

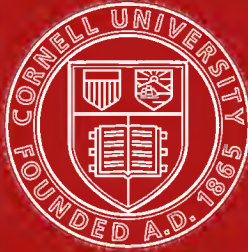




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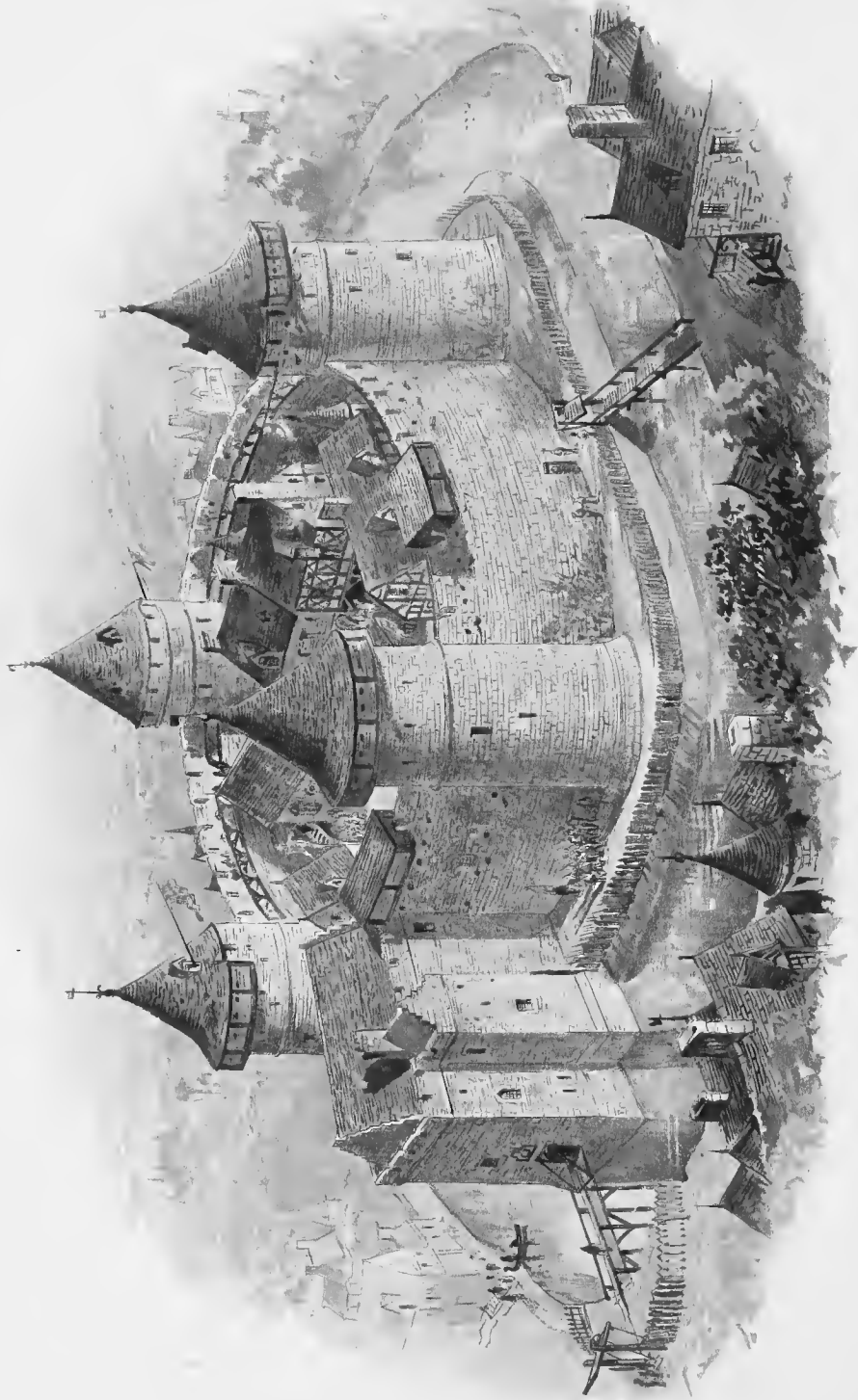
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The Isle of Bute in the
Olden Time



ROTHENSAY CASTLE, in the Sixteenth Century

The Isle of Bute in the Olden Time

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND PLANS

BY

JAMES KING HEWISON, M.A., F.S.A. (SCOT.)

MINISTER OF ROTHESAY

EDITOR OF 'CERTAIN TRACTATES BY NINIAN WINZET'

VOL. II.

THE
ROYAL
STEWARDS



AND
THE
BRANDANES

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MDCCCXCV

54

TO

THE MARCHIONESS OF BUTE

PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

IN this volume I have carried out my intention of providing an account of the Stewards of Scotland, and a history of 'Bute in the Olden Time,' from the thirteenth down to the eighteenth century, to which I have added a few of the more important facts which link the last two centuries to the present time.

Having no special brief to furnish, in fullest detail, the romantic history of the Royal Stewards, I have been hampered in the effort to condense, within the straitened framework of language attractive to the reader, many important unpublished results of researches which should add a new interest to the mystery of the origin of the Stewarts who occupied the throne of Scotland.

To find "the root of many kings" among the Celts of Scotland, I have ransacked every likely place for facts, with such success, chronicled herein, as may

possibly provoke some other zealous investigator to follow up the clues through those unpublished MSS., which are the treasures of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and which my examination did not exhaust. By their means the ghost of Banquo may yet become more vocal than he was to King Macbeth.

To ensure reliable investigation into the connection of Alan—the progenitor of the Stewards—with Brittany, I visited that ancient province, and in the Public Library at Rennes, as well as in the British Museum, verified the supposition that the Fitz Alans were also Bretons. On my return, I had the honour and good fortune to receive from the Right Honourable the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres the use of a large collection of MSS. referring to the Fitz Alans and their Breton contemporaries, which were gathered during a lifetime by the late learned peer, his father, who had given much attention to the early history of his ancestry. Many of these documents are extracts from the chartularies of French monasteries and records of Brittany, made by distinguished French scholars, notably Monsieur Francisque Michel.

I have to thank the Earl of Crawford and Bal-

carres for his kindness in intrusting this valuable collection to me.

I have also to thank the Most Noble the Marquess of Bute, K.T., for his courtesy in permitting me to study in Mountstuart Library, to have access to his charters, and to publish the Report on Rothesay Castle, drawn up by Mr Burges, architect.

To the many friends who have assisted me in the production of this work, including those artistic helpers whose names are associated with the beautiful plates throughout this volume, and are mentioned in the descriptive Index, I tender my thanks.

For ten years I have, in imagination, listened to the voices of the saintly and patriotic makers of our Fatherland, and have followed throughout these western regions our immortal heroes,—Aidan from Erin to Iona—Wallace from Lanark to London—Bruce from Carrick to Cardross—the Brandanes from Bute to Bannockburn and many another field; but now the accomplishment of this work brings the regret that I must forbear their “pastyme and gud companie,” and let the sword of freedom descend, darkling, into its rusty scabbard,—the sweet chant of St Blaen turn into the wind-gusts whistling through his still roofless fane—the countenance of Walter,

gallant companion of the Bruce, "seemly to sycht," find base presentment in the mutilated effigy that memorialises his fame in the Lady Kirk—and communion in the brave days of old become exchanged for association in the diurnal conflicts of a more flexible, and therefore a meaner age, wherein too many consider patriotism to be a restrictive prejudice.

J. KING HEWISON.

THE MANSE, ROTHESAY, *March* 1895.

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THE ISLE OF BUTE IN THE OLDEN TIME.



CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL STEWARTS.

“*Banquo*. O, treachery! Fly, good Fleance, fly, fly, fly!”

—SHAKESPEARE’S *Macbeth*.

“We found a great number of bones. . . . The Stuarts of Bute buried on this side of the Choir.”

—*Account of Stuart Monuments in Rothesay*.

“Son of man, can these bones live?”

—EZEKIEL.



THE origin of the royal house of Stewart has long remained a mystery, perplexing historical students, who feel tantalised at knowing so little concerning the hapless victim of the jealousy of King Macbeth—Banquo, round whom Shakespeare has cast the glamour of undying romance, and to whom the old chroniclers of Scotland traced back the family of Stewart. The very fascinating excellence of the poet’s conceptions of

the men and times he selected to depict creates the impression that only in imagination, not in real life, these heroes existed; and when the gratified reader of the thoughts of the dramatist, on turning to history, discovers that this saucy muse has scarcely given a "local habitation and a name" to Banquo, he more than ever is pleased to believe that Banquo is only a mythical personage, suitable to become a ghost, because

"Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold;
Thou hast no speculation in those eyes
Which thou dost glare with!"

But there are some aspects of this romantic apparition which require investigation before we, assured of his non-existence, can pledge a Banquo vanished from the page of history, and, like Macbeth, drink "to our dear friend Banquo, whom we miss," saying "Unreal mockery, hence!"

It is a sad loss to literature that, meantime, the companion volume to 'The Brus,' which Barbour left "in metyre fayre," delineating the heroic exploits of the first Stewarts, has completely dropped out of sight since the time when Wyntoun wrote—

"The Stewartis Orygenalle
The Archedekyne has trettyd hale,
In metyre fayre mare wertwsly,
Than I can thynk be my study,
Be gud contynuatyown
In successyve generatyown."¹

A passage in Father Hay's 'Memoirs,' wherein he states that *John Barber* wrongly traces the Stuart dynasty to "a certain Le Fleank of Warren of Wales," seems to bear that

¹ Bk. viii. ch. vii. ll. 1445-1450.

down to 1700 the manuscript still existed or was an authority.¹ What a charming narrative concerning the chivalry of men equally brave and redoubtable with Wallace and Bruce would the poet of Freedom have afforded us in this epic! Probably to Barbour, and this hidden work, Hector Boece was indebted for the romantic story of Banquo and Fleance, which too critical minds would resolve into a fable—because it is passing strange. Yet it is not nearly so improbable a history as that which undoubted facts enable us to present regarding the Fitz Alans, who were also progenitors of the Kings of Scots, and according to my contention and showing veritably the offspring of this mythical Banquo.

The question which Sir Walter Scott makes Maître Pierre direct to Quentin Durward, and the reply of the latter, form a suggestive parallel to this inquiry: “‘Durward,’ said the querist, ‘is it a gentleman’s name?’ ‘By fifteen descents in our family,’ said the youth, ‘and that makes me reluctant to follow any other trade than arms.’” And it is evident that the novelist, in tracing Quentin to “Allan Durward who was High Steward of Scotland,” was utilising the old national traditions regarding the Stewart family, and throwing the halo of romance around the hero whose adventures fall now to be followed.²

It was to a paraphrase, by Holinshed, of a portion of the Scots Translation of the History of the Scots by Boece, made by the courtly Archdean of Moray, John Bellenden,

¹ Tom. iii. pp. 293, 437, MS. Adv. Lib.: “Hujus stemma sive genealogia male textitur a Johanne Barberii qui asserit originem habuisse a quodam Le Fleank de Warren de Wallia.”

² ‘Quentin Durward,’ chapter xxxvii.

more than to any other source, that Shakespeare was indebted for the hapless memory which, under the name of Banquo, he has re clothed with flesh and blood and personified in the immortal tragedy of Macbeth.¹ Bellenden and William Stewart, the Court poet, had been employed to convert into the modern tongue the Latin work by Hector Boece, which probably had been composed, like the translations, to gratify the youthful king, James the Fifth, to whom it was dedicated. Hector Boethius was a man of many parts, formerly teacher of philosophy in Paris, and in 1527, when he issued his History, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen.² The fusion of facts and dates with the elements of romance in the author's work has taken place after careful investigation of whatever solid historical materials then extant, but now partly lost, were available. Boece was no deliberate romancer, but rather the exponent of a historical method which had not yet authorised students to obliterate the traditions and improbable narratives of the ancients. That method was still conservative, and happily it was so, since, after the early scattering of the literary remains of Scotland, it would have been now impossible, without the aid of those old histories, to have pieced in and fitted together those reminiscential fragments, which are reappearing from our charter-chests to alter the retrospect.

The origin of the Royal House was a theme whose ornamentation Boece might consider pardonable. But independently of a substratum of fact, he could scarcely be so bold as invent the tale of Banquo, unless he designed to expose

¹ Ralph Holinshed, 'The First Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Ireland,' p. 243. London, 1577.

² 'Scotorum Historie a prima gentis origine,' &c.

the frailty of Fleance and cast a shade upon the royal scutcheon, which is not consistent with his dedication. We may safely assert that the tragic tale told by Boece was no new romance in the sixteenth century, but a history as possible as it is acceptable, which philology and keener research may restore to a shape harmonious with truth. In brief, his narrative is to this effect, that in the reign of Duncan, King of Scots (1034-1040), Banquho was a royal thane in the district of Lochaber, who, in the exercise of his official function as collector of the Crown revenues, was set upon and left for dead by some ruffians called Magdoualds, who inhabited those parts.¹ Banquho, however, recovered, and complained to the king, who empowered him and Macbeth, the Maormor of Ross, another of his generals, to march against and chastise the western rebels, who had gathered together a mixed host of islesmen and Irish freebooters. Banquho is next associated with King Duncan and Macbeth at the battle of Culros, where he commanded the second division of the army, which was vanquished by Sueno the Norwegian. In a succeeding struggle the enemy, having partaken of provisions rendered soporific by the Scots, who placed them in their way, were defeated by the Scots at Perth, who followed up this victory by dispersing Canute's fleet in the Forth. In these and other brilliant campaigns, Banquho, as a courtier of rank and importance, shared the honours of the victorious generals.

As he and Macbeth, one day, were enjoying sport in the vicinity of Forres, they were suddenly hailed by three ap-

¹ Boece, 'Historiæ,' &c., lib. xii. fol. cclv. : "Banquho regius in Loquhabria Thanus origo familiæ Stuart clarissimæ, quæ longa serie regem hodiernum produxit," &c. The *q* in Banquho is simply the cursive *ch*.

partitions of feminine aspect, who addressed them in prophetic accents, as Shakespeare has paraphrased our historian :—

“*1st Witch.* Lesser than Macbeth, and greater.

“*2d Witch.* Not so happy, yet much happier.

“*3d Witch.* Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none. So all hail, Macbeth and Banquo !”

Incited by these suggestions, Macbeth, having Banquo in his counsels, cut off the king and usurped his throne. Still, the words of the weird sisters haunted the mind of the childless monarch, who conceived a dread for his fellow regicide, who was to be the parent of kings. Accordingly he invited Banquo and his son Fleanchus to a banquet, which was a trap, hedged round with assassins ready to despatch them both on their departure. But, duly warned by friends at Court, *both of them* escaped the unassayed snare (*insidias intentatas*), and Fleanchus fled an exile into Wales. The talent of Fleanchus soon won the notice of the Prince there, who treated “the beautiful and noble youth” well, only to be requited by the exile dishonouring his host’s daughter, who gave birth to a son, Walter by name—

“In Albione wes nocht ane fairar child.”

The Welsh prince slew Fleance, made his daughter a serf, and rusticated the babe. In his twentieth year Walter returned to, and ingratiated himself at, his maternal grandfather’s Court, until, embroiled in some bibulous fracas, he slew a taunting Welshman and made for Scotland, where his grandfather seemed still to be living, in order to seek refuge under Queen Margaret¹ (who, strange to say, was a

¹ “Occiso convinciatore clam *avo* in Scotiam contendit,” fol. cclx.

Saxon princess of England born while her parents were exiled in Hungary). Under King Malcolm III. he rose to become the victorious general who subdued the rebels of Galloway and the Isles, and finally was appointed the Steward of the realm, and lord of the Stuart-lands in Ayrshire. According to Boece (but erroneously), his son was Alan the Crusader: Alan was father of Alexander, founder of Paisley Priory,—Alexander, of Walter of Dundonald, who, with Alexander, the same Walter's son, were heroes of the battle of Largs. Robert of Tourbouton was brother of Alexander of Dundonald.

So far the plain narrative of Boece, credible in all but minor particulars,—which, with trifling embellishment, repeated by the Scots writers, Bellenden, Stewart, Buchanan, Bishop Leslie, and accepted by Holinshed, is agreeably plausible.

So far gone as 1566, Queen Mary's favourite bishop, the Scots historian Leslie, avers that the romantic story of the origin of the Stewarts in Bute was "ane aldè traditione":—

"Bute mairatouer is ane elegant and trimme Ile, x myles lang, eivin and plane, induct with gret fertilitie, decored with ane ancient and magnifik castel, quhairfra first sprang, as we have of ane alde traditione, the clann of the Kingis hous, to wit, the Stuardes, and familie."¹

When further treating of Malcolm 'Canmore's reign, the bishop writes:—

"The sam tyme was Waltir Fleanthie, his son, decoret with the honour of cheife Merchal (Senescallus), because in Galloway and in the hilandes he dantounet had the rebellis; of quhome

¹ 'The Hist. of Scot.,' transl. by Father James Dalrymple, pt. i. p. 55 (Scot. Text Soc. edit.)

cam the familie of the Stuartis, quhais offspring we sie this day illustre, and schine sa bricht in the kings scepter.”¹

He further elaborates the romance of “Bancho the Kingis liuetenant in Loquhaber,” and makes his son “Fleanch” father of Walter the first Steward.²

From Leslie’s words it is not plain whether or not he means that the progenitors of the first Steward—that is, the family of Banquo as well—had a connection with Bute. If they were descendants of the successors of King Aidan (see vol. i. p. 163), then it is certain they were connected with Dalriada, and that may explain the tenacity with which the Stewarts held to Bute.

Subsequent writers have embellished “the alde traditione,” truthfully or otherwise, and adorned the outcast Fleance with the virtues of a military Moses. In its elaborated form the narrative, eked out by researches in Welsh history, circumstantially declares that Fleance found protection under Griffyth ap Lewellyn, Prince of North Wales,³ in 1039, probably at his palace of Rhuddlan, where he and his wife Alditha, daughter of Algar, Earl of Mercia, brought up their daughter,⁴ named Guenta⁵ or Nesta⁶ or Marjoretta,⁷ whom

¹ ‘The Hist. of Scot.,’ pt. ii. p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, pt. iii. p. 22.

³ ‘Chron. of Princes of Wales,’ *var. loc.*

⁴ Dr James Anderson’s ‘Royal Genealogies’ (London, 1733, p. 746) make Griffyth have two daughters—one, unnamed, who married Fleance, and Nesta or Mary, who married Trahaern, Prince of North Wales.

⁵ Yeatman, ‘The Early Gen. Hist. of the House of Arundel,’ p. 326. London, 1882. Agatha, mother of Gwenta, married King Harold after Griffyth’s death.

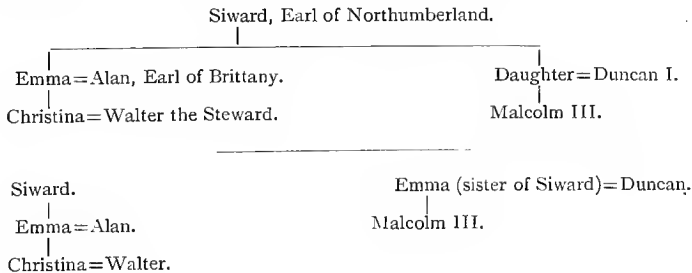
⁶ O’Flaherty’s ‘Ogygia,’ p. 500.

⁷ Sir J. Dalrymple’s MS. Collections, Adv. Lib., 34, 3, 15, pp. 80, 81.

Fleance beguiled. Their son Walter inevitably met one Owen—a purist regarding genealogy—for whose ill-timed opinions Walter incontinently slew him, and became a fugitive in his eighteenth year. Some direct him to Edward the Confessor's Court, whence the expert use of his dirk again made him fly to the Court of Alan of Brittany; while others take him direct to Alan, a kinsman of his mother, whose daughter he married, to return with him and the Breton allies of William to participate in the Conquest, and become a courtier at the Conqueror's Court.¹ After another disgrace—matter of honour, no doubt, the fiery Scot thought—his wandering foot brought him to the Court of Malcolm of Scotland, where he was well received, for political considerations; and by that time both the ghosts of Banquo and Macbeth were laid to rest.

To gather up the ravelled threads of the romantic story and thereby to make a consistent history, demands inquiry

¹ There were several contemporaneous counts in Brittany named Alan. Alain Fergant, Count of Bretagne, married a daughter of the Conqueror in 1086; Alan the Red, Count *in* Bretagne, came with the Conqueror in 1066, and was settled at Richmond. He married Emma, a daughter of Siward, Prince of Northumbria, and their daughter, according to Scots writers, married Walter the Steward:—



in the primary sources where the narrative took its inception, and these must necessarily be Iro-Scottish and Welsh Annals, supplemented by later ecclesiastical charters, on which we presume the Scots writers founded. At the outset, however, the reader must remember that great weight attaches to the fabulous-looking genealogies which the Seanachies or family-recorders kept of old, for a reason given by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, when referring to the pride of family exhibited by the Welsh nation: "Even the common people retain their genealogy, and can not only readily recount the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but even refer back to the sixth or seventh generation."¹ According to the early Welsh laws, a man's pedigree was his title to his paternal acres, and descent through nine generations was required before a native was considered free-born. This explains the point of the taunt of the hapless Owen.

Among the first Irish settlers in Caledonia was Maine Leavna, of the race of Eogan More, who (with his brother Cairbre, afterwards of Mar) left the rushy lands of Leven in Kerry, and came to the banks of Loch Lomond, where his family and sept resided, except when they joined the tributary expeditions into Ireland which were common. From Maine, after a succession of chiefs of Lennox, duly sprang Banchu, according to the Irish genealogists. I shall exhibit side by side two genealogies, the first in Irish by Mac Firbis (1650), and the other in Gaelic, preserved in a MS. of date 1450, before the time of the fabulist Boece, which will illustrate this relationship with Corc:—

¹ 'Description of Wales,' chap. xvii. Bohn, p. 505.

*Genealach Mor Mhaoir Lenhna, in Alban:*¹—

*Mc Cuirc.*²

Donnchad mac		Ion mc	John, son of
Baltair mc		Baltair ic	Walter "
Amloib mc	*	. . . llanus ic	{ [A]llan "
			{ Flanus? "
Donnchaid mc	* 1014?	Murechach mc	Murdoch "
Amlaoib oig mc		Amlain og mc	Ailnig
Amlaoib moir mc		Amlain moir mc	Ailin mor
Ailin oig mc		Marius atair	Marius, father of
Ailin mhoir mc		Mailduin mc	Mailduin, son of
Muiredaig mc			
Maeldomnaig mc			
Maine mc		Maine ic	Maine "
Cuirc mc		Cuirc ic	Cuirc "
An. 350. Luigdech [mc	An. 350.	Luit mc	Luit "
[Oillil-Flannbeg mc		Oillila ic	Oillia "
Fiacha Muillethan mc		Fiach mc	Fiach "
Eoghan mór mc		Enadritor mc	Enadritor "
Oillill Olum mc		Modha Nuadhath.	Mogh-Nuadhath.
Mogh-Nuadhath mc			
Mogh Neit.]			

In 1685 the learned but luckless historian Roderick O'Flaherty, the pupil of the still more learned and still more unfortunate Irish scholar Duaid Mac Firbis (+1670), in his 'Chronology of Irish Affairs,' traces the Stewart family back through a Dalriadic stock to the early Kings of Munster, referring to Banchu, Fleann, and Fleann's wife, whom he styles "Nesta." A sidenote, as follows, reveals his authority to be Duaid Mac Firbis:³—

Bancu tanaiste Loch Aber, Fleadan.

¹ Abridged Pedigree MS., in hands of W. M. Hennessy in 1875. Dr Skene prints this genealogy, 'Celtic Scotland,' vol. iii. p. 476, app. viii. He identifies Ailin Mor with the first Earl of Lennox, who lived in the twelfth century, and Duncan with the eighth Earl; but gives no conclusive reasons for his supposition.

² MS. Adv. Lib.: 'Collect. de reb. Alban,' p. 358.

³ 'Ogygia seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia ex pervetustis monumentis. . . . Authore Roderico O'Flaherty, Armigero: Londini, 1685,' p. 499:—"Stuart-

For in Mac Firbis's 'Book of Pedigrees'¹ we find a Genealogy, including these very words, and giving this descent of the Scots Kings:—

Genealach Riogh Alban, Saxon, &c. (Genealogy of the Kings of Alban, &c.)

Roiberd 2 R. Alb. (Robert II., King of Alban).

Mc Altair baltair.

Mc Eojn.

Mc Alasdair.

Mc Alain (who is styled a crusader).

Mc Baltair, Stovaird to Edgar : Maormor of Alban in reign of Malcolm the Maiden, 1050.

Mc Fleadan (n leat 146) tan.

Mc Banchon loca abair.

This genealogy ends here, but is followed by a long account of the Stewarts, evidently compiled from Scots histories. It has immense value in affording us a link by which we can connect Banchu with the Maormors of Leven, who were descended, along with the Maormors of Mar, from Corc, son of Lugaid, the King of Munster, whose wife was Mongfinn, daughter of Feradach, a Pictish King of Alban. The genealogies of Duaid Mac Firbis have been collected with great care out of the original MSS. of the tribe historians, and in

orum familiæ præluxit Banchuo Dynasta Loquabriæ è regione Dalriedinorum stemmate originem trahens quem Macbethus rex suo titulo cavens. Anno circiter 1050 e medio sustulit. Banchuonis filius Fleannus paterno casu edoctus aufugit in Walliam : ubi cum Nesta Walliæ principis Griffini Lewellini filia matrimonium contrahens ex ea Walterum genuit cui domum reduci et sub Malcolmlo florenti Stuarti cognomen in posteros derivatum adhæsit."

¹ 'The Branches of Relationship and the Genealogical Ramifications of every colony that took possession of Erinn,' &c., compiled by Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh of Lecan, 1650, pp. 408, 423. Copy MS. Royal Irish Academy.

the main are reliable and unprejudiced compilations worthy of notice.

Mac Firbis, in the same MS. volume, includes an anonymous poem of fifty-two verses, undated, which refers to the inauguration of Allan Mac Muireadhaigh, a chief of Lennox (Maormor Leamhna), who, it relates, was descended from Corc. This is evidently the Allan of the Gaelic MS.; while the Murdoch was probably the chief who, along with Donald, his kinsman, the Maormor of Mar, brought their Dalriadic allies to help Brian Boru at the battle of Clontarf in 1014.¹ Is then Banchu, the fair hero, to be identified with Murdoch of Leven? According to Matthew Kennedy, who had an opportunity of examining the older work of the Mac Firbises — ‘The Book of Lecan,’ written before 1416—the account of Duald is substantially correct, “the Irish books bring (Bancho) in a direct male line from Maine Leavna, son to Corc, king of Munster.”² The following is a translation of the passage in the ‘Book of Lecan’ founded upon by Matthew Kennedy:—

“Ireland was divided in two between Heber and Heremon. Heremon takes the north, and of his children [are the Kinelconnell] and the O’Neills of the north, and the O’Neills of the south and . . . and the Decies, and Leinster, and Ossory, and . . . and the Fotharta, and the Dalriata, and Dalfiata, and Uladh, . . . and the *Royal Line of Scotland* (Alban), and all these are the seed of Conaire. [And the race] of Angus M’Erc, of Fergus M’Erc, and of Loarn M’ . . . (Erc?). These are the seed of Conaire in *Scotland* (Alban), and of the seed of . . . (Con?)aire, the . . . , the Corca Duibne, and the Corca Baiscinn. These then (so far) are Here-

¹ ‘Ogygia,’ p. 384.

² ‘A Chronol., Geneal., and Hist. Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stewarts.’ Paris, 1705, p. 204. ‘The Book of Ballymote,’ p. 149, gives a *Fland*, a descendant of Maine.

mon's seed, except the . . . And Heber [took] the southern half; of whose children are the Dalcassians the Del Cein and the Delbhna, the Eoganachts of Cashel, of Lochhein, of . . . , and of Glenamh-nach, the Eoganachts of Ara . . . , and *the Lennoxes of Scotland (Lemnaigh Alban)*. All these are the seed of Heber, Lugaid son of Ith, [of his children are] the Corca Laighde, and all the Calrys are from Lugaid."¹

Kennedy also maintains that Walter, the first Steward, was the son of Fleannus—a statement which Pere de la Haye, in a reply to Kennedy, as flatly contradicts.² The difficulty of reading the faint caligraphy of the portion of the magnificent 'Book of Lecan'—one of the treasures of the Royal Irish Academy—referred to by Kennedy³ as his authority for Bancho's direct descent, prevents me, at present, saying more than that this book, and several other equally ancient Irish MSS., clearly trace the Leven Maormors to Corc, who lived in the fourth century A.D.⁴

¹ 'Book of Lecan,' folio xiii. col. 2, l. 16. This interesting old Irish MS. is in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. It is the compilation of Gilla Isa Mor Mac Firbis, one of the race of historians, genealogists, and poets to the chief septs of Connaught, and was written before 1416. The last of these hereditary historians, Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh of Lecan, the tutor of O'Flaherty and Dr Lynch, was murdered in 1670, at Dauffin, Sligo. Of him O'Flaherty said: "Dualdus Firbissius patriæ antiquitatum professor hereditarius." In his genealogies he traced the Stewarts to the Lennox family. The above translation of a passage which, by indistinctness, baffled O'Curry, and also prevented my own transcription of it, has been done by Mr J. J. Macsweeney, the librarian of the Royal Irish Academy.

² "Lettre ecrite au Duc de Perth, &c., par Pere de la Haye." Paris, 1714, p. 95: "Il ne monte pas plus haut que Gualtier Stuart qui etoit certainement fils d'Alain et non pas de Fleannus puisque dans les chartres il se dit Walterus filius Alani, Dapifer Regis Scotiæ."

³ Fol. 119a, col. 3; fol. 13a, col. 2.

⁴ MS. by Dermot O'Connor: Trin. Coll., Dublin, H. 2, 5. MS., H. 2, 7, Trin. Coll., Dublin, col. 69. *Geneal. of Scots Families of Irish Origin.* (See O'Donovan Catal. to MSS.) 'Book of Ballymote,' fol. 84, *Gen. Hist. of Dalriadic Kings in Scotland.*

By comparison of these tables it may be concluded that Walter, the son of Fleadan, son of Banchu, is identical with Walter, son of [A]llan (or Flan), son of Murechach of the Lennox family, if not also with Walter, son of Amloib, son of Duncan of the other genealogy. Chronology easily permits of the equation of Murdoch, the Maormor of Leven, who was at Clontarf in 1014, with Banchu the general of Duncan I. in 1034, who might have survived even his son Fleance—we, meantime only, assuming that Fleance was slain in Wales. *Ban-chu*, the pale warrior, would be his complimentary title; the old surname of his family, *Cu*, pronounced by his semi-Cymric followers *Chu*, also descended to his son *Flan-chu*, the red or ruddy warrior, known to his Irish kinsmen as Fleadan.

This Irish form of the name *Fleadan tan* (*i.e.*, either Fleadan the Tanist, or Fleadan the younger) imports a significant idea—namely, *fead* (pronounced *flä*, *flä-än*), a feast, which corresponds in signification with *Flaald*, Senescal of Dol, the name in Brittany of the father of Alan, afterwards Lord of Oswestry, who in turn was the father of Walter, the Steward of Scotland. Is it impossible that in those days of felicitous surnames this designation of Fleadan was applied to the youth who so happily escaped the *Feast* of murderous Macbeth? It is, however, plain that for some inexplicable reason the Scots and Irish writers either omit this Alan, or, at least, identify him with Walter, the son of Fleance or Flann, or maybe of Aulay. Ailin or Allan may have become the family name, as we see it before as a cognomen worn by King Aeda Alain; or the personal name Baltair may have been conjoined with the designation of Aluin, the fair one, and thus have given rise to confusion.

So far, I have not been able to trace Murdoch of Leven off the warlike stage ; but it is one of the most incredible mistakes made by Scots historians that they have assumed, what Boece does not aver, that Macbeth succeeded in destroying Banquo, whereas Boece apparently keeps him alive till Walter was twenty years of age—say 1065. If this be so, and Banquo himself was a claimant for the Crown as a descendant of Kenneth I., where, then, did he find refuge during the eighteen years of Macbeth's reign, is a competent question.

The Celts were great travellers and pilgrims, and were as well known in foreign lands in the tenth century as the Scots are in the nineteenth.¹ Did he retire to Brittany?

Chalmers, who first in the 'Caledonia' elucidated the origin of the Stewarts in the Shropshire FitzAlans, treats the romance of Banquo as a fabrication undeserving of consideration. His confident conclusions are, however, neither in harmony with historical facts, nor with the legitimate inferences which philology enables us to draw from the tradition he ignores. He says:—

“History knows nothing of Banquo the Thane of Lochaber, nor of Fleance, his son. (Even the very name of Banquo and Fleance seem to be fictitious, as they are not Gaelic. We know from the evidence of record that Banquo was not an ancestor of the family of Stewart.) None of the ancient chronicles nor Irish Annals, nor even Fordun, recognise the fictitious name of Banquo and Fleance, though the latter be made by genealogists the ‘root and father of many kings.’ . . . Neither is a Thane of Lochaber known in

¹ ‘Ann. Tigh.’: “975, Kl. : Domnall macEoain Ri Bretain in ailitri”—Donald, son of Eoain, King of Britain, goes into pilgrimage.

Chron. Mariani : “1050, Rex Scottiæ Macbethad Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.”

Scottish history, because the Scottish kings had never any demesnes within that impervious district.”¹

The sobriquet *Banquho* (genitive *Banquhonis*, Boece, 1526) is a pure Goidelic compound word—namely, *Ban-chu* (‘Ogygia’ 1685 *báncu*)—signifying The White Dog (*bàn*, pale, white, *cù*, Cymric, *chu*, a dog, gen. *coin*, Irish, *chon*; Bancho-n, Mac Firbis’s Pedigrees, 1650, p. 423), *i.e.*, The Fair Hero.

Fleanchus (Boece: ‘Oxygia’ *Fleannus*) is the Latinised form of *Flann-chu*, The Red or Ruddy Dog (Goidelic *flann*, blood, adj., ruddy, red: cf. *fionn*, fair), and is also a sobriquet—The Bloodhound, *i.e.*, The Red Hero.

This nomenclature is evidently a reminiscence of the dog-totem or dog-divinity, which was anciently held in reverence in Ireland and among the Celts of Western Alban. The term *Cú* became through time synonymous with a fierce warrior, or heroic personage, who as a watchdog guarded the district associated with him; hence *Cú Connaught*, now Constantine, The Dog of Connaught; *Cú Mumhain*, *Cú Midhe*, *Cú Caisil*, *Cú Ulas*.² One of the kings of Strathclyde (which formerly included part of Banquo’s thanage) was *Cu*. The great Ultonian hero was *Cu-chulain*. Saint Kentigern (Munghu) was called *In Glas Chú*, or, The Grey Dog, and being patron saint of Glasgow gave to his seat his name.³ One of the heroes who fell in the Bann, when the Dalriadic fleet from Kintyre assisted their kinsmen in Ireland in 773, was *Bran-chu Mc Brain*, The Black Dog, son of Bran, a hero named either after his father or Fingal’s famous dog, Bran.⁴

¹ ‘Caledonia,’ p. 411. For an exposition of Chalmers’s views, cf. ‘Stewartiana,’ pp. 55-69, by John Riddell.

² Irish MSS., H. 3. 17, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

³ Pinkerton’s ‘Vite Sanct. Scot.,’ pp. 195-297.

⁴ ‘Ann. Tigh.’

An abbot of Iona, who died in 724, was *Faol-chu*, The Wolf Dog.¹ It is still more interesting to find that the son of Harold, King of Man, was styled in Latin *Maccus Mac Arailt*,—*Mac-cu*, The Son of the Dog, the son of Harold: and this *Mac-cu* is designated “the king of many isles” when he attended to pay homage to King Edgar in 973 at Chester, where he was accompanied by his allies, the Lagmanns, who were the inhabitants of that part of Argyle, then as now called the Lamont country, terminating at Ardlamont, and part of Dalriada.²

Further, one of the Orkney Sagas refers to a personage named Karl Hundason, or Hound’s son, whom Professor Rhys prefers to identify with King Macbeth (in Goidelic, *Mac-con*, Hound’s-son) rather than with King Duncan, his victim, a descendant of King Mael-con, slave of the dog.³ Some genealogists held that Mac Ailin, from whom Bancho descended, was a descendant of Mac-con (anno 200).

One of the witnesses to the Inquisition of Prince, afterwards King, David I., giving a list of properties in connection with the Church of Glasgow in 1118, is “*Maccus filius Undneyn*,” which I take to be Mac-Cu, son of Hundchen (German, *hündchen*, a little hound), or, The Son of the Dog, Son of the Little Dog.⁴ He appears with Walter the First Steward as a witness to David’s grants to Melrose in 1142—“*Maccus filius Undwain*”—“*Maccus filius Unwain*.”⁵

Maccus had two sons, Liulf and Robert, who are in

¹ ‘Ann. Tigh.’

² ‘Annals of Four Masters.’

³ Cf. Bede, bk. iii. chap. iv., for Meilochon—*i.e.*, King Brude Mac Maelchon.

⁴ Pinkerton, ‘Enquiry,’ p. 515. This is the origin of name Maxwell—*de Maccuswell*.

⁵ ‘Lib. Mel.,’ pp. 5, 666.

Walter's retinue when he disposes Mauchline to Melrose.¹ They were probably Celtic relatives.

The dog was thus a venerated animal among the rude people who inhabited the district now called Lochaber, where last the wolf-dog was seen in Scotland, and it is not surprising to find its name associated with a branch of the family who sprang from the Munster house of Corc and from Brude Mac Meilochon, King of the Picts, whose palace was by Loch Ness. In Kenneth M'Alpin the line of Pictish and Scottish kings were united, and his sovereignty acknowledged from east to west. In Duncan, the king (+1040), and in the wife of Macbeth, the same blood ran, and, according to others, in Macbeth and Banquo.

The relationship of Banquo to the king is not so easily made out. Although there is no record that a Thane of Lochaber existed at this epoch, there must have been a Crown official over that district who was responsible to the Crown, or to the High Steward, for the royal dues, and also for the mustering of the troops, and who corresponded with the hereditary chief of the clan. His official designation was *Maor*, which in the Teutonic tongue was *Thane*, a word probably Celtic in origin, signifying a chief, *Tívern*. A still higher official governing a larger district was the Maormor (styled Jarl by the Norwegians²), or great Maor—the Lord High Steward—of whom several appear in history, assisting the Irish kings, their kinsmen allies, in battle.³

¹ 'Lib. Mel.,' pp. 56, 57. "Liulfo filio Macchus." 'Lib. Mel.,' p. 141: the Gaelic pronunciation is here retained in Macchus.

² 'Jarla Saga:' Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' p. 190.

³ Robertson, 'Scotland under her Early Kings,' p. 102. Todd's 'Cogad Gaill re Gallaibh,' p. 211; see Introduction and Notes, pp. clxxviii, clxxix. 'Ann. Ulster,' anno 1014.

Donald (in 1014) was Steward of Mar, Macbeth Steward of Moray, Macduff of Fife, and Murdoch of Leven. Lochaber, I infer, was the northern portion of the Stewardship of Leven, and included Appin, long an appanage of the Crown held by Stuarts—

“The land of Green Appin, the ward of the flood;
Where every grey cairn that broods over the shore
Marks grave of the royal, the valiant, or good.”

The Irish colonists from Kerry, who gave the name they brought from their native district (*Leamhna*) to the river Leven, which watered their acquired territory, in consequence called the Lennox (*Leamhain-uisce*, Leven Water: *Levenach*, Leven men), probably impressed the same name of Leven upon the loch and river in Lochaber on the northern confines of Dalriada. Their territory was extensive, apparently stretching from the Clyde to Glen More, and from sea to sea over middle-Scotland, Dumbarton being their stronghold in the south, and Tor Castle¹ on the Lochy their defence in the north, which tradition avers was the seat of Banquo.² We must now change the scene.

Contemporaneously with the alleged flight of the son of Fleance into Brittany, there appears in the feudal court of Combourg, in Brittany, in the capacity of a seneschal or steward, a stranger named Fredald or Flaald, of whose ante-

¹ ‘Stat. Acc.’ vol. viii. p. 436: “And a little below the site of Torecastle there is a most beautiful walk, about a quarter of a mile long, that still retains the name of Banquo”—“Banquo’s Walk.” The late Rev. Dr Clerk, Kilmallie, the distinguished Ossianic scholar, embodied the local traditions regarding Banquo in a MS. brochure which he presented to her Majesty the Queen in 1873. In it he maintained the antiquity of the traditions. I have not seen the brochure.

² Inchmyrryne in Loch Lomond was the stronghold of the Earls of Lennox in later times.

cedents nothing as yet can be specified.¹ The picturesque castle of Combourg, which in the end of last century was the peaceful retreat of Chateaubriand, its noble owner, still bears on tower and battlement the characteristics of the warring age which saw it rise to menace or protect the fertile fields and orchards lying around the lake beneath its basement. Its impregnable situation on a secure mound might create the impression that military arrogance placed the stronghold there, did not the pleasing surroundings of rich pasture, anon variegated with the flying blossom of the fruit-trees and their ruddy clusters, suggest the cunning design of a happier spirit.



The Castle of Combourg.

So it was that Junkeneus, the son of Hamo, the Count of Dinan, when he ascended the archiepiscopal throne of Dol (1008-1032), founded the pinnacled towers of Combourg, and set up there the secular court of Rivallon, his brother, first Lord of Combourg and Dol. The frowning fortress, eight

¹ Lobineau, 'Hist. de Bret.,' vol. ii. p. 310, 138; 'Mon. Anglic.,' vol. i. p. 553; Morice, 'Preuves à l'Hist. de Bret.,' vol. i. p. 492; 'Notes and Queries,' Series V., vol. x. pp. 402, 472: also see Indices.

miles S.E. of the ancient Armorican capital, Dol, added security on the Norman frontiers to the rich possessions of the Church.

In Dol the successive bishops, well warded within the strong walls which encircled the brow of the eminence on which the ancient cathedral, the chateau, and the town then stood, maintained by their affluence all the pomp and circumstance of powerful secular lords.¹ A sword more oft than a crucifix was in the bishop's hand; the hauberk glistened on him as oft as the rochet. His palace was thronged with every kind of official, from the steward, who was overseer of all his secular interests, down to the marshal, the constable, and others who doled out the fragments of the savoury kitchen, and to the more menial Scottish slaves.

The grey-granite town of Dol was thus an important ecclesiastical and military centre, and on its "Grande Rue," off which ran the shaded alleys up to the Cathedral, lived the thriving vassals of the Archbishop, who never shrank to quarrel with their Norman enemies. Its very position made it a rendezvous for stirring spirits eager for any crusade, and an asylum for exiles seeking service in perilous times. Its hallowed associations gave it an especial attractiveness for English and Welsh refugees. Sampson of Wales and of York, of happy memory, founded his oratory there, overlooking the salt marshes, in the sixth century; and to him came, among others—like Teliene of Landaff, his successor—the famous Welsh saint Iltud, to lay his weary bones in the

¹ 'Gallia Christiana,' tom. xiv. pp. 1045-1048; 'Histoire Eccles. et Civile de Bretagne,' tom. ii. p. liii—'Hist. des Evesques,' par Dom. P. II. Morice: Paris, 1750.

church beside his great friend and pupil. So Dol was dear to Welshmen, who were also naturally allied to their Celtic kinsmen over the sea, in Lesser Britain; and what with the reputation of the schools, what with marriage alliances, war, and commerce with the Saxons, no more likely retreat for the exiled son of Fleance could be imagined.

It was not an improbable occurrence for a Highland exile to find shelter in the Welsh Court, and also for himself and his family to receive equal sanctuary in the monasteries of Brittany. The old link between the Celtic Churches was not broken, and pilgrims were still leaving Welsh, Irish, and Scottish homes to carry the light and culture of the Celtic schools into foreign monasteries. At this very time the Celtic monks were favourites in France and Germany, as they had been in the time of Charlemagne. They were founders of monasteries like Marianus, of Ratisbon, not needy bakers, like Fleance and Alan. The shipmen of Kintyre traded with the French, and the Normans sometimes raided in Ireland. Who then can tell what brother Celt was there to receive the royal wanderer to Dol?

The lords of Combourg and Dol were generous to religion and liberal to the Church. Rivallon and his family gave to the monastery of St Martin at Marmoutier their rights in the church of the Blessed Mary at Combourg some time before 1064, and among his retinue witnessing the charter appears the name of his Seneschal, Fredaldus ("s. Fredaldi, senescalci"—see Appendix III.) This name is almost unique in Breton charters and history—being held by this individual and by Fledald the brother of Alan, who succeeded Fredald in the seneschalship of Dol, and by no others. Who was he, and whence did he come?

The late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, after many years of laborious inquiry into the mysterious origin of the Stewarts, although he inclined to believe that "Fredaldus, the Seneschal, was son of Frotmundus, surnamed Vetulus, or the old, a landed proprietor in the district now called Châteaubriant during the eleventh century, and that the family were of Frankish extraction," descended from Pharamond, was forced to come to this conclusion: "I have found no notice of the family of Fredaldus Senescalculus in the district of Dol or its neighbourhood, before the appearance of that individual in the character of Seneschal as witnessing the document already before the reader, which must bear date previously to 1066. Moreover, I have not as yet met with any positive or direct evidence by which Fredaldus or his son Alan can be affiliated as the son or descendant of any house in Brittany."¹

This well-considered judgment opens the way for reasonable speculation, which is in harmony with the probable truth of the traditions preserved by Scottish writers in reference to our Royal House.

I have not been able to discover the original authorities for the various branches of the genealogical tree by which Fleance is traced by descent to King Kenneth I. The older genealogists and heraldic writers quoted from old family histories in MS., many of which have been lost. I append a pedigree compiled from these family trees (Appendix II.), without any acknowledgment of its accuracy. It is not in harmony with the Irish pedigrees, which were more likely to be correct.

¹ 'Memoir on the subject of the Origines of the FitzAlans and Stuarts.' MS., chap. iii.

My hypothesis is that Fredald or Flaald, which is simply an official title, was Fleance, the father of Alan, and of the succeeding Stewards of Dol, together with the Fitz Alans of England and the succeeding Stewards of Scotland. I further contend that the much-abused Boece had good grounds for believing the accounts of his predecessors, which traced the Stewarts through Banquo to the ancient dynasties of our native land.

Fledald, whom we must equate with Flaald, the father of Alan, the English settler under Henry I., held the seneschalship during the unhappy tenure of the See of Dol by the amorous Juhellus (1040-1078), who equally defied the Pope in his lascivious and in his military career. This Juhell was a dear bishop to the Bretons, being mixed up in those unfortunate intrigues which ended in wars with the Normans, who appeared several times before the walls of Dol to humiliate the Knight of Combourg in what William the Conqueror styled "*une orgueilleuse bicoque*"—a proud little shanty. The shanty appears on the Bayeux Tapestry in defiant greatness. An adventurer could not have found a home easier than under Juhell or Rivallon, the chief of the rebels in Brittany. If he had pretensions to royal lineage, it would be easier for him also to attain to so high an honour as that of Seneschal of the district, should an opportunity have occurred. As Juhell was a Simonist and a despoiler of the Church lands, which he gave to his family and his supporters, he might have reason for appointing a stranger to the important office of Seneschal, wherein he had to administer the secular affairs of the province, to collect the ecclesiastical rents and dues, and to regulate the official life of his lordly master and his subordinates.

On the street called "La Grand Rue" of Dol still remains an imposing edifice built of granite, in the purest Norman style of architecture of the twelfth century, which tradition names "La Maison des Plaids," and avers was the revenue office and court-house of the archbishops. This name, "The House of the Plaids," is touchingly significant of Fleance with the royal wearers of the tartan, who lifted the tithes and the taxes, and "dantoned" the enemies of his master, as his fathers had done!¹

The office of Seneschal had a lowly origin, probably in the responsible work of the upper servant (Gothic, *skalks*, a servant), senior (Gothic, *sins*, old) or otherwise, who was trusted with the oversight of his lord's household, or, as Vossius held, his flock of sheep (*son*, *seneste*, or *sente*). The oversight of his cattle led to his being known among the Teutonic nations as the Steward, or warden of the sty (A.S. *stigo*, *weard*).

From seniority as a servant this official rose to be superintendent of the other domestic servitors, taster of his master's food, master of the house, and treasurer of the revenues. The mastership of the palace was a position of honour and trust, sometimes held by the heir-apparent, and always by one of royal or noble blood, who was privileged to carry the royal banner into battle. In Scotland the Steward of the king was at first simply the "Seneschallus Domus Domini

¹ 'Dol-de-Bretagne,' par Charles Robert, 1892, p. 5: "On lui donne le nom de *Maison des Plaids*. C'est là que, au moins avant le xv^e siècle, se serait rendue la justice et exercée la juridiction temporelle de l'évêque de Dol. Les sentences auraient été proclamées au peuple par les deux baies supérieures." For lands of Dol see "Enquête de Dol faite en 1181 par ordre de Henri II., Roy d'Angleterre," Lobineau, tom. ii. fol. 132.

Regis," or "Dapifer," but was advanced through time to the higher dignity of Steward of the kingdom, "Seneschallus Scotiæ," in the thirteenth century.

That the Breton equivalent for the Seneschal was Fredald, Fledald, or Flaald will presently appear. This we infer was



La Maison des Plaids.

the name of Alan's father, from this circumstance, that when William, a monk of St Florent-près-Saumur, and elder brother of John, Lord of Combourg, along with his brothers, gave the township of Mezuoit beside the Castle of Dol to the monastery of St Florent-sous-Dol, of which William became

Abbot, some time between 1079 and 1081, not only is "Alanus Senescallus" a witness to the gift, but the deed declares that Alan was himself a donor of the village oven and his right of the sale of bread therewith, which gifts were homologated by his brother Fledald on condition that a younger brother, Rivallon, was admitted to the novitiate (see Appendices VII., XI.) The monopoly of bread-making must have been a fee of the Seneschal, and consequently hereditary in that office, descending from Fredald to Alan and his brothers or next of kin.

Underneath the different forms in which the name Flaald, and its cognates, appear—Fleald, Flaald, Flaad, Floaud, Flahald, Fladald, Fledald, Flodwald, Flodoald, Fredald—lies a root common to all, namely, *flad*. This is evidently the Goidelic word *fleadh* (pronounced flăy), which in Old Irish is *fled*, signifying a meal. The Old High German word to rule is *waltan*: *wald*, a ward. So in the compound *Flad-wald*, the ruler of the meal, we have a similar instance of word-coining observed in the term lord, A.S. *hlāf-ward*, ruler of the loaf. Nor is this all the coincidence: the Gothic *fretun*, in German *fressen*, corresponds with our word to eat, so that *Fret-wald* is a form synonymous with *Fledwald*. In the Romance tongue of France, *flan*, *flanc*, *flans* is defined to be "a sorte of cake, or piece of pastry which is made of flour, butter, milk, and eggs; in Low Latin, *flado*, *flanto*."¹ In Flemish the same word appears as *vlade*: German, *fladen*.

If, then, we identify the fugitive Fleanchus with the Flaald of Dol, although Boece declares that the Prince of Wales slew him, we might harmonise many apparent discrepancies

¹ 'Glossaire de la Langue romaine,' par. J. B. B. Roquefort, p. 606. Paris, 1808.

in the tangled story. Nor is this too bold a demand on credence.

The native name of Banquo's son would be the common Goidelic one, *Flann*, which signifies rosy or fair, and has an equivalent in *Aluinn*, beautiful, fair, to which the word Alan, both in Brittany and Ireland, may be traced. The Flann of Lochaber would thus very readily become the Breton name, Alan, more especially when in the vulgar tongue of Dol the former, denoting a pancake, would sound like a nickname. Change of name was not an uncommon circumstance: Alan, Earl of Brittany, was also called Geoffroi; John, the son of Robert II., ascended the throne of Scotland as Robert III. And just as the royal Stewards dropped the Latin name of Seneschal, which they long bore, for the Teutonic designation of Stewart, Flann may have obtained for surname, in keeping with his office, Flawald or Fretwald. His eldest son Alan bore the name that ran in the race of Eogan; his second took the father's official name; his third was named Rivallon, after his knightly master of Dol.

That this Flaald, Seneschal of Dol, was no other than Flancus who joined the bands of Norman warriors who conquered England under William the Vigorous, is amply proved by a remarkable reference to a property in England for centuries afterwards held by the FitzAlans.

In an inquest made in the hundred of Laundiz, in Norfolk, in the reign of Edward I., in 1275, the jurors note: "They say also that the manor of Melam with its pertinents was in the hands of King William the Bastard at the Conquest, and the said king gave the said manor to a certain soldier, who was called Flancus, who came with the said king into England, with its parts and all its pertinents, and afterwards the said

manor descended from heir to heir to John the son of Alan, who is now in the custody of the king," &c.¹—(see Appendix IV.) In another inquest held in 1305, this hundred is mentioned as "hundreda de Flando (or Flaudo), filio² Alani, quondam Domino de Milham," &c.³ Fitz Alyne is among the list of the conquerors of England in the Battle Abbey charter; ⁴ Fitz Alayne appears in Leland's list; ⁵ Fitz Aleyn in Grafton's Chronicle.⁶

That Alan the son of Flaald possessed property in Norfolk and at Mileham is shown by a charter preserved in the White Book of St Florent, by which Alan gives to the monks of St Florent-près-Saumur, for the safety of his soul, the church of Sporle and its tithes, and besides other rich gifts of fuel and pasturage, a hundred acres of land in Melehan (Milaham). (See Appendix V.)

These lands formerly were possessed by Stigand, the patriotic Archbishop of Canterbury, whom William the Conqueror drove into exile in 1071, and probably became part of the spoil of that "audacious athlete," Raoul de Gaël, whom William made Earl of Norfolk for assisting him in the campaign of 1070. According to the Saxon Chronicle,⁷ Raoul was a Welshman on his mother's side, and his father was an Englishman named Ralph and born in Norfolk, so that Flancus had in him a congenial comrade among the Breton auxiliaries who, from Dinan, Dol, and Combours, for the second time threw in their swords with the Norman

¹ 'Hundred Rolls,' vol. i. p. 434.

² Probably clerical mistake for *patre*, or an addition.

³ 'Cal. Gen. Henry III. and Edward I.,' ed. Charles Roberts, vol. ii. p. 687.

⁴ 'Script. rer. Normann.,' p. 1023.

⁵ 'Collectanea,' ed. Hearne, p. 208.

⁶ 'Chronicle of Briteyn,' p. 4, 1568 ed.

⁷ Under ann. 1075.

invader. Flaald could then be in the prime of manhood, too. But his Scottish name does not appear in the Domesday Book, unless he is to be identified with one of the many Alans found therein, which is quite probable. That Flaald joined destinies with the rebellious Raoul, whom William deprived of his lands and chased back to Dol, can only be hypothetical, although it readily explains why Alan, who accompanied Raoul in the Crusade of 1096, was not in a position in England to evince his customary liberality to the Church until the reign of his patron, Henry I., when Breton influence was a desirable buttress to an unstable throne.

Flaald disappears from the historic page as mysteriously as he came, somewhere about the year 1079, when Alan assumed the Seneschalship.

In treating of Alan FitzFlaald we are fortunate in possessing many charters which bear his name, as witness to the generosity of his feudal superiors, and as donor of many benefactions to churches, both in England and Brittany, connected with the Great Monastery of the Benedictine Order at Marmoutier.

If our assumption be warranted that Alan was the son of Fleance, he might have been sufficiently old to have borne arms with those adventurous Bretons who, under the two sons of the Earl of Brittany, Briant and Alan, Raoul de Gaël, and other warriors, distinguished themselves at Hastings, having in 1066 probably attained to his majority.

Where he won his spurs can only be conjectured. But it is not likely that he stayed to watch the pancakes turning in Dol when the air was full of the romance of the Conquest, or local free-lances recited how the hand of Hereward himself laid low Raoul of Dol.

Alan, as the eldest son of his father, inherited, with the occupancy of the seneschalship, some lands which lay in the immediate vicinity of Dol. In the disposition of these by himself and his descendants we are able to trace a little of his personal history.

Somewhere between 1063 and 1084, when Abbot Bartholomew ruled the great Monastery of Marmoutier, Maino, the lord of Ercé, came to him and craved him to descend to the little village of Guguen, some eight miles south of Dol, and heal his two sons, Hamo and Gauter, who were stricken with leprosy there. By the sign of the cross and a kiss of love from the venerable abbot, the youths arose miraculously cured. The father and grandfather, with their whole house and their retinue, made gifts of gratitude to the monastery—among which “Alan, the son of Floaud, conceded to the abbot and monks of Combourg whatsoever right he had in the church of Guguen” (see Appendix VI.)

From this the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres concluded that Alan held this property from the house of Lohéac in right of his wife, who was a daughter of Maino, and not hereditarily.

The Lords of Dol were conspicuous for their benefactions to their favourite house in Marmoutier; and when John and his brother Gilduin dedicated the township of Mezuoit and its privileges to the Benedictines, and John founded and erected the priory of St Martin and St Florent there, Alan the Seneschal, on his part, gave the bakery and the bread monopoly to the monks, and Eventius, the Archbishop of Dol, between 1076 and 1081, completed the donation with his benediction (see Appendix VII.)

Alan next appears as a Crusader, among that daring com-

pany, led by Robert Duke of Normandy, in 1096, to rescue Jerusalem from the Mussulmans.¹ It is interesting to notice the names of the Breton warriors—none of whom were from Dinan—which are preserved for us by Baldric, the Archbishop of Dol (1107-1130), who wrote a contemporary account of the expedition and the ‘History of Jerusalem.’ Alain Fergent, Count of Brittany, the old rebel Raoul de Gaël, formerly of Norfolk, Alan his son, and lords from the houses of Lamballe, Lohéac, and Penthièvre, brought their thirsty swords. And the venerable Archbishop of Dol, Roland (1093-1107), along with his steward Alan, graced the company (“*et Alanus dapifer sacræ ecclesiæ Dolensis, Archiepiscopi, et alii plures erant in uno agmine*”). Doubtless Alan had his share in the fearful battles and sieges by the way which preceded the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. From these associations we may safely infer that Alan was a partisan of Robert of Normandy, rather than of Rufus, at this juncture.

The Bretons returned in the autumn of 1101.² And it is after this date I would place the birth of Alan’s eldest son, whom he named Jordan, in memory of his expedition to the Holy Land.

Meantime Henry I. had in Robert’s absence seized the throne of England, as in his penniless days he had tried to seize Mont St Michel, and was gathering round him a new aristocracy who would secure his throne against his Norman opponents, and render him a welcome ruler to the oppressed

¹ Baldricus, ‘*Historia Hierosolymæ,*’ lib. ii. ; Migne’s ‘*Patrol.,*’ vol. clxvi. p. 1084.

² ‘*Actes de Bret.,*’ vol. i. col. 507.

Saxons and Welsh, whom he promised to defend and befriend. Alan may have taken advantage of this new policy to regain his forfeited estates in England,—for, by the autumn of 1101, King Henry has either invested him in or permitted him to reassume property in Norfolk, and he comes into prominence among the “illustrious of England, ecclesiastical and secular,” who, with the king and queen, subscribe to a charter granted by Henry to the Bishop of Norwich, at a great court held at Windsor.¹ The same day, September 3, 1101, “Alan Fitz Flaald” is a witness to the charter, attested also by Henry and Queen Matilda, by which the Bishop of Norwich founded the Cathedral priory of his see, and the Charter confirms a grant of the “Church of Langham, which had been Alan’s and his tithes,” by which Alan had endowed Norwich priory.² This Langham was a part of the Mileham lands held by the Fitz Alans. From this time onward Alan Fitz Flaald, doubtless a trusted favourite at Court, is in constant attendance on the king, and in various parts of his realm is a witness to charters³ (see Appendix X.)

The native qualities in him, which Breton life in camp, court, and church made valuable acquisitions for a prince in dire need of a trusty body-guard, were to King Henry enhanced by the circumstance that Alan was not merely a scion of the royal houses of North Wales and Mercia, but was

¹ ‘Monasticon,’ iv. 17, v.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 17, Num. iii.

³ See ‘Monasticon,’ *var. loc.*; ‘The Houses of Fitz-Alan and Stuart,’ by R. W. Eyton, 1856; ‘Antiq. of Shropshire,’ by R. W. Eyton, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194; vol. vii. pp. 211-262, Lond. 1858; ‘Coll. for Hist. of Staffordshire,’ by R. W. Eyton, vol. i. pp. 213-225; Birmingham, 1880.

also a Scottish kinsman to his queen. These factors led to easy and certain advancement at the English Court. His influence had been further increased by alliance with the powerful family of Hesdin in Artois, when he wedded Adeliza (Adelina or Avelina), the coheiress of Ernulf de Hesdin, son of the Count of Hesdin and Avoué, probably after his return from the crusade.

So chivalrous a knight was just such a buttress to the throne as the king would secure in the debatable frontiers of his realm, where family associations might make up for a weak military position among unsettled lieges. So where he had spent his boyhood, probably at Old Oswestry—Oswald's tree, where Oswald and Penda fought in the perilous stretch of land between Offa and Wat's dyke, whose meads were fattened by Cambrian and Saxon flood—Alan was given his fortified home.¹ At the beginning of the twelfth century records show him invested in the whole Honour of Shropshire, carrying with it lands in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Sussex, formerly held by Warin, then deceased: "Alanus filius Fladaldi honorem Vicecomitis Warin post filium ejus [Hugo] suscepit."² This fresh favour may have been one of the consequences of the struggle between Henry and Robert, his brother, which gave rise to the revolt of Earl Robert de Belesme, suzerain of the Honour, who forfeited his lands and was exiled in 1102.³ As yet, however, we can throw no light on the reference in Blind Harry's 'Wallace' to the episode

¹ Leland, 'Collect.,' vol. i. p. 231, quoting 'Ryme of the Gestes of Guarine,' has: "Alane Fleilstone had gyven to him Oswaldestre."

² 'Monasticon,' vol. iii., 519, col. A.

³ 'Ordericus Vitalis,' pp. 806, 807.

when "the gud Wallas," grandfather of William, a retainer of Alan's, performed some worthy deed—

"Quhen Waltyr hyr of Waillis fra Warayn socht"¹

—an episode, probably, of later date than this epoch.

It was long erroneously settled that Alan had obtained the shrievalty by marriage with the supposed daughter of Warin. Rather it was a political reward.

