in a dance ;
Nae cotillon brent new frae France,
But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, and reels,
Put life and mettle in their heels.
A winnock-bunker in the east,
There sat awld Nick in shape o' beast.
A towzie tyke, black, grim, and large,
To gie them music was his charge.
He screwed the pipees, and gart them skirl,
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl ;
Coffins stood round like open presses,
That shawed the dead in their last dresses,
And by some devilish cantrip slight,
Each in its cauld hand held a light,

By which heroic Tam was able
 To note upon the holy table,
 A murderer's banes in gibbet airns ;
 Twa span-lang, wee, unchristened bairns ;
 A thief, new-cutted frae a rape,
 Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape ;
 Five tomahawks in bluid red-rusted ;
 Five scimitars wi' murder crusted ;
 A garter which a babe had strangled ;
 A knife a father's throat had mangled,
 Whom his ain son o' life bereft,
 The grey hair yet stack to the heft ;
 Wi' mair o' horrible an' awfu',
 Which even to name wad be unlawfu'."

The reception by the sisterhood, from their Satanic master, of the powder of incantation, prepared from mouldering corpses, concluded the weekly orgies. When all was over, each witch mounted her broomstick, and returned to her place, to obey the Devil and curse mankind.

Annual gatherings were held at Candlemas, Beltein, and Hallow-eve. On these occasions the witches of all countries were supposed to assemble. When Scottish witches were summoned to meet the Norwegian sisterhood, they crossed the sea in barges of egg-shells. Aerial journeys were performed on goblin horses, reined by enchanted bridles. A witch in Nithsdale possessed a bridle, which enabled her to transform her man-servant into a goblin horse. When she purposed to attend a witch assembly, she shook the bridle over the unsuspecting peasant, who instantly received her on his back, and darted, with the speed of lightning, over woods and wilds.

The witches of Galloway and Nithsdale held conference

on Locharbridge-hill. Their gathering song proceeded thus :—*

“ When the grey howlet has three times hooed ;
When the grimy cat has three times mewed ;
When the tod has yowled three times in the wud,
At the red moon cowering ahin’ the clud ;
When the stars hae cruppen deep i’ the drift,
Lest cantrips had pyked them out o’ the lift ;
Up horses a’, but mair adowe !
Ryde, ryde for Lochar-brigg-knowe ! ” .

The legend of Macbeth and the weird sisters forms one of the earliest allusions to the practice of soothsaying in Scotland. According to Hollinshed, Macbeth and Banquo were journeying towards Forres, when, in a solitary muir, three women accosted them. The foremost exclaimed, ‘All hail, Macbeth, Thane of Glammis ;’ ‘Macbeth, Thane of Cawdor,’ shouted the second ; ‘Macbeth, King of Scotland,’ cried the third. ‘And is there no weird for me,’ inquired Banquo. ‘For you,’ exclaimed the wise women, ‘are reserved higher honours ; Macbeth shall die unhappily, without a successor in his house, but Banquo’s descendants shall govern Scotland by a perpetual descent.’ ”

A woman, who pretended to the art of divination, predicted the future of King Robert the Bruce. Michael Scott, a Scottish philosopher of the thirteenth century, was of repute as a magician and soothsayer. Members of certain noble families were styled warlocks and witches, in compliment to their learning and sagacity. Shrewd persons among the peasantry made their living by soothsaying. At length the Church became alarmed at the prevalence of a pretension to supernatural powers. In 1479, according to Buchanan,

* See Crome's “Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song.”

twelve women were burned, on the charge of having conspired with the Earl of Mar to destroy James III. by incantation*. That unfortunate monarch was himself addicted to the magical arts. Lady Glammis, unrighteously condemned and inhumanly executed, during the reign of James V., has been popularly regarded as one who practised sorcery. This is an error ; she was not accused of any magical art.

Though the Romish Church had denounced sorcery as worthy of death, we have failed to discover any systematic course of persecution enacted against witchcraft prior to the Reformation. Subsequent to this event, the civil authorities of the kingdom seem to have concluded that witchcraft was not felony, for, at an assize held at Edinburgh, on the 26th June, 1563, Agnes Mullikin, alias Betty Boswell, from Dunfermline, was, on being convicted as a witch, sentenced only to exile. Before the close of the same month, a new enactment relating to sorcery was ratified by the Estates. The legislature now provided, at the instance of the reformed clergy, that persons convicted of witchcraft should be punished with death. The clergy were moved by considerations relating to themselves personally, for the adherents of Romanism had charged them with propagating their doctrines by sorcery, and through the agency of the Devil. John Knox, the Catholics averred, held converse with "the foul fiend," in the Cathedral churchyard at St. Andrews. Gideon Penman, minister at Crichton, they styled the Devil's chaplain or clerical assistant at the witches' orgies; Edward Thomson, minister at Anstruther, was denounced as a

* Records of High Court of Justiciary. Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," Vol. i., p. 432.

wizard. In order to eradicate the calumnies which might prejudice the unlettered against the Protestant faith, the Presbyterian clergy resolved to evince their determined hostility to sorcery. By burning witches they resolved to prove that their enemies accused them falsely, in associating their doctrines and practices with the unhallowed arts.

Knox led the crusade against witchcraft. He denounced witches in his public discourses. Some of the clergy became witch-prickers. They brought suspected persons before their Kirk-sessions, reported cases to the Privy Council, negotiated the trial of the accused, and provided coal and faggots for burning them.

For many years subsequent to the Reformation, the High Court of Justiciary was chiefly occupied in making trial of persons arraigned for sorcery. To Mr. Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials" we are indebted for many of the following details :—

On the 8th November, 1576, Elizabeth Dunlop, wife of a labourer, in the barony of Dalry, Ayrshire, was arraigned before the High Court, on a charge of witchcraft. She had no personal intercourse with the Evil One, but had received her skill through "ane Thom Reid, quha deid at Pinkie."* Thom had, she acknowledged, instructed her in the preparation of medicines for the cure of different complaints, and had enabled her to discover stolen goods and those who had plundered them. He had informed her that some sick persons would recover. He had introduced her to "aught women and four men," who invited her to accompany them to Fairyland, and "had promeist hir bayth geir, horsis, and ky, and vthir graith, gif scho

* The battle of Pinkie was fought on the 10th September, 1547.

wald denyne her Christindome and the faith scho tuke at the fuit-stane." Elizabeth refused the offer of the fairies, and said she would "sooner be revin at horistaillis" than renounce her baptism. She admitted her attachment to "the auld ffayth." She was "fylit," that is, found guilty, condemned, and "brynt." The case of Alisoun Peirsoun was actively promoted by the Presbyterian clergy. The accused had, for sixteen years, practised the art of healing at Boarhills, near St. Andrews; and latterly she had extended her practice to that archiepiscopal city. Archbishop Adamson had consulted her and followed her prescriptions. She did not use charms or incantations, but "herbis" and "sawis" and a simple regimen. Her knowledge of medicine she had obtained from William Sympsonne, a relative, son of the King's smith at Stirling, and physician in Edinburgh. But Alisoun, probably with a view to surprise the court, or deter the severity of her persecutors, owned that she "had many gude friendis" at the fairy court. It was enough. She was tried at Edinburgh on the 28th May, 1588, and the words "convicta et combusta," inscribed on the margin of the Justiciary record, sufficiently indicate her fate. Some months before her trial, the Presbytery of St. Andrews had resolved to deprive her patron, Archbishop Adamson, of his ministerial office, and about the period when his humble protégé was condemned to the stake, the General Assembly pronounced upon himself the sentence of excommunication.

In July, 1590, the High Court of Justiciary was occupied with the case of Katherine Ross, Lady Foulis, who was charged with preparing poison and using sorcery for the destruction of her step-son and her

brother's wife. Lady Foulis was acquitted by a friendly jury, but of her guilt, in the attempt to administer poison to her relatives, there seems no reasonable doubt. She seems likewise to have caused figures of her intended victims to be prepared both in clay and butter, in the belief that, by pelting these with "elf arrow heides," she could encompass the death of the living originals.

Janet Grant and Janet Clark were, on the 17th August, 1590, condemned by the High Court to "be wirreit at staiks, and their bodies to be burnt in assis," for the "distructioun of saxteeene heid of nolt," "the rasing of the Deuill," and the "slauchter of Johnne Pautounis wyffe be witchcraft." The evidence on which the jury convicted them has not been preserved. On the day following, the court considered the case of Bessie Roy. Her indictment proceeded :—

"Thou are indytit and esteemit for ane notoriouse and commowne wiche in the cuntrie, and can do all thingis, has done all mischiefis that deuilrie or wichcraft can devyse, in abstracting of menis lyffis, wemennes milk, bestis milk, and bewitching of bestis als weill as menne." Bessie was particularly charged with having practised an act of sorcery "tuel yeiris syne or thairby." She "maid ane compas in the eird, and ane hoill in the middis thairof"; from this hole she drew forth by her "conjurationnes" three worms, and on seeing the reptiles, predicted "that the guidman (her master) sould leve," that a child with which her mistress was pregnant "sould leve," and that "the guidwife sould dee quhilk com to pas." The jury were not satisfied of Bessie's guilt, and assoilzied her.

Future acquittals were rare. Juries that permitted witches to escape were subjected to criminal proceedings

on the charge of “wilful error,” and were liable to be deprived both of their substance and personal liberty. At the trial of twelve jurors for acquitting an alleged witch, in June, 1591, James VI. took his place on the bench. On humbling themselves before him, and acknowledging “ignorant error,” the monarch was pleased to remit their offence and grant a free pardon. The cause why James was so resolutely bent on the suppression of sorcery has been traced to an event which forms an interesting chapter in the history of his reign. During his absence in Denmark, when celebrating his nuptials with his future queen, he entrusted the management of public affairs to Francis, Earl of Bothwell. This nobleman was subsequently accused of compassing the overthrow of the royal authority, and of seeking, by the arts of witchcraft, to raise a tempest to destroy the squadron which bore James and his queen to the Scottish shores. The strange history is subjoined.

David Seaton, “deputie bailiffe”* of Tranent, had a servant girl named “Geillis Duncane,” who of a sudden began to absent herself during night, and to lay claim to the gift of healing. Seaton suspected she did not perform her cures “by naturall and lawfull waies,” and as she would not reveal her method, he proceeded to effect confession by torture. He tormented her with the “pillniewinkes,” also by “binding or wrenching her head with a roape.” As she still refused to divulge her secret, her person was examined, when the Devil’s mark was found “in the fore part of her throate.” Geillis was now brought to make an ample confession. She acknowledged a compact with the Devil, and accused

* From “Newes from Scotland,” a rare black letter tract, printed at the period.

several persons of both sexes as sharers of her guilt. Of the men accused by her the most conspicuous was Dr. John Cunningham, schoolmaster of Prestonpans. Among the females were Mrs. Barbara Napier, wife of Archibald Douglas, brother to the laird of Carschoggill, and Mrs. Euphan McCalzane, daughter and heiress of the late Lord Cliftonhall, a senator of the College of Justice, and wife of Patrick Moscrop, advocate. But the most expert and culpable of the entire group was, according to the girl's confession, one Agnes Simpson, midwife at Keith, near Haddington,—a woman who had hitherto been respected for her honesty and intelligence. The whole of the accused were immediately seized and imprisoned at Edinburgh.

James had now returned from the Continent, and being informed that Geillis Duncane had spoken of a conspiracy against his life by means of satanic arts, and being, as he asserted, well skilled in demonology, he resolved personally to examine the accused. Agnes Simpson, being the oldest of the prisoners, was brought before him at Holyrood. She protested her innocence, and maintained that she had nothing to divulge concerning arts which she had not practised, and of which she was ignorant. The king commanded that she should be examined for the Devil's mark, and that her head "be thrawn with a rope, according to the custom of the countrie." The executioner performed his work, and, after enduring excruciating agony, the prisoner expressed her willingness to make a confession. Again she was conducted into the royal presence. She declared that she belonged to a company of two hundred witches who sailed in sieves and riddles along the coast to meet the Devil in the kirk of North Berwick. The Devil had en-

trusted her with the task of accomplishing the king's death. "She took a blacke toade and did hang the same up by the heeles three daies, and collected and gathered the venom as it dropped and fell from it in ane oyster shell, and kept the same venom close covuered untill she should obtaine anie parte or peece of foule linnen cloth that had appertained to the Kinges Majestie, as shirt, handkercher, napkin or any other thing, which she practised to obtaine by meanes of ane John Kees, an attendant in his Majestie's chamber." When the King was in Denmark "she tooke a cat and chris-tened it, and afterwards bounde to each part of that cat the cheefest part of a dead man, and several jointis of his bodie." The creature, thus accoutred, was conveyed "into the middst of the sea" by the entire company of witches. The event was followed by the wreck of a vessel, crossing between Burntisland and Leith, which contained "sundrie jewelles and rich giftes," intended for the Queen, on Her Majesty's arrival. James, who had not heard of the disaster, began to suspect the confessor, and accused her of telling lies. "Lies!" said Mrs. Simpson, "did not your Majesty's ship experience the contrary wind more than the other vessels of the fleet?" The King admitted that she was right. "That was the cat," said Mrs. Simpson. Agnes now took hold of the monarch by the sleeve and led him aside; he reported that she had told him "the verie wordis" that passed between him and the Queen the first evening of their marriage.

James frequently sent for Mrs. Simpson and the girl, Geillis Duncane. The latter entertained him by performing the dances which she alleged took place in North Berwick church, at the weekly witch gatherings.

She also sang, greatly to his delight, such snatches of song as the following, which always accompanied the witch-dance :—

“Commer gae ye before, commer gae ye,
Gif ye will not gae before, commer let me.”

Mrs. Simpson persuaded herself that, by practising on the royal credulity, she would save her life. The king's faith, she said, had enabled him to triumph over Satan's arts. She assured his Majesty that the Devil had informed her that he had no enemy in the world so powerful as King James. She related to the weak Prince the charms which she used in healing, and was particular in showing that her cures were effected in God's name, not in that of the Devil. She used charms like these :—

“All kindis of illis that ewir may, in Crystes name I coniure ye ;
I coniure ye, baith mair and les, with all the vertewis of the mass,
And rycht sa, be the naillis sa that naillit Jesus, and na ma,
And rycht sa, be the samin blude that reikit oure the ruithful revid,
Fvrth of the flesch and of the bane, and in the eird and in the stane,
I coniure ye in Godis name.”

In serious ailments Mrs. Simpson said that she repeated, as a charm, the following monkish version of the Apostles' Creed :—

“I trow in Almychtie God that wrocht
Baith heavin and erth, and all of nocht,
In to his deare Sone, Chryste Jesu,
In that anaplie * Lord. I trow
Was gottin of the Haly Gaist,
Borne of the Virgin Marie,
Steppit to heavin that all weill thane,
And sittis att his Fader's rycht han’.

* One-fold, sinless.

He baid ws cum and thair to deine,
 Bayth quick and dead as his thocht convene.
 I trow als in the Haly Gaist. In Haly Kirk
 my trust is maist,
 That halyschip quhair hallowaris winnes
 To ask forgeveness of my sinnes,
 And syne to ryis in flesh and bane,
 The lyffe that newir mair hes gane.
 Thow sayis, Lord, lovit mocht ye be,
 That form'd and maid mankynd of me ;
 Thow coft me on the haly croce,
 And lent me body, saull, and voce,
 And ordanit me to heavinnis bliss,
 Quhairfor I thank ye Lord for this ;
 And all your hallowaris lovit be
 To pray to theme to pray to me,
 And keep me fra the felon fae,
 And fra the syn the saull wuld slay.
 Thow, Lord, for thy lyten passiou in
 To keep me frome syn and warldlie schame
 And endles damnation.
 Grant me the joy newir wilbe gane,
 Sweet Jesus Cristus. Amen."

Witches were believed not to pray, but Mrs. Simpson declared that she prayed on every fitting opportunity. The statement did not avail her. When weary of her revelations, the King committed her for trial, and the Justiciary Court and its jury satisfied the monarch by her conviction. She was sentenced "to be tane to the Castell of Edinburgh, and there bund to ane staik and wirreit, quhill she be deid ; and thereafter hir body to be br'nt in asis."

Dr. John Cunningham, another of the accused, was a man of reputed scholarship ; he seems, in addition to his scholastic duties, to have practised medicine. As he asserted his innocence of sorcery, he was subjected to

torture. His finger nails were torn off, and needles thrust into the wounds. His fingers were shattered in the pilniewinkes, and his limbs crushed in the boot. Pins were forced into his tongue, cheeks, and palate, and his head was wrenched with cords. He yielded at length, to avoid further torture. He related the usual story about the weekly orgies, and admitted all that was desired, concerning the raising of a tempest to destroy the royal squadron in the passage from Denmark. The King and the Privy Council rejoiced that so obstinate a warlock had at length succumbed, and hastened an assize. Cunningham now regretted that, to avoid tortures, he had uttered fiction, and utterly denied the truth of all that he had spoken. The boot was again applied to his limbs, which were crushed till "the bluid and marrow spouted forth." But Cunningham would "confess" to no more. "He was put into a cart, and being first strangled, he was immediately put into a great fire, being readie provided for that purpose, and there burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh."

The jury acquitted Mrs. Barbara Napier, who were, on this account, subjected to trial for "wilful errorur." Mrs. M'Calzane, of Cliftonhall, another of those whom Geillis Duncane had accused, was found guilty of attempting to destroy many persons by incantation, including the King and her husband. She was likewise convicted for raising the tempest which disturbed the King's ship, and of having, for diabolical ends, prepared a waxen image of his Majesty. The sentence was the most cruel which the High Court had pronounced. It was adjudged that she should not be "wirreit," or strangled, before combustion, but that she should be burned alive. The horrible sentence was carried out, and the estate of Clif-

tonhall, forfeited to his Majesty's use, was bestowed on Sir James Sandilands, a royal favourite.

Geillis Duncane, who had, in the hope of escaping with her own life, so infamously arraigned others, was condemned and burned. The Earl of Bothwell, whom the King desired, by the testimony of these alleged witches, to convict of high treason, effected his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, and was attainted.

On the 12th of November, 1597, Janet Stewart, in the Canongate, and three other women, were tried by the Justiciary Court for practising the art of healing. They prescribed for every sort of ailment, and their medicines were those which obtained at the period. But they had likewise recourse to charms, such as the washing of the patient's clothing in "south-rynnand water," suspending amulets round the neck, and burning straw at the corners of their patients' beds. The Court pronounced upon them the usual sentence, viz., that they should be "tane to the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, and there wirreit and brint."