The Salop Chartulary, The White Book of St Florent, and other authorities display Alan munificently enriching the churches in which he was interested, especially those which had sprung from St Florent-près-Saumur, a daughter of the great Monastery—benefactions which his descendants homologated (see Appendices VIII., IX.) "Alanus filius Flaaldi," as he is styled, with Adelina his wife, gave lands at Komeston and Sporle in Norfolk to the priory of Castle Acre, a dependency of Lewes, the chief Cluniac abbey in England.² But he seems to have died about 1114, leaving Adeliza and a young family, Jordan, William, Walter, Simon, and Sibil, enfeoffed in various properties in England and Brittany.

From a charter in which Alan the son of Jordan confirms his grandfather's gift of the tithe of the lordship of Burton to the monks of St Magloire de Lehon (1161) it is to be inferred that Jordan was the eldest of the family—"Ego siquidem Alanus Jordani filius primogenitus supradictorum descendens," &c.,—and that Alan junior was Jordan's eldest son (see Appendices VIII., IX., XII.) The peculiarity of this language might create the impression that Alan senior had been twice married, and that Jordan was of the first marriage, and

¹ 'Wallace,' bk. i. l. 32.

² 'Monasticon,' v. p. 31, ed. Bandinel and Ellis.

heir of Burton,—a supposition which would harmonise with the Scottish tradition that Walter (Alan) married Christina, a daughter of Alan the Red of Brittany,¹ in whose fee Burton was in 1086.

Jordan succeeded to the Seneschalship of Dol and the paternal property in Brittany, which he handed down to his heirs till the office passed out of their hands about the end of the twelfth century ; but it does not fall within the scope of this work to follow the fortunes of the Breton branch of the family, nor to do more than allude to William, who settled in Shropshire ; to Simon, the ancestor of the Boyds ; and to Sibil, who married Roger de Freville. William Fitz Alan succeeded to his father's Honour and farms in England, and by marrying Isabel de Say, Lady of Clune, strengthened his position as a great feudal baron.² The liberality of the Lady of Clune to Wenlock Priory was imitated by her husband, who enriched the Canons of Haughmond Abbey, his brother Walter being a witness to this beneficence, and, in turn, sharing in his generosity.³ Jordan Fitz Alan, however, was in 1130 in possession of lands in Lincolnshire, which were part of the fee of Alan, Count of Brittany, registered in Domesday Book ; and also in Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire, the assessment on which he was freed from at this time.⁴ Our concern is with Walter.

¹ Hailes, 'Ann.,' vol. i., App. There is much confusion among the many Alans, red and black, from Brittany, at the time of the Conquest.

² 'Caledonia,' p. 573.

³ 'Archæol. Journal,' vol. xiii. p. 145.

⁴ 'Mag. Rot. Scacc. vel. Pipa de Anno xxxi. regni Hen. I.,' p. 113, ed. 1833.

CHAPTER II.

THE STEWARDS OF SCOTLAND.

“ But now appeared the Seneschal,
 Commissioned by his lord to call
 The strangers to the Baron’s hall,
 Where feasted fair and free
 That Island Prince in nuptial tide,
 With Edith there his lovely bride,
 And her bold brother by her side,
 And many a chief, the flower and pride
 Of Western land and sea.”

—*The Lord of the Isles.*



HE politic marriage in 1100 of King Henry I. of England to Edith, the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scots, and the Pearl of Scotland, sister of Edgar Atheling, at the same time happily united the royal Anglo-Saxon and Norman lines, and pleased alike vanquished and victors in England. The sound and prudent aim of Henry was to establish a native national party, who would secure him and his successors in undisturbed possession of the throne which was guarded by barons having a truly English interest in the monarchy.

Among the visitors to his chivalrous Court was a young brother of the Queen, David, the future King of Scotland, who, so early as 1105, began a friendship with the family of

1



2



1a



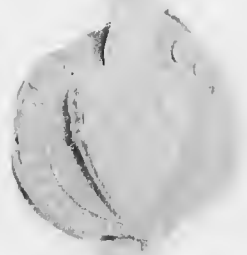
3



4



5



1. Seal of Walter Fitz Alan; 1a, Counterseal not deciphered, 1177.
 2 and 3. Seal of Alan Fitz Walter, 1204.
 4. Seal of Walter Fitz Alan II., 1246.
 5. Privy Seal of same person.

Alan, which was fraught with the most important destinies in both kingdoms, to be wrought out two centuries afterwards. It was a school of policy, in which the prince learned much that was profitable to his own realm—the most beneficial lesson being that of surrounding his own throne with chivalrous warriors ever ready to lift the gage for their royal master.

Among his retinue were many possessed of thirsty swords—both the discontented scions of old Saxon nobility, alienated by Henry, and the restless young cavaliers of Norman lineage—who were eager to take and hold any unsettled part of Scotland by the prowess of their blades.

After the quarrel arose between David's niece, the Empress-Queen Matilda, and Stephen as to the throne of England in 1135, David embraced the cause of the former, and those loyal to Matilda rallied around The Dragon of Wessex, which was the standard in battle of the Scots king.

In the miserable epoch which succeeded the death of Henry, when England was embroiled in internecine war, the Fitz Alans and King David were true to their vow of fealty to the Empress Maud, and became her conspicuous defenders against King Stephen, for which devotion they had to suffer forfeiture of their lands in England. The brother-in-law of Alan, Ernulph, the brave defender of Shrewsbury in Maud's interest, met a shameful death at the hands of Stephen. After the serious reverses to Maud's cause in the south in the summer of 1141, William and Walter Fitz Alan, along with King David, appear at her Court in Oxford. And when that cause totally collapsed, and the Empress had to seek refuge abroad, Walter had no other seat save his saddle, on which, like many another free-lance, he crossed the Scottish border

to enter the service of the Scots king, with whom he appears at Melrose in 1142.¹ Then began the influx of Norman warriors, whom David gathered round him to carry out the feudalisation of his realm, and whom he secured in their moated holds guarding the rich lands he granted to them.

Another friend of David's was Thomas de Lundin, the Doorward, whose daughter, Eschina,² married Walter Fitz Alan, and brought him the lands of Molla and Huntland in Roxburghshire, parts of which she gave to Paisley Priory.

When early in his reign David granted to Robert the Brus his lands in the valley of Annan (1124-1140), Walter Fitz Alan, so designed, was present to witness the charter at Stapelgortune, and he survived till, as "Dapifer Regis Scotiæ," or Steward, he was called in as witness to the Charter of Confirmation by William the Lion, in 1166, in the Castle of Lochmaben.³ Little indeed could these two barons imagine that their families would unite, long afterwards, to place a king of their own blood upon the throne of David, and to save the independence of a nation, which they as aliens then had adopted.

David settled Walter in the fat lands watered by the Cart and bounded by the Clyde, where Paisley presently thrives, no doubt for military reasons as well,—as the Charter of Malcolm IV. declares, "on account of the service which he himself rendered to King David." He further complimented him with portions of his own private lands in Partick, as well as with lands in various parts of the realm, to sustain him in the

¹ 'Lib. Sanct. Mar. de Melros' (Bann. Club), p. 4.

² Eschina first married Robert de Croc: their daughter Isabel married a Lyndsay.

³ Bain, 'Calendar,' vol. i. No. 29; *ibid.*, No. 105.

high dignity of Steward of the King, to which he was advanced.¹

When attesting any charters of King David and Prince Henry I have examined, Walter is designated "Walter, son of Alan," but in Malcolm IV.'s reign he is designated "dapifer Regis Scocie," Steward of the King of Scotland. The same title, or Seneschal, is borne during the reign of William. During the reign of Alexander II., in 1236, Walter son of Alan is designated Seneschal of Scotland.²

The particulars of this honour and office we learn from a Confirmatory Charter granted, on June 24, 1157, at Roxburgh to Walter by Malcolm IV., by which he not only confirms the appointment and grants of his royal grandfather, but makes the Seneschalship a hereditary function in the family of Walter—an additional importance which the office does not appear to have previously possessed. The charter runs as follows:—

"Malcolm, King of the Scots, to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Vicecomites, Provosts, and to all other proprietary [men], clerics and laics, French and English, Scots and Gallovidians, of his whole land, as well present as to come, greeting, be it known to you all that before I have taken up arms, I have granted and by this my charter have confirmed to Walter, son of Alan, my Steward, and his heirs, in fee and possession, the gift which King David my grandfather gave to him, namely, Renfrew and Passelet [Paisley], and Polloc [Pollok], and Talahec [place unknown], and Kerkert [Cathcart], and Le Drep [the Drip], and the Mutrene [place unknown], and Eglissham [Eaglesham], and Lauchinauche [Lochwinnoch], and Innerwick [in East Lothian], and all their pertinents, and similarly to him have I given, and by this my charter confirm, my

¹ One of the estates in Partick is called Jordanhill.

² 'Lib. de Mel.,' p. 170.

Seneschalship, to be held by himself and his heirs of me and my heirs, freely in fee and heritage, as well and as fully as King David better and more fully gave and granted to him his Seneschalship, and as himself holds it from him better and more fully ; farther, I myself give, and by this same charter confirm, to the same Walter in fee and heritage, on account of the service which he himself rendered to King David and myself, Prethe [Partick], as much as King David held in his own hand, and Inchenan [Inchinnan], Stemtum [Stenton], and Halestinesdene [Hassendcan in Teviotdale], and Leguardsuade [Legertwood in Lauderdale], and Birchinsyde [Birkhillside in Lauderdale] ; and besides, in every one of my Burghs, and in every one of my demesne dwellings [*dominica Gista*], throughout my whole land, an entire Toft to make him a residence there, and with each Toft twenty acres of land : wherefore I will and direct that the same Walter and his heir in fee and heritage hold off me and my heirs, in chief, all the foresaid, as well those which he himself possesses by gift of King David as these which he has from my gift, with all their pertinents, and rights, and through right divisions of all the foresaid lands, freely and quietly, honourably and in peace, with sac [*i.e.*, right to try causes] and soc [exemption from customary burdens, and right to impose others], with tol [right to hold markets], and them [right of holding bondmen], and infangtheeffe [jurisdiction over thieves], in manors, in shealings, in plains, in meadows, in pasture-lands, in moors, in waters, in mills, in fisheries, in forests, in wood and open, in ways and by-ways, as any one of my barons more freely and quietly holds of me his fief,—by rendering to me and my heirs for that fief the service of five soldiers.”

The names of the attesting witnesses are interesting, as showing the dignitaries and landholders of the day :—

“ Ernest Bishop of Saint Andrews, Herbert Bishop of Glasgow, John Abbot of Kelso, William Abbot of Melrose, Walter the Chancellor, William and David, brothers of the king, Earl Gospatrick, Earl Duncan, Richard de Morweill, Gilbert de Wmphraweill, Robert de Bruis, Rádolph de Soulis, Philip de Colveille, William de Sumervilla, Hugo Riddell, David Olifard, Valden son of Earl Gos-

patrick, William de Morweill, Baldwin de la Mar, Liolf son of Maccus. At the castle of Roxburgh, on the Festival of John the Baptist, in the fifth year of our reign.”¹

This ward-holding charter, as it was called, granted to the king's house-steward for military service, does not take the Fitz Alans further back than to King David's reign, and, as will be noticed, contains no reference to tenure of land in Bute, which originally may have been a demesne of the Dalriadic kings. Rothesay may have been an early burgh, and around its royal castle the Steward may have possessed his twenty-acre toft; but it is not till nearly fifty years after this date that we find Alan the son of Walter, in 1204, able to dispense land in Bute to Paisley Priory.

We must now turn aside for a moment to investigate a most remarkable claim made in 1336 by Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, to be considered the Steward of Scotland by hereditary right, “de Senescalcia Scotiæ (quæ ad eum Jure Hæreditatem spectat)”, and which suggests the idea that, after all, Walter had been chosen to be Steward because it was an office held by Banquo his grandfather and his family. The Earl of Arundel, when with Edward III. in Scotland, sold his alleged right to the king for a thousand merks; and this sale was afterwards confirmed by Edward Baliol, so that there might be no doubt as to the property of the subject. The instrument of the king ordaining the price to be paid was signed at Bothvill on the 28th November 1336.² Arundel's claim must have been based upon the fact

¹ Original printed in George Crawford's 'Gen. Hist. of Stewarts,' p. 2.

² Rymer's 'Acta Angliæ,' tom. iv. p. 719, No. 1218; 'Caledonia,' vol. i. p. 574; 'Clause Roll,' 13 Ed. III.; 'Stewartiana,' p. 58; 'Scotland under her Early Kings,' vol. i. p. 184.

that he was lineal descendant, as he was, of William Fitz Alan, elder brother of Walter, the holder of the Stewardship in David's reign, and further, that Walter only held the office because of his descent from Alan, William not being in a position as a Scottish vassal to act on his father's decease. The assumption by the Edwards of what they deemed their proper regality in Scotland altered the circumstances, and made Arundel the rightful Steward, according to this contention, or because the cadet branch by rebellion had forfeited their right, which returned to the representative of the family in its elder branch. Unless, then, Arundel was acting under some impression caused by the traditions of his family, that the office was hereditary before the time of Walter Fitz Alan, his claim was as barefaced as that of his liege lord to be considered Suzerain of Scotland. The claim, however, is in line with the romance of Banquo, and cannot well be dismissed until that mystery is solved. If it could be shown that the Thanes of Lochaber had been the hereditary High-Stewards at the Court of Kenneth and his descendants, which as yet is impossible to prove, there might have been a basis for this novel and unavailing claim. But the first Steward, who was not even an earl or knight, held no patrimonial possessions in Scotland, unless Bute was an exception; and we can only surmise this from the fact that there is no charter granting it to Walter (the Steward from 1204 to 1246), whom we find in possession of Kingarth.

Walter inherited the devout and generous spirit of his ancestry, and followed the example of King David in extending and munificently enriching the Church, and comforting the lepers and the poor. In 1163 he founded the beautiful Priory of Paisley, for the Glory of God and the Virgin Mary,

in memory also of King David, King Henry, and Prince Henry, for the safety of King Malcolm, and on behalf of the souls of himself and his family.¹ He filled the house with Cluniac monks from the Priory of Wenlock in Shropshire, and settled in the adjoining lands the vassals and military tenantry, bearing the foreign names of Crok (hence Crookstone Castle), Montgomerie, Costentin, Caldwell, Fitzfulbert, Wallace (of Elderslie), who accompanied him from his paternal acres in England and Brittany.² A record of their benefactions to this and other churches will be found in the Registers of Paisley, Melrose, and other monasteries. His devotion had a tender aspect, which evinced itself in dedicating lands to keep alive in the country the memories of King Malcolm and his own parents.

But the Steward was soon called from prayers to arms, when it was announced that Somerled and his gay galleys, filled with truculent warriors, had sailed up the Clyde, and were roystering on the meads of Renfrew. The Steward and his vassals threw themselves upon the invaders, and completely vanquished them in 1164.³

I imagine that at this juncture King Malcolm, who, according to the Annals of Ulster, was "the best Christian that was to the Gael on the east side of the sea, for almsgiving and fasting and devotion," granted the Castle of Rothesay and the lands of Bute, now forfeited to the Crown by the family of Somerled, to the Steward as a reward of his prowess.

For Celt or Norsemen the irregular islet was a convenient retreat for land and sea forces, and came to be considered a stronghold of importance in the west. It guarded a goodly

¹ 'Reg de Passelet.'

² See vol. i. p. 269.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

heritage, covered with rich crops and fat cattle, never to speak of deer, for which the forest of Cumbrae especially was famous. No better guerdon could a conqueror have offered to a free-lance than this critically situated royalty, which no "laggard in love or dastard in war" could retain mastery of.

Time, however, had at length dismounted this chivalrous warrior, and made his lance too heavy for his hand, so that he would fain lean on the Church for his support.¹

As it was customary then for warriors tired of the tented field to retire to the cloisters to engage in the heavenly warfare, Walter exchanged the barred helm for the cowl of Melrose Abbey, which already he had enriched with gifts, among others, of land in Mauchline. And truthfully the Abbey Chronicle might record:—

"Anno MCLXXVIJ Walterus filius Alani, dapifer Regis Scotorum, familiaris noster, diem obiit cujus beata anima vivat in gloria."—In the year 1177 Walter, son of Alan, Steward of the King of Scots, our friend, died to-day: may his blessed soul live in glory.²

Thus passed away from the stormy scenes of medieval life a brilliant warrior, of whom unfortunately we know all too little, and who is justly entitled to rank as one of the makers of Scotland along with others now but faintly remembered. The date of his wife Eschina's decease I have not discovered.

¹ The seal of Walter, used in disposing lands in Mauchline to Melrose about 1170, presents the figure of "an armed knight on horseback, at full speed, a lance with pennon couched in his right hand, and a shield on his left arm," the legend bearing "Sigillum Walteri filii Alani Dapiferi Reg." The counter-seal presents "a warrior with a spear in his right hand, leaning against a pillar, and with his left hand holding a horse." Laing's 'Scottish Seals,' p. 126, Nos. 769, 770, Plate iii. fig. 1; 'Lib. Mel.,' vol. ii., Plate vii., which is here reproduced.

² 'Chronica de Mailros,' Edin., 1835 (Bann. Club, p. 88).

Walter left three children—Alan, William¹ (David²), and Margaret; according to others, four—Emma, who married Griffin of South Wales, and Helen, who married Alexander of Abernethy, Margaret, and Alan. Alan appears in attendance upon the Steward's Court, and in the signing of the royal and paternal charters is designated "Alanus meus filius," "Alanus filius Walteri Dapifer meus," "Alanus filius Walteri Dapifer Regis Scotorum."

In 1177, Alan succeeded his father in the royal Stewardship, and lived through the eventful reign of William the Lion, when Scotland lay under the papal interdict, and the two kingdoms were embroiled in war.

He was one of the five hundred "men of weir" who accompanied Prince David of Huntingdon to join Richard Cœur de Lion in the third Crusade of 1189-1192, and witnessed the glories of that romantic campaign against Saladin. He was present at the fall of Acre in July 1191. Probably, too, he shared in the captivity of his prince, who with his fellow-shipmates was sold into slavery in the East.³ But unfortunately we have no details of Alan's adventurous career.

In 1197, Alan was sent to quell the rebellion of Roderick and Torphin the son of Harald, Earl of Caithness, which he effected in a battle fought near Inverness—a success which was followed soon after by the capture of Harald.⁴

Alan married Eva, daughter of Swan, son of Thor, a Border proprietor, who was a benefactor of the abbey of

¹ "Willielmo filio Walteri nepote (Alani) dapiferi."—'Lib. de Melrose,' p. 57.

² Dalrymple, 'Annals,' p. 147. "David Senescallus" is guarantee in 1219 for King Alexander. He may have been a brother of King William. 'Lib. Mel.,' pp. 32, 33.

³ Boece, xiii. fol. 276. See 'The Talisman.'

⁴ 'Chron. Mel.,' anno 1197; Fordun, vol. i. p. 512.

Scone. Symson says he married Alesta, daughter of Morgund, Earl of Mar.

Alan, in disposing Kilblain to Paisley before his death in 1204, does not mention his wife Eva nor son Walter. (See vol. i. pp. 272, 284.)

The 'Chronicle of Melrose' records his decease in 1204.¹

Walter Fitz Alan the Second succeeded his father as *Dapifer* in 1204, in the reign of William the Lion. Shortly after this the official name appropriated by him, and accepted by his family, was Senescallus or Senescaldus. His seignorial title was Walter of Dundonald—a grim strength in Ayrshire, which he made his principal residence.

Walter was one of the notable Scots barons whom King Alexander II. took with him to York in June 1221 when he wedded Princess Joan, and the Steward attested the marriage-settlement.²

Walter was also one of the representatives of Scotland who, at York in 1237, swore to maintain an agreement made between the King of Scots and the King of England, whereby for an equivalent King Alexander swore fealty to Henry III.³

Androw of Wyntoun informs us that when King Alexander held his Yule at Elgin in 1331, he purposely came to St Andrews, and

“Thare efftyr dedys syndry dwne,
Come till hym Waltyr Alanswne
The Stewart off Scotland, in plesand wis :
• Thare made the King him his Justis.”⁴

¹ P. 105. “Anno mccciii. Obiit Alanus filius Walteri.”

² Rymer's 'Fœdera,' vol. i. p. 165.

³ Ibid., p. 234.

⁴ Bk. vii. ch. ix., vol. ii. p. 242.

Symson gives the exact date—August 24, 1230.¹

He now appears in witnessing charters as “Walterus, filius Alani, Senescallus, Justiciarius, Scotiæ,”² and as Seneschal of Scotland.³

The Chief Justiciary—*Capitalis Justiciarius*—usually a trained lawyer, executed the judicial portion of the Grand Seneschal’s official duties, and presided over every court in the realm. The two offices of High Steward and Chief Justice were often conjoined, as in the cases of Walter the Steward and Ranulph de Glanville, in England.

The churches of Kingarth and the church lands, as previously stated (vol. i. pp. 269, 272, 284), were given by Alan to Paisley Priory, and he probably built the Norman addition to Blaas’s Church. Nor is it unlikely that he also erected the circular wall and four towers of Rothesay Castle, which consist of masonry of a character similar to that of St Blaas’s Church, even to the size of the stones, which have been supplied from one quarry to both works.

They may have been begun by Alan to secure his possessions; but the fact that when Uspak besieged Rothesay Castle, in 1230 (see vol. i. p. 250), he “hewed down the walls, for the stone was soft,” seems to imply that the mortar had not set and bound the masonry together. The Norwegian account of the siege states that the “Master of Lights, called Skagi Skitradi, shot the Steward dead while he was leaping upon the ramparts.” What Steward this could be is difficult to discover, unless it was the David or William, Sen-

¹ ‘Gen. Hist. Stuarts,’ p. 39.

² Charter of Alexander II., 8th Feb. 1237, to Church of Glasgow.

³ ‘Lib. Mel.,’ p. 170.

eschal, mentioned above. Walter's own son Walter was also called Seneschal, while Alexander his brother was called "Seneschal of Scotland." In 1296, Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl is styled in a charter "John Seneschal, brother to James Seneschal of Scotland."¹ The Norwegian reference is the first mention of the Seneschal under the Anglo-Saxon designation of the *Stívarð*, or Steward, which became the proud name of the Scottish dynasty. It has less pretty associations than the term Seneschal, and refers to the humble office of the keeper of the Sty (A.S. *stigo*, a sty; *wearð*, keeper, warden), who tended his master's cattle to provide food for his table; and in a more luxurious time this official rose to be master of the household of prelate, earl, or baron. Before the Fitz Alans were called Stewarts they had acquired this family name of "Seneschal," which always appears in designating the various members of the different branches of the family, in documents in Latin.

On the death of Alan, Lord of Galloway, in 1233-34, the Gallovidians rose in revolt against the government for not acceding to their selection of an overlord, and the king, with a well-appointed army, accompanied by Walter the Steward, entered Galloway to quell the revolt. After a severe castigation, the rebels, assisted by a host of Irish, revolted in the succeeding year, and Walter the Steward and the Earl of Dunbar were sent again to restore the peace.²

On the 4th March 1239, Johanna, Queen of Scots, died. The desire, or the Council, of the king did not give him long time to mourn. Walter the Steward was despatched with

¹ And. Stuart, 'Gen. Hist.,' p. 45.

² 'Chron. Mel.,' pp. 144, 145; Holinshed, p. 395; Fordun, ix.

a billet-doux to Mary, daughter of Ingelram the Great, Lord of Couci, in France, to solicit her love. And the Scot was so successful that he brought the fair maid with him, and, on the 15th of May, king and bride were standing before the high altar in Kelso Abbey.¹

In 1246, Alexander II. was king, when to his Court came ambassadors from Louis IX. of France, who was possessed of a zeal to recover the Holy Land, to plead for a subsidy, and to gather under the Oriflamme and cross a Scots band of Crusaders. Without delay three choice cohorts, under Patrick Earl of March, David Lindesay of Glenesk, and Walter Stewart of Dundonald, wise in policy and war, marched away, to perish with few exceptions on the sands of Egypt,² by sword or pestilence. This, I think, refers to Walter Stewart, a younger son of the Steward, rather than to the Steward himself, although there is doubt as to the precise date of his death.³ But the genealogists of the Stewarts assert that among this hapless band was a younger brother of Walter, John, who perished at the siege of Damietta, in 1249. If Boece is accurate, this statement is not acceptable. After the bitter reverses in, and retirement of Saint Louis from, the East, he inaugurated a new crusade, and applied for help to Alexander III., King of Scots. And among the leaders of the thousand crusaders sent from Scotland was "John Stuart, brother of Alexander," who was High Steward at this time, 1270.⁴ These mostly, says the historian,

¹ 'Chron. Mel.,' p. 149; Wyntoun, bk. vii. ch. ix.

² Boece, lib. xiii. fol. ccxciii.

³ "Walterus Senescallus filius Walteri Senescalli Scotie;" "Walterus Senescallus Comes de Monteith."

⁴ Boece, lib. xiii. fol. ccc.

succumbed to the heat and the pestilence ; among them, no doubt, a choice band of Brandanes from Bute.

According to the 'Chronicle of Melrose,' Walter, junior, died in 1141,¹ but this is a mistake, as the Register of Paisley preserves a charter granted by him in 1246, conveying to the monastery the goods of the monks of Simpringham at Dalmellington.

Walter left four sons, Alexander, John, Walter (Earl of Menteith, 1220-1296), and William ; and two daughters, Christian and Margaret.

Alexander the Steward shares the glory of driving the brilliant King Haco and his daring host off Scottish soil into the sea, and of securing the peace of his country from Norse invasions, by the famous land and sea fight of Largs, on 2d October 1263. The youthful Alexander III. was king, and two great antagonistic parties of northern and of southern nobles kept up strained relations in the country. The Steward, Alexander, was not of the national party, but bent to English influences ; and during the minority of Alexander III. was appointed one of the fifteen guardians of the king and queen, at Roxburgh, 20th September 1255. Through quarrelsome factions interfering, another regency, of which Alexander was one, had to be appointed three years later.

The national party under Comyn, Baliol, and Menteith soon threw the land into anarchy, seized the king, and scattered their opponents for a time. But the balance turned, and after the Earl of Menteith's death in 1258, his property was divided between Walter Senescal and William Comyn, the former becoming Earl of Menteith.

¹ "1141: Obiit Walterus filius Alani Junioris."—'Chron. Mel.,' p. 151.

The grim hill and strength of Dundonald, near Ayr, was the chief seat of the Steward at the time when the beacon on the heads of Ayr announced the approach of Haco's fleet, and gave the signal to the knights and vassals of the king to gather at their rendezvous at Garnock Castle. Thence they marched to the hills above Largs under Alexander, and waited for the enemy. Fifteen hundred were iron-clad cavaliers, and the unnumbered infantry, the men of Strathclyde and the Brandanes, with their long Scots spears, bows, and other rude weapons. Their own stormy rush, added to the resistless tempest, gave Alexander the victory. The grateful monarch immediately afterwards (30th November) conferred on Alexander the barony of Garlies, which was afterwards held by Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl—so called by writers—the second son of the Steward. His name appears in many charters, both as grantor and witness, as well as in the instruments of national importance signed by the Privy Council.

In 1267, Alexander the Steward and John Cummin led an expedition into the Isle of Man, and, vanquishing its Norwegian possessors, added the isle to the realm of Scotland.¹ Shortly afterwards the Steward accompanied another host into the Western Highlands to compel allegiance to the Crown.

The king, in 1263, sent his Steward on a polite errand to King Henry, requesting him to pay up the arrears of the queen's portion—a delicate mission which he performed with success. Meanwhile the brother of Alexander, Walter Bailloch, or the Freckled, had raised a terrible feud by marrying

¹ Boece, lib. xiii. fol. ccxcix.

a sister of the Countess of Menteith, through whom he obtained the title of Earl of Menteith, and which required the intervention of Parliament. Their son John obtained unenviable notoriety for seizing the patriot Wallace.

He was one of the Court officials who signed the marriage-contract between the Princess Margaret and the young Eric Magnusson of Norway, ratified at Roxburgh, 25th July 1281. He did not live to realise the unfortunate time of 1285, described by Wyntoun :—

“ Quhen Alysander oure Kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in Lwve and Le,
Away wes sons of Ale and Brede,
Of Wyne and Wax, of Gamyn and Gle.
Oure Gold wes changyd in-to Lede,
Chryst borne in-to Virgynyte,
Succour Scotland, and remede,
That stad is in perplexyte.”

Alexander had secured himself in possession of Bute by marrying Jean, the supposed heiress of the line of Somerled, as previously mentioned (vol. i. p. 249). Alexander's sons, James the Steward and John (of Bonkyl, by marriage), were makers of Scots history in a most critical time, and were patriots of the highest order, loath to submit to the tyranny of Edward I. Their history is the history of the day, for they constantly appear on the scene.

In 1283, James, Senescal of Scotland, took the oath of Alexander III. to receive Margaret, the Maiden of Norway, as Queen of Scotland.¹

In 1286, James the Steward was appointed one of the six Regents appointed to watch over the interests of Scotland during the reign of Margaret ; but he seems to have quarrelled

¹ Westminster Chapter-House, Robertson's Index, Appendix, p. 3.

with his colleagues, and entered into alliance with other nobles, including his brother-in-law, Richard de Burgh, afterwards taking up a position which necessitated him calling out his retainers in Kyle for personal protection.¹ There was peril of anarchy ensuing when the Kings of Norway and England interfered in Scottish affairs, and mutually agreed to the treaty of Brigham in 1290, which was based on the proposed marriage of Margaret and Edward. But the death of Margaret blasted the hopes of peace, and "the kingdom was troubled, and its inhabitants sunk into despair."

In 1288, James the Steward acted as Sheriff of Ayr and Bute, and his brother John became security for his actings, and those of his attorney.

On 20th September 1286, the two Senescals were the guests of the Bruce at Turnbury Castle, where, with him and other Scots and English nobles, they sign a bond—"The Turnbury Bond"—for mutual defence, alone reserving their allegiance to him "who has a right to reign,"—a sufficiently comprehensive designation of the future King of Scots. That was soon to be a problem of vast importance. As one of the six guardians of little Queen Margaret's interests—"custodes regni Scotiæ"—James appears resenting the harsh treatment of the King of England on the one hand, and meting out stern reprisals upon the English lieges on the other, and otherwise performing the duties of his office.

When in 1290 the Queen died, the bloody struggle for the Crown began, and "a devil's dozen" of competitors appeared to claim, and determined to win, it, with their murder-tools, if need be. Every one of them, as much as Bruce the younger,

¹ 'Lib. Mel.,' p. 359.

had a henchman to "mak siccar" his ambitious work. Over all appeared the spectre of Edward I., "Lord Paramount of the Kingdom of Scotland," who soon came in the flesh, to take his realm, in the name of Saint Edward. The Steward was one of the brilliant crowd of Scots chivalry—the most magnificent that ever met "the auld enemy" in Scotland in times of peace—who assembled on the verdant mead of Norham in May 1291, to hand over the Independence of Scotland to the English king. It beets one's blood to recount such a miserable instance of national imbecility and pusillanimity—wherein proud Wallace had no share—as this by which the Crown of Scotland was so meekly laid at the feet of Edward. Mark, of Sodor, was the only bishop who swore fealty at this time. The only excuse one can frame for the Steward is that his motto was not that of Edward, "Serva pactum," and that when he demitted his Regency and accepted it again (11th June 1291), under the shadow of the temporised throne beneath the yellow battlements of Norham, he was only playing the political patriotic game in which he afterwards was so successful.

The Steward's predilections were in favour of Bruce, and in 1292 (June 14), James entered into an Indenture of Mutual Defence between Florence, Count of Holland, and Robert Bruce of Annandale, with covenants respecting the division of the realm of Scotland between them,—the terms being that he who succeeded to the throne was to assign one-third of the realm to the other. Perhaps the blood of Banquo was beginning to show its royalty in his descendant, after he felt the iron heel of Edward on his fatherland in 1291. Every castle, save Rothesay, had its proud English warden within it. John Baliol was the vassal-king of Scots, and all the

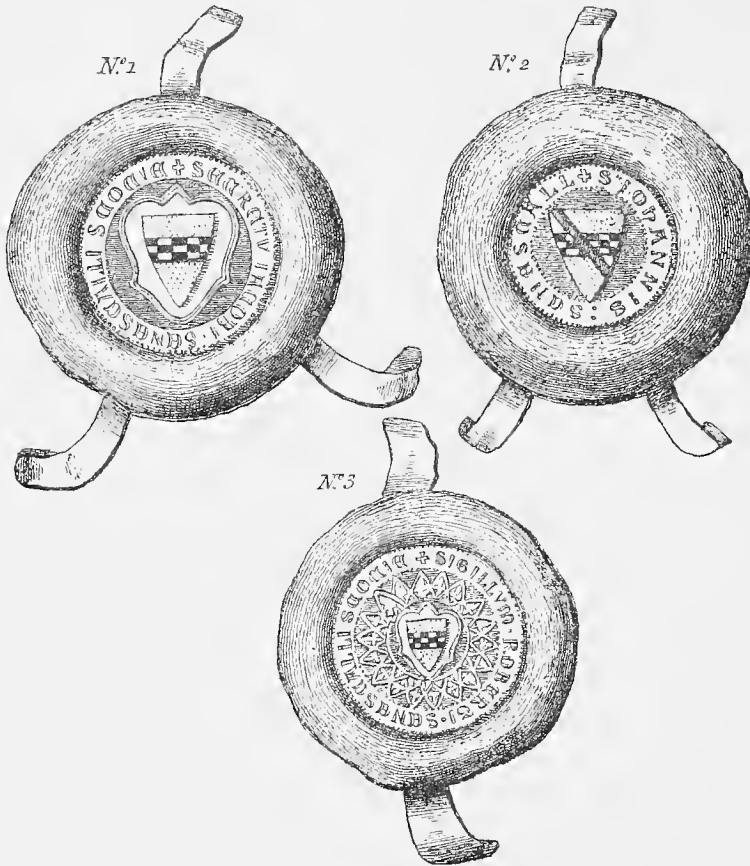
nobles had fallen into a trap and become vassals of England. In 1292 John Baliol included Bute in the Sheriffdom of Kintyre (Kintyre).

The interference of Edward in Scots affairs became intolerable, and caused a rupture with Baliol and a wanton war with the Scots in 1295. The ruthless Southron king marched North with sword and brand, and soon left no sanctuary for youth nor eld, for women or clergy, in the hapless land. In the town of Berwick, 30th March 1296, all were put to the sword, for the Hammer of the Scots had sworn he would extinguish the rebel breed. It was said that the stream of Scottish blood drove the mill-wheel of Berwick that day. And, according to Wyntoun, the life of Scotland would have been swept out on that tide of "rede blood," had not the sight of a woman, assisted to give birth to her child by the sword of a ruffian, touched the last spark of pity in Edward, drawn his hindmost tear, and slacked his fury. The men of Scotland had their travail too at the point of the sword, and waited the birth of freedom. The patriot's blade was resting, not rusting, in its scabbard. Menaced by armies of Welsh vagabonds and pardoned homicides from Ireland, whom Edward had drafted into his conquering hordes, the Scots barons and chiefs were forced to offer their fealty to the English king—no doubt against their better nature.

On the 5th May 1296, among nearly two thousand names of those who swore fealty to Edward, first appears James, Seneschal of Scotland, followed by John his brother,¹ both of

¹ Ragman Roll, pp. 61, 62. "5 May (24 Ed.) at Rokesburgh: A touz ceaus qui cestes lettres nerront on orront James Seneschal Descoce Saluz;" also ". . . Johan Seneschal frere mon sire James Senescal Descoce Saluz;" "Johannes quondam Senescalli predicti domini Jacobi Germanus miles."

whom append their seals, of which the accompanying engravings (copied from And. Stuart's 'Hist.')



No. 1. Seal of James, Steward of Scotland.

No. 2. Seal of John Stewart of Bonkyl.

No. 3. Seal of Robert, Steward of Scotland.

In July 1296, the Steward and Bruce, among other nobles, were commanded by their assumed liege-lord Edward to accompany Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, to the churchyard of Stracathro in Forfarshire, and witness the servile Bishop,

—a fierce warrior, fleshed with the spoils of the dead Scottish King Alexander, — stripping Baliol of robes, sceptre, and crown, and treating the King of Scots as a mere corpse of royalty. A month later, James, who had married Egidia, sister of the Earl of Ulster, the leader of the Irish ruffians now garrisoning Scotland, swore fealty to Edward, becoming “his liege man, of life and of members and of earthly honour, against all persons who can live and die”; and soon afterwards with his wife he is confirmed in possession of the Castle of Roo—a gift from the Earl. As a test of sincerity, the English king commanded the Steward’s men in “Both, Cowal, and Rothesay” to assist with their galleys and other vessels the Steward’s cousin, Alexander, Earl of Menteith, who was appointed warden of the castles of these Crown lands.

But the blood of the new Banquo of Kyle and the Macbeth of Carrick was reaching boiling-point, and however much they vacillated, both awaited their time. The land rung with the exploits of the Westland youth, the bold bowman, William Wallace, whose family (of Wales) were allies and retainers of the Stewards in Kyle-Stewart and Renfrew—men of British race and Celtic spirit. Wallace supported the claim of Baliol; the Steward that of Bruce: both, the grand principle of national independence. This hero, according to Blind Harry, had a Shropshire connection with the Fitz-Alans:—

“The secund O [*i.e.*, grandson] he was of gud Wallace :
The quhilk Wallas full worthely at wrocht,
Quhen Waltyr hyr of Waillis fra Warayn socht.”¹

His daring forest-band emboldened a few patriots, including the two Stewards, James and John, Bruce of Carrick, Sir

¹ Henry the Minstrel’s ‘Wallace,’ bk. i. ll. 30-32 (S.T.S. ed.)

William Douglas, the Bishop of Glasgow, and others, to throw in their swords with the national party in the summer of 1297. The receipt of the news of this rebellion had incited Alexander de Yle to take possession of "a certain castle with a barony named Glasrog [= Glascog = Glass of Ascog] which the said Senescal held by seisin of King Edward."¹ For this piece of Somerledian spite King Robert Bruce afterwards made Alexander long count his beads in the dark dungeon of the Steward's castle at Dundonald. This outbreak soon collapsed, and these notables capitulated in Irvine—Douglas, who had married Elizabeth, a sister of the Steward, being led off in irons to an English prison. James and John sent in their submission soon after.²

Then Bute became a rendezvous for the friends of Scottish nationality, who lurked under protection of the Castle of Rothesay, as Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, and staunch friend of Wallace, did :—

"To saiff his lyff, thre 3er he duelt in But;
Leifyde as he mycht, and kepyt ay gud part,
Wndir saifte off Jamys than Lord Stewart."³

Many of the Scots clergy were patriotic in the War of Independence. John Blair, for example, attached himself to the heroic outlaws, and appears at one time saying Mass, anon clad in burnished mail with steel truncheon in his hand, and again stealing away in his priestly dress to warn the men of Bute to come to the assistance of Wallace. The short shrift which the English gave to the conference of noble Scots who unsuspectingly came to the Barns of Ayr, wherein Mont-

¹ 'Hist. Documents,' vol. ii. p. 191.

² (25 Edward I.) Palgrave's 'Doc. and Records,' pp. 152, 197.

³ Henry the Minstrel's 'Wallace,' bk. vii. ll. 936-938.

gomerics, Crawfordds, Kennedys, “and kynd Cambellis, that neur had beyne fals,” “Berklais, Boidis, and Stuartis off gud kyn” were hanged, maddened their relatives, and made them rally round William — “the Kyng of Kyll” — at Stirling Bridge. A wily ruse of the Steward assured the Scots a victory there.¹ According to the ‘Chronicle of Lanercost,’ James the Steward craftily told the English general that there was no need to vex his whole army on account of the “single ribald fellow,” Wallace, and if he were intrusted with a few choice men, he would soon bring in the rebel, dead or alive. And he thus led the English into a trap at Stirling Bridge, 11th September 1296. Thereafter he openly joined the rebellion, and hastened with his 12,000 vassals, in “armes bricht,” to join Comyn, and then Wallace at Falkirk:—

“The gud Stewart of But com to the land,
With him he ledys weill ma than xij thowsand,
Till Cumyn past, was than in Cummyrnauld.”²

Jealousy and pride undermined the power of Wallace, chosen Guardian of the realm.

“Lord Cumyn had inwy at gud Wallace,” and instigated “Lord Stewart” to demand the leadership of the vanguard in the imminent battle of Falkirk, on 22d July 1298. Wallace resented the claim, bitterly retorting to Stewart, who had likened his leader to an owl which had borrowed its feathers:—

“‘Thou leid,’ he said; ‘the suth full oft has ben
Thar I baid, quhar thow durst nocht be seyn
Contrar enemys, na mar, for Scotlandis rycht,
Than dar the howlat quhen that the day is brycht.’”³

¹ ‘Chronicle of Lanercost,’ p. 190; Harleian MSS., “Wallace Papers,” pp. 35, 50.

² ‘Wallace,’ bk. x. ll. 65-67.

³ *Ibid.*, bk. x. ll. 145-148.

This heated conversation, however, did not prevent the Steward doing his duty on the bloody field, whereon his brother Sir John fell surrounded by the brave Brandanes, the Westland men, and the "Flowers of the Forest," as will be afterwards narrated (Chapter III.)

The Scots, defeated, sought safety in flight. Wallace retired for a short time to France, and the national party lost coherence. During the absence of Wallace the Steward acted as temporary governor :—

"In till his sted he chesyt a gouernour
To kep the land a man of gret walour,
Jamys gud lord, the Stewart off Scotland."¹

The unforgiving Edward made rebellion the dearest game, by forfeiting the lands of his opponents. On 31st Aug. 1298 the lands of the Steward were granted to Alexander de Lindsay.² Scotland's miseries increased, as English and foreign soldiery swarmed everywhere like locusts. During the ten years preceding the capture of Wallace, over half a million men-at-arms, enlisted in various lands, crossed the Tweed and Solway to subdue the unsubduable. No instrument the Southron ever forged could annihilate that spirit. It was to Bute and Arran Wallace ever looked for succour, which never failed him when "Gud Byschope Synclar" showed his fiery cross in the isles. His call to battle was to raise his cloak or rochet, and show the glistering plate upon his soldier's breast. Said Wallace :

"Gud Westland men off Aran and Rauchle
Fra thai be warnd, thai will all cum to me."

Wallace and Stewart were only typical of the Steward's

¹ Wallace, bk. viii. ll. 1699-1701.

² 'Hist. Doc.,' vol. ii. p. 306.

men, whom Southrons had cause to rue, as Blind Harry sang:—

“Quhat be Stuart and syn be wicht Wallace
For all his pryss, King Eduuard rewynt that race.”¹

In October 1301, an English fleet under Hugh Bisset, and swelled by the galleys of Angus of Isla, filled with the wild *insulani*, or marines of the isles, swept into Rothesay Bay, in order, if need be, to annihilate (*ad nichilum redigere*) the rebellious Brandanes.²

The Steward appears in France as an ambassador to King Philip the Fair, craving succour for his unhappy fatherland, in 1303. The English king, dreading the influence of the Steward, angled, with fair promises, for his return and for his allegiance, which he could not effect, at this juncture.

His old friend Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, who, it was said, concocted the ruse at Stirling, did not lie in English irons without the Pope knowing of it, and the latter asserted his suzerainty over Scotland. At the same time he demanded the retreat of Edward, “my dearly beloved son in Christ,” from his patrimony there. And between Pope and foreign potentates a little pressure was put on the invader.

Notwithstanding, the coils tightened round Wallace, until his fighting-ring of heroes grew smaller. In an evil hour, early in 1305, John of Menteith, whilom Lord of Arran, a Stewart too, once a covenanter for his country's freedom, also prisoner in Nottingham for his patriotism, but now a constable for Edward, captured and betrayed to his doom his own former crony—“gossop,” in the language of Henry—the noble Wallace. The terror caused by his execution

¹ ‘Wallace,’ bk. x. l. 437.

² ‘Hist. Doc.,’ vol. ii. p. 436.

drove his associates into submission again. The Steward had now to succumb. The deed expressing the Steward's submission is interesting, in showing how great servility the "Hammer of Scotland" demanded of the hapless Scots. It is in French, and was sealed before the Lord Chancellor at Westminster :—

"To all those persons who shall see or hear these letters, James, formerly Steward of Scotland, wishes greeting in God.

"Know ye that whereas I (being in the homage, faith, and allegiance of my Lord Edward, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine), led by bad advice, have raised, and caused to raise war against my said lord, and thereto was assenting and procuring and aiding his enemies, overtly and covertly to my power, against my said homage, fealty, and allegiance, whereof I perceive, know, and acknowledge myself culpable, I, of my good and free will, have surrendered and do surrender myself entirely, absolutely, and completely to the will of my said lord. And albeit that, moved by pity towards me, he has granted me a special grace, and beyond what I have deserved in this matter, as to my pardon of life and limb, and of release from imprisonment, nevertheless, I have submitted and do submit myself entirely to the will of my said lord, and will and grant that he should do to my body, and whatever I have or can have, and all the lands and tenements which were mine at any time, or which may fall to me henceforth in any manner whatever, in the land of Scotland or elsewhere, and that he should ordain, establish, and do fully at his will, and according to what he pleases. And thereto I bind myself as strongly and as fully as I know and can by this writing. In witness whereof, I have thereto set my seal.

"Dated at Westminster, 3d November 1305, 33 Edw. I." ¹

Of the hapless Wallace, in his death, it may be fitly said—

"To weep would do thy glory wrong,
Thou shalt not be deplored."

¹ 'Hist. Doc. Scot.,' vol. ii. p. 495.

Like the Douglas of Chevy Chase, dead he was more powerful than when alive. More perhaps than the removal of the mainstay of the Baliol faction, yonder gruesome head of the patriotic defender of Scotland, looking down from the spike on London Bridge in grinning hatred upon every passer-by, was the galling incentive of a higher duty to Robert Bruce than to be dallying longer at his conqueror's Court. If to hear of the capture of Wallace, Bruce had gone "near out of wit," what must have been his feelings to see that noble countenance so dishonoured by the "auld enemy" of his country? Both pride and policy lent him spurs to action, and soon he was a rebel in Dumfries, where

"Comyn fell beneath the knife
Of that fell homicide the Bruce."

New Year's Day (25th March) 1306 ushered in a happier era for Scotland. Then at Scone Bruce assumed his sovereignty, on 27th March 1306, the gallant Countess of Buchan, in the absence of Macduff, placing the golden ring around his brow—gold for crowns had the Scots none in Edward's day. The resolute women of Bruce's day were also famed for their gallantry. Edward might shut them up in cages (*en un kage*), like this brave Countess, for popular show; but he could never cage their Scottish spirit, which yearned after the success of the Bruce and the restoration of national independence.

The die was cast for Bruce, who soon found himself an outlawed king, seeking safety where he might. The Steward and his vassals did not share his cruel perils at first. There may have been a helpful policy in this delay, approved of by Bruce himself, although the conduct of James savours of

pusillanimity and vacillation at first sight. On the 23d day of October 1306, James the Steward appeared in the Priory of Lanercost, near Carlisle, before the Bishop of Coventry and other English officials, and gave token of his fealty under his seal to Edward of England, having "sworn upon the *Body of God*, and upon the *Holy Gospels*, and upon the *Cross Neytz*, and upon the *Blakerode of Scotland*, and upon several other *Reliques*, . . . which things being thus done, the said Lord James, on the same day, came into the presence of his Lord the said King for his the said James's lands in *Scotland*, in the due and usual form."¹ After some early reverses, Bruce escaped to the Clyde, where Sir Neil Campbell of Lochaw met him with a few galleys, which soon bore the fugitives past Bute into Kintyre. The Butemen watched them with their strong square fists upon the oars making the galleys cut through the water—as Barbour, the biographer of Bruce, narrates :—

" Then schippyt thai, for-owtyn mar ;
 Sum went till ster, and sum till ar,
 And rowyt be the Ile of But.
 Men mycht se mony frely fute
 About the costis thar lukand,
 As thai on ayris raiss rowand :
 And newys that stalwart war and squar,
 That wont to spayn gret speris war
 Swa spaynyt aris, that men mycht se
 Full oft the hyde leve on the tre."²

To the quiet cloisters of the Cistercian monks of Saddell, which Bruce's grandfather had enriched, they were first probably bound. In the stronger peel of Saddell lived

¹ Madox, 'Baronia Anglica,' bk. iii. chap. vi. pp. 267, 268.

² 'The Bruce,' bk. iii. ll. 575-584.

a new-made ally of the king—Angus, of the blood of Somerled :—

“ Anguss off Ile that tyme wes syr,
And lord and ledar off Kyntyre.
The king rycht weill resawyt he ;
And wndertuk his man to be.”¹

According to a Seanachy of the Macdonalds, Bruce and his band loitered here for six months, his pioneers trying to recruit troops for him in Ireland,² till his host gave him for a three-days' refuge the sea-lashed fort of Dunaverty in South Kintyre :—

“ For mar sekyrness, gaiff him syne
Hys castell off Donavardyne,
To duell tharin, at his liking.”³

But Rathlin Isle became his securer base of operations and outlook.

It was a wise policy for the Steward to keep in the background when the king was so near in desperate straits. The sternest patriot then required the stoutest heart to embark on such forlorn-hopes, when relatives and friends were arrayed against each other in a strife from which there was no escape, except by sacrificing the dearest hostages—their children—whom the barons had given to an unrelenting tyrant. The Steward was growing old : many of his boon-companions lay in bloody graves, or had their limbs and heads bestowed on popular towns for spectacles ; others languished in English service, or wept in southern dungeons. His three sons were still boys. But as soon as they could gird a sword we find them—Walter, John, and James—standing by their king and country and freedom.

¹ ‘The Bruce,’ bk. iii. ll. 659-662.

² ‘Collect. Reb. Alban.,’ p. 289.

³ ‘The Bruce,’ bk. iii. ll. 665-667.

“The flower of Christendom,” as courtiers called Edward, was now afoot, pushing north for the eighth time, to blossom red with slaughter on Scottish soil, under the July sun of 1307. But a stronger king than he was in the camp to roll his crown in the dust; and when death drew near, no more news of hostings, hangings, and quarterings could give to his moody spirit the brutal joy he often had in hearing of disasters to the Scots. He had to lay down his Hammer (*Malleus Scotorum*), and the anvil rested a while and resounded not with the din of war.

The Bruce and his henchman the Steward were not afraid of the more chicken-hearted Edward II., who soon retreated beyond the Borders. The national cause grew stronger. In the spring of 1309, James the Steward with other nobles formed an embassy to the Court of France to announce their acknowledgment of Robert Bruce as the rightful sovereign of Scotland. The duties of courtiership, however, had been too much for the ambassador.

On the 16th July 1309, James died, and was interred in Paisley Abbey. Nor was death long in disrobing Antony Bek as completely of his earthly adornments as that bishop had stripped John Baliol. Over all marched the irresistible conqueror, breathing the invincible spirit of Freedom, which was to bring peace, as Barbour sang:—

“Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;
 Fredome all solace to man giffis :
 He levys at ess that frely levys.”

If ever a Scotsman realised that noble sentiment it was James the Steward, who did more than any other to build up the prestige of his country.

James the Steward married, first, Egidia, sister of Richard

de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and, secondly, Cecilia, daughter of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and March. His children were Andrew, the eldest, who died in his father's lifetime;¹ Walter, the Steward; John, killed at Dundalk; James of Rossyth and Durrisdeer; Egidia, wife of Sir Alexander Menzies of Enoch (Durrisdeer).

It is not my happy duty to follow King Robert in his adventures, and with the sleuth-hound of history to track him by road and river, by bale-fire and gipsy refuge, by kyle and castle, till he meets his braves in dark Torwood in 1314. Among the rest appeared James Douglas, the forwardest warrior of any age. He came to cry "Onward, brave heart!" that day. Son of a Stewart, too, was he, Elizabeth having married Lord William Douglas, the Hardy, now dead in English chains. This Scottish Hector was come of "war-proof," although his soft lisp and the blythe smile on his grey visage belied the manhood slumbering within his "banys gret and schuldrys braid." Into the review at Torwood, too, steps forth a beardless youth with a tail of veterans, purpose-like in manner, and handsome in appearance. Douglas greets his cousin, young Walter of Bute, and the fail-me-never heroes of Wallace, still as fearless as their patron saint, Brendan. Thus Barbour describes this sight:—

"Valtir, Steward of Scotland, syne,
That than wes bot ane berdlass hyne,
Com vith a rout of nobill men,
That all be contynans mycht ken."²

King Robert "welcumyt thame with gladsum fair." The ambitious youth had not long to wait in that leafy June till

¹ "Andreu l'esnez fils et heir du dit Seneschal."—Palgrave's 'Doc. and Rec.,' p. 336.

² 'The Bruce,' bk. xi. ll. 216-219.

he won his knightly spurs. The opposing hosts lay before each other at Bannockburn. Of the four divisions of the Scots army, the third, the left wing, was intrusted to Douglas and Walter Stewart:—

“And syne the thrid battale he gaf
 To Valtir Stewart for to leid,
 And till Dowglass douchty of deid.
 Thai war cosyngis in neir degre,
 Tharfor till hym betaucht wes he,
 For he wes young ; and, nocht-for-thi,
 I trow he sall sa manfully
 Do his dewour, and virk so weil,
 Than hym sall neyd no mair themseill.”¹

To a youth of twenty-two this was a most responsible charge. However, his conduct on the field of battle became his mighty instructor, the Douglas. The king had the Carrick men and the redshanks of “Anguss of Ylis and But,” in the rear of the van. Among these “brave sons of Innisgail,” who

“Beneath their chieftains rank’d their files
 In many a plaided band,”

may have mustered those Butemen who were vassals of Angus. They, too, share the praise King Robert, according to tradition, gave to Angus for his family motto, “My trust is constant in thee.”

The Scots answered an early tattoo on Monday morning, the 24th June 1314. They had their “mess” to say and their oaten “sop” to take before they assembled in their gay masses, with variegated banners, lit up with glittering arms, as if they were a host of angels. Before the king dressed their ranks, he called out to kneel upon the sward, among others,

¹ ‘The Bruce,’ bk. xi. ll. 321-329.

the Steward and Douglas, and struck the first blows of chivalry that morn upon their shoulders—the kindest that day—to make them knights :—

“ The kyng maid Valter Stewart knycht,
And James of Douglass, that ves vicht.”¹

It rouses the blood to read Barbour’s account of the bloody fight,—how the long Scots spears, as thick as spines on a hedgehog’s back (*hyrchoune*), met the iron-clad horse, pricking them to death or madness; how glittering helms rang with the dinning (*dynnyng*) of hatchets; how breastplates sang after the “hideous shower” of arrows darkened the air; how sword met sword in fatal fray over dying men, “girling and granying” in their blood-red shrouds of iron, as the wild fury of war swept from rank to rank, and bore away unseen thousands after thousands of their spirits—the while “the pibroch lent its maddening tone.” Conspicuous were Douglas and the beardless Stewart in “rushing” the foe to gory earth :—

“ A ! mychty god ! quha than mycht se
The Steward Walter and his rout,
And the gud Dowglas that wes stout,
Fechtand in-to the stalward stour,
He suld say that till all honour
Thai war worthy, that in that ficht
Sa fast presit thair fais mycht,
That thai thame ruschit quhar thai geid.”²

Then the English broke and fled. Douglas chased them over the Borders with will as good as that of Gideon of old smiting the Midianites—“faint yet pursuing.”

Walter’s guerdon was the fair Marjory, sole daughter of

¹ ‘The Bruce,’ bk. xiii. ll. 415, 416.

² *Ibid.*, bk. xiii. ll. 186-193.

The Bruce, whom he married in the summer of 1315. The royal deed granting a marriage portion ran thus:—

“Robert, by the Grace of God, King of Scots: Know that I have given to our dear and faithful Walter, Seneschal of Scotland, in free marriage with Marjory, our daughter, the barony of Bathkat, the lands of Ricardtoun, the barony of Rathew, the lands of Barns beside Linlithgow, the land called The Brome near the land of Lithgow; an annual out of the Kers of Striveling, an annual rent of 100 shillings out of the lands of Kinpunt, and the lands of Edinham in the Earldom of Roxburgh.”¹

It was a well-earned largess.

Their connubial bliss was short-lived, the princess succumbing at the birth of Robert on the 2d March 1316, leaving Walter for the second time widowed, although he was still a youth of twenty-three. Marjory was buried in a chapel of Paisley Priory, but in 1770 her monument and remains were transferred to another chapel in the edifice.²

The subsequent exploits of this dauntless patriot are so bound up with his brave followers The Brandanes, that in order to do justice to these heroes I include them more fully in their story in Chapter III.

The Settlement of Ayr, on 20th April 1315, by which it was agreed that Edward Bruce should succeed his brother, Robert, and failing him, the Princess Marjory (then unmarried, and after her, should she marry, the heirs of her body), was now rendered void by the fall of Edward Bruce at Dundalk; and it became necessary for Parliament to enact at Scone, on the 3d December 1318, that Prince Robert, the son of Marjory and Walter, should be heir-presumptive to

¹ Robertson's 'Index,' p. 9, No. 11; Crawford's 'Hist.,' p. 14.

² Chalmers's 'Caledonia,' vol. vi. p. 781, note (new edition).

the Crown in the event of the king having no son and heir. Walter was a signatory to the deed. But after all an heir, David, was born, and in 1326, at Cambuskenneth, another settlement was agreed upon, declaring the son of Marjory to be heir-presumptive after David.

Meantime the Borders raged with war, and Berwick became the scene of blood which Walter was set to take and hold, while the Scots armies overran the northern parts of England.

Yet, though engrossed with warfare, this pious patriot was not unmindful of the peaceful monks who sang dolorous masses for his brave comrades who fell by his side, and the Chartularies of the abbey testify to his grateful remembrances and thanksgiving for his safe keeping by the God of Battle.

At length the ring-mail coat could no longer confine his spirit; the fevered hand dropt the well-notched blade; the voice of victory ceased to ring from the empty helm; and the monks of Newbattle conveyed the dead hero to their church of Bathgate, to chant over him the requiem, "Pro Fidelibus Defunctis." "And many a knight and fair lady," says the poet, also wept a sad Trental for the young warrior who fell asleep in his thirty-sixth year, on the 9th April 1326. The panegyric of Barbour needs no magnifying here:—

“ In this tym that the trewis war
Lestand on Marchis, as I said ar,
Walter Steward that worthy was
At Bathket ane gret seknes tais.
His evill it wox ay mar and mar,
Quhill men persavit be his far
That him worthit ned pay the det
That na man for to pay may let.

Schrevin and als repentand wele,
 Quhen all was done till him ilkdele
 That nedit Cristin man till haf,
 As gud Cristin the gast he gaf.
 Than nicht men her folk gret and cry,
 And mony ane knicht and ek lady
 Mak in apert richt evill cher,
 Sa did tha all that evir thar wer ;
 All men him menit comonly,
 For of his eld he was worthy.
 Quhen tha lang tym thai dule had mad,
 The Cors to Paslay haf tha had,
 And thar with gret solemnite
 And with gret dule erdit was he.
 God for his nicht his saul he bring
 Quhar joy ay lestis but ending."¹

While Barbour may be accurate in declaring that Walter was "erdit" in Paisley Priory, there are good grounds for concluding that a monument was erected in St Mary's Chapel, Rothesay, by King Robert II., his son, in memory of this gallant knight, as will be afterwards shown.

Walter's family consisted of Jane,—daughter of Alice, daughter of Sir John Erskine,—who married Hugh, Earl of Ross, killed at Halidon Hill; Robert, afterwards king, son of Marjory Bruce; by Isobel, daughter of Sir John Graham of Abercorn, Sir John Stewart of Ralston and Egidia, who married, (1) Sir James de Lyndsay, (2) Sir Hugh de Eglinton, (3) Sir James de Douglas (ancestor of the Earls of Morton).

Robert Stewart, the first of the Fitz Alan and Senescal family who sat on the Scots throne, was the son of Walter the Lord Steward and Marjory Bruce, and was born near Paisley on the 2d March 1316, being brought into the world

¹ 'The Bruce,' ch. cxl. p. 445 (C. Innes's ed.)

by the Cæsarean operation. George Crawford thus relates the doubtful story :—

“At this place, on the lands of Knox, there is a high cross standing called Queen Blearie’s Cross. Tradition hath handed down that it was erected on this occasion. Marjory Bruce, . . . being hunting at this place, was thrown from her horse, and, by the fall, suffered a dislocation of the *vertebræ* of her neck, and died on the spot. She being pregnant fell in labour of King Robert II. : the child or *fœtus* was a Cæsar. The operation being by an unskilful hand, his eye, being touched by the instrument, could not be cured ; from which he was called King Blearie. This, according to our historians, fell out in the year 1317.”¹

Lord Hailes could not discover these authorities referred to, and came to the conclusion that “Queen Blearie” is a corruption of *Cuiné Blair* (Gaelic, *cúimneachan blair*), a memorial of battle. Might it not be the spot where Somersled suffered his defeat ?

Froissart, who visited King Robert’s Court, says : “Robert King of Scotland had one of his red eyes turned back. It resembled sandal-wood”—*i.e.*, a very red cock-eye.² Symson declares that “Erntully’s tomb in the cathedral church of Dunkell” gives this Robert the ag-name of “Blear Eye.”³

During the unfortunate minority of that weak king, David II., when the patriots of Scotland had to fight the battle of national independence over again, the Steward of Scotland was also a minor. But he was a youth of different mettle, and early associated himself with the Brucian party,

¹ ‘History of Renfrewshire,’ p. 41.

² Froissart, vol. ii. p. 169 : “Le roy Robert d’Escosce, avec uns yeux rouges rebrassés. Il sembloit de sendal.”

³ ‘Gen. Account of Stewarts,’ p. 115.

who resented the plots of Edward Baliol and the pretensions of the English king. Where he spent his boyhood in those less perilous days, when bold Randolph was a terror to evildoers from Lochar Moss to Loch Awe, I can only presume to have been among the rounded hills of Durrisdeer, where his uncle and tutor Sir James Stewart had his fortified home, and where his aunt Egidia and her husband Sir Alexander de Menyers or Menzies dwelt in the castle of Enoch. This romantic home, now a verdant mound, overlooks the lovely vale and linns of the Carron, still full of as dainty trout as ever fascinated a youthful eye. But this was no time for idle sport, when the chaplet itself had fallen from Randolph's helm, and he lay dead with honour, as his successor Mar, with dishonour, lay on Dupplin Moor in 1332. Scotland cried aloud for a Joshua, and all she could obtain was Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the Regent, who was the Steward's granduncle, till Douglas, the bastard knight of Liddesdale, assumed the regency. Edward Baliol accepted the crown as a vassal of England. An insurrection was brewing.

Robert, the Steward, had all the martial ardour of his ancestry, and joined Archibald Douglas, nicknamed "Tinemán," and a body of cavalry at Moffat, and swooped down on Baliol at Annan so suddenly that the kinglet was glad to escape in his shirt into England—16th December 1332. Raids over the Borders followed, until the ire of King Edward was roused, and reprisals ensued. "Tineman," however, soon bore down upon the English king, then sorely pressing Berwick, and ventured to give his host battle on the green hills of Halidon on 19th July 1333. Of the four divisions of the Scots army, the Steward of Scotland, with

his uncle Sir James, led the second. By bad generalship the Scots met a terrible discomfiture, in which the Regent Douglas was mortally wounded, and the flower of his army was either killed or made prisoners. Sir James Stewart was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and his kinsmen John and Alan killed outright. The Steward himself escaped, and fled for safety among the Brandanes in Bute. (See Chapter III.) With their aid he soon recaptured the castles of Rothesay and Dunoon, invaded Renfrew and Galloway (July 22, 1334, 'Chron. Lanercost'), and, with the assistance of the men of Annandale and Kyle, made the governor of Ayrshire submit.

The Earl of Athole was now seized by Baliol in the lands of the Steward, and King Baliol celebrated a merry Christmas in Renfrew in 1334, distributing his honours at the expense of the Steward. After the country was once more ravaged, the barons, with the Steward, were glad to treat of peace with their Lord Paramount; and in September 1335, "Edwarde the 3d cam from S. John's tounne to Edingburgh, whether cam Robert the Seneschal of Scotland unto hys peace. This Robert was sunne to the doughter of Robert Bruse, King of Scotland."¹ Fordun thus describes the Steward: "He was a comely youth, tall and robust, modest, liberal, gay, and courteous; and for innate sweetness of his disposition, generally beloved by true-hearted Scotsmen."

Meantime Regent Moray and the Knight of Liddesdale conducted an irritating and successful guerilla warfare, in which they were encouraged by the King of France and his guest the exiled King David. Moray died in 1338, and the

¹ Leland, vol. i. p. 555, quoting 'Scala Chron.'

Steward was appointed Regent. His policy was warlike, masterly, and prompt. While his ally Douglas was hastening to France to secure subsidies, Robert boldly prepared to attack Baliol at Perth, the seat of his government, and at the very nick of time Douglas reappeared with five French men-of-war and many steel-clad warriors. Perth soon fell, after it Stirling, and in a brief space there was not an English soldier north of the Forth.

The Regent, imitating Randolph, soon restored the land to order, and by politic methods prepared for the return of his sovereign in 1341. David was a weak ruler, and soon permitted himself to be embroiled in a fresh war, which ended in his defeat and capture at Neville's Cross, Durham, it is said by the Queen of England herself, 17th October 1346. It was a well-fought fight, in which the king, though wounded, displayed a courage worthy of his blood. The Steward and the Earl of March, who commanded the left wing, after desperate fighting, had to retreat, leaving dead on the field two John Stewarts, Alan Stewart, and, as prisoners, John (of Dalswinton), Alexander, and John Stewart, beside many other kinsmen and vassals.

David was taken to the Tower, and John Earl of Menteith to the traitor's gallows. Southern Scotland once more was in English hands. The Steward, however, assumed the Regency or *locum tenens* of King David with promptitude, until the release of his sovereign in 1357, when his son John was given as a hostage for the observance of the treaty of release. The king's lieutenant had no easy task in the irritable state of the plague-struck, impoverished country, where several strong garrisons were maintained by the Southron, such as Dalswinton and Carlaverock, while fear made the Borderers lean to

English fealty. In 1356, John Stewart, the Regent's eldest son, reduced Annandale to Scottish allegiance.

At length David returned, a discontented vassal and courtier of King Edward. He seems either to have taken an umbrage against his intrepid and faithful lieutenant, or to have forgotten the parliamentary treaties concerning the succession to the Crown, when, in 1363, he proposed to the Estates that, should he die without issue, they should elect the Duke of Clarence to be King of Scotland. The Estates scorned his proposition, and declared, "That they would never permit an Englishman to reign over them," and, remembering the national debt of honour to their Steward, further said: "That by Acts of Settlement, and solemn oaths of the three Estates, in the days of Robert Bruce, the Steward had been acknowledged presumptive heir of the Crown; and that he and his sons were brave men, and fit to reign."

The Steward, perceiving that his position was being undermined through the indiscreet proposal of the king, and the machinations of England, entered into a defensive confederacy with the Earls of March and Douglas, and with his own sons, to maintain his rights, and fell into open rebellion. This the king quickly crushed, and in 1368 the Steward forfeited his title to the Crown and his patrimony, becoming a suspect to the jealous sovereign. The Steward and his sons, John, Robert, and Alexander, were arrested and kept in custody, until after the divorce of Margaret Logie, the Queen, who had suggested their arrest.¹ The Steward and his son Alexander were incarcerated in Loch Leven Castle after June

¹ Fordun, bk. xiv. c. 27.

1368, and we learn from the Exchequer Accounts that Alexander was still in custody in 1369.¹

By the death of David II. on 22d February 1371, the Steward was advanced to the throne, and the prophecy regarding the offspring of Banquo was fulfilled on the 26th March following. At the Coronation at Scone appeared Lord John, Senescal of the king, first-born, Earl of Carrick and Senescal of Scotland ; Lord David Senescal, son of the king, junior, Earl of Stratherne ; Lord Robert Senescal, son of the king, Earl of Menteith ; Lord Alexander Senescal, son of the king ; Alan Senescal, Robert Senescal, Alexander Senescal, knights.²

On 27th March 1372, and again on 4th April 1373, Parliament drew up a deed of settlement of the Crown upon Lord John, who, on his accession, for luck's sake, changed his name to Robert III., although during his Seneschalship he was designated John, Seneschal of Scotland.

The eighteen years during which Robert II. reigned were not characterised by any brilliant events, with the exception of the battle of Otterburn in August 1388, which by the romantic ballad of "Chevy Chase" is known to every reader. Warfare now was only a serious pastime, however, of the Scots nobility, who, inured to war, fell upon fighting as a good sport, which, if not entailing death, always demanded of the chivalrous "that at their departynge curtoysly they will say, 'God thank you.'"

The king was a frequent visitor to Bute from 1379 onwards, as will be shown in the account of the Castle of Rothesay.

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. ii. p. 309.

² Robertson's 'Index,' Append., p. 3. Here I have retained the Latin form of the word, "Senescal," instead of translating it by Steward.

According to Riddell, who has satisfactorily cleared up the difficulties connected with Robert's marriages with Elizabeth Mure and Euphemia Ross, the Steward was "a gay deceiver," and was living in open and incestuous concubinage with Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Rowallan, the issue of which being ten sons and daughters, including the heir - apparent.¹ Their marriage was previously legally barred by their double relationship in the third and fourth degrees of affinity and fourth of consanguinity, and their offspring had to be legitimated by a dispensation granted by Pope Clement VI. in 1347, under the condition that the Steward should erect and endow a chapel in expiation of his sin.² This he did in 1364.

In May 1355, Robert obtained another dispensation from Pope Innocent for his marriage with Euphemia Ross, widow of John, Earl of Moray.³

Robert II. died in Dundonald Castle, 19th August 1390, and was interred in Scone.

From the various charters printed in the Appendix will be seen the extent of the "Stewartlands," as they were called, before the accession of the Steward's family to the throne. At first they were the proper inheritance of the family. The value of the Steward's lands in Bute, the Cumbraes, Cowal, and Kintyre was £1000 Scots in 1366.⁴ Then the eldest son of the king, without the title of a charter, or Act of Parliament, was considered entitled to the *usufruct* of these lands. The king, however, only made a liferent grant of them to his eldest son, on whose decease they reverted to the Crown.⁵

¹ 'Stewartiana,' Edin., 1843.

² A. Stuart's 'Hist.,' p. 418; 'Stewartiana,' p. 135.

³ A. Stuart's 'Hist.,' p. 420. ⁴ Act Parl., vol. i. p. 500. ⁵ Rob. III., Dec. 1404.

But from later Acts of Parliament it can be inferred that some time between 1467 and 1477 the Stewartry and other lands held by the king were regularly erected into a principality, to afford out of the rents a perpetual provision for the king's eldest son and heir-apparent. From 1469 downward the charters granted to the vassals were sealed by his eldest son, each in his capacity as "Prince and Steward of Scotland."¹ We see from an Act in 1489 that, in default of the prince, Parliament called the vassals to account. On 22d November 1469, an Act was passed, declaring that the following lands belonged to the first-born princes of the royal house :—

"Lordship of Bute with Rothesay Castle ; Lordships of Arran and Cowal with Dunoon Castle ; Earldom of Carrick ; Land and Castle of Dundonald ; Barony of Renfrew and its holdings ; Lordships of Stewarton, Kilmarnock with its Castle, and Dalry ; Lands of Neddendale, Kilbride, Nairstoun, Cavertoun, and their rights ; also the lands of Drongan, Drumcoll, and Trabach with their Castle ; also the lands of Teling and rents of Brechin forfeited by Thomas Boyd."

In 1489, the Earldom of Ross and Lordship of Ardmannoch also belonged to the Prince of Scotland, being forfeited on account of the Earl's treason in besieging the Castle of Rothesay in 1475.²

In February 1489, Lord Darnley collected the dues in Bute for the sustentation of the king's household.³

The following is the Act of Parliament passed in 1593, enumerating the Crown lands, with Bute among the rest, at that date :—

¹ Act Parl., vol. ii. p. 187a.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 220a.

“Our Sovereine Lorde, And Estaites of this present Parliament : Considering the dailie in-crease of his Hienes charges and expenses, and diminution of his Hienesse rentes of his propertie and commoditie, throw unprofitable dispositiones maid thereof in time bygane : Therefore thinkis expedient, that the landes and Lord-shippes under-written, be annexed to the Crown ; and presentlie annexis the same thereto, followand the example of his Predecessours, for the honorable support of his Estaitte : and the same Lands, Lord-ships, and utheris hereafter specified, to remaine perpetuallie with the Crown : Quhilkis may nather be given awaie in free frank-tenement, pension, or uther disposition to ony person, of quhat estaitte or degree that ever he be of, without advise, decreete, and deliverance of the haill Parliament : And for great reasonable causes, concerning the weill-fare of the Realme : First to be advised, and digestlie considered be the haill Estaites. And albeit, it sall happen our Sovereine Lord that now is, or ony of his Successours, Kinges of Scotland, to annalie and dispone the saidis Landes, Lord-schippes, Castelles, Tounes, donation and advocacion of the Kirkes and Hospitalles, with the pertinentes, annexed to the Croun, as said is, utherwise : That the same alienationes and dispositiones, sall be of nane availe ; bot that it sall be lesum to his Hienesse, and his Successours, to receive the same landes and rentes to their awin use ; quhen ever it likis them, without ony proces of Law : And the takers to refund and pay, all profites that they have taken up thereof, againe to his Hienesse, and his successours uses, for all the time that they have had them, with sik uther restrictiones, as ar contained in the actes of Parliament, maid be his maist Noble Progenitours, Kingis of Scotland, in their annexationes to the Croun. They ar to say, the landes of Beaufort : The landes of Pettindreicht : The landes of Cowll : The landes of Oneill : The landes of Fettircarne : The landes of Teiling and Polgavie : The landes of Colbrandis-peth : The Erledome of Marche : The landes of Trabeache and Teringzeane : The landes of Carrict, Lesualt and Mennybrig : The landes of Cowell : The landes and Lord-ship of Galloway, abone and beneath Cree : The landes of Duncow : The Castle and landes of Lochmabene : The landes of Glencharny and Glenmoreistoun : The landes of Discher

and Toyer : The landes of Kinclewin : The Lord-schip of Menteith : The landes of Rosneith : The landes of Bute : The landes of Ruthvens in Cromar : The assise herring in the East and West Seas : The Lord-ship of Dumbar : The landes of Normangill, Quhitegill & South-wood : The landes of Dunedonald : The Kingis wark in Leith : The Kingis stable : The Kingis Meedow : The Pallace, zardes, and Parke of Haly-rude-house : The Lord-shippe of Linlithcow ; without prejudice of the former annexation of the landes and Lord-shippes abone written, or ony of them, gif ony be maid of before, with tennentes, tennendries, service of free-tennentes.”¹

How these lands are held by the present vassals of the Crown does not further concern us here.

¹ Act Parl., vol. iv. p. 28.



TOMB OF WALTER, STEWARD OF SCOTLAND (WHO DIED IN 1326).
IN ST MARY'S CHAPEL, ROTHESAY.

CHAPTER III.

THE BRANDANES.

“Warriors—for other title none
 For some brief space we list to own,
 Bound by a vow—warriors are we ;
 In strife by land, and storm by sea,
 We have been known to fame.”

—*Lord of the Isles.*



HE Scots historian of the fifteenth century, John Major, informs the reader that there were two kinds of his countrymen, “the wild Scots” and “the house-holding Scots,” the latter of whom he defined to be “all who lead a decent and reasonable life.” Quite as naïvely he declares, “The islanders we reckon to belong to the wild Scots.” They were all combative. The rich were law-abiding, lest they lost their property: the needy “follow their own worthless and savage chief in all evil courses sooner than they will pursue an honest industry.” He pictures the islander in peace-time clad in yellow shirt and plaid, with bow, sword, or halbert in his hand; in war-time either clad in ring-mail, or in a patchwork shirt, daubed with wax or pitch, covered with a deerskin. Each cateran also carried a cow-horn, to make an inspiring

clangour when the ranks closed on each other.¹ And this is not unlike the illustrations of them preserved in manuscripts of two centuries earlier, when the "Brandanes of Bute" were the matchless soldiers of the "War of Independence."

In England the northern fighters had a terrible reputation for temper, pride, and invincibleness, so much so that Bartholomew de Glanville (1360) stated "that among the Scots 'tis held to be a base man's part to die in his bed, but death in battle they think a noble thing." That was the spirit of Douglas at Otterburn. This is exactly the character, too, which the Wizard of the North gave the brave swordsmen of the Debatable Land of two centuries afterwards:—

"Burghers to guard their townships bleed
But war's the Borderer's game;
Their gain, their glory, their delight
To sleep the day, maraud the night."

The few pictures we have of "The Brandanes" lead us to infer that while they were as irresistible as "the wild Scots," they were always actuated by high patriotic principles when they took the field. They were, as Ennius says, not "hucksters for war," but fighters for glory and freedom.

John of Fordun is the first writer who mentions the followers of the Steward under the name of Brendans, when describing the result of the battle of Falkirk: he narrates how, "among whom, of the number of the nobles, John Senescal with the Brandanis and Macduff of Fife and its inhabitants were wellnigh extinguished."² The next mention of the Bute men under the clan name of Brandanes is found

¹ 'Hist.,' p. 48, Scot. Hist. Soc. edit.

² 'Chron. Gent. Scot.:' Gesta Ann., c. i. Skene's edit., vol. i. p. 330.

in 'The Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland,' by Androw of Wyntoun, who was prior of St Serf's monastery in Loch Leven, about the year 1420. Therein describing the fierce fight of Falkirk, where Sir John Stewart fell encircled by his followers, he says:—

“Thare Jhon Stewart upon fute,
Wyth hym the Brandanys thare off Bute,
And the gentill men off Fyff
Wyth Makduff, thare tynt the lyff.”¹

In the same book the Brandanes are again referred to when they went to the help of the Steward at Dunoon Castle in 1335.² In connection with this same exploit, Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, in the 'Scotichronicon' of Fordun, in 1441, designates the “native men” of Robert Stewart the “Brandanes, as it were, from Bute.”³

They were thus the “native men” of the Steward—a legal term of common occurrence and of easy explanation. These “native men,” or “*neyfs*,” otherwise termed serfs, carls, bonds, villeins, husbandi, were sons of the soil, bound to the spot where they resided, either because they were born in servitude to the lord of the soil, or had by a bond contracted to serve him under certain conditions. They were originally the enslaved populations. With them were associated tenants, who bound themselves to give rent for the lands they tilled, and also personal military service. They existed under the Celtic, Saxon, and Norman polities. The “*neyf's*” distinction was permanent residence on his native or rented soil, which he

¹ Vol. ii. p. 347. Laing's edit., Edin., 1872.

² Ibid., p. 414.

³ Vol. ii. p. 315. Goodall's edit.

could nowise alienate from his lord, who possessed the rights of his toil and his fruits—all, if he was a serf; part, if he was a villein. Over him the lord had the right of “pit and gallows,” or imprisonment and death. His family, if he was permitted to have offspring, was entered in the baronial stud-book. Should he fly away, he could be recovered by proving his nativity. But if his overlord did not claim him, he was accounted a freeman, after he had lived a year and a day in a free burgh,¹—a position the Brandanes only acquired when they became the kindly tenants of the Crown. The freemen in the old burghs had much more freedom. Landlords and churchmen leased their lands to relatives and friends, who became their vassals or “goodmen” (*Duine Uasail*), and were equally bound during their tenure to perform services agreed upon. In 1190, for example, Alan, son of Walter the Steward, consented to a lease of Church lands by the Abbot of Kelso to his men at Innerwick, for thirty-three years.

Whether the Brandanes were only the vassals of the Steward in his twenty-acre toft around Rothesay Castle, or the more numerous body of serfs and villeins who were bound to follow his slogan, I cannot determine. The nature of the Fitz-Alans’ tenantry of Bute is unknown, for before King Robert’s time the barons had lost their title-deeds. And when that king in Parliament commanded them to produce their titles, says Buchanan, every one drew his sword and cried out, “We carry our titles in our right hands.” If that was the kind of title the Steward had at first, then the servitude of the “sons of the soil,” and of his military tenants, may have been an abject one. Otherwise the Brandane may have been a bold

¹ ‘Leg. Burg.,’ 15; ‘Reg. Mag.,’ vol. ii. p. 9.

yeoman, only forced to don his iron-quilted jacket at the sound of war or the summons of his chief—

“Loth to leave his cottage dear,
And march to foreign strand.”

Historians do not explain how they took their name of Brandanes, further than that they came from Bute, which formerly possessed the booth of the saintly voyager of that name. Bran-an, little Bran, was a common Celtic name. King Aidan had a son of this name, and a nephew who fought in the Isle of Man, styled Brendinus. Since, however, the festival and cult of St Brendan were remembered in Bute with special regard and magnificence in the ornate days of the old religion, and the Butemen gathered to the Hallow-fair on that saint's day, they accepted him as their patron saint. Most of the clans had a saintly guardian—Columba, Duthac, Mary, Brigit.

The men of Lennox swore by Saint Kessog; the men of Douglasdale by St Bride; the Scots generally by St Andrew. From earliest times fighting bands have had rallying cries and slogans, since Gideon cried, “The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!” On many a field, “A Douglas! A Douglas!” was a sound terrible to the English. On the Borders the yell of “Jeddart's here!” was fuel to the failing fight. In the isles the peasants quailed to hear the shout of the Campbells, “It's a far cry to Lochaw!” In the bloody battle of The Standard, in 1138, the Scots rushed into the fray calling aloud, “Albanaich!”—Men of Alban! At Byland the challenge was “Saint George and Edward of Carnarvon!” answered by “Saint Andrew and Robert Bruce, father of victories!”

It is almost certain that these Brandanes joined the national muster which followed King David into England, as we find among his other troops at Northallerton the Lavernani (Campsie men, probably under Nes, a Norman settler and vassal of the Steward), and the Insulani, or men of the Isles.

The Brandanes were both marines and common infantry. One of their gifts to Wallace was a war-ship—a “ballingar”—no doubt secretly made for their hero in some recess of the Kyles.

If the Brandanes were the husbandmen, or, later, the vassals of the Church, as has been pointed out (vol. i. p. 153), their first leader may have been the secular lord who was recognised as possessing the Church lands, and who was latterly “The Steward.”

History gives us a few glimpses of them, mostly in times of war. In peace, they doubtless shared the common prosperity of the age, which was not altogether devoid of culture and civilisation, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We see their homes wasted and broken up by Norse marauders. Their fertile land soon restored prosperity. Merchant vessels brought them even the fashions from France, with which the ship-men of Kintyre then traded.¹ Their own brawny smiths could as cunningly weave their webs of mail as the maids could twill the plaids of tartan. In a fray they had only one need, and that was a worthy leader. Said Blind Harry, in other words—

“O for an hour of Wallace wight!”

“Had thai Wallace, off no thing ellis thai roucht [recked]!”

¹ Bk. ix. l. 1249.

To call, said Wallace, was enough for those men, who—

“Scorning danger’s name,
In eager mood to battle came.”

They are frequently mentioned as men of handsome appearance, martial bearing, patriotic dutifulness, and indomitable bravery. When they appeared at the siege of Perth with Bishop Sinclair, they looked “seemly men” :—

“Byschop Synclair in till all haist him dycht,
Com out off But with symely men to sycht.”¹

Their fine countenances and warlike form impressed Bruce when they appeared in the Torwood. Some of them were those veterans of Wallace, of whom it is related :—

“For in thar way thar durst na enemys be,
Bot fled away be land and als be se.”²

They were verily “the wild Scots,” accustomed to sleep in the heather or the snow, afraid of nothing.

The French chronicler Froissart gives a description of the Scots troops of Bruce on the march, which, in detail, resembles that of the islanders given in later centuries by Monro, Leslie, and Buchanan. He writes :—

“They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland ; neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread and wine : for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half-sodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine. They have, therefore, no occasion for pots or pans, for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken

¹ Bk. xi. ll. 757, 758.

² ‘Henry,’ bk. xi. ll. 765, 766.

them off; and being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle each man carries a broad plate of metal [girdle]; behind the saddle a little bag of oatmeal. When they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix their water with oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste [Gael. *brochan*] upon it and make a thin cake, like a cracknel or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs. It is therefore no wonder that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers." ¹

Such were the hardy carls who stood unflinchingly around Sir John Stewart at Falkirk in 1298, as Blind Harry so graphically relates. The meeting of English and Scots there "was awfull for to se." After the long spears broke, out flashed their swords, and soon the "dredfull wapynnys" were death's artists, painting red the iron coats, skull-caps (basnets), and blazonry of 20,000 dead men. Cumin fled, leaving the brunt of the battle to the "hardy Stewart," who was soon surrounded by his antagonists—among others the Bruce, according to the Minstrel:—

"The men off But before thair lord thai stud
Defendand him, quhen fell stremyss off blud."

Sir John had arranged his men in a "schiltrom" or circular formation, with the archers, or "Flowers of the Forest," from Selkirk in the centre. But he himself fell from his horse in their midst, and was instantly surrounded by his men, who were noted in Southron eyes for their elegant form and distinguished carriage.² They stood unmoved by the showers of arrows and stones poured in by their antagonists, until they were totally extinguished by the horsemen. The scene

¹ 'Chron.,' vol. i. p. 18.

² Walter of Hemingford in 'Wallace Papers,' pp. 62, 112.

reminds the reader of the similar incident which occurred at Flodden, as Aytoun so graphically writes :—

“No one failed him ! He is keeping
Royal state and semblance still ;
Knight and noble lie around him,
Cold on Flodden’s fatal hill.

And the English spearmen gathered
Round a grim and ghastly wall !
As the wolves in winter circle
Round the leaguer on the heath,
So the greedy foe glared upward,
Panting still for blood and death.
But a rampart rose before them,
Which the boldest dare not scale ;
Every stone a Scottish body,
Every step a corpse in mail !”

That stance was soon a flood of gore, wherein, himself the bravest of 10,000 dead by his side, dropped the noble lord, “for he wald nocht be tayn.”¹ His ancestor Siward would have exclaimed on hearing of such a glorious ending, “Had I as many sons as I have hairs, I would not wish them to a fairer death.” As bravely fell Sir John Graeme and Macduff of Fife, to the grief of their leader, who sorely wept for them, and fled the field, defeated. A plain slab was for centuries the mark of the resting-place of this hero in Falkirk churchyard.² Beside it the Marquess of Bute has reared a

¹ “Waulter le freir de Seneschal Descoce qu defenduz estoit a pee entre lez comunz, fust mort od plus de x. mille dez comunz.”—Sir Thomas Grey’s ‘Scala Chronica,’ p. 125 (Mait. Club).

² The stone is the segment of an octagon, and was probably intended for an effigy. A plan of the former old church and churchyard, dated 1789, still preserved, shows grave of “Stewart of Bute” ; but it was only about eighty years ago that the following inscription was cut on the stone : “Here lies a Scottish Hero, Sir John Stewart, who was killed at the battle of Falkirk, 22d July 1298.”—Notes by J. R. MacLuckie, F.S.A., 1894.

memorial cross with this inscription: "In memory of the men of Bute who, under Sir John Stuart, on the 22d July 1298, in the battle near the Fawekirk, fought bravely and fell gloriously, this cross is reverently raised by John Stuart, Marquess of Bute. A.D. 1877."

King Robert the Bruce, like Wallace, found that Bute was a safe military centre, both on account of the recuperative quality of the land and the staunch adherence of the islanders. In his will he appealed to his successors to retain the isles, and prevent them falling into the hands of the nobles: "Inasmuch as they could thence have cattle in plenty, and stout warriors, while in the hands of others they would not readily yield allegiance to the king, whereas with the slender title of the Isles the king can hold them to the great advantage of the realm, and most of all if he should make recompence to others of a peaceful territory."¹ In 1313, according to some, Robert Bruce took and levelled Rothesay Castle.²

During the early struggles of Bruce the broken bands from Falkirk found shelter in the isle, and received priestly comfort from Bishop Sinclair, as well as daring incentive from Campbell of Lochaw, who lurked about the Kyles. When the young Steward joined Bruce immediately before Bannockburn, as has been related (p. 69), "a rout of nobill men" from his various lands accompanied him. They excelled their fame upon the battle-field that day. Whether they were actually

¹ Major's 'Hist. of Greater Britain,' bk. i. chap. vi. p. 38 (Scot. Hist. Soc. edit.)

² In 1313, Bruce subdues the Isle of Man, and "takes from the English by force the castells of Bute [more probably *Buittle*], Dumfries, and Dals[w]ynton, all which he levels to the ground."—Balfour, 'Annals,' vol. i. p. 93; Fordun's 'Annals,' cxxix, read *Buth*. Fordun, xii. 18.

under Walter or under Angus does not appear; but they were certainly in the thick of the battle, led by Douglas. According to John Major, where the battle-axe of these wild Scots laid on, "its course is lined by many a corpse, and death's pale face is constant there." His account of their manners is warm and lively:—

"The wild Scots rushed upon them [the English] in their fury as wild boars will do; hardly would any weapons make against their [two-edged] axes, handled as they knew to handle them: all around them was a very shambles of dead men, and when stung by wounds, they were yet unable by reason of the long staves of the enemy to come to close quarters, they threw off their plaids, and, as their custom was, did not hesitate to offer their naked bellies to the point of the spear. Now in close contact with the foe, no thought of theirs but of the glorious death that awaited them if only they might at the same time compass his death too. Once entered in the heat of conflict,—even as one sheep will follow another, so they, and hold cheap their lives. . . . In blood the heroes fought, yea, knee-deep."¹

Sad to say, every blow was needed before they had redeemed their morning vow, "The day is ours, or every one of us shall die in battle." At sunset—gory enough that eve—the day was theirs! Yet of that heroic band we have only one name preserved—Walter the Steward.

The Steward and his body-guard were sent to the English Borders after Bannockburn, to exchange the prisoners of war, and to escort the liberated Queen of Scotland to her victorious husband. But when the wearied war-worn heroes of Bannockburn got their furlough in Bute, it was not to hang their well-notched blades upon the peaty rafters of their

¹ Major's 'Hist. of Greater Britain,' bk. i. chap. iii. p. 240.

quiet homes, like the trusty weapon of Deuchar in Fife, which bore the graphic inscription—

“At Bannockburn I served the Bruce,
Of whilk the Inglis had na russ [boast].”

The Scottish galleys conveying Edward Bruce's host to Ireland to pay off old scores had just sailed, when King Robert, in 1315, quietly appeared in Bute waters, and taking with him the Steward and his Brandanes, made for Tarbert, to chastise the wild West Highlanders. By an ingenious device like that of Haco—laying down trees and planks to form a keel-way—they sailed their full-rigged galleys over the narrow neck of land into the western ocean, and soon quelled the men of Lorn. This was the first ship-railway. The Bruce next proceeded to Ireland to assist his brother, who was accompanied by members of the Steward's family, including Sir John Steward, his brother, who fell at Dundalk on the 14th October 1318, and Sir Alan Steward, his cousin.

The Steward and Douglas were left as joint-wardens of the realm. The city of Berwick, still in English hands, was soon invested and taken by the Steward, who had “such yearning” to be on the bloody Borders with his deadly archers from the Forest. He called out five hundred of “his friends and his men,” says Barbour—no doubt the jakmen and the cross-bowmen of the burghs and of Bute—with others bearing the “arms of ancestry” as well as the tools of death, to defend the castle of which he was appointed the keeper in 1318. Every kind of engine was prepared, every defensive device planned, “and great fire purveyed.” In the strong apparel of battle, the city and its five hundred well-led men waited the beleaguerment of their foes—led by Edward him-

self—not long, however. From land and sea, on St Mary's Eve, 7th September 1319, the wild carols of chivalry rung round the walls, and were answered by showers of stones, fire, and arrows. The Steward rode around, inciting the defenders incessantly. The blazing galleys gave them light by night. But nothing "skunnirrit" (disheartened) the besiegers in their fierce assaults, and nothing the untiring garrison. They fell where they were posted, to a man. There ensued a terrible fight at the Mary Gate, which the foe had fired, and nearly burst, when the Steward appeared in the hand-to-hand encounter. But what with "stabing, stoking, and striking"—what with the arrows gathered by the women and children and shot again, the fell foe were driven away, and a blithe shout rose from the sturdy band. And when the English army, baffled, retreated, there was "gamyn and gle" within the walls. The Steward and his men were praised for their "manhed and subtilite," while of the Steward his compeers thought—

"He was worthy ane prins to be."

By this time the English had seen enough of Douglas and his furred hat, of Walter and his men of pith (peth), and a truce was struck from Christmas Day. The Brandanes got two years to draw their breath in their native air, till the wild alarms of war rallied them again, and they found themselves with other islemen on the Braes of Byland chasing their antagonists. Following up this success of the king, the Steward, again with a gallant five hundred, harassed the English to the very gates of York, sitting down before them till nightfall, and challenging the garrison to come and try their mettle.

But the Brandanes were fighting against another author-

ity, which for a time almost threatened the extinction of their liberty. King Robert and his following had been for years under the ban of the Pope, on account of their alleged barbarity and paganism. English counsels prevailed, and obtained the most terrible anathemas against them. The Bruce was incorrigible, and maintained the justice of his cause against all the powers temporal and spiritual. On the 6th April 1320, the lords and barons, free tenants, and the whole community, had a representative meeting at Aberbrothock, and drew up a manifesto, declaring their nationality and other independent rights, which was sent to the Pope. Its most striking clause was: "So long as a hundred remain alive, we will never in any degree be subject to the dominion of the English. Since not for glory, riches, or honour we fight, but for liberty alone, which no good man loses but with his life." Among those who in "filial reverence" sent kisses to the "blessed feet" of the Supreme Pontiff, was Walter, Steward of Scotland. The Papal Court negotiated a long truce between the two nations.

During this peaceful lull the Steward died in the spring of 1326, leaving a son, Robert, the young Steward, ten years of age. Three years afterwards the Bruce died, while the young Earl David was in his seventh year.

Sir James Stewart of Rossyth and Durrisdeer, brother of Walter, became the commander of the Steward's men, and led them under Douglas in the raid on England in 1327. The young Steward was now heir-apparent of the throne. Baliol and the English soon embroiled Scotland in a fresh conflict, which came to a decisive issue on Halidon Hill above Berwick, on the 20th July 1333. The young Steward, then sixteen years old, led one of the four Scots divisions,

under the supervision of Durrisdcer, his uncle. A fierce carnage ensued, in which the Scots were nearly annihilated. Many of Stewart blood that day embraced the rounded breasts of green Halidon, including three cousins of the Stewart of the Bonkyl house, and also his sister Jean's husband, Earl of Ross. Some writers state that the battle took place on the Magdalen's Day (22d July), probably because it was a day of repentance and of tears to Scotland. Every shield was in mourning after that fateful fray. Its issue was—save himself who could.

The Steward found refuge in Bute. The strong places, with few exceptions, soon fell into the hands of Baliol and the English, and the country was humiliated under southern soldiery:—

“The Ballyoll Schyre Edward then
Gauē landis till his sworne men ;
To the Erle of Athole, Schyr Dawy
The Stwartis landis he gauē halyly.

The keys thai browcht hym thare,
That in Dw(n)hwne and Rosay ware.
Schyr Alane the Lyle made he hale
Schyrrawē off Bwte and Cowale :
Thome off Wollar, I wndrstand
Thare-in he made his lwtenand.”¹

The keys of the castles of Dunoon and Rothesay were handed over to Edward Baliol at Renfrew.² But a loyal

¹ Wyntoun, bk. viii, c. xxviii. l. 4099.

² ‘Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie,’ p. 164, ed. Turnbull: “Rothsay et Dunhun castrorum claves presentantur Eduardo de Baliolo apud Renfrew anno predicto (?). . . . Robertus Senescallus Scocie, regni heres extitit in castro Rothsay etatis sue anno xvi. : per Johannem Gilberti et Willelmum Heriot in baronia hinc memorantem, cum certis de Stewartlande usque Dounbertane fideliter et sapienter deduxerunt, et ibidem per Malcolmum Flemyng honorifice est susceptus ibidemque absque metu permansit.”

garrison held Dumbarton, into which, accompanied by two henchmen, John Gilbert and William Heriot, the Steward escaped. At this juncture Baliol may have repaired the Castle of Rothesay, which twenty years before the Bruce had rendered defenceless; or his lieutenant, David Earl of Athole, to whom he gave "grants of part of the Steward's lands," may have done it to secure his possession. "All the lands of the Stuart and of the Cummings of Bute the Earl of Athole now fastened upon for himself."¹ Alan Lisle was appointed Sheriff or Senescal of Bute. John Gybbownsonne was Castellan of Rothesay.

Revenge was only slumbering in the cunningly quiet land. Summoning to his aid his kinsman Campbell of Lochow, the Steward issued from Dumbarton and took the Castle of Dunoon, an exploit which incited the Butemen to rise and join their chief. The Sheriff and his men tried to intercept the Brandanes, who, being disarmed or only sparsely armed, had to take up a position on a stony hillock, probably the face of Barone. The natives met their antagonists with volley after volley of round stones, the larger being precipitated by rolling from the height, the smaller being shot from their hands with such effect as to discomfit the Sheriff's company. Lisle himself was among the slain. The garrison, too, soon capitulated. The fight was called the "Batail-nan-dornaig"—as we thus learn from Wyntoun:—

"Thus wes the Kynryk off Scotland
 Sa hale in Inglis mennys hand,
 That nane durst thaim than wythsay.

¹ Major, bk. v. chap. xiii.

The Stewart wes in Dwnbertane
 That hevly in hart has tane
 That off Athole the Erle Daŵy
 Swa occupyid his senyhowry.
 So in Argyle wes a barown,¹
 That had a gret affectyoun
 To this Stewart the yhyng Roberd.

Qwhen t̄e Brandanys off Bute herd say,
 That thare lord in swylk aray
 Had tane Dwnhōwyn in till Cowale,
 In hy wyth hym thai ras all hale :
 And he thame thankyd off thare rysyng,
 And heycht to mak thame rewardyng.
 Thai assemblyd that ilke day
 Welle nere by, qwhare the Schyrraŵe lay :
 The Schyrraŵe thare-at had dyspyte,
 And gert his men aray thaim tyte,
 And eschyd, and can to thaim ga
 Qwhare thai ware standand in a bra,
 Qwhare plenté ware off stanys rownde :
 Thare mete thai in a lytill stownd.
 Wyth stanys thare thai made swylk pay,
 For thare off thanne enew had thay,
 That the Schyrraue thare wes slayne.
 Jhon Gybbownsone in hand wes tayne,
 That heycht to gyue wpe the castelle :
 He held command thare off rycht welle.
 And for thai thare with stanys faucht,
 And wan thare fays wyth mekill mawcht ;
 That amang the Brandanys all
 The *Batayle Dornang*² thai it call.
 The Stewart, qwhen he herd this deyde,
 To thame in hy he can hym speyd
 Till his Castelle, and thare-in made
 Keparis, that in yhemsale hade ;

¹ His name was "Dowgall Cammell of Lochow." Stuart sent for Cammell, and with 400 men and galleys took and garrisoned "Dwnhovyn" Castle.

² *Batail-nan-dornaig*—Gael. *dòrn*, a fist, a fistful, a stone.

And bade the Brandanys ask thare mede,
 That thai suld haue for thare gude dede.
 Thai askyd to be multyre free :
 Than that wyth gud will thame gave he.
 Than had he wonnyn till his land
 Nynne hundyr markis worth off land.”¹

The news of victory soon brought the Steward from Dunoon, and being delighted with the bravery of his followers, he gave them as a reward perpetual exemption from the payment of multures. This spirited deed fanned the fire of patriotic rebellion, till the Steward found a large following of Westland men round him.

The Bute family of Glass hand down an interesting tradition, apparently in reference to this very affair, to this effect :

“When King Robert Bruce was scrambling for the kingdom, and fighting his way in the west, he was opposed by Argyle and other Highland chiefs. At the time alluded to he had come from Ayrshire, and had accomplished a landing in the island of Bute. His followers were few, and fewer still appeared to join his standard in the island, till Glass of Ascog with sixteen retainers, and another small laird with a few more retainers, joined him. By their example, many others turned out and gained a battle—or skirmish it might perhaps be called—and, in the evening, when Bruce returned to Rothsay Castle, which he took possession of, he was so pleased with the conduct of Glass and his neighbours, that he caused his ‘learned clerk’ to make out Free or Crown Charters in their favour of the lands they held—*i.e.*, he granted them the lands Free for which they formerly paid Rent or Mail. These Charters are in existence to this day, bearing date from Rothsay Castle. Glass’s family, by this Grant and Royal Favour, became highly respectable, the Laird being now a small Baron.”²

¹ Wyntoun, bk. viii. c. xxix. ll. 4327-4360.

² Note to Geneal. Tree of the Glassfords, by Wm. Glassford, 1834, in possession of Mr J. G. Jamieson, Rothesay.

This incident might have referred to the capture of Rothesay Castle in 1312 by Robert I. ; but, meantime, in the absence of the charters, I think the event has been antedated.

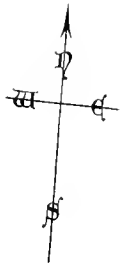
The first thing we would expect the Brandanes to have done now would be to put their castle in order,—an important work, of which the memorial appears to be left in the rubble-work built upon the Norman masonry of the circular court.

Robert the Steward was made Regent of Scotland in 1338, and set himself to reduce Perth and the other castles still in foreign custody. King David returned from France in 1341, and invaded England, where at Neville's Cross he was defeated and made prisoner. The Steward and the Earl of March led the left wing of the Scots ; but when they perceived the day going against them they retreated, an act which David never forgave his nephew. During the king's imprisonment the Steward was appointed Regent by the nobles, and prudently conducted the business of his office in a very critical time. During the treacherous proceedings of his uncle, who, after his release, endeavoured to settle the Crown of Scotland on the Duke of Clarence—a proposal indignantly rejected by the Scots Parliament and the supporters of Robert—the Steward acted a becoming and manly part. The ungrateful king, out of jealousy, threw into prison his faithful servant. In all his trials there can be no doubt the faithful Brandanes and Westland men stood close to their chief, until in 1371 they saw the crown upon his head. Long before this, John Lord of Kyle, afterwards Robert III., had taken up his father's sword to lead the Brandanes, which we find him doing so early as 1355 in Teviotdale. As John was unfit for warfare, being lame, the Steward's men were after-

wards led by his brothers, Robert and David, over the Borders.

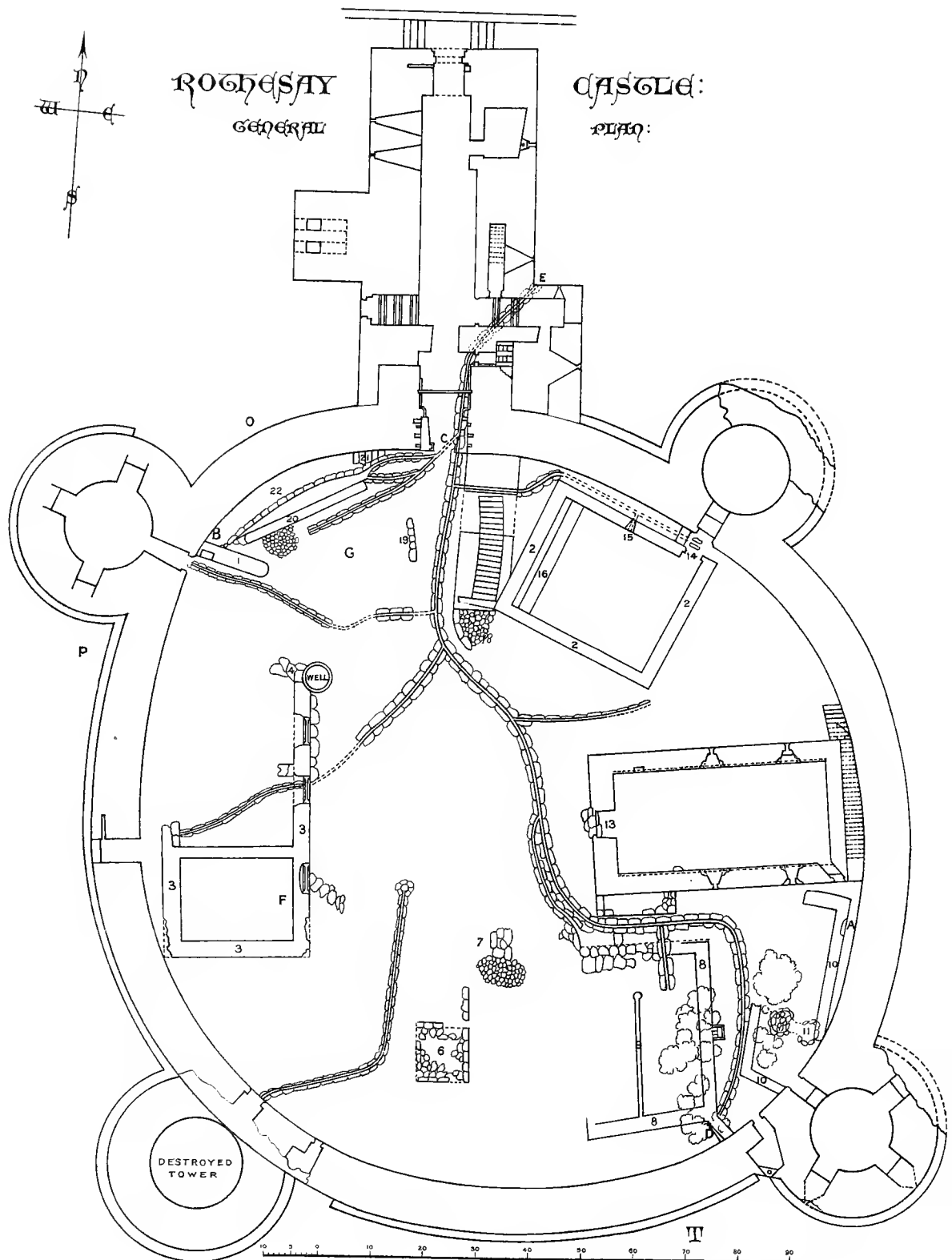
Thus the terrible Brandanes had no small share of the glory of gaining and maintaining the national liberty, with the dauntless

“Scots wha hae wi’ Wallace bled—
Scots wham Bruce has aften led.”



ROCHESAY
GENERAL

CASTLE:
PLAN:



DESTROYED
TOWER



SCALE OF FEET

DRAWING No. 5.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOME OF THE STEWARTS.

“There’s a castle biggit with lime and stane,
 O gin it stands not pleasantlie !
 In the fore front o’ that castle fair,
 Twa unicorns are bra to see.”

—*Old Ballad, “The Outlaw Murray.”*



SEVERAL hundred years have now flitted away since the weather-beaten coat of arms which surmounts the doorway of Rothesay Castle—or, more properly speaking, Palace—reminded the mariner whose galley touched the shingly beach beneath the shadow of the castle walls that he was under the guard of the king’s own men. Otherwise the golden Lion Rampant fluttering over a turreted tower, or the abrupt call of the sentinel shouting his challenge “A Brandane,” soon informed the visitor that the Steward of Scotland still held the fortress as a gage in war, or as his own hereditary home.

When those bright-coloured walls, which in sunshine belie for beauty their warlike purpose, were first reared to dominate the strath of Bute and the Bay of Rothesay, is no less a mystery than that which surrounds the origin of the first settler on this “coign of vantage.”

If the site was artificial, it may be surmised the first fortalice got its name *Rothers-ay* from the whole island ; if the site was an islet, stranded at the mouth of the local stream, it may have given its name to the island. I prefer the former assumption. [In a previous chapter¹ I endeavoured to trace the name to a Norse origin, a surmise now strengthened by subsequent study of the researches of Professor Thomsen of Copenhagen, who finds that anciently some parts of Sweden—Upland and East Gothland—were called *Rother*, *Rothin*, a word he connects with *Roths-menn*, *Roths-karlar*, signifying rowing-men, rudder-men, vikings.² Out of this people probably sprang King Rother, the mythical hero of the Icelandic Saga, “The Romance of King Rother,” which narrates how “On the Western Sea there dwelt a king whose name was Rother ; in the town of Bari, there he dwelt with great renown. Other lords did him service ; two-and-seventy kings, men of both valour and piety, were under him. He was the greatest king who was ever crowned in Rome.”³

Rothersay was Rother's-Isle, in any case, whether we accept the assumption that it was overrun by a colony from Swedish Rother, or by the *rothers*—the row-men—of the Norse peninsula.

Their central place of meeting in the fortified islet in the ancient burgh for judicial purposes might also have the alternative name of the isle of management (*Rothis-ay*).

Rothersay Castle, in its present ruined condition, consists of an immense edifice, built on an islet, with water ornamentally disposed around it to give the appearance of the original

¹ Vol. i. p. 14.

² ‘Scottish Review,’ vol. xxii. No. xliv. p. 329.

³ *Ibid.*, No. xliii. p. 37.

fosse. The fortification itself, as the illustration shows, was originally a circular fort, somewhat irregular in outline, formed of a wall 8 feet in thickness and over 20 feet in height. At each of the four cardinal points of the compass appear the remains of a round tower 28 feet in internal diameter. Abutting on the wall between the north and east towers rises a huge rectangular structure, whose front wall is pierced for the modern doorway, which opens into a long vaulted passage leading to the original entrance to the fort. This latter structure was the domiciliary residence of some of the Stuart kings. A drawbridge gives access to the palace. Such a castle in its glory Sir Walter Scott describes in "The Bridal of Triermain":

“ But, midmost of the vale, a mound
Arose with airy turrets crown'd,
Buttress, and rampire's circling bound,
 And mighty keep and tower ;
Seem'd some primeval giant's hand
The castle's massive walls had plann'd,
.
.
.
Above the moated entrance slung,
The balanced drawbridge trembling hung,
 As jealous of a foe ;
Wicket of oak, as iron hard,
With iron studded, clench'd, and barr'd,
And prong'd portcullis, join'd to guard
 The gloomy pass below.”

I am fortunate in being permitted by the Marquess of Bute to print here the report on the castle, drawn up in 1872 by the late Mr William Burges, Architect, London :—

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF BUTE.

MY LORD,—About the middle of last year you did me the honour of requesting a report upon the past and present condition of your castle at Rothesay. Accordingly I proceeded to the Isle of

Bute, and there spent the week ending August 12 [1872] examining the building in company with Mr Thomson [Rothesay]. With his assistance I measured sundry portions of the buildings, and I have since received several supplementary drawings from him, copies of which will be found in this report marked T.

1. *The Present Condition of the Building.*

From drawings Nos. 4 and 5 it will be seen that Rothesay Castle consists of an irregular circular space some 135 feet in diameter, surrounded by a wall 8 feet thick. This wall is constructed of a hearting of rough rubble, enclosed by outer and inner facings of cut sandstone. At the four angles of the compass are four exterior circular towers, portions of three of which still remain. But the walls and towers have evidently been added to, from the original height, for the sandstone facing, which in the lower portion is red and yellow, after attaining a height of about 20 feet, suddenly becomes white; however, on the inside face of this additional work there is no sandstone—whinstone is substituted for it. Apart from the entrances to the towers, which are square-headed, there are two doorways in the wall—viz., the entrance doorway, and the postern. The arch of the great entrance is three-centred, or rather elliptical, a form often seen in Norman work. The postern doorway, now blocked up, has a semicircular head, but has lost its ring of voussoirs.

In front of the entrance doorway a projection has been added at some later period; but in this case the archway is pointed, and has been pierced for a portcullis. There is also a plain chamfered impost-string. The whole style of this archway evidently points to the early half of the thirteenth century, at which period it is probable that the original elliptical archway was considerably narrowed by building another archway within it.

It should be observed that the nature of the squared sandstone walling renders it very difficult to detect alterations and repairs whenever the old stones have been used again: thus the place where the south-west tower (now destroyed) impinged on the wall has been repaired with the old stones, and many persons might pass the place without suspecting that any tower had ever been

there; and it would require very sharp eyes indeed to detect where the postern has been blocked up, and yet this doorway was reopened as late as 1816, when the first excavations were made by the orders of the late Marquis.

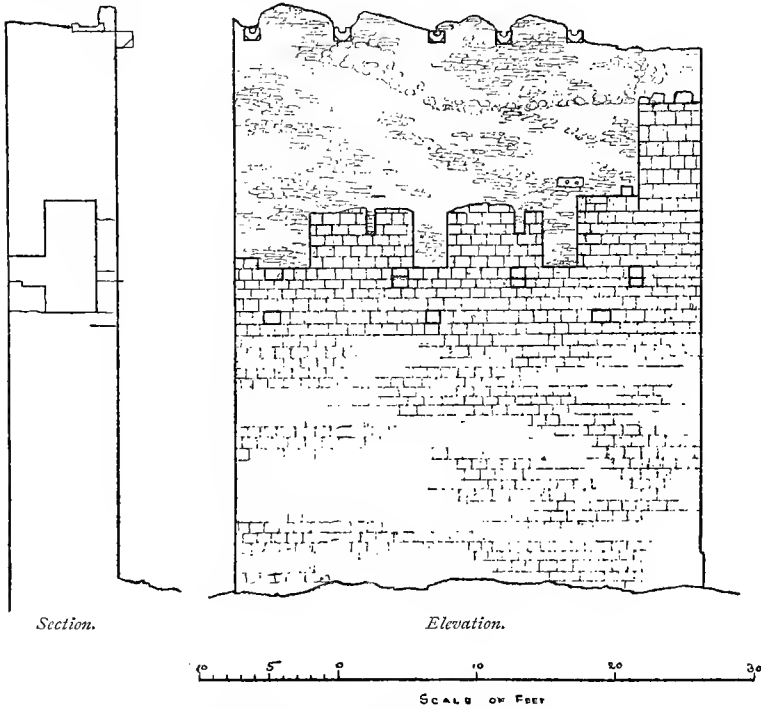
The inside of the area enclosed by the wall was doubtless, as the excavations have proved, filled by a variety of buildings—probably having the lower storeys constructed of stone and the upper of wood. All these have now disappeared with the exception of the chapel, which presents architectural features which in England would be attributed to the time of Edward I. The excavations of 1816 and those made last year by Mr Thomson show that the rest of the area was full of buildings, though we have little or no evidence as to their destination. They evidently surrounded an irregular court in the centre of the area. This area at all periods must have been excessively crowded, and its inconvenience probably necessitated the erection of the great barbican, which was added to the entrance doorway at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The dilapidated condition of the structure and the large quantity of ivy which grows over almost every part present great hindrances to an exhaustive inspection; but as far as can be ascertained, it appears to me that the system of defence adopted is that in practice during the thirteenth century, when keeps were abandoned, and the defence intrusted to the walls and towers, with the engines placed behind the curtains. The great object was to prevent the acquisition of one part of the wall by the besiegers, entailing the loss of the whole castle. Thus it will be seen each of the four curtain walls possessed its own flight of steps. The towers also have their separate entrances, and had no communication with the top of the wall, except perhaps a temporary one on the inside face, which could be removed in time of war. The enemy, therefore, when he had acquired a tower or a curtain wall, could get no further.

Traces of the stairs to the N.E. curtain are very visible (see drawing 5, No. 22), while the steps behind the chapel are nearly perfect at the present time.

When it was decided to raise the height of the walls, the arrow-

slits in the lower storey of the towers were blocked up; and it is possible that the postern may have undergone the same process at the same time. But the most notable change is to be found in the curtains on either side of the barbican, where the old battlements (which, by the way, have a very thirteenth-century appearance) have been retained and made part of the new wall, the top of the old wall being converted into a gallery. This is shown on drawing 12.



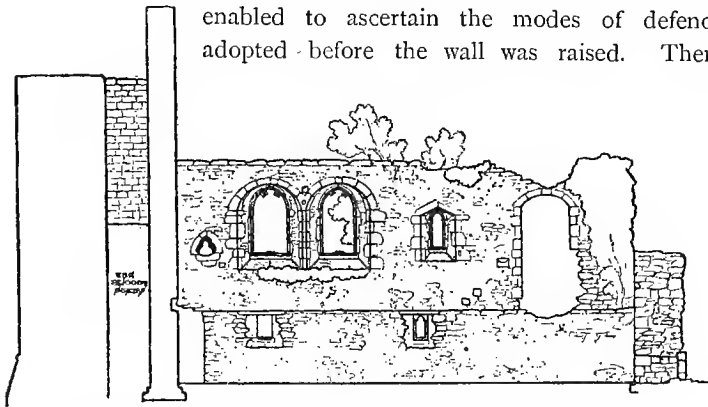
Rothesay Castle, curtain wall (No. 12).

The new work in this part of the building shows evident signs of haste, the wall being composed of small irregular pieces of whinstone, and unlike the walling of the chapel (see drawing 13, fig. 4). The old waterspouts have doubtless been taken out and used up above, where we now see them.

The upper wall in other parts of the building has been executed in a more leisurely manner, the old battlements have been taken down below the level of the waterspouts, and a well-executed wall of whinstone, faced on the exterior with white sandstone, superposed.

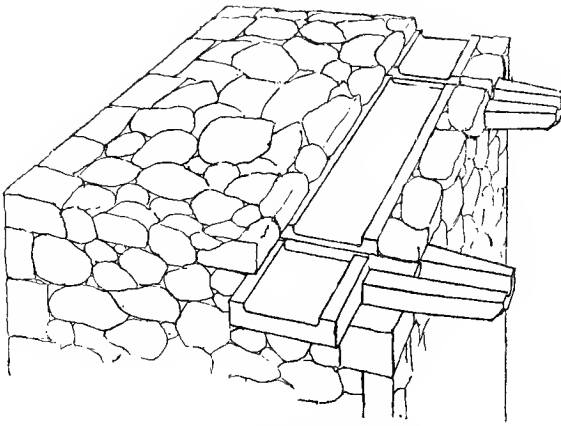
There are traces of a gallery similar to that above described in the southern curtain, but it is now quite overgrown with ivy, so that the examination presented great difficulty.

We have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the necessity which compelled the builders of the upper part of N.W. curtain wall to leave the battlements, inasmuch as we are enabled to ascertain the modes of defence adopted before the wall was raised. There

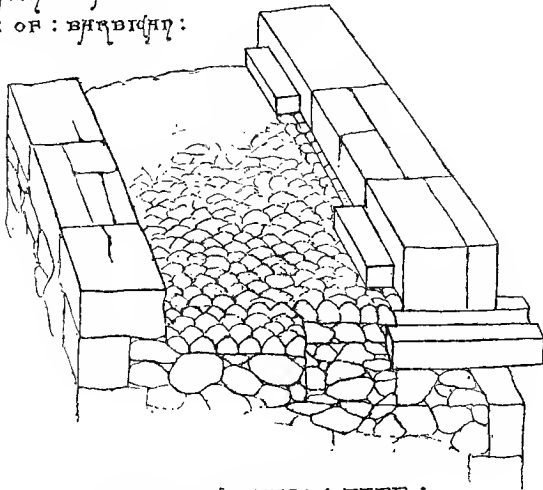


St Michael's Chapel, longitudinal section, looking south (No. 11a).

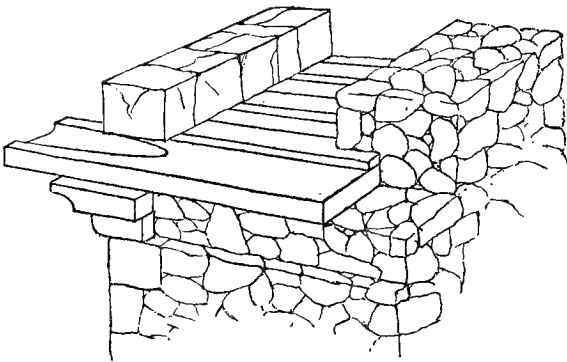
were two modes—(1) the battlements, which protected the defenders, and enabled them to annoy the besiegers from a distance ; (2) the movable wooden framework, which projected from the battlements, and afforded the besieged the means of pouring down stones, hot water, and other things on any one attempting to sap the bottom of the wall. In drawing 12, elevation, the holes for inserting the timber frames for this purpose are distinctly to be traced. Below are another series of holes, which formerly contained stone waterspouts to drain the top of the wall ; for the timber framing, which extended over the top of the wall, was only put into position in times of war. Very often the merlons are pierced with arrow-slits, but the traces of them in the present instance are very doubtful.



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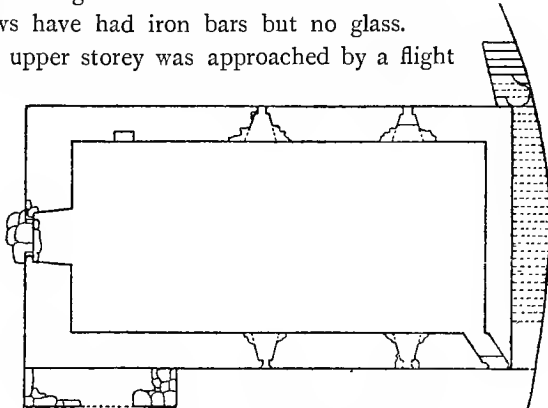
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Sketches of the present condition of the tops of the various walls will be found in drawing 14, and in the conjectural restoration I have endeavoured to show the application of the timber framing or hoursds in connection with the battlements (see drawing 2).

I must now return to the chapel, plans of which are given in drawing 10, and sections in drawing 11. It consisted of two storeys, an under and upper. The lower may have been used by the garrison and the upper part by the governor, or the king when he was in residence. It will be remembered that the Sainte Chapelle at Paris has a similar arrangement, which was a very common one in the middle ages.

It is of course just possible that the lower storey in this case may have been simply a cellar, more especially as the excavations of 1816 brought to light no traces of interment. The windows have had iron bars but no glass.

The upper storey was approached by a flight

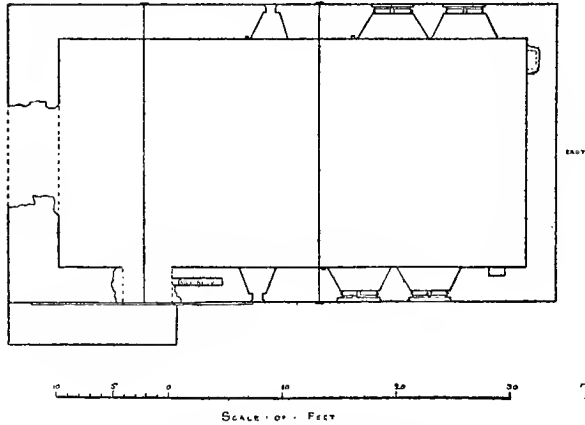


Plan of crypt, St Michael's Chapel (No. 10a).

of steps on the south side. There was no eastern light, as the bloody stairs are placed between the chapel and the castle wall. In the N. and S. walls we find double windows of two lights near the altar. These are remarkable as having their mullions prepared for internal shutters.

To the westward of these windows on either side are single lancets, which have been provided with shutters but were destitute of glass. In enlinological nomenclature these lancets would be called "vulne" windows, from a fancied resemblance to the wound

on our Lord's side. I am not aware that there is any ancient authority for this theory, but it is certain that in several edifices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, small windows different from the other windows are found in the north and south-western ends of chancels and chapels. Prior Crawden's Chapel at Ely is one instance in which precisely the same arrangement occurs as in Rothesay. These windows are more generally called lynchnoscopes.



Plan of St Michael's Chapel (No. 10b).

Their supposed use was to allow the sacring bell to be heard. Hence they are never found glazed, but simply provided with a shutter.

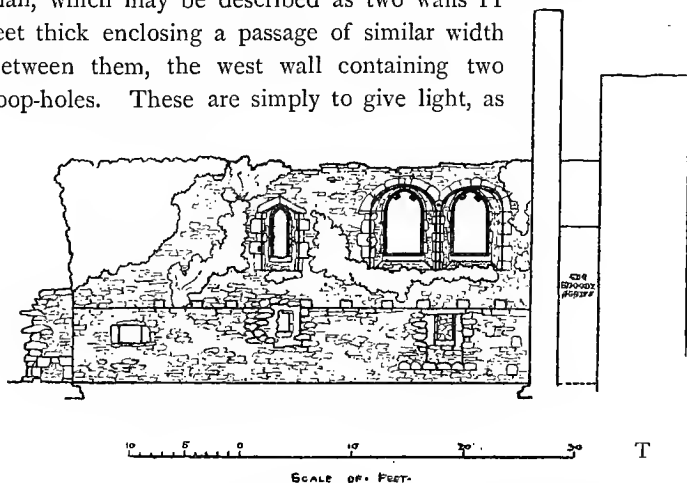
The chapel was provided with a piscina in the east end of south wall, the usual place. There are no traces of sedilia, but there are traces of an aumbry in the eastern wall to the north of the altar.