James Reid, a farm-servant, was, on the 21st July, 1602, indicted before the High Court for undertaking to cure diseases. The Court found that he had acquired his art from the Devil, "quha gaif him thrie pennies at ane tyme, and a piece creische out of his bag at ane uther tyme." It was added that Satan appeared to him "in the liknes of a man, quhyles in the liknes of a hors." He was sentenced to be "wirreit and brint."

Patrick Lowrie, residing at Halrie, Ayrshire, was, in July, 1605, brought before the Justiciary Court, charged with "bewitching milk ky," "bewitching Bessie Sawers coirnis," and striking a woman blind, and then restoring her to sight. It was further specified that he had had

an interview with the Devil, who appeared in the “liknes of ane woman,” and gave him “ane hair belt, in ane of the endis of the quhilk appeirit the similitude of foure fingeris and ane thombe, nocht far different from the clawis of the Devill.” The Lord Advocate, having warned the jury to beware of “wilful error,” the usual verdict was returned.

In December, 1607, Bartie Paterson, in Newbattle, was, at the instance of the Presbytery of Dalkeith, arraigned before the Lords of Justiciary for healing diseases by charms and incantations. The water of the Dow Loch, Dumfriesshire, was his favourite remedy. Those who used it he taught to say, “I lift this water, in the name of the Father, Sone, and Haly Gaist, to do guid for thair helth for quhom it is liftit.” In curing cattle, he uttered these words :—

“ I charge thee for arrow-schot,
For dor-schot, for windo-schot,
For ey-schot, for tung-schot,
For liver-schot, for lung-schot,
For hert-schot ;
All the maist
In the name of the Father, the Sone,
And Haly Gaist.”

Paterson was condemned.

In August, 1623, Thomas Greave, from Kinross, was indicted for curing by enchantment. Three ministers in the Presbytery of Dunfermline produced “depositions” in support of the indictment. Greave was charged with passing his patients through “an hesp of yairne,” “using enchantit watter,” and making crosses and figures on the under garments of those seeking his help. One of his charms was essentially barbarous. He caused ‘ane

grit ffyre to be put on, and an hoill to be maid in the north syde of the hous, and ane quik hen to be put furth thairat, at thre seuerell tymes, and taen in at the hous-dur widderschynnes." The fowl was next placed "under the seik woman's okster or airme; and thairfra cayried to the ffyre, quhair it was haldon down and brint quick thairin." Greave was sentenced to be "wirreit at ane stake and brunt in asches."

In January, 1630, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, who had abducted Lady Katherine Graham, daughter of the Earl of Montrose, and his wife's sister, was arraigned before the Justiciary Court. The indictment charged him with abducting the lady by means of sorcery. He did not answer to the charge, and was put to the horn. In 1643, Katherine Craigie was burned at Orkney, for using charms in the cure of disease. One of her charms was unique :—"She placed three small stones in water, wherewith she washed the patient. The stones were removed from the water-vessel, and placed on three corners of the patient's house from morning till evening. They were now laid behind the house door during night, and next morning placed in water, with which the patient was anointed. The process was repeated every third day till the patient's recovery."

From 1640 till some years after the Restoration, ecclesiastical zeal for the suppression of witchcraft was at the utmost height. On the 29th July, 1640, the General Assembly ordained "all ministers carefully to take notice of charmers, witches, and all such abusers of the people, and to urge the Acts of Parliament to be execute against them." In July, 1643, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline sentenced Robert Shortus to sit in sackcloth upon the public place of repentance, "for

consulting and seeking charms from his *wyff*." After he had "twa Sundays" endured the sentence, the brethren of the Session recorded in their minutes that "he should have sittin before ye pulpitt, bot he was pittied." At Dunfermline, the expenses of conducting prosecutions against witches, and of "watching them in ward," fell so heavily upon the funds of the corporation, that the magistrates, on the 16th July, 1643, besought the landowners and others in the district to aid in defraying them.*

In the General Register House, Edinburgh, two remarkable documents have been preserved. One is the "deposition" of John Kincaid, the notorious witch-pricker, and the other the "confession of Marie Haliburton." In his "deposition," Kincaid relates that, being at the village of Dirleton, "a husband and wife, whose names were Patrik Watson and Marie Haliburton, waited on him, desiring that they might be respectively examined by him, on account of their having long been suspect to be witches." The simple-minded couple, unconscious of the blood-thirsty nature of the witch-pricker, had hoped to obtain vindication from an evil report. Kincaid made his examination, and reported that in each he had discovered "the Devil's mark." The confession of Marie Haliburton was emitted after her husband's execution. She acknowledges that she had had an illicit amour with the Devil eighteen years before, at which time she had likewise renounced her baptism. Marie Haliburton was referred by the local Presbytery to an assize; she was doubtless burned.

On the 5th February, 1656, John McWilliam Sclater,

* Kirk-session Records of Dunfermline, July, 1643.

“cloak-bearer to the Devil,” was convicted and sentenced to death, by burning. To Sclater, Satan had appeared in the likeness of a Highlandman, with a kilt.

In April, 1659, ten women were tried before a commission at Dumfries, on different charges of witchcraft. Nine were found guilty and condemned. The following sentence was recorded :—

“Drumfreis, the 5th of Apryle, 1659.—The commissioners adjudges Agnes Comenes, Janet McGowane, Jean Tomson, Margt. Clerk, Janet M’Kendrig, Agnes Clerk, Janet Corsane, Helen Moorhead, and Janet Callon, as found guiltie of the severall articles of witchcraft mentioned in the dittayes, to be tane, upon Wednesday come eight days, to the ordinar place of execution for the burghe of Drumfreis, and ther, betuing 2 and 4 hours of the afternoon, to be strangled at staikes till they be dead, and thereafter their bodyes to be burned to ashes, and all ther moveable goods to be escheite. Further, it is ordained that Helen Moorhead’s moveables be intromitted with by the Shereff of Nithsdale, to seize upon and herrie the samin for the King’s use.” The Presbytery of Dumfries met the same day, and passed the following deliverance :—“The Presbytery have appoynted Mr. Hugh Henrison, Mr. Wm. M’Gore, Mr. George Campbell, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Jo. Welsh, Mr. George Johnston, Mr. Wm. Hay, and Mr. Gabriel Semple, to attend the nine witches, and that they tak their own convenient opportunity to confer with them; also, that they be assisting to the brethren of Dumfries and Galloway, the day of execution.”

“For some time after the Restoration,” writes Hugo Arnot, “the records of the Privy Council are in a manner engrossed with commissions to make trial of

witches." * Baron Hume † remarks that no fewer than fourteen commissions for the trial of witches were granted in one sederunt, on the 7th of November, 1661. The commissioners possessed authority not only to try and dispose of cases specially submitted to them, but to make trial of all persons accused during their sittings, and to "justify them to the death." ‡

"The confession of Janet Watsone," emitted at her trial before a commission, in June, 1661, is contained a "MS. collection" belonging to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. Janet represents the Devil as having appeared to her in the forms of "ane black doug," "a great bee," and "ane pretty boy in green clothes." When she renounced her baptism, he gave her the name of *Weill Dancing Janet*, and promised her money.

In April and May, 1662, a number of witches were "delated" in Morayshire. Two of them were examined by Johne Innes, *notar publict*, in presence of persons of local standing, who subscribe as witnesses. These depositions bear that they were emitted voluntarily, one having proceeded "without any compulsitoris," the other "without any pressures." Isobel Gowdie's confession is lengthy, and was made at considerable intervals. There is, nevertheless, a wonderful consistency in her story, and it is in most points confirmed by the testimony of her companion, who was examined elsewhere. The "revelations" are more precise than those in connection with any other case.

Isobel first encountered the Devil on the public road.

* "Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland," by Hugo Arnot. Edinburgh, 1783. 4to.

† Hume on Punishment for Crimes, vol. ii., 559.

‡ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii., 597.

At this interview she promised to meet him, “in the night time, in the kirk of Alderne.” When they next met, she consented to renounce her baptism. Having dedicated herself to satanic service, a neighbour witch held her up to the Devil for baptism ; he made an incision in her shoulder, “suked out” some blood, which he spouted into his hand, and then sprinkled on her head, saying, “I baptize thè to myself in my ain name.” At a subsequent meeting he seduced her. The Devil generally appeared as “a very muckle roch man,” but was sometimes like a deer. He was always “cold ;” he wore boots, but his feet were forked and cloven. On meeting him, each curtseyed, and said, “Ye are welcome, owr Lord,” or, “How doe ye, my Lord ?”

The witches were divided into “covens,” or companies of thirteen persons. Each witch had her spiritual attendant. These had all names. One, called “Swine,” was clothed in grass-green, and attended a witch, nicknamed *Pikle neirist the wind*. The spirit “Rorie” was clad in yellow, and attended the witch known as *Throw the corne yaird*. A third spirit, the “Roaring Lion,” was arrayed in sea-green ; he waited upon the witch *Bessie Rule*. “Max’ Hector,” the fourth spirit, attended the witch whose soubriquet was *Ower the dyk with it*. “Robert the Rule” was the fifth spirit ; he was clothed in satin, and commanded the others. The sixth was “Theiff of Hell.” The seventh, “Read Reiver,” was apparelled in black, and waited upon Isobel herself. “Robert the Jackis,” the eighth spirit, was an “aiged, glaiked, gowked spirit ;” he waited on the witch *Able and Stout*. “Laing,” the ninth spirit, attended *Bessie Bauld*. The tenth spirit was “Thomas a’ Fearie.” At these unhallowed entertainments, the

Devil sat at the head of the board. One witch sat "above a' the rest," and waited on him. A wizard "said grace" in the following rhyme:—

"We eat this meat in the Devillis name,
With sorrow and sych and meikle shame ;
We sall destroy hous and hald,
Baith sheip and nowt in the fald ;
Little good sall com to the fore,
Of all the rest of the little store."

When the meal was ended, each of the guests looked "steadfastlie to the Devill, and said, We thank thè, owr Lord, for this."

Those who absented themselves from the weekly orgies, or neglected their diabolic duties, were "beaten." When Satan was angry, he would "girne lyk a doug." "He wold," said Isobel, "be beatting and scurgeing us all up and dounie with cardis (cords), and uther sharp scurges, like naked gwhastis, and we wold be still cryeing, 'Pittie, Pittie ! Mercie, Mercie ! owr Lord.' Bot he wold haw neither pittie nor mercie." When in good humour, the Devil bestowed on his favourites "the brawest lyk money that ewer wes coyned," "but," added the confessor, "within four and twantie houris it wold be horse-muke."

The "covens" were held in muirs and churchyards. They were reached on goblin horses, on which the witches flew up "lyk strawes." To her aerial steed Isobel said, "Horse and hattock in the Devillis name," whereupon her spiritual charger rose into the air, and "fie quhair schoe wold."

She had seen the "Queen of Fearie" among the Downie hills. "She was brawlie clothed in whyt linens,

and in whyt and browne cloathes." The King "was a braw man, weill favoured and broad faced." Isobel found in Fairyland "elf bullis routting and shoutting up and doun," which sorely affrighted her.

Isobel explained how witches assumed the forms of the lower animals. When one of the sisterhood proposed to enter into a hare, she said :—

"I sall gae intill ane haire,
With sorrow and sych and meikle care ;
And I sall gae in the Devillis nam,
Ay quhill I com hom againe."

To obtain restoration to the human form, she said :—

"Haire, haire, God send thee caire ;
I am in an hairis liknes just now ;
Bot I salbe in a womanis liknes ewin now."

When the feline form was selected, the witch spoke as follows :—

"I sall gae intill a catt,
With sorrow and sych and a blak shat ;
And I sall gae in the Devillis nam,
Ay quhill I com hom againe."

The witch became a crow on these words being thrice spoken :—

"I sall gae intill a craw,
With sorrow and sych and a blak throw ;
And I sall gae in the Devillis nam,
Ay quhill I com hom againe."

To raise a tempest, the witch beat on a piece of wet rag with a piece of timber, exclaiming thrice :—

"I knok this ragg wpon this stane,
To raise the win in the Devillis nam ;
It sall not lye vntil I please againe."

To allay the storm, the rag was dried, and these words were thrice repeated :—

“ We lay the wind in the Devillis nam,
It sall not ryse quhill we lyk to raise it againe.”

To prevent fishermen from “ making speed,” the witch said :—

“ The fisheris ar gane to the sea,
And they will bring ham fische to me ;
They will bring thaim hom intill the boat,
Bot they sall gett of thaim bot the smaller sort.”

When casting their enchanted mixtures upon a farmer’s stocking, the sisterhood would say :—

“ We putt this intill this ham
In our Lord the Devillis nam ;
The first handis that handles thè,
Brint and scalded sall they be !
We sall destroy hous and hald,
With the sheip and nouit intill the fald,
And litle sall com to the fore
Of all the rest of the litle-store.”

In shooting elf-arrows at the strayed traveller, the witch said :—

“ I shoot yon man in the Devillis nam ;
He sall nott win heall hame ;
And this sall be also trew,
Thair sall not be ane bitt of him blew.”

Isobel had seen “ the elf-arrowis maid.” “ The Devil,” she said, “ dights them, and the elf-boyes quhytes (blocks) them.” Every witch received a handful for destructive purposes. Isobel enumerated a list of persons whom she and her witch-sisterhood had killed with elf-shot. On this account her conscience was troubled. “ Pictures” were more used than elf-arrows in

causing death. Clay “was made verie small, lyke meall, and sifted with a sieve.” Then it was fashioned into a representation of the person intended for destruction, and “placed near the fire and weel rostin.” This was done daily, till the person whom it represented perished from exhaustion.

Mr. Harrie Forbes, minister at Auldearn, had rendered himself obnoxious to the witches of his neighbourhood. He was visited with sickness, and in order that it might be protracted, an infernal mixture was prepared, over which the sisterhood spoke as follows :—

“ He is lying in his bed ; he is lying sick and sair ;
 Let him lye intill his bed two monthis and thrie dayes mair ;
 Let him lye intill his bed ; let him lye intill it sick and sore ;
 Let him lye intill his bed monthis two and thrie dayes mor ;
 He sall lye intill his bed ; he sall lye in it sick and ~~sore~~ ;
 He sall lye intill his bed two monthis and thrie dayes mor.”

The pain-inflicting mixture of Isobel and her companions consisted of “ane bagg of gallis, flesh and guttis of toadis, pickles of bear, paringis of naillis, the brainis of ane hare, and bittis of cloutis.” Another mixture used by this sisterhood consisted of the body of an unchristened child, “ hatched up with nail-parings, pickles of grain, and kail-blades.”

Isobel and her companions cured the ailments of friendly persons. “Bear-straw,” or sciatica, was healed by these words of charm :—

“ Wee ar heir thrie maidens,
 Charming for the bear-straw,
 Ye man of the middle-earth,
 Blew beaver, land-feaver,
 Maneris of stooris,
 The Lord fleigged the feind
 With his holy candles.

And yeird foot-stane,
There she sittis, and heir she is gane,
Let her neuir com heir again."

Feveres of all sorts were expelled on the utterance of these words :—

" I forbid the quaking feaveris,
The sea feaveris, the land feaveris,
And all the feaveris that euir God ordained,
Out of the heid, out of the heart,
Out of the bak, out of the sydis,
Out of the kneyis, out of the thies ;
Fra the pointis of the fingeris
To the nebis of the taes
Out soll the feaver gae ;
Som to the hill, som to the hap,
Som to the stane, some to the stak,
In Saint Peteris nam, Saint Paullis nam,
And all the saintes of heavin,
In the name of the Father, the Sone, and of the Halie Gaist."

Some of these rhymes were common among pretenders to sorcery in every district of the country. We quote two charms which were used by the witches of Dunfermline :—

" Out throw toothe, and out throw tung,
Out throw liver, and out throw lung,
And out throw halie harn pan ;
The day is Fryday,
I shall fast quhill I may,
To heare the knell
Of Christ his bell.
The Lord God on His chappell stood,
And his twelve Apostles good,
In came Drightine,
Dear Lord Almichtine,
Say man or ladie,
Sweet Saint Marie,
What is yon fire, so light, so bright ?

"So far furth from me,
 It is my ain Sone Jesus.
 He is nail'd to the tre ;
 He is nail'd weill ;
 For he is nail'd throw wynegare,
 Throw tooth and throw tung,
 Throw halie harn pan.*

The notorious Major Weir was executed at the Gallowlee, near Edinburgh, on the 14th April, 1676. Weir was a native of Clydesdale ; he had served in the army, and, about the year 1650, became superintendent of tide-waiters at Leith. He was there noted for his piety and his remarkable gift of prayer. When an old man he confessed himself guilty of incest. His gift of prayer, he said, was communicated by his staff, over which he leant in his devotions. On his own confession he was burned, and his staff was consumed with him. His sister, who was *particeps criminis*, was also burned. The dwelling of Major Weir remained uninhabited.

In the autumn of 1696, the people of the West were disturbed and agitated by the strange reports which reached them from Bargarran, Renfrewshire. Christian Shaw, a child of eleven years, daughter of the proprietor of Bargarran, was suffering from hysteria. In a fit of petulance, she accused Catherine Campbell, the maid who attended her, of drinking and stealing. Catherine resented the imputations, and a quarrel ensued. A few days after, Christian experienced a return of her convulsions. During her paroxysms she pretended to put out of her mouth egg shells, orange peel, hair, feathers, pins, and hot cinders. She professed to talk with in-

* "Kirk-session Records of Dunfermline," 7th May, 1650. The latter rhymes seem to have originally formed a hymn of the Romish Church.

visible beings, and to see and hear persons who were unseen and unheard by those around her. Under a feigned inspiration she offered a commentary on portions of Scripture. She contorted her countenance and writhed herself, under pretended satanic agency. A length she denounced the maid-servant as a witch, accused her of having caused her ailment, and exhorted her to confession and repentance.