As before observed, the walls of the chapel are built of small whinstone rubble, and very much alike to the upper part of the N.W. curtain. In all probability it was once covered with thin plaster and roughcast, like many of the churches in England.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century the immense barbican was built in front of the main entrance to afford more accommodation. Its interior dimensions, which measure roughly 25×60 , and its three storeys, enabled it to perform the functions

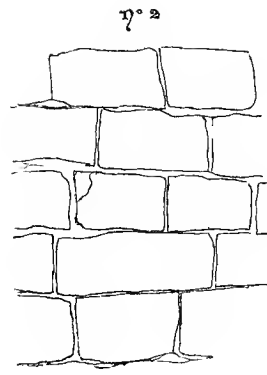
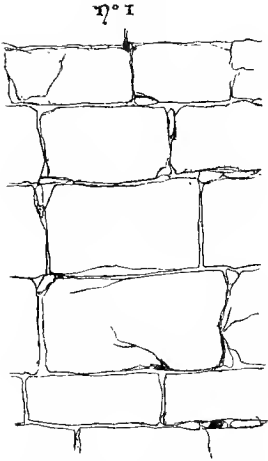
of a small palace. Here the king and his family would be lodged, while the crowded and inconvenient court would be given up to the nobles and soldiers. The material of the walls is whinstone. On the north (entrance) face it is carefully worked in large square blocks, with occasional slates in the joints. In the side-walls the stones, which are not squared, are not so large, and alternate with those of much smaller dimensions. (See drawing 13, fig. 3.)

The lowest storey is very nearly perfect: some necessary repairs have been made to the roof a few years ago. Drawing 6 shows the plan, which may be described as two walls 11 feet thick enclosing a passage of similar width between them, the west wall containing two loop-holes. These are simply to give light, as



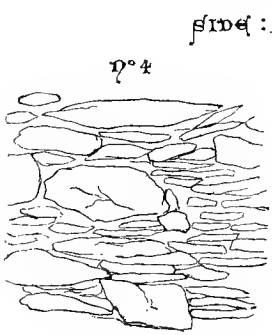
St Michael's Chapel, longitudinal section, looking north (No. 11b).

there is no space between the jambs for an archer or crossbowman to handle his weapon; they are also very low down, and, from the section of the jamb, have probably been provided with shutters. The other or south end of the wall contains a postern-gate, giving access to the piece of ground lying between the outside of the walls and the palisades which garnished the inner edge of the ditch. This strip of ground was called *les lices*—perhaps from the word *lista*, a border, a strip. It was used as the parade-ground for the soldiers. Tournaments took place there, and the palisades which defended it were always the first parts of the castle attacked.

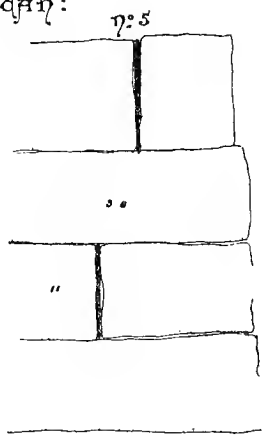


LOWER PORTION OF:
CIRCULAR WALL:

UPPER PORTION OF:
CIRCULAR WALL:



SIDE OF BRICKWORK:



CHURCH:

PORTAL OF CHURCH:

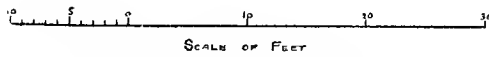
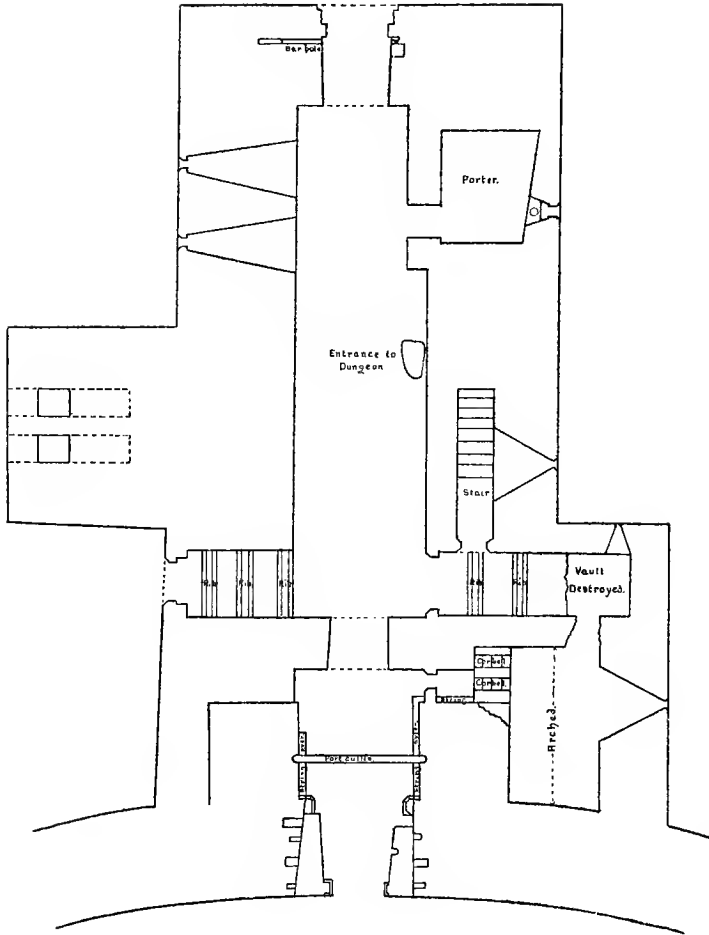
Froissart gives several instances of combats at the barriers, as the palisades were called.

The eastern wall contains a recess or small room for the porter, provided with a guard-robe in the window-seat. At the southern extremity is a passage similar to that leading to the postern gate in the opposite wall, but which in this instance gives access first to a flight of steps leading to the first floor; and, second, to a small side-chamber, which it is just possible may have been used as a guard-room, more especially as it has one inside and two outside windows. The part of the building over the guard-room evidently continued all the way up, as may be seen by a small portion of ribbed vaulting yet remaining on the second storey attached to the curtain wall. It is not improbable that it may have contained a staircase communicating between the first and second floors. The vaulting at the top is generally pointed out as part of the room where Robert II. (?) died, but it is evidently of the same date as the rest of the barbican. The passage between the walls was defended at either end by doorways; that to the south has already been described, and, with the exception of the small arch in front, belongs to the earlier period of the castle.

The entrance at the north is very narrow, measuring 7 feet 6 by 5 feet wide. It was defended by two doors, one opening inwards and the other outwards; over the latter the drawbridge could be drawn, and in the corners of the arch are the holes for the chains. It will be noted how very careful the designer of the barbican was in the construction of the doorways; he made them small and multiplied them. In fact, the entrance passage could be equally well defended against enemies from the castle court from those without.

The passage itself is vaulted, and in its floor is a stone which, lifted up, gives access to a vaulted dungeon, lighted by a very small window, with a guard-robe in the seat. This is generally said to have been the prison of Sir Patrick Lindsay, but I am afraid it is of a later date than that event. Certainly it answers to James IV.'s description of the dungeon into which he condemned Sir Patrick—viz., a place where he should not see his feet for a year; but doubtless there were other dungeons in the castle,—for instance, the little

GROUNDED PLAN:
OF
JAMES IV WORK



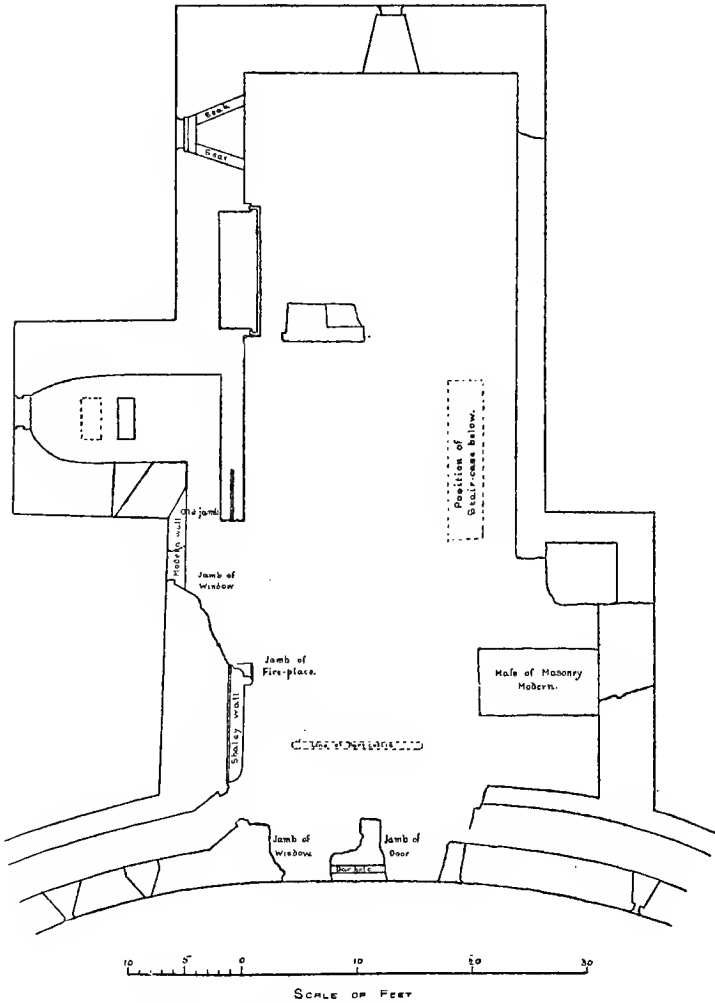
ROTHESAY CASTLE (No. 6).

apartment near the south-east tower, which is tolerably dark, and which also possesses a guard-robe. [Size of dungeon, 17 feet 6 by 11 feet 6 by 8 feet.—H.]

The first floor of the barbican is far from being in the same state of preservation as the ground-floor. The east wall is entirely destroyed, and we also meet with traces of modern alterations, made when this was doubtless the most habitable portion of the castle. It is very doubtful whether the space was divided into two or three rooms. In the first place, we must allow one division at the southern end for the working of the portcullis; northward of this, in the western wall, seems the jamb of a fireplace, and close to it must have been the entrance to the passage leading to the great guard-robe, afterwards made into a room; then we come to a large chimney-piece and a portion of a transverse wall. Unfortunately this piece of wall ends opposite the chimney-piece, with a rebated jamb as if for a door; now there could *not* have been an opposite jamb, for the chimney-piece is in the way, which is apt to make us view this transverse wall with some suspicion. After the chimney-piece we come upon a window, and then we meet the northern wall. As to the eastern wall, I strongly suspect it was double for some portion on account of the staircase; at all events, it is very thin at its northern end. Access to the first floor was obtained from the inside area of the castle by means of a flight of stairs which are still in use, although in an exceedingly bad condition. They were anciently carried on an arch, which, having given way, is now blocked up with pieces of rough stone. On the top of these stairs was a doorway, now utterly destroyed, the only part remaining being the hole for the bar. Right and left of the doorway are the covered passages formed on the top of the oldest wall, which conducted to open landings, and by them to steps leading down to the castle court. It is by no means improbable but that these landings also had communications with the first floor of towers.

The second floor presents us with sundry windows, and a fireplace at the northern end. The holes for the joists are visible from the northern end to about the entrance to the guard-robe passage; beyond this point southward the wall both of the first and second floor has a very disturbed appearance, which causes me to suspect

FIRST FLOOR PLAN
 OF
 TOWER IV WORK



ROTHESAY CASTLE (No. 7).

that the division wall was somewhere at this place. The whole edifice was probably surmounted by a high-pitched roof, which would afford space for bedrooms. Part of the gable-wall can be traced at the northern end, and the arrangement of parapet is shown in drawing 14, fig. 3.

The designer of the barbican did not forget the sanitary part of his work; on the contrary, he constructed very large and commodious guard-ropes. In fact, the great projection on the eastern side is dedicated solely to this purpose. From the section, drawing 9, it will be seen that the lower guard-rope has been enlarged at a subsequent period in order to convert it into a room. That on the upper floor has undergone the same process, as we see by the remains of a fireplace.

The third storey equally possesses a fireplace, besides sundry holes for musketry. The gable is stepped in the usual Scotch style, and affords us a hint as to the probable shape of the gable of the main building. The only other remains of the second floor is the small piece of vaulting in the S.E. angle, and which has been noticed before. One thing is to be observed about the architecture of this barbican—viz., that with the exception of the above groining there is no trace of Gothic work in it; all the windows are square, and the arches, where they occur, are round and segmental.

The coat of arms over the entrance door is unfortunately defaced by the smoke of a smithy forge immediately under. The only thing we can positively make out is the fact that two unicorns support the shield: this would give us a range from James IV. to James VI. The crest is utterly defaced. (See p. 250.)

2. *The History of the Castle as far as it relates to the Architecture.*

Before entering on this part of the subject, it may be as well to say a few words about the various accounts published up to the present time.

There are four published accounts of the castle:—

1. An Account of Rothesay Castle. Third edit., Glasg., 1831. No author's name appears, but it is known that it is the work of John Mackinlay, a collector of Customs.
2. The History of the Isle of Bute. By J. E. Reid. 1864.

3. A Guide to Rothesay Castle, Descriptive and Historical. By John Thoms. Rothesay, 1870.

4. Tourist's Guide to Rothesay and the Island of Bute. By John Wilson. Fourth edit., 1871.

As I have before observed, all these writers more or less copy one another, and it is extremely rare that any original or contemporary authority is quoted. Mr Bullen [of the British Museum] has done his best in his account to remedy this state of things, but I am still painfully aware that very much more remains to be done. To do such a work perfectly would demand the labour of an antiquary of the old school, who would make it the labour of his life, and to whom time would be no consideration. I now propose to consider the salient points in Mr Bullen's account, as far as they relate to the architecture of the castle.

It is generally supposed that the castle was built either by Magnus Barefoot to secure his conquests or by the Scotch to defend the place against the Norwegians. There is positively no evidence at all on the subject,—neither Rothesay nor Bute being mentioned in the accounts of the expedition. Mackinlay's theory is very probably correct—viz., that it is built on the lines of some ancient British fort. These were generally round, and thus we may account for the irregular setting out of the circle. The same author tells us that the word Rothesay is composed of the Gaelic *roth*, a circle, and *said*, a seat or place of residence. He adds that Macbeth's castle at Dunsinane Hill only presents the remains of dry-stone walls.¹ The object of the fortification at Rothesay was evidently to protect the harbour, the shore of which was, until even the middle of the last century, very much nearer the castle than at the present day (see drawing, which gives a copy of a portion of a survey of the year 1759, where the shore is shown as being 260 feet from the castle doorway). The first authentic fact concerning the castle is the siege by the Norwegians, 1228, as described in the 'Anecdotes of Olave the Black,' published and translated by the Rev. P. Johnstone. Here we find that the Norwegians "went to Bute, and the Scots lay there in a castle." "They set down before the fortress and gave a

¹ M. quotes as his authority Williams's 'Account of Vitrified Forts,' &c.

hard assault"—*i.e.*, they tried to take it by escalade—but “the Scotch fought well, and threw down upon them burning pitch and lead.” The Norwegians “prepared over themselves a covering of boards, and then hewed down the walls, for the stone was soft, and the ramparts fell with them, and they cut it up from the foundation.” This could not have been difficult with walls of soft sandstone, more especially if uncemented. And here the question arises (and one very difficult to answer)—*viz.*, Are the present walls the same as those attacked by the Norwegians? At my request Mr Thomson has made a very careful examination of them, and the following is his report:—

“I have this morning [August 7, 1872] made a particular examination of the hearting or core of the original or lowest wall of red and yellow sandstone-facing in Rothesay Castle. I was able to do so at several points without being under the necessity of taking down any part of it, and it appears to be much the same all round. The best section of the wall is to be seen at the entrance to the ‘A’ or pigeon tower from the courtyard. Here it is exposed fully to view, with the sandstone on each side and the hearting made up of (1) roundish stones of greyish rock water-worn, such as might be gathered from the sea-shore, various sizes; (2) sharp irregular blocks of whinstone; (3) pieces of white quartz rock; (4) pieces of sandstone similar in colour to the facing, which probably not being large enough for outside work were thrown into the hearting; (5) a few pieces of limestone rock; (6) pieces of slaty rock, not so compact or solid as (1). All these are bound firmly together and set in lime, a peculiarity of which is the coarseness of the gravel which had been mixed with the lime. It would take a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch riddle to let much of it through. The various kinds of stones are all local, and could be readily found in Bute at the present day.”

In a subsequent communication (August 21, 1872) Mr Thomson says: “I have been so fully occupied that I had no time to make a careful re-examination of the castle walls, but to-day I have done so again. At several places, both inside and out, where the square facings have been removed and exposed the interior of the wall—I mean the curtain wall—between the towers and the lower part thereof, the hearting appears to be the same as I described in my

last letter. It certainly is not sandstone throughout, but a mixture of a variety of stones, such as could be gathered off the beach. Many of them are round and water-worn, and the mortar does not adhere to these so well as to rough sandstone or squared rough blocks, and it would not surprise me to read that the Norwegians in their attack upon the castle found it to be of *soft stone*. What sandstone there is in the wall is certainly very soft. Their first impression in the attack upon the walls would be that it consisted of soft stones, and I do not think they would have much difficulty with heavy tools, however rude they may have been, in getting through the wall; the smoothness of many of the stones would render the task less difficult."

From this examination it would appear to be a doubtful point whether the present walls are those besieged by the Norwegians. All we can with any certainty attribute to that time is the elliptical-headed entrance gateway, and perhaps the postern gateway. The pointed-arched addition to the entrance gateway (see drawing 8) might also be contemporaneous with the Norwegian capture of the fortress.

It will be observed that the castle itself was not finally won until three days after the breach had been effected: this would point to the interior being crowded with houses, each of which could be burned and defended. I must confess that the present castle gives me very much the idea of an Edwardian castle erected on the lines of an older building, the towers being additions.

In the 'Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition,' 1263, published and translated by Rev. J. Johnson, we read that Haco and Andrew Pott go before him south to Bute with some small vessels to join those he had already sent thither. News was soon received that they had won a fortress, the garrison of which had capitulated and accepted terms of the Norwegians. "The Norwegians, who had been in Bute, where they burnt many houses and several towns."

Of course it is a question whether, as in the former instance, they thought fit to keep the fortress. It is just probable that their object was the plunder, and that they would not attempt to occupy a place so far distant from Norway. It is also by no means certain that the castle in question was the one in Rothesay.

A treaty was made (after the battle of Largs), 1266, by which all the islands except the Orkneys and Shetland belonged to Scotland.

The name of Rothesay or Bute does not occur among the castles given up to Edward I. on various occasions; but that it was in his possession we may be certain, for we learn from the 'Rotuli Scotiæ' that he enjoined Alexander, Earl of Menteith, to take possession of the lands of Alexander of Argyle, and John his son. At the same time he ordered all the men of James the Steward of Scotland in Bute, Cowell, and Roresy to aid the said earl with their galleys and other naval forces in maintaining his guardianship of the castle and fortresses here named.

Thinking that some information may be obtained from the Record Office in London, I applied to my friend Mr Joseph Burt, who very kindly gave me the results of his investigations, in the following words:—

"Dec. 21, 1871.—I have just been able to finish looking through what I promised about Bute and Rothesay. I have now gone through all the Record publications that could have any bearing on the subject, and I have carefully examined a mass of MSS. relating to the Scotch wars of Edward I. and II. In none of them do I find any entry whatever of either Bute or Rothesay, so that the notice of the castle being in the hands of the English king when the strong places of the country were given up to him would appear to rest upon the authority of the chronicles alone. I have no means of testing that authority. Perhaps if Bullen knows what ought to be done, he might be able to do it; but I fear you must go to Edinburgh to get the matter worked out.

"So great is the amount of material here relating to the Scotch wars of Edward I. that I do not think the place could have figured as it is said to have done in these events without the name occurring here. There are lots of references to the provisioning, the arming, and the repair of (perhaps more than) a dozen castles in Scotland, and of the pay of armed troops there or going there, but no entry of the place you are now interested in."

The next notice we have is from Fordun under the year 1312, and as Fordun wrote at the end of the century, he must have got his information from some early author. "In the same year the

Castles of Bute, of Dumfries, and of Dalwyntoone, with many other fortresses, were taken by force and levelled to the ground." Now, we often hear of castles being levelled to the ground, but which on examination present very large portions of the original structure. What we are probably to understand in the present instance is that the Scottish king was not satisfied simply with the destruction of the battlements, but that he caused sundry breaches to be made in the walls, so as to render the castle untenable: that he did not level the castle to the ground, the elliptical and pointed arches at the entrance gateway sufficiently testify.

We next read that the keys of Rothesay Castle were presented to Edward Baliol at Renfrew, 1334. The young Stuart escaped to Dumbarton, and Sir Alan de Lyle was made Sheriff of Bute, &c. The nearest authority for this is Wyntoun, who flourished *circa* 1400.

The printed histories say that Baliol fortified the castle, but Mr Bullen has not been able to ascertain any authority for this statement. Here we have one fact quite in opposition to the (even partial) destruction of the castle—viz., that its keys were presented to Baliol. We can only suppose the castle to have been rebuilt, with the exception of the entrance doorways, some time between its partial demolition by the Bruce and its surrender to Edward Baliol. In this case the old foundations would be preserved,—the towers probably being additions,—the old materials—viz., the red and yellow sandstone—being used for the facing of the new walls; but this, of course, always supposing the old walls were entirely constructed of sandstone. Another argument in favour of this rebuilding is derived from the arrangement of the towers, which divide the circumference of the walls into a number of small garrisons, all without communication with one another in time of war. This was a very favourite arrangement during the time in question (1312-1334) and anterior. The architecture of the chapel also agrees with the beginning of the fourteenth century, considering the art was somewhat later in Scotland than in England. The walled-up battlements in curtain have also a general likeness and proportion to those we find in the Welsh castles built by Edward.

If Baliol did fortify the castle, he probably heightened the curtains

on either side of the entrance. Here the old battlements have been built up so as to form a passage, and the whole wall very considerably raised. It will be observed that this part of the building is done with very rough shaley whinstone, not unlike the walls of the chapel, and betraying great carelessness and roughness.

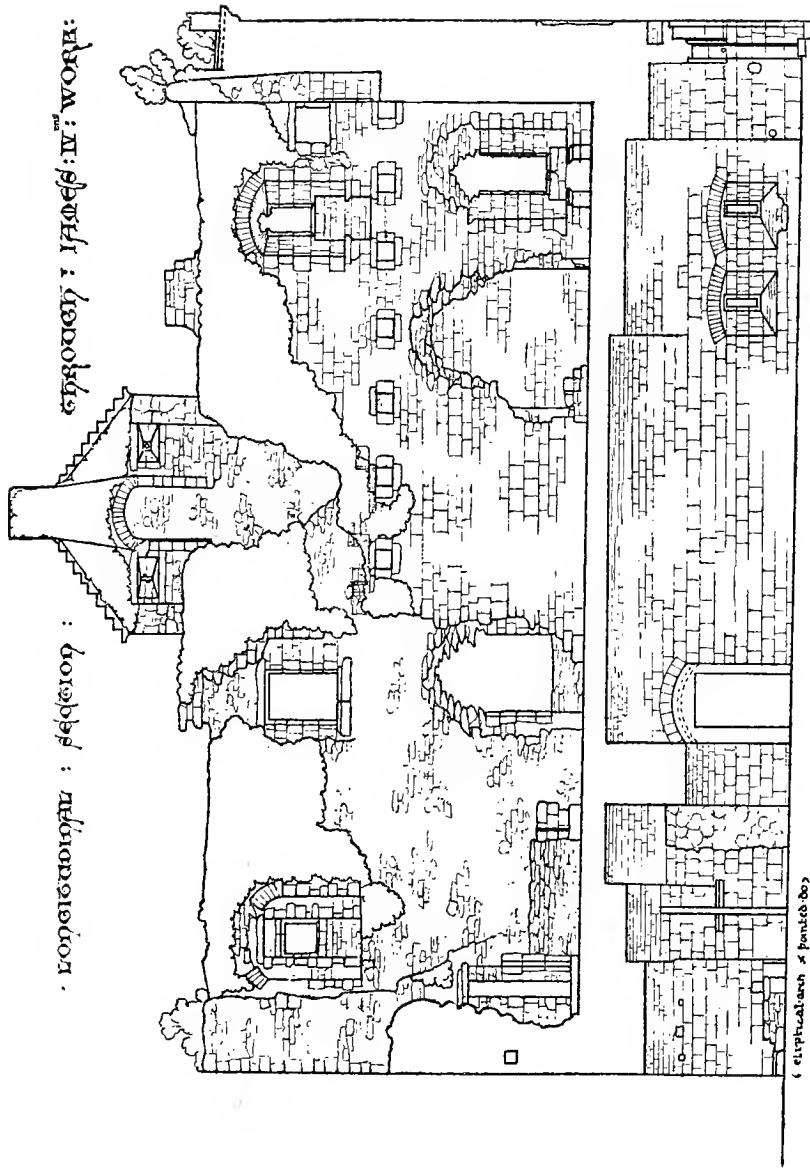
When the Stuart recovered the castle, he probably heightened the rest of the walls and towers, but he proceeded in a regular manner. The battlements were taken down, not built up, and the new work made of worked whinstone and faced with white sandstone, thus distinguishing it from the red and white material of the whole wall below (see drawing 12).

It should be observed that there are no traces of any keep, this feature having gone out of fashion ; on the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the extensive area was covered with a quantity of tenements, which were probably of two or more storeys, for the space was small, and not only the garrison and governor but the king and his suite had to be accommodated. Thus there are several notices of the residence of Robert II. and Robert III. at Rothesay. In fact, the latter is said to have died there, and part of a chamber, now destroyed, is pointed out by the guides as connected with that event ; but unfortunately the destroyed chamber clearly belonged to the additions made to the castle at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The fact of Robert's death at Bute rests on the authority of Bower, Fordun's Continuator, but Wyntoun says the occurrence took place at Dundonald. In 1475, John, Earl of Ross, was accused among other things of seizing the castle of Rothesay.

Some time at the beginning of the next century the barbican was added to the entrance gateway. Over its entrance we find a coat of arms ; this is much defaced from the smoke of a blacksmith's forge, but sufficient remains to show the arms of Scotland supported by two unicorns. Unfortunately the crest, supported on a helmet, which is placed above the crown, is too much obliterated to be made out ; the whole achievement is surrounded by a border of thistles. The first sovereign of Scotland who employed two unicorns as supporters was James IV., whose arms with these additions are to be found on the westernmost buttress of Melrose Abbey. James

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΙΑ : ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ :

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΙΑ : ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ : IV : WORK :



(Επιφύλαξη & Πνευματικά)

SCALE OF FEET.

ROTHESAY CASTLE (No. 8).

IV. ascended the throne in 1488 and was killed at Flodden in 1513. From an English point of view the architecture of this barbican has somewhat a later aspect than these dates, and we must remember that his successors equally used the twin unicorns as supporters. On the other hand, popular tradition connects the dungeon with the place of imprisonment of Sir Patrick Lindsay, who, having provoked the anger of the king, was told that "he schould sitt quhair he should not sie his feet for ane yeir, and immediately caused tak him to the Rosa (Rosay?) of Bute and pat him in prisone." This took place in 1489, in the second year of the king's reign, so that if the prison in question is really that in which Sir Patrick Lindsay was confined, the building must have been begun at the very commencement of the reign.

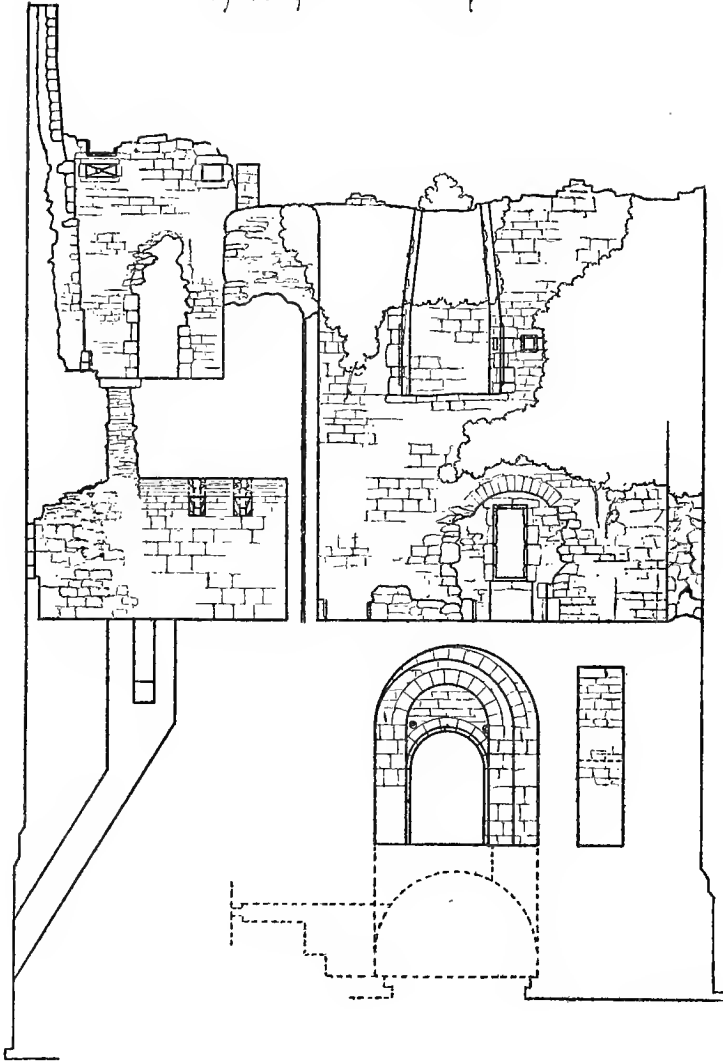
It will be observed that in this part of the building there is no attempt at tracing or moulding. All the windows are small and square, and the entrance arch is round, as also is the vaulting on the ground-floor.

In 1536 James V., after the failure of his attempted journey to France, remained some time in the castle. In 1540 he again visited Rothesay, and with a view of making a royal residence he gave money to Sir J. Hamilton to make repairs. Lindsay of Pitscottie gives full particulars of this event. It appears Hamilton was a courtier, not an architect, and his embezzlement of the funds does not appear to have been one of the charges at his trial. According to Pitscottie, the king "had directed him in 1541 [go to] Rose to repair his castle thair, that he might remain thair at his pleasure the space of ane year together with his queine and court, and to this effect gave the said Sir James thrie thousand crownes to fie maissons to complete his work in the Rose of Bute."

When we connect these facts with the two visits of James V. to the castle in 1536 and 1540, in which latter year he had been setting in order public affairs in those parts, it is extremely probable that we may consider him to be the builder of the barbican, and not James IV.¹ Of course this disposes of the legend of the prison

¹ From the local accounts of Ninian Stewart in the 'Exchequer Rolls,' we now learn the exact date and expense of building of the great tower or dungeon (*i.e.*,

TRANSVERSE SECTION
THROUGH
TOWER IV WORK:



SCALE OF FEET

ROTHESAY CASTLE (No. 9).

of Sir Patrick Lindsay; but, as I have before observed, there were probably many other prisons contained within the area of the old castle. It is probable that James gave orders to Sir J. Hamilton to see after the addition, that the latter was accused of embezzling the money, and that he either disproved the accusation or returned the amount, which would account for the absence of this charge in his act of accusation.

The Earl of Lennox and his English auxiliaries obtained possession of the castle in 1544; an English garrison was left; but it is not known how and when it was given up.

Mackinlay states, upon the authority of the Blain papers, that under Cromwell the castle in 1650 was garrisoned by a detachment of his troops "under the command of Ralph Frewin, and that when they left Rothesay they razed part of the castle." The destruction of the tower is generally attributed to that event. Upon the restoration of the castle to its legitimate owners the breach was made good with the old materials, and, as I have before observed, so well does the old masonry lend itself to the purpose, that it is difficult to discover where the breach begins and where it ends. The castle appears to have been inhabited until 1685, when the Duke of Argyle plundered the town and demolished the doors and windows of the castle, which was soon after burnt by his brother. Other accounts, however, say the earl burnt it himself.

The Marquis of Bute, during a very hard winter, 1816, employed seventy men to excavate the area, which had been filled up by rubbish. Mackinlay gives an account of the affair.

The vaults over the entrance passage, which had partly fallen in, and the pointed arch of the ancient doorway, were repaired. (See the 1831 edition of Mackinlay.)

In August 1871 part of the ivy, which had greatly overgrown the building, was cut away for the purposes of the present report, and a

donjon) of Rothesay Castle, which had been ordered by King James IV., and probably delayed in execution by his death. The account extends from 7th August 1518 to 6th November 1520: "Et eidem pro constructione magni turris dicti le dungeon in castrro de Rothissay de mandato domini regis quondam Jacobi quarti cujus anima propicietur Deus extendente . . . £191, 7 sh."—'Rot. Scacc.,' vol. xiv. p. 362.—J. K. H.

few months afterwards the area was again excavated by Mr J. Thomson, whose report follows. (See Appendix XV.)

To resume in a few words the history of the architecture of the castle :—

1. The site and contour of the circular walls are probably those of an early British camp.
2. The inner doorway, and perhaps the postern, may be, and probably are, anterior to the siege by the Norwegians.
3. The pointed archway, which forms an evident addition to the inner entrance, may be anterior or a little posterior to that event.
4. I suspect the present castle with its towers dates between 1312 and 1334.
5. The barbican was built by James V.

—I have the honour to remain, your Lordship's faithful servant,

WILLIAM BURGES.

*August 26, 1872, 15 BUCKINGHAM STREET,
STRAND, LONDON.*

In keeping with practical suggestions added to this report, the Marquess of Bute caused this noble pile to be effectively repaired, the disordered courtyard cleared out, the various excrescences around its basement removed, a deep fosse cut and filled with water, and other restorations made, which combined afford a clearer conception of what this seat of kings appeared in its day of might and beauty, as delineated by Mr Burges in the Frontispiece. Seven years, 1872-79, were occupied in these operations, during which the original pitching of the edges of the fosse was discovered, and part of it is now visible. The supports of the present drawbridge were inserted into the oak frame of the original structure, which was found to have been burned down to the water's edge.

CHAPTER V.

THE BARONS OF BUTE.

“A manly race
Of unsubmitting spirit, wise and brave,
Trained up to hardy deeds.”

—THOMSON.



HE only trace I can discover of a chieftain looking upon Butemen as a distinct clan, and making claim by hereditary right to their fealty, is in the case of Rudri, a scion of the Somerledian House, who, in the thirteenth century, “considered Bute as his birthright,” as has been previously narrated.¹ One chronicle alone indicates that Bute had been governed by a Thane—a Government official, who corresponded to the Celtic chief or “Toshach,” and as such exacted the dues payable to the Crown, lifted the rents of the Crown-lands, and presided over the court of justice. This headman was, to all intents and purposes, a farmer of the privileges of the Crown, and had his hereditary office confirmed by a written charter, and paid whatever tax stood against him in the King’s Rental. He sublet the lands he thus rented.

¹ Vol. i. p. 253.

The office, too, went with the fortunes of war, so that by the distribution of forfeited lands favourite soldiers, like the Fitz Alans and Bruces, ousted the old proprietors and their acknowledged leaders.

Other lands reserved by the Crown were occupied by farmers, and their kinsmen the cottars, each on his own steading from generation to generation, without any title or charter, so long as they paid their "maills" or rents, gave the military service required of them, and lived in amity with their chief—if they had one. The Crown took the place of the early chief, and the husbandmen were simply the descendants of the original population, working on the patch that gave them birth and bread. They thus acquired the name of "Kyndlie Tenants"—*i.e.*, tenants of the same blood or kind, and natural to the soil. The family were liferenters in perpetuity. Their family differences they usually settled among themselves, and the thirsty sword prevented over-population and over-crowding.

Of the original land belonging to the tribe the last remnant may now exist in the Burgh Lands or Common Good, now attenuated to 442 acres, although we have a trace of it, under a Norse name, in Meadowcap—the *caup* or common lands of the meadow—which was in close proximity to the old Kirktoon round the parish church, and also in the lands scheduled in the maill-book of the burgh under the names "Clan Patrick" and "Clan Neil," also the "Common of Ardnahoe," and the "Common Lands" of the burgh.

Under the feudal system lands were held under four kinds of tenure off the Crown—namely, holdings in *Ward*, *Blanch*, *Feu*, and *Burgage*; and these are illustrated by our local history.

In what manner the first Stewards held Bute is not known, although it may be safely surmised it was similar to that by which they held their other possessions—Ward-holding, granted for military service.¹ Between 1314 and 1325 they were granted to Walter's son, Robert, afterwards king; and after Walter's death we find "John, son of Gilbert Baillie de Boyet," in 1329 paying the dues in money, meal, and marts to the Exchequer. These lands in Bute, Cowal, Knapdale, Arran, and the Cumbraes were in 1366 valued at £1000 old extent.² In 1649 the valued rent was £22,000, but meal was being sold then at 90s. a boll. The Cummings and the Glasses also held lands in Bute in the fourteenth century. The fact that in 1459 and 1460 the lands of Ascog paid a rent of £2 as ward-holding, adds weight to the tradition of the Glasses that they held their possessions for military service.³ This Ascog family do not appear in the later charter given in 1506 to the so-called "Barons of Bute." In the minutes of the kirk-session in the seventeenth century the heritors are called "barons."

"A Baron, in the large sense of that word," according to Erskine, "is one who holds his lands immediately of the Crown, and such had, by our ancient constitution, right to a seat in Parliament, however small his freehold might have been. . . . To constitute a baron in the strict law sense, his lands must have been erected, or at least confirmed by the king *in liberam baroniam*, and such baron had a certain jurisdiction, both civil and criminal." The so-called "Barons of Bute" of 1506 had no such jurisdiction.

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. vi. Preface, pp. xcvi-civ.

² 'Act. Parl.,' vol. i. p. 500, "Terre dñi Senescall. Scocie;" Act. Parl., vol. vi., ii. 502a.

'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. vi. pp. 532, 629.

The oldest charter extant granting lands (with feu-duties) in Bute is that given by King Robert III., on 11th November 1400, to Sheriff John Stewart, establishing him in the lands of Ardumlese (Armolesh) and Grenane in "our isle of Bute," and Coregelle in "our isle of Arane" for the rendering of military service only—"servitia debita et consueta."¹

From this centre the Bute family have radiated into territorial power, having been barons for wellnigh 500 years.

A second form of holding was Blanch, or a mere acknowledgment of superiority—such as a rose, peppercorn, pair of spurs—whereby the vassal paid a merely nominal rent. The Leiches held Kildavannan by this tenure, which, on 5th June 1429, was renewed to John Leich, son of the late Gilzequhome, who had yearly to pay at "the parish Church of Bute" a *reddendo* of two pennies or of a pair of gloves.

A third form was Feu-holding, whereby the tenant paid his superior money, labour, or the fruits of labour. This is also well illustrated in Bute, where we have the various rents accounted for as paid to the Crown bailie by the tenants in Bute in 1440, 1449, and 1450. The farmers of Bute were simply squatters, till, in 1506, they became feuars.

From the 'Exchequer Accounts' we learn that "from 1445 to 1450 the whole amount of ferme [rent] paid to the Crown by its tenants in Bute, as stated by the chamberlain, Nigel, the son of James [Niel Jamieson], was yearly £141, 18s. 6d., for every 5s. of which sum every 5 marklands, except the burgh of Rothesay, paid yearly one mart [a fat ox killed at Martinmas]. For the same period the grassum bear of the Crown-lands was yearly 11 chalders, 2 bolls, at £4 per chal-

¹ Marquess of Bute's Charters.

der, and the 'Mailmartis' yearly 40 $\frac{3}{4}$.¹ Favourite nobles farmed these rents from the Crown, receiving a commission for the uplifting of them. The rents payable by these rentallers or kindly tenants, called "husbandi," from the Crownlands in Bute, are detailed in the 'Exchequer Rolls' for the year 1450² thus:—

Name of Lands.	Name of Rentaller in 1506.	Rent paid in Money.	Barley Rent in Bolls.
Garoch—(1) North . . .	r. Gilnew Makkaw . . .	£ 50	B. F. 4
" (2) South . . .	{ 1. Gilpatrick Makkaw } . . .	50	4
	{ 2. John Makkaw } . . .		
Dunguile	{ 1. Donald Makconochy } . . .	26 8	2
	{ 2. Patrick Makkoll } . . .		
Loubas-beg	Alexander Banachtyne, jr. . .	16 8	2
Loubas-more	Do.	53 4	4
Kellis Loupe	(Kelspokis, John Stewart) . . .	5	...
Bransare	Gilchrist Makwrerdy	4 13 4	7
Langil-Culcathla	Donald Makwrerdy	40	3
" Culcreith	{ 1. Alexander Glas } . . .	40	3
	{ 2. Finlay M'Wrerdy } . . .		
" Wenach	{ 1. Donald Makalester } . . .	40	3
	{ 2. John Makyntailjour } . . .		
" (4)	James Stewart	40	3
Killeccatan-beg	Do.	3 6 8	5
" more	Do.	40	3
" (2)	Do.	40	3
Bruchag	{ 1. Walter Banachtyne } . . .	40	3
	{ 2. Gilchrist Makwrerdy } . . .		
Skologmore	John Stewart	3 6 8	5
Kervycroye	John Makwrerdy	3 6 8	5
Stramanane	Finlay Makallan	40	3
" (2)	Do.	25 8	2
Dalachane (Gallachan)	{ 1. Robert Kymmingburgh } . . .	40	3
	{ 2. John Douglas }		
Ardnahowa	John Glas, jr.	40	...
Ambrismore	Sheriff Ninian Stewart	40	3
Ambrisbeg	Eugene Makconochy	33 4	2 2
Byrgadill-knok	John Glas	50	4
" (2)	Nigel Jameson	50	4
" (3)	George Kelso . . . . .	...	...
Bernal	{ 1. Donald Makwrerdy } . . .	46 8	3 2
	{ 2. Alexander Glas }		
Kervecesach	John Glas	46 8	3 2
Berone	{ 1. Gilchrist Makwerich } . . .	3 6 8	5
	{ 2. Do. }		
	{ 3. Archibald Stewart } . . .		
	{ 4. Gilchrist Makconoch } . . .		
	Carry forward	67 9	92 2

¹ Vols. v., vi.

² Vol. v. pp. 79, 360, 406.

Name of Lands.	Name of Rentaller in 1506.	Rent paid in Money.	Barley Rent in Bolls.
	Brought forward	£ s. d. 67 9	B. F. 92 2
Bermore	John Glas, jr.	40	3
Quyene	{ 1. Donald Makcany }	33 4	4
	{ 2. Gilnew Makilweddy }		
Scalpsay	{ 1. Robert Stewart of Kilmory }	46 8	4
	{ 2. John Makilkerane }		
Ardscalpsay	{ 1. John Makilkerane }	46 8	4
	{ 2. John Makkay }		
Kilmory (inferior)	Robert Stewart	4 13 4	8
" (superior), Chapelton, Kereferne, Over Kilmore	{ Robert Jamesoun	38 4	2 2
	{ Alexander Stewart		
Kilonlyg	Alexander Stewart	40	3
Blaredyve . . . . .	. . . . .	33 4	...
Ascascragane	Donald Spens	26 8	...
Achkynghervy	{ 1. Archibald Makgillespy }	40	3
	{ 2. James Stewart of Kilchattan }		
Dunawlut-over	Alexander Banachtyne	40	3
" nether	John Makwerich	40	3
" makgillemichel	Muldony Makgillemichell	40	3
" (4)	{ 1. Finlay Makgillemichell }	40	3
	{ 2. Finlay Makcaill }		
	{ 3. Gildow Makintare }		
Largabrachtane	William Stewart	53 4	4
Knersay (Knaslagwerardy)	John Stewart	40	3
Drumcly	{ 1. Alexander Banachtyne }	4	6
	{ 2. John Stewart }		
Lapennycabil (Lepinquhillin)	{ 1. Ferquhard Makneill }	20	1 2
	{ 2. Eugene Makkymme }		
	{ 3. John Makkymme }		
Scarale (Starrael)	Richard Banachtyne	40	3
Glaknabethy	{ 1. Ferchard Makneill }	46 8	3 2
	{ 2. William Banachtyne }		
Aldtone . . . . .	... . . . .	40	3
Kyllemechale	Ferchard Makneill	3 6 8	5
Schowlunt	Donald Banachtyne	53 4	4
Cloynschamray	Robert Stewart	26 8	2
Stuk	{ 1. John Spens }	53 4	4
	{ 2. John Banachtyne }		
Achywylk	David Stewart	40	3
Cawnach--(1) (Tawnich)	John Makgylquhynnych	26	7 2
" (2) . . . . .	... . . . .	25	
" (3) . . . . .	... . . . .	25	
" (4) . . . . .	... . . . .	25	
Kylmore (inf.) . . . . .	... . . . .	34 4	2 2
" (3) . . . . .	... . . . .	40	...
The Burgh . . . . .	... . . . .	6	...
	[Original] <i>Summa</i>	141 18 6	40 chald. 15 bolls.

The following lands do not seem to have paid their rents in 1450:—

(Rentaller in 1506.)

Kerelawmond Alexander Banachtyne.
Kerytonla Malcolm Makfersoun.

(Rentall in 1506.)

Kerymanach	{	1. Finlay Makwrerdy.
		2. Finlay Makilmon.
Cowleing	{	1. John Makconochy.
		2. Alexander Makwrerdy.
Kyngawane		Malcolm Makconochy.
Kerymanch		Duncan Makconochy.
Row		Donald Makkane.
Bronoch		Morice Maknachtane.
Bolochreg		Donald Makewin.
M'Kenach (Mecknoch)		John Jameson.
Cogach	{	1. Archibald Banachtyne.
		2. John do.

In 1507 "the forest of Bute," in North Bute, yielded £5 rent.

The Burgh of Rothesay, which never had, properly speaking, any lands of its own, paid for the rentallers of the Crown-lands within its bounds £40 annually, and, by the charter of *novodamus* of 1584, obtained liberty to "rent, grant, and feu" all the lands within the bounds of the burgh to the inhabitants of the burgh *only*; a portion of the rents, £6, being transferred to the Crown exchequer.

In the fifteenth century the Crown-lands were looked after by special commissioners, who let them on lease to the farmers.

On 12th January 1468, Wil of Cuniburgh (Mountstuart) and Fynlaw Spens were appointed to make the "inquisitions" —*i.e.*, value Bute—and next year this lordship and its castle were annexed to the Principality.¹

There was also a class of "maisterful men," who sat down on lands paying nothing, who were recommended to the attention of the sheriffs. On the west coast, washed by the sea, lords and barons had also to provide war-galleys according

¹ 'Act Parl.,' vol. ii. pp. 91a, 187a; vol. iv. p. 28.

to their land-extent, and every able-bodied husbandman had to provide the arms appointed for his station in life.

On the 15th February 1489, in the reign of James IV., an Act "Anent the free tennentes, that haldis of the Duke of Rothesay and Steward of Scotland," was passed, ordaining them, their "suites and presentes, as effeiris," to appear and answer in the Parliament and law courts, until an heir to the Crown be born to answer for them. In the same Parliament, a woeful complaint was made that these "puir tennents, maillers, and inhabitants of the king's proper lands" were greatly hurt and oppressed by lords and gentlemen, and compelled to do "service, avarage [ploughing], cariage, scheiring, leading, labouring, ryding, and travelling." The Parliament made this tyranny a punishable offence. This happened on the birth of a prince, James, in 1506. But their chief only survived a year, during which the king granted them and their heirs a feu-charter at Linlithgow, on the 16th August 1506. It is to this effect:—

GRANT BY KING JAMES IV. TO THE STEWARD'S VASSALS IN
BUTE, dated at Linlithgow, 16th August 1506.

James, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all propertied men of his whole land, cleric and laic, Greeting,—Know ye that because we finding that those holding and inhabiting our lands of Bute have been infest in them in the way of feu-farm, from of old, by our progenitors, we therefore, with advice of the Lords of our Council, have given, conceded, and given up to feu-farm hereditarily to those holding our lands of the Isle of Bute aforesaid, and to their heirs-male, the said lands particularly, as is specified below :

Then follow the names of tenants and lands, printed at pp. 137, 138, and the usual conditions ; among which were, freedom from "multures except suckin to the mill of Rothesay," pay-

ment of the rents in money and marts in use to be paid, with duplication to a new entrant, to the Stewards of Scotland.¹

The origin of the Stewarts of Bute is nearly as much involved in obscurity as that of the royal house from which they descended. Several charters constructively prove that John Stewart, the Sheriff of Bute in 1400, was a son of the deceased king, by stating that he was a brother of Robert III.; but others qualify this statement by designating him the *natural brother* of Robert the king, and of Robert of Albany.² Consequently it has been assumed, and in my opinion unwarrantably, that John Stewart of Bute was illegitimate, in the ordinary sense of the term, and, in consequence, bound to wear the *baton sinister* upon his arms.

In tracing the scions of so fertile a stem as Robert II. was—the Pope himself noted this virtue in the king and Elizabeth More: “*diu cohabitantes, prolis utriusque sexus multitudinem procrearunt*”—it is well to be vigilant, lest among the crowd of branches a shoot remain unobserved.

It is supposed that, when in 1385 Bute and Arran were formed into a sheriffdom, John Stewart was appointed Sheriff. His name appears in the ‘Exchequer Rolls’ for 1388, where he is credited with receiving £6, 13s. 4d. of salary, and also, till 1449, when he receives £40 of annual salary for the Keepership of Rothesay Castle. These appointments, the gift of his father, he held sixty-one, if not sixty-four, years. His brother confirmed him in the office by a charter, still preserved by the Marquess of Bute.

¹ This charter is given in full in Reid’s ‘History of Bute,’ Appendix, p. 266, as extracted from the Register of the Great Seal.

² ‘Excheq. Rolls,’ vol. iii. pp. 458, 686; vol. iv. Pref.; vol. v. *var. loc.*; vol. vi. Pref.

The following is a translation of the charter by Robert III., given under the Great Seal—a reduced fac-simile of which is here given—appointing John, Steward of Bute, to the office of sheriff in 1400:—

“Robert, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all the propertied men, of his own land, cleric and laic, Greeting,—Know ye that we have given, conceded, and, by this present charter, confirmed to our dear brother John, Steward of Bute, the office of Sheriff of the Isles of Bute and of Arran with pertinents, with which office indeed by the gift of the most excellent prince and lord, lord Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scots, our illustrious father, thus far is the proviso, that it be held and possessed by our said brother and his heirs-male legitimately procreated or to be procreated of his body—all, by chance failing, reverting to us and to our heirs—of us and our heirs in feu and heirship, for ever, with rights, feus, and customs, and with their own just pertinents whatsoever belonging to, or in future justly effeiring to belong to the said office, freely, quietly, and in peace. In witness whereof we have ordered our seal to be appended to our present charter,—witnesses being the venerable fathers in Christ, Walter, Bishop of St Andrews, Gilbert, Bishop of Aberdeen, our Chancellor; our dearest first-born, David, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick and Athole, and Steward of Scotland; Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and of Meneteth, brother; Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Lord of Galloway, our dear son; James of Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, Thomas of Erskine, our dear cousins and officers. At Irvine, the eleventh day of the month of November, in the year of grace one thousand four hundred, and of the eleventh of our reign.”

If John was a son of Elizabeth More, who died between 1347 and 1355, he was a centenarian, or wellnigh one, at his decease. But probably he would not have been designated a *natural*, if he was a *germane*, brother of the king. Yet it is possible. On the other hand, if John was a son of Euphemia Ross, the second wife of the king, and born even about 1360,

he was old enough for official duty in 1385, and a nono-
genarian in 1449. In this case he might be properly styled
a *naturał* brother of the king, being his father's son by a
different mother.

Crawford says (p. 19), enumerating the natural issue of
King Robert II.¹ :—

“Sir John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, commonly called the Black
Stewart.² For this I have seen a charter³ under the Great Seal, by
King Robert III., of an annuity of 16 merks sterling to Sir Adam
Forrester out of the Customs of Edinburgh, in which grant *Johanne
Senescalco Vicecomite de Bute fratre nostro naturali* is a witness, and
is dated 15th February in the year 1404. Moreover, there is a
charter in the Public Records by Robert, Duke of Albany, when
Governor of Scotland, dated at Rothesay the 24th August 1408, to
John Campbell of Loudon of the lands of Chalucbreks in Carrick,
to which *Johanne Senescalco fratre suo naturali Vicecomite de Bute*
is a witness.”

In the charter dated 11th November 1400, at Irvine, wherein
King Robert III. grants the office of sheriff to John Senescal,

¹ According to W. A. Lindsay, Robert II. was father of John (Robert III.),
Walter, Alexander, Robert, Margery, Jean, Margaret, Elizabeth, Margaret (2),
Alan, Catherine, Egida, David, Walter (2): Brown, in 1792, enumerates the
above excepting Jean, Elizabeth, a Margaret, Alan, but adds a daughter unnamed,
John of Bute, Thomas, Bishop of St Andrews, John of Dundonald, and John of
Cardney. Burnett ('Excheq. Rolls,' Preface, vol. iv.) enumerates the family of
Robert II. thus: by Elizabeth Mure, John, Walter of Fife, Alexander of Bade-
nach, Margaret (of the Isles), Elizabeth (Hay), — (Keith), Marjory (Dunbar),
Isabel (Douglas), Jean (Lyon); by Euphemia Ross, David of Strathern, Walter
of Athole, Egidia (Douglas), — (Jean, Catherine, or Elizabeth, Lindsay), —
(Catherine, Logan); illegitimate, John of Bute, Thomas, Archdeacon of St
Andrews, Alexander, Canon of Glasgow, John of Dundonald, Alexander, James,
John, Walter, four sons of Mariot Cardney.

² Sir John of Dundonald was the Red Stewart.

³ In the hands of James Robertson, Advocate.

he is styled "dilecto fratri nostro Johanni Senescalli de Bute"—"our dear brother John Steward of Bute"; but on the same day, at the same place, another charter is granted him, of the lands of Ardumlese (Ardmoleish) and Grenane in Bute with Coregelle in Arran, and in it he is styled "dilecto fratri nostro —¹ Johanni Senescalli Vicecomiti nostro de Bute." The word amissing is presumably *naturali*, but may have been *germano*. *Naturalis*, natural, is used by Latin writers to designate children of the same blood, as opposed to a child adopted, *adoptatus*, and did not necessarily imply illegitimacy. Bede styles Ethelberga, Abbess of Brie, "the natural daughter of the same king" of the East Angles and Anna his wife.² *Germanus* signified born of the same father and mother.

In Albany's charter of 4th July 1419, granting Barone to Sheriff John, he is styled "dilecto fratri nostro Johanni Steuart," and one of the witnesses is "Johanne Steuart de Dondonnald fratre nostro."

John, the first-born of King Robert II., is always called "primogenitus" until he changed his name to Robert, as if to distinguish him from other Johns (see Appendix XIV.), John being a favourite name with Robert II. It was not uncommon to have more than one son with the same baptismal name. King James III. had *two* lawful sons of the name of James.

Besides this John, Robert II. had a son John by Marion de Cardney to whom he gave lands in Kinclaven ;³ and also

¹ There is a hole in the parchment cutting out the word.

² Bede, bk. iii. ch. viii.; Bohn, p. 121.

³ Robertson's 'Index,' 124, 13.

a John gotten betwixt the king and “dilectam nostram Moram,” who got lands in the same thanedom.¹

The so-called tradition, not mentioned by Crawford or Blain, that the Sheriff, John Stewart, was the offspring of an amour of King Robert II. with a daughter of Lech of Ard-maleish, cannot be traced further than to the crack-brained laird of Kilwhinleck, the Rev. James Stewart, formerly minister of Kingarth. Reid, quoting M'Kinlay's MS., says: “There is a tradition imported into the Bute family history upon the authority of the late Lord Bannatyne (1742-1833), who is merely said to have heard it from Stewart of Kilwhinleck, that the mother of the first of the family of Bute was named Leitch, and was the daughter of the laird of Ard-malish, in Bute, whose attractions had fascinated the High Steward one day while hunting.”² The source of information is most suspicious, and unreliable.

There is a curious circumstance, which, after research, I am unable to clear up, in connection with one of these numerous John Stewarts. In one charter granting lands in Kinclaven to a John Stewart, he is described as the son of King Robert II. and Marion Cardney. In another the John Stewart is thus referred to:—

“Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scots, &c.—Let it be known that we have given, conceded, and by this present charter confirmed to our dear son John Stewart, born between us and our dear More, all and singular our lands of *Ballachys*, Inverinate, and Mukersy, with a part in the thanedom of Kynclevyn, within the sheriffdom of Perth,” &c.³

¹ Robertson's 'Index,' 125, 29.

² Reid's 'Hist.,' p. 195; 'Third Report of Hist. MSS. Comm.,' App., 402.

³ 'Reg. Mag. Sig.,' vol. i. p. 166.

This charter was granted at Perth on the 15th January 1383. It, of course, might refer to John, the first-born son of the king; but he is usually designated in full, with all his titles.

In 1502, we find that Ninian Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, was able to dispone a property, *Ballochshchechan* (Ballechin?), in the barony of Abernethy, in the county of Perth, to John Stewart of Ardgowan.¹ Are Ballachys and Ballochshchechan to be considered identical with each other, and with the subject of the charter referred to in Robertson's 'Index'?—see Appendix XVI. If they are, then Ninian, Sheriff of Bute, may have possessed these lands on account of his descent from John, the son of "dear More"—and therefore a full brother of the king. If not, we are no nearer the discovery of the mother of John, the founder of the House of Bute.

The charter of James IV.—here presented in reduced facsimile (p. 153)—appointing Ninian Stewart, then Sheriff of Bute, to the keepership of Rothesay Castle, and his heirs-male to the same office hereditarily, provides for his salary of forty marks a-year, together with the regular dues customarily given to such officers. It was given under the Great Seal at the New Castle of Kintyre (*i.e.*, Tarbert) on the 5th August 1498. These customary dues are specified in actions subsequently raised by the captains of the castle against debtors, and are also more fully detailed in the Investiture of Sir George Mackenzie (pp. 149-151).

In 1579, Sheriff John Stewart sued Ninian Bannatyne of Kames for "2 wedders, 5 creills of peat, and 5 sleds of

¹ 'Reg. Mag. Sig.,' vol. ii. p. 573.

stray," as dues from his lands of Cowbasbeg and Cowbasmore (*i.e.* Lubas).¹

On 15th May 1687, Sir James Stewart raised an action in the Burgh Court against several feuars for his dues as keeper of the castle, sheriff, and keeper of the fairs, in which he condescends that his predecessors and authors were "heralds, captanes, and keepers of the Castle of Rothesay in possession of ane casualty of ane creill of peitts, and ane hen yeirly furth of ilk reeking house, payable to the said castle within the Burgh of Rothesay, . . . also ane gallone of ale . . . furth of ilk brewing-house." The action, doubtless, was sustained.²

King Robert III., on 11th November 1400, granted to John the lands of Ardmaleish, Greenan, Corriegills in Arran, and £10 yearly out of the feu-duties of Bute, with 10 merks out of the feu-duties of Arran.

Robert, Duke of Albany, granted charter to his brother John, Sheriff of Bute, of half the lands of Finnoch, within the barony of Renfrew, on 1st June 1418.

Albany granted by charter to John, Sheriff of Bute, and Jonet his wife (daughter of John Semple of Elliotstone), on 4th July 1419 at Renfrew, Barone, which the deed states belonged hereditarily to Agnes, daughter of Walter.

In 1440, Gilbert Kennedy and Robert Chisholme were the bailies of Bute and Arran.

Neil Jamieson was chamberlain of Bute from 1436 to 1454.

On 28th May 1490, Ninian Stewart was seized in Ardmaleish, &c., and sheriffship.

A commission was given serving James heir to Ninian Stewart on 15th January 1538.

¹ Marquess of Bute's Charters.

² Council Records.

On 8th September 1549, a charter was given under the Great Seal in favour of James Stewart and his heirs-male, of the office of Chamberlain of his Majesty's property in Bute, mill, and forest thereof, paying for each boll of bear yearlie eight shillings and four pennies, for each boll of meal four shillings, and for each mart twenty-four shillings, with three merks yearly of augmentation.

On 18th January 1590, a charter of *novodamus* was granted to Sheriff John Stewart, confirming the offices and ward-lands, erecting Ardmaleish into a barony, and granting the patronage of Rothesay Church.

Sir James Stewart was on 27th April 1659 invested in the following lands and privileges :¹—

Ardmaleish* (with slate craig), 3-merkland; Kneslagvouraty, 3-merkland; Drumachloy*; Dunalunt*; Ballicaul,* 2-merkland; Auchintirrie*; Greenan,* 3-merkland, and mill; Coagach,* 2-merkland; Mickle Barrone,* 5-merkland; Ballilone,* 16s. 8d.; Auchamore,* 16s. 8d.; Glenchromag,* 16s. 8d.; Barmor,* 3-merkland; 2 Kelspokes,* ½-merkland; Mill of Kilchattan*; Kerrycroy, 5-merkland; Mid Ascog,* 3-merkland; Kerrycrusach,* 3-merkland; Patronage of Kirks of Rothesay, Mill of Rothesay, and multures; Kneslagloan,* 3-merkland; Ardnahe,* 3-merkland; Stravanan,* 3-merkland; Kerry-mench*; Inchmernoek (with slate craig); Fifty-shilling-land of Garrachty; Corriegills* in Arran; 3 Kirktowns; Penmachry, 2-merkland; Breckoch, with mill and multures, in Cumbrae; and lands of Fuirde with mill, in Edinburgh, to be holden blench of Sir James himself. The Sheriffship and the keepership of the castle were also included.

¹ The values attached are those found in the charter granted to Sir George Mackenzie in 1681.

When the whole Bute estate passed into the hands of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the following additional lands, &c., had been purchased, and are mentioned in the charter granted to Sir George Mackenzie, 4th March 1681:—

Woodend Butt* ; Ballycurrie,* and Cottar Butts ; one-half of Balnakelly* ; one-half of Teydow ; Ballianlay* ; Chappeltown,* 16s. 8d. ; Culevin,* 3-merkland ; dues of the Crownery of Bute and Cumbrae ; Dungyll* (Torrygill) ; Eschechraggan and Glenbuy ; Gallachan* ; Kilwhinleck,* 5-merkland ; Kechag, Kilchattan*—Meikle,* 5-merkland, and Little,* 3-merkland ; Kildavannan, 3-merkland ; Kerrytonley* ; Kilmory-Meikle* ; Kilmory-Chappel* ; Kerryfuirin* ; Kerryneven,* 4-merkland ; Kerrymoran,* 4-merkland (= Scoulag) ; Langel (-kechag* ; -corad,* 3-merkland ; -cuthilachlan ; -bunnach,* 3-merkland) ; Penmachray (Cumbrae) Row, 25s. ; Scalpsca mill ; Scoulag—Middle, 4-merkland, and Nether, 4-merkland.

Beside these lands were the teinds—"the five-horse gang of . . . , tiends of parsonage and bishops' tiends out of the twenty-pound-lands of Rothesay, whereof the deceased Sir Dugal Stewart was in use to draw the tiend sheaves," and "the tiends parsonage and other tiends" out of the lands following, and those before marked with an asterisk:—

Wester Kames, Easter Kames, Edinmore, Edinbeg, Kilmachalmaig, Nether Ettrick, Over Ettrick, Kilbride, Nether Glenmore, Over Glenmore, Lenihuline, Tawnie, Bualochreg, Shalunt, Stuck, Mecknock, Ardroscaedale—Nether and Over — Largivrechtan, Acholter, Auchawillig, Balnakelly, Ambrismore, Glechnabae, Kilmichel, Ballicreg, Ascog—Over and Nether—Kerrylamont, Leninteskin, 2 butts of Lochend, Bransar, Kerrygavin, Merkland of Kingarth, Birgidale Crief,

Birgidale Knock, Barnauld, $\frac{1}{2}$ -merkland of Sheriff, Lubas—Little and Meikle—Largizean, Kneslag -vourathy and -mory, Quien, Row, Scalpsay (with other lands in Cowal).

There were also the patronage of Kingarth, Rothesay, and Inverchaolain churches.

“The office of the Hereditary Keeper of His Majesty's Castle of Rothesay is granted with houses, biggings, yards, office houses, parts, pendicles, and pertinents thereof whatsoever, and particularly the houses and yards opposite to the said Castle pertaining thereto and then possess by Ninian Allan, officer, and John Kerr, sometime bailie of Rothesay, and other houses and yards likeways belonging thereto over against the houses on the south side or the High Street of Rothesay, with all services and casualties payable to the Hereditary Keepers of the said Castle, and which were paid to Sir James and Sir Dugald Stuarts, then deceased, for their service as heretable keepers thereof; out of the feu-lands, called Dumbarton Lands, within the Island of Bute, and particularly out of the lands of Kerrycroy two kain wedders, two creel of peats, two cartsfull of straw, six reek hens with two nights' meat for two horses and one man yearlie; out of the lands of Kerrylamont 1 kain wedder, and 2 reek hens and siklike the casualties of wedders, peats, straw, reek hens, and nights' meat for horses, and their keepers, with service to the Castle for necessaries, and when required out of all and hail the feu-lands possess by the tenants within the Island of Bute, called Dumbarton Lands, whereof the possessors of the said feu-lands and liferents had been in use of payment conform to their particular proportions and rental thereof past memory of man, and also a creel of peats and a hen yearlie out of every reek house within the Burgh of Rothesay, also an annual rent of three score merks payable out of the feu-duties of the Mill of Rothesay.”

The following charter shows how very near the serene village of Kerrycroy came to being transformed from “The Ferry,” as it is sometimes, as of old, called, into a large

seaport and emporium.¹ The charter of 27th August 1703, under the Great Seal, embodies the General Investiture of the Bute estate in favour of Sir James Stewart, and erects Bute, Great Cumbray, and Inchmernoek into Barony and Regality, with free chapel and chancery, to be called the Baronry and Regality of Bute. It also erects the town or village of (blank) in a free Burgh of Regality and head Burgh of the said Regality, to be called the Burgh and Regality of Mountstuart, at whose market-cross all publications within the jurisdiction should be made, and with power to the inhabitants to deal in merchandise and to carry on handicraft trades, and to have a weekly market and three fairs in a year, each to continue for three days, Sir James being entitled to lift the customs of the said fairs and markets; and power is given to erect and build free ports and harbours, within any part of Bute, Inchmernoek, and Meikle Cumbray, belonging to him in property or superiority, and of exacting the tolls, dues, anchorages, shore-dues, and other customs and duties of the said ports, with all other liberties and privileges that any other ports or harbours within any barony and regality in Scotland have or do enjoy. The charter further contains a *novodamus* and a grant of the patronage of the parish kirk of Kingarth and teinds thereof.

In 1689, Sir James Stewart disposed in trust to David Boyle of Kelburn the office of Sheriff, and the latter reconveyed it to Sir James on 23d September 1692.

King James VI. granted the feu-duties of Bute to the Duke of Lennox, governor of Dumbarton, and his suc-

¹ "Inventory of the Title-Deeds of the Estate of Bute, &c.," MS., p. 67.

cessors.¹ Parliament ratified their attachment to Dumbarton in 1606; they were dissolved from Dumbarton in 1764, after which James, second Earl of Bute, bought them from the Duke of Montrose, representative of Lennox.

The following is a detailed pedigree of the Stewarts of Bute:—

I. JOHN (I.), son of King Robert II., born 1360 (?), died 1449, Sheriff of Bute, Keeper of Rothesay Castle, Baron of Ardmaleish and Grenan.

By Jonet Semple, the Sheriff, John Stewart, had issue—

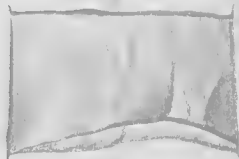
1. James, his successor in office.
2. William, who succeeded to Finnock, and became keeper of Brodick Castle, 1445-1451, for which he was paid £20 of annual salary.
3. Robert, supposed to have held Kilwhinleck, which was granted in heritage in 1506 to his son Alexander.
4. John, tenant of Kerrycroy, Kelspoke, and Drumachloy, also of Southbar in Renfrew.
5. Andrew, tenant of Rosland in Rothesay, and laird of Balshagry in Lanarkshire. From him descended the lairds of Scarrel and Patrick Stewart, minister of Kingarth. The tradition that he married the heiress of Grant and became progenitor of the Earls of Seafield is disproved by Sir William Fraser.²

II. JAMES (I.), keeper of Rothesay Castle till Martinmas 1465, when the office was given to Lord Darnley, who gave the office to his own son Ninian. But James received his salary till 1477. His children were—

¹ 'Act Parl. Scot.,' 8 James VI. Parl. 9.

² 'Book of the Grants,' vol. i. p. 29.

Dominus proha bonis facis tunc deus et laus saluam
 nobis dei gratia et gratiam. Sic ut videtur in
 hie per dilectam nem Almanni. Sic ut videtur in
 Almanno. Cuiusdam capiti et sedulo. Ita de totis
 tunc in Almanno captiuam et custodiam eius in
 et hie dicitur sine de nobis et successibus
 deus sui tenentibus et custodiunt alios
 mri de hie per amerciam caribundum pro
 equales potentes impetrant. Cuius omni
 dia amplius potentes impetrant. Cuius omni
 mconio nro de hie nro pnt et qui pro tempore
 ad terminis pnt dno nro capitales et suis
 adnotabilibus nro pntibus et filius quibus
 pnt nra carta fuit conam sas onsa et nra
 sub omi hie que compere pnt in hac parte
 pnt nro in pnt nro. Secrete signat
 Concillario nro pnt nro. Secrete signat
 hinc magno Concillario nro. Secrete signat
 Secretario nro. Secrete signat. Anno dno
 die mens Augusti. Anno dno millesimo



Fac-simile of Charter of King James IV. appointing Sheriff Ninian Stewart
 to the office of Hereditary Keeper of Rothesay Castle.—In possession of the
 Marquess of Bute.

1. Ninian, his successor.
2. James of Kilchattan. His son James sold Kilchattan to Ninian (II.) The first charter of Kilchattan is in favour of *John Stewart, Sheriff, &c.*, in 1474.
3. David of Auchawillig.
4. John of Upper Kirkton, Cumbrae, who had two sons, Patrick and John.

III. NINIAN (I.), served heir to his father James in 1490. He was made hereditary Castellan of Rothesay by James IV. in 1498. He married—

- i. — Campbell, had issue—
 1. James, who succeeded.
 2. Robert of Nether Kilmory, 1506, and Ambrismore, 1529, ancestor of the Stewarts of Ambrismore; married a daughter of John Lamond.
 3. William of Largivrechtan, 1506, and the south half of Cugach, 1535.
 4. Janet, who married Ninian Bannatyne of Kames, but was divorced on account of consanguinity.
- ii. Janet Dunlop—
 5. Archibald of Largizean, ancestor of Stewarts of Largizean.
- iii. Elizabeth, daughter of Blair of that Ilk—
 6. Alexander of Kildavanan, who married Elizabeth Tait.
 7. Ninian of Nether Kilmory, 1532, and Largivrechtan, 1548. He obtained Kildavanan from his father, and purchased Kilchattan from his cousin James. From him sprang the Kilchattan,

Ascog, Ballintraid, Ballintoy Stewarts, of whom is the Londonderry family.

He was granted Ambrismore in heritage in 1506. He exchanged his lands in Perthshire for Kildonan, &c., in Arran.

Reid, utilising M'Kinlay's MS., accepts this account of Ninian's family.

IV. JAMES (II.) was served heir to his father, 15th January 1538. He married—

- i. Mary Campbell, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Argyle, but had no issue.
- ii. Marion, daughter of John Fairlie of that Ilk, and widow of Thomas Boyd of Linn, and had issue—
 1. John, his successor.
 2. Robert of Kelspokes, acquired from Southbar.
 3. —, married to Alexander Stewart of Kelspokes and Ballochmartin.

V. JOHN (II.) added considerably to the estate, by purchase of lands and superiorities at Ballicaul, Langanquochag, Kerry-menoch Stewart, Mill of Ambrismore, Drumachloy, Auchintirrie, Arnahoe, Coaghag, Inchmarnock, Mid Ascog, &c. He sat in Parliament, 20th October 1579, and attended Court as a gentleman of the bedchamber, 1602(?). He died before 1612. He married—

- i. Mary, daughter of John Campbell of Skipnish, and had issue—
 1. John, his successor.
- ii. Fynwald, daughter of Sir John M'Donald of Dunivaig.
- iii. Jean, daughter of John Blair of that Ilk.
 2. James of Ardnahoe.

3. Grizel, who married Ninian Stewart of Kilchattan in 1615.

VI. JOHN (III.), usually styled of Kirktown or Ardmolis, received the honour of knighthood from King James VI. Sir John added to his property Kerrycrusoch, Dunalunt, Kneslagvouraty, &c. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert Hepburn of Foord in Haddington, and had issue—

1. James, his successor.
2. Robert.
3. Thomas, Colonel, who died in France.
4. —, married Archibald Stewart of Kilwhinleck.

The Sheriff died in 1618; and his widow married Sir Alexander Foulis of Colinton.

VII. SIR JAMES (III.) was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., 28th March 1627. He was a Royalist, was fined 5000 merks by Parliament in 1646, and was attainted. He sat in the Scots Parliament in 1644, 1661, and 1662. He died in London in 1662, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. There is no monument to him now traceable.

He married Grizel, daughter of Sir Dugal Campbell of Auchinbreck, and had the following children—

1. Dugal, his successor.
2. Robert, Senator of the College of Justice, and one of the Lords of Justiciary—Lord Tillicultrie—was a Commissioner from Scotland in the Union negotiations, and was made a Baronet in 1707.
3. Isobel (Elizabeth), married Ninian Bannatync of Kames.

4. Anne, married (1) Alexander M'Donald of Sana ; (2) Walter Campbell of Skipness.
5. Jean, married (1) Angus Campbell of Skipness ; (2) James Graham.

VIII. SIR DUGAL came into an impoverished estate, over which John Boyle of Kelburne held bonds. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Ruthven of Dun-glass, and had five children—

1. James, his successor.
2. Dugald, who became a Lord of Session—Lord Blairhall.
3. Barbara, married Alexander Campbell of Barbreck.
4. Margaret, married Dugal Lamont of that Ilk.
5. —, married Stewart of Auchinskeoch.

IX. SIR JAMES (IV.), succeeded his father in 1672 ; sided with the Revolution party in 1688, and in 1702 negotiated for the Union of the Parliaments ; became a Privy Councilor to Queen Anne, who raised him to the Peerage on 14th April 1703, with the title of Earl of Bute, Viscount Kingarf, Lord Mountstuart, Cumra, and Inchmarnock. His estate was heavily burdened to John Boyle of Kelburn (£76,169), and to John Stewart of Ascog (£9385). He married—

- i. Agnes, daughter of Sir George Mackenzie of Rose-haugh, Lord Advocate of Scotland, who took over the estate in 1681, and by her had—
 1. James, his successor.
 2. Margaret, who married John Crawford, Viscount Garnock, fifteenth Earl of Crawford.
- ii. Christian, daughter of William Dundas of Kincavil, by whom he had—

3. John, who died at Rome in 1738, and is buried in the Scots College there.

The Earl died at Bath, 4th June 1710, and is buried in the mausoleum in Rothesay. See Crawford's 'Peerage,' p. 57.

X. JAMES (V.), second Earl, was born in 1690. He succeeded to the Rosehaugh estates in 1707. He married Lady Ann Campbell, sister of John, Duke of Argyle, and by her had—

1. John, his successor, Lord Mountstuart.
2. James of Rosehaugh, who married his cousin Elizabeth of Argyle; member of Parliament; Keeper of Privy Seal of Scotland, 1763, &c., &c.
3. Mary, who married Sir Robert Menzies of Weem.
4. Anne, who married James, third Lord Ruthven.
5. Jean, who married William Courtenay, Esquire.
6. Grace, married John Campbell, yr. of Stonefield.

The Earl died on the 28th January 1723, aged thirty-three, and was buried in Rothesay. His town-house, built by George Cunningham, W.S., in 1680-81, still stands in the High Street. Mountstuart House was begun in 1719.

XI. JOHN (IV.), third Earl, was born at Edinburgh, 25th May 1713, died 10th March 1792, and was buried at Rothesay. This Earl was courtier, politician, patron of literature and science, a generous friend to literary men, a benefactor to universities, and one of the most esteemed and influential peers of the eighteenth century. He was installed K.G. in 1762. He married Mary, only daughter of Edward Wortley Montague, Esq., afterwards created Baroness Mountstuart of Wortley, with the title of Baron Mountstuart to her lawful

issue male by John, Earl of Bute. Of thirteen children eleven survived—

1. John, his successor, who was created a peer of the realm, Baron Cardiff of Cardiff.
2. James Archibald Stuart Wortley M'Kenzie of Rosehaugh, Lieut.-Colonel of the 92d, which he raised.
3. Frederick, M.P. for Rothesay Burghs, 1775, for Bute, 1796.
4. Charles, Colonel of the 26th Regiment, created Baron Stuart de Rothesay in 1828.
5. William, Bishop of St David's, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland.
6. Mary, married the Earl of Lonsdale.
7. Jane, married George, Earl Macartney.
8. Ann, married the Duke of Northumberland.
9. Augusta, married Captain Andrew Corbett.
10. Caroline, married the Earl of Portarlington.
11. Louisa, died unmarried in 1851, aged ninety-four.

XII. JOHN (V.), fourth Earl, first Marquess. For his diplomatic services in Sardinia and Spain this Earl was, 21st March 1796, created a Marquess of Great Britain, with the title of Viscount Mountjoy in the Isle of Wight, Earl of Windsor, and Marquess of Bute. He married—

- i. Charlotte Jane, daughter and co-heiress of Lord Viscount Windsor, who died in 1800, and had by her—
 1. John, his heir, married Elizabeth, heiress of Patrick, Earl of Dumfries, and had two children, John and Patrick; died in 1794, his son John succeeding his grandfather.

2. Herbert Windsor.
3. Charles, Lieutenant R.N.
4. Evelyn, Lieut.-Colonel of 21st Regiment, M.P. for Cardiff.
5. Henry, married Gertrude, daughter of Earl of Grandison.
6. William, Captain R.N.
7. George, Rear-Admiral Lord, R.N., married Jane Stewart. His son Henry (1808-1880) married Cecilia Hammersley. He was factor in Bute. His family are Evelyn, Emily Catherine, Dudley Charles, John Windsor (present factor), Gertrude Mary, Elizabeth Charlotte, Clara Georgina, Cecilia, Frederica, Octavia Henrietta Mary.
8. Maria Alicia Charlotte, born 1768, married C. Pinfold, Esq., died in 1841.
9. Charlotte, married Sir William Homan, Bart., and died 1847.
- ii. Frances Coutts, daughter of Thomas Coutts, Esq., banker, London, and had—
 10. Dudley Coutts, M.P.
 11. Frances, who married the Earl of Harrowby.

Earl John was Provost of Rothesay from 1788 till 16th November 1814, when he died.

XIII. JOHN (VI.), second Marquess. John Crichton Stuart was born 13th August 1793, and lost his father, Lord Mountstuart, in 1794. He succeeded his maternal grandfather in 1803, as Earl of Dumfries, his paternal grandfather in 1814. He was Commissioner to the General Assembly

in 1842; Provost of Rothesay, 1814-15, 1829-1837. In 1818 he married—

- i. Maria, daughter of the Earl of Guildford, who died in 1841, but by her had no issue.
- ii. In January 1847, Sophia, daughter of the first Marquess of Hastings, by whom he had one son—
John Patrick Crichton-Stuart.

The Marquess died, 18th March 1848, and the Marchioness, 28th December 1859.

XIV. JOHN (VII.) Patrick Crichton-Stuart, third Marquess, was born 12th September 1847. He married the Hon. Gwen-dolen Mary-Anne, eldest daughter of Edward-George, first Lord Howard of Glossop, a descendant of the Arundel family, being younger son of the thirteenth Duke of Norfolk. Their children are on both sides directly descended from the Fitz Alans, Banquo, and the early kings of Alban, Dalriada, and Ireland.

1. Margaret, born 24th December 1875.
2. John (called Earl of Dumfries), born 20th June 1881.
3. Ninian Edward, born 15th May 1883.
4. Colum Edmund, born 3d April 1886.

One of the officers of the Crown in Bute was the Crownare or Coroner, whose duties it is not easy to particularise. The office, though distinct from that of a sheriff, was not infrequently united with it, and held hereditarily in some families. It seems to have been within the scope of his duty to watch over all the interests of the Crown within his bounds, assisting at the courts of justice, apprehending and protecting criminals or accused, citing suspects and witnesses, investigating suspi-

cious cases, pointing forfeited goods and lands, acting as coastguardsman in seizing castaway vessels, collecting the Crown rents and dues, and otherwise representing the Crown as a bailie or factor with the powers of a constable. His fees for each person convicted, a quey or thirty pennies; for each accused who was discharged, nothing. If a man was sentenced to death, the Crouner's fee consisted of "all the dantoned and tamed horse not shod, al the scheipe within twentie, al the goats and swyne within ten, al the grains and corns lyand in byngs or in broken mawes, all the utensils or domicil of the house within the cruke hingand upon the fire."¹ In Bute the Crouner was annually entitled to a cow out of the feu-duties of Bute, and a firlot of corn and a lamb from every portioner of a ploughgate of the feu-lands, which numbered sixty-one. The office in the sheriffdom of Bute was held by Nigel or Neill of Kilmorie and his descendants, the Jamiesouns of the same place. The family were probably sprung from the Dalriadic invaders. Ferchard of Bute, son of Nigel of Bute, and Duncan his brother, about the close of the thirteenth century, appear attesting charters by Angus, son of Dovenald, to Paisley monastery.² From 1436 to 1458 Niel Jamieson (Nigellus Jacobi) is the Chamberlain (*camerarius*) of Bute, and hands in regularly his accounts of the rents paid by the Crown tenants in the isle. When the king was in residence in Rothesay, 1458, Niel made such a poor mouth about the bad weather for the past twenty-two years and the loss of his fees from Arran, which had been scoured by raiders in 1444, that the compassionate monarch allowed

¹ "The Crownare in Scotland," in 'Scotsman,' 18th September 1893.

² 'Reg. Pass.,' pp. 127, 128.

him an extra payment of 8 chalders, for his vexations in gathering and despatching the royal rents, or marts, to the moving Court.

He seems to have been succeeded by his son James, for in 1501 we find Fergus, the son of James, Crowner of Bute, making a grant of two shillings to the Friars Preachers of Glasgow.¹ In 1506, Robert Jamesoun is enumerated among the so-called "Barons of Bute" who received charters from King James IV.; and in 1534, apparently the same individual, Robert Neilsoun, is confirmed by James V. in the Crownership of the island and sheriffdom of Bute with the feus, which office had, according to the deed of grant, then lost, been held hereditarily by the family above two hundred years.² In 1618, Francis Jamesoun was served heir to his great-great-grandfather, Robert, in the office, and to his father James in the Kilmory lands—viz., "the 5-marklands of Kilmorie-moir, 2½-marklands of Keirfarne, and 2½-marklands of Kilmorie-Chappeltoun."

In 1642, "Robert Jamieson, Crowner off Bute, his lands and heritage," are enrolled in the Maill-book of the burgh, but the extent is undecipherable.

In 1660, "Robert Jameson, Crowner," the last of his family in the office, was an elder in the Church of Rothesay.

After 1672 the Crowner's duties were transferred to other officers, and in 1748 the heritable jurisdiction was abolished by Act of Parliament.

The progress by which the lands of the Coroner passed out of the hands of the Jamesons was as follows: Robert Jameson, the last Crowner, who had married a daughter

¹ 'Lib. Coll. Nost. Dom.,' p. 205.

² 'Reg. Mag. Sig.,' vol. vii. p. 317.

of Robert Kerr, disposed of his lands of Meikle Kilmorie to Robert Kerr, but to be redeemable on the payment of 4700 merks. Kerr's right in the crownary was challenged, and he employed John Stewart of Ascog, advocate, to defend his rights, and also conveyed to him the office on 2d November 1666, probably in lieu of his fees.

In June 1675, Robert and Mark Kerr disposed to John Boyle of Kelburn, who was at that time trustee on the Bute estate, their interest in the Crouner's lands, while Robert Stewart of Kilchattan, who was also a creditor on the estate, disposed of his interest to the trustee. James Jameson, the nephew of Robert, sold his rights in the office of Crouner to Boyle on 1st August 1674, and this sale gave rise to the two following lawsuits:—

On March 4, 1685, "Sir James Stewart, as Sheriff of Bute, pursued Mr John Stewart of Ascog, advocate, for reducing the right to the crownry of Bute and for declaring his lands free from the custom and casualty of as many oats, &c., payable to the crouner's office, formerly belonging to the surname of ——. The reasons were—1mo. He, being a member of the session, had bought this right while depending in a plea; 2do. He acted and exercised the said jurisdiction before he had taken the test: Ascog denied both; but objected against his title of Sheriff, seeing both the officium Vicecomitis et coronatoris are consistent in one place, and the one needs not interfere with the other."¹

In 1690, Robert Stewart of Ascog sued John M'Kinley of Meikle Kilmorie for dues payable to Robert Jamieson, Crouner of Bute, "one firlot of corne and anc lamb yearly

¹ Fountainhall's 'Decisions,' vol. i. p. 348.

from each persone who are worth one, two, three, four, five or six horses, plewed, tilled, laboured, or manured [out of] any of the few-lands within the Isle of Bute."¹ It was found that the said Robert "had good and undoubted right to ane lamb and firloft, good and sufficient oats to be paid out of the haill few-lands of Bute." This decision of the Privy Council (11th November) was afterwards (1703) considered by the Duke of Argyle as an interference with his privileges as Justiciary General of the Isles.



MacNiell's Tombstone.

Ultimately, on 13th December 1698, John Stewart sold his rights to the Sheriff, who thus by purchase became the hereditary Coroner of Bute.

¹ Marquess of Bute's Charters.

The MacNiells were buried in Rothesay churchyard, where a monument bearing their coat of arms still remains in perfect preservation.

The following inscription is visible on the back of the stone: "This is the Buryial place of thee M'Nilles [super-inscribed Nealls] of Kilmorie."

Their residence, formerly called "The Crowner's Castle," is now a mere fragment of a tower, with nothing more



The Crowner's Castle at Meikle Kilmorie.

than a round shot-hole to indicate that on this mound stood the keep of the terror to evil-doers in Bute.

Ascog formerly belonged to the Glasses (see p. 102), but early in the fifteenth century part of it was in the hands of the Cochrans of Lec, Edward of Chochran becoming infest in the property on 24th August 1425.¹

¹ 'Mem. of Montgomeries,' vol. ii. p. 27.

In 1503, Ninian Cochrane sold the north half of Ascog to Hugh, Lord Montgomery, who, as Earl of Eglinton, was afterwards appointed "feare, kepare, suppleare, and correkare of the said Ile (of Litill Cumray), dere, and cunyngis thairrof."

In 1510, John Glas of Ascog resigned to John Glas of Ardniho his portion of Ascog, and in 1564 William Glass received seisin in the £1-land of Ascog and the Mill of Ambrismore. At this time Archibald M'Lane (Dovard) held the £3-lands of Ascog, which Queen Mary granted to Archibald M'Lachlan, son of M'Lachlan of that Ilk, in 1547.

Robert Glass disposed the 20-shilling land of Mid-Ascog to Sheriff Sir John Stewart in 1595 (confirmed 1601).

Mid-Ascog 40-shilling lands were disposed by James Glass to John Stuart in 1606.

On 31st March 1618, Sir John Stewart granted to James, his son, the lands of Mid-Ascog.

In 1629, James Stewart of Ardnahoe disposed the 20-shilling land of Mid-Ascog to Sir John Stewart.

In 1601, John Glass succeeded his uncle Robert in Ascog.

In 1637, Ninian Stewart of Ascog was served heir to his father John in the 40-shilling lands of Over Ascog and the 20-shilling lands of Nether Ascog, with the mill and lake of Ascog, together of the old extent of £6 and 4 marks.

In 1819, Archibald Glass disposed one-half of Mid-Ascog to the Marquess.

Where the house of Ascog stood before its ruin by the Campbells (Chapter IX.) is unknown. The old mansion-house, still inhabited, was built by John Stewart in 1678, as the inscriptions and dates upon it prove (see p. 185).

	M	
J		S
M		C

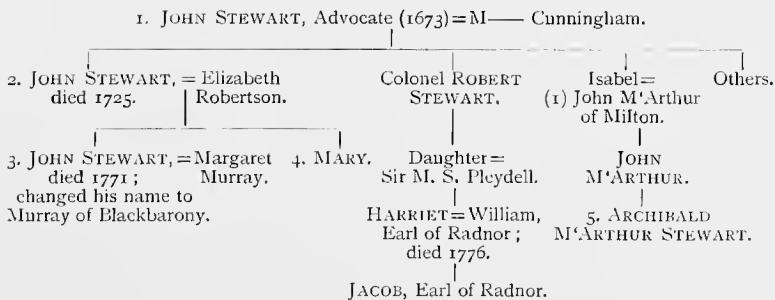
The coat of arms on a shield, bearing date 1678, is effaced.¹
 Culevin in 1506 was granted to John Makconochy and



Mansion-house of Ascog.

Alexander Makwreedy. Both families held the lands a considerable time.

¹ THE LAIRDS OF ASCOG (Stuck).



In 1680, Culevin, disposed by Robert Stewart of Kilchattan to Charles Stewart of Ballintoy, was acquired by the Sheriff from the latter.

The lands of Scoulogmore in the middle of the fifteenth century were in the hands of Cristin Leche, who paid rent to the Crown. Gilbert Cunningburgh received a grant of the lands, and was succeeded in 1506 by his son William. They included the marklands of Kerenevin, Keremorane, Mydscowllok, and Nether Scowllok. On Keremorane there was situated a cemetery, relics of which were turned up by the plough during this generation.

Kerryniven, Kerrymoran, Mid and Nether Scoulag, disposed to Argyle in 1643, were exchanged by the sheriff for lands in Cowal in 1666, on payment of 40 merks feu-duty and a twelve-oared birlin, and on Argyle's forfeiture were confirmed to Sir James Stewart in 1683.

Kellisloupe, which paid dues to the Constable of Bute at first, and afterwards was rented from the Crown by a family of Stewart, was granted in 1563 by a charter to Robert Stewart, second son of James, the Sheriff at that time.

The 7-merklands of Kelspokes, held by Robert Stewart of Kerrycroy in 1558, which Alexander Stewart disposed to Ninian Stewart of Kilchattan in 1622, were resigned to Sir James Stewart in 1649.

Ambrismore mill and Ardnahoe lands were possessions of members of the Glass family in the fifteenth century; but, in 1546, Robert Glass disposed of the reversion of the mill to the Sheriff of Bute.

The Crown lands of Ambrismore, which in 1498 were in the hands of David Lyndesay, husband of Eufame Stewart, were in 1506 granted in heritage by James IV. to Ninian

Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, whose descendants in the cadet branch continued to hold them till William Stewart sold Ambrismore to Sheriff Sir J. Stewart in 1696.

Ewin Makconochy was granted a charter of Ambrisbeg in 1506, and his descendants held these lands till 1865, when Alexander M'Conochy, known as Baron M'Conochy of Ambrisbeg, sold them to the Marquess of Bute. He married Beatrice, daughter of Andrew Haig, farmer of Kilmory, and had one son and four daughters.

In the fifteenth century the lands of Kildavanan were held by a family of Lech for "a yearly reddendo of two pennies or a pair of gloves within the parish church of Bute." John Lech succeeded his father Gilzequhome in 1429, and was in turn succeeded by Gilchrist and David. But by 1530, Alexander Stewart was in possession, and from him it passed to Ninian Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, who had also acquired the Kilchattans, which descended to his family. In 1664, James Stewart of Ballinstraide was proprietor.

In 1680, Kildavanan was disposed to Charles Stewart of Ballintoy by Robert Stewart of Kilchattan. The Earl acquired the superiority in 1808.

Nether Kilmorie was in 1506 another holding of the Stewarts, Robert then being in occupation of it. From him it passed to his brother, Ninian of Kilchattan, who in 1541 exchanged part of it for a portion of Largabrachtan held by William Stewart, and in 1557 sold another small part to M'Gillespik M'Neill.

Nether and Little Kilmory were publicly sold by James M'Neill in 1778, and the Earl was the purchaser.

Kilmory Chappel feus, held by Josias Martine and Catherine Hyndman, were resigned to the Earl in 1713.

Barrone was in 1419 the property of John Stewart the Sheriff, being held on a *ward* tenure from the Steward of Scotland. In the middle of the fifteenth century part of it was held by the king's ranger, John Scott, in payment of his official duties. At the end of the century James IV. granted the whole lands to David Lyndesay and his wife Eufame Stewart.

In the redistribution of lands in 1506, Barrone was divided between Gilcrist Makwerich of Achamor, Gilcrist Makwerich (or Macmorich of Beallelon), Archibald Stewart, and Gilcrist Makconochy. Before 1554 the larger portion of these lands had been disposed to Sheriff James Stewart.

Garrach, or The Garachtys, comprising North Garochty (now Plan) and South Garochty, has been tenanted from time immemorial by the family of Makkaw. Three tenants of the name received charters in 1506—Gilnew in North Garochty, and Gilpatrick and John in South Garochty.

Sheriff Sir James Stewart obtained South Garrachty from John M'Caw by disposition dated 28th December 1590. In 1699 Bannatyne of Lubas sold the Sheriff a part of Garrachty and Glencalum.

Arch. M'Caw sold his half of North Garrachty to the Earl in 1737.

Arch. M'Caw sold Glencalum to the Earl in 1707.

From a clare constat executed by the Marquess in 1796, it appears that Daniel, son of James, son of Daniel, son of Gilnew, was then portioner of the west part of South Garrachty, holding in feu-farm off the Marquess for the yearly payment of—

1. 25 shillings Scots at Whitsunday and Martinmas ;
2. 1 boll 3 firlots of oats, and

3. 2 bolls bear between Christmas and Candlemas.
4. One-fifth, one-twentieth, and one-thirtieth part of a lardner mart at each Martinmas in name of feu-duty, deducting three-ninths on account of marts and oats from feu-duty; heirs-male doubling feu-duty on entry.

By a settlement in 1845, James M'Kay (the last of the Mackays), portioner, disposed the lands of South Garrachty to John M'Kechnie, eldest son of the deceased James M'Kechanie, merchant in Rothesay, and Mary M'Kay, and to his heirs; failing whom, to the heirs of James M'Kechanie, on condition that they took the name of M'Kay. On 16th April 1875 the Rev. John M'Kechnie entered into possession, and on his decease in 1877, his widow, Mrs Mackay, succeeded to the property.

In 1828, the Marquess's property extended to 103 acres 2 roods 18 falls.

In 1828, James M'Kay's property extended to 70 acres 2 roods.

On 3d November 1474, James Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, obtained from James III. a grant of an acre of land in Kilchattan, with liberty to erect a mill, for the yearly payment of one mark. The remains of the great steading are still visible. James Stewart was succeeded by Ninian in 1490, Ninian by James in 1538, James by John in 1566.

On 8th April 1618, Ninian Stewart renounced the mill of Kilchattan in favour of Sir John Stewart.

The Crown-lands of Kilchattan (Little and Mickle), which in 1498 were granted to David Lyndesay, were granted in 1506 to the occupier, James Stewart, by whose son they were disposed to Robert of the Kildavanan family. In 1664,

James, son of John Stewart of Ballintraide, was served heir to his cousin Ninian in the lands of Kilchattan and its mansion.

In 1680, Kilchattan (Mickle and Little) were disposed to Charles Stewart of Ballintoy by Robert Stewart of Kilchattan, but in 1698 were disposed by Charles to Sir James Stewart.

Stravanan, in 1506, was held—one-half by John Makwrerdy, the other by Finlay Makallan.

Kerrylamont, in 1491, was given in seisin by Ninian Stewart to Alexander Bannatyne, in whose family it remained till it was bonded by Ninian Bannatyne through the Sheriff, into whose hands it passed from the Duke of Montrose in 1714.

Lubas lands were held first by a family of Lech, from whom they passed in 1506 to the Bannatynes, and from them to the Earl in 1707.

Hector Bannatyne disposed two farms of Lubas to the Earl of Bute in 1723.

The Crown-lands of Langill, formerly held by David Lyndesay, were in 1506 granted in heritage—Langilculcathla to Donald Makwrerdy; the half of Langilculreich to Alexander Glas, and the other half to Finlay Makwrerdy; and the half of Langilwenach to Donald Makalester, and the other half to John Makintailzour.

Allan Makallane obtained part of the lands of Langilwenach, which descended to his heirs.

Robert Stewart of Scarrel sold Langalbunach to Sir Dugald Stewart in 1664; in 1672 it passed into John Boyle's hands, and back to Sir James Stewart in 1683.

Langilquoach was in 1551 held by John Kelso and granted

by him to Alexander Stuart, and at the same time John Frasell was in possession of Layngill.

The 20-shilling land of Langanquochag was disposed to Sheriff Sir John Stewart by John Stewart of Kilwhinleck on 19th September 1595.

Before 1624, Alexander Stewart, the laird of Kelspoke, held Langilmilgay, which he passed on to his family—while the Kilchattan branch of the Stewarts possessed Langilchorad and Langilkechag. Both passed into the Sheriff's hands in 1680 by disposition of Charles Stewart of Ballintoy.

One-half Quochag and tenement in Rothesay, through loans to Stuart of Kildonan, fell into the Earl's hands in 1731.

Kerrytonlia, in 1506, was granted in heritage to Malcolm Makfersoun.

Langalcorad was disposed by Robert Stewart to Charles of Balintoy in 1680, and from him to the Sheriff in 1698.

Alexander M'Pherson parted with his portion of Kerrytonlia in 1762 to the Earl.

In 1698, the Sheriff acquired part of Kerrytonlia from Charles Stuart of Ballintoy.

Ardnahoe was the holding of Angus Glass before 1506, and descended in his family, but was acquired by Stewart, at whose failure in 1660 it passed into the Sheriff's hands.

Birgadill or Brigadill consisted of two parts—Brigadillknok and Brigadillowin. In 1506 the former was apportioned between three proprietors—John Glas, George Kelso, and Donald Makwrerdy. Donald soon parted with his share to Stewart of Kilchattan; John Kelso exchanged his for the lands of Drumachloy belonging to Robert Stewart; and Alexander Glass sold his part to Robert Stewart of Ambrismore in 1547. After other bargainings, Ninian Stewart of

Kilchattan in 1557 got part of Brigadilknok, which then descended to the Stewarts of Ascog, Ninian becoming heir in 1637, while the Stewarts of Ambrismore held to Birgadilcrief. Birgadil-knock was disposed by John Stewart of Ascog to the Earl in 1731.

Galachane, North and South, in 1449 was held by Robert Kynnungburgh and John Douglas. In 1533 Archibald Kunyburte sold the holding to Duncan Makwerarty, and their son Finlay by 1564 sold all or part of his share to Ninian Stewart of Kildavanane.

Dunagoil (Dunguild), originally held by Makconochys and Makcees, ultimately fell into the hands of Ninian Stewart of Kilchattan, to whom, in 1664, James, son of John Stewart of Ballinstraide, was served heir. In 1680 Charles Stewart of Ballintoy acquired Dunagoil from Robert Stewart of Kilchattan, and disposed it to the Sheriff.

Bransar, held in 1506 by Gilcrist Makwrerdy, who sold it to John M'Conquhy in 1551. It came into the Sheriff's hands in 1699.

Bruchog in 1506 was divided between Walter Banachtyne, from whose heirs it passed to Sir James Stewart in 1698, and Gilcrist Makwrerdy. The M'Vurathys clung to their half-portion; but Robert and Finlay M'Vurathy and Elizabeth Beith sold it to the Earl in 1706.

Kerrycroy in 1506 was held by John Stewart, whose descendants—Robert, Archibald, Robert—held on till the seventeenth century. Kerrycroy was resigned to the Sheriff in 1635 by Robert Stewart of Kilchattan and John Stewart of Ascog.

Kerymanach in 1506 was granted in equal portions to Finlay Makwrerdy and Finlay Makilmon, and Kerymanch

to Duncan Makconochy. Duncan sold part of his grant to James Stewart of Kilchattan. The other two families held to their lands.

Kerrymenoch (Stewart) became the property of the Sheriff in 1579, and the 2-merkland there in 1596, although it was not till 1630 that Sir John Stewart was infeft in the latter.

Kerrymenoch, 3-merkland, was sold by Finlay and Robert M'Vurathy to the Earl in 1710.

Ardmoleish and Grenan, along with £10 yearly out of the feu-duties of Bute, were on 11th November 1400 part of the remuneration of John, the Steward of Bute, and were, along with the mill and multures of Grenan and Kilcattan, held by the successive Sheriffs of Bute, being in turn resigned and anew received by each holder of that office.¹

In 1590, Sheriff John Stewart obtained, along with this grant, the patronage of Kingarth.

Sir Dugald Stewart granted his cousin James of Kildonan the mill of Greenan in 1668.

On 31st March 1618, Sir John Stewart disposed of the Barony of Ardmaleish, with Mid-Ascog and Kneslagloan, to his son James.

Scarale or Skarellis, another Crown holding, was in 1500 in the hands of Richard Banachtyne, in whose family it remained till 1696, when it was disposed to Sir James Stewart by Hector Bannatyne.

The Camys or Kames lands, also called Bannachtyne, were held long before the fifteenth century by Bannatynes, there appearing before 1491 Thomlyne of Bannachtyne, in 1495 Niniane of Kames, son of Thomlyne, and Robert, son

¹ Third Report, Hist. MSS. Commission, App., p. 402.

of Ninian. Their whole property consisted in 1475 of Achynhervy (Auchantirie), Ardroscaedale, Cuarfanenbeg, Cuarfanen, Easter Kames, and Kilmachalmaig. In 1491 Ninian had built the mill at Kames. In 1506 Auchantirie had passed into the hands of James Stewart and Archibald Makgillespy, and then from Stewart to Donald Maknele.

The Bannatynes of Kames traced their descent from Gilbert of Bute, who lived in the thirteenth century, and whose son Gilbert was royal bailie of the isle, collecting the dues in the time of Robert I.

John, son of Gilbert, held the Castle of Rothesay in Baliol's interest in 1334, and seems to have died before 1372. Kames Castle was probably built in the fourteenth century.¹

The family, as shown in Chapter IX., came into great prominence in the seventeenth century. Hector, who became laird in 1623, on the death of his father Ninian, was Commissioner from Bute to the Scots Parliament of 1641. He married a daughter of Patrick Stewart of Rosslan, and his son Ninian married Isabella, daughter of the sheriff, Sir James Stewart. Ninian's son Hector married Marion Fairholm and had a son James, who succeeded to the estate, and a daughter Isabella, who married Roderick M'Leod, Writer to the Signet.

Isabella's son, William M'Leod, succeeded to the estate. He became Lord Bannatyne, and died 30th November 1833, at the advanced age of ninety-one. He commenced to build Port-Bannatyne, and enlarged the old keep of Kames. His sister Isabella married Dr Maclea of Rothesay.

In June 1810, Mr James Hamilton, W.S., bought the

¹ For the description of the castle see Chapter IX.

estate.¹ In November 1854, Mr Duncan Hoyle bought the property from the Rev. James Alexander Hamilton, son of James. Mr Hoyle disposed the estate to the Marquess of Bute on the 11th November 1863.

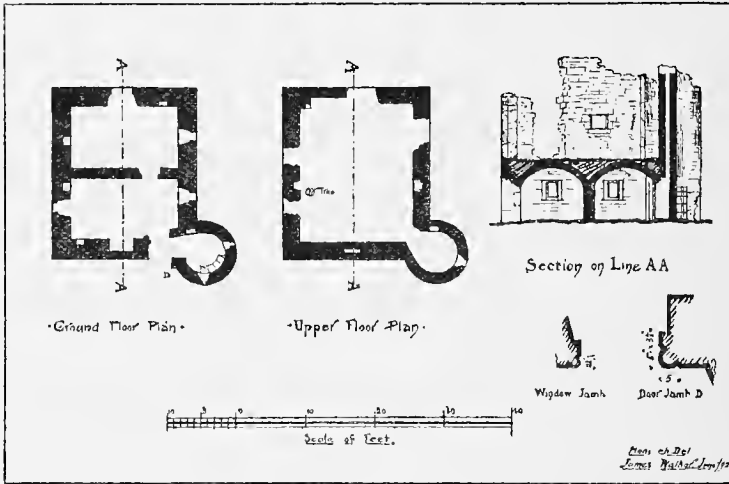
It includes the following lands: Kames, Wester Kames, Edinbeg, Edinmore (excepting burying-ground), Kneslagmorie, Kneslagloan, Acholter, North St Colmac, part of Kilmachalmaig, St Colmac; together with the teinds of Acholter, Edinmore, Easter Kames, including the East, Upper, Middle, and Lower Butts of Oughtas, the Point-house Butt, the Butt of Rullihaddan and the Gartown's Butt, Wester Kames, including the Butt of Tree House, the Butt with the mill of Wester Kames, together with the lands of Edinbeg, the lands of Kneslagmorie, North St Colmac, with the said part of the Muir of Kilmachalmaig, as also the superiority of the Mill of Attrick and mill-lands, multures, and sequels of the same; as also all and whole the lands of Lennomolloch and others within the Burgh of Rothesay.

The lands of Wester Kames were anciently held by the Spens family, who, like the Leches, were servitors of the Royal House; and in 1445 we find the Royal Chamberlain paying 11s. 10d. for 130,000 slates quarried in the slate-quarries of Bute by Robert Spens, and sent to Dumbarton to repair the king's castle there.² In 1506, Donald was laird of Camys and Kerslak (Crioslachmorie?). The family held the lands into the seventeenth century, when in 1670 Margaret Grahame was entered as heiress of her mother Margaret Carnegie in the lands of Kneslag, Edinmoir, Auchiltir, and Wester Kames with its mill.

¹ See vol. i. p. 46; Reid's 'Hist.,' p. 250.

² 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. v. p. 210.

Wester Kames Castle is a modern house, probably not so old as the close of the seventeenth century, in exterior measurement 25 feet long and 21 feet broad, and two storeys in height. A circular tower at the south-west corner, 9 feet 6 inches in diameter, serves for the staircase. The walls are 2 feet 6 inches thick. The lower floor has been divided for two vaulted chambers.



Wester Kames Castle.

What its proper name originally was I cannot determine, although I suggest that before it took the name of Wester Camys (1616) it was known simply as the house of Spens, since we find in 1447 the Constable of Bute was designated Finlay de Spens—Finlay of Spens; and from the thirteenth century downward several of the name Spensa, Dispensa, are mentioned as Government officials.

Kneslagloan and Moss of Lagmorie were sold by the Earl of Radnor (descended of Stewart of Ascog) to the Earl of Bute in 1801.



WESTER KAMIES CASTLE IN 1894

Sir John Stewart, on the resignation of Kneslagloan by Hector Bannatyne of Kames, obtained a Crown charter for it in 1615.

Crioslachvourathy in 1506 was granted to John Stewart, from whom it descended to Sir John Stewart of Kirkcubright, the Sheriff of Bute, in 1658.

Shawlunt before 1496 was the holding of William Bannatyne, in whose family it remained till 16—. It was disposed by John Stewart of Ascog to the Earl in 1731.

The Crown-lands of Dunallunt were divided into four portions. King James IV. granted part of them to David Lyndesay.

In 1506, John Makwerich held half of Nether Dunallirde; Muldony Makgillemeichell, half of Dunallirde Makgillemeichell; Finlay Makcaill, Gildon Makintare, Finlay Makgillemeichell, a third part of Dunallirde; Alexander Banachtyne, the lands of Ovir Dunallirde; Sheriff Ninian Stewart and his wife, Jonet Dunlop, the other half of Nether Dunallirde, the other half of D. Gillemichell, and all the lands of Largilyane; Malcom Makconachy, the lands of Kyngawane.

These properties, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, were held by Gilbert Mactyre, John Bannatyne of Kames, Francis Jamesoun, the Crouner, and the Sheriff.

The 3-merkland of Dunalunt was sold by John Bannatyne to Sheriff Sir John in 1607, was conveyed to Sir James in 1623.

In 1699, Largizean was acquired by the Sheriff from Ninian Stewart.

In 1506, Barmor, part of Barnauld, Kerrycrusach, were holdings belonging to members of the Glas family. Half of Barnauld belonged to Niel Jamesoun, otherwise called Niel M'Come, and descended in the M'Kame family.

Barnauld passed from hands of Robert Kerr to the Earl of Bute in 1705.

Kerrycrusach was bought by the Sheriff from John Stewart in 1601.

Quien, in 1506, was granted to Donald Makeany and Gilnew Makilwedy, the latter of whom seems to have disposed of his portion to the Sheriff about 1529.

In 1506, John Makilkeran held half of Scalpsay, and two-thirds of Ardsalpsay; while Robert Stewart held the other half of Scalpsay, and John Makkay the other portion of Ardsalpsay. In 1503, the south half of Scalpsay was disposed to William Stewart of Ambrismore. In 1699, Stewart of Kerrymenoch disposed of part of Ardsalpsie to Sir James Stewart.

Kildavannan was held blench of the Crown by Gilzequhome Leich, whose son John succeeded in 1429. He seems to have been succeeded by Gilchrist, who also held Scoulogmore and Kerrylamond, and in 1466 granted a Charter of Kildavannan to his son David Leich.¹

Largobrachtan, in 1506, was possessed by William Stewart, who in 1541 exchanged it for Nether Kilmorie and a money payment from Ninian Stewart.

In 1731, John Stewart of Ascog disposed of Largivrechtan to the Earl.

Cogach was granted to Archibald and John Bannatyne, but it soon fell into the hands of Ninian Bannatyne of Kames and Ninian Stewart of Kildavannan, the latter of whom in 1547 also obtained from Robert Makkamy the lands of

¹ 'Reg. Mag. Sig.,' vol. vi., Pref., p. xcvi.

Maknaught (or Manach—*i.e.*, Mecknoch), which he in turn sold to James Stewart in Little Kilchattan.

Stuk, in 1500, was held between John Spens and John Bannatyne. In 1731 it passed from John Stewart of Ascog to the Earl.

Lapennycale was the heritage of the Makneills, Ferquhard holding in 1506, and his grandson Ferquhard in 1555.

Row, disposed by James Lamont to John Stewart of Ascog in 1672, was sold to Sir G. Mackenzie in 1681.

Tawnich was acquired from John Campbell of Auchawillig by James, Earl of Bute, in 1709.

Lenihall and Lenihulline (David Bannatyne's) were acquired by the Earl in 1701 and 1710 respectively.

Clonshamerag, in 1506, was granted to Robert Stewart of Kerrycroy, who gave it to his brother James. In 1731, it was acquired by the Earl from John Stewart of Ascog.

Drumachloy was, in 1506, held three-fourths by Alexander Bannatyne and the other fourth by John Stewart. Robert Stewart of Ambrismore bought John's portion in 1541, and exchanged it with John Kelso for Birgadillowin, so as to extend his property in that district.

Part of Drumachloy and Auchintirrie, belonging to Stewart of Kelspoke, were added to the Sheriff's lands in 1585.

Kilwhinlick, in 1506, was granted to Alexander Stewart; Escachragane to Donald Spens; Auchawolik to David Stewart; to Ferquhard Makneill the half of Glechnabae and Kilmichael; to William Banachtyne the other half of Glechnabae; to John Makgylquhinnych the lands of Cawnach; to Ewin and John Makkymme, the lands of Lepinquhillis; to Donald Makkane the lands of Row; to Morice Maknachtane, Bronoch; to Donald Makewin, Boloquhreg.

Kilwhinleck was united with Kildonan in 1745, and the lands of Kildonan with Plada, Corrigills, Kilwhinleck, Greenan, and Penmachrie were at a judicial sale in 1790 bought by the Earl.

Eschachragane remained in the Spens family until it was acquired by the Ascog family, from whom in 1731 it passed to the Earl.

Glechnabae was joined to Kames in time, and one-half passed from Janet Stuart to Earl James in 1708.

By charter, William, Bishop of Argyle, granted the £5-land of Inchmarnock to Hugh Cumming, his brother-german, also part of it to Donald MacGilchrist on 30th April 1540.

In 1574, James, Bishop of Argyle, confirmed the grant by James, son of Alexander Bannatyne, burges of Edinburgh, in favour of Catherine his wife and their heirs, of Inchmarnock. James Bannatyne disposed it to Sir John Stewart, to be holden of the Bishop in 1592, ratified in 1599, and confirmed in 1630. Sir James Stewart feued it to John Stewart of Ardnahoe, on whose failure in 1660 it reverted to the Sheriff.

The lands of Inchmarnock were of the extent of £5, and in the seventeenth century passed from the hands of John Stewart of Ardnahoe to a family named Carnegie, from whom they passed in 1670 to Margaret Grahame.

Bulochreg was disposed by John Stewart of Ascog to the Earl in 1731.

Mecknock was disposed by William Stuart to the Sheriff in 1688 and 1714.

James M'Neill excambed one-half Ballycurry for Little Kilmory, 1761.

Charles Stewart of Ballintoy and other relatives of Robert

Stewart of Kilchattan disposed Ballianlay to Sir James Stewart in 1698.

A sasine of the lands of Little Barrone, Gartnakelly, Knockanrioch, were granted to Marion Fairlie, widow of Sheriff John Stewart, in 1573.

Parts of Ballycaul were disposed to the Sheriff in 1576, 1577, by John M'Call and Donald M'Ilmichael; and a part from Campbell of Dunoon in 1707.

Ballilone, Auchamore, and Glenchromag were disposed by Gilchrist MacMorish to James, son of John Stuart of Kerrycroy, 16th August 1513, and James sold the two former properties to Sir James Stewart in 1553 and 1554, and the latter in 1560.

Robert Allan disposed of Eschechraggan and Glenbuy to Sir Dugald Stewart in 1669.

The Earl acquired the superiority of Kilbride in 1807.

Butt M'Ilmichael was sold by John M'Ilmichael to the Earl in 1707.

Lands in Rothesay were sold by John Campbell of Dunoon in 1707 to the Earl.

John M'Neil passed Auchintirrie to Stewart of Kilchattan in 1685; John Stewart of Ascog, to the Earl in 1731.

John Stewart of Balshagrie confirmed to Sir James Stewart, 19th March 1658, the following lands: Chappeltown, Over-Ascog, Nether-Ascog, Birgidale Knock, Largivrechtan, Teydow, Balnakelly, Drumachloy, Rossland.

In 1637, Ninian Stewart of Ascog was served heir to John Stewart of Ascog, his father, in the half of the £5-lands of Ballinkaillie and Blackhous, of old called the £5-lands of the Forest in Bute. In 1664, Master James Stewart was served heir in the half of these lands to Ninian Stewart of Kil-

cattan, his cousin. The Forest passed into the Bute estate in 1781.

Kneslag was held by Alex. Stewart in 1552.

Ardroscadale passed from Bannatyne of Kames to Sir James Stewart in 1696.

Half of Bruchag passed from Bannatyne of Lubas to Sir James in 1699, the other half from Finlay and Robert M'Vurathy in 1706.

Kilmachalmaig and Ettrick Mill were bought from Kirkman Finlay in 1834.

Largizean was disposed to Sir James Stewart by Ninian Stewart in 1696; and at the same time Branser, Kennygaven, and Butts.

Kilmichael was bought from — Campbell in 1702.

The lands of Ascog, Over and Nether, are held blench of the Crown; and Bogany, or Murray Park, now conjoined with them, is a burgage holding.¹

Archibald M'Lachlan resigned the £3-lands of Ascog in favour of Lachlan M'Lachlan, and his wife Catherine Tait, in 1553.

In 1568, John Stewart, senior, of Kilchattan, had a gift of the "ward and marriage of Donald M'Lachlan of his lands of Over- and Nether-Ascog."

In 1584, William Glass of Ardenhead (Ardnah?) disposed of his portion of Nether Ascog to John Stewart, and Marion Fairlie his wife, of Largibrachtan, who in 1595 completed their title to the part held by M'Lachlan, and got a charter from James VI.

John, their son, married Geills Kelso in 1605, and succeeded his father in 1613. He held Bogany in 1609.

¹ See pp. 166, 167.

In 1630, John granted a charter in favour of Ninian his son.

In 1671, Margaret Graham obtained a precept from Chancery for infefting her in the property ; a similar precept being granted to John Stewart, advocate, in 1676.

The daughter of John Stewart, advocate (Margaret or Isabel), after the death of her first husband, John M'Arthur of Milton, married Alexander Campbell of Kirnan, and became the grandmother of Thomas Campbell the poet. They had three children, Robert, Archibald, and Alexander. Archibald, after entering the ministry, emigrated to Virginia, and had, at "Kirnan," a family. His grandson, Frederick Campbell, afterwards Stewart, became heir of entail of Archibald M'Arthur Stewart of Ascog, who died in 1815. Frederick died in 1828, and was succeeded by Ferdinand Stewart Campbell Stewart, his brother, who disposed of the estate in 1831 to Robert Thom, cotton-spinner, Rothesay, who died in 1847.

By the will of Archibald M'Arthur Stewart, the poet Campbell obtained a legacy which realised £4408, 15s., while the estate fetched £78,000.¹

The trustees of Robert Thom sold Ascog to Mr Daniel Macbeth in 1876, who, in 1877, sold it to Thomas Russell, Esq., the present proprietor.

The following lands now pay stipend to the ministers of Kingarth and Rothesay :—

The Bute estate.

The lands of Ardbeg, extending to 156 acres, belong to
Mrs Caroline Mary Hetley Pleydell Bouverie Camp-

¹ 'Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell,' vol. i. p. 5. London, 1849.

bell Wyndham, wife of Lieut.-Col. Philip Arthur Pleydell Bouverie Campbell Wyndham,—held burgage.

The lands of Larkhall and Roodgown extend to 30 acres, and are held by the trustees of the late Daniel Macbeth, Esq.,—burbage.

The lands of M'Kirby's Barone extend to 21 acres, and are now held by Archibald Mackirdy, Esq.,—burbage.

The lands of Ashfield extend to 25 acres, and are now held by John Mackirdy, Esq.,—burbage.

The lands of Meadowcap extend to 17 acres, and are now held by Mrs Ker Hall and the trustees of the late Robert Thom, Esq.,—burbage.

The Burgh lands—Westland, Wilson's Fields, Crossbeg, Beith's Field, and East Burgh lands—extend to 442 acres.

In the burgh—Kelso's land, Fergus Fauld, &c., belong to Andrew Wilson, Esq.,—burbage.

Broadcroft belongs to Messrs A. & J. Mackirdy.,—burbage. Buttkie and Gillies Rood are held by J. R. Thomson, Esq., and trustees of A. M. Scott, Esq.,—burbage.

The lands of Ascog belong to Thomas Russell, Esq.

The lands of Garrachty are now held by Mrs M'Kay.

From this rent-roll of 75 holdings it can be seen that as early as 1506 the Stewarts had 13 lairdships, the Bellendens or Bannatynes 11, the Maconochys 6, the Mackirdys 7, the Jamesons 3, the Glasses 3, the Makkaws 3, the Makneills 3, the Spenses 2, in the island. This roll does not include those estates which were *ward-holdings*, such as those of Ascog and Kames—the latter being held, it is said, off Walter the Steward from before 1318. (See p. 137.)

The fourth kind of holding is designated "Burgage-holding," and is that by which Royal Burghs hold those lands enumerated in their charters, from the Crown. The burgh is the vassal, with this distinction, that the whole community, not the individual, must give the service agreed upon. Burgage tenure is thus a ward-holding,—and the magistrates are therefore bailies of the sovereign. The terms on which the burgh of Rothesay received its freedom are treated of in Chapter VI.

None of the ancient *mortifications* or grants of land to churches and hospitals are now preserved, save what is represented by the teinds or tithes, payable out of all lands to the two parish ministers of Kingarth and Rothesay for performing their spiritual functions, and also by the glebelands, which are held without any charter by the ministers.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROYAL BURGH.

“He saw the hardy burghers there
 March armed, on foot, with faces bare,
 For visor they wore none,
 Nor waving plume, nor crest of knight;
 But burnished were their corslets bright, . . .
 Like very silver shone.”

—SCOTT.



THE development of the burghal system out of the simple arrangements made for the conduct of village communities to ensure order, peace, and prosperity forms an interesting study. The Celts were wont to meet in a great assembly called a Dál (*cf.* Dunburgidale), at which all questions relating to money, war, or peace in the district were discussed by the representatives from the number of land-divisions (*tuaths*) forming a *cland* or tribe. Their judgments and rules, designated *bretha*, were pronounced by the *bretheman*, brehon, or judge. (The name of Birgidale in 1440 was *Brethadale*, or the judgment-assembly.)

Over every village was set a Bruighfer, or man of the brugh, who acted as chief magistrate.¹ Round his house—the brugh

¹ O'Curry's 'On the Manners, &c., of the Ancient Irish,' vol. i. pp. clx, ccliv.



THE TOLBOOTH, CROSS, TOWN, AND CASTLE OF ROTHESAY, ABOUT 1680.
From an old engraving in the possession of the Marquess of Bute.

—the village, which was the prototype of a borough town, was built. Similarly in later times the Norman baron's castle, or the abbey or cathedral, became the centre of security round which the citizens gathered to form a community, with privileges granted by their lord, and afterwards confirmed by the king and Parliament. Burghs were combinations for protection, freedom, and commercial enterprise. They formed a valuable balance to the great feudal lords, with their immense retinues of grasping vassals. The ancient burghs, which had existed from time immemorial when the soil was all folc-land, or common, in many instances, in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) obtained written charters detailing their privileges. In districts where the king was compelled to erect a castle to keep his subjects in check, the burgesses of the adjacent burgh—the king's *milites* or soldiers—obtained lands and benefits direct from the Crown. The burgh, like Rothesay, paid its cess direct to the Royal Exchequer. One qualification of a burgh was possession of a “toft” or rood of land within the burgh, for which he paid rent to the king's or to the town's bailie (*ballivus*)—the latter being also sworn to serve the Crown. In the castle the king always had his own officer—Castellanus, or Constable, as in the case of Rothesay. The burgh sent a representative to the Scots Parliament. The advantageous situation of Rothesay, fronted with a sea full of fish, and affording a secure anchorage for craft, watered by streams sufficient to drive the indispensable corn-mill and waulk-mill, surrounded by fertile food-producing soil, and guarded by a powerful fort, made it suitable for a free burgh. King Robert III. in 1401 advanced it to the honour of a Royal Burgh by the following charter :—

TRANSLATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE BURGH OF ROTHESAY.

“Robert, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all the propertied men, cleric and laic, of his whole land, Greeting,—Know ye that we have given, granted, and, on behalf of ourselves and our successors, for ever confirmed to our beloved and faithful men of our town of Rothesay, that they and their successors henceforward be our free burgesses; and that they and their successors for ever may have, hold, and possess henceforward the said town as a free Royal Burgh, from us and our heirs, for ever, by all the just, ancient, allotted bounds of that burgh, with all the privileges, liberties, advantages, assedations, and just pertinents whatsoever belonging, or in any manner whatever in future effeiring justly to belong to a free Royal Burgh, as freely, quietly, fully, wholly, honourably, well, and in peace, in and by all things, as any burgh within our realm, either by us or our predecessors, Kings of Scotland, is more freely conceded or given to any burgesses on account of Service to the King,—the use and wont of a Royal Burgh: inhibiting strictly that no merchant, stranger, or such person whatsoever, buy or sell, make or make use of, anything for sale contrary to the liberties and privileges of our said burgh, within its ancient estates and boundaries, under every penalty which, according to the laws of our kingdom, is bound to follow thereupon. In testimony whereof, we order our seal to be appended to the present charter,—the witnesses being, the venerable fathers in Christ, Walter, Bishop of Saint Andrews, Gilbert, Bishop of Aberdeen, our Chancellor; our most dear first-born, David, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick and Athole; Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and of Meneteth, our brother-german; Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Lord of Galloway; James of Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, and Thomas of Erskine, our dear *cousins* and officers,—at our Castle of Rothesay, the twelfth day of the month of January, in the year of grace one thousand four hundred [*i.e.*, 1401] and in the eleventh year of our reign.”¹

¹ This charter in Latin is printed with many inaccuracies in Reid’s ‘Hist. of Bute,’ App., p. 257.

King James VI. in 1584 confirmed this charter:—

TRANSLATION OF THE CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION AND NOVODAMUS OF THE BURGH OF ROTHESAY, dated Feb. 19, 1584.