There was a prodigious commotion. The brethren of the Presbytery prayed with their congregations on behalf of the family at Bargarran. The neighbouring ministers visited the house, and in turn kept watch within the maiden's chamber. As the manifestations continued, the Presbytery ordered a day of humiliation to be observed throughout the bounds. The different members preached from texts suitable to the solemnity of the occasion. Still the young damsel at Bargarran continued to disgorge egg-shells and orange-peel, hot cinders, and horse hair, to contort her countenance, and talk nonsense upon the open Bible. The sheriff of the county visited her apartment, and took certain "precognitions." The case was reported to the Privy Council, who issued a "commission" of inquiry. This commission included the names of Lord Blantyre, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, and Sir John Shaw, of Greenock. It was constituted on the 19th January, 1697, and its report was ready on the following March. Encouraged by the attention she had excited, Miss Shaw extended the area of her denunciations. Catherine Campbell was not a sufficient sacrifice to her base humours or diseased imagination. She arraigned twenty-three others, of both sexes, one being a boy of her own age. Of course the commission believed all, and so reported to the

Privy Council. The Council re-appointed the commissioners, with the addition of several Edinburgh lawyers. They were authorized to "judge and do justice." They condemned seven persons, five of whom confessed.*

In order further to enlighten their fellow-countrymen respecting the nature of witchcraft, and the necessity of seeking its suppression, the Lords of the Privy Council, in 1685, granted special protection for eleven years to the copyright of a book which set forth the detection and punishment of those charged with satanic arts. This work, which long retained popularity among the peasantry, was "*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*," of which the author was the Rev. George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow.

Subsequent to the Revolution, the Privy Council were more careful in listening to informations respecting alleged acts of sorcery ; fewer commissions were appointed. Even in 1678 Sir John Clark, the learned antiquary, had ventured to decline acting as a commissioner for the trial of a witch, humorously remarking that he did not feel himself " warlock enough " for the duties. But the clergy and the local magistracy still held out. In 1704, Mrs. Beatrice Laing, wife of a clothier at Pittenweem, had offended some of her neighbours, who denounced her as a witch. She was, with two other women, charged with sorcery. One of the women was beaten to death by the rabble. The magistrates and the parish minister of Pittenweem placed Mrs. Laing in "the tolbooth." The local witch-pricker thrust his needles into "her shoulders, back, and thighs ;" her limbs were forced into the boot, or "stocks ;" she was

* See Arnot's "*Criminal Trials*," and "*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*," *passim*.

kept five days and nights without sleep; and thrown into a loathsome cell, she was permitted only a little coarse food to sustain life. Mrs. Laing presented a memorial to the Privy Council, who afforded her protection.*

On the 3rd May, 1709, Elspeth Rule was tried before Lord Anstruther at the Dumfries Circuit, charged with being "habite and repute a witch," and for having used threatening expressions against several persons, who afterwards sustained the loss of cattle, the death of friends, or deprivation of reason. The jury found the indictment proved, and the judge sentenced the prisoner to be burned in the cheek and banished. In the county of Sutherland a fatuous old woman was, in 1722, condemned as a witch by Captain David Ross, the sheriff-substitute. The poor creature when led to the stake was unconscious of the stir made on her account, and warming her wrinkled hands at the fire, kindled to consume her, said she was thankful for so good a blaze. The sheriff was reprimanded for his rashness.

The reign of superstition was slowly approaching its termination. During the year following the execution in Sutherland, the magistrates of Selkirkshire refused to give heed to "a confession" of witchcraft, though attended with circumstances which, in other times, would have led every Scottish judge readily to sustain it. On the 11th November, 1723, the ferry-boat at the Boldside passage of the river Tweed, near Melrose, was freighted with thirty-three persons, and a riding horse. The river was much swollen, and the boat on reaching the opposite shore

* *Edinburgh Magazine*, October, 1817—"The Pittenweem Witches," pp. 199—206.

struck heavily against the bank. Sixteen passengers were thrown into the water and drowned. A woman, who lived in the adjoining hamlet of West-houses, made a public declaration that she was invisibly present in the boat, accompanied by the devil. When the fatal occurrence took place, she and "her lord were sitting on the boat's prow like twa corbies." As her reward for drowning the sixteen persons, "the foul fiend," she said, "had entertained her to a rich haggis in the town steeple of Selkirk."

On the 24th June, 1735, the penal statutes against witchcraft were abolished. From the year 1479, when the first capital sentence against witchcraft was carried out, to the period we have now reached, about 30,000 persons were executed in Great Britain on the charge of sorcery. A fourth of that number perished in Scotland.

The Act of 1735 was most obnoxious to a section of the Scottish clergy, who continued to point to the words of the divine law, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," as binding on all time. In 1743, the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh issued a Pastoral Address, which they enjoined should be read annually to their flocks. In this document the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft was described as "contrary to the express law of God," and as a great national sin.

A belief in witchcraft has lingered in certain districts. Till the close of the last century many farmers in the county of Forfar were content to bestow on the ill-favoured old women of their neighbourhood meal and potatoes to avert "ill weirds." The Ettrick Shepherd, writing in 1813, relates that he was acquainted with two Border farmers, then living, who had seriously

assured him, that "they had wounded several old wives with shot as they were traversing the air in the shapes of moorfowl and partridges."

There lived at Falkirk, Stirlingshire, in 1812, an elderly woman who earned her livelihood by the sale of *Skaith Saw*, a salve or ointment which she pronounced potent against enchantment. In 1814, Bessie Miller, an aged spinster at Stromness, sold favourable winds to seamen for sixpences. About twenty years ago, an old woman in a northern county lost a suit at law which she had long vigorously contested ; she now determined to resist payment of her adversary's costs. Legal proceedings being adopted to enforce payment, her cow was arrested, and exposed for sale. Just as the auctioneer was about to perform his office, the woman knelt down by the side of the cow, and prayed that a curse might fall upon her purchaser. None dared to offer, and the cow remained unsold.

A farmer in one of the Western Isles experienced a fatal murrain among his cattle. He called on a woman in the district who was a reputed witch. Consulting her as to the condition of his bestial, the woman informed him that there was "a *weird* upon them," but she could not remove it without casting it on another herd. The farmer was willing that the murrain should be transferred to his neighbour, with whom he was at variance. A compact was entered upon, and the reputed witch proceeded to collect the horns and hoofs of the cattle which had died of the distemper. These she carried to the ground of her employer's enemy, and there buried them. This occurrence took place only a few years ago.

During a thunderstorm in the spring of 1831, an elderly female who resided at Craigmillar, near Edinburgh, and bore the reputation of being "uncanny," went to a neighbour's house to borrow a piece of coal. Having been refused, she muttered that her neighbour might have cause to regret her unkindness. The saying alarmed the housewife, who reported to her husband what had occurred. Indignant at the menace, he went with a neighbour to the dwelling of the supposed witch, and with a sharp instrument inflicted a wound in her forehead. When called to answer for the assault, he pleaded his belief that "scoring the witch above the breath would destroy her glamour."

In 1845, a girl at Louisburgh, near Wick, was suspected of witchcraft. To cure her, a neighbour placed her in a basket half filled with the shavings of wood, and in this manner suspended her over a fire. The shavings were ignited, but the girl was removed from the flames uninjured. The operator remarked to her friends that the girl was "not half so witch-like since she had been singed."

The correspondent of a newspaper in the north of Scotland, writing in 1867, thus describes an interview with a reputed wizard named Wilcox, to whom he had been despatched by a matron to inquire whether her husband would recover of an illness:—"He took the grey mare, and led me into the house, or hut, and telling one of his sons to give a feed of malt to the mare, he invited me to sit down. There were no chairs in the room, but four bags of malt were ranged round the fire. The old man handed me a large wooden cup, full of whiskey, and as there was no bread

or meal in the house, he put five or six eggs in a pot and boiled them, one or two of which he ate himself, and I finished the rest. After another cup of whiskey, the old man said I must go to bed, and must sleep with him. Indeed, there was only one bed in the house,—a large wooden box, with folding doors on it. I slept pretty soundly until the old man called on me to get up quickly, as the sun was rising. He made me stand inside the door, while he went out with a wooden dish or pail, which he filled with fresh water. The pail was then placed under the lintel, or on the door-step, and I was enjoined to keep quiet. Taking up an old rusty sword, he waved it three times over the water-pail, and at each time repeated—‘In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.’ He now took a half-round piece of crystal or glass, and dropped it in the water, and took what he called the water-kelpie’s bridle, and shook it over the pail, repeating the same words. He then filled a wine-bottle with the water, and gave it to me with instructions to sprinkle the man’s body-clothes with it. A black-haired woman, I was told, had bewitched the man, but he would get better. This did not turn out to be true, for the man died a few days afterwards. I gave Wilcox half a guinea, and five shillings for the bottle of water.”

To counteract the arts of witchcraft, charms were employed. Mr. Thomas Coutts, the London banker, a native of Scotland, entertained an apprehension of sorcery; he caused two horseshoes to be attached to the marble staircase of his residence at Holly Lodge, to avert “skaith.” In the Hebrides, maluko beans, a variety of white nuts, are used as amulets; when the

wearer is menaced with enchantment, they are supposed to turn black. An ear of wheat, carried in the pocket, is a sure spell against witchcraft. When a stream is crossed, the power of sorcery is overcome. A stone from the shore, with one or more natural holes, is deemed potent against "the evil eye." A horseshoe, attached to the stable door, deprived witches of their power to injure the horses. Cattle were safe when boughs of the mountain ash and honeysuckle were brought into the cowhouses. When bits of thread were attached to the horns, necks, and legs of milch cows, the witches had no power against the milk. Cowherds wore sprigs of the mountain ash in their clothes, as a defence against enchantment.

When cattle were affected by the arts of sorcery, a stalk of four-leaved clover, attached to their stalls, was believed to be remedial. If a cow was in a drooping condition, a singular rite was adopted for her recovery :—At Easter, certain drops that lie uppermost on the paschal candle were used in forming a candle of small size. This was lighted, and so held that it might drop upon the horns and between the ears of the ailing animal. The remaining portion of the candle was laid at the threshold of the cowhouse. The enchantress who inflicted disease upon cattle was discovered in the following manner :—An article of wearing apparel, belonging to the owner of the bewitched cow, was thrown across her horns ; the animal, being now let loose, was supposed to proceed in the direction of the witch's dwelling. The enchantress having been discovered, the heart of a calf was placed on a spit before the fire, a pin being stuck in it at every turn till it was completely roasted. This charm subjected the enchantress to a similar opera-

tion in her own person. The roasted heart was ultimately deposited in the cowhouse.

An order of persons derived subsistence by providing the means of counteracting enchantment. The conjuror lingered in many districts of the Highlands. In the beginning of the last century, a physician at Lochawe, finding that the people of his neighbourhood preferred the charms of superstition to the appliances of medicine, undertook to supply amulets as remedies for every ailment. The scheme prospered ; by the sale of sprigs of the mountain ash, the ingenious practitioner realized a fortune.

The lengthened continuance of a belief in witchcraft was not entirely owing to an erroneous interpretation of that passage in the Mosaic law to which reference has been made. It was largely due to so many of those who were accused of sorcery being convicted on their own confessions. Persons did not reflect on the manner in which these confessions were obtained. They did not consider how they were extorted by the infliction of grievous cruelties. Non-confession did not imply a declaration of innocence or exemption from punishment. The testimony of the witch-pricker alone was held sufficient to justify the sentence of death. Those who refused to confess were racked and tormented, and had the prospect of being burned "quick," that is, alive. Those who made "confession" had a respite from physical suffering, and escaped cruelty in death ; they were sentenced to be "wirreit and brint," that is, the executioner was authorized to strangle the prisoner before applying fire to her person. Every "confession" was a repetition of those which had preceded it,—accused persons relating what they had

heard from childhood about meetings with the devil and races on broomsticks. Many of the accused had practised the art of healing, and used just such medicines as did the physician, but accompanied with charms. The evidence which neighbours adduced against accused persons may be traced to that desire for retribution of real or supposed wrongs, which long remained a characteristic of the uneducated portion of the Scottish people.

The motives which led to "confession" were in excess of those conducing to an assertion of innocence. Even if escape from death had been possible under a persistent denial of guilt, all that rendered life a boon was already forfeited and lost. She who was accused of witchcraft was avoided. Like the leper under the Mosaic law, she was regarded as unclean. Neighbours and former associates renounced her,—relatives even refused to extend to her an acknowledgment of kindredship. She was hunted like the beast of prey, denied shelter, and refused food. Wherever she proceeded, an evil reputation attended her. The curses of mankind rested upon her, and to the voice of sympathy she became a perpetual stranger. That these considerations operated in inducing "confessions" is certain. Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, a believer in sorcery, has, in his "Criminal Law" (1678), written as follows:—"A condemned witch told me under secrecy, that she had not confessed because she was guilty, but being a poor creature who wrought for her meat, and being defamed for a witch, she knew she should starve, for no person thereafter would give her meat or lodging, and that all men would beat her, and set dogs at her, and that therefore she desired to be out of the world. Whereupon she wept most bit-

terly, and upon her knees called God to witness what she said." "Another told me," adds the same writer, "that she was afraid the devil would challenge a right to her, after she was said to be his servant, and would haunt her, as the minister said when he was desiring her to confess, and therefore she desired to die."

In 1649, the lady of a landowner in Fifeshire, sister of Sir John Henderson, of Fordel, was thrown into the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, charged with using enchantment. Overpowered by the horror of her situation, she took poison and died. A fine young woman was, on the charge of witchcraft, executed at Paisley in 1697. On being censured by some friends, who were convinced of her innocence, for not being sufficiently active in her defence, she said, "They have taken away my character, and my life is not worth preserving." In his book on witchcraft,* Professor Sinclair, a firm believer in sorcery, relates the following:—A woman in Lauder was accused of a compact with Satan, but long denied her guilt. When her companions in prison were removed, being appointed to execution, and she became the occupant of a solitary cell, she offered to make a revelation of her arts. Having so done, she petitioned that she might be put to death with the others on the day fixed for their execution. Unsatisfied with her guilt, and therefore disregarding her confession, her friends, including her clergyman, entreated her to reconsider her averments, and warned her of the sin of compassing her own death. She persisted, and was condemned. At the stake she spoke these words:—

"Now all you that see me this day know that I am

* "Satan's Invisible World Discovered."

now to die as a witch by my own confession, and I free all men, especially the ministers and magistrates, of the guilt of my blood. I take it wholly upon myself : my blood be upon my own head ; and as I must make answer to the God of heaven presently, I declare I am as free of witchcraft as any child. But being delated by a malicious woman, and put in prison under the name of a witch ; disowned by my husband and friends, and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of prison, or ever coming in credit again, through the temptation of the devil I made up that confession on purpose to destroy my own life, weary of it, and choosing rather to die than live."

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

AT the Reformation, Presbyterian judicatories proceeded to occupy the position of the old Consistory Courts. They took cognizance of offences precisely similar, with the exception of such as "speaking evil of saints," and "the non-payment of offerings," or those which bore direct reference to the Catholic faith. Under the Presbyterian system, the Kirk-session exercised the functions of the Archdeacon's Commissary, and Presbyterian Synods and the General Assembly formed an appellate jurisdiction, similar to that which was exercised by the Archdeacons and Bishops and the Archbishop of St. Andrews. In renouncing the doctrinal errors of the Papacy, the Reformers unhappily did not abjure the intolerant spirit of those whose ecclesiastical system they had overthrown. An enactment was passed under their direction, that all who assisted in celebrating mass should be prosecuted criminally, and that those who were for the third time convicted of saying or hearing mass should be deprived of life. On the 21st May, 1563, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was, along with forty-seven other persons, arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary on the charge of celebrating mass. The Archbishop was sentenced to imprisonment within "the castell of Edinburgh," "thair to remaine during our souerane ladies'

plesour."* Through the intercession of the Queen, he was liberated and restored to his archiepiscopate. He had formerly sentenced to the stake, for alleged heresy, Adam Wallace and Walter Mill ; he now proceeded to endow a heritable executioner,† in the hope that, on a revolution of affairs, he might be enabled to wreak summary vengeance upon his adversaries. But his hopes perished with the defeat of Queen Mary at the battle of Langside. He was then seized, and, at the instance of the Regent Lennox, ignominiously hanged.

For baptizing and marrying "in the fashion of the Papistry," Sir James Arthur,‡ a Romish priest, was tried before the Justiciary Court on the 17th March, 1562 ; he was "fylit," or convicted, but his punishment was left to the discretion of the Regent. John Knox relates that, in April, 1565, Sir John Carvet, a priest, having celebrated mass at Easter, was seized at Edinburgh. He was conducted to the Tolbooth, and being invested in his canonicals, was carried to the market cross, to which he was attached with ropes. He was kept for an

* Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," vol. i., pp. 427—430. Edinburgh, 1833. 4to.

† Archbishop Hamilton possessed the singular distinction of constituting the only hereditary executioner in the kingdom. In 1565, five years after the Reformation, he had the boldness to appoint a family named Wann hereditary *dempsters* in the regality of St. Andrews. To the office so constituted, he granted from the property of his see four acres of land, situated near Gair Bridge, on the river Eden, together with the right of pasturing two horses and four cows on the neighbouring farm of Kincaple.

‡ Before the Reformation monks were entitled "Dene," or Dean, and secular clergy had "Schir," or Sir, prefixed to their names. Those who had attained the academical degree of M.A. were styled "Master." The last designation was afterwards bestowed on the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, whether they had graduated or not.

hour in this position, and boys were encouraged to bespatter him with eggs. Next morning he was subjected to trial, and was sentenced to undergo a repetition of the punishment he had experienced without trial on the preceding day. He was bound to the cross for three or four hours, attended by the hangman, "while the boys were busy with egg-casting."

In October, 1563, Christian Pynkertoun, spouse of James Roger,* and twenty-one others, were arraigned before the Justiciary Court on the charge of joining in the celebration of mass within the chapel of Holyrood. Before the same court, "Alexander Creychtoun, of Newhall," was arraigned, on the 29th December, 1572, "for herring of the sacramentis ministrat in Papisticall maner within his awin place of Newhall." Creychtoun was committed to the Tolbooth, and his friends adopted certain proceedings to prevent the forfeiture of his estate.

In September, 1613, the Justiciary Court banished Robert Philip and James Stewart, priests, for celebrating mass. "John Logane, portioner, at Restalrig," was at the same time, for "the wilfull hearing of ane Mess," subjected to the penalty of "ane thousand poundis."† For maintaining the supremacy of the Pope, John Ogilvie, a Jesuit priest, was, on the 28th February, 1615, tried at Glasgow by a commission of the Privy Council, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged and quartered; the latter part of the sentence was remitted.‡

* Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," *passim*.

† Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," vol. iii., pp. 252—257.

‡ A detailed account of the proceedings attending Ogilvie's trial is contained in Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," vol. iii., pp. 330—352.

William Douglas, eldest son of William, Earl of Angus, and David Graham, of Fintry, were tried before the Justiciary Court on the 19th May, 1591, on the charge that “they had declynit fra the trew and Christiane religiou, refusing to resorte to the preicheing of Godis worde.” They were further charged that “be ressoning or dispersing of buikis or lettres, they had presumit to persuade his maiestieis subiectis to declyne fra the professioun of the trew religiou.” Both the accused persons appeared, and the former bound himself by a cautioner, that within forty days he would leave the kingdom, and not return to it without the king’s licence, “vnder the pane of ten thousand poundis.” The sentence against Graham is not recorded.

In 1612, the Synod of Fife, which comprehended within its jurisdiction the counties of Fife, Perth, and Forfar, ordained the brethren to report the names of “non-communicantis.” Among those “delated,” the more notable were George, first Marquis of Huntly, and Francis, ninth Earl of Errol. The former owned large possessions, was married to the king’s cousin, and was esteemed at court. He had long refused to conform to Presbyterianism, and he was now fortified in his resolution by his wife, whose father, Esmè, Duke of Lennox, had, after much vacillation, at length embraced Episcopacy. The Earl of Errol had remained firm in his attachment to the Romish faith, and on this account had suffered imprisonment and considerable loss of fortune. With respect to these noblemen, the Synod arrived at the following judgment:—

“Sept. 1612. Forasmeikle as all dealing that the Kirk vndertakes against papistrie and the professoures thairof is vneffектual, sa lang as no ordour is takin with

the principallis, viz., the Marqueis of Huntlie and the Earle of Errol, heirfor it is concludit that my Lord Archbishop sall direct ane supplicatioun to his Majestie fra this assemblie with all dew reverins, regraftting the evill that arysis and groweis in the countrey throch the oversyht granted to them, and craving that the Marqueis and his Lady (as thei quho ar gryt perverteris of vtheres) may both be removed from the countrey, and the Earl of Erroll committed to ane more fitt ward than heretofoir."

This deliverance was followed by the sentence of excommunication against both the noblemen, who were subjected to all the inconvenience of ecclesiastical outlawry. In a letter addressed to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated the 24th August, 1616, Sir Thomas Chamberlain thus writes:—"The Duke of Lennox is newly returned out of Scotland, whither he made a posting journey to reconvey the Marquis Huntley, who being (upon what occasion I know not) excommunicated by the Kirk in Scotland, came hither, and (much about the time I wrote to you last), at the consecration of the Bishop of Keith, was absolved at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the presence of five or seven bishops, and many other persons of good account, received the sacrament."* The Earl of Errol withheld the sentence of the Church till 1617, when, on his publicly renouncing Popery, he was absolved.

In 1612, the Synod of Fife were engaged in negotiating with another nobleman for Nonconformity. Andrew, eighth Lord Gray, had professed himself willing to receive instruction in the Protestant doc-

* From the original in the Public Record Office.

trines, but had never found leisure to receive his ecclesiastical teachers. At length the Synod of Fife appointed four of their number “to wait on him at his residence, every Tuesday and Wednesday, for three months *without intermission*,” on the condition that “the said Lord behave himself, induring the space above designed, dewtifullie in frequenting the kirk for heiring of the Word, and keep the tyme assigned to his lordship for conferens. And also that he bind and obleis himself induring the space foirsaid, that he sall nether heir masse, nor sett into his place, priest, jesuit, or excommunicate papist.” Sir Walter Ogilvie, of Findlater, and Sir Alexander Falconer, of Halkerton, presented themselves before the Synod, and became cautioners for his lordship’s obedience. In April, 1613, the Archbishop of St. Andrews reported to the Synod that Lord Gray had submitted himself, and had taken the communion “in the paroche kirk of St. Androis.” The Synod triumphed thus far; but in 1649, thirty-six years after his public acceptance of Protestantism, Lord Gray was discovered to be a rank Papist, and was excommunicated by the Commission of the General Assembly.

The Synod of Fife having adopted various measures to induce George Gordon, of Gicht,* to abjure Popish errors without success, proceeded, in September, 1612, to renew and publish against him sentence of excommunication. “He has heretofair,” proceeds the minute, “giffen manifold declaratiounes of his wilfull and obstinate continowans in papistrie, and tried to illude the kirk;” therefore it was ordained “that the excommunicatioune

* George Gordon, of Gicht, was a progenitor of the celebrated George Gordon, Lord Byron.

be intimate of new in all the kirkes of this Synode, with straitt inhibitioune to any persone to resaitt him, and that evrie Exerceis* sall try such as salbe found to failzie herein, and proceid against thame be the censuris of the kirk."

On the 22nd April, 1647, the Synod of Dumfries ordered intimation to be made from all the pulpits of their bounds, that sentence of excommunication had been passed upon John, Lord Herries, Dame Elizabeth Beaumont, Countess of Nithsdale, Dame Elizabeth Maxwell, Lady Herries, Dame Elizabeth Maxwell, elder, of Kirkconnell, and about thirty other persons.

In 1649, James, second Earl of Abercorn, was, on account of his Popish tendencies, excommunicated by the Commission of the General Assembly, and ordered to depart from the kingdom; his Countess was, at the instance of the Church, subjected to three years' imprisonment at Edinburgh.

Some noblemen of high rank submitted in a struggle in which the issues were not doubtful. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Lesmahago, held on the 9th of May, 1644, the Duke of Hamilton, who had for seven years endeavoured to escape the meshes of that court, presented himself to the brethren, and offered "to subscribe the covenant in what manner the Presbiterie should enjoine." It is curious to remark that he is styled, in the records of Presbytery, Marquis of Douglas, though, the year before, he had been raised to ducal honours. The Duke did not prove faithful

* The "Exerceis" was the original name of the Presbytery, or district ecclesiastical judicatory. The name arose from the early practice of the brethren "in making exercise," that is, critically examining in turn a prescribed text in the original Scriptures.

to his vow, and his infidelity having become the subject of further proceedings, the Presbytery, on the 7th January, 1647, caused him to acknowledge his offence upon his knees ; he also consented to appear in his parish church of Douglas, there publicly to acknowledge his perversity.

The Duke of Hamilton was taken prisoner at the battle of Preston, and was executed at London on the 9th March, 1649. He was succeeded in his title and estates by his younger brother, William, who, with his Duchess, was arraigned before the Presbytery of Lanark, in 1650, for having renounced the Protestant faith. The Duke and Duchess, in order to avoid incessant molestation, consented to subscribe the covenant.

Those who countenanced the adherents of the Papacy were subjected to pains and penalties. In 1595, Gabriel Mercer was publicly rebuked for harbouring “ane excommunicate Papiste.” In 1634, several burgesses of Dumfries were arraigned before the Privy Council for exercising hospitality towards certain Romish priests, and being present at mass. They were punished with imprisonment. In September, 1615, William Sinclair, Robert Wilkie, and Robert Cruikshank, were tried before the Justiciary Courts, for having harboured Ogilvie, the Jesuit priest, who was executed during the spring of that year. The sentence of death being pronounced upon them, they were conducted to the scaffold, when the King’s pardon was read to them : they were afterwards banished. At the same assize James Moffatt, a Jesuit priest, was, for “the tressonabill hearing of mass within this cuntrie twenty yeir syne or thairby,” and for having further ventured, as a Jesuit, “to present himself within the realme,” was sentenced to

be "banischet his Maiestie's dominionnes, and nevir to returne againe within the samyn under the pane of deid."^{*} In August, 1622, Andro Hathoure, "burges of Glasgow," and his wife, were convicted by the Court of Justiciary, for the tressonabill receipt of George Mortimer, a Jesuit priest ; they were banischet furth of Scotland." In 1631, Sir John Ogilvy, of Craig, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and afterwards at St. Andrews, for " daily conversing " with members of the Romish Church.

Those persons who possessed Popish books, or accepted employment from priests or monks, were subjected to high censures. Shortly after the Reformation, David Calderwood, a citizen of Glasgow, was denied church privileges, owing to a copy of Archbishop Hamilton's Catholic Catechism having been found in his dwelling. At the same period another citizen of Glasgow was subjected to discipline for painting crucifixes. Henry Ross, another painter, was " delated " to the Presbytery of Glasgow, under the suspicion of his having accepted employment from Papists. He was acquitted "on emitting a declaration that he had not paynted the pictures of the Father, the Son, and the Haly Gaist, in ony houssis within this realme."

The General Assembly inhibited the publication of any work on the subject of religion before it had been approved by the "superintendent" of the province. In 1568, Thomas Bassandyne, the King's printer, was ordered to recall certain books published by him, as being unsuitable for general circulation. While suppressing an obnoxious literature, the General Assembly evinced a commendable zeal for the wide circulation of

* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii., pp. 371-9.

the Scriptures. Every reformed pastor entreated his wealthier parishioners to permit inquirers the use of their copies of the English Bible ; and, in 1576, the Estates enacted, at the instance of the Church, that every householder worth 300 merks of yearly rent, and every yeoman or burgess worth £500 stock, should acquire a Bible and Psalm-book, under the penalty of ten pounds Scots. The Privy Council employed “searchers” to enforce the provisions of the Act. In 1579, the Geneva translation of the Scriptures was printed at Edinburgh ; and, in the following year, the magistrates of that city issued a proclamation, commanding every householder to purchase a copy under certain penalties.*

In procuring informations and enacting prosecutions against the adherents of the Romish Church, many unprincipled and worthless persons obtained congenial occupation. Soon after the Reformation, one Robert Drummond obtained the confidence of the Church on account of his activity in capturing priests and monks. From the promptitude with which he discharged his duties as a detective, he was familiarly styled “Doctor Handie.” But Drummond secretly practised the worst vices. He was twice convicted of adultery. After his second conviction, which took place at Edinburgh, he

* To the urgent measures adopted by the Presbyterian Reformers for the spread of the English Bible, the Scottish people have been indebted for their extensive acquaintance with the sacred volume. The occasional misapplication of passages in the Old Testament, in the struggling times, has been made the subject of unjust ridicule by Sir Walter Scott, who ought to have made allowance for the particular circumstances. The Cameronian regiment, embodied in 1689, and entirely composed of Presbyterians, was the first regiment of the line which carried Bibles in their knapsacks.

was placed in the stocks, in the public street, and branded in the cheek. Overcome by the execrations of the populace, he drew his pocket-knife and plunged it into his heart. The family of Grierson of Lag possessed an especial aptitude for oppressing those who differed in religious sentiment from the party in power. In 1628, Sir William Grierson of Lag, at the instance of the Privy Council, went to New Abbey, and there apprehended two Romish priests, who were performing the rites of their religion. His grandson, Sir Robert Grierson, of Lag, executed, with equal zeal, the instructions of the Privy Council, in hunting down and slaughtering the adherents of the Presbyterian Church.

Though excluding titled ecclesiastics from offices in the Church, the early adherents of Scottish Presbyterianism avowed their desire to retain among their office-bearers persons of noble rank and of civic and territorial dignity. They made special provision that Town Councils and the Universities should send lay representatives to the General Assembly, and permitted Presbyteries to elect to that judicatory members of the laity along with their clerical representatives. Kirk-sessions were composed of the minister and the principal heritors, or landowners, and the more substantial tenantry. These explanations are made in order to satisfy the reader, that the Presbyterian clergy were not solely responsible for a course of procedure which, in these more enlightened times, can only be regarded with abhorrence or regret.

Next to the idolatrous practices of the Church of Rome, the Scottish Reformers ranked the crime of sorcery or witchcraft. Indictments against witches were presented chiefly by Kirk-sessions, who recom-

pensed “witch-finders,” remunerated “watchers,” and procured commissions from the Privy Council for the condemnation of the accused. The destruction of a witch on the day of rest was deemed a sanctifying of the Sabbath.* About the year 1650, the Kirk-session records of Glammis report that on a particular Sunday public ordinances were omitted, on account of the minister being absent at the execution of a witch.

The ecclesiastical authorities at Aberdeen were early conspicuous in their efforts for the extirpation of sorcery. Consequent on their strong representation, James VI., in 1596, appointed a commission for “ haulding justice courtis on witches” at Aberdeen. The following “dittays,” or indictments, preferred at this commission against certain of the accused seem worthy of recital. The “dittay” against Isabell Richie proceeds:—

“Thou art indyttit for the being at the two devylische dances, betwixt Lumphanand and Craigleanche with unquhill Margaret Bane upon alhallowevin last, quhair thou conferritt with the Dewyll, and at that time thou ressauit thyne honours fra the Dewyll, thy maister, and were appoynted by him in all tymes thaireafter his special domestic servant and furriour, quhilk thou can nocht deny.”

Margaret Og is thus accused,—“Thou art indyttit as a notorious witche, for the bewitching of unquhill Agnes Ross, Lady Auckinhuiff, in manner following, to wit: the said unquhill Agnes having bocht a schowder of mut-

* At the same period it would have been held profane to celebrate matrimonial rites or conduct the dead to burial on Sunday. Within our own recollection a respectable peasant was denied church membership by the parochial incumbent for interring his child on the Sabbath. The church courts viewed the case more leniently.

toun fra Johne Dryer, at the milne of Auckinhueff in the moneth of Marche, four scoir fyftene yeris, and the said unquhill Agnes having brocht the said schowder to the houss of Bertrix Rebbie, thy dochter, compartner with thee in all thy deuilische practizes, quhair the said unquhill Agnes tareit all that night, thou and thy dochter tuk out thrie grannis out of the middist of the said schowder, and causit rost the same upon the morn quhilk being rosted, and the said unquhill Agnes eating thereof, scho instantly contractit a deadlie disease, quhairin scho continowet the space of thrie quarteres of a yere, the ane halff of the day burning as giff it had been in a fyrie fornace, and the other halff of the day melting away in a caulds weyte, qurof scho at last departed this lyff, and this thou can nocht deny, for the said unquhill Agnes immediately befoir her departure left the wyet on thé and thy said dochter."

The "dittay" against Margaret Clerk includes the following charge:—"Thou art accusit, that being desyrit by Alexander Cultis att the mylne of Auchlassin, to cum to him, quho had then ane cow caffit and the said cow wald na ways suffer hir calff to souk hir, nether wald the cow taik with the calff, bot contineulie repynet and strak the sam, thou said then to the said Alexander, I sall remeid this, and sall gar the cow to taik with the calff, and the calff souk the cow. And immediatlie thairefter, thou passin in the byre quhair the calff and cow was, and wald not suffer the said Alexander nor hys wyff gang in the byre with thé, nor no other, but put them all out except thy selffe allone, and thair by thy devilische sorcerie and inchantment after thou had sitten downe in the stane before the cowis head, thou gave ane devilische low and terrible

voice, quhair throu the haill houss tremblit and schaick, and immediatlie the cow talk with the calff and the calff with the cow, and soukit hir ; and throu the quhilk terrible cry and deuilische grayn by thé at the time aforesaid, the wyiff of the said Alexander being exceedinglie affraught and terrifiet tuik and contractit immediatelie ane deidlie sickness be thy sorcerie, and was never curyt thereof quill scho departit this lyff."

In 1623, the Kirk-session of Perth petitioned the Privy Council respecting three persons whom they charged with witchcraft. The accused were thereupon tried by a commission, condemned, and executed. We subjoin a portion of the preliminary evidence, as recorded in the Kirk-session minute-book.

Respecting Margaret Hornsleuch, it was deponed that she came to the dwelling of Alexander Mason, and having seen his wife who was sick, she requested that south-running water should be brought from the Tay, the bearer to be silent both in going and returning, and to hold the mouth of the water-vessel towards the north. That she washed Mason's wife with the water, and afterwards placed her "in a bath of great meal," and that the patient forthwith was restored, and arose and supped with her. That she cured Marjory Lamb, by washing her with south-running water, and rubbing her arms with fresh butter. That she had restored milk to the cow of Robert Christie, from Ruthven, by causing "a peck of draff" to be placed before the cow, "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." That she had restored milk to the cow of Andrew Louraine, in Myreside, "by mumbling some words over a firlot of 'draff;'" that sending Andrew to his house, she bid him cut the cow's leg, and mix the

blood with the draff, which he did, and the cow gave milk. That Patrick Auchenleck having become ill at the plough she was sent for to cure him ; and that “she commanded him to be washed with south-running water, and bathed in black wool and butter.”

Concerning Isobel Haldane, the evidence bore that “she cured Andrew Duncan’s bairn by bringing water from the burn at Turret Port, and therewith washing the bairn in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” Being asked whether she had any intercourse “with the fairy folk,” Isobel answered, that, “ten years since, when she was lying in her bed, she was taken forth, whether it was by God or by the Devil she knows not, and carried to a hill-side, when the hill opened and she entered. That she staid there three days, to wit, from Thursday till Sunday at twelve hours, when a man with a grey beard came to her, and brought her forth again. That she made three several cakes, every one of them being made of nine curn of meal, which had been gotten from nine women that were married maidens ; that she made a hole in the crown of every one of them, and put a bairn through every cake three times in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; and that there were women present who put the same bairns thrice backwards through every cake, using the same words. Then she went silent to the Well of Ruthven, and returned silent, bringing water from thence to wash John Gow’s bairn ; that when she took the water from the well, she left a part of the bairn’s sark at it, which she took with her to that effect ; and that when she came home again she washed the bairn with the water.”

With regard to the charge against Janet Traill, it was

sworn that "Janet Barry brought her bairn to her, and told her that it started in the night. That she told the mother that the bairn had gotten a dint of ill-wind, and directed her to cause two persons to go down to south-running water, and bring as much of it as would wash the bairn, and that they should be dumb when bringing the water; and that, after the bairn was washed, they should carry back again the water with the bairn's sark, and cast them into the place where the water had been taken up. She further directed her to bathe the bairn with black wool and butter. That she got a shot star at the burnside, and sent it in with black wool; and that after the cure was used the child was healed. That Duncan Jarvis and Isobel Haldane came to her at her house in Black Ruthven, and Duncan told that he thought his bairn was taken away, it being stiff as an aik tree and unable to move; that having heard this, she promised to come in and see the bairn. That when she came in she took the bairn upon her knee before the fire, and drew the fingers of its hands, and every toe of its feet, mumbling all the while some words that could not be heard, and immediately the bairn was cured. Being asked where she learned her skill, she deponed: 'When I was lying in childbed, I was drawn forth from my bed to a dub near my house door in Dunning, and was there puddled and troubled.' Being asked by whom this was done, she answered, 'By the fairy folks, who appeared, some of them red, some of them grey, and riding upon horses. The principal of them that spake to me was like a bonny white man, riding upon a grey horse. He desired me to speak of God, and to do good to poor folks; and he showed me the means how

I might do this, which was, by washing, bathing, speaking words, putting sick persons through hasps of yarn, and the like."

Having consigned those healers by enchantment to the flames, the Kirk-session of Perth next proceeded against those who superstitiously consulted them. These were sentenced to appear in the parish church during the morning service, "clothed in black, and standing under the bell-strings."