“James, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to all good men of the whole earth, and to our clergy and laity, Greeting,—Know ye, whereas we, understanding that our burgh of Rothesay, situated in the island of Bute, was formerly, by our most noble progenitor, Robert, by the grace of God King of the Scots, the third of that name, erected into a free Royal Burgh, and endowed with liberties, privileges, and immunities, like as pertains to any other free burgh within our kingdom, even as the infestment given to the said burgh under the Great Seal of the said King Robert the Third, at the Castle of Rothesay, the twelfth day of the month of Jannary, the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred, in itself more fully bears. And, as according to the tenor and strength of the said infestment of the said burgh, the burgesses and inhabitants in all time past have been in use, and wont to elect and have Provosts and Bailies holding burgh Courts for the administration of justice in the same, creating burgesses, buying and selling wine, wax, wool, bread, fish, flesh, and other kinds of merchandise and victuals, and having trades of any kind, and having a vote by their commissioners appearing in our Parliament, and in those of our predecessors. Rendering the established proportion of the burgh and other duties into the Exchequer, letting, occupying, and using their lands and customs within all the bounds and limits underwritten, with liberty to raise the same off all their lands and limits, and with every privilege of a free burgh. Therefore, considering their respectable character from time immemorial, used and wont, and in consideration of their good faith, and the gratuitous service rendered to us and our predecessors by our said lieges, and the inhabitants of the said island and burgh, who were always, without exception, faithful in voluntarily bringing aid to us. For which causes our free will is, and we hereby notify to them, that they shall have the liberty and power hereby granted of a weekly market, and two free fairs annually, to be held in our foresaid burgh in all time coming, to the great and evident advantage and benefit of all

the inhabitants of the said burgh and islands of Bute, and others resorting there, and in order that the buildings and government of the same may advance and increase. Therefore the said charter of donation and concession made by our said most noble progenitor Robert the Third, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to our and his chosen and faithful men of the said burgh of Rothesay, and their successors, with all the liberties contained in their said charter, to be holden of himself and his successors as a free Royal Burgh for ever, by our order having been seen, read, and inspected, and carefully examined, found whole entire, nothing erased, not cancelled, nor in any part suspected, and fully understood in this form. [Here follows the charter of 1401, verbatim.] WHICH CHARTER, with the donations and concessions contained in the same, in all its points and articles, conditions, clauses, and circumstances whatever, in all things and by every form, and the same in effect as said is, we approve, ratify, and for us and our successors perpetually confirm, and also of new make, constitute, erect, and confirm the burgh of Rothesay a free Royal Burgh, with privilege and liberty of territory, and liberties within all their limits following, of which the foresaid burgesses and their predecessors were possessors—namely, over the land lying between the lands of Ascog and Kerrycrusoch on the east [*‘west’* in the original by mistake], the burn of Barnauld on the south, the lake called Lang-loch, the lands of Chappletown, Ballyloan, Meikle Barone, Eskachragan, Acholter, Cranslagmory, and Easter Kames on the west and north-west respectively, and its sea on the north from the one boundary to the other. And over the sea, beginning from the island of Pladda on the south, verging from thence to the west towards the Kyles, and the straits between Arran and Kintyre, Argyle and Bute, and Loch Ridden to the Clochstane, comprehending all the Kyles of Bute and Loch Stryin on the north, and from the foresaid Clochstane to the foresaid island of Pladda, comprehending the station of Cumbray, the station of Fairly, the station of Holy Island in Arran, otherwise called Isle Malathe. Giving, granting, and committing to the foresaid Provost, Bailies, Council, and community of the said burgh, and their successors, all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of any free royal burghs within our kingdom, and giving them full power and liberty, in all

time coming, to elect, and have annually, within the said burgh, a Provost, Bailies, Councillors, and Officers, holding, having, maintaining, and continuing burgh courts, for regulating and governing the burgh, and for the administration of justice to the inhabitants of the same, and others whose interest it is to be admitted free burgesses; and for service of the same, to possess, have, and sell, within the burgh, wine, wax, leather, hides, wool, bread, fish, flesh, and other kinds of merchandise and victuals used in other burghs within our kingdom, and to sell and buy, as is usual with fishmongers, wool-dealers, tailors, shoemakers, and all other trades; to have a market-cross and justice-seat within the said burgh, a weekly market (keeping and observing the Sabbath-day), with common and public fairs and markets, two of them in the year, the one on the twenty-second day of July, the other on the twenty-third day of October annually, and both the fairs continuing for the space of eight days immediately following the first, for the buying and selling of every kind of goods and merchandise, with every liberty and privilege of a free fair, to receive and raise all kinds of customs, and other duties used and wont in the same, and to receive whatever is usual in other free burghs within the kingdom. And also, with full power to receive and raise off whatever is destined for the foresaid weekly market, as said is. And also, in the said other annual fairs, all customs of goods and corn, and other customs, duties, and profits in use and wont, paying the magistrates, officers, and customers of the said burgh, like any other burgh within our kingdom in times past, with proclamations, statutes, acts, and ordinations, for ruling and governing the foresaid market days, and other fairs, causing to be set forth the meaning of the said customs and other duties used and wont. Moreover, for us and our successors, according to the tenor of our present charter, we give and grant to the magistrates and inhabitants of the said burgh, present and to come, a free port and harbour for ships in the bay and station of the said burgh of Rothesay and Kyles of Bute, the stations of Cumbray, Fairly, and Holy Isle, and all others within the foresaid bounds, with free entrance and exit for ships and boats, for carrying burdens with all kinds of goods and merchandise not prohibited by our laws and acts, with all privileges and liberties of a free port, and recep-

tacle for ships, with power for the support of the foresaid port, to receive and raise off goods, merchandise, ships, and boats, carrying and transporting into the market of the same all kinds of lesser customs and other duties received by whatever magistrates, officers, and customers of any burgh within our kingdom, to this effect, to elect and have the usual customers with coquets, and their clerk of coquets, in the usual form, rendering annually to our Exchequer an account of all and every thing in the said burgh liable to pay dues, and returning the same according to use and wont of the same—viz., of all and each lesser customs and other duties pertaining to a free burgh and port to be applied to the use and advantage of the said burgh and the magistrates of the same. Yct all the greater customs you shall save and reserve for us, and deliver an account of the same annually into our Exchequer. With power to the magistrates, councillors, and community of the said burgh, present and to come, to rent, grant, and feu all the lands within the foresaid bounds and liberties of the same to the inhabitants, burgesses, and others within the said burgh, and to no others, it being for the use and advantage of the said burgh and its inhabitants. And as it appears very expedient and convenient to give and set to them the commons, revenues, and customs of the said burgh, proclaiming the same annually, commonly called 'to roup' and set the revenues and customs, without diminution of the same, to be set or otherwise to be collected by the treasurer of the said burgh, for the advantage and use of the said burgh and its inhabitants, bringing a proportion thereof to be paid annually into our Exchequer, according to this manner of holding. And generally all and every privilege, liberty, and advantage pertaining to a free burgh, free fairs, market days, a port and receptacle for ships, to be used and exercised as freely as any other magistrates or officers holding the same privileges use within our kingdom in times past or to come. *To hold and have* all and whole the said burgh of Rothesay, and the limits and liberties of the same by land and sea, as is above specified, with the liberties, privileges, advantages, immunities, and others specially and generally above mentioned, to the said Provost, bailies, councillors, and community, and their successors, of us and our successors in feu and heritage, as a free Royal Burgh for ever by all the meiths and limits

of the same as it lies in length and breadth, houses, biggings, gardens, orchards, cattle, plains, moors, seas, roads, paths, standing waters, rivulets, meadows, grass, and pastures, mills, multures, and their sequels, together with fowling, hunting, fishing, peataries, turberies, with coals and colliers, mines and miners, smiths, braziers, brewers, also forests, groves, underwood and twigs, wood timber, quarries, stones, and limestone, with courts and their issues, heriots, bloodwits, and mercheat of women, or the profits and escheats of the same. With common pasture and free entrance and exit to it, and with all and each other liberties, accommodations, profits, and assedations, and their just pertinents whatever, as well not named as named, as well under the earth as above the earth, far and near to the limits of the foresaid burgh, with the privileges, offices, and immunities pertaining or justly belonging to the same, to be in force in this manner in future, freely, quietly, fully, wholly, honourably, rightly, and in peace, without any revocation, contradiction, or obstacle whatever. The said Provost, bailies, councillors, and community of the said burgh, and their successors, now and in future, giving from this time annually to us and to our successors the annual duty of the burgh, amounting to six pouds, at the usual terms, with the service of the burgh used and wont in the usual manner. In testimony whereof, this our present Charter of Confirmation, to which we order our Great Seal to be set before these witnesses :—Our dear cousin and councillor, James, Earl of Arran, Lord of Evandale, and Hamilton, our Chancellor ; the most reverend and venerable fathers in Christ, Patrick, Archbishop of Saint Andrews ; Walter, Commendator of our Priory of Blantyre, Keeper of our Privy Seal ; our dear friends and councillors Lord John Maitland, of Thirlstane, our Secretary ; Alexander Hay, of Easter Kennet, our Registrar of the Rolls and Council Clerk ; Loudovic Bellendin, of Auchnoule, knight, our Justice Clerk ; and Robert Scott, our Director of Exchequer. At Holyrood House, the nineteenth day of the month of February, the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty-four, and of our reign the eighteenth.¹

¹ I have given Mr Reid's translation of the charter of *Novodamus*, as its sections make it clear to the general reader—'Hist.,' App., p. 262.

The following illustrations of the original coat-of-arms of Rothesay are photographed from impressions out of the matrix designed by Mr John Mackinlay to correspond to the impressions of the old seal.



Old Seal of Rothesay Burgh (obverse).

At present Rothesay has not matriculated any armorial bearings, but the burgh uses party per pale, the dexter side argent; a castle triple-towered between in chief, on the dexter a crescent, and on the sinister a mullet, and in base a lymphad, sail furl'd, the sinister side being the Stewart or, a fesse checky azure and argent. The seal represents the foregoing arms, with the legend—

“LIBERTAS • DATUR • VILLÆ • DE • ROTHISEA
PER • ROBERTUM • STUART • REGEM • SCOTTORM.”

This latter legend is incorrect, as may be seen from the accompanying illustrations, which read—

“VILLA DE ROTHISSA LIBERIUS DATUR
PER ROBERTUM STUART REGEM SCOTORUM.”

The translation is, “Town of Rothesay, it is given more freely by Robert Stuart, King of Scots”—the reference being to these words in the original charter, “liberius conceditur, seu datur.”



Old Seal of Rothesay Burgh (reverse).

According to the Town Council Records, in 1823 Mr John Mackinlay presented a new reverse for the ancient seal, which had been lost about a century before. The seal was afterwards found in a field near Loch Fad, and lost again.¹

In a deed dated 1490, the Cross of Rothesay, called M'Gib-

¹ Town Council Records ; Reid's 'Hist.,' p. 121.

bon's Cross, was stated to be in the middle of the street,—"Crucem medie vie, vulgariter nuncupata Crux M'Gibbon." In an old engraving, the cross appears before 1681 as a Latin one, standing on a square pedestal approached by seven steps.¹ It was removed in 1768 by the Town Council.

"Near the town-house stood till lately the market-cross, a small octagonal mound, surrounded on all sides by a stair, and ending in a single stone on top, wherein a stone pillar, six feet and a half high, was inserted, having on the transverse a figure of the crucifixion. On each side, instead of the two thieves who suffered on the momentous occasion along with the Saviour of the world, were placed, in two shields, the arms of the burgh of Rothesay. In one a castle proper, in the dexter chief a crescent, and in the sinister a mullet, both tenny; middle base, a sloop sable, with its sails furled up and colours flying, as if before the wind; and in the other, or, the fess checky, azure and argent; these are impaled together on the Corporation seal, with the following inscription around: 'Libertas datur villæ de Rothesay per Robertum Stewart, Regem Scottorum.'"²

The Registers and Records of the burgh only go back to the seventeenth century, the previous records having either been removed by Cromwell's soldiery or destroyed in unsettled times. Vol. i. of the Council Minute-book begins at 1st February 1654 and ends at 9th October 1673—the Record of the Burgh Court extending over the same period; vol. ii. begins at 9th October 1673 and extends to 25th November 1721. Vol. i. of the Old Maill-book begins in 1642; vol. ii., in 1659;

¹ From the absence, in the engraving, of the town-house of the Sheriff, built in 1681, I assume this date.

² Blain, p. 306. In its place a pillar was to be erected at the southmost corner of the Tolbooth, but this was never done. Probably the bridge in Montague Street, built at this time, swallowed up the displaced stones and cross.

vol. iii. has no date; vol. iv., in 1689. The Sheriff Court Records date from 1661.

Some of the laws sanctioned by Parliament and obtaining in the early burghs are very strange and amusing.¹

Every burghess, for each rood of burgage land, shall pay the king 5d. yearly.

Every new burghess had to swear fealty to the king, his bailies, and the burgh community.

All imported merchandise, save salt and herrings, shall not be sold from ships.

A thrall living in a burgh a twelvemonth and a day unchallenged shall remain free.

The king's burghess, no other, might have an oven on his own land.

The king's bailie shall neither be a tavern-keeper nor a baker (thirteenth century).

A burghess may sell his land in the burgh.

A jury of twelve shall ordain when an old man cannot pass to fight.

Every spoused man to answer for his spoused wife.

The burghess will sue a man in the castle at the castle gates.

Brewster-women to brew all the year through, after the custom of the burgh.

Fleshers to sell good meat, at the sight of good men, showing it in the window.

Each burgh to have a wakstaff by day, a watchman by night.

No bondsman can be captured during a fair.

¹ 'Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland,' Preface, *var. loc.* Edin., 1868.

Bread, ale, and flesh to be assised.

No one without burgh shall have a brew-house unless he there have pit and gallows, and there one brew-house only (thirteenth century).

No shoemakers to buy skins on which ears and horns are not of equal length.

None to cut fish for sale before the third hour in winter and before the first hour in summer.

Cattle to be slaughtered from Martinmas to Yule.

The following passages are culled from the 'Records of Rothesay Burgh':—

"1660. *June 27.*—Enacted, that the ale be sold for twenty pennies, and the beer for two shillings and four pennies the pint, except at Saint Brux-day Fair, until the prices should be altered, and that the magistrates in rotation, with some of the Council, to be chosen by them, go about every Saturday as consters to taste the drink and set the price thereof according to its worth.

"*November 16.*—Appointed Thursday to be the weekly market-day, and that none go into the country to buy up goods beforehand under the pains specified.

"*November 26.*—Two merks Scots was the allowance per day given at this time by the Council to their representative in Parliament. They continued to pay their member for most part until the Union.

"1665. *June 30.*—The whole inhabitants obliged to contribute towards repairing the harbour.

"*October 17.*—All persons admitted burgesses to contribute a certain proportion towards paving the public streets.

"1669. *July 22.*—The Laird of Loup having been prisoner in the Tolbooth of Rothesay, a great body of armed Highlanders arrived privately in the night-time, attacked the magistrates, broke open the prison, and rescued the prisoner. The magistrates having, by proclamation, summoned the inhabitants to their assistance, and for the defence of the prison, an Act was made, of this date, for

punishing some who wilfully absented themselves, and for banishing the jailor, who appears to have been particularly faulty.

“1670. *May 12.*—In consideration of the prejudice sustained by many in the burgh, through the retailing of wine, sack, and brandy, and as the brewers and excise were much hurt thereby, enacted that there should not be any wine, sack, or brandy imported into the town during one year from that time, except so much as importers were able to depon they had previously bargained for; with certification that such liquors should be brought to the Cross, and the heads of the hogsheads or other vessels broken up, and the liquor distributed gratis; besides which, the importers or retailers were to be otherwise punished at the discretion of the magistrates.

“1678. *March 14.*—Enacted, for the promoting agriculture and improvement of land, that every person in the royalty occupying land sow half a fourth part of peas in proportion to every boll sowing of oats or bear he has, under the penalty of forty shillings.

“Enacted also, that it shall not be lawful for any person to keep bee-skapes within the town, except those who are worth a yearly free rent of £10 besides his dwelling-house and yard, or such as pay £10 of rent to another within the same. Such as are not authorised to keep skapes, ordained to remove them betwixt and May following, under penalty of six pounds Scots, *toties quoties*, and the loss of the skape; which was appointed to be uplifted by the procurator-fiscal and employed for the town’s use. The clerk and doctor are exempted, and licensed to keep one skape each, although they should not happen to be heritors or renters of land.

“Enacted also, that the public drummer have for his trouble four shillings Scots out of each house in the town.

“*September 20.*—A general rendezvous of all the men in the burgh between sixty and sixteen, under arms, to be made, so as a levy of soldiers might be drawn from them for the King’s service.

“*October 28.*—That, for the present expedition, the town be divided into nine parts, and every part to furnish its proportional quota of men, as they shall be answerable.

“*November 1.*—The magistrates and Council impose a month’s cess to be uplifted from the inhabitants for defraying a part of the Laird of Kames’s expense in going on town and country’s desire to

Inverary to solicit the Earl of Argyle for permission to dispense with the militia company of Bute going to Mull, and also in compensation to Kames for the expenses of other journeys made by him in the public service.

“1679. *May 10.*—Order intimated from the Earl of Argyle to the Laird of Kames, requiring and commanding him to have the militia company of Bute in readiness, with sufficient cloaths, forty days’ loane, fixed arms, and a pair of spare shoes besides the shoes on their feet, and to march with them to Achalader against the twentieth of that month, on his Majesty’s service, against the Popish rebels and outlaws in the Highlands, the town thereupon set about raising its quota of men.

“1683. *October 2.*—A rendezvous of the militia company of Bute having been appointed, the Town Council ordered arms to be delivered to their quota of men. The arms consisted of a gun, bandalier, and pike.

“1685. *April 25.*—A letter having been received from the Lord-Chancellor, ordering six score of men to be sent from Bute to join Lieutenant-General Drummond at Maybole, the town immediately raises its proportion.

“1687. *October 4.*—Letter from the Duke of Hamilton, by warrant of the Privy Council, produced, prohibiting and discharging this burgh, as they would answer at their peril, from electing any new magistrate or Council this year, and the then magistrates and Council are, by the King’s authority, signified through him, appointed to continue until His Majesty should signify his further pleasure.

“1688. *October 12.*—Order of Council for dressing and fixing the militia arms belonging to the town, that the people might be in readiness to march on His Majesty’s service.

“*November 14.*—Sir James Stewart, empowered by the Privy Council to convene and keep together in arms for His Majesty’s service, and defence of the shire of Bute, the militia force, and to name officers, and to do every thing else that might best conduce to His Majesty’s service and the peace of the shire. On this the magistrates and Council imposed a month’s cess on the burgh towards defraying their quota of expenses, and made choice of four of their number to meet and act with Sir James, and with power to

lay on further necessary burdens and impositions as to them might seem requisite for the service, and to model, outreck, raise, and keep in arms as many of the inhabitants as Sir James and they might think fit.

“1689. *March 17.*—The election of member for the burgh was by poll, being the only election of that kind which appears on the record here. By the minutes, it appears the burgesses compearing were one hundred and fifty-two in number. Mr Robert Stewart, advocate, uncle to Sir James Stuart of Bute, was chosen, the whole having voted for him except three.

“1692. *January 13.*—A new valuation roll appointed to be drawn up with respect to all the houses and lands.

“*March 3.*—The faculty roll, being that which ascertained the tax upon trade, also to be rectified.

“*May 20.*—A levy of seamen made by the burgh for the King’s service.

“*July 30.*—A poll-tax laid upon the inhabitants for building the third part of the parish kirk, there not being any share of it laid upon the land.

“1707. *October 3.*—Another ineffectual attempt made by the town, in conjunction with the heritors of the land, to establish a market here every Friday.

“1761. *January 9.*—Seats in new loft of the kirk of Rothesay to be set or sold to the highest bidder.

“1768. *August 27.*—Market Cross to be removed from opposite Tolbooth. [The Tolbooth itself was removed in 1834.]

“*August 30.*—The streets in Rothesay having no names, the following are given: Castle Street, High Street, Watergate, Princes Street, Montague Street, Gallowgate, Cowgate, New Vennel, Laed-side, Store Lane, and Old Vennel.

1769. *January 6.*—Bridge over Water of Rothesay built at a cost of £41, 6s. 3d.

“1772, 1773.—Extensive improvements made on the quay, bridges, and roads.

“1791. *November 3.*—Memorial sent to the Postmaster-General anent the carriage of the mails, narrating that the two men who had hitherto been paid £11, 6s. each annually for carrying mails in a

boat from Greenock to Rothesay three times a week had given up the employment, and suggesting an advanced rate of payment.

“1795. *May* 27.—It was minuted that the magistrates had been unable to find *two* men willing to serve in the navy, although they had offered a bounty of £25 each, the above being the number required to be raised in Rothesay by Act of Parliament.

“1798. *June* 14.—New school to be built, to cost £346, 10s. Marquis of Bute gave £50 and a free site. Old schoolhouse was sold on 6th July to Archibald M'Allister for £67.

“*July* 13.—Chapel of Ease erected, cost £1400.

“*April* 12.—Sunday schools to be established.”¹

The Corporation of Rothesay at no time received from the Crown of Scotland grants of lands, as some have supposed,—lands not being referred to in the charter of Erection. By the charter of Novodamus the burgh has become infeft in those lands which now form the Common Good. Bute was especially a regal property, and was early, and is, attached to the Stewartry or Principality, from which it was never alienated. The wild uplands, and outfield,—which, as a Common, and the last part of the old tribe-land, all the inhabitants had right to graze cattle upon,—together with those nearer pendicles for which the tenants received no charter in 1506, were simply looked upon as subjects for maill, and being assessed assumed the likeness of corporation property. The arrangement by which as early as 1658 the king's bailies were permitted to discriminate, as the table shows, the King's from the Common lands, is not extant.

The following is a list of the proprietors in the burgh, the extent of their lands, and the amount of assessment paid by

¹ Reid's 'Hist.,' pp. 109-118.

them in 1689, extracted from the Maill-book of the burgh for that year:¹—

	KING'S.		COMMON.		ASSESSMENT.		
	A.	R.	A.	R.	£	s.	d.
<i>Imprimis, THE SHIREFF OF BUTE,</i>							
<i>His King's Land.</i>							
Item, his kilne and yarde	two	roodes	2	...	...	...	...
Item, his two crofts called the Shereff's Crofts, some- tyme pertenning to George M'Neall	two	aikers	2	...	...	...	...
Item, Todd's house and Rood							
	<i>lib. s. d.</i>						
<i>Summa</i> King's Land payes	oo	2 09	...	...	2	9	
<i>His Comon Land.</i>							
Item, litle Barone	seven	aiker	...	7	...	...	...
Item, the Land called Lappie's fald, three aiker, ane rood, and ane quarter of a rood . . . . .	...	...	...	3 1¼	...	...	...
Item, the Breckoch besyde the Lappie's fald, two aiker	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Item, the Comon Land quhilck pertened to Rory Gavin (rough Rory)	two	aikers	...	2	...	...	...
Item, the Meadow wnder Barone pertenning of old to M'Inew	five	roods	...	5	...	...	...
Item, the half meadow quhilck pertened to M'Caw and M'Kesog at the Lochend	six	rood	...	6	...	...	...
Item, the meadow under Barone called Rorie's meadow	eight	rood (five rood)	...	8	...	...	...
Item, the Comone Land of Gartnakelly (the loning excepted)	thretty-six	aiker	...	36	...	...	...
Item, the Comon Land of Knockenreoch	fourteen	aiker	...	14	...	...	...
Item, the Lands Besyde Knockenreoch called Bal- lachgoy	two	aiker	...	2	...	...	...
Item, Todd's two falds	two	aikers	...	2	...	...	...
Item, the Shireff's part of Lochend	two	aikers	...	2	...	...	...
Item, a fald in Grenoch called Allester raye's fald three aiker	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
Item, the lands now pertaining to the Shereff former- ly pertenning to Allester Glass	six	roods	...	6	...	...	...
Item, the fald called Cumres fald besyde faldrioch	two	aiker	...	2	...	...	...
Item, Achenluib	two	aiker	...	2	...	...	...
Item, M'Kirdy Mills waired nuik	ane	aiker	...	1	...	...	...
Item, the Meidow att Lochend quhilck peretened to Archibald Stewart Three Roods, third part rood	...	...	...	3⅓	...	...	...
Item, for James M'Kirdyes house and land in Breckoch	Ane	aiker, thrie rood	...	1 3	...	...	...
<i>Summa</i> his Common Land	8	18 06	...	...	8	18 6	
	2 2		87	0 7/12	9	1 3	
Carry forward	2 2		87	0 7/12	9	1 3	

¹ The Maill-book begins in 1642, but the first part is much destroyed : vol. ii. includes the year 1659; vol. iii., no date; vol. iv., 1689.

	KING'S.		COMMON.		ASSESS- MENT.		
	A.	R.	A.	R.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	2	2	87	0 $\frac{7}{12}$	9	1	3
The Captain of Dunoon, King's lands in Ardbeg and Bank	52		...		3		
Mr Patrick Stewart of Rosslan (Croft Loddan, Colunshill, fald pullester, the comon of Ardnahow, Glendinom, Gowfald King's lands	2	2	...			2	6
Common . . . . .	...		20	1	2	2	6
Mr Robert Stewart of Skarrell, Croft Spagoch, Bal-skyt, Croft Kechan, Croft Berry, Gallowsfald	6	1	...			6	3
Common . . . . .	...		4	3	9		6
Mr John Stewart of Ascog, Bogany, Grenoch, Red Robertson's land King's	2		...			1	6
Common . . . . .	...		69	1	6	4	9
Robert Stewart of Lochly, fald tarsin King's	3		...				9
Common . . . . .	...		31		3	3	6
The Baron of Grenoch (Laird of Kames) Common	...		18	3	1	17	6
Baillie Ninian Stewart King's	1	2	...			1	10
John Ker, Niniane son, Croftcross . . . . .	...		4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5		
John Geally, Cordiner King's	1		...		1		
house . . . . .	...		...				6
Patrick M'Conachy King's	1		...		1		
Common . . . . .	...		2		9		
Patrick Ker, Buttnapeni King's	2		...		2		
Common	4		...		8		
William Auld King's	2		...				6
Robert Wallace, Ballachinduan King's	1	2	...		1		6
Common . . . . .	...		1	2	3		
William Frazer, Weiver Common	...		1		1		6
Alexander Wood, Rossyde's fald King's	5	3	...			7	8
William Hunter, Meadowcap Common	...		3	1	6		8
Heirs of Robert Huggin, Lagmony Common	...		3				9
John M'Nuy, Lenigarone, fald feiras, Buttcorse, "in Clan Neill a rood," fald Croggan Common	...		5		1	1	3
John M'Neill King's	1	2	...		1		6
Common . . . . .	...		3	2	7		
John Moore, Buttngaive King's	2	3	...			2	9
Common . . . . .	...		5	1	10		6
Patrick Moore houses, King's	2		...		7		6
Common . . . . .	...		2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3		9
Finlay M'Ilmun King's	2		...				6
David Stewart Common	...		1 $\frac{1}{3}$		7		6
Colin Stewart King's	1		...		1		
Robert Stewart, Mecknock, (?)	3		...				9
Neall Bannatyne King's	1	1	...		1		3
Common . . . . .	...		...		3		4
Donald Fraser King's	1		...		1		
James Niven, Tayler King's	2		...				6
Baillie Adam Stewart King's	2		...		1		6
Alexander Wilson King's	2	3	...		5		1
Common . . . . .	...		1				2
Carry forward	96	1	261	3 $\frac{6}{12}$	32	16	9

	KING'S.		COMMON.		ASSESS- MENT.		
	A.	R.	A.	R.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	96	1	261	3 $\frac{5}{12}$	32	16	9
John Kelburne, The Standand tree, Croftgounne, Broad Chappell, The golden rood, Broadcroft, Buttnakuill, Rorie's fald, "land beside Clann Pat- rick in Breckoch" King's	4	1	...	...	4	3	
Common	...	...	4	...	8	10	
Niniane Kelburne, Croft Kairdoch King's	3	...	...	...	3	...	
Common	...	...	2	2	10	10	
Aires of John Stewart, Balskyte King's	1	...	...	...	...	3	
Archibald Gray King's	2	...	...	...	2	...	
Aires of John M'Koman King's	2	...	...	...	2	...	
William M'Ilherran's aires King's	4	...	...	...	4	...	
Common	...	...	2	...	6	...	
John Allan King's	1	...	...	...	2	...	
Common	...	...	2	2	3	10	
John M'Kinlay, Cladoch, Ralivoyle King's	1	2	...	...	1	6	
Common	...	...	6 $\frac{1}{3}$	...	12	8	
John M'Tyre King's	2	...	...	...	1	6	
Robert Beith King's	3	...	...	...	9	...	
Common	...	...	1	...	2	...	
Duncan M'Nicol King's	3	...	...	...	9	...	
Aires of Patrick M'Nicol, Brydeshill, Croft Kerdoch King's	1	3	...	...	1	9	
Common	...	...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	9	
Donall M'Cathean King's	...	...	...	...	5	...	
Total	118	3	283	2 $\frac{9}{12}$	36	6	10
King's	118	3	...	...	6	9	9
Common	...	...	283	2 $\frac{9}{12}$	29	17	1
Total of Money . . . . .	...	...	...	...	36	6	10

From the table it appears, however, that the Common lands in 1689 were less extensive than they are to-day, proving how expert the bailies have been in swallowing up the unclaimed lands and loanings in the burgh. In this procedure the Sheriff caught them sharply, as the following minute of Council shows:—

"10 August 1771.— . . . The Magistrates and Council find that these two faulds [Fauldreoch and Loaning fauld] are the undoubted property of the family of Bute, and that the doubts which

have been started with respect to the Earl's property in them have not had any foundation."

The Council were in the habit of selling pieces of their ground, as it suited the requirements of their finance. On 26th August 1762, several patches and loanings, amounting to 48 acres, were put up to public roup at the upset price of 19s. 10d. per acre, during the running of a half-hour sand-glass, and the only bidder was John Blain, for the Marquess, at the price of £44, 12s. 6d. sterling.

Other feus were disposed of to the burgesses during the running of an "eight-minute" sand-glass, and if the feu-duty was not paid nor buildings erected on the stances within a reasonable time, the ground was resumed by the Council. The king's bailies were not such simpletons as to permit the burgh to be robbed or impoverished by any aggrandising neighbour, as some have imagined. Thus the supposed spiriting away of the fat burghal possessions is a local fiction which dissolves on the production of the Registers of Sasines and Retours still extant.

In the Maill-book of 1642 we find "Robert Jamieson, Crouner off Bute, his landis and heretage," but the extent and assessment are obliterated. In the Maill-book previous to 1689 is recorded:—

"Item, The Minister's Gleib.

Item, the croft of land with the yard following called Bishop's land, one aiker.

Item, the house and yarde upon the toune, two roods.

Item, Buttinlyne, with the yarde at the back of John Moore's barne, two roods and half rood."

The manse was at Townhead or Kirktoon. In 1596 the manse is described as being situated thus: "having the

common gate of the church on the east side, the kirkyeard on the south, the lands of Creagans pertaining to Donald Ballentyne on the west, and James Campbell land on the north parts." In 1660, the manse was erected in the High Street, where part of it still remains.

The glebe was made up of the "Parson's Gleib, Bishop's Yeard, Bishop's Croft, Bishop's Rood, Lady Rood, Mickel Lady Rood."

The Burgh Magistrates, by a charter in 1578, gave part of the common lands in Little Barone to Sheriff John, and on 10th August 1771, in an Act of Council, the Earl was declared to be the proprietor of Fauldrioch and Loaning Fauld on the east side of Drumachony, and the Fauld at the back of John M'Nab's house.

The Bush (including Broomlands, Ardacho, Fauldcruin) passed from John Muir to the Earl in 1692, and back again to Muir, from whom it came to Robert Wallace in 1702, and back to the Earl in 1763.

The West Calfward was sold to the Sheriff by the magistrates on 23d October 1691; the East, on 5th June 1712.

Townhead passed from John MacNuir to the Sheriff in 1693.

Lochly was disposed in 1730 by James Stewart to the Earl.

John Stewart, advocate, held Grenach, which he disposed to the Earl in 1780.

The Bishop's house, an extensive edifice (with office-houses), removed in 1785 when Bishop Street was made, was the private residence of Patrick Stewart of Rosland, minister of Rothesay. Over the outer gateway, says Blain, were two stones, one of which bore the inscription: "Pax

intransibus, Salus exeuntibus" — Peace to those entering, safety to those departing. Blain concluded that this was the ancient episcopal palace.

John Glas of Bogany became proprietor, and placed his own and his wife's initials, with the date 1662, upon one of the windows. It became the property of Archibald Graham, afterwards Bishop of Sodor.

The Bishop's house, orchard, and park, called Stirling's braes, with a malt-kiln, and one-third of Relivoyle, which belonged to Bishop Graham, passed to his daughters, Elizabeth, who married Walter Grahame of Kilmardinny, and to Helen. John, heir of Walter, disposed the property to the Earl, and it was feued to Charles Gordon, who built two houses on the front, which were bought by Bailie Duncan Bruce. It was used as the parish school till 1780.

Bogany was disposed by James M'Neill, successor to Alexander Glas in 1762, to the Earl in 1780.

By a decret of apprizing, Sir James Stewart obtained from John, eldest son of John Stewart of Balshagrie, 79 borough lands called Rosland in 1657, and the Earl got sasine of them in 1780.

The mill of Rothesay was one of the most important Crown holdings within the burgh, being evidently an appanage of the castle, and under the control of the representative of the Steward of Scotland. It stood on the Lade, in John Street. It was called "the King's Mill." To it all the lands in Bute were "thirled," or attached for obtaining their milling. Before 1480 the Sheriff of Bute held it, and by an action raised by the king's comptroller against the Bute farmers in 1511, the question was settled that they had to pay multures to the miller, which were a royal

perquisite — although the charter of 1506 freed them of multures. In 1522, the Lords of Session decreed against the burgesses and farmers of the king's land for the one-and-twentieth peck as abstracted multures. In 1527, James V. granted to Patrick Colquhone and Elizabeth Colville, his wife, the mill, mill-lands, and astricted multure for a yearly payment of 13 marks; and they in turn, in 1535, gave their privilege to Colin Campbell and Matilda Montgomery at the same terms. The latter obtained a Crown charter.

In 1549, James Stewart, Sheriff and chamberlain, had a lease of the mill, which, however, in 1552 was confirmed to Colin Campbell, who gave it to his son Donald in 1563. In 1565, Archibald Stewart was tenant, paying of yearly rent £10, 12s. 4d. Scots. In 1587, Sheriff John resigned the mill and had a new grant of it from James VI. By an arrangement in 1616 with the laird of Kames, the farmers in North Bute were permitted to mill at Atrick on paying the legal multures to Rothesay. The Sheriff's multures in 1658 amounted to 24 bolls of oatmeal, with 3s. 4d. in augmentation.

An excellent account of the later history of the burgh of Rothesay and of the Isle of Bute will be found in Reid's 'History of the County of Bute,' pp. 118-175. It contains a list of the members of Parliament, sheriffs, provosts, and magistrates down to 1862.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROMAN CHURCH.

“The reverend pile lay wild and waste,
 Profaned, dishonour'd, and defaced.

.
 The Civil fury of the time
 Made sport of sacrilegious crime ;
 For dark Fanaticism rent
 Altar, and screen, and ornament.”

—*Rokeby.*

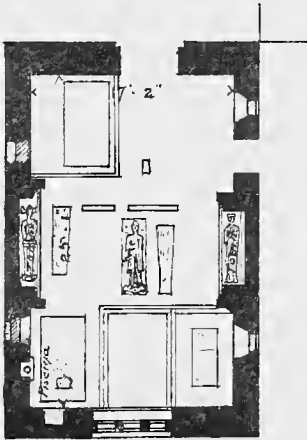


THE growth of the Church of Scotland, under the Roman form, was due to the inherent strength of a well-graduated organisation, which moved onward with the unflinching decision of a well-trained host called upon to meet the incoherent forces of a weaker body interrupting its progress. Beautiful in theory, the Celtic system of missionary enterprise and monastic government was in practice quite inadequate to move and control the energies necessary to subjugate to the faith tribes and petty nations which were ever throwing themselves at each others' throats. The soldiers of the cross required capable officers and suitable marching orders to enable them to cope with the difficulties in their campaign. And these indispensable requirements were provided by the priesthood

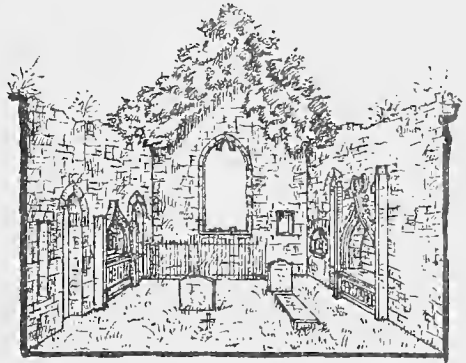
· ST. MARY'S CHAPEL · BUTE ·



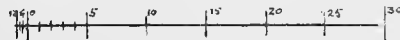
Sketch View from North East



· Plan ·



Sketch of Interior



· Scale for Plan ·

Measured & Drawn by
James Walker

directed from Rome, who were united so closely that they were irresistible, by reason of the accumulated powers of christianised Europe behind them. The efforts of this Church were substantially and unmistakably supported by the chivalrous soldiery, who in medieval times looked upon the Church and its domains as a sanctuary, and respected the offices of the priesthood. The same military exactitude which ruled in the affairs of the feudal chiefs was either the cause of or the consequent of the precise methods of spiritual government carried out by the Church. The alliance between Church and State was of the closest character. There was a seemingly fitness in the existence of huge monasteries filled with unwarlike devotees of religion, and of beautiful churches ever resounding with worship, side by side with frowning fortresses bristling with armed men ready for the fray. No one need dispute the fact that the Roman Church rose to the full height of her responsibility at the epoch when the restless nations of Europe were overflowing their natural boundaries, and intellectuality was being stimulated by the fresh accessions of knowledge in every department of inquiry. The Church was far before the age.

The spirit and usages of Rome had from the eighth century spread throughout Scotland, gradually extinguishing the characteristic features of the Celtic Church, and leaving very few practices in the latter to which exception might be had. The Pope was in reality Father of the Church now, and even into his own hands the kings of Scotland, as pilgrims, placed their offerings and alms.

The Saxon Princess Margaret, an exile at first, then queen of Malcolm Canmore, a most devoted ascetic and strict adherent to the faith, was the instrument by which the

transformation of the Celtic Church was completed, and customs and rites at variance with the authorised canons were abandoned. She gave church-building in stone a fresh impetus in Scotland. Her lovely life and holy works, ended in 1093, obtained for the zealous queen canonisation. A few of the more secluded Celts, with the pertinacity characteristic of their race, adhered still to the "old way." But they could not stem the tide of Anglo-Norman forces at work colonising and modernising the people, which were at full flood in the reign of King David I., 1124-1153. The Celtic Church was no longer the missionary power it was, and its clergy, finding that their variance with the Church of Rome was only in matters of ritual, not of faith, were soon extinguished by their more aggressive brethren. With the zeal of his mother, Queen Margaret, David gave the Celtic system the *coup-de-grâce*. He was no superficial innovator. He completely feudalised the Church, and practically made the Pope its superior, and the various orders of the clergy his vassals, holding rank and lands for proper service. Where the Norman noble reared his moated hold and gathered his mailed tenantry into a village, there the abbots or bishops erected a well-girded abbey or neat parish church, whose ecclesiastical officers were as easily summoned to their spiritual posts by the church bells as were the armed vassals to their muster at the blast of the horn. It was the fashion to build, endow, enrich, and beautify the houses of prayer. An old chronicler says that David covered the land with churches, as thick as lichens. It swarmed with the motley Orders of monks and priests, as lively as the characters in Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales.' The people, too, shared in their joys. Besides, David was a thorough poli-

tician, and rested the property and privileges of his people on a sure legal basis. He codified the fugitive laws of the ancients. He subdivided the land into dioceses and parishes. Thus religion and law welded the nation under the Crown. Where the heather and the rush grew David made the apple-tree and the flowers to blossom. Andro of Wyntoun was not romancing when he wrote of this king:—

“ He wes the beld¹ off all hys kyn.

He illumynd in his dayis

His landys with kyrkys and wyth abbayis.”

His piety and liberality stimulated the first three Stewards to build and enrich Paisley Monastery, which was one of the richest in Scotland; and one cannot doubt that it was his immediate influence which led to the erection of the beautiful church of St Blaas, wherein prayers were long said on behalf of his memory.

There may be more than a coincidence in the facts that the Benedictine monastery which Celestinus, Abbot of St Columba, of the island of Hy, erected in Iona, and the disposing of St Blaas's Church to Paisley, took place in the same year, 1204. A very small clue is wanted to give a reasonable explanation of the rebuilding of St Blaas's and its affiliation to St Mirrin's at this very date. I imagine I found that clue as I stood with admiration examining the regular masonry of the Abbey Church of Iona, built by Prior Donald O'Brolchan in 1202 at the charge of Reginald, Lord of the Isles, who at this time was Superior of Bute,

¹ Beld = model.

at least in opposition to the Steward.¹ Reginald, following the example of King David, became a patron of the Church, and undertook the rebuilding of Iona, and the settlement of Benedictine monks there. He also erected the monastery of Saddle for the Cistercian Order. But by this time the church-lands of Iona were in possession of the Abbot of Derry, who was the Coarb; or, according to another authority, wholly or in part, belonged to the King.² The Abbot of Iona in 1203 was Cellach, or Celestinus, who is also believed to have been the same as the Bishop Koli or Kolus of Icelandic writers, and the Nicolaus who inscribed his name in runes in the cave-cell of St Molaise on Holy Isle, Lamlash.

To this Celestinus Pope Innocent III., on the 9th December 1203, gave a charter confirming the erection of this Benedictine monastery, and granting various churches and church-lands in the Western Isles to the brethren.³ But the remnant of old Celtic monks, perceiving that their displacement meant extinction, took advantage of the old treaty made by Columba, and called to their assistance their blood-allies of Dalriada in Ireland—the Eoghan clan, which was the stem of the men of Lorn—who appeared in a “hosting” of clergy and soldiery, led by their bishops and the Abbot of Derry with the “Derry boys.”⁴ In this congenial ruction they demolished the new Benedictine monastery, and, in 1203, installed Abbot Awley O’Freel, a scion of the Niall blood, as the last occupant of Columba’s chair. Whither then did Cellach betake himself for refuge? Is it not possible that

¹ ‘Adamnan,’ Reeves, p. 409.

² ‘Lib. Cart. S. Crucis de Edwinesburg,’ p. 41.

³ ‘Regest. Innoc. III.,’ letter given in Munch’s ‘Chron. Man.,’ pp. 152, 153.

⁴ ‘Ann. Ulst. ;’ ‘Adamnan,’ Reeves, pp. 410-412.

Reginald would direct his attention to Bute, and thither the skilled monks came to rebuild and resuscitate the ruined abbey of St Blaen? The son of the founder of Paisley, Alan, would welcome them. According to Spottiswoode, these exiled monks were of the Order of Cluny, a fact which would harmonise with the disposition of the church of Kingarth to Paisley by Alan in 1204, and also explain why the rents were never exacted. There were then two claimants for the proprietorship of the Isle of Bute—the representative of Somerled, and Alan, son of the victor of Somerled. It is within the range of possibility, and even of likelihood, that Alan—descendant of the old Eoghan stock and of Kenneth, who had territory somewhere before he became king of the united Scots—was Coarb of Bute—*i.e.*, ecclesiastical heir of Blaen, in enjoyment of the saint's lands. This privilege was often a grant by the kings to their favourites, who displaced the Coarbs, lineally descended from the heir of the saintly founder of a church and accumulator of church-lands. Abbot Nicholas could thus easily obtain a double permission to settle there. He was an Argyleshire man himself, and from the fact that he was buried in Bangor in 1217, it may be assumed that he was a pupil of Bangor, mother of Kingarth. Reginald, King of Man, was married to a lady from Kintyre, and when he was in Ireland (1204-5) he may have met the Abbot, whom he promoted about this time to the bishopric of Sodor and Man. Possibly Nicholas during his lifetime may have been permitted to draw the rents of Kingarth to support his episcopal office, or his elevation stopped the settlement of the monks, and on account of the exigency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Papal Brief, February 1305), the rents would have to be accounted for to the Bishop of

Sodor and the Primate of Nidarös in Norway—not to Paisley. If Alan, to show his loyalty to the memory of King David and filial regard for his parents, did not in 1204 rebuild St Blaas's, in the Norman style, to gratify his own tastes or those of Nicholas and his masons, he at least did so by consigning this lovely abbey church and lands to the monks of Paisley. As Alan died that very year, it may have been his last, his dying, gift.

The services in the Roman Church, during the heyday of her glory in Scotland, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, after the total disappearance of the Celtic Liturgy, were almost identical with those which obtain now, and therefore demand no detailing.

The Missal, or book of public worship, contained the service of the Mass, with the collects, epistles, gospels, &c., proper to Sundays and festival days.¹ The Breviary contained the entire offices for a year—prayers, hymns, lessons for each hour, &c., of every day, feasts, &c. The 'Horæ beatæ Virginis Mariæ' was a manual of devotion for the laity, containing offices in honour of the Virgin, prayers for saints and martyrs, psalms, &c. Every reader of Scottish history remembers the touching incident regarding William Wallace on the scaffold and his Psalter, and what the Marquess of Bute writes in reference to the worship of the Wallaces. Paisley Abbey "was their parish church, and if they had no chapel nearer home, thither they repaired at least once every Sunday, and there Malcolm Wallace and Margaret, his wife, took their little boys on the great festivals to listen for hours to the solemn rise and fall of the Gregorian chant.

¹ 'Aberdeen Breviary,' Preface by D. Laing.

At least three-fourths of the public worship of this period consisted of singing Psalms, and it was as the sublime compositions of the ancient Hebrew poets alternately thundered and wailed through the Abbey Church of Paisley that William Wallace contracted that livelong love for the Psalms, which lasted until he died, with a priest holding the Psalter open, at his request, before his darkening eyes.”¹

The most practical way of understanding to what extent the Romish Church had interest and influence throughout Scotland before the Reformation is to take the total number of the churches, chapels, monasteries, and nunneries which were in a flourishing condition then, and try to realise what might have been the power of a Church manned by able-bodied and sound-minded servants, all together actuated by similar high religious motives, and controlled by one imperial authority. The country was divided into 13 dioceses, over which the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow presided, St Andrews being the *primacy* — St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Galloway, Lismore or Argyle, Sodor and Man, afterwards The Isles, and Orkney. In these dioceses no fewer than 1042 churches, with 546 chapels, existed. Indeed we learn that, just on the eve of the Reformation, there were 13 bishops, 50 provosts of collegiate churches, 500 parsons, and 2000 vicars in Scotland. Not only then had every one of over 900 parishes of Scotland a fully equipped parish church, but in many of them there were planted here and there at convenient places, clachans or thickly populated districts, little baptismal chapels, at which

¹ ‘The Early Days of Sir William Wallace,’ p. 43.

religious services were conducted by the parish priest or his assisting chaplains, as in the case of Rothesay, with St Michael's and St Bride's chapels.

There were also collegiate churches, which were ruled by deans, called provosts, who had under them several priests and teachers, who ministered at the different altars in these churches, and who taught the schools which were commonly found attached to the collegiate churches. For example, St Giles' in Edinburgh was a collegiate church, was ruled by a provost, and had a curate, 16 prebendaries, sacristan, beadle, minister of choir, 4 choristers—in all about 100 clerics and 36 altars.

Besides all these, there were the great monastic institutions, which had been for generations the envy of the laity on account of their rich possessions, which had increased enormously since the time the pious people endowed the Celtic Church with the broad lands they had everywhere reclaimed and made fertile.

Of these there were 84 monasteries (or houses, priories, and abbeys), in which resided the various Orders of the monks, who were presided over by an abbot, or a prior, or a sub-prior. And every religious house, monastery or nunnery, had many inmates as well as officials. Each had a præcentor, cellarer, treasurer, sacristan, almoner, cook, infirmarer, porter, refectioneer, chamberlain, hospitaller, and others appointed for various duties.

Twenty-three convents were similarly officered.

Still further, there were the Friars or Mendicant priests of different Orders—*white*, *black*, and *grey* friars—Observantists, of St Anthony, Knights of St John, Knights Templars, and Lazarites, who had together 74 houses.

And last, but not least, there were scattered throughout the land no fewer than 85 hospitals, which also had endowments in lands, in which the infirm were cared for, lepers isolated, and travellers found shelter. These hospitals were not merely dispensaries of medical aid and nourishment for the body, they were in some cases as much churches as the ordinary parish churches, having a master, with whom were associated several chaplains, in order to maintain the rites of religion among the poor and the needy.

This was the visible fabric of the powerful institution. And in trying to realise this vast establishment in a country whose inhabitants were not nearly so numerous as we are at the present time, we must not forget the very quality as well as the quantity of the visible symbols of that universal power. And when we inspect the beautiful remains of those sacred edifices—once the glory of this land—which for gigantic bulk, magnificent proportion, and rich detail are the wonder of men, we cannot but feel that the organisation which so impressed its thoughts and aims upon the landscape and upon the minds of our forefathers must have been one as rich in its intellectual and spiritual resources as it was in its material wealth.

Edifices so grand and thought-inspiring do not seem to have arisen in circumstances wherein those who were compelled to rear them had become degraded and bereft of interest in their own worldly welfare, because they had to sacrifice so much of their freewill for the good of the Church commanding them to work out its behests in stone. At least I cannot suppose that a Church so rich in cultured centres, so lavish in creating the beautiful, and so careful for its poor and needy, could, at least when it was moved

to execute such memorable works, have made it an aim to prevent its votaries enjoying the same sentiments and desires it had pleasure in thus expressing.

The very extensiveness of the Church, its numerous churches, and its public endeavours to meet the wants of a pious people, always seem to indicate the very opposite opinion to that held by many, that all these great works were subtly planned to degrade the masses and glorify a few in the Church under the cover of glorifying God. For it must ever be remembered that however powerful the Church in Scotland was, there always existed a strong lay power, which was not constantly acting side by side with the priesthood—and it was often the case that the priesthood had to throw in its lot with one or other of the contending parties in the State—at the very time the State was nominally and really a Catholic power. For example, Edward I. of England, William Wallace, and Robert Bruce were all Romanists, yet we know that the Scottish clergy were patriotic enough to show their influence for our own countrymen, and to maintain the rights of the Scottish Church against the assumptions of the Church south of the Cheviots, when they came into conflict regarding the claims of England. And the influence of the Church was an element in every struggle for political power which had to be estimated by kings and statesmen. The wealth of the Church largely lay in land, and consequently its influence was territorial, and was maintained by the tenantry and servants who owned the bishops and parish clergy as their landlords. Every parish had church-lands of greater or smaller extent, according to the antiquity and good fortune of the church planted in any particular district, and the dwellers upon these not only were called on to act in

defence of their superiors, but were liable to be mustered for national enterprises. It is readily seen how the temporal power of the clergy increased. Not only so; their culture and learning in the dark ages, and their knowledge of the arts and sciences, rightly gave the priesthood a superiority over those whose delight was in war or the chase. If they did not suggest and compose the laws of the land, their learning at least made them the only writers of them, and in their hands were intrusted the preparation and preservation of valuable documents, such as titles, contracts, &c., on which the stability of the nation depended. This led the priesthood up to the position of being the advisers of both rulers and ruled. And in consequence of this we find that the superior clergy—the bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots—sat in the Scots Parliament, having there an authority equal to that of the most powerful nobles or barons.

But apart from this connection altogether a spirit of worldliness had crept over the whole Church, and it assumed its very worst form in the fifteenth century, when the doctrine of justification by faith was completely nullified by the action of the Papacy, which gave liberty to sell privileges for persons in purgatory. That, among other abuses, such as the fleecing of the poor by death-duties, created throughout all Europe a feeling that there was room for reform. (Kingarth affords one instance of that serious abuse which brought ridicule upon the clergy, and was severely satirised by Sir David Lindsay—namely, the appropriation by the parish priest of some valuable article or money which belonged to a departed parishioner in payment of religious services at death and burial—when the vicar, Harbart Maxwell, in 1489, sued Robert Stewart for seizing, probably for rent, a cow and a cloak,

which the vicar had got as death-dues.) This movement took evangelical shape in England and Bohemia. There had been other attempts at minor reformation, but these had largely been confined to scholars, whose little schools soon broke up. This was a popular movement. It approached the masses of the people, and struck directly at the teaching of the Church, by declaring salvation to be entirely based on the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ and on submission to the Scriptures.

John Wyclif (1324-1384) and John Hus (1369-1415) were the great leaders of the movement. The adherents of Wyclif, called the *Lollards*, were particularly active. They went everywhere, preaching advanced evangelical doctrines; they opposed priestly celibacy and monastic ideas; denounced the doctrine of purgatory; ordained their own priests, and allowed laymen to preach; objected to oaths, wars, and punishment by death; opposed transubstantiation; held art to be anti-Christian, and used the Lord's Prayer alone of the Liturgy.

In the fifteenth century Lollard and Hussite views spread into Scotland. But the Church was on the alert, and caused the Lollard preachers, Resby and Craw, to be executed. Still, their peculiar views continued to exist secretly, and indeed to spread quickly, as soon as the art of printing became common in the sixteenth century. Translations of the Bible began to circulate among the more intelligent; and by the time the German Reformation, under the leadership of Luther, early in the sixteenth century, commenced to be felt, Scotland was by no means unprepared to accept some kind of reform.

“During the reign of the hapless Stuart dynasty the country was sorely tried. The author of ‘The Complaynt,’ in 1549, attributes

the afflictions which his countrymen experienced, at that time, to three main causes—the inroads of the English, pestilence, and domestic dissension. Freebooters kept both sides of the Borders in a state of turmoil; Highland clans menaced or fought each other; the Scottish barons kept their retainers armed to ward off quarrelsome neighbours, or to unite at the royal will against ‘the auld enemy.’ Circumstances like these, together with a series of national misfortunes, rendered civil government a difficult task. Several causes, both external and internal, were also operating so as to destroy the influence and utility of the Church. Its territorial power was on the wane. Feudal lords obtained benefices in the Church, which they held *in commendam*, and, by having the spiritual duties attaching to the offices performed vicariously for them, brought prejudicial influences to bear upon the Church.

“Winzet traces this deformation to two evils—the low tone of the clergy, which ecclesiastical legislation vainly endeavoured to correct, and the failure of the Church to ordain suitable pastors. Synodal statutes remain to corroborate the detractory statements of worthy defenders of the old faith, like Kennedy and Winzet, who lamented the appointment of incapable clergy. Winzet writes: ‘Give ony of ȝow wyl object that the preistis, bischopis, and the clergie in our dais hes bene blekkit with the saidis deformiteis, and [are] sa ignorant, or vitious, or baith, and alsva sclanderous, that they are unworthy the name of pastores, allace! we ar rycht sorie that this is trew for the maist part, and mair.’ Kennedy had, in 1558, stated the case against ‘the gret men of the realme’ more emphatically: ‘And quhen thai have gottin the benefice, gyf thay haue ane brother, or ane sone, ȝe suppose he can nolder sing nor say, norisheit in vice al his dayis fra hand he sal be montit on ane mule, with ane syde gown and ane round bonnett, and than it is questioun whether he or his mule knawis best to do his office.’

“The ruthless ravages of the armies of Henry VIII., which reduced Scotland ‘almost to a desert,’ destroying on the march towns, monasteries, and churches, contributed much to the development of the Reformation.

“The reformed doctrines, professed by a few adherents in the

fifteenth century, were in Winzet's time alarmingly popular. Scotland seemed so predisposed to heresy and reform, that even the national miseries and 'the auld enemy' were made to contribute to this liking.

"While civil and ecclesiastical power was thus shattered, the potent ideas of Wyclif developed into the stern principles of the Reformation. At last the Church came to feel their influence through the medium of the civil power. Indeed, from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when King James I. commissioned ecclesiastical representatives to attend the reforming Council of Basle, and sent the vigorous letter of exhortation to the abbots and priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries, charging them to reform and thus to save their houses, down to the Reformation, the Scottish Parliament had frequently, by statute, incited the clergy to a more vigilant exercise of their duties. And Parliament not only gave 'the remeid of the law' for the outrooting of heresy, the superseding of incapable pastors, the better regulation of spiritual affairs, and the maintenance of the estate and authority of the Church, but Parliament encroached so far upon ecclesiastical prerogative as to create strained relations between the civil and the spiritual powers. One of the worst blows dealt by the civil magistrate against the authority of the Church was the legal sanction granted to the people to use the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, in 1543, two years after the publication of an Act for reforming 'Kirkis and Kirkmen.'

"Now the clergy discerned disaster speedily approaching, and made strenuous efforts in Conventions and Provincial Councils to avert the ruin impending. The Council of Trent, then sitting, fostered a defensive spirit, which the Church wisely attempted to illustrate in self-reformation. The General Convention and Provincial Council which assembled in Edinburgh in 1549 honestly confessed that the greatest danger to the Church arose from internal evils — immorality, ignorance, and venality. This serious judgment took the practical shape of the vigorous canons which the Council directed against prevalent abuses, and shortly afterwards, in 1552, of a manual of popular instruction, known as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism.

“These well-intended efforts came too late. A few writers, roused from lethargy, tried to waken a genius to save the Church. Their efforts were futile.”¹

There is no doubt that the attempt of Henry VIII. to impose his form of Protestantism upon Scotland also accelerated the Reformation. His interference weakened the hands of those who would have endeavoured to stamp out the heresy with a high hand, and his invasions crippled the power of the Church.

The military report to Henry VIII. bore, that besides 7 monasteries and friars' houses, 192 towns, towers, parish churches, with 243 villages, had been fired and destroyed, so that to the English soldiery, more than to the Scottish Reformers, must we attribute the terrible desolation of the sacred edifices in the sixteenth century.

There was another element in the Reform struggle—viz., the greed of the needy barons, who were lying in wait to despoil the Church of its rich heritage, and who were not particularly troubled with any love of the Church or of religion. This was proved as soon as the Reformation was effected, by the niggardly manner in which these rich appropriators doled out the pittances they gave to the clergy, the schools, and the poor.

To this spoliation the dissolute clergy themselves lent aid, by accepting spiritual offices on condition that their patrons should enjoy the emoluments along with them. And yet, if we are to believe such a special reporter on Reformed Scotland as Nicolaus of Gouda, the Roman clergy, for the

¹ Winzet's 'Tractates,' Pref., pp. xxi-xxv (S.T.S., edited by J. K. Hewison : Edin., 1888).

most part, had been faithful to their vows of ordination, and preferred exile to enrolment in the uninfluential ranks of the new clergy.

From the scarcity of the material at my disposal I can do nothing more than indicate the names of the chief representatives of the Church in Bute, and leave the reader to follow the guidance of the general historian through the centuries in which these bishops and priests existed, in discovering the spirit of the times.

The following is a list of the bishops of Sodor, drawn up by the Rev. Dr Gordon :¹—

- 1388. John III.
- 1409. Michael.
- 1427. Angus I., son of Donald, Lord of the Isles, died 1437.
- 1476. Angus II.
- 1492. Robert.
- 1498. John IV.
- 1510. George Hepburn, Provost of Lincluden, Abbot of Arbroath, killed at Flodden.
- 1524. John V.
- 1545. Roderike Maccallister, Dean of Morven.
- 1547. Farchard or Farquhar, natural son of Ferquhard Maclauchlan.
- 1547. Roderick M'Clane, Archdeacon of the Isles; presented to the temporality by Queen Mary.
- 1553. Alexander Gordon, second son of John Master of Huntly; titular Archbishop of Athens, Abbot of Iona, Inchaffray, Glenceluce; Bishop of Galloway in 1558; died in 1576.
- 1558. John Campbell. "He alienated the benefice to his relations."
- 1566. John Carswell, Vicar of Kingarth and Kilmartin; Superintendent, and latterly Bishop, of the Isles.

This list does not correspond with Keith's catalogue in every particular. The most notable of these bishops—Hepburn,

¹ 'Iona,' pp. 99-101. Glasgow, 1885.

Gordon, and Carswell—made a considerable figure in their day as ecclesiastics.

Some bishops were merely titular, and others only elected to enjoy the temporality until a suitable bishop was consecrated.

George Hepburn was elected to the abbacy of Aberbrothok on 3d February 1503. He was of the family of Bothwell, and at this time was Provost of Lincluden, near Dumfries. In 1510, he was consecrated Bishop of the Isles, and held the Abbeys of Aberbrothok and Iona *in commendam*. He accompanied James IV. to Flodden, and fell there in 1513.

Alexander Gordon was a gay Gordon who, like many others upon whom the Reformation came as a surprise, thought he might have both pleasure and profit at a very critical time, in running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Though of royal and aristocratic blood, he had long waited for episcopal promotion, and when at length the Chapter of Glasgow elected him to their see, he had, by papal injunction, to step aside in favour of James Betoun, although for compensation he was appointed Archbishop of Athens. In 1553, he was appointed Bishop of the Isles and Abbot of Inchaffray, holding at the same time the temporalities of Iona. In 1558, he was translated to the see of Galloway.

In 1560, however, he appeared in Parliament as the only prelate who sanctioned the disestablishment of the faith, a position he confirmed by signing the Book of Discipline, and undertaking the oversight of the Church in his diocese, although unsuccessful in being appointed superintendent by his Protestant compeers. This slight seemed to have biassed his policy. He became careless in his duties, and did not

appear in Assemblies, so that the brethren held him in suspicion. They were right. By frequenting the Court he had become a Privy Councillor and a judge, showed his disdain of the paltry ministry, and not long after came out in his true colours with the lords who rose in favour of their imprisoned queen. At their request he took upon himself to lecture the clergy on charity, and to rate them for not praying for the queen. His argument is choice: "Sanct David was a sinner, and so is she; Sanct David was an adulterer, and so is she; Sanct David committed murder in slaying Uriah for his wife, and so did she. But what is this to the mater? The more wicked she be, her subjects should pray for her, to bring her to the spirit of repentance; for Judas was a sinner, and if he had been prayed for, he had not died in despaire."