The Presbytery of St. Andrews took a deep concern in the suppression of witchcraft. In the records of that Court such entries as the following are not unfrequent:—

"Nov. 15th, 1643.—Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Colein Adams, Mr. Robert Traill, and Mr. James Wood* are appointed to goe to Craill on Tysday, and attend the execution of some witches, and give ther advyce to the Judges concerning the delations against others, if they may be apprehended and tryed."

In 1649, an insane woman in the parish of Crawford-Douglas accused as witches twelve of her neighbours. The information was received by the Presbytery of Lanark, who ordered "George Cathie, the pricker, to find out the marks." Cathie reported that he "did prik pinnes in everie ane of them, and in diverse of

* Mr. Robert Blair was minister of St. Andrews, and one of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers of his period. After the Restoration, he incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Sharpe, and by that prelate was exiled from his charge. His grandson, the Rev. Robert Blair, was author of "The Grave;" and of his great-grandsons one was the celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair, of Edinburgh, and another the distinguished Lord President Blair. Mr. James Wood was minister of Dunino, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews. He was author of a work on controversial theology, and was held in high estimation by his contemporaries.

them without paine the pinne was put in, as the witnesses can testifie." On this report the Presbytery were satisfied concerning the guilt of all the accused, and appointed watchers to keep them awake till their trial by a commission. The Presbytery also determined that the cost of the watchers should not entirely fall upon the parish of Crawford-Douglas, but that "each paroch should proportionable to their quantity furnish twelve men every twenty-four houris." It is to be hoped that the watchers were more humane than the spiritual watchmen by whom they were employed. The lunacy of the informant became so apparent, that, notwithstanding the testimony of Cathie and his accomplices, the women were acquitted and restored to their homes.

Some of the parochial clergy undertook, in the absence of "the prickers," to discover "the Devil's mark." In 1650, Mr. John Aird, minister of Stow, informed his Kirk-session that "he had thrust ane priene (pin) to the heid in the pannel's schoulder, she noways shrinking thereat." Soon after, the reverend gentleman and his elders despatched to Jedburgh William Mader, parish schoolmaster and session-clerk, there to purchase a hair-cloth "for the persons apprehended for witchcraft, to help to bring them to a confession."

Divorce courts were unneeded; a gratuity to the pricker accomplished all. The Kirk-session records of Stow contain the following:—

"July 28, 1630.—The qlk day Wm. Leyis was content yt his wyf be weardit in Lauder or elseqr., and yt she be tryed over again be jobing or be anie uther examination, and obligeid himself to present her on Monenday at xii. at Lauder."

In July and August, 1648, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline were occupied in considering the case of William Crichton, "a vagrant beggar," who was "under ane ill report as a warlok." The charge rested on the statement of Mause Hutchons, in Mylburn, who alleged that, having refused Crichton a night's lodgings, he had threatened him that "he should not rew it ones bot ever," and that "thereafter he (Maus) contracted a heavie sicknes and a continual sweating." Crichton, on being brought before the Session, denied the charge, but, being afterwards "straitlie posed and dealt with be the ministers and watchers," he confessed that "he had made a pacion with the Devill to be his servant 24 yeires and more since." He was tried and burnt.

Those who trafficked in charms were punished with severity, but not fatally. In January, 1628, the Kirk-session of Stirling deliberated on a case of charming, which is set forth in these words :—

"The quhilk day compeared Margaret Donaldsoun, spous to James Forsythe, and being accused of the brethren for giving ane sark of her bairnis to Helen Syngar to tak to Margaret Cuthbert in Garlickray for to charme the same ; the said Margaret Donaldsoun confessed that schoe gave her the sark and the said Helen Syngar confessed that scohetuik it to that Margaret Cuthbert, intending to have it charmed, but denyes that it was charmed at all, becaus the said Margaret Cuthbert refused. Therefair the breatherein orderis the said persones, to witt, Margaret Donaldsoun for giuing of the bairnes sark, and Helen Syngar for receaving of it, to sitt togidder upon the seat quhair the breakers of the Sabbathe sitts, and make thair publick repentance upon thair kneis befoir the congregacione."

On the 30th April, 1633, the Kirk-session of Stirling were again engaged with a case of charming. The minute proceeds :—“The quhilk day compeirit Margaret Chapman, spous to Johne Bennet, and being accused be Agnes Rennie, spous to Andrew Bell, wabster in Stirling, for taking of hir milk from out of hir breist, schoe having abundance thairof, be unlawfull means, and laying of sickness upon hir and hir bairne, as the said Agnes Rennie alledges ; the said Margaret Chapman confess that schoe learned of ane Margaret Dundie in Sanct Johnstone, quhen any woman lost hir milk, to cause the woman’s bairne that wants the milk, to suck ane uther woman who hes milk in hir breist ; becaus ane greidie eye or hart tuik the milk from the woman that wants the milk ; and that schoe learned be Margaret Downie, spous to Thomas Burne, smith in Stirling, to nipe the woman’s clothes who had the breist of milk, and be so doing the milk would returne agane to the woman that wanted it ; and swa accordinglie the said Margaret Chapman confessed that schoe practised the samyne, and caused her bairne to suck Agnes Rennie, and that the said Margaret Chapman nipped Agnes Rennie’s apron,” &c. Margaret Chapman was censured and “humbled” for her offence.

On the 10th July, 1623, Bessie Smythe confessed before the Presbytery of Lesmahago, that she had been guilty of “charming of the heart feavers.” Her patients “knelt and socht thair health for Godes saik,” when “she appoyntit them the wayburne leaf (plantain) to be eaten nyne morningis.” Her charm was in these words :—

“For Gode’s saik
For Sanct Spirit
For Sanct Arkit

For the nyne maidens that dyed into the
Buirtie in the Ledywell bank ;
This charme to be beuk' and bell to me
God that sua be."

Bessie was left to the discipline of the Kirk-session of her parish.

The Kirk-session of Perth, in May, 1631, reprimanded Laurence Beck and his wife for using charms in the cure of sores. The offenders acknowledged that they had uttered these rhymes :—

"Thir sairs are risen through God's wark,
And must be laid through God's help,
The mother Mary and her dear Son
Lay thir sores that are begun."

In December, 1643, the Kirk-session of Markinch extorted from Janet Brown that, in healing ailing bestial, she spoke as follows :—

"Our Lord forth raid,
His foalies foot staid,
Our Lord down lighted,
His foalies foot righted,
Saying flesh to flesh, blood to blood,
And bone to bone.
In our Lorde's name."

The kingly prerogative of touching for the cure of scrofula was, in 1643, assumed by John Morris, a parishioner of Carnbee, Fifeshire, on the ground that he was "the seventh sonne of a woman." What success attended his practice is not recorded, but his using the charm of "takeing vpon him to heall the cruelles by touching them" subjected him to church discipline. The Kirk-session records of Humbie, East Lothian, contain the following details relative to the "charming of kine."

"Sept. 23, 1649.—The which day Agnes Gourlay

being questioned anent the charming of kine, deponed as follows: That about three years since Anna Sympson, then servant to Robert Hepburne, of Keith, could not please the milk of their kine, for it gave no creame; and the said Agnes said, ‘Can you not cast some of it over into the grass, for they say to ane by word, God betack ws to, they are under the yird that have as much neede of it as they that are above the yird.’ Confesses how shee went and saw the milk, and it was no ways altered as shee thought; hereafter shee went with them to the milking of the kine herselfe, but remembred not whether shee did milk the kine or not; but confesses shee did cast over the milk into the grass herselfe, and said, ‘God betak ws to, there may be they are under the earthe that have as much neede of it as they that are above the yird.’ Grants likewise shee did put salt and wheat bread into the cow’s lugs. Being posed where shee gat the wheat bread, and how long it was betuixt the time she did cast the milk into the grass and the putting of the salt and bread into the cow’s lugs, answered, That Anna Sympson and Rachell Forrester brought it from Haddington, and that it was that day, or else the day after, betuixt the casting of the milk into the grass and putting of the salt into the cow’s lugs, and that at the same time Anna Sympson and Rachell Forrester were present. Being asked who did learne her, answered, she heard it of ane going man. The Session, taking to consideration her deposition, referred her to the Presbiterie.” The Presbitery ordained Agnes Gourlay “to mak publick repentance in sackcloth.”

The Kirk-session of Auchterhouse, on the 9th July, 1646, appointed a fast to be held, “because of the scandal of witches and charmers in the district;” and for

the further reason that some neighbouring congregations had “long been starved by dry-breasted ministers.”

In 1653, Bessie Chapman appeared before the Kirk-session of Dunino, Fifeshire, on the charge of “consulting with witches.” She declared that “ane day there came up to her twa beggar wyves, and told her she had ane hard weird; that there was witchcraft cast on her husband before he died, and that the said witchcraft was casten within three foot of her doore.” “The weird wyves,” she added, “came into her house and got milk, they bringing with them three eggs, which she did seeth to them.” They then told her “they would show her a way how to remove the ill which was casten for her, if she would do the thing they bade her.” She said “she delivered herself to God.” One of the women called for a straw out of her bed, and they cast the straw into the fire, saying thus:—“All your sorrow goe with it.” They next sought “water in a copp,” and “her holiday coat, hose, and shoes.” They “took her blew coat, and held it above the water, and the water turned into blood.” She gave them a “foure-shillen piece, which they laid in a napkin, and tooke with them.” The Kirk-session referred Bessie Chapman to the Presbytery, who decreed that she should appear before the pulpit in sackcloth.

“Turning the riddle” was a charm for the discovery of theft. The nature of this charm is set forth by Reginald Scott, in his “Discoverye of Witchcraft,” published in 1575. He writes:—“Sticke a paire of sheeres in the rind of a sive, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the sheeres, as holding it with the sive up from the ground sedelie, and ask Peter and Paul

whether A, B, or C, hath stole the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guilty person, the sive shall turne round."

On the 26th November, 1626, the Kirk-session of Stow considered a case in connexion with "turning the riddle." James Ormiston having missed sixteen shillings, waited "upon Isobel Cleghorne, in the Stowe," who, on "turning the riddle," assured him that George Pringle, in the Torquhan, was the thief. Pringle repudiated the charge, and brought Ormiston before the Session, to answer for his calumny. Ormiston was penitent, withdrew the imputation, and readily consented to submit to the decree of the court, which was that "next Sabbath, in presence of the congregation, he should acknowledge his offence to God, and his offence to George Pringle, as also to pay twentie shillings to the poore."

In 1709, the Kirk-session of Kilmorie, Isle of Bute, deliberated on a case of charming. The circumstances are thus set forth :—

"Janet Hunter, being formally summoned and called, compeared, and being questioned anent the report that was given forth on her, that she used a charm for the discovery of theft, by 'turning the riddle,' she plainly confessed that she did use it; and being further interrogate, what words she used, she replied, that she used no words; and being asked if she did not say, 'by Peter, by Paul, it was such a person,' she replied that she did use these words, and none else; and being farther interrogate, if the riddle did turn at the naming of any of those persons suspected, she replied that it did actually turn at the naming of one; and being interrogate farther, who employed her, she replied it was

Barbara McMurchie, in the same town ; and she being farther interrogate, if she had any other body with her at the said exorcise, she replied that there was one Florence McDonald, servitrix to Hector McAlister, who was holding the side of the shears with her. She being farther interrogate, if she thought there was any fault or sin in it, she replied that she thought there was none in it, seeing she used no bad words ; and she being farther interrogate, if she knew who it was that turned the riddle, she answered that she did not know, but declared it was not she, nor the other who held it with her, so far as she knew ; and it being told her that if neither of them two turned it, that it behoved to be either God or the devil that turned it ; to which she replied that she did not think it was God, and she hoped it was not the devil ; wherefore the minister laboured to convince her of the horrid sin of this hellish art, and the heinousness of it, and how she had gone to the devil to get knowledge of secret things, and how she might be guilty of blaming innocent persons, and exhorting her to lay her sin to heart and repent. She was removed, and the Session taking her confession into consideration, with the hatefulness of the wicked practice, and, after mature deliberation, having the advice of the Presbytery on the like affair, they do unanimously appoint her to make her compearance before the congregation three several Sabbaths, to give evidence of her repentance ; and for the terror of others that use such arts, they refer her to the civil magistrate, to be punished as shall be thought fit by him, either corporally or pecuniarily ; and she being called in again, this was intimate unto her."

The superstitious practice of frequenting wells dedi-

cated to saints called forth the frequent exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. Christ's Well, near the village of Doune, Perthshire, greatly reputed for its healing virtues, was held to be especially remedial during the Sundays of May. To prevent "pilgrimages" being made to it in May, the Kirk-sessions of the neighbourhood made persistent but fruitless efforts. The following deliverance on the subject was passed by the Kirk-session of Falkirk in 1628 :—

"It is statute and ordained that if any person or persons be found superstitiously and idolatrously after this to have passed in pilgrimage to Christ's Well, on the Sundays of May, to seek their health, that they shall repent in sacco* and linen three several Sabbaths, and pay twenty lib.† *toties quoties*, for ilk fault ; and if they cannot pay it, the baillie shall be recommended to put them in ward, and to be fed on bread and water for aught days."

In 1652, the Kirk-session of Auchterhouse dealt with a woman for carrying her child to a well in May. The minute is curious :—

"Sunday, 2nd May, 1652.—Margaret Robertsonne was brought before the court for carrying her child to the Kirkowne Well, and washing her daughter's eyes, saying,—

' Fish beare fine, and fulle beare gall ;
All ye ill of my bairn's eyen ye will fall.'

Being accusit of this, confessit shoe did so, and that Janet Fyffe learned her ; for ye qlk. ye minister is to acquaint the Presbyterie of it before shoe be further examined."

* Sackcloth.

† Pounds Scots.

The well at Strathill, near Muthill, like the more reputed fountain of St. Fillan, in Strathearn, was believed to cure persons afflicted with lunacy. An insane woman at Airth, Stirlingshire, having been conducted to Strathill for cure, Mr. Drummond, minister of Muthill, sought information on the subject from Mr. Forsyth, minister at Stirling. Mr. Forsyth's letter in reply will be read with some interest :—

“ March 16, 1663.—I received a letter from you, to be communicat to the minister at Airth, anent ane Agnes Sympson, who was brought to your well at Strathill. I obeyed your desire in the face of the Presbytery. The minister hath called the man who conveyed that woman before his Session, and, upon Wednesday last, they appeared before our Presbytery. All of them, being four, two of them named James Mitchels, and two John Sympsons, friends of the woman, did freely confess that they had taken that woman to the well ; that they had stayed two nights at an house hard by the well ; that the first night they did bind her to a stane at the well, but she came into the house to them, being loosed without their help. The second night they bound her over again to that same stane, and she returned loosed. And they declare also that she was very mad before they took her to the well, and since that time she is working and sober in her wits. The Presbytery hath required me to give you an account of their diligence, and to desire what further ye require to be done. And they do intreat you to let them know what course the Church hath used to take in the like case, and what censure was inflicted upon such delinquents ? ” *

* “Geographical Collections relating to Scotland,” in the Advocates Library, vol. iii., p. 97. 1749. Folio.

In 1695, the Presbytery of Penpont consulted the Provincial Synod respecting a superstition which largely prevailed as to the virtues of the Dow Loch. The Synod ordered the Presbytery to denounce the practice of making pilgrimage to the loch, from every pulpit in their bounds.

From the Reformation downwards the observance of festival days has been prohibited by the Church. In January, 1573, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews sentenced certain persons to make "open satisfaction for observing Zuill day," and ordained that Sunday only "sould be kept holyday." In 1605, the Kirk-session of Dundonald examined John Wyllie on the charge of "nott yoking his plough on Zuill day." He escaped censure by declaring that he was at the "smiddie, laying and mending the pleuch yernes."

By an Act passed on the 13th February, 1645, the General Assembly prohibited "masters of schools and colleges" from granting Yule as a holiday, under the pain of high censures. The Assembly further resolved that any school children or college students, who, by the superstitious observance of festival days, should violate the rules of the Church, should not be again received, unless on submission, into any schools or colleges within the kingdom.

On the 26th December, 1683, the Kirk-session of Glasgow ordained five persons to make public repentance because they had observed Yule, and the bakers of the city were warned to discontinue the practice of baking "Yule bread."

Certain recreative practices anciently observed at Christmas were condemned by the reformed clergy. Soon after the Reformation, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen

ordained that Christmas mask-balls should be stopped, and that those who engaged in them should be subjected to discipline. Early in the seventeenth century, the Kirk-session of Ayr prohibited a Christmas game, named "Lady Templeton." The nature of this game has not been ascertained.

An ancient custom of extinguishing fires on Midsummer eve was obnoxious to the Church. On the 24th June, 1647, the Presbytery of St. Andrews consulted the Provincial Synod, in order to more forcible methods being enacted for its suppression.

Prior to the Reformation, Sunday was kept sacred only during the hours of worship. It was held to commence on Saturday evening at six, and to terminate on the following evening at the same hour. This method of reckoning the beginning and close of Sunday continued long after the establishment of the Reformed Church. The Kirk-session of Glasgow approved the method by a deliverance in 1590, but, in 1640, they determined that Sunday should commence and close according to the present system.

So long as Sunday was held to close at 6 p.m., the remainder of the evening was appropriated to merry-making. The links at St. Andrews were covered with golfers; theatres were thrown open; buffoons collected crowds to listen to their coarse wit; morrice-dancers performed; sports of all kinds were prosecuted.

Marketing was conducted on Sunday in cathedral closes and within the precincts of the monasteries. The practice doubtless arose from a desire to provide refreshment for those who came from a distance to attend the Sunday services of the religious houses.

The reformers experienced difficulty in checking these

abuses. The Kirk-session of St. Andrews decreed, in 1599, that whoso was found golfing during the time of divine service, should, for the first offence, pay ten shillings ; twenty shillings for the second ; for the third, should be placed on the repentance pillar ; and, for the fourth, should be deprived of office. In 1606, the Kirk-session of Ayr dealt with nine persons for practising secular amusements on the Sunday. Seven of the number had played "at ye nine-hole," and two "at cappieshell,"—the latter having aggravated their offence by making their sport within "ye walls o' ye kirke." A defaulting piper was thus warned by the Presbytery of Glasgow, in a deliverance passed on the 30th April, 1594 :—"The Presbyterie of Glasgow statutes and ordenis that gif Mungo Craig soll playe on his pypes on the Sondaye fra the sunrising till the sun going to, in ony place within the bounds of the Presbyterie, that he incontinent thereafter soll be summarlie excommunicat."

In their efforts to suppress Sunday trading, the reformed clergy encountered a determined resistance. In 1596, the Presbytery of Meigle complained to the Privy Council that the inhabitants of Strathmore had positively refused to abandon marketing on the Sabbath. The Town Council of Aberdeen, in 1598, framed a scale of penalties against Sunday trading, so formidable in amount that the practice was subdued. In certain districts small marketings on Sundays were long continued. So lately as 1848, fruits and sweetmeats were sold to Sunday visitors at Cambuskenneth Abbey, Stirlingshire.

Miracle plays proved serviceable to the promoters of the Reformation by the ridicule cast by these cele-

brations on the corrupt lives of the Romish priesthood. The reformers therefore permitted plays to be acted in provincial theatres at the close of the statutory Sunday, adopting measures to prevent unseemly accompaniments. On the 21st July, 1574, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews gave license "to play the comedy mentioned in St. Luke's Evangel of the forlorn son, upon Sunday, the 1st day of August next to come," such license being accompanied with the proviso that the play should be "revised by the minister, the provost of St. Salvador's College, and the principal of St. Leonard's College," and further, that "the performance should not interfere with the hours of divine worship." In the year following, Sunday plays were denounced by the same Kirk-session, as "expresslie forbidden by Act of Parliament."

On the 16th March, 1627, nine millers at Stow, in Mid-Lothian, appeared before the Kirk-session of that parish, and owned that "their milnes did gang on the Sabbath in tyme of divine service." They were sentenced to make public repentance, and each to pay a penalty of "fourtie shillings." They were further prohibited from causing their milnes to gang on the Sabbath, from eight hours in the morning till four hours in the afternoon." In 1644, the Kirk-session of Dunino, Fifeshire, ordained Alexander Colme, "for causing his mylne to grind upon the former Lord's day," to make public repentance, and "to pay in mulct thirty shillins."

The securing of grain on Sunday during a late harvest was not acknowledged as a work of necessity, for, on the 18th November, 1641, Alexander Russell, farmer in Wester Balrymont, was, along with his female servant,

arraigned before the Kirk-session of St. Andrews, on the charge of "leading corn on Sabbath evening." Russell and his maid were ordained to "crave God's mercy on their knees before the Session," and "to pay 40s. penalty." The penalty "was given to ane Gordon, a distressed woman come from Ireland."

On the 24th July, 1627, the Kirk-session of Stirling ordained Jhone Heggie "for breaking of the Sabbath by basking his netts, to mak his repentance the next Sabbath." It was further ruled that "gif he or any uther be found guiltie of ye lyk offence, that is to say, ayther shutting thair cobbles, or basking thair netts, or mending thair netts, from Saturday at twal hours at even to Sonday at twal hours at even, they sall pay fourtie shillings and mak thair publick repentance."

For "watering her kaill on the Sabbath," Margaret Brotherstone was sentenced, by the Kirk-session of Humbie, in June, 1644, "to give evidence in publick of her repentance next Lord's day." In September, 1666, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline ordained two persons, for gathering nuts on Sunday, "to sit doun on their knees before the Session, to seek pardon of God." The Kirk-session of Melrose, in September, 1703, sentenced George Penman and Stephen Belman, for gathering nuts on the Sabbath, "to be rebuked in presence of the congregation." One of the heaviest sentences for Sunday desecration which we have remarked, was passed on a woman by the Kirk-session of Crail, in August, 1648. "For seething bark on Sunday," she was ordained "to be jagged three several Sabbaths," and the last day "to make her repentance before the pulpit."

Many offences against the Sabbath, of a trivial character, were visited with severity. A parishioner of

Birse, Aberdeenshire, was subjected to censure for "holling (digging) beesbykes on the Sabbath." The Kirk-session of Humbie, in May, 1649, cited Robert Romanes "for playing at the bullets on Sabbath." The Kirk-session of Dunfermline, in December, 1683, caused John Thomson, a joiner, to stand before the congregation, "for making a dead kist on Sunday." In March, 1664, the Town Council of Dumfries enacted that "persons walking idly from house to house, and gossipping on Sabbath, should, for each offence, pay thirty shillings to the kirk treasurer for the use of the poore." William Howatson was, on the 6th May, 1652, ordained, by the Kirk-session of Stow, "to humble himself before the session, and crave God's mercy, "for having, on the Sunday previous, walked a short distance to see his seik mother."

Sunday tippling was rigorously punished. On the 26th April, 1668, three persons were, for "drinking a chapon of aill" on the Sunday preceding, sentenced, by the Kirk-session of Port of Menteith, "to sit bair headit beffore the pulpit, and after sermon to acknowledge their scandal on their knees." On the 27th May, 1647, the Presbytery of Cupar considered a remit from the parish of Abdie, in the case of David Blyth, who had made a shooting excursion on a preceding Sunday. Their deliverance was in these words,—"David Blyth, in the paroche of Ebdie (for shedding of blood on the Sabbath day), is appoynted to stand at the kirke doore of Ebdie, Sonday next, barefooted and bareheadit, with the gun in his hand wherewith the blood was shedde, untill the last bell, and thairafter to sitt before the pulpitt the tyme of sermon, and after sermon to acknowledge and confesse vpon his knees his sin, and then be received."

Youths who desecrated the Sabbath were whipped. The Kirk-session of St. Andrews, in May, 1649, sentenced a young man who had broken the Sunday, "to be scourged in the Tolbooth by ane of the town officers, at the sight of the magistrates." On the 25th February, 1685, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline ordained two apprentices, "being lookit upon by the Session as twa of the perversest knaves in all the burgh for Sabbath breaking," to be whipped before them, and then confined "in the bell-house."

For some time after the Reformation, marriages were solemnized on Sunday as well as on other days. The practice of marrying on Sunday began to be discountenanced ; it was latterly prohibited. In 1630, the Kirk-session of Abercrombie, in Fife, passed the following decree :—" Heirefter none shall be married on the Sabbath except they pay to the use of the poor 58s., and oblige themselves to keep good order." In "discharging absolutlie any marriage to be solemnized upon the Lord's day," the six Kirk-sessions of Edinburgh, in November, 1643, specified that they did not hold "the thing unlawful in itself, but because it occasioneth profanation of the Lord's day by such as must be employed for preparation of necessaries thereto, as baxters and cooks." In these words did the Presbytery of St. Andrews discountenance the interment of the dead on Sunday,—" March 8, 1648. Whereas there is a superstitious practice of makeing graves upon the Lord's day, quhen it may be convenientlie eschewed the Presbyterie do appoint that no graves be made vpon the Lord's day, bot in case of urgent necessitie allowed by the minister and session."

Attendance on ordinances was enforced by penalties,

along with the usual censures. The Kirk-session of Aberdeen decreed, in 1568, that every one absent from divine service should pay sixpence for each offence ; a penalty of two shillings being exacted from elders and deacons. Thirty years afterwards, the Town Council of Aberdeen enacted that every burgess and his wife should attend church on Sunday, under the penalty of thirteen shillings and fourpence for each violation of the law.

On the 22nd of October, 1588, the Kirk-session of the united parishes of Anstruther, Kilrenny, and Pittenweem, ordained that "the maister and mistress of every house and sa many as are of years and judgment (except when need requireth otherwise) sall be present in the kirk in due time every Sabbath, to hear the sermon before and after noon, under pain of 12 pence the first fault, two shillings the second, and, for the third, five shillings, and *toties quoties* thereafter."

Paupers were strictly enjoined to attend service in their parish churches. In August, 1570, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews resolved that the deacons should withhold alms from such poor persons as did "not frequent sermons, public prayers, examination and communion, present their bairns to baptism, say the Lord's Prayer, the believe, and the commandments, or at least sall learn the same within ane month." In 1615, the Kirk-session of Lasswade, Mid-Lothian, enacted that "all persons attend the kirke or be punished, gentlemen to be damnified in 6s. 8d. Scots, men in 3s. 4d., servants in twenty pennies." The penalties for non-attendance varied in different localities. The Kirk-session of Dunino, Fifeshire, ordained, in 1643, that "whosoever shall be found absent from the hearing of the Word on

the Lord's day, shall for the first fault mak publict re-pentance and pay twa shillings, and for the second fault pay four shillings, and *toties quoties* thereafter."

In administering discipline for non-attendance on ordinances, the church dealt with an impartial hand. No rank was spared. In 1660, Sir Ludovick Gordon, of Gordonstown, was indicted before the Synod of Moray, for withdrawing himself from ordinances, and refusing to submit to discipline. The Synod reported him to the Estates of Parliament, who imposed upon him the heavy penalty of £3,600 Scottish money. The fine was paid in two instalments.

Attendance at the communion-table was insisted on; the neglect was punished rigorously. In 1603, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen resolved to distrain the goods of certain persons who had contumaciously absented themselves from the communion. The resolution is in these words:—"May 22, 1603.—The quhilk day the session ordainis sic of the inhabitants of Futtie* as come not to the communion for be poyndit to the doubill of the unlaw that they were poyndit for befoir, as relaps in disobedience, becaus the communion wes of new agane ministered and publiclie intimat." The edict was carried out rigidly. At Dunfermline, in December, 1645, Helen Walker "made repentance no hir knees" before the Kirk-session for "not communicating at the Lord's table."

While prohibiting the holidays and festivals of the ancient Church, the Scottish Presbyterian reformers appointed fasts and thanksgiving days, which were invested with the sacredness of Sunday. The Kirk-

* Foot-dee.

session of Dunfermline, in December, 1641, fined John Smart, flesher, eight marks, for having “ pott on a rost at his fire ye last fasting day.” In the larger burghs, week-day services were held at the parish churches every Wednesday and Friday. No work was permitted on these days at the hours appropriated to worship, and those who neglected to attend were debarred from the communion.

The Kirk-session exercised a strict espionage over every member of the congregation. When the parish was large, members of Session, or the magistrates under their direction, watched in turn. In 1574, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews passed the following edict :—

“ For good order to be observed in convening to hear the word of God upon the Sabbath-day, and other days in the week when the word of God is preached, as well as of the students within colleges as inhabitants of this city, and others in the parish, the seat (session) has ordained captors (searchers) to be chosen to visit the whole toun, according to the division of the quarters, and to that effect every Sunday there shall pass a bailie and elder, two deacons and two officers, armed with their halberts, and the rest of the bailies and officers to be in attendance, to assist to apprehend transgressors, to be punished according to the acts of the Kirk.” In 1583, the Kirk-session of Perth decreed that an elder “ should pass through his district every Sunday forenoon, and note those that are in taverns, baxter’s booths, or on the gaits, that every one of them that is absent from the kirk may be poindit for twenty shillings, according to the Act of Parliament.” The Kirk-session of Glasgow ordained, in 1600, that “ the deacons of the

crafts" should make search among the families of their freemen "for absents from the kirk," and impose fines on those,—"one half to be retained by the crafts, and the other to be paid to the kirk." In August, 1611, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen passed the following resolution :—"The baillies are desyrit by the ministers and session to tak painis in ganging throw the toune on the ordinar preaching dayes in the weik, as well as on the Saboth day, to caus the people resort to the sermones, and Paul Mengzeis, baillie, is appoynted to begin on Tuysday and Thursday." A similar resolution was passed by the Kirk-session of Glasgow in 1642.

Proper behaviour in church was carefully enjoined. In July, 1606, Andrew Garvine was reprimanded by the Kirk-session of Ayr, "because the minister was in the pulpit before he entered the church." Snuff-taking in church was prohibited. An act by the Kirk-session of Saltoun, Haddingtonshire, on the 11th of April, 1641, proceeds thus:—"It is statute, with consent of the minister and elders, that every one that takes snuff in tyme of divine service shall pay 6s. 8d., and give ane publick confession of his fault." In April, 1643, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline appointed the bellman "to tak notice of those who tak ye sneising tobacco in tyme of divine service, and to inform concerning them."

For a century after the Reformation, the parish churches were generally open from sunrise till sunset. During summer the churches of Glasgow were opened on Sunday at five o'clock, a.m., and closed at nine o'clock evening. Many persons assembled when the church bell was rung at nine o'clock, a.m., to listen to the public reading of the Scriptures by the reader. At ten the bell sum-

moned children and young persons for religious instruction. Respecting the training of the young in Christian knowledge on the Sundays, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline passed the following resolution :—

“ Dec. 20, 1652. — Recommendit to Mr. Thomas Walker, schoolmaster, to have his schollers in reddines to repeat the catechism everie Sabbath, betwixt the second an third bell before noone and afternoone ; the one to propose and the uther to answer, that the people may heare and learne, it being usit in uthyr kirks.” A similar deliverance of the Kirk-session of Stow, on the same subject, proceeded as follows :—“ March 2, 1656.—The Session caused the schoolmaster to make two of his pupils read the catechism ‘ betwixt the second and third bell in the morning,’ and between sermons, to the congregation in the kirk ; and an elder was appointed to see that the people went home direct to their own dwellings at the close of the public services.”

Apart from the time voluntarily assigned to private devotions, and that appropriated to hearing the Scriptures publicly read, and listening to the instruction of the young, every faithful adherent of the Reformed Church was expected to attend the ordinary Sunday services, which generally extended to nearly four hours’ space. Before the close of these protracted services, many of the young, the aged, and the infirm, sought rest in slumber, while Kirk-sessions, unable to perceive any justification for such an offence, proceeded to pass regulations with a view to its punishment. In 1616, the Kirk-session of Perth instructed their officer “ to have his red staff in the kirk on Sabbath-days, therewith to wauken sleepers, and to remove greeting bairns forth of the kirk.”

Except on the "kirking day," that is, the first Sunday after marriage, when the bride and bridegroom were accommodated on a form in front of the pulpit, all "married women and maidens" were enjoined to "sit laigh," that is, on the church floor. In reference to this practice, the Kirk-session of Glasgow, in 1597, expressly forbade "women to sit upon the forms men should occupy," and further decreed, "that all women sit together in the kirk."* The proper deportment of females, both at kirk and market, was a subject of grave concern to the rulers of the church. The practice of prohibiting women from enveloping their heads in "plaids and hoods" was transmitted to the reformers from the ancient church; it probably originated from a reference to the disguise of the widowed Tamar.† In a sumptuary law passed by the Estates in 1457, these words occur:—"That na woman come to kirk nor mercat with her face muffalled or covered, that she may not be kend, under the paine of escheit of the courchie."‡

To the Presbyterian reformers there were cogent reasons for prohibiting the use of female head-coverings, apart from any cause which might be derived from the customs of a remote age. Muffled women might, in their

* Parish churches were not provided with pews till long after the Reformation. Females rested on the earthen floors, while the men carried with them to church forms or stools. Enclosed seats were only allowed to the heritors or landowners, the magistrates, and the patrons of cures. These seats were generally erected aloft, and supported on pillars; they were entered by stairs leading from the churchyard. Some of the more potent landowners were privileged with retiring-rooms, in which they could obtain refreshment during the service.

† See Genesis xxxviii. 14.

‡ Cap or head-dress.

lowly positions on the church floors, sleep unseen. In 1621, the Kirk-session of Glasgow enacted that "no woman, married or unmarried, come within the kirk-doore, to preaching or prayer, with their plaids about their heads, neither lie down in the kirk on their face in tyme of prayer, with certification that their plaids shall be drawn up, and themselves raiset be the bedall." A similar enactment was passed by the Kirk-session of St. Andrews, in June, 1649. It proceeds thus:—"The Session discharget weamen's pleadis from their heads in the church, especially on the Lord's day, with certificatione that the session will appoint ane of the church officers to go through the kirk with ane long rod, and tak down their plaidis from their heads, who-ever are disobedient to good order." The Kirk-session of Monifieth adopted a still more effective method of abating the evil. On 17th September, 1643, they voted Robert Scott, the beadle, five shillings, "to buy ane pynt of tar, to put upon the women that held plaids about their heads."

Women naturally shrank from the exposure of the repentance stool. But the clergy and elders would suffer no concealment of countenance during the exercise of discipline. The Kirk-session of Aberdeen passed this injunction:—"That because in times past most part of women that came to the pillar to make their public repentance, sat thereon with their plaids about their heads, covering down over their faces the *haill* time of their sitting on the stool, so that almaist none of the congregation could see their faces, or know what they were, whereby they made nae account of their coming to the stool, but misregarded the same altogether, the Kirk-session ordain that the officer should thenceforth

take the plaid away from each penitent before her up-ganging to the pillar."

The Town Council of Edinburgh, by a resolution dated 10th of April, 1631, prohibited women from wearing plaids in the streets, since, by this dress, matrons could not be discovered from loose-living women."

Before proceeding further, it is essential that we should describe the ordinary instruments and appliances of ecclesiastical punishment. The stool or pillar of repentance has been named. It was placed in the church passage, and in front of the pulpit, that the entire congregation might witness those sentenced to occupy it. On the repentance stool, delinquents generally stood up, but in certain parishes they were permitted to sit upon it. Offenders were kept at the church door till the close of the first prayer, and were then led in by the sexton, who placed them on the stool, and there left them till the close of the discourse, when he proceeded to remove them. The ordinary hearers listened to the discourse with their hats on, but the occupant of the repentance stool was penitentially uncovered.

The Kirk-session of Perth possessed "a cock-stool" and "a repentance-stool," erections of different elevation, proportioned to the degrees of guilt. On the 7th April, 1617, this Kirk-session ordered "a chair of stone to be bigged in ane public part be the master of the hospital," for the "accommodation in repentance of "flyteris and slanderers."

The repentance-stool was regarded with a species of reverence; its violation was severely punished. In March, 1675, the Kirk-session of Mauchline, Ayrshire, debarred three persons from the communion "on account of their breaking the stool of repentance, on which they

had been sentenced to stand in presence of the congregation."

Those placed on the repentance stool wore a penitential habit. It was composed of the coarsest linen, resembling canvas, and enveloped the person like a shirt or cloak. The garment possessed a different name almost in every district. In the southern counties it was styled "the harden goun." "The harn goun" was its designation in Lanarkshire. As "the sack goun" it was known in Western districts. In the central counties, "the linens" was its common appellation. The ecclesiastical phrase "in sacco" eventually superseded all the others. Parishes which lacked repentance "habits" were ordered to procure them by Presbyteries and Synods. In 1655, the Kirk-session of Lesmahago expended £4 4s. 6d. in providing "a harn goun for scandalous persons." Probably one of the latest commissions, for the construction of a repentance habit, was the following by the Kirk-session of Kirk-michael, Ayrshire:— "September 24th, 1693. The Session appoints John Forgan to employ a Straitoun tailor to make a coat or covering of sackcloth for the said Janet Kennedy, like unto that which they have in Straitoun, there having been no such thing here for these many years; its thought none of the tailors of this parish know how to make it."