But the General Assembly soon brought him to his knees; and, although at first he despised their condemnation and judgment to repent publicly, in sackcloth, in the three most prominent churches in Edinburgh,—after they had excommunicated their contumacious brother,—the haughty judge was glad enough to supplicate the Church for peace and make his public confession in 1576, while being spared the sackcloth.¹ The time-serving prelate survived his humiliation only a year, but he took care before departing that his lawful son John, by consent of the queen, should succeed to the temporality of his benefice. He is very typical of the kind of men who at this time blessed Scotland with one breath and cursed her with another. Of him Spotswood said only, "he embraced the truth"!

¹ Calderwood's 'History of the Kirk,' *var. loc.*

John Carsewell was much after the same model. He was a cunning Gael. In 1540, he was incorporated in St Salvator's College, St Andrews, of which he took the degree of B.A. in 1541, and of M.A. in 1544. He became chancellor of the Chapel Royal, Stirling, rector of Kilmartin, and chaplain to the Earl of Argyle. He is credited with building the Castle of Carnasrie in Kilmartin, where he lived,—others declaring his father was constable of it for Argyle. He died before 20th September 1572, and is buried in Ardchattan Priory. See Chapter VIII.

The priests who officiated in the parish churches and their dependent chapels throughout the isle, in these early centuries, with a few rare exceptions of witnesses to charters, are nameless.

Gilbert Templeton, Rector de Rothysai, who attests a charter to Paisley between 1283 and 1303, and who afterwards appears on the Ragman Roll, having sworn fealty to Edward I., is the cleric who first is recorded in connection with the Roman Church in Bute.

Without doubt Bishops Allan and Gilbert performed their priestly and episcopal offices in the Church of the Blessed Mary in Rothesay, where their bones repose, though of their local work we have no reminiscence. From the 'Exchequer Rolls' we learn that in 1375 Alan of Largs, rector of Bute, acted as clerk of the audit of the Crown accounts down to 1388. Among those who flit across the scene, leaving scarce a memorial save their names, are Thomas of Bute, a student at Oxford in 1379; Malcolm of Bute, chaplain to the king, who gets an allowance out of the customs in 1402; Lord Donald of Bute, dean of Dunblane in 1406; and Friar John of Bute, a Cistercian monk, who received a pension of £6 from

St Leonard's Hospital out of the old royal charity.¹ Friar John was not merely a preacher, but possessed either engineering skill or the sculptor's art, since in 1438 he was engaged to fabricate some apparatus for the tomb of King James I. in the Carthusian monastery in Perth. About the beginning of the fifteenth century James Stewart gave the right of presentation to the Church to the Tyronensian Abbey of Kilwinning, and this connection with Ayrshire was maintained until 1639, when the General Assembly disjoined Rothesay Parish from the Presbytery of Irvine.

The Cathedral church was not the only place of worship in the parish, there being a chapel dedicated to St Bride, on St Bride's hill, now called Chapelhill; St Columba's Chapel, probably on Columshill; St Michael's Chapel in the Palace; St Mary's Chapel near Kames Castle; Kilmachalmaig, and probably Kilmichael in North Bute, where regular services were held either by the vicar or other celebrants.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, 1447-1463, Lord Nigel was the vicar of Bute, who was paid for conducting worship in St Bride's and for business done for the king at Stirling and Edinburgh. The name of the chaplain in the castle at the same time is not given in the accounts :—

“1440 till 1463. For payment made to two chaplains celebrating in the Castle of Bute, and in the chapel of the blessed Brigid, *ad extra*, infest of old, receiving annually from the fermes of the said Isle of Bute, £12, 5s. 4d. . . .

“And to Lord Nigel, chaplain, celebrating in the chapel of the blessed Brigid beside the Castle of Bute, working in various ways in business of the King, from Bute to Stirling and Edinburgh, . . . 1 boll of barley.”²

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. v. p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 162, 208, 250.

The chapel had been repaired in 1440 :—

“ And for the repair of the above-mentioned chapel of the blessed Brigid, 40 shillings.”¹

A little cemetery girded this ancient fane, which was totally removed by the utilitarian Town Council in 1860.² The accompanying illustration represents the ruin about sixty years ago.³



St Bride's Hill and Chapel, Rothsay, in 1830.

In 1501, Sir Andrew Banachtin was vicar of St Mary's, and the same year the parish church was made one of the prebends of the Chapel Royal at Stirling. In May 1501, Fer-

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. v. p. 86.

² The Town Council purchased St Bride's Hill and its sacred remains from William York in 1860 for £310. On razing the church human bones were cast up.

³ The illustration is photographed from an engraving in "Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaeloch," 1841. The original painting is in the hands of Mr Kirsop, Glasgow.

gus Jameson, Crouner of Bute, gave two shillings to the Friars preachers of Glasgow, and the instrument is signed by "Master Andrea Banachtin, vicar of the Church of the blessed Virgin Mary in Rothesay, John MacOleif, and Malcolm MacQuhyn." In November 1502, Master Robert Abernethy was rector of St Mary's, as well as official of the Isles of Bute and Arran, in which capacity he sat and attested charters on behalf of the Friars preachers in the Church.¹

On 10th December 1490, Ninian Cocherane of Lee and Ascog granted sasine, by the giving of stone and earth at the Cross at two in the afternoon, to Mr Robert Abernethy, rector of St Mary's, Rothesay, of "a croft with pertinents beside the Cross in the middle of the road, commonly called M'Gibbons Cross, . . . in the presence of Robert Steward, chamberlain of Bute, Mr John Schaw, vicar, Mr Andrew Banachyn, John Spens, John Glais, &c., &c." In the reversion Abernethy used the common seal of the burgh.²

Abernethy, on his decease, was succeeded as rector in 1512 by Master Thomas Diksoun, then Dean of Restalrig. He was a student of St Andrews, graduated in 1492, and was a Canon of Aberdeen. He became provost of the collegiate church of Guthrie, in Forfarshire; in 1508-9, prebendary of Turriff; in 1510, dean of Restalrig; in 1511, rector of Dunbar; and on 18th October 1511 the king directed the Bishop of the Isles to collate him to be rector of Rothesay.³

On 10th October 1515, James V. confirmed the grant of his father, who attached eight prebends to the College

¹ 'Lib. Coll. Nost. Dom.,' pp. 205, 206, 207.

² 'Mem. of Montgomeries,' vol. ii. p. 50.

³ 'Rec. Sec. Sig.,' vol. iv. fol. 184.

of Restalrig, six of which were called "Bute Prebends," because they consisted of the fruits of the rectory of Rothesay, and were set apart to sustain those learned in "cantu and discantu"—song and descant.¹ The prebendaries farmed out these parsonage teinds, perhaps not without abuses, till 1586, when James VI. granted authority to David Cumming, Master of the Sang Schule in Edinburgh, to inquire if these prebends and livings were enjoyed by persons qualified in music according to the old foundation. In 1587 the king appointed Cumming to be preceptor and master of the kirk of Restalrig, and to enjoy the prebend called "Bute Tertius." The other teinds were in the hands of the Bishop of the Isles, so that practically the vicar lived on voluntary offerings from his flock at this time.

In 1527, Sir² Johne Finlaysone resigned the chaplaincy of St Bride's, and Sir William Bannachtyne was appointed in his room by James V. A Master Patrick Lorane, in 1538, attested a sale of land in Kingarth, being styled "chaplain of the royal chapel of St Bride."³

Sir Walter Turnbull appears to have been the next vicar and chaplain, since Queen Mary in 1543 gave Master Andrew Hamiltoun two presentations, the one appointing him successor to the deceased Sir Walter Turnbull, and the other, successor to the deceased Sir Alexander (Andrew?) Bannauchtyne.⁴ On Hamiltoun's resignation

¹ 'Carta Coll. de Restalrig,' pp. 280-290, No. 4.

² The title "Sir" was the title of respect commonly used in referring to "Sir King," "Sir Knight," and "Sir Priest." It was given to inferior priests who had not graduated in some university. See note, vol. ii. p. 109, 'Certain Tractates,' by Winzet, J. K. Hewison's ed.

³ 'Reg. Sec. Sig.'

⁴ 'Reg. Mag. Sig.'

in 1550, Queen Mary presented Sir James M'Morane to the office.

In 1516, the chapel of St Columba was ministered to by Sir Patrick Makbard, presented by James V., who gave him the privilege of performing the services either personally or by substitute.

In 1514, David Masone received £6 for performing the duties of chaplain "in the Church of Saint Michael the Archangel, in the Castle of Rothesay."¹

In 1527, James V. presented Master Finlay Scott or Levenax, who was also vicar of Kingarth, to the chaplaincy of the chapel of Saint Michael in the Castle of Rothesay.²

On 7th February 1489, Master Harbart Maxwell was parson of Kingarth, and raised an action against Robert Stewart, Provost of Glasgow, and his son Alan, whom he accused of stealing "a corspressand cow worth twa merkis, and a mantill worth 20 schillingis of the froitis of the said kirk of Kyngarth" — presents he had obtained for attending some dead parishioner. How the suit ended is not known.

In 1497, Master Adam Colquhone was rector of Kingarth.

In 1509, James IV. conjoined Kingarth to Southwick to provide a prebend in the Chapel Royal, reserving, however, as much of the teind as would provide for the vicar.

From 1517 to 1541 (?), Master Finlay Lenax or Levinax, who was also chaplain in Rothesay Castle in 1529, was vicar, and he seems to have been assisted by Sir Patrick M'Connoquhy, styled "lady prest of the kirk of Kyngarth," who "slew himself wilfully" about 1529, so that his goods were escheat to the Crown.

¹ 'Rot. Scacc.,' vol. xiv. p. 62.

² 'Reg. Sec. Sig.'

Michael Dysert was parson in 1550, and leased the parsonage to Ninian Stewart of Largibrachton.

In 1558, Master John Carswell became rector of Southwick and Kingarth, and ultimately Bishop of the Isles. This interesting personage will again require our notice in connection with the Protestant Church, into whose service he passed at the Reformation, being probably the last Catholic vicar in the parish, and not beyond the suspicion that, amid the turmoil of the times, he was also a veritable "Vicar of Bray."

In 1554 and 1556, Sir James M'Wartye was the vicar.

M'Verrit, as he was also called, seems to have been a staunch Catholic, and to have clung to the old religion, since he is reported by his superintendent Carswell to the General Assembly, in 1562, as defiant of his authority.

The present ruined Chapel of St Mary is an appendant vestige of the Cathedral of Sodor, the nave of which was removed in 1692 to make way for the parish church, which was also removed in 1795 to allow the present barn-like edifice to be built. The nave measured 81 feet long and 22 feet broad. The present ruined chapel was supposed to have been the choir or chancel. It is not easy to infer from this interesting fragment, which has often been repaired, and in fact transformed from a lovely lady-chapel to an unsightly cemetery, what it originally was. But I imagine it was neither choir nor chancel, but a separate chapel built on the site of an earlier Celtic or Saxon edifice, and converted into the mortuary chapel of the Stewards of Scotland, Lords of Bute, about the year 1315.

It is a small rectangular building, oriented duly, in exterior length 33 feet, in exterior breadth 22 feet 6 inches; in interior length 27 feet, in interior breadth 17 feet 6 inches; the walls

being 2 feet 3 inches thick and 10 feet high. The eastern gable is still intact, and rises to the height of 25 feet. It is pierced by a large three-light window, of the late first-pointed period (1212-1272; later in Scotland), 9 feet 6 inches high and 4 feet 6 inches broad.

The western gable or wall is pierced by a doorway or arch, 5 feet 4 inches broad, and 6 feet 3 inches high to the spring of the arch; but this portion bears traces of very modern repair, probably in 1817.

The northern wall is pierced by two windows and a doorway, one of the former being square-headed, 3 feet 6 inches high and 11 inches broad; the other window and the doorway being pointed—the former 4 feet 10 inches high and 13 inches broad; the door is 6 feet high and 2 feet 7 inches broad.

The southern wall has been pierced by a square-headed doorway, now built up, 5 feet 6 inches high and 2 feet 3 inches broad, and by a window, horizontal with the altar, also pointed, 4 feet 8 inches high and 1 foot 6 inches broad.

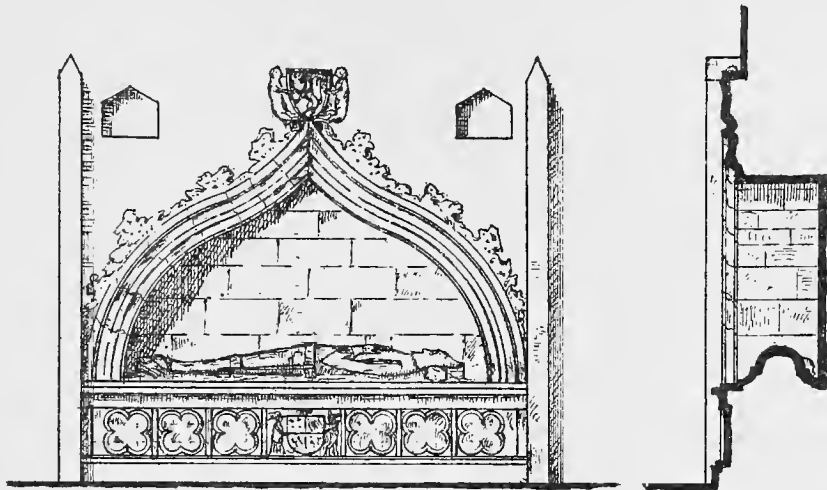
All the windows are splayed inside: the rybats are chamfered; there is a check in each window for a shutter, as well as the remains of iron stanchions.

The quoins, rybats, and jambs are of white sandstone.

A sandstone string-course, forming the dripstone, runs round the north wall-head.

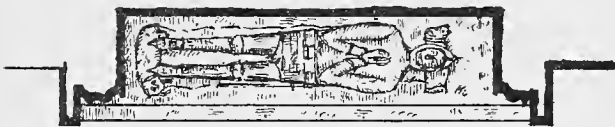
The floor has no pavement. The coffer and the piscina are quite intact.

On the floor, among other grave-slabs, is a rude effigy of a knight, 6 feet 6 inches long, of which an illustration is given. The conical helmet, the pear-shaped shield, &c., indicate an Anglo-Norman warrior of the time of William the Lion. The

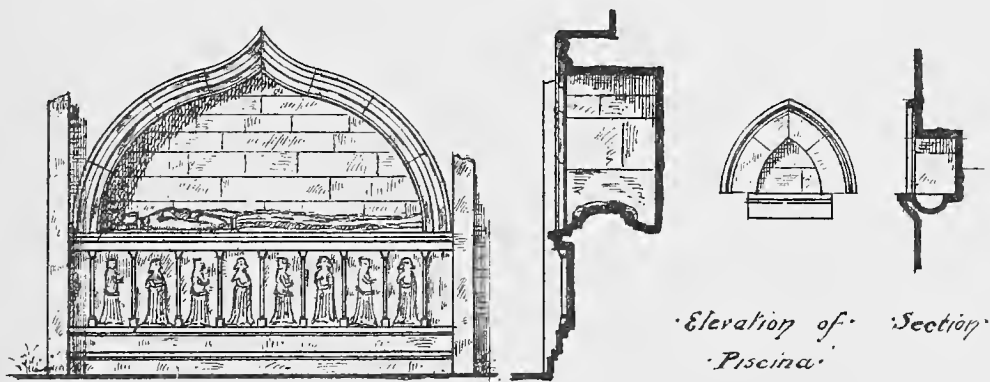


• Elevation of Tomb •

• Section •



• Plan •



• Elevation of Tomb •

• Section •

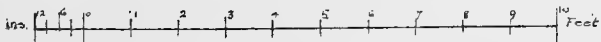
• Elevation of • Section •
• Piscina •



• Plan •



• Plan •



• Scale for Details •

following inscription, in Gothic letters, is visible on the stone : EM CUMM, which I take to be a part of Wilgem Cummin's name. Among the many Cummings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, which one was this? There was William Cumin, Chancellor to King David, who was made prisoner in the Battle of the Standard in 1138.¹ There was William Cumin of Kilbride, Sheriff of Ayr and Bute in 1265. The Cummings, as we saw, had lands in Bute, and were associated with the Kings of Man and Lords of the Isles against Bruce.²

One of the slabs, unlettered, bears a *gyronny of eight*, the well-known emblem of the Campbells, and may mark the grave of Lady Anne Campbell.

There are two altar-tombs



Effigy of William Cummin.

¹ 'Ailred,' Twisden, Extr. Var. Cron., p. 326.

² 'Manx. Soc. Publications,' vols. x., xv., *var. loc.*

or recesses in the side walls,—one filled with the effigy of a knight in armour, and one with a lady holding a child. Before passing from the structural features of the building to the historical investigation of these memorials, it may be observed that in the case of the lady's effigy the recess has the appearance of being constructed with the wall; in the other case the outer south wall is visibly bulged out and off the plumb, indicating that the monument was not of the age of the building, but was let into the wall—"slapped out," as it is technically called.

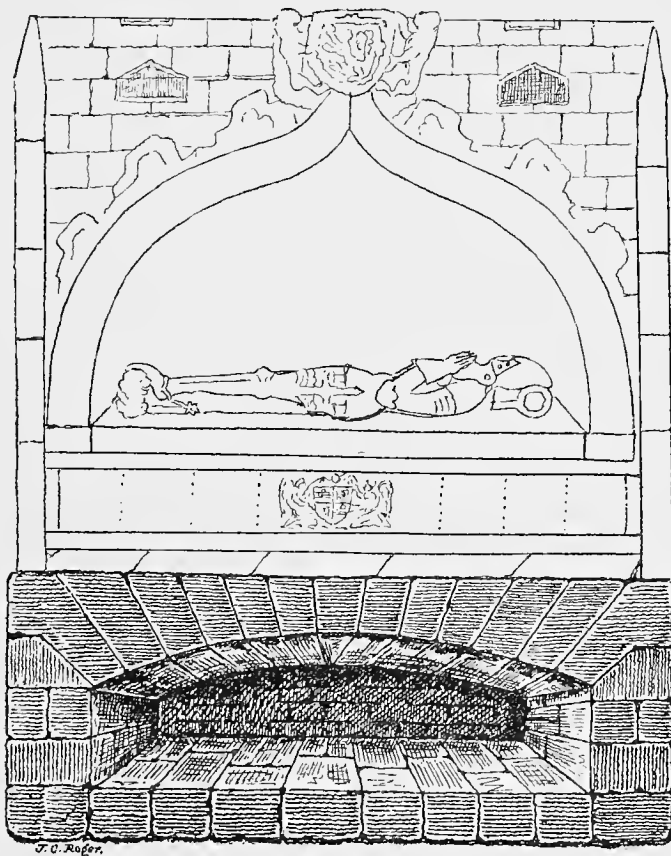
The former is composed of the local white sandstone; the latter and its canopy is a hard dark red sandstone, imported.

No information bearing upon the age of the chapel and its effigies was obtained by Mr John Mackinlay in April 1817, when the chapel was repaired. His account of the excavations bears: "In the course of the repair we dug down in front of the monument, in which the coffins had been placed. We found a great number of bones, several of which were pretty fresh. There were three skulls, one of them was broken, another lay on its face, and the third one, which was lowest, lay on its back, and probably belonged to the last person buried here. The Stuarts of Bute buried on this side of the choir."¹ Mackinlay inclined to think it was a monument to King Robert III.

In 1857, Mr James C. Roger tried to prove that the effigy of the mailed knight "presents us with an actual represen-

¹ 'Archæol. Scot.,' vol. iii. p. 1, art. 1, "Account of two ancient monuments in the Church of St Mary, Rothesay," by John Mackinlay, Esq., Rothesay. [In a letter addressed to the Hon. Lord Bannatyne, Edinburgh, accompanied with 2 drawings, read January 24, 1825.] Edin., 1831.

tation of King Robert II., executed during the lifetime of that monarch."¹ Tradition associates it with Sir John Stewart of Bonkil, who fell at Falkirk in 1298. Another hypothesis



Sepulchre under Sir Walter the Steward's monument.

connects it with John Stewart, son of King Robert II., Sheriff of Bute, and ancestor of the Bute family.

¹ 'Proc. Soc. Antiq.,' vol. ii. pp. 466-481.

In default of documentary evidence settling the dispute as to the age of the effigies and to the persons thereby commemorated, there are several important data to be taken account of, which may, properly appraised, help to place the subject on a proper basis for a final judgment—namely, the style of architecture of the chapel, the stones whereof the effigies are composed, the fashions adorning both the mailed and vested figures, and the heraldry displayed upon the knight's tomb.

Muir writes of it: "Lady Kirk, close upon the town of Rothesay, is also an interesting fragment of what seems to have been originally a structure of Norman date. The nave is quite destroyed, but the chancel remains not much dilapidated: it is wholly late First-pointed, and contains some rather fine monumental recesses with recumbent effigies."¹ A study of the accompanying plans and plates will show that it is not improbable that the building was erected not earlier than the year 1300, the low doorway and the simple head of the pointed window, formed of two stones, on the south side, indicating Saxon influence or a Celtic basis for working on. It is remarkable that so small an edifice should have three doorways. The recess wherein the effigy of the dame lies has all the appearance of having been part of the design and built along with the masonry of the northern wall. There has been no "slapping out," as in the case of the knight's monument. The stone, too, is from the same quarry as that of the rybats and jambs of the building—the white sandstone of Bute. Nor is the recess so pointed in design as its neighbour.

¹ 'The Church Architecture of Scotland,' by J. Muir, p. 124.



TOMB OF A LADY IN ST MARY'S CHAPEL. ROTHESAY.

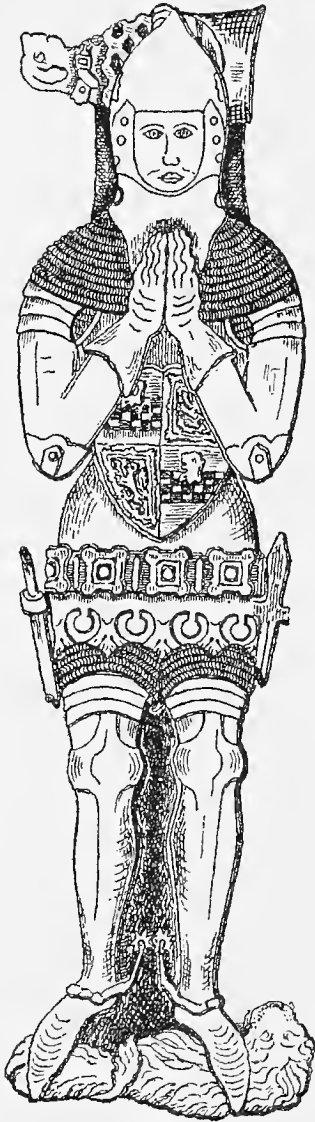
The female figure is chastely executed in low relief in the same white stone. A gown and kirtle, with sleeves tightly circling the wrist, flows down with simple folds. The mantle, fastened on the breast, sweeps down and appears with a running pattern of ivy upon it. Beyond her left arm reclines a babe, clothed in long robes. The hands, with fingers touching each other, lie upon her breast. The feet lie upon a rest, in shape not unlike an animal. The head reposes upon a pillow. The head is covered with a high cap or chaplet, from which a head-dress droops down over both ears to the shoulders.

The head-dress of these habited figures is similar to that which came into fashion in England in the time of Edward I., and had in the reign of Edward II. assumed the particular shape seen on this monument and repeated on the supporting angels of the other. "The hair, instead of being plaited as previously, was turned up behind, and entirely enclosed in a caul of network composed of gold, silver, or silk thread, over which was worn the peplum or veil, and sometimes in addition a round hat or cap. Garlands or chaplets of goldsmith's work were also worn by the nobility over or without the caul."¹ Knight gives an illustration of this head-tire from an old MS.²

The base of the monument is divided into eight panels, within each of which is carved a figure, habited as a female, and engaged on some office. Two of the figures display on their breasts Celtic brooches—one pentagonal, the other of the Gothic letter \ominus —fastening their mantles. Some of the

¹ Knight's 'Pict. Hist. of Eng.,' vol. i. p. 867.

² *Ibid.*, p. 868; 'Royal MS.,' 14 E. iii. and 15 D. ii.

*Effigy of Sir Walter the Steward.*

figures are said to have been displaced at the time of the repair. Their symbolical significance I have not made out. Round the outer edge of the *ogee* are placed ornaments which originally have been either foliaceous crocket-work or figures of animals.

The whole monument is much disfigured, and is just in that decadent state which, if not arrested, soon develops into quick destruction. The effigy itself is cut out of white sandstone, and has been treated with some preservative wash, so that, considering its experience of five centuries, it is in a good state of preservation. The recess for the monument of the knight is of more durable material, red sandstone.

The effigy represents a knight clad in full martial accoutrements, lying with his feet to the east. His head rests upon his empty jousting-helmet (*heaume*), which terminates in a dog's or lion's head with the neck collared. The face appears through

the head-dress (*coif de mailles*)—a visored *bascinet*, from which the visor is absent. A ring-mail coat (hauberk) covers the trunk as far as the middle of the thigh. The arms, encased in plate-armour, are bent until the gauntleted hands and outstretched fingers, protected by knobs called *gads*, meet each other over the camail or the gorget, which rests beneath the chin. The surcoat, with its scalloped border, appears over the hauberk. According to Mr Roger: "On the jupon is a heater-shaped shield,—charged with the arms of the knight,—presenting, in the first and fourth quarters, a fess checky, surmounted in middle chief by a lion's head erased, and in the second and third, the Scottish lion within the double tressure, a coat, which, ornamented with sepulchral figures in the form of angels, is repeated on the central division of the front of the tomb underneath" (Illustration, p. 248). By no amount of imagination can I, and others I have requested, make out this emblazoned coat, nor yet the lion's head erased on the lower coat. There are some rough portions of the stone, but it is impossible to say what they defined. The legs are cased in greaves (*chausses de mailles*); the knees are protected by plates (*genouillères*); the ankles carry the rowelled spurs. The feet in *sollerets* rest crossed on a lion couchant, whose tail is curled over its back. The belt, formed with square ornaments, girds the thigh, and from it, on the right side, is suspended the fragment of a falchion, on the left of a dagger (*estoc*).

The front of the monument displays a coat of arms, on each side of which run quatrefoil ornaments, which have been defaced in order to make room for eight small figures of soldiers to correspond with the females of the other monu-

ment. This defacement has been an after-thought to make the two designs similar. One of these effigies, 19 inches high, was given to the Society of Antiquaries by Mackinlay, is still preserved in their Museum, and is here illustrated.

The lower coat of arms consists of a shield, supported by two bending winged angels, while another winged angel, with both hands touching the shield, appears behind it.



*Effigy of a soldier,
from St Mary's
Chapel.*

The quartering of this shield is 1st and 4th a fess checky of three tracts; 2d and 3d, a lion rampant within the double tressure. Quartering was introduced into England in the reign of King Edward III., about 1340. I cannot, however, as Mr Roger found, discover a lion's head, either *issuant* or *naissant*, on this shield.

The *ogee* terminates in another coat of arms, consisting of a shield bearing the lion rampant within the double tressure, and supported by two lions sejant—the sovereign arms of Scotland. To right and left of this two recesses, prepared for similar escutcheons, are visible.

Mackinlay submitted a drawing of the armour to Dr Meyrick, who gave as his opinion that the *hausecol* or *gorget* worn over the armour marked it as the fashion which prevailed in the reign of King Henry IV. of England, 1399-1412.¹ But is the *gorget* a separate plate, part of the *bascinet*, or part of a simpler *hausecol*?

The armour resembles (with the exception of the *gorget*)

¹ 'Arch. Scot.,' vol. iii. art. 1, note.

the armour represented on the brass of Sir Robert Atteteye, in Barsham Church, Suffolk, which dates from 1380; also in other particulars that on the effigy of the Black Prince, in Canterbury Cathedral, who died in 1376, and also the statue in Tewkesbury Abbey of Edward, Lord Despencer, who died in 1375.¹

It is to be specially noted that the *bascinet* is a visored one. There are very few specimens of these extant in Europe. They came into vogue in the reign of Richard II., 1377-1399, and of Robert II. of Scotland, 1371-1390. After a careful examination of the effigy, I am of opinion that this so-called *plated gorget* is nothing more than part of the *camail*, or at least a simple *hausecol*. In any case, the armour is representative of that worn at the close of the fourteenth century in this country.

There are three notable Stewards who might be memorialised here—viz., Walter; his son, King Robert II.; and his grandson, Robert III. But all three are said to have been buried elsewhere—Walter and Robert III. in Paisley, and Robert II. in Scone. Our authority for Walter's burial-place in Paisley—namely, Barbour—however, was not his contemporary, which leaves room for doubting his statement. Tradition homologates history in placing Marjory's tomb in Paisley, but ignores Walter.

Robert II. had all the failings of the Egyptians for tomb-making, and had his own made of stone from England, lying ready in St John's Church, Perth, as we learn from the accounts in 1379:—

“Et magistro Nicholæo cementario, facienti opus sculpture tumbe

¹ Carter's 'Ancient Painting,' &c., p. 25.

regis, in partem salarii sui, videlicet [£] 120 lib. . . . Et Andre . . . nostri regis et eciam pro tumba ipsius domini regis pro parte videlicet in Anglia, et eciam a portu de Leth usque ad Edinburgh in partem scilicet solucionis sibi debita [£] x lib.”

In the accounts for 1379 appear the following entries :—

“Et Andre pictori pro labore et sumptibus suis et caragio fact. pro petris ordinat. ad tumbas Patris et Matris Domini nostri regis” (*i.e.*, Walter and Marjory).

“Et in solucione facta Andree pictori pro una petra de Alabaster pro tumba prime sponse Domini nostri regis [£] xii lib.” (*i.e.*, Elizabeth More).¹

The words, “tombs of the father and mother of our king,” might give rise to the supposition there were to be two monuments and not at the same place. No place is mentioned. The work, thus, was begun in 1379, during the time the visored bascinet was the fashion, so there is nothing bold in suggesting a date from 1380 onward for this effigy.



Coat of arms, St Mary's Chapel.

and 3d the lion rampant, or Royal Arms, within the double tressure. The fess checky was the arms of blood of the Steward as a family. It is supposed to have been assumed by reason of their connection with the Royal Exchequer, the

¹ ‘Excheq. Rolls,’ vol. ii. p. 622.

accounts of which were calculated on a checkboard. However, we find that an identical coat was borne in Brittany contemporaneously with the first Alan.

The fess checky is seen on all the seals of the royal Stewards.

“The Royal Arms, when brought into any family by an heiress, are usually placed in the second quarter” according to Parker’s ‘Glossary of Heraldry.’¹ Walter Stewart had thus the right to carry the Royal Arms, on account of his marriage with Princess Marjory.

The three angelic figures supporting this shield might be symbolical of the three wives of Walter, two of whom may have been buried with him here, there being three skulls found in the sepulchre beneath the monument.

The coat of arms surmounting the monument is the Royal Arms supported by two lions sejant, in all probability the arms of Robert II., who would have to discard the fess for the lion on his sovereign coat.

From these and other considerations it may be accepted that the effigy of the dame is that of Alice, daughter of Sir John Erskine, first wife of Walter, for whom the mortuary chapel was reared or renovated, and the effigy placed in it by her husband, after the first decade of the fourteenth century; and that the effigy of the knight represents Walter the Steward, and was erected about 1380 by Robert II., his son, who frequently resided in Rothesay Castle between 1379 and 1390.

It is a melancholy feature of our forgetful age that this tomb of one of the greatest of Scottish heroes, the peer of

¹ ‘Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry,’ by J. H. Parker.

Wallace and Bruce, and the ancestor of kings, princes, nobles, and the flower of northern chivalry, should be left unheeded to the mercy of the elements. Surely the Brandanes might do something to protect this hoary memorial of their worthiest chief.



Coat of arms over door of Rothesay Castle.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMED CHURCH.

“ For forms of government let fools contest ;
 Whate'er is best administer'd is best :
 For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
 His can't be wrong whose life is in the right ;
 In faith and hope the world will disagree,
 But all mankind's concern is charity.
 All must be false, that thwarts this one great end ;
 And all of God, that bless mankind, or mend.”

—POPE.



IN what manner, and by what agents, the deformation of the Roman Church in Bute took place, and under what aspects the Reformed Church took its first shape, there is, for lack of material and the absence of local records of the time, not given to me to delineate, in the meantime.

What occurred throughout Scotland probably also took place in Bute, the people welcoming the Reformation as a novelty, and the landed proprietors hailing in its advent the prospect of being relieved from ecclesiastical exactions and of receiving what spiritual comfort they wanted “without money and without price.” The isle was too exposed to governmental influences to be able, like the remoter parts of

the Highlands, to resist for any length of time the stern decrees of the General Assembly and the Scots Parliament, ordering the total extermination of the Roman Church, and establishing the new ecclesiastical polity and form of worship.

The Presbyterian polity and form of worship introduced by John Knox and his associate Reformers were a complete revolution of those which obtained for centuries in Scotland. The antidote was made unmistakably effective. The Pope was banned; and the General Assembly assumed the function of an infallible Council, whose edicts were made legal by the signature of its Moderator; the Provincial Synod took the place of the Provincial Council; the Presbytery stood in room of the Diocesan Synod; the Kirk-session was a kind of Chapter; the bishop gave place to the superintendent; the priest to the minister; the choir to reader or precentor; the elaborate Liturgy to "conceived prayer,"—and so on to the smallest detail. The unchangeableness of the Roman Church renders it easy for any one to find what the spiritual food of our pre-Reformation forefathers was,—with these exceptions, that the Liturgy had no parallel translation, nor was the sermon, if at all given, prominent in the vulgar tongue. The service was in Latin, consequently the adoration of the people consisted mostly of a pious silence and the making of signs indicative of faith. "Then," says a contemporary bishop, "ceased all religious and godlie minds and deeds, wherewith the seculars and temporall men being slandered with their evil example, fell from all devotion and godliness to the workis of wickednesse, whereof daily mickle evil did increase."

The first thing of a constructive character effected by the

Reformers after the purging of "idolatry" was the introduction of the Bible in the English tongue, of the English Metrical Psalter, and of 'The Book of Common Order' or Liturgy. By "idolatry" was understood "the masse, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same; and finally, all honouring of God not contained in His Holy Word."

In this period the people generally could not read, even some priests were deficient in this elementary acquirement, and the Reformers had to rouse popular interest by popular methods. Week-day services, sometimes daily, were appointed, during which labour ceased, and a public reader, in the absence of a minister, read the prayers and Scripture; while men, women, and children "were exhorted to exercise themselves in psalmes, that when the Kirk doth convene and sing they may be the more able together with common hearts and voices to praise God."

Every parish church, and, afterwards, every head of a house, were ordained to procure an English Bible and Psalm-Book. At first there being none in the hands of the congregation, the reader was ordered to read through the Bible, "for this skipping and devagation from place to place" was not "profitable to edifie the kirk," but was as the "Papists did." On the day of "public sermon" the Prayer-Book was discarded, to prevent superstition on the part of the people, "who come to the prayers as they came to the masse."

The service, originally, was in two portions in those churches—having both a reader and a minister.

So early in the morning as nine or ten, in some towns earlier, the second bell rang, and the public reader ascended the desk—now the precentor's box—and forthwith read the

prayer from Knox's Liturgy or the 'Book of Common Order,' during which the people bowed. He also recited the Ten Commandments and the Creed. Then a psalm was sung. Thereafter the passages from the Old and New Testaments were read. A curious custom also prevailed of children publicly catechising each other in the presence of the people. After the reader was done—an hour having elapsed—a third bell began to sound its calling note to people and pastor, and the latter, with his hat on his head, marched up to the pulpit and gave out the 95th psalm, or "gathering psalm." The singing of it was termed "entertaining the time," while the congregation trooped in from the churchyard. The melody was called "Old Dukes," now known as "Winchester."

Till long after the Reformation the churchyard was the market-place wherein on Sabbaths many a bargain was driven, the trysting-place of friend and lover, and the central news-agency of the parish and time. The call of the bell was necessary, because the old churches were small, inconvenient, and not furnished with seats, save those at the Communion-tables, so that before the aged and delicate got their stools placed,—and these they lugged along with them, like Jenny Geddes,—before the wearied country-folks got their plaids spread on the clay or gravel floors, and before the youngsters got a comfortable stance, it required a little time to compose the audience. If there was no reader, the minister began the service in the desk, and thereafter mounted the pulpit to orate his discourse. In the seventeenth century, however, when the two offices were conjoined, the minister also expounded the Scriptures in the desk.

The psalmody was at first a difficult question, the people only being accustomed to the chanting and instrumental

music of the priests. There were no metrical version, no melodies, and no music-masters, for the old school songs were taught by priests. The Reformers made their sacred hymns the chariot-wheels of the Reformation, to carry the enthusiasm of the populace from place to place.

The Scots were lovers of minstrelsy, and had many catching melodies wedded to vulgar themes, which the Reformers applied to their "godly psalms and ballads."

For example, there is a unique song, beginning "The Joly Day now dawis," the melody of which is supposed to have been the March of Bruce at Bannockburn. The Reformers set these lines to it:—

"Hay now the day dallis,
Now Christ on us callis,
Now welth on our wallis
Appeiris anone :
Now the word of God rings,
Whilk is King of all kings :
Now Christis flock sings
The night is neere gone."

To this air Burns set "Scots wha hae," and Baroness Nairne "The Land of the Leal"; and it used to be sung in the Secession churches of Renfrewshire within memory. It should be in our Psalter, being extremely suitable for a song of Christian warfare. The history of the Psalmody is interesting. John Wedderburne of Dundee, 1540, who metrically translated the psalms and hymns of Luther, first supplied the Scots Protestants with hymns. Then the Scots exiles in Geneva drew up an incomplete metrical psalter, out of the productions of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, published in 1549. This was the basis of the Scots Psalter, which was made complete in 1564,

printed by Lekprevik, and ordained for public use, along with the Order of Prayers attached to it.

Some of these original psalms with their melodies are, to our satisfaction, still retained. For example, The Old Hundred, composed by William Kethe, a Scot, exiled for the faith, is set to a melody of the French Psalter of Marot and Beza, sung to the 134th psalm. The music is commonly attributed to Luther.

At first these melodies were sung in unison, which style was termed "plain singing." The people had committed the verses to memory, but the whole passage—not a line—was read out by the reader, as is customary still, to refresh the memory. The psalm was usually raised by a paid minstrel, who was called the "uptaker of the psalm," and in degenerate days, "him that carries up the line," since the reader had not always the gift of song. Gradually, however, part-singing was learnt, especially after Parliament in 1579 enacted the foundation of music-schools. An episode of 1582 illustrates this. When John Durie, the reformer, who had been banished for his criticisms of King James, was permitted to return to Edinburgh, the masses met him. "At the Netherbow they took up the 124 psalme, 'Now Israel may say, &c.,' and sung in such a pleasant tune in four parts, known to the most of the people, with such a great song and majestie, that it moved both themselves and all the huge multitude of the beholders." The second version of the psalm was composed by Calvin's son-in-law, William Whittingham, minister of Geneva, and the old French tune was again sung by the citizens of Geneva when in 1602 they repulsed the Savoyards from their walls. It was a favourite, too, in "the killing times."

One of the characteristics of the Early Scots Psalter was the varieties of the metres and the melodies, and of the latter a few are extant. Some lines had five, six, eight, or ten syllables. The verses combined different lengths of line, as in the common measure, to suit which twelve tunes were printed in the Psalter of 1621—viz., Old Common, Kings, Dukes, English, French, London, The Stilt (now York), Dunfermeling, Dundie, Abbay, Glasgow, Martyrs. Up till 1649 the doxology in metre was sung after every psalm, and this was discontinued to please the English Puritans. As has been indicated, the musical notation was printed in the combined Prayer and Psalm Book, so that the education of the people was assured. Consequently, a lighter and more attractive style of music came into vogue, not unlike that of madrigals. These tunes, called "Reports," were of an antiphonal character, one part of the song being caught up by another voice or set of voices. This idea of repetition became a favourite, and resulted in such fine old tunes as Orlington, Devizes, Eastgate, Pembroke.

Unfortunately, the grand old Psalm-Book became unpopular, probably on account of English influences. The General Assembly set itself to amend it and the version of the Bible, and in the process of emendation everything Scottish was deleted from the Presbyterian form of worship, including Knox's Liturgy.

When Jenny Geddes threw her stool at the head of the Dean reading Laud's Prayer-Book, it must not be supposed hers was a solitary act, for that day's work was the devised rebellion of the spirited patriots, who were angry to see their native Liturgy contumeliously evicted by "the auld enemy."

Among the innovations resulting from English interference

was the abolition of the priest's-grey cloth, and the assumption by the clergy of black clothes, which had always been condemned as the attire of the evil one.

Another was the removal of bonnets from the head in church—Mess John being no more mannerly than the “coarsest cobbler in the parish.” “In he steps, uncovers not till in the pulpit, . . . and within a little falls to work as the spirit moves him.”

It was not till after the Westminster Assembly (1645) that a stupid fashion crept in, that of reading the psalm line by line before singing it. The recommendation came from Westminster, but the Scots Commissioners justly resented this innovation as unusual in the Reformed Churches, and particularly discrediting to their countrymen, who could read. The reading of the line became fashionable, and may still be heard at Communion services in rural parishes in the Highlands.

After the Scots Commissioners returned from Westminster, the cry for a revised metrical Psalter was revived, and the General Assembly appointed a committee to subject the paraphrases of Francis Rous, an English Independent and member of Parliament, and of other poetasters, to the criticism of themselves and of presbyteries, and to report. This resulted in the authorisation by the Church, in 1650, of the present Metrical Psalter, which contains the amended productions of Rous and others, with a few of the original metrical psalms.

It was a poor exchange. The metres were limited, and the people deprived of the variety of melodies. Besides, a fine collection of hymns which had accompanied the Psalter for two generations was omitted. These were popular, especially among the young, being metrical versions of the Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and other subjects. The loss of

them gave rise to the movement which ended in the publication of the collection of Paraphrases in 1742 and 1781.

Another regrettable consequence of the discussions at Westminster was the dismissal of the reader, the minister having to take his place, and conceive the public prayers himself. This accounts for the reason why there used to be only two psalms in the public worship, the "gathering psalm" and the "parting psalm." It would require a long chapter to illustrate the methods of preaching and the dispensation of the Communion. The sermons were long and, in a double sense, exhaustive. But to keep the preacher right, a sand-glass, which ran by half-hours, was affixed to the desk or pulpit. If the quick-eyed orator did not watch, the reader was often tempted to turn the glass too soon, and the familiar beadle would step up and give the simple horologe an ominous tap, to discover if the sand was running rightly.

The sermon over, prayer was publicly conceived, the second psalm was sung, the benediction was given, and the kirk "scailed," every one on foot seeking his home in town, dale, or muirland. During the week all heard the bell again calling them to wait upon the reader. These were the forms of worship in early Presbyterian Scotland.

The Communion of the Lord's Supper, to be made unlike the Mass, was authorised to be observed four times a-year by those who could say the Lord's Prayer, the articles of belief, and the Decalogue, and who understood its import. The churches being small caused the use of several "tables," for which several clergy were required throughout the day's services. In consequence of these clergy being removed from their own parishes, the people delighted to flock to the sacraments in the adjoining parishes, and created thereby the

“Holy Fairs.” To prevent promiscuous gatherings of those worthy and unworthy to receive the sacrament, tokens were invented for distribution to the former. While the sacrament was being dispensed, the preachers discoursed to the crowds in the churchyard, or neighbouring field, and after their duties ceased retired to a tent erected for their convenience there, and well stocked with provisions.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the kirk-session had all the powers of the Jewish Sanhedrim regarding matters of character, conduct, and life, and used these with all the vigilance of the Inquisition. The business of the session went on, even though the minister was absent from their meetings, so that often the lay mind and not the clerical is mirrored in the actions of the Church. The session-house was a veritable Star Chamber, wherein the actions of the parishioners were reviewed with unsparing criticism. The laws of the Reformers to purge away Popery and evil of every kind were acted upon to the observance of the letter, and woe betide any wretch who dare overstep the vulgar decorum of the day. The Church had in every parish a hundred eyes to watch after each soul, and a wakeful Cerberus to lay the flesh by the heels. To prefer retirement, or to complain of indigestion, was to induce a charge of witchcraft; to sport and daff with the fair was a sin requiring caution or public rebuke; to speak to your “guid-mother,” as men sometimes do, endangered the position of a cleric; to be over-hilarious at a bridal led to a prolonged seat on the cutty-stool of repentance; and other offences ended in incarceration in the branks, stocks, joughs, and other odd instruments of humiliation which the session, abetted by the magistrates, were masters of. The records of the parishes

and burgh in Bute illustrate the strange life and customs of two centuries ago, and afford us many a humorous scene which would have delighted a Wilkie or a Cruikshank.

The Celtic races have ever been prone to doat on the mysterious, and to love superstition and the appearance of the supernatural. A latent Pantheism has always delighted the Celtic mind, which has unconsciously clung to ideas recognising the presence of spirits in this world. The repressive laws of the Catholic Church and the Reformed State encouraged a greater keenness to scent out, bait, and worry uncanny beings, commonly called witches; while native superstitiousness inclined the Butemen to find comfort in the belief in gentler patrons of their homes, called *Side*, fays, or fairies.

Horror for the former had been intensified by a bull of Pope Innocent VIII., which rang the knell of witchcraft in these words:—

“It is come to our ears, that the number of both sexes do not avoid to have intercourse with the infernal fiends, and that by their sorceries they afflict both man and beast; that they blight the marriage-bed, destroy the births of women, and the increase of cattle; they blast the corn on the ground, the grapes of the vineyard, the fruits of the trees, the grass and herbs of the field.”

There are several places in Bute associated with the meeting-place of the witches—the Witches' Knowe near St Blane's, the Witch's Craig in Glenvodian, and the Fairies' Grotto at Ambrisbeg. Those suspected were usually lone and harmless old women or youthful imbeciles, who had warped and wandering intelligence, the exercise of which was designated scorcery.

In Kingarth, in 1650, during the pastorate of John Stewart,

who translated the Psalms into Gaelic metre,—a man likely to have possessed an enlightened conscience,—we find two elders apprehending a Finwell Hyndman who was bruited for a witch, “or an ‘E,’ as the country-people calls it,” because she took periodic vagaries, no one knew whither, and was supposed to go away with the “fayryes.” But the records do not inform us of her fate, except in so far that she soon brought home a little fairy of her own to nurse. John Stewart, however, had better luck when he became minister of Rothesay, and had a detective system to aid him in bringing Janet M’Nicol ultimately to the gallows, where others had gone before her in 1662. By some black art the guilty Janet had escaped from the Tolbooth then, and evaded justice for twelve years on the mainland, only to be brought before the Dempster on the 15th October 1673. From the extant ditty we learn that at the instance of the procurator-fiscal at the assize she was adjudged “guilty and culpable of the aforesaid vile and abominable crime of witchcraft, in so far as she did, about Hallow-day 1661 or thereby, meet with the devil, appearing to her in the likeness of ane gross leper-faced man, whom she knew to be an evil spirit, and made a compact covenant with him to serve him, upon his promising to her that she should not want gear enough, whereupon she renounced her baptism, and he gave her a new name, saying, ‘I baptise thee Mary.’ Like as the said panel kepted the meeting and consultation with the devil, the time foresaid, at the place called Buttkee, upon the shore of Rothesay, where were several other persons, witches, of whom four were sentenced, and executed to the death, Anno Domini 1662, or thereby, who likewise delated her guilty of the said crime of witchcraft, quhillk she herself confessed and could not deny. Like as for further evidence of

the said panel, her guilt, she being apprehended A.D. 1662 foresaid, and imprisoned within the Tolbooth of Rothesay, and fearing to be put to death with the rest who suffered at that time, it is true and of verity that she brake and escaped out of the said tolbooth and fled to the Lowlands, where she remained in Kilmarnock and thereabout these twelve years bygone; always under an evil fame both at home and abroad, and there committed several malafees, notour and known to all the country, as at more length is contained in her ditty; for the quhilk cause of witchcraft above written the said panel was put to the trial," &c., and "by the mouth of Duncan Clerk, Dempster of court, decerned and ordained the said Janet M'Nicol to be taken and strangled to the death, upon Friday, 24th inst., be twa hours in the afternoon, and her goods and gear to be escheat."

The Gallows-craig thus numbered another victim, who for lack of gold had leagued herself with the devil, as many more fortunate Covenanters before and since have done.

Convictions were not always so easy, and to expedite the process a class of professional truth-seekers, called "the common prickers," were employed to drive long awls or pricks into the suspected flesh to probe out the truth. If the buried steel provoked no pain in the alleged "*marks of the devil*," the patient was a child of Beelzebub, and was sent to the fire or the gallows.

These evil reports often arose out of well-meaning attempts to cure diseases by the use of herbs, which the Church considered tantamount to sorcery. On 26th January 1643, the Presbytery of Dunoon ordained that Marie Markman be esteemed a witch if she "gave drinks made of herbs,"

and ordered the ministers to intimate from the pulpit this resolution, "to give neither lodging nor entertainment to Marie Markman, and that for suspitioune of charmes and deluding of the people." In 1660, a Rothesay woman, Jeane Campbell, who was a martyr to indigestion, had used "a salve to rub on her breast, which was good for comforting the heart against scunners." The watchful elders brought her case before Mr Stewart, whereupon "the session finding that there is a report throw the countrie that Jeane Campbell, wife to Robert M'Conachie, gangs with the faryes, appoints the elders to tak tryell thereof, and how the scandall raise, and to make report to the next session." The true state of matters was discovered, and the minister allayed the fears of his faithful flock by announcing from the pulpit that Mistress Jeane had only the "scunners." But it appears as if others similarly afflicted had craved her skill and the cure she was proud of, for in 1661 another minute bears: "Considering that the said Janet goes under the name of a witch or a deceiver, by undertaking to heal desperate diseases by herbs and such like, the session did discharge the said Janet in time coming to use the giving of any physick or herbs to anybody, under certification that she shall be esteemed a witch if she do so." A similar case occurred in Kingarth in 1661, when Janet Morison was indicted for telling Mrs Elspeth Spence that her invalid daughter "would not be whole till they would take her out and lay her at the end of three highways." But for Janet's denial it would probably have been the most fitting prescription for a patient lying in a stuffy cot. The session "discerned her a slanderer of Elspeth Spence, and appointed her to satisfy, according to order, and to pay a penalty of

forty shillings. As also the said Janet goes under the name of a witch or deceiver, by undertaking to heal desperate diseases by herbs and such like, the session did discharge the said Janet Morison in time coming to use the giving of any physick or herbs to anybody, under certification that she shall be esteemed a witch if she do so, and that the people may not hereafter employ her—intimation hereof to be made out of the pulpit next Sabbath.” Such were the ecclesiastical pains for gathering a dandelion or a nettle without the advice of a licensed leech, that the witch of Endor could not have eluded them.

Nor were men exempt from those vile accusations. In 1670, in Kingarth, James M’Phie complained to the session “against Robert Glass for scandalising his good name in saying that he sould frequent the company of a lemman among the faries, commonly called fairfolks, whilk was a base and unchristian scandal,” for which he demanded reparation. The case was called, and Glass deponed that one Mackevin said “it was no wonder James his wife could not be well, because he had a fary lemman.” A few months afterwards “the session ordains that Robert Glass do publickly acknowledge his fault at the parish kirk of Kingarth, on the Sabbath day, and that he take James M’Phee be the hand, craving a pardon of God first, and then of James for reproaching him, and that they forgive other ; whilk was done.” What a wholesome scene was this at the door of St Blaas’s!

The fairies or kind folks were credited with having a home in a cave under Cnoc Alastair Drummer (the hill of Alaster the Drummer) on the farm of Ambrisbeg, whence they issued betimes to assist, like Aiken-drum, an anxious proprietor in

harvest-time.¹ At night the farmer placed beside their habitat bannocks and milk, and when morning dawned these had disappeared, and in proof of their appreciation the stooks on the field were safely secured for him by the industrious fays. But the session never knew of this strange practice.

Belief in the power of incantations for securing help, health, and happiness had not disappeared in the seventeenth century, as some interesting cases from Kingarth show. One of the forms of divination practised in the East, handed down in various countries, and held in repute in Kingarth, was "Koskinomancy," or divination by the sieve or riddle. It was also utilised as an ordeal for the discovery of criminals, as well as by love-sick swains for the revelation of their future mates. The riddle was suspended from a pair of scissors (usually inherited), one leg of which was driven into the wood rim, the divining instrument being held up loosely on a finger. Words of invocation were uttered, and the riddle turned and silently told its augury.² 'The Universal Fortune-Teller' thus gives directions for the practice: "Stick the points of the shears in the wood of the sieve; let two persons support it, balanced upright with their two fingers; then read a certain chapter in the Bible and ask S. Peter and S. Paul if A or B is the thief, naming all the persons you suspect. On naming the real thief, the sieve will suddenly turn about."

The following references to this sieve-chasing, or sieve-dance, are from Kingarth session records:—

"*April* 24, 1649: whilk day Kat. M'Caw, Archibald M'Neill's wife, was delated [*i.e.*, informed against] for being suspected that

¹ See vol. i. p. 88. Read Ambrisbeg for Ambrismore.

² Grimm's 'Teutonic Mythology,' Stallybrass's trans., vol. iii. p. 1108; Henson's 'Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England,' pp. 53. 233.

she used the charm of the riddle." But it turned out to be Archibald himself who was the sorcerer.

"*May 27, 1649*: whilk day compeired Marget M'Kirdy, who was delated for charming Robert Hyndman, and confessed that she used the charm for ane evill ey, and being asked several questions about her uses of the same, would give no satisfactory answer. She repeated the charm as follows:—

“ ‘ Cuirrith mi an obi er hull
A hucht Phedir is Phoile,
An obi is fear fui na yren
Obi thia o neoth gi lar . . . ’ ”

The translation is—

“ I will put an enchantment on [the] eye,
From the bosom of Peter and Paul,
The one best enchantment under the sun,
That will come from heaven to earth.”

“ The session ordaines Kerelamount and John Wallace to speir at her more particularlie to see what farther they can learne of this or other poynts of witchcraft, and to report to the next session. The whole elders are admonished to enquire of her carrage.”

“ Compeared Cat. M'Call, Ard. M'Neill's wife, and denied that she used the charme of the riddle, and lykwise that she knew not if it was turned in her house.”

“ Compeired Lachlane M'Kirdy and confessed that he and Alester M'Call did use the charme of the riddle in Suthgarachtie for getting of silver that was stone fra him, and that he and Isobell M'Call did practise the said charme ane only tyme. Compeired Isobell M'Call and confessed that shee and Lachlane M'Kirdie did practise the charme of the riddle for getting some silver that her mother wanted. Lachlane M'Kirdie and Isobell M'Call having confessed that they practised the charme of the riddle, the session did referr them to the Presbyterie.”

Two girls of tender years were apprehended at this time for this superstitious practice, but they confessed ignorance of its meaning, and were referred to the Presbytery.

“17th March 1650: . . . whilk day compeired Archibald M'Neill and confessed the using of the charme following in Irish :—

“ ‘Eolus chuir shiag obi er chrissadh er
Chliskadh er shiachadh er att er ith er
Ambhais nach deachie fomo
Dhume no mobheach acht fo
Leadhas dhia nan dule.’ ”

Translation :—

“The charm which seven enchantments put on shivering, on starting, on withering, on joint, on the death that went not under [affected not] my man nor my beast, but went under [underwent] the healing of the Lord of Hosts.”¹

“The said Archibald confessed that he made this charme in tallow and applyed the same to horses with a wristed legg, and that he practised the samen on John Wallace's horse, and to a horse of M'Ilcheyne's.”

Afterwards Archibald confessed his sin, and was referred to the Presbytery.

The belief that a witch could assume the form of a hare was so tenaciously held by one wise laird of Ambrisbeg, that

¹ The above translations are by a Gaélic scholar; the following by an Irish scholar. The text is very corrupt :—

I.

“ I will put a charm on the eye
In the name [*zit.*, for the sake] of Peter and Paul ;
The best charm under the sun,
A charm that is [*or goes*'] from heaven to earth.”

See Mackenzie's “Gaelic Incantations,” p. 161 of vol. xviii. of Transactions Gaelic Society of Inverness.

II.

“A charm which — † said : a charm against obstruction, against being startled, against attack, against swelling, against eating, against a neck, ‡ that they may not go upon my friend or my beast [animal], but [may go] under the cure of the King of Creatures.”

For difference between *Eolus* and *obaidh* (*obi* in MS., word now obsolete in modern Irish) see Mackenzie as above.

* If the reading is *tha*=is, *theid*=goes.

† *Shiag*, if for *sidhcoog*, fairy (the sound of which it represents well), it is unusual, as a saint is usually connected with those charms.

‡ Neck would mean *diseased neck* or *throat*.

he would on no account molest the timid rodents. A worthy Buteman still tells that his father used to recount how, when herding, he saw a hare stand up and suck a cow ; and although he hounded the collie upon the thief, the dog would not give chase to what even the dog realised to have been a witch. It is also said that one of the doctors of Rothesay, in the past generation, was called upon to extract a crooked silver sixpence from the body of an old woman who, in the shape of a hare, had received this charmed shot by a dead marksman.

When, in 1812, the simple natives of Bute saw the Comet approach the isle, they gathered by the shore ; but as soon as she entered the bay, they sought refuge in their old retreat on Barone Hill, believing that this pioneer of progress was the devil !

If Bute fishermen on their way to their boats met certain ill-favoured women—notably one who lived at the Gatehouse—they, being assured of no catch that day, instantly returned.

The last genuine case of belief in necromancy I have heard of occurred in Rothesay in 1857.

A child was pining away, without any discoverable cause, when an Irish woman informed the child's mother that it was a case of the "evil eye," or bewitching. She was permitted to use the following charm, which she declared to be unfailing : To place some water in a basin along with some salt. A needle was to be dropped into the mixture. If the needle stood up on end the "evil eye" would cease its baleful influence, and the child would recover. The charm wrought: the needle stood erect ; the boy immediately recovered, and is still alive.

Among other "freits" still observed in Bute are the burning of a light in the dead-chamber and the covering of the mirror

till the corpse is removed ; the removal of the dead feet foremost from the house ; the care to prevent the funeral turning except in one direction or going by a side-road ; the baptism of a boy before a girl, when both are presented for what is termed the "christening," lest the one should be beardless and the other bearded ; the keeping of the child indoors till after baptism lest it should not thrive ; the proper position of the child in the father's arms during this rite, and other minor customs with symbolical meaning.

The Presbytery of Dunoon took cognisance of a curious observance, of which I have not seen another instance :—

"13th Feb. 1656.—Compeared Marie M'Ilwee, medwyfe, and spouse to Dod M'Lucas, who pat ane rope upon and about ane new-born childe and did cut the same in thrie pieces and cast the same into the fyre, for which she was cited before the session of Kilmadan and censured therefor as superstitious."

It was one of the functions of the session to see that promises of marriage were duly fulfilled or lapses from purity condignly punished. During the period intervening between the "laying in of the cries"—that is to say, the registration of the proclamation of banns—and the marriage ceremony, which frequently was a long time, the parties had to procure two cautioners and consign a sum of money into the hands of the session lest the compact were broken, or a venial sin occurred. In either case of a breach of the law, this "consignation money" was forfeited.

The bridals were sometimes amorous riots, where unhallowed sports like "Bab at the Bowster" were indulged in by vinous revellers, who were summoned "for scandalous carrage at bridels," and piously admonished to "cary christianly in tyme coming." The guests paid a penny for admis-

sion to these popular riots. They were eschewed on "Yuill-day," lest the strain on frail nature became too great.

A Bute marriage was a function of groaning boards and grunting pipers, as profane as the wisdom of their special proverb made them, so that in December 1658 the Rothesay session, "for the better regulating of the disorders that fall out at Penny Brydells, appointed that there be no more than eight Mense [*i.e.*, tables] at most, that there be no pipeing nor promiskuous dancing under the penaltie of the parties maryed losing their consignation money, and that there be no sitting up to drink after ten o'clock at night, under the phine of forty shillings, to be paid by the Master of the family where the Brydell holds."

An old song, "The Blythsome Bridal," will vividly illustrate the uproarious conviviality and luxuriousness of a country wedding banquet, with which in comparison a puritanic sermon had no chance:—

"Fy, let us a' to the bridal,
For there will be lilding there ;
For Jocky's to be married to Maggie,
The lass wi' the gowden hair.
And there will be lang kail and pottage,
And bannocks of barley-meal ;
And there will be good sawt herring,
To relish a cog of good ale.
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And there will be fadges and bracken,
With fouth of good gabbocks of skate,
Powfowdy, and drammock, and crowdy,
And caller nowt-feet in a plate.
And there will be partans and buckies,
And whittings and speldins enew,
With singed sheep-heads, and a haggis,
And scadlips to suck till ye grew.

And there will be lapperd-milk kebbucks,
 And sowens, and farles, and baps,
 With swats, and well-scraped paunches,
 And brandy in stoups and in caps :
 And there will be meal-kail and castocks,
 With skink to sup till ye rive,
 And roasts to roast on a brander,
 Of flowks that were taken alive.

Scrap haddocks, wilks, dulse, and tangle,
 And a mill of good snishing to prie ;
 When weary with eating and drinking,
 We'll rise up and dance till we die,
 Then fy, let us a' to the bridal."

The two pipers in Kingarth in 1681 appear to have been especially profane fellows, and to prevent the "close-bosom-whirling" or hedonic Highland Fling undoing the innocent, the Session, "considering the profane cariage at weddings, especially by profane pipers, ordains that none employ or make use of Patrick Macpherson or James Walkir at weddings as pipers within the parish afterwards or give them money for playing, and that under penalty of losing their dollors." Patrick was a merry muse, and the session soon interviewed him for kissing and "sporting at" Alice M'Caw, who appeared along with him piping to another tune.

Swearing then was no more profitable a pastime than kissing, as the Presbytery by deposition taught Mr Patrick Stewart, Minister of Rothesay in 1657, who had no better excuse for minced oaths and cantankerousness than that he was simply enjoying a "crack" with his "guid-mother."

The session had a summary method of dealing with the bacchanalianism of the day, first by fining, and afterwards by exposing habitual drinkers in the stocks. The session were

temperance reformers in their own way, which is illustrated thus in 1707 :—

“The Session taking to their consideration that Elspeth M‘Intylor, spouse to James Stewart, wood-keeper, is a person, because of her Furiosity, unfitt to be dealt with, according to the rules of Discipline : And that she is very subject to drink, which leaves, besede the scandal of it, very bad and lapsing effects both on her body and mind, to the great prejudice of her husband, squandring his substance even to the giving away his and her own body-cloaths : And that the said Elspeth M‘Intylor hath too many accomplices who encourage or assist her in such courses : Do therefore discharge all Brewers and Retailers of ale within this town and parish to furnish the said Elspeth M‘Intylor with any Liquors to the disordering of herself or disturbing others by that means,—With certification that if they do otherwise they shall be processed themselves as scandalous persons : And that Intimation hereof be made from the Pulpit next Lord’s day.”