A garment of coarse linen, believed to be the repentance habit of the parish of Kinross, is preserved in the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. Culprits were occasionally permitted to occupy the repentance stool "in their awn habit."

The *Jagg, Juggs, or Jougs*, was a common instrument of punishment. It was an iron collar, which passed

round the neck like a yoke (*jugum*), and was secured at the back by a strong padlock. The *jagg* was attached to the church wall, close by the principal door, and was fixed at such a height from the ground as to place the penitent in an ignominious and painful attitude. While secured in the *jagg* the offender wore the repentance habit, and remained in his degraded position during the hour immediately preceding morning worship, that the congregation might profit by the lesson of his humiliation. Great offenders were “*jagged*” on a succession of Sundays ; there were cases in which the punishment was administered during every Sunday for six months. The punishment was held to be peculiarly disgraceful, and the ecclesiastical judicatories were occasionally obliged to have recourse to the civil authorities to compel those sentenced to it to submit themselves. In April, 1668, the Kirk-session of Port of Menteith passed the following resolution :—“The Session, after long debate, did this day judge it most fitt for the bringing of persons to the juges, to make choice of ane of thir two wayes, either to desyr the respective heritor to present those in his lands, or to cause a messenger-at-armes with Jon Battison, to bring thereto, or to require the concurrence of the justice of the peace. Resolving if any more compendious and legal way can be fallen out hereafter, to follow that.”

Subsequent to the period of the Revolution, Kirk-sessions seldom ventured to enforce the punishment of the *jagg* on their own authority. A shepherd at Lesmahago, who had shorn his sheep on the parish fast, was brought before the Kirk-session of that parish in June, 1697, and was held to merit condign punishment. But the Session did not feel themselves empowered

to inflict aught beyond spiritual censures. Hence the following minute :—“The Session considering that there are several scandals of this nature breaking forth, recommends to the bailie of the bailerie of Lesmahago, to cause fix a pair of jugs at the kirk door, that he may cause punish corporally those who are not able to pay fines, and that according to law.”

The jagg, when no longer serviceable to the church, became an instrument of punishment in the hands of the civil and municipal authorities. Down to the middle of the last century, the justices at Marykirk, Kincardineshire, confined in the jagg those who had behaved riotously at the village fair. Later in the century a farmer was placed in the jagg at the cross of Stirling, on conviction for chicanery. The Stirling jagg has been preserved ; it consists of an iron enclosure both for the neck and wrists. The jagg of Galashiels is deposited in the armoury at Abbotsford. Jaggs remain attached to the church at Merton, Berwickshire, and to the church at Duddingston, Mid-Lothian.

The *Brank* was an instrument for punishing scolds and scandal-mongers. In shape like a helmet, and composed of iron bars fitting round the head ; it had a triangular piece of iron which entered the mouth. Placed on the head of the delinquent, it was secured by a padlock. The offender wearing this degrading casque stood on the repentance stool. Soon after his elevation to the primacy, Archbishop Sharpe was conducting service in the parish church of St. Andrews, when a woman stood up, and, in the face of the congregation, accused him of an illicit amour with her, when he was a college student. The accuser was one Isobel Lindsay, a woman of humble station, resident in the city. She was arrested, and

brought before the Kirk-session, who sentenced her to appear for a succession of Sundays on the repentance stool, wearing the brank. A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, writing to that periodical in 1785, states that the father of the then church-officer at St. Andrews, had witnessed Isobel undergoing her sentence. The brank of St. Andrews Kirk-session has been preserved.

The punishment of the brank was not inflicted solely by the ecclesiastical courts. Early in the sixteenth century, Bessie Tarliefeir, in the Canongate of Edinburgh, who had accused a bailie of "keeping ane false stoup" (measure), was ordered by the magistrates to be "brankit," and set on the cross for an hour. The burgh records of Glasgow set forth that two scolds were condemned to be "brankit" in 1574. The following minute, in which a shrew was handed over for branking to the civil magistrates, was passed by the Kirk-session of Stirling, in 1600 :—"Compeiret Margaret Wilsone, spous to Duncan Bennet, quha be sufficient tryell is fundane abuser and blasphemer of hir husband, of the eldaris of the kirk, and her nynebouris, many and divers tymes, nocht onlie in the day licht bot in the nicht, notwithstanding of many admonitions she has receivit of the eldaris of the kirk of abstaining thairfra ; and thairfor the breithren of the kirk thinkis meit that the baillies put her in the brankis in the naither end of the town, in the sycht of hir nyneburis, quhirby she may be movit to abstain fra the lyk ; but if it be fund in her heirafter, that the baillies will be desyrit to put her in the *govis*." The *govis* or *gyves* were applied to the legs and feet.

During the invasion of Cromwell in 1650, the soldiers of the Commonwealth beheld with surprise and disgust

the degrading sentences inflicted by the church for offences which they deemed utterly trivial. In a burst of rage they everywhere swept away repentance stools, jaggs, gypes, and sackcloth habits. The Kirk-sessions of Glasgow, Kirkcaldy, Kennoway, Stow, Castleton, and other places resolved to pause in the exercise of discipline till the rebellious strangers had returned to their English homes.

Such sentences as “scourging,” “ducking,” “placarding,” and “exposing upon carts driven through the town,” were frequently inflicted by the ecclesiastical tribunals. Contumacious persons were imprisoned in the church steeple. Notorious and incorrigible offenders were banished. Undutiful children were punished on the hands with “palmers”—leathern thongs burnt at the points. In 1598, the Presbytery of Glasgow seriously deliberated on the case of a youth who had “passed his father without lifting his bonnet.” The Presbytery of Orkney, in 1632, sentenced Edmund Sinclair, for disrespectful conduct towards his father, “to make his publick repentance in linen, barefoot and barelegged, and to stand at the kirke door of Holme, from the second bell to the third at the sermon, with a paper upon his forehead, bearing his unnatural fault, and thereafter to stand upon the stool of repentance during the sermon.”

David Leyes, at St. Andrews, for striking his father, was, in 1574, sentenced by the Kirk-session to undergo severe and protracted discipline. He was, on the first Sunday, to appear before the congregation “beir heddit and beirfuttit, upon the highest degree of the penitent stuill, with a hammer in the ane hand and ane stane in the uther hand, as twa instrumentis he manneset his

father with, ane papir writin in great letteris about his heid, ther wordis, BEHOLD THE ONNATURALL SON punished for putting hand on his father, and dishonouring of God in him." On the second Sunday he was to confess his guilt, "in meddis of the kirk." Then the following Monday he was to "stand in the jaggs, in the market-cross, from ten o'clock till twelve noon." At noon he was to be placed "on ane cart," and then "to be cartit through the haill town, and be oppin proclamation the pepill to be advertisit and informit of his falt." The culprit was thereafter to be conducted back to the cross, and there a proclamation made in his presence, "that if he ever offended again his father or mother heirefter, in word or deed, that member of his body quhairby he offendit salbe cuttit off from him, be it tung, hand, or futt, without mercy, in example to utheris to abstain fra the lyke."

Vituperation and scolding were punished with severity. In 1562, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen decreed that "all common skoldis, flytharis, and cardis be baneist the town, and nocht sufferit to remaine thairin for na request." On the 19th December, 1592, the Kirk-session of Glasgow "appointit juggs and brankis to be fixit up in some suitable place for the punischment of flyteris." By the Kirk-session of Stow it was enacted that "flyteris sould pay xx sh. everie ane of them, and stand in the jugs." On the 3rd May, 1668, the minister of Port of Menteith "did intimat unto the people, after the first sermon, and intrichted them that no person should flyt nor scold on the Sabbath-day, or no ither day, or whosoever person or persons should be scolding, should be punished both in their persons and means, and to stand in the jogs." On the 15th Novem-

ber, 1570, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews “ warnit Gelis Symson, spouse to George Upton, that she sould be made to sit in the joggis twenty-four houris,” and be heavily fined if she persevered in her fourfold offence of “ miscayin her husband, flytin with hir neighbouris, selling candle and bread on Sundays, and not resorting to the kirke.” For scolding her husband, the Kirk-session of Ayr, in 1606, sentenced Janet Hunter “ to stand in her lynnings at the cross on market days,” and also “ to stand at the kirk door seven days, and in the public place of repentance.”

Margaret Short, at Stirling, having grievously abused her husband, the Kirk-session devolved her punishment upon the magistrates, in the following minute :—

“ March 23, 1598.—Compeirit Margaret Short, spous to Alexander Causland, quha being accusit of abusing of her husband divers tymis within thir thrie ouldis, lyk as she hes done of befoir, she confessis that, upon some wordis spokin be him, she mintit ane shool to him, that she cast in his face ane cap with aill, and that through angir she hes spokin angrie wordis to him, and hes scartit his face ; for the quhilk faultis, and divers uther injuries done be hir to hir said husband, nocht regairding his lyff, the breithrein desyris the baillies to punish hir publiclie, quhairby she may be moveit to abstein fra the lyk in timeis cuming, and that utheris may tak exampill.”

The following deliverance, in the case of maltreating a husband, was passed by the Kirk-session of Dunfermline, in March, 1653 :—

“ Compeirit Margaret Markman for abusing David Waterstoun, hir husband, with most cursed, cruel, and malicious speeches, and she being found guiltie thereof,

and the Session knowing that she oftymes has fallen in sutch wicked contentions before against hir said husband, refers hir to the magistrates, to be imprisoned in the laighest prison-house,* and theirafter to be set on the tron on a mercat day, to the example of uthers, with a paper on her browe, showing her notorious scandal, and her remaining in prison and standing on the tron,[†] to be such a space as the magistrates and session shall modifie." On the 5th March, 1648, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline sentenced Margaret Nicholsone "to stand and the branks on her mouth the next Friday, being the mercat day, twa houris before noone, for hir comon scolding and drunkenness, and that to the public example of utheris."

Detraction was a vice common in ancient Scotland. Magnus, the English ambassador, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, in 1525, remarks, "there has been right rageous winds with exceeding rain, and an open slander and a murmur raised upon me, not only in this toun of Edinburgh, but through a great part of the realm, surmitting that I should be the occasion thereof, insomuch that I nor my servants could or might pass of late in the streets, neither to move from the court, but openly many women banned, cursed, swear'd, and gave me and mine the most grievous maledictions that could be to our faces." At the Reformation the church courts everywhere enacted that all persons found guilty of calumny should be severely punished.

In 1662, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen decreed that "all slanderers should ask forgiveness of the persons whom they had traduced, in presence of the congrega-

* Otherwise known as the thieves' hole.

† Weighing place of the public market.

tion," accompanying their apology with the expression, "tongue ye lied." In 1578, the Kirk-session of Perth caused John Tod, for a slanderous speech, to stand in irons for two hours. The Kirk-session of Dumfries sentenced slanderers "to stand at the kirk-stile on the Sabbath, with branks upon their mouths." Obstinate detractors were pilloried in the market-place. Vicious and habitual calumniators were handed to the magistrates "to be docked or shaven at the cross." In 1646, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline sentenced Robert Shortis and his wife, for slandering their neighbours, "to ask the parties offendit forgiveness, before their awn doores in the street, publicklie on thair knees." The same Kirk-session, in 1642, placed Marjorie Cassin "in the stockes two houris, for denouncing Janet Brownsie as "a comon theef, comon whoore, and a loun, to seven or eight men." Margaret was warned that, on the further indulgence of her wicked propensity, she should be "banished from the place." It is edifying to discover the Presbytery of St. Andrews, in 1643, expressing a belief that "there be some quho slander those for witches against quhom ther is neither presumption nor dilation," and enacting that "such should be censured as most notorious slanderers."

Some of the sentences against detractors were sufficiently severe. Thomas Malcolm was condemned to imprisonment by the Kirk-session of Perth, in 1579, for calling Thomas Brown "a loon carle." Jonet Wely, at Dunfermline, was sent to the pillar, in March, 1646, for saying that her neighbour's wife was "a white bird." The Kirk-session of Ayr, in 1606, sentenced John McCrie to "the joggs and the pillar of repentance," for asserting that "no bodie had the wyte (blame) of the poore folks but the devill and the priest."

Before the Reformation, profane swearing was lamentably prevalent. Men swore by the Virgin, the saints, and the wood of the Holy Cross. In 1592, the Presbytery and Town Council of Aberdeen passed a joint enactment, whereby employers were authorized to exact penalties from such of their servants as used oaths, and to deduct the same in the settlement of their wages. They were empowered to punish with "palmers" those blasphemers who were unable to pay fines, and with the same to chastise oath-speaking children. In 1644, the Kirk-session of Glasgow appointed certain of their number to proceed throughout the city on market-days, "to take order with banners and swearers." Every individual detected in uttering an oath was mulcted in the penalty of twelve pence, Scottish money.

About the same period the Kirk-session of Dumfries called on the magistrates to visit, with "civil and corporal punishment," a miller from Troqueer, who was guilty of cursing. In June, 1651, the Kirk-session of Dunfermline sentenced a woman to "stand at the croce or trone on ane publict mercat day, with ane paper on her head, signifying her cursing and blasphemies." The Kirk-session of Lesmahago, in August, 1703, having rebuked a profane swearer, further resolved to complain of him to "Her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton, that such a person may not be continued as Fiscal of her Court at Lesmahago."

Drunkards were punished by fines and public censures. In 1612, John Stevenson, who had, through excessive drinking, "lost sindrie of his senses," was sentenced, by the Kirk-session of Stirling "to fall down on his knees, and crave God and the kirk for forgiveness, and to pay twenty shillens *ad pios usus.*" In 1645,

the Kirk-session of Dunino resolved to impose penalties on drunkards according to a scale. Six shillings were to be paid for the first offence, twelve shillings for the second, and so on *toties quoties*.

In May, 1668, the Kirk-session of Port of Menteith made the following regulation, which was duly intimated from the pulpit :—“ No brewir within the paroch should sell aill to no person except alls much as wold quenche the thirst of strangers, or to sick persons, and no to sell no aill to no ither person within the paroch, and that under the paine of ten pounds Scots, to be payed be the aill seller, and the person who drink it to be punished as the Session shall think fit.”

In 1712, the Kirk-session of Hawick appointed certain persons to “ perlustrate the town, to see who were drinking in alehouses after eight o’clock at night.”

For a century after the Reformation, incestuous crimes occasionally occupied the attention of Presbyteries and Synods. The following is a deliverance of the Synod of Fife, in April, 1611, in a case of incest :—“ The Synod ordained Laurence Ferguson, in the parish of Kirkcaldy, who had been guilty of incest, to pas ilk Saboth day from kirk to kirk *per circulum*, throughout the haill kirkes in the boundis of the Exerceis of Kirkaldie, according as he salbe enjoyned be the brethren of the samine, and that in sackcloth, for the space of ane yeir compleitt, without any intermissionne of dayes, vntil the next diocesian Assemblie to be holdin (God willing) in St. Androis, in the moneth of Apryl, 1612.”

Adultery was, by the Estates, in 1563, made punishable with death. David Gray and Helen Watson, adulterers, were hanged at Perth in January, 1585.

But the capital sentence was seldom carried out. The church courts considerably varied in their mode of punishing the crime. In 1568, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen enacted on the subject as follows :—

“That ilk persone convict in the said cryme sall cum thre several Sundays, at the second bell ringing, to the kirk door quhair the people enteris that day, bairfut and bairlegd, cled in sackclayth, with ane crown of paper on their heid, with the cryme written thairabout ; and remaine thair quhile the precheour begin his sermon ; and thairefter sall cum in to the oppen place of repentans, and remane standing until the end of the preaching, and then pass again to the same dur, quhair thai sall remane to be ane spektakl to the haill peple, until all folkis be past hame, and departit fra the kirk.”

The Kirk-session of Glasgow enacted, in 1586, that adulterers should “satisfy six Sabbaths at the pillory, barefoot and barelegged, in sackcloth, and should thereafter be carted through the town.” The same Kirk-session, ten years afterwards, procured “ane cart for harlots,” and had “ane pulley” attached to Glasgow bridge, whereby adulterers might be “duckit” in the Clyde. Probably owing to the continued prevalence of the offence, the Kirk-session of Glasgow decreed, in 1643, that adulterers should stand “three hours in the jaggs,” receive “a public whipping,” be imprisoned in the common jail, and thereafter banished from the city. On the 15th October, 1635, the Kirk-session of Dumfries ordained two persons, guilty of adultery, “to sit seven Sundays in sackcloth, and to stand the first and last Sabbath at the church-door, barefooted.”

Cases of adultery which called for the cognizance of

the superior judicatories, were dealt with most rigorously. Paul Methven, minister at Jedburgh, who, in 1563, acknowledged himself guilty of the offence, was subjected to discipline of a most humiliating kind. The General Assembly consulted the lords of the Privy Council respecting their decision. At length, in the third year subsequent to his confession, the Assembly permitted their erring brother to prostrate himself on the floor before them, and, with "weeping and howling," to entreat their pardon. His sentence was then pronounced, that, at Edinburgh, the capital, Dundee, his native town, and Jedburgh, the place of his ministrations, he should stand in sackcloth at the church-door, and on the repentance-stool, two Sundays in each place.

The Presbytery of Lanark, in May, 1642, sentenced two adulterers "to go through the whole kirkes of the Presbyterie, and at the kirke-doore of each to stand barefoot and barelegged, from the second bell to the last."

Fornication was punished with a severity nearly equal to that which attended the infraction of the marriage vow. In 1576, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews ordained that fornicators, convicted for the first time, should be imprisoned in the steeple; and that those who relapsed should be pilloried at the cross, and have their heads shaved. On the 19th December, 1594, the Kirk-session of Glasgow enacted that the punishment for "single fornication should be ane day on the cock-stool,* ane day at the pillar," and eight days' warding in the steeple. By this court a new regulation was passed in 1605, providing that fornicators should pay a heavy fine, and stand "ane Monday at the croce, with ane fast band of yron about their craig," and a paper

* The lower stool of repentance.

on their foreheads, proclaiming their offence. For relapse in fornication, Dionysius Blackwood was, in 1581, placed by the Kirk-session of Perth "on the cross-head on the mercat-day, four hours locked in the irons." Four years after, the Perth Kirk-session appointed James Pitlady, with a yearly salary of forty shillings, "to shave the heads of fornicators or fornicatrixes." During the same year, the Kirk-session of Perth ordained Thomas Smith, who had, for the third time, acknowledged himself guilty of uncleanness, to be warded, shaven, and doukit in a puddle* of water, according to Act of Parliament."