For scorning wholesome advice Patrick the piper was handed over to Mr Robert Stewart, the local magistrate in Kingarth, to enjoy a season of ascetic teetotal treatment.

The session were naturally very punctilious concerning the sober observance of the fast-days and Sabbaths, which were not to be profaned by indulging in worldly thoughts, works, or recreations :—

“*Rothsay, 16th Dec. 1658* : whilk day it is appointed, for the better observance of the Sabath-day, That the former Acts made anent Sabath-breakers be put in execution, with this addition, that whosoever of the Town-people be found sitting at drink less or more in their neighbour’s house upon the Sabath-day shall be delated to the Session, and shall pay a merk for the first fault, Twenty shilling for the next, and forty shilling for the thrid ; and that all families keep themselves within doors upon the Sabath-day before and after divine service, that they be not vaguing through the streets nor standing or sitting in flocks together speaking vain and Idle dis-

courses, under the like pain ; and masters of Families to be answerable for their children and servants ; and that all Landward people that shall be found drinking after the Toll of the Tolbooth bell, which is hereby appointed to be rung half-an-hour after the Sermon afternoon skails, be delated and pay the like penalties ; and thir penalties are by and attour their public satisfaction. Moreover, for the better observance of this act, it is appointed that any two of the Town Elders whom the Minister shall pitch upon shall go through the Town after the Bell-ringing and observe the Contraveeners ; and appoints intimation of this act to be made out of pulpit the next Sabath."

An anxious creditor was admonished for craving his debts on the fast-day. Some industrious ploughmen for ploughing on that day were cited, as also were some fishermen who had sailed out of Kilchattan in search of a catch on a Sabbath. In 1710, the industrious farmer in Greenan and his whole family, who were "very much humbled and disquieted," being "otherwise of a very blameless reputation and honest life," were rebuked for "going about their ordinary work on the morning of that day [Sabbath], never remembering or considering what day it was until they observed the neighbourhood flocking to the church." It went harder still with a needy snuffer, who was accused of turning her taddy-mill in Kingarth on the Sabbath :—

"*October 10, 1699*: whilk day Katrin M'Millan being sumoned and called, compeared : being inquired of, if she was grinding snuff on the Sabath-day, she flatly denyed doing so ; there were no witnesses to prove it : she was dismissed for this, but in respect she was a stranger come out of Lorn, she was desired to produce a testimonial. She told she had none : therefore she is enjoyned to get one ere Candlemas, otherwise to leaf the parish. This she promised."

Unfortunately Katrin could not get a "character," and she was dismissed the parish ! It would have required an inbred

Pharisee, of the purest descent from the time of Moses, to have kept a Kingarth Sabbath better than Elspa Muir did :—

“*Ap.* 7, 1667: whilk day compeired Elspa Muir, being summoned and callt, confessed she took up the rock [distaff] on the Sabbath but did not spin. She is ordained to be rebuked publicly, and to be admonisht that she keep holy the Sabbath.”

Keeping holy the Sabbath was properly defined to the people there :—

March 12, 1671.—Masters, servants, and children were ordained to attend church, and return home without “vaiging and drinking,”—transgressors to stand on the pillar and pay forty shillings.

“*Jan.* 15, 1670: whilk day it is ordained that intimation be made that no person use their worldly talk or business on the Sabbath, otherwise to be noticed by an elder and delated to be censured.”

This meant their own proper parish church; and in 1678 parishioners of Kingarth going to Rothesay church were fined 6d. Scots, because “the poor wants their charity at the kirk.” William Blair, the ferrier at Kilmichael, was ordained, under penalty, in 1700 not to row travellers over to Kames unless “they can evidence the same to be upon urgent necessitie.”

If the Church seemed a hard taskmaster in demanding such constant attendance on public duty, it was not without a sense of a Samaritanism which cared for the comforts of the creature. The Rothesay session record bears :—

“*June* 27, 1692.—It is enacted and ordained that no hostler or innkeepers shall sell any drink in tyme of sermon except to kirk persons, and this act to be intimated the next Lord’s day.”

But those slow in gathering to worship were first admonisht, then "unlawt" (fined).

To be wilfully absent from the Communion was an offence requiring the criminal "to pay 46 shillings and to stand on the pillar ane Sunday, as also appoints the guiltinesse of his fault to be referred to the Kirk-session."

The elders did not escape ministerial supervision, being exhorted to be faithful and exemplary:—

"Rothesay, March 8, 1687.—That day the minister requested the elders that because he was now by his sermons and catechisings preparing the people for the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, therefore they should take care by their example and authority to persuade and lead all the people, to all occasion that might dispose their spirits for so divine an action."

Nor were elders' duties perfunctory, and permitting them to slumber at home on the Sabbath-days:—

"Rothesay, 2d June 1700.—The Session appoints the Elders who are to collect the poores alms should still in their rounde be observant that there be no misdemeanor or misbehavior in the toun on the Lord's day; and that the Countrey elder take a walk through the toun in the time of the English sermon, and challenge all miscariages he perceives, and call such people to account whom he suspects to stay from church without a relevant excuse: and the Toun Elder to take notice in the time of the Irish sermon and do in the same manner. Moreover, the toun elder is appointed after sermon to goe and take any one of his neighbour elders he thinks fit to pitch upon, and walk once or twice in the Sabbath evening through the whole toun, and observe and reprove any breach of Sabbath or smaller indecencies they can find, and if persons continue obstinate and will not forbear upon their reproofs, they are to delate them to the session."

It is not to be wondered at that, in the glorious days of

the Covenant, the people found every inducement to attend public worship, when on the one hand they were in terror of the judgment, and on the other were entertained so variously with all the spiciest morsels from human experience which the pulpit took cognisance of—from a young wife's "scunners" to an old wife's snuff, from David dancing before the ark to Patrick condemned to pipe no more, not to mention "the weightier matters of the law." No modern Society journal could have afforded so choice a weekly budget of Sabbath entertainment as the Covenanting Kirk of Scotland.

Offenders were made to stand, in the way of punishment, or to "satisfy," on the pillar, the stand, or in the branks, jougs, or stocks.

The "pillar" was an erection at the foot of the pulpit, with several steps, which indicated the degree of the offence. The higher the ascent was the farther from grace. In other parishes it was simply a stool or a form.

The "stand" was no less prominent a place, being outside the door and covered to protect the delinquent from the elements. In Kingarth, in 1694, "the kirk stand" was so much out of repair that Ninian Stewart, the carpenter, was employed to repair it with "slait, fogg, or lime."

The "branks," or iron-bonnet, was used for scolds; the "stocks" for beggars and inebriates; the "jougs" for the contumacious.

The sessions were much exercised in trying to extirpate slandering, which is a failing in Bute not easily eradicated. On the first offence, the slanderers were enjoined "to forgive each other freely," and for the second offence paid 20 pounds Scots.

In 1670, "Jane Hunter, goodwife of Kerelamont, complaint to the session that Katrine M'Ilmertin, her neighbour, had most maliciously, vilely, and ignominiously slandered her in saying that she did eat lice," and sought justice. "The session ordains Katrin M'Ilmertin to stand on the pillar the next Lord's day, since she publisht such a vile lying slander." But Katrine proved contumacious, and was "unlawed" (fined) in 2 pounds Scots.

Mary M'Conochie said to Agnes Hyndman, "Witch, witch, go home to your house and see if ye have the devil in your kist or your master in the cove," and for this pretty speech Mary stood two days on the pillar and craved pardon.

One of the evil effects of the siege and capture of Laird Lamont of Toward came out in 1659, when the Laird was cited for "slandering Walter Stewart, baillie, an elder, by accusing him of wicked counsels, the said Walter also complaining that Lady Lamont said to her brother, the Laird of Ardkinglas, that Walter called him and other friends 'Bloodthirstie murdering Traitors.'" This was not far beside the mark, but Lamont was reported to the Presbytery.

In 1666, a Rothesay woman, Elspeth Spence, was "found guilty of slandering Janet Jameson, . . . and because the said Elspeth Spence is found to be an ordinar scold, the Session appoints that whensoever she shall be found to flyte or scold again, that she shall be led by the Town Officer through the town, and that a paper be set upon her forehead containing her faults, and thereafter to be banished the town."

In 1679, the minister, Mr John Stewart, cited Patrick M'Caw, the tailor, for calling him a "common lyar and tale-teller," and although Patrick denied the offence, the minister proved his case, and had the sweet satisfaction of seeing the

tailor compelled "to take his minister be the hand" and swear better conduct for the future.

The session had some mercy for frail women, as a case in 1701 shows, when a Magdalene whom "for the second time the divel got advantage of" was imprisoned and had her head shaved "in the public mercat-place"; but the session ordained her to get "a peck of meales piece towards her maintenance." All this war was a holy crusade against the devil, for when her paramour was before the minister he was reminded "how loath the Divel was to part with any grip he once got." The argument went home, and he gave "verie good symptoms of remorse and contrition," and "satisfied." The session had so reduced spiritual diagnosis to a science, that the devil could not escape having his works displayed in high places. Some of his worst clients "were ordained to stand bareheaded and barelegged in sackcloth at the kirk-dore [St Blaas's] from the one bell to the third, and afterwards in the pillar during the tyme of devyne service, and that for the space of twell Sabbaths, and also to pay £20 of penaltie." If Romeo was complaisant to the session, and Juliet still clung to her admirer, the scene of retribution was rendered more acceptable to the former by his being permitted to appear "in whyte sheets six Sabbaths," before putting in the "cries."

Revolt against this draconic legislation was then as ineffective as the attempt of a heretic to escape Torquemada, and was a greater offence than the crime itself. The Presbyterian Church inculcated filial obedience. Its will was law. An Act of Assembly was as infallible as a decree of Papal Council.

The session had no respect of persons in the enforcing

of the law, gentle and simple alike being dragged before their stern tribunal. The Rothesay session had occasion to investigate into a social quarrel which took place between the Lady of Ascog and the Countess of Bute, which resulted in a terrible fracas among their servants in the churchyard on a Sabbath afternoon. The scene among the green mounds and grey stones must have been a striking one indeed, when the fiery "cadies" set down their mistresses in their sedan-chairs to draw their swords and call on each other as "cowardlie dogs" to come and fight. Nor could the serving-women brook indifference to the quarrel, and Grissal M'Lauchlan, tiring-maid to Lady Ascog, expert in combing her mistress's locks, took hold to comb those of David Glass, who interfered for peace, "by the hair of his head and held the same fast untill some who beheld her relieved him" from the rude carding, and thus enabled him in retaliation to give an Ascog "cadie" "a shoak on the head." Meantime Lady Ascog is hounding on the sport. As the genteel combatants wound their way homeward over the hill, by the Bush, a running commentary of Biblical language, quite out of place in the mouths of the laity, was hurled at each other, and staves were brandished threateningly.

The incriminating record is very circumstantial in all these comical details :—

"Likeways Elizabeth Robisone, Lady Ascog, was delated for Sabbath-breaking, and particularlie that upon the foresaid 27th of Aprile last [1707] she did not onlie contribute to begin the forsaid Scandalous and Impious tumult in the Churchyard, but after it was thought to be over, did more than once with a loud voice Incite the said James Allan to challenge James Stewart and David Glasse to come up the brae to fight ; and that when the Countesse of Bute was passing by her at a distance, and in her chair, she—viz., the

Lady Ascog—gave the said Countesse sundrie very opprobrious names, such as — and — [these epithets would not be pretty even coming from the lips of Queen Bess], and that she was heard horridlie Imprecate the Earle of Bute and his Familie, and saying that she hoped ere long to see the Earl of Bute's heart-blood."

Lady Elizabeth and Allan would not obey the citation of the session, who referred the case to the Presbytery for advice—and then exhausted every means to place them under discipline. But in vain! At length it was announced from the pulpit that, for "weighty and prudent considerations, the Session thinks fitt to surcease all further process herein for some time, until it please the Lord to bring them to some sense of their hazard and danger."

When fines failed to create moral discipline, the magistrate was called in, as an independent woman discovered in Rothesay:—

15th August 1661.—Catherine Wood, summoned for disobedience, said "in face of Session, 'the Devil a bit she would stand, and the Devil let her never stand more.' The Session appoints her to be put in the Joggs at the Kirk-door upon Sunday next betwixt the second and third bell for her contempt, and to satisfie for the fault as was enjoyed." The officer reported he could not get "haud" of Catherine, and the session ordained the magistrates to "grip" her. If everything failed to subdue, the offender was then excommunicated, and forbidden to live in the parish. The Episcopal bishop in 1685 restrained this inquisitorial power. A fugitive had no resting-place, since in every parish a travelling or disjoining certificate was required on arrival. Irish vagrants were sent back to their own country, and the mendicant class had metal tokens or badges assuring the public of

their genuine poverty. The bulk of the church collections went for their maintenance, and was disbursed by the elders or deacons. In Rothesay, in 1691, twenty-eight poor persons were relieved, £20, which were nearly the total collections, being distributed amongst them. After this the number of the poor increased. In Kingarth, in 1692, the poor's collection of £5, 4s. Scots was distributed among nine poor persons. The session forced the parishioners to do their duty to their poor relatives and neighbours. On 11th August 1659, Rothesay session appoint the farmers in the north end to lay down the material for, and instruct two masons to build, a house at Atrick for Matthew Bannatyne, a leper, and ordain his sister "to wait on him." In 1661 they assisted a leper named M'Ilduy.

Another important element in public life which came under the jurisdiction of the Church was education. One worthy result of the Reformation in Scotland was the fresh impulse given to education, for the maintenance of which the Reformed clergy made an earnest and successful effort to obtain part of the "patrimony of the Church."

The first parish school in Kingarth was opened in 1654.

The statement that the people of Scotland once possessed "the ancient privilege of free education," though frequently asserted as true, is an unworthy fabrication. Fees have been exacted in Scottish schools, except from the poorest children, from time immemorial. Evidence regarding the means whereby the Romanist clerks and schoolmasters were paid for their school duties to those preparing for offices in the Romish Church, and to the children permitted to attend school with them, is scanty. But ample records remain to show that prior to the Reformation fees for education were

paid. Pre-Reformation schools, though under the jurisdiction of the Church, do not all seem to have been part of the organisation of the Church; and since monastic schools were few and far distant from each other, through expediency were founded private "lecture schools" and "dame schools," for whose maintenance, without fees or bequests, there seemed to be no provision made either out of "the scoloc lands" for poor scholars or the ordinary revenues of the Church. In the fifteenth century there must have been a minimum of enthusiasm for education among the laity, when it was necessary by Act of Parliament, 1494, cap. 54, to compel even the barons and freeholders, under a penalty, to send their eldest sons to school from their sixth to their twelfth year. In towns and burghs the need of education was more felt, so that in the sixteenth century magistrates founded or maintained in efficiency "grammar schules" and "art schules," whose teachers were paid salaries, each of forty shillings and upwards, which without the supplement of fees can be easily computed to be inadequate as the full payment of a teacher. This was a voluntary imposition on the part of the citizens, who at tuck of drum met to fix a teacher's salary, as, in 1529, the townsmen of Aberdeen met at their cross for this purpose. In some towns unauthorised schools were extinguished.

At the Reformation the Protestant clergy were unsuccessful in obtaining from the greedy barons and Crown agents part of the confiscated patrimony of the Church to form a sustentation fund for the maintenance of parish schools. A meagre moiety remained for the Reformed Church, and it would be unreason for the people of Scotland to further confiscate the small portion preserved for the higher educa-

tion of the adult masses by the Church, while a national settlement of the older question of the real proprietorship of the larger portion is possible. It perhaps might not be comfortable for those who demand a second spoliation if it could be shown that some of them are inheritors of those against whom the statute of 1633, cap. 6, was directed to prevent them further diverting the gifts, legacies, and pious donations left to churches and schools for their own private uses, and if they were asked to give an account of their stewardship. History would then reveal strange facts regarding bequests long since amissing, such as the Dean-side Brae property, given to Glasgow Corporation at the Reformation.

“Honest men held up their hands,
And wondered who could do it.”

However, the Acts of Privy Council and of Parliament down to 1696 and onwards provided that schools should be settled in every parish “upon the expense of the parochiners,” for which the heritors were “stented,” with relief to extent of one-half the tax from their tenants. Thus, any way looked at, the burden of education has always fallen to some extent directly on the people themselves. The execution of the provisions of these Acts was intrusted to the Presbytery, and by them to the kirk-sessions generally.

“*Kingarth, Oct. 16, 1670*: Quhilk day the Heretors and Elders present ordain that there be a schoolhouse provided for at the moor butts of Quschaig, as being the most central place of the parish for a school, and do agree with Mr John Gragan, recomended to them be Mr Archibald Graham, Minister of Rothesay, to be their Schoolmaster, and for his encouragement to teach the bairn, they ordain him 5 sh. out of every merkland in the parish and 3 sh. 4d. from each cotter that hes sowing, and 2od. from these that have not

sowing, with 20 merks out of the Session bag if it bees, 12 sh. out of every baptism, a goat is for the beddel, and two goats to the schoolmaster and 6 sh. to the beddel, with 8 sh. quarterly from every child that comes to school; providing always that the said John Gragan find bond and cation to give an whol year from Mertinmes 1670 till Mertinmes 1671."

But a winter in Kingarth was enough for Gragan, and he "was payd off and dismiss, in respect they can not get him a frequent schole, nor sufficient maintenance, he being a stranger, and that Lubas give out of the Kirk-box 5 merk Scots, and that the officer puind such as refust to pay for their merklands."

So Kingarth did not pine for education then. They next employed Jonat Walker, a decent woman at Langalchorad, at 20 sh. a month, to teach the youth. But Jonat took to drinking and flyting, and had to make a very public appearance in the church more than once. Manus O'Conochar was appointed to the office of teacher, which he held till 1682, when he was advanced to be beadle, an office he held for seventeen years, till his death.

"*Kingarth, Oct. 25, 1699*: Whilk day the Heretors and Elders . . . make choice of James O'Conochar to be their Scholmaster, . . . and for his encouragment he is to have the dues formerly possessed, whilk was 5 sh. out of every merkland in the parish and 3 sh. 4d. from each cottar that have sowing; 12 sh. out of the mariage, and as many out of the mariage to the Bidel; 4 sh. out of the baptism and as many to the Bidel with sh. for every child of quarter wages."

"*Kingarth, Jan. 8, 1700*: Whilk day the Session finding severals backward and unwilling to send their children to school to be taught and instructed, therefor it's thought fit that the former act anent the school be renued and in force, that whosoever may and is able to send their children to school be obliged to send them one

or mor, otherwise that they be compelled to pay the quarter wages quarterly, and this to be intimate next sabbath."

This is not a solitary instance of the working of the early Education Acts. The teaching of the poor children only was provided for out "of the common expenses" of burghs and out of parish kirk-session funds, a custom long prevalent in many places. Permission was also given to poor children (as in Luther's case in Germany) to forage for their meat; while others who were not able to bring sterling money brought their wages in kind—farm produce, peats, &c.

The re-establishment of Episcopacy did not change the "use and wont" of payment of fees, and teachers were, as formerly, paid their "sallarys, casualty, perquisites, and emoluments." In the Burgh Records of Rothesay the minute of the appointment of Mr James Stewart, teacher in 1661, clearly sets forth the different items in his emoluments:—

"40 pounds Scotis of the readiest common gudes of the said burgh: together with the accustomed college fees, penalties, and duties payable, be the country conform to use and wont, and the proceeding acts and ordinances made thereanent."

Again, in December 1680, on making another appointment, the magistrates, heritors, and session mutually agreed to cancel this settlement, and to provide for the teacher a better salary, made up of (1) the ordinary stent, (2) precentors' fees, (3) fees; "and for the schoolmaster's encouragement they agree every burges bairn within the toun shall pay quarterly ten shillings Scots for every one that learns Scots, and every Latiner [a blank here] and every landward bairn of the parish quarterly [blank] for Latine, and every stranger therein the same fiall," &c. It has also to be noticed

that in fixing the fees they are generally mentioned as "according to use and wont." It has been said that the Act 43 Geo. III., c. 54, 1803, imposed a new and unjust tax upon the Scottish people. That is not the case. That Act of 1803 recognised the existence of school-fees as "the ancient privilege" of the teacher, as formerly fixed by kirk-sessions and magistrates; and, in "making better provision for the parochial schoolmasters," transferred the power of fixing these fees to heritors possessed of land valued at one hundred pounds Scots only, with the parish minister, a fact clearly borne out by the definite wording of that Act, § 18,—"the heritors qualified as is hereby required, &c., shall have the power of fixing the school-fees from time to time." And so far as the children or their fees are concerned, in this Act there is no compulsory clause, thus leaving it open to heritors to give teachers the maximum salary, without fees if they chose. Hence from these and other facts it can be shown that there was never a time when the education of the people of Scotland was free and "an ancient privilege," except to the very poorest children, who until 1803 received their education as a gratuity, often from the teachers themselves, and thereafter legally, but conditionally, at the instance of the heritors and parish minister.

Both young and old were under their supervision, and "the compulsory clause" for forcing children to school was in unresisted force. Nor was all this system founded on a narrow view of life which failed to recognise the humanities. Far from it. In 1650, the Presbytery ordered a collection throughout the bounds for a farmer burned out of his stead-ing: appeals were made for distressed Scotsmen in England, slaves, a Presbyterian church in England, and other works of

mercy. The session in 1702 collected money for the making of a bridge at Water of Leckan, besides assessing for the building and repairing of the ecclesiastical edifices in the parish.

Last scene of all,—the session controlled the burials of the parishioners. Coffins were not commonly used for interments, and each parish possessed a “common chist” ready for public use to convey the dead to the churchyard. The coffin of Kingarth in 1693 cost 20 shillings.

In 1701, in Rothesay—

“The session desiderates yet the want of ane engyne to convey the coffin convenientlie into the grave with the corps. Therefore they have appointed John M’Neill, Thesaurer, to agree with a smith to make and join to the said chest a loose iron cleik fit for receiving a man’s hand, one at everie end, and to pay the workman for the same, and appoints the said chist when finished to be committed to the care of the Kirk Officer, and he is hereby strictly appointed to take particular care that the said chest when used be no way damaged, or if it be, that the person to whom it was delivered should be obliged by him to repair the damage.”

Before 1660 the corpse was brought to the churchyard before the grave was dug—relatives usually performed this office—and left on the ground till the grave was “hocked.” To end this indecency, the session ordained that “in time coming, the grave be hocked before the corps comes to the kirk-yard, under the pain of 40s. to be paid by him whose duty the session shall find it is to look to the dead’s buriall.”

In the transit from the house to the grave, the corpse and the coffin was covered by a black mortcloth which belonged to the session, and was let out for a small fee.

1706.—“And the method according to which the session agrees the said mort-cloath should be let out—*i.e.*, For Fourtie Shilling

Scots per night to any within the twentie pound Land of Rothesay, and For Four Shilling sterling per night to any in the country of Bute, and if at any time it was Employed without the Isle, it was to be For a dollor the first night and Fourtie shilling Scots per night thereafter."

In 1708, the Rothesay mortcloth cost £18 Scots. All that now remained for the minister to do was to cut the green grass of the churchyard for his cattle—it was his perquisite—and for the session to see that the mourners believed that the departed were either in heaven or hell, for Presbytery permitted no belief in Purgatory.

What influence the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland had locally I have been quite unable to discover from any sources. It seems, however, from lack of tradition, to have been slight and transitory. The burgesses and the farmers seem to have clung to the Presbyterian polity, while the Sheriff's family sided with the royalist party and their southern fashions and faith.

The parish church of Rothesay became the Cathedral of the Bishopric of Sodor, a see over which the following bishops presided:—

Andrew Knox, A.M. of Glasgow, minister first at Lochwinnoch, then at Paisley, was appointed to the Bishopric of the Isles and the Abbacy of Iona on 2d April 1606. He was translated to the see of Raphoe, in Ireland, 26th June 1611, and died at Ramullen Castle, 17th March 1633, aged seventy-three.

Thomas Knox, his son, succeeded to the office. He was rector of Clondevaddock in Ireland. He died about 1626, and, according to Blain, in Rothesay.

John Leslie, rector of St Martin-le-Vintry, in London, was nominated by King Charles I. to the Bishopric on August 17, 1628. He was eldest son of George Leslie of Crichtie, and a graduate

of Aberdeen. In 1633 he became Bishop of Raphoe, in 1661 Bishop of Clogher, and died in 1671, in the hundredth year of his age, at Glasslough, Monaghan.

Neil Campbell, parson of Kilmichael-Glassary, Argyle, was appointed bishop in 1634, and died about 1646.

“Mr Robert Wallace, minister of Barnwell, in the Shire of Air, famous for his large stomach, got the Bishoprick of the Isles, though he understood not one word of the language of the natives. He was a relative of the Chancellor’s, and that was enough.”¹ He was consecrated at Holyrood in 1662, and died in Rothesay in 1675, leaving, by Margaret Cunningham, his wife, two sons and three daughters. The following is the epitaph on his tombstone in Rothesay churchyard:—

“Hic jacet Reverendus Robertus Wallas, Episcopus Sodorensis qui, post annos—providens in sacro ministerio piu et fideliter peractos, huic muneri præpositus insulis pœne vacuis, verbi præconio pastores suffecit, veritatis propugnator strenuus, regi fidus, de ecclesia semper bene meritus, adolescentium patronus munificus summo omnium bonorum desiderio, fato cessit Rothesaiæ, tertio idus Maias MDCLXXV, ætatis suæ lv.”

Then follows the Wallace coat of arms—first and fourth, the lion rampant; second and third, the fess checky—and the initials “R. W.” The rest of the inscription is illegible.

The successor of Bishop Wallace was Archibald Graham, who was deprived at the Revolution, and died at Edinburgh on 23d June 1702, aged fifty-eight. He bequeathed his library to the poor of Rothesay, and part of it is still in possession of the kirk-session, part having been sold for the poor, as the following minute of session bears:—

“*Rothesay, April 13, 1715*—The minister reports, that about the beginning of February last he received nineteen pounds eighteen shillings Scots, which was resting for a little parcell that was sold of the Books mortified to this session by the late Bishop of the Isles for the use of the poor.”

The session record begins 5th August 1658. On 10th Dec-

¹ Wodrow, ‘Hist. of the Sufferings,’ &c., vol. i. book i. p. 102.

ember 1680 it is signed by Archibald Graham, Bishop of Sodor—"Arch. Sodoren." (See pp. 294, 298.)

The following is a list and condensed account of the ministers of Kingarth and Rothesay since the Reformation :¹—

1572. King James VI. presented Archibald Sinclair to the parsonage and vicarage of Kingarth on the 18th March 1572.
1597. Patrick Stewart, A.M., was son of John, usher to King James VI., who presented him to the vicarage about 1608. He was translated to Rothesay in 1623. (See p. 298.)
1626. Donald Omev, a graduate of Glasgow, 1622, had the church at Keel, Southend, succeeded or was colleague to Patrick Stewart, and was translated to Lochhead, Campbeltown, about 1639.
1639. James Maxwell, graduate of Glasgow, 1628; son of the minister of Mearns; presented to Holywood and Keir in 1633; assistant-minister of Kingarth in 1640; became minister of Kirkgunzeon, 20th September 1656.
1640. John Campbell, graduate of Glasgow in 1637; admitted 8th November 1640; died in 1645.
1645. Archibald M'Laine, graduate of Edinburgh, 1639, was presented by Charles I., 18th June 1645, and translated to Row in 1648.
1649. John Stewart, graduate of Glasgow, chaplain at Kinloch in Campbeltown in 1648, admitted to Kingarth 31st January 1649, was appointed by the Synod to translate the Shorter Catechism and part of the Psalms into Irish—the latter Irish metre. On 30th June 1658 Stewart was translated to Rothesay.
1660. Alexander M'Laine, translated from Kilmaglass 19th March 1660, deprived by Act of Parliament in 1662.
1664. From March to July 1664 session was "keiped by Mr Robert Aird."

¹ This list has been compiled from Scot's 'Fasti Eccl. Scot.' and local records, with the assistance of Rev. J. Saunders, Kingarth.

1665. John Stewart, graduate, Glasgow, 1651; presented 1665; appears in session 1st August 1665.

“Oct. 26, 1673.—It was thought fitt to be recorded here that about this time the chamber of the manse, where the minister was studying, did fall down on a sudden at once, so that by the admirable providence of God the minister was preserved, he being at the time not in, he only stept in to a little study, hearing some creaking, not suspecting the house, but thinking it had been some drops of rain dropping on his books, so that the top of the study saved him from being crushed to death, for which he and all concerned are ever obliged to be faithful to God and bless him.”

From July 1674 onwards for several years the minister could not, because of bodily infirmity, attend the session meetings. There are two curious minutes bearing upon this period—one being a minute by the Synod of Argyle referring to what Stewart had done under Episcopacy, without the approval of Presbytery; the other the minister's correction of their complaint to this effect, that in September 1668 Mr Robert Wallace, Bishop of the Isles, and the Presbytery had visited Kingarth, when “the minister preached and was approven in doctrine, discipline, and conversation; that the same occurred with Mr Androw Wood, Bishop of the Isles, and that the third visitation was “by the Presbytery of Cowal in January 1691, at whilk time those present wold have the minister deprived, and the place clear to have Gospel ordinances planted there, for no other reason but because he being under the afflicting hand of God by atrocious flux for five years and a half, he was not able for the present to serve the cure (for there was no other cause inquired into), but it pleased God of his infinit goodness—he hath compassion on the afflicted—to restore the minister shortly after to better health, so that by the good hand of God upon him he was able to exercise his function, and by the favour of the government continued in his charge and kept possession.”

The meetings of session were held at this period at the kirk of Kingarth, Langalchorad, Kilchattan Mill, Clachanuisk, and other places. In December 1675 the nave of St Blaas's Church fell into ruin.

“1675.—This year, upon the 19 day of December, by an horrible and great storm of wind, the roof [it was new in 1670] of the kirk was blown off in the night-time. It was a remarkable and singular providence of God that it fell not on the Sabbath when people were assembled for divine worship, but that it came to pass on Saturday’s night.”

“*April* 9, 1676.—This year, in respect the kirk was ruinous, and no certain place where divine worship might be constantly performed, but being in a fitting condition here and there, as the weather would permit, sometimes at a hillside, on a good day, sometimes in the cove at Ardniho, sometymes in a barn at Langalrorad, and at Kilcattan milne, therefor there were few sessions kept and many of the minutes lost.”

The session record for December 23 bears, “Whilk day it’s ordained that the pulpit be taken down out of the place where it stands, and got into the Quire, and that sermon be here when the weather is seasonable.” At Langalchorad, on the 27th February 1677, “the heretors and gentlemen” of the parish make “a band anent the biging of the New Kirk,” which was seated for 250 persons. It was finished in 1680, and in October of that year the heritors, feuars, and other parishioners “after advertisement” met to divide the kirk, “when the Sheriff of Bute was apportioned the whole Isle [aisles] on the north side of the kirk, high and low, allowing him if he please to loft the said Isle, . . . and that Manus O’Conochar presently take up the School in the kirk.” At a subsequent meeting, “The session agreed with James Rodger to secure the glass windows with wire—to wit, all the low windows, in number seven, for whilk he is to have sixteen marks out of the readiest of the stent or kirk fines.” It was also appointed that the space betwixt the north door and the aisle be for a pillar of public repentance. This Church from the middle of last century was called the Mid Kirk, to distinguish it from St Blaas’s and Mountstuart churches.

The present parish church, built in 1826, stands on the site of the Mid Kirk.

1682. Archibald Graham, A.M., was presented by Charles II., 30th August 1682, and held both the bishopric and the parishes of Rothesay and Kingarth. (See p. 290.)
1691. John Stewart, as above stated, was reinstated in Kingarth, keeping session in July 1691. He died October 1703, aged 72.

On 27th August 1703, the Earl of Bute received the patronage of Kingarth from Queen Anne.

1704. Robert Glen was admitted 20th September 1704, and was translated to Lochgoil in 1724.

It appears from a minute of Presbytery, date 27th December 1715, that on the threatened invasion of Argyle and Inveraray by the Highland rebels, the records of Dunoon Presbytery were removed for safety to Ardgowan Castle. In the spring of the next year the Presbytery are informed that the said papers had been returned, although the Clerk stated he had not received them. When returned, they do not seem to have been bound up with the other volumes of record, for in 1820 the Clerk writes to Dr Lee, Clerk of General Assembly, a letter in which he declares that the Presbytery records between the years 1716 and 1736 were amissing. All the while they have lain among the papers returned from Ardgowan. It would seem from these minutes that at nine o'clock of the night of the 3d March 1724, after the induction of the Rev. Robert Glen, of Kingarth, to the five-years'-vacant parish of Lochgoyll, the parish of Kingarth was declared vacant, and the usual steps consequent thereon were taken. The vacant "steepends" are lifted to pay probationers ten shillings a Sunday for supply of the pulpit. Two years pass, and apparently no attempt is being made to fill up the vacancy. That was not an uncommon result of the exercise of the Patronage Act of Queen Anne, enacted in 1711. The third Earl of Bute was then a minor, and his affairs were being managed by his mother and another guardian. In December 1726, the Presbytery "appoynt ane letter to be sent to the Countess of Bute, and that she be instructed to fall upon speedy measures for planting that vacant parish with a minister." In 1727 a letter from the Countess is read, to the effect that she cannot proceed

to the choice of a minister until she has "all the difficulties complained of by the last minister removed." These seem to have been connected with the state of the church buildings. In July of the same year, the elders of Kingarth compeared and "bewailed the desolate condition of the parish for want of a Gospel ministry," and craving supplies for their pulpit. This goes on seven years, when in April 1731, Mr Dugald Stewart reported "that he fulfilled the recommendation on him by the last Presbyterie to speak to the Countess of Bute about the planting of Kingarth and preaching for the new church, and that her answer was that she hopped ear long that it would be settled to the Presbyterie's satisfaction, and the new church fitted up for preaching therein." In 1732 the Presbytery recommended, as a fit minister for Kingarth, Mr Dugald Allan. The Countess did not appoint him. In 1733 the Presbytery fixed their diet at "the Kirk of Mountstuart," citing all concerned to appear at that place, and were determined that this state of matters should cease. Accordingly, then, the Presbytery met on the 15th May 1733, at Mountstuart, which is called "the Kirk of Kingarth," and admit to be heard certain parishioners who "did make a heavy complaint of their long desolation, being now these 9 years vacand." The Presbytery exonerated themselves from blame. A conference was also held with Lord Strichan and the Countess of Bute about the long vacancy, and they were told there would be a speedy settlement, since "the Earle would be major in 12 months." They also "returned answer they had not as yet pitched upon a place fitt for manse and gleib to a minister, but that the Presbytery might depend upon it, that it would be a more convenient place than the last manse was in, being 2 large miles from the place of this new church, which the Presbytery told them was a very prettie little church, and recommend it very much." However, it is not until July 1740 that Mr James Stewart, of Kilwhinleck, was appointed minister. In September of that year Mr Dugald Stewart reports that he had preached at "the New Kirk of Kingarth, according to appointment, and served Mr James Stewart's edict," which was duly endorsed—"there being no objections"—and fixed his ordina-

tion at the New Kirk of Kingarth. Accordingly, on the 24th September 1740, after a vacancy extending during sixteen years and a half, the parish was again "planted," and "at the Kirk of Kingarth, Mr James Stewart was, after the legal formalities, ordained and accepted by all the parishioners as their minister." However, it was an unlucky choice, and Mr Stewart, who was an eccentric gentleman, was at last practically deposed from his office. The proceedings against him were of an extraordinary kind. In the minutes we read of the Countess of Bute seizing the keys of the church and preventing the sermon being preached—an act which resulted in legal proceedings, through which the keys of the church were handed over to the Presbytery.

1740. James Stewart, son of James of Kilwhinleck, was appointed next minister, as stated above. He was an eccentric and extravagant man, with so pronounced a leaning to the exiled Stewart family that he preferred to pray for them instead of the king. After a long course of procedure, he resigned the charge, 3d December 1754. He retired to his estate, which he further burdened by building, in 1760, the present mansion-house of Stewarthall.
1756. Richard Brown, licensed in Forres in 1754, was presented by the Earl of Bute in 1755, admitted 6th May, and translated to Lochmaben in 1765. He did not speak Gaelic.
1766. James Thorburn, an English Presbyterian minister in Darlington, was admitted 24th December 1766, and held the charge till his death on 28th March 1810, aged 83. He was the friend of Home the dramatist and Dr John Jamieson. He wrote the first "Statistical Account of Kingarth."
1811. Mark Marshall, from Caithness, was ordained 19th September 1811, and died 14th December 1820.
1822. James Denoon, minister of Dunrossness, was admitted at Scoulag 25th April 1822, and translated to Rothesay 1st December 1824. Kingarth church was then ruinous.

He was invested with the keys of both Scoulag and Kingarth churches.

1825. Joseph Stuart, son of the minister of Luss, was ordained at Scoulag 11th May 1825, and died 8th September 1826, aged 29.
1827. John Buchanan, student of Edinburgh, licensed at Peebles 15th August 1821, tutor in the family of Gilbert Laing Meason of Lindertis, was ordained 9th May 1827, and died 26th May 1871.
1872. John Greenshields Scoular was translated from New Rothesay 15th February 1872, and died 1st August 1879.
1879. John Saunders, B.D., was ordained assistant and successor to Mr Scoular on 22d July 1879.

The following are the names of the parish ministers of Rothesay:—

1589. Patrick M'Queine, son of Patrick Oig M'Queine, had charge of Kingarth and Killumcogarmick (St Colmac, North Bute), which was added in 1591. He was translated to Monzie. "In a record still extant, and under 1601, he is described as 'ane beboysched and depryved minister' who had accused Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy by 'certain false lies and forged invents.' Yet M'Quiene was a great favourite with James VI. 'Moved with pitie for him, under what he considered as the grievous persecution to which he was subjected, his Majesty assignit for the better sustenance of his wyff, bairns, and familie the yearly pension of the third of the vicarage of Kingarth.'" ¹
1594. Donald M'Kilmorie, or M'Ilmorie, A.M., minister of Barony, translated from Rothesay to Kilmalien or Glenaray.
1595. Robert Stewart, graduate of Glasgow in 1591, presented by James VI. in 1595, appointed constant moderator of the Presbytery of the Isles in absence of the Bishop, present at Glasgow Assembly 1610, survived until 1614.

¹ 'Historic Scenes in Perthshire,' by Dr Marshall, p. 302.

1623. Patrick Stewart of Rossland, translated from Kingarth in 1623, was progenitor of the Maxwells of Springkell. He demitted office from old age on 1st May 1650, but enjoyed the fruits of the benefice till 25th August 1657, when the Presbytery deposed him for swearing at his mother-in-law.

1626. John Bogill, graduate of Glasgow in 1607, was minister of Rothesay till 14th December 1635.

His son, Patrick, was murdered at Dunoon by the Campbells in 1646, when they raided Ascog and Toward.

In Bishop Knox's Report on his Diocese in 1626, it states : " Buite peyis the haill rent to the Castle of Dunbertane, the schirreff of Bute and uther gentlemen. Is twelff myles in lenth and four in breid. Pays 160 merkis a yeir to the Bishope, is servit be Mr Patrick Stewart, Mr Johne Bogill, and Mr Donald Omey." ¹

1642. Robert Stewart, graduate of Glasgow in 1638, assists his father Patrick, and is ordained 10th October 1642.

1658. John Stewart, translated from Kingarth 30th June 1658, died after 18th June 1666, aged about forty-nine. He married Anne Gordon.

In 1660 the parish church was in a ruinous state. The following minute of session shows how the teinds were uplifted at this time :—

"12th May 1659.—Whilk day the Elders and Heritors present, considering that the small vicarage tiends of the parish has been confusedly uplifted at one rate and some years at another rate, appoints (untill there be some settled course taken thereanent) : That ilk Tydie Cow shall pay of tiend six shilling. Ilk foal as meikle. Ilk boat at the herring fishing an merk, and the rest to be taken up in kind according to use and wont."

1667. Archibald Graham, *alias* M'Ilvernock, was a student of Glasgow. He was a descendant of Sir John Graham of Kilbride. He became subdean, then Bishop of the Isles, but continued in the pastoral office. He signs a minute

¹ 'Coll. de Reb. Alb.,' p. 123.

in the Rothesay Record "Arch. Sodoren," on 10th December 1680. The valuable theological library, which he bequeathed to the poor of Rothesay, consisting of over 169 volumes, contained a few Gaelic volumes. He was deprived at the Revolution. He married (first) Grisell, daughter of Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck, widow of Sir James Stewart of Bute, and had a daughter Helen; (second) Margaret, daughter of Sir John Cooper of Gogar. He died of fever at Edinburgh, 23d June 1702, aged fifty-eight. (See pp. 290, 294.)

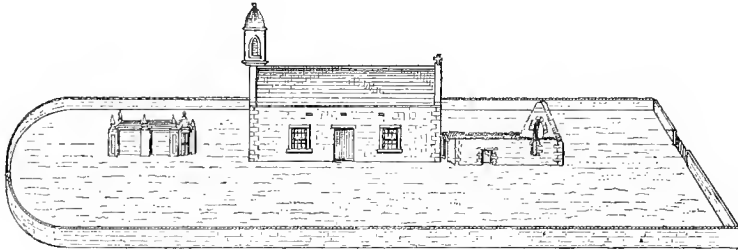
1689. Andrew Fraser, A.M., minister of Lochgoilhead, was deprived of his benefice by the Privy Council for not praying for William and Mary, according to the proclamation. He was present in session February 7, 1688. He died in Edinburgh, 25th April 1711, aged fifty-five.
1691. John Munro, from Lochgoilhead, admitted 11th March 1691, died in 1696, after a long illness. His tombstone lies immediately below that of Dr MacLea in Rothesay churchyard, and being much weathered is illegible. According to Wodrow, "He was very useful in the Synod, as well as in the whole Church, being a public-spirited man, and fitted to deal with persons of quality. Though educated and licensed under Episcopacy, yet by conversing with Mr Robert Muir and other good men, he was even in the height of persecution brought from these opinions, and further confirmed by intercourse among the persecuted ministers in Ireland, whither he had fled." During his incumbency the parish church was rebuilt.

The pre-Reformation church of Rothesay, which in 1660 was tottering to its fall, was, under the ministry of John Munro, in 1692 removed to make room for another. The nave was 81 feet by 22 feet within walls.¹ The new church, built on the north of the nave, was within walls "sixty-two

¹ 'Orig. Paroch.,' vol. ii. part i. p. 223.

feet long, by twenty-two and one-half feet broad, with an aisle projecting nineteen feet within walls, and twenty feet in width."¹ It had a gallery at the east, another at the west end, and the Earl of Bute's gallery—with accommodation for about 500 sitters.

There is no reference to the new church in the session records, but in the Town Council minutes, under date July 30, 1692, we read of "A poll-tax laid upon the inhabitants for building the third part of the parish kirk, there not being any share of it laid upon the land."



Rothesay Parish Church, 1692-1795.

Under Dr MacLea's *régime* the present structure was erected in 1796, it being reported to the session on 22d March 1795 that "the church was in so ruinous a situation" it was not possible to dispense in it the Lord's Supper with decency and propriety that season.

1700. Dugald Stewart, student of Glasgow, licensed in 1698; ordained in Rothesay 11th April 1700; after a long period of debility, died in 1753, aged ninety. He married in 1712, Janet Bannatyne, who died in 1761, leaving two

¹ "Proceedings with respect to erecting a New Church at Rothesay," Glasgow, 1793, p. 8.

sons and two daughters, one of whom was Matthew, Professor of Mathematics in Edinburgh, born in Rothesay in 1717, and father of the famous philosopher, Dugald Stewart.

1753. Lord Bute, in July 1753, presented Hugh Campbell, minister of Craignish, who was admitted 20th November 1754, and died in 1764. He married Susanna, daughter of Angus Campbell of Asknish. His tombstone in Rothesay churchyard still bears the following epitaph:—

“Hic positæ sunt reliquiæ Hugonis Campbell, Rothesayensis ecclesiæ quondam pastoris, generose omnibus chari sed suis charissimi, qui, pietate erga Deum ac benevolentia erga mortales quamdiu vixit, paucis secundus fuit. Obiit xxiv. Junii An. Dom. MDCCLXIV ætat lxiv. His wife Susanna died 13th May 1781.”

1765. Archibald MacLea, minister of Kilarrow and Kilchoman, was presented by the Earl of Bute, and admitted on 31st October 1765. The present parish church was built in 1796. He was made D.D. of Glasgow in 1801; wrote the first “Statistical Account of Rothesay”; lived to be father of the Church of Scotland, in 1818. He married, on 29th March 1787, Isabella, daughter of Roderick MacLeod, W.S., Edinburgh. He was an exceedingly able and successful parish minister, his name being still a household word in Bute. The following is the epitaph on his monument behind the parish church:—

“Sacred to the memory of the Reverend Archibald Maclea, Minister of Rothesay, and of Isabella Macleod his wife, daughter of Roderick Macleod, Esq., and of Isabella Bannatyne, only daughter of Hector Bannatyne, Esq. of Kames and Bannatyne. As private individuals, happy in their warm attachment to each other, and equally possessing the esteem of all who knew them. In that public situation as minister of Rothesay, which he held for 59 years, the exemplary fidelity with which Dr Maclea discharged its duties will be long gratefully remembered by the inhabitants of this large and populous parish, while

the manly zeal he, on all occasions, manifested for the interest and honour of the Church of which he was a member recommended him to the general regard and esteem of his brethren, to which it gave him so just a claim. Mrs Maclea died on the 11th day of May 1812, aged 74; and Doctor Maclea on the 11th day of April 1824, aged 86 years and 6 months."

1824. James Denoon was translated from Kingarth, 1st December 1824, and died on 19th August 1834.
1835. Robert Craig, A.M., minister of New Cumnock, was admitted 17th September 1835; joined the Free Church, and was "declared no longer a minister" of the Church of Scotland, 14th June 1843; died 26th May 1860, aged 68. He wrote 'Theocracy,' 1845; 'The Man Christ Jesus,' 1855; 'The New Statistical Account,' 'Memoirs of Rev. James Stewart.'
1843. Alexander Brown, admitted 22d September 1843, died 10th October 1869.
1870. Robert Thomson, admitted 16th May 1870, translated to Rubislaw, 22d May 1883.
1884. James King Hewison, admitted 8th January 1884.

THE CHAPEL OF EASE IN ROTHESAY.

1799. John Robertson, admitted 8th August 1799, presented to Kingussie 31st July 1810.
1811. Alexander Flyter, graduate of Aberdeen, admitted 26th January 1811, presented to Alness 12th October 1820.
1821. David Fraser, ordained 16th October 1821, translated to Dores 25th September 1823.
1824. Alexander Stewart, admitted 10th September 1824, translated to Cromarty 23d September 1824.
1825. Peter M'Bride, licensed 26th January 1825, admitted 11th June 1834; joined Free Church in 1843; died 2d October 1846, aged 49. His monument is in Rothesay churchyard.
1847. James Wilson.
1850. John G. Scoular, translated to Kingarth 15th February 1872.

1872. Thomas Martin, translated to Dundee 6th February 1874.
1874. Adam Bruce Scoular Watson, translated to Lauder 29th
July 1875.
1877. John F. Macpherson, translated to Greenock 27th October
1881.
1882. William Macloy.
1886. James Brady Meek.

NORTH BUTE.

1836. Alexander Macbride, admitted 10th March 1836.
1844. John M'Arthur.
1869. John M'Corkindale.
1872. Peter Thomson.
1881. Peter Dewar, M.A.



Rothesay Parish Church and St Mary's Chapel in 1895.

CHAPTER IX.

THREE CENTURIES OF CIVIL LIFE IN BUTE.

“ Past services of friends, good deeds of foes,
 What favourites gain, and what the nation owes,
 Fly the forgetful world, and in thy arms repose.

The parson’s cant, the lawyer’s sophistry,
 Lord’s quibble, critic’s jest, all end in thee,
 All rest in peace at last, and sleep eternally.”

—POPE, “ *On Silence.*”



HE close of the fourteenth century witnessed Scotland, by the persistent efforts of King Robert II., established in freedom, although the land was kept wakeful and irritable by the raidings of Scots and the retaliations of English soldiery. Nothing delighted the Scots king better than to leave the clangour of Court and the machinations of his Privy Council in Scone or Perth, to breathe the balmy breeze that broke over Loch Ranza, to chase the roe-deer in the forest of Cumbrae, or to drive his pleasure-galley upon the shingly beach that lay before the portals of Rothesay Palace. There peace and pleasure awaited the now ageing monarch. His son Robert and his grandson David, a clever but hapless youth, were often by his side; and when he came to Bute,



MOUNTSTUART HOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

From a painting in the possession of the Marquess of Bute.

his own son John, the Sheriff of the isle, was there to mark and supply his wants. During the last fifteen years of the king's life he frequently visited the scenes of his early exploits in angrier times, seemingly delighted with his maritime residences. From the 'Exchequer Rolls,' 1376 and onwards, we discover how the transports of pipes of wine, fat cattle, and other delicacies came for the use of the king—almost year after year. There arrived lampreys from the Forth, and honey from Blackness, and from Linlithgow many a jar of red Rhine wine to swill down the huntsman's venison. The old castle was gay with trusted courtiers, who accompanied the king in his expeditions over the bay into his rented and preserved game-lands of Ormidale.

Nor did he forget to see how the grim castle stood wind- and water-tight at the hands of Hugh the plumber, and also charged with soldiers, armed anew, as the Accounts in 1381 show, with "breastplates, helmets, and other coats of mail and engines of war." Doubtless, in the great hall, his son John, in 1385, was honoured with the appointment to the sheriffdom when Bute and Arran were then united. The spring of 1390 saw his last visit here, and the March winds had few days to wait until the king, who had retired from Portincross to Dundonald Castle, owned their chilling power in death on the 19th April.

If King Robert II. loved retirement in Bute, much more did his son Robert III., who, naturally of a timid, irresolute, and indolent disposition, had the misfortune to be crippled, and also afflicted with indifferent health, so that he neither relished courtly stir nor brooked political anxiety. He trusted the regal management to his robuster brother

Robert, afterwards of Albany, and looked forward hopefully to the development of his eldest son, David, who was a boy of over eleven years of age when his grandfather died. He leaned on breaking reeds, however. The fullest and best account of the miserable affairs which preceded the death of David, Duke of Rothesay, is afforded in a recent article in 'The Scottish Review'—"David, Duke of Rothesay"—by the Marquess of Bute.¹ But the article does not consider the probability of the document, said to be published by King Robert to exonerate the Duke of Albany from blame in the matter, being a forgery. The following is a meagre *résumé* of the carefully sifted facts in the treatise:²—

Prince David, according to Bower, was born upon 24th October 1378, probably at Scone or Perth. His father, not "possessed of any unusual mental force whereby to counteract the results of his physical misfortunes," was incapable of business social and public, moved restlessly through the country, which generally was in a deplorable condition, and had to rely on others, notably Albany, to manage the realm. The shores of Clyde were his favourite retreat. David was with the king and his consort, on August 14, 1390, at Scone during the coronation services. Soon after he was made Earl of Carrick, with an allowance quite inadequate to the position. His tutors are unknown. In 1391, the king was in the west, having moved from his northern Courts, as he again did in February 1392, and once more, at Christmas of the same year. In 1393, the prince was sent to Lanark to the Assizes, and probably, with his father, spent the summer

¹ Vol. xix. No. xxxviii. Art. iii., April 1892.

² For a romantic treatment of the subject see Sir Walter Scott's 'Fair Maid of Perth.'

on the Clyde, returning by Glasgow and Edinburgh to Perth, and then to Linlithgow, whence he came back to the Clyde in spring 1394. In 1396, 1397, the prince was engaged on royal business in the north, and probably arranged the famous Battle of the Clans in Perth on September 28, 1396. On March 16, 1398, the prince, with Fife and others, was present at Haddenstank on the Borders negotiating a truce. On April 28, 1398, David was created Duke of Rothesay, and his uncle created Duke of Albany. In the same year Rothesay engaged in a grand tournament at Edinburgh, and appears moving about, enjoying a virtuous and popular life. On January 27, 1399, the prince was appointed Regent for three years, with a capable Council to assist him. The same year he became engaged to Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of March, whom he jilted for Mary, daughter of the Earl of Douglas, whom he wedded in Bothwell Church in April. "As for profligacy, there is not a contemporary word to support the charge." Scotland and England still squabbled, and Henry IV. conducted a mild war as far as Leith in August—David meantime being on Edinburgh Rock, and his father on the Clyde. After Henry's departure, David joined his father at Rothesay in September 1400, where probably the Court remained till the next year; for on the 12th January 1401, King Robert, in the midst of a brilliant Court assembled at Rothesay Castle, and probably at David's desire, erected Rothesay into a Royal Burgh.¹ The Court moved northward, and the queen died in harvest. The king probably sought consolation in Bute, for he is mentioned as having been there in 1402.

¹ See p. 190.

Meanwhile the prince had become straitened for money, and fell into questionable courses to obtain it, during which period, through the appearance of a comet in February, he had some presentiment of an impending personal disaster. The proposed seizure of the temporalities of St Andrews by the prince was stopped by his arrest at the instance of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas. He was taken first to St Andrews Castle, and afterwards incarcerated in the Tower of Falkland, and in a short time it was announced that the prince had died of dysentery—the date being probably the 26th March 1402. [It was whispered that the prince had been starved to death, despite the efforts of the loving women who tried to prolong his life.]

The sad affair was discussed in Parliament on 16th May, and on the 20th of that month the king published a document, wherein it was stated that the two lords, Albany and Douglas, had been arraigned before the General Council, and had declared that their action had been taken for the public weal, a defence which the king and Council had accepted, pronouncing that no blame attached to them, and forbidding under penalty any whisper of blame against them. The Marquess concludes his examination of the facts in these words: “My own impresssion is, that the truth as to the cause of the Duke of Rothesay’s death is and must remain uncertain.”

The death of Rothesay plunged the king into an immovable sorrow, which darkened his few remaining years, and kept him in constant apprehension of misfortune attending his house. This foreboding was near fulfilment. To keep Prince James out of peril, and to secure a chivalrous education at the Court of France, the young prince was despatched in a vessel, which was captured by an English ship off Flam-

borough Head. He was taken prisoner to Windsor in April 1405. This disaster overwhelmed the king, who died "of sturt and melancolie" at Dundonald on the 4th April 1406, and was interred without pomp in Paisley. The tradition that he died in Rothesay is inaccurate.¹

The young King of Scots was detained in England till April 1424, when, accompanied by Joan Beaufort, who forms the subject of his poem "The Kingis Quair," he regained his native land.

During the king's absence the affairs of the kingdom were transacted under the Regency of Robert, Duke of Albany, and afterwards of Murdoch his son; while John, Sheriff of Bute, in 1406 and 1408 audited the accounts of the Exchequer. Albany appeared in Bute in 1408 with his viceregal retinue.

The Sheriff of Bute received a safe-conduct from the King of England to pass into England and escort homeward his monarch, now released, in 1424.²

¹ "Wyntoun (l. ix. c. 26) tells us that he died at Dundonald on Palm Sunday, being also the Festival of St Ambrose (*i.e.*, 4th April) 1406. Bower, on the other hand, and the 'Extracta de variis Cronicis Scocie,' make Rothesay the place of his death, and the date Palm Sunday, 18th March (iv. Kal. Aprilis 1405) ('Scoti,' l. xv. c. 19; 'Extr.,' p. 212). As to both year and day, Wyntoun is allowed to be in the right: and as he was Prior of Lochleven and engaged in noting down the events of the day in 1406, it is difficult to suppose that he was not right as to place also. Yet in this particular all later writers have followed Bower, who was not a contemporary; and tradition points out the apartment in the ruined Castle of Rothesay where the broken-hearted king expired. He was buried without pomp in Paisley. In Roll cxxxiii. of volume third, audited 15th to 27th March 1405-6, in which Robert III. is still king, and James is designed Steward of Scotland, we have an addition, were any needed, to the accumulated evidence adduced by Ruddiman (Notes to Buchanan's 'Hist. of Scot.,' p. 436, Annotations, lib. x., note on pages 182-186, edit. 1715) that Wyntoun rightly dates Robert's death on Palm Sunday (4th April) 1406, and Bower wrongly on Palm Sunday 1405."—'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. iii. p. xcvi; vol. iv. p. xlii.

² 'Rot. Scot.,' vol. ii. pp. 244, 245.

Albany in 1418 and 1419 granted charters to John, Sheriff of Bute, his brother, of lands in Renfrew and Bute. Shortly afterwards the Regent died.

The well-meant attempts of James to reform his distracted country and harmonise its irritable factions led to mutual distrust, which, on the one hand, he satisfied by arresting and executing among others his own cousins, as did his enemies, on the other hand, by taking mortal revenge upon the king in Perth on the 20th February 1437. Friar John of Bute had the honour of "fabricating an apparatus" for the tomb of the murdered king in the Carthusian Monastery of Perth.¹

James II. was a minor when he ascended the throne. Scotland was still as disturbed and intractable as ever, interminable feuds and jealousies everywhere rendering government difficult to the national regents. The Black Douglasses cast their menacing shade over the land, until the king and his counsellors lightened the darkness but a little while by transferring its deep dye to their own characters, after treacherously murdering their proud opponents in Edinburgh and Stirling Castles. Still there was "another for Hector" to gall the king. The Earl of Douglas publicly disavowed his allegiance, and entered into open rebellion with the Yorkists and with the Lord of the Isles to subvert the monarchy. Donald Balloch, Lord of Isla, was placed in command of a powerful fleet, which swept up the Clyde in August 1455 to devastate the land. Although the expedition failed, the sufferings in the west, according to a contemporary chronicler, were great:—

"There were slain of good men fifteen; of women two or three;

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. v. p. 34.

of children three or four. The plunder included five or six hundred horse, ten thousand oxen or kine, and more than a thousand sheep and goats. At the same time they burned down several mansions in Innerkip around the church, harried all Arran, stormed and levelled with the ground the Castle of Brodick, and wasted with fire and sword the islands of the Cumrays. They also levied tribute upon Bute, carrying away a hundred bolls of malt, a hundred marts, and a hundred marks of silver.”¹

In 1444, the king’s castles on the west were put into repair, Dumbarton being slated out of Ardmaleish quarries, and the Castle of Rothesay repaired by Symon the carpenter at the expense of forty shillings.

In 1449, the Sheriff died.

The stout doors of Symon the carpenter and the loud-throated culverins of Sheriff James Stewart were too many for Balloch, the freckled Celt, who left the Castle of Rothesay unscathed.

From the accounts of Niel Jamieson, Chamberlain of Bute, we learn what expenditure was required for the maintenance of the royal household in Rothesay during the year 1445 :—

“To two chaplains officiating in the Castle and in St
Bride’s Chapel, receiving from the fermes in Bute

yearly	£12 5 4
“ the Constable, yearly	3 6 8
“ the porter, yearly	2 0 0
“ two watchmen, yearly	0 13 4
“ the Keeper of Litill Cumbray	1 0 0
“ the Chamberlane of Bute and Arran	7 0 0
“ the porter, granitor, two watches, and Keeper of Cumbray	8 0 0
“ John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, as his yearly fee, fixed by King Robert II.	16 13 4
“ John Scott, the King’s ranger	1 3 4

¹ ‘Auchinleck Chron.,’ p. 55.

To John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, Keeper of Rothesay	
Castle	£40 0 0
" Ewen, the King's ranger	2 0 0
" Cristin Leche, a royal gift	3 6 8
" Finlay of Spens, the Constable	1 3 4
" Alexander of Narne, Comptroller, for expenses of the King's household	7 13 4
" do. do.	20 13 4
" Allowance made to the husbandmen of the Isle of Bute for 32 'mailmartis' taken from them in 1544 and delivered to Thomas Bulle, steward of the King's household, at 5s. each	8 0 0
" Sum for driving these marts from Arnele [Portincross] to Strivelyne	1 0 0"

Then follow other accounts in reference to articles bought in Bute and sent to other places where the Court assembled.

In 1452, King James II. granted to the canons of Glasgow the Crown rents of Bute, the customs of other burghs, and other privileges, in repayment of the sum of 800 merks, which they had lent him out of the offerings received for indulgences.

In July 1458, the king came to Rothesay.

The death, by accident, at Roxburgh Castle in 1460 of James II., involved the country in another regency, during which the Earl of Ross and Donald Balloch again became prominent disturbers of the peace. John, Earl of Ross, was tried in Edinburgh, on the 20th November 1475, for, among other offences, "the tresonable provocatione of our souveraigne Lord's lieges, and segeing of his castel of Roithissay in Bute, and birning, slaing, wasting, and destruying of our souverain Lord's lieges and land of the Ile of Bute."¹ A sentence of

¹ 'Act. Parl.,' vol. ii. pp. 108-111.

forfeiture was passed against him, and his lands were annexed to the Crown.

In the turbulent times of the fifteenth century the king and Parliament took care that whatever education was neglected, the youth were well trained in arms of every sort. Each youth and man had to provide the tools of death at his own charges, according to his rank as a holder of land or a cottar. In 1424, it was enacted "that all men busk them to be archeres fra they be 12 year of age, and that in ilk ten pundis worth of lande ther be maid bow-markes quharin upon halie daies men may cum . . . and have usage of archerie." The penalty of disobedience was "a wedder" taken by the "laird." Later, two bow-butts were set apart at every parish church. Weapon-schawings, or reviews, were held, sometimes twice, sometimes four times a-year, when men and weapons were duly inspected and enrolled by the Sheriff. Each had his particular suit of armour. Yeomen had iron breastplates and iron hats, with swords, hooks, &c.; spear-men had ash spears from 5 to 6 ells long. In 1540, every parish was ordained to meet armed and elect its own captain, who had to exercise his men in military movements and train them to obedience. This was the beginning of the militia.

In James I.'s reign the yeomen of £20 in goods met four times a-year for the weapon-showing, each according to his station, with doublet of fence, habergeon, iron hat, bow, sheaf and arrows, sword, buckler, and knife; or if he was no bowman, with a "gude