In 1627, William McLay, who had been convicted of fornication the second time, was sentenced, by the Kirk-session of Stirling, "to stand on the mercat-crosse two hours, to pay two merks, and to stand six severall Sabbaths upon the pillar." During the same year, Alexander Sandilands, at Stow, was, for his first conviction, "removed from the stool of repentance, after having sitten eighteen dyetts upon it."

A woman who had fallen for the second time was, in 1602, sentenced by the Kirk-session of Aberdeen in the following terms :—

"The Session ordainis Jenett Scherar quha was banischet befoir for harlatrie, and is cum in agane within this court ; but since her incumming hes fallen of new agane, to be apprehendit and put in ward, and thairefter to be doukit at the croce and publicklie banist of new againe at the mercat croce ; provyding gif scho pay ten markis of penaltie, to be fre of hir douking, and no utherways."

In 1701, the Town Council of Ayr, on the recom-

* Pool.

mendation of the Kirk-session, sentenced a woman, " who had relapsed in fornication, to stand at the Fish-cross, between the hours of eleven and twelve, with the locks-man beside her, who is to shave her head in presence of the people."

In order to the detection of offences against social order, the ecclesiastical judicatories strictly charged midwives, and others attending illegitimate births, to divulge all they knew to the elders of the district. Accoucheurs who concealed such information were personally subjected to discipline.

Marriage was not permitted when the contracting parties were in a state of religious ignorance. In August, 1579, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews decreed that " nane be resaivit to compleit the bond of matrimonye without they reherse to the redar the Lord's Prayer, the Believe, and the Commandments." Church courts likewise inquired as to the worldly circumstances of parties proposing to be united in wedlock. The Presbytery of Glasgow, in January, 1594, made the following order respecting a proposed marriage :—" Jan. 28, 1594. The Presbeterie, in respect that James Armour is in greit debt, thairfor can nocht ordein Helein Bar to be mareit upone him."

Matrimony was attended with strange delays and useless incumbrances. Bans were proclaimed three several Sundays in the parish churches of the parties. Then forty days were allowed to elapse, wherein objectors might come forward to oppose the union. Two obligations were meanwhile imposed upon the pair: they had to make a pecuniary consignment in the hands of the session-clerk, that their union would certainly be solemnized, and to procure a cautioner, who

became bound that they would not cohabit before receiving the nuptial benediction.

Marriage feasts were a source of disquietude to the church. In order to check the excesses which these occasions called forth, Kirk-sessions issued regulations with respect to the cost of the entertainments and the number of persons who should be permitted to join them. In November, 1583, the Kirk-session of Glasgow enacted that there should be no superfluous gatherings at bridals, and that the *lawin* or cost of the dinner or supper should not exceed eighteen pennies Scots. The Kirk-session of Stirling, in 1599, permitted a lawin of five shillings, but decreed that no marriage should take place in the church unless the parties should deposit the sum of four pounds, that it should not exceed that amount.

To elude clerical surveillance the inhabitants of Stirling began to celebrate their nuptial festivities in tents pitched in the open fields. To overcome this subterfuge, the Kirk-session appealed to the Town-Council, and a joint deliverance of the two bodies was adopted in the following terms :—“ December 1, 1608. The brethren of the kirk ratifies the act of counsell underwritten anent brydells, and ordaris that na testimoniall be given but according thairto in all points. The quhilk day the councell statutes and ordaines that all and quhat sumevir persones dwelland within this burgh or parrochin, quha sal happen to be proclamit for marriage contractit betwix thame, sall mak thair brydellis and banquittis within this burgh fra thyncefurth ; and if thaye fealze, being proclamit within the paroche kirk of this burgh be the ministeris thairof, and mak thair brydellis outwith the said burgh, in that caice the partie

or parties that sal happen to contrivein sal pay to the town the sume of twenty poundis money ; provyding alwayes that this act be onelie extendit against the men and women quha sal happen to be joyned in marriage, bayth dwelland within this burgh or parochin thairof. And if ony persone dwelland within this burgh marie an outland woman, in that caice it is statute and ordainit that it sall not be lessum to him to desyr any ma persones nyghtbouris of this burgh nor twenty personnes ; and if it be fund or tryed that he dois in the contrar, in that caice he sall pay to the towne the summe of ten poundis ; and willis that the kirk, befoir they grant testimonials, tak ane pund thairfor. Lykes if any outland man marie any woman dwelland within this burgh, in that caice thair brydelles and bankettis sal be maid within this burgh ; and if the woman contravein thairanent, in that caice sall pay uther twenty pundis ; and that befoir any testimoniall be granted be the minister or reader, or yet befoir marriage, be solemnizit, that they take ane pand for the said soume."

In July, 1657, the Town Council of Dumfries ordained that "not more than twenty-four persons should assemble at a wedding, and that the expense should not exceed eight pounds, and that under the Payne of twenty punds, whereof the one half is to be payt by the bridegroom, and the other half by the inkieper quhar the brydle is kept."

Despite the efforts of the Church, weddings were long the occasion of large gatherings and of excessive festivity. Even elders themselves did not always refuse to sanction such periods of rejoicing when members of their own families were united in wedlock. In 1703, John Hart, elder at Hawick, acknowledged, "upon his knees," before his brethren, that he had made a penny-

bryddal at his daughter's marriage. "Prayer was offered to God to grant him repentance," and he was suspended from office.

Against dancing the church courts exercised an uncompromising hostility. The ancient Scottish dances were associated with lewd practices, and the gyrations introduced in the reign of Queen Mary were even more obnoxious and unseemly. Thus the Presbyterian reformers contracted a prejudice against a species of recreation in itself innocent, and certainly healthful. In 1599, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews dealt with David Wemyss, in Raderny, for being present at a dance. He acknowledged that he had, but justified himself by saying that "he never saw that dancing was stayit (stopped before), and that the custom wes kept at Raderny befor any of the session wes born." Wemyss was imprisoned in the church steeple for contumacy; he latterly submitted to discipline. In May, 1649, the General Assembly "inhibited dancing," and referred "the censure thereof" to "the care and diligence" of the several Presbyteries. In September, 1649, the Kirk-session of Cambusnethan enacted that "there sould be no pypers at brydells, and whoever sould have a pyper playing at their brydell on their marriageday sall lose their consigned money, and be furder punished as the sessioun thinks fitt." In 1660, four men and two women were brought before the Kirk-session of Dunino under the charge of "promiscuous dancing." They pled guilty, and were "sharplie rebukit." The piper who had discoursed music on the occasion, was "humblit on his knees before the pulpit, in face of the congregation."

Gambling and all games of chance were forbidden. In 1598, the Kirk-session of Stirling dealt with two per-

sons who had played together at dice till four of the morning, when they “*discordit*.” They were remitted to the magistrates for imprisonment, “*their fude to be bread and watter*.” In February, 1654, the Kirk-session of Dumfries sentenced a person found card playing on a Saturday evening to pay twelve shillings to the kirk-treasurer.

Persons arraigned for felony before the criminal courts, were, though acquitted by these tribunals, subjected to ecclesiastical censures.

In December, 1599, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews absolved four persons for the murder of “*unquhill James Smith*;” they had appeared two Sundays in presence of the congregation, conformable with the regulation as to “*murderous repentance*.” In 1619, the Kirk-session of Redgorton considered the case of Colin Pitscottie, eldest son of Andrew Pitscottie, of Luncarty, who had been accused of the murder of Alexander Bennett. After various delays, Pitscottie appeared before the Presbytery of Perth, and acknowledged his guilt. He was ordained to make “*his publict repentance in the kirk of Redgorton, in lyning clothes*.”

Upon Kirk-sessions devolved the responsibility of providing for the wants of the poor. So long as the bulk of the people adhered to the Established Church, and church courts were invested with civil authority, funds to meet the claims of the indigent were procured readily. Elders stood beside the collecting plates at the church doors, and reminded the opulent of their duty to the poor. In the bestowal of alms liberality was not their fault. Many parishes possessed a public wheelbarrow, in which the sexton might transport beyond their parochial bounds aged and infirm persons who had no

legal claim upon them. In November, 1685, Margaret McOwen, a poor woman, died at Dunfermline, while Robert Peirson, the joiner, was preparing "a barrow" to "transport her out of the parish." The same Kirk-session, at a meeting held on the 14th October, 1649, appointed the burgh executioner to "keep beggaris from entering the kirk-yard on Sondays," lest their importunities might diminish the contributions in the collecting plates. The Kirk-session of Lesmahago exercised an unwonted liberality by permitting infirm persons to be wheeled in the parish barrow round the hamlet in quest of alms.

The minister and elders of the Kirk-session did not hold themselves responsible only to the superior judicatories. They acknowledged the authority of the people, and invited them to criticise their judicial and private conduct. In April, 1568, the Kirk-session of Aberdeen published the following edict :—"The haill assemblie ordainis tryall and examination of the minister, elderis, and dyaconis and redar, to be had of them, off themselfis, four tymes in the yeir, concerning their liffis and conversation, according to the use off uder kirkis. And befoir the tyme off communion that sik tryall be maid, be the haill kirk, vpone the minister, redar, elderis, and dyaconis, off their conversation."

Another resolution, to the same effect, was passed by the same Kirk-session, in January, 1573. It proceeds thus :—"The assemblie ordainis the minister to charge and admonyshe on Sunday next to cum, all and sundrie within this town, to compeir on the nixt assemblie day, to try and examine the lyffis of the minister, elders, and dyaconis, and to lay to their charge sik thingis as thai know to be sklanderous to the kirk."

For some time after the Reformation the lay members of session selected the minister's texts, and the portions of Scripture to be expounded by him ; they also regulated the duration of discourses and of the entire services.

According to "The Buik of the Kirk of the Canon-gait," of Edinburgh, the Kirk-session of that parish, "after ripe consultation and invocation of the name of God," desired the minister "to begyne the Actes of the Apostles, after that he had endit the first chapter of Esay, quhilk he was intrattand, the quhilk he promised to doe." On the 30th May, 1598, the Kirk-session of St. Andrews thus ruled :—"It is thocht gude be ye brethren yt Mr. George Gladstanes, minister, proceids in preaching of ye second book of Samuell and ye buik of ye Kingis following upon ye Saboth day." On the 14th October, 1621, the Kirk-session of Elgin ordered that "when Mr. David Philip teaches, he turn the glass when he preaches, and that the whole be finished within an hour."

Regular and prompt attendance at the different courts of the church was rigidly insisted on. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow, held on the 2nd August, 1597, Mr. John Bell, minister of Cadder, was found "lait of entering." He pled that he had "wurkmen wirkynge, qhairby he nicht nocht cum soun," but the brethren "repellit" his excuse, and he was "scharplie admonischit." In April, 1618, the Kirk-session of Port of Menteith "ordained that none of their number shall absent themselves from any session hereafter to be holden, without sending their excuse in the day of ther absence, which, at the next session following, they being present, is to be cognosed upon be

the session, and not being relevant, they are to pay ten lbs (Scots), *toties quoties.*"

At the Reformation, the lay members of Kirk-sessions were selected for their knowledge and Christian experience. Afterwards, the resident landowners, not being "suspected of Papistrie," were added to the eldership. Latterly, magistrates of burghs were expected to take their seats in the Kirk-session courts. In 1599, the Kirk-session of Glasgow issued a decree, providing "that whoever be chosen proveist or baillies after this, sall be enrollit as elderis of the kirke." Nor was the office of elder a mere sinecure, or post of honour. In April, 1650, the Synod of Fife ruled,—"That everie paroche be divydit in severall quarteris, and each elder his owne quarter, over which he is to have speciall inspectioun, and that everie elder visit his quarter once everie month, at least, according to the Act of the Generall Assemblie, 1649 ; and in their visitatioun tak notice of all disorderlie walkeris, especiallie neglectouris of God's worship in thair families, sweareris, haunteris of aill houses, especiallie at vnseasonable tymes, and long sitteris thair, and drinkeris of healthis ; and that he dilate these to the sessioun." The Kirk-session of Dumfries, in October, 1654, ordered their individual members "to attend the four parts of the burgh ilk a Wednesday, (the day of the weekly market), from twa till six, to take note of all persons found drunk or scandalous, and to take such into custody."

The obedience which however keenly resisted for a time, was ultimately yielded to the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, may readily be explained. They retained the power of excommunication, that tremendous power which, wielded by sovereign pontiffs, had

brought kings and princes to their knees, and which, in the hands of Presbyterian pastors, was not less formidable within the field of their jurisdiction. By the ancient law of Scotland, a person excommunicated by any of the church courts was deprived of his feudal rights ; he could hold no land ; he might be seized and imprisoned on an application to the nearest magistrate ; he was cut off from holy offices, and was separated from the intercourse of relatives and friends, and denied the assistance of his own servants. No person might trade with him, or show him the most trivial courtesy, under the pain of being subjected to like penalties. The Reformed Church of Scotland did not renounce this power. When Lord Herries was excommunicated by the Provincial Synod, in 1647, two tradesmen who had business with him obtained, before waiting upon him as an excommunicated person, special permission to do so from the Kirk-session of Dumfries.

Among the humbler classes the Church enforced obedience to its citations or decisions by fines and imprisonments, the jaggs and the sentence of vagabondism. In October, 1640, the bailie, or local magistrate at Salton, East Lothian, reported to the Kirk-session of that parish that, pursuant to their decree, he had taken poinds from refractory and disobedient persons, viz., "from Jeane Reid ane yron pot, from Agnes Litster ane yron pot, from Marion Horne ane pan, from Jean Coveurd ane pan, from Margaret Fluker ane coat, and from Helen Allen ane coat." In November, 1627, the Kirk-session of Stow "gave up as ane vagabond," one James Pringle, who had declined the citation of the court ; "it was intimate from the pulpitt that none within the parish should receive him or give him har-

bour." On the 5th April, 1646, Christian White was warned by the Kirk-session of Dunfermline that, should she again be disobedient to the Church, she would be sentenced "to stand on the tron in the juggs, and thair-after in sackcloth and bare-fitted at the kirke doore."

In 1690, the civil consequences of the sentence of excommunication were abrogated by an Act of the Estates. Henceforth the severity of ecclesiastical discipline began to wane. The punishment of crime at length devolved entirely on the civil magistrate, and church discipline became a work of kindly reproof and gentle exhortation.

G L O S S A R Y.

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Abrullied, obliged.	Dittay, an indictment.
Ane, one.	Delate, accuse.
Adoias, affairs, business.	Deill, deal.
Abune, above.	Deat, date.
Anaplie, sinless.	Douks, ducks.
Ayths, oaths.	Drummoch, meal and water mixed.
Bundyn, bound.	Drightine, The Lord.
Bicker, timber drinking vessel.	Doukit, plunged.
Buirdly, large, strong.	Dunner, clatter.
Blew, blue.	Dreed, feared.
Biggin, building.	Dang, overcome.
Bankettis, banquets.	Deil's bucks, devil's books or play-cards.
Brek, broke.	Eird, ground.
Burrowes, burghs.	Ey-schot, eye-charmed.
Byd, continue.	Effaires, affairs.
Bayillia, bailies, magistrates.	Essayet, tried.
Bleeze, blaze.	Ellis, else.
Buskit, decked, attired.	Fellon, fierce, cruel.
Byke, a hive.	Funt-stane, baptismal-font.
Baxter, a baker.	Fylit, defiled, found guilty.
Bargent, bargained.	Forsweir, abandon.
Brynt, burnt.	Frewit, fruit.
Beseik, beseech.	Forasmeikle, inasmuch.
Courchie, female head-covering.	Floukes, flat-fish.
Clud, cloud.	Fyke, bustle.
Cruppen, crept.	Fut, foot.
Commer, a young woman.	Fowk, folk.
Cloissit, enclosed.	Feckless, feeble.
Croce, cross.	Foyson, abundance.
Close, an alley.	Fause, false.
Cogie, a cog.	Failler, defaulter.
Carlins, witches, old women.	Fell, high land.
Crowdie, porridge.	Gangand, going.
Curn, a small quantity.	Gif, Gyf, if.
Caice, case.	Grimy, swarthy.
Copp, a cap, cup.	Gaest, get.
Cunn, return.	Gryte, great.
Crap, crept.	Grip, hold.
Chese, choose.	Gowden, golden.
Clowk, cloak.	Girnagain, whining, complaining.
Coven, meeting.	
Cantrip, a charm.	

Glossary.

Glaikit, giddy.	Plouter, to make a noise among water.
Gabbacks, payments.	Powsowdie, sheep's-head broth.
Gude, good.	Queyoch, calf.
Geir, goods.	Reik, smoke.
Gaif, gane.	Ruithful, kindly.
Gowkit, light, frivolous.	Revid, rood.
Graith, substance.	Rive, rand.
Grund, ground.	Reeffarts, radishes.
Howlet, owl.	Riggin, roof.
Hood, moaned.	Scartit, scratched.
Hand, hold.	Stethe, foundation.
Heft, handle.	Sodden, made into pottage.
Heigh, high.	Sawis, salves.
Haffata, side of the head.	Speirit, inquired.
Harnpan, the skull.	Sneeshin, snuff-taking.
Harn, coarse cloth.	Sheera, scissora.
Haill, whole.	Swanky, empty, hungry.
Holsum, wholesome.	Scrieven, moving swiftly.
Haldyn, held.	Skailin, dismissing.
Hallowaria, saints.	Shoon, shoes.
Hattock, hop.	Trow, believe.
Jawhole, cesspool.	Tod, fox.
Ky, cattle.	Vand, wand.
Kebbuck, a cheese.	Unce, ounce.
Loup, leap.	Wirreit, strangled.
Liltin, sing cheerfully	Wiche, witch.
Lift, firmanent.	Wicht, weight.
Mannesit, threatened.	Wadges, wages.
Mell, intermeddle.	Wale, select.
Merk, mark.	Weardet, warded.
Mickle, big, large.	Wabester, weaver.
Messin, a small dog.	Weir, war.
Marsheatis, merchants.	Winnock-bunker, a window seat.
Mertrickis, borders.	Yowled, yelled.
Marabon, marrow-bone.	Yron, iron.
Mocht, might.	Ylk, each.
Mintit, aimed.	Yllis, isles.
Nut, nolt, black cattle.	Yill, ale.
Pyked, picked.	Zoull, yule, Christmas.
Pas, pass.	Zeir, year.
Pree, taste.	

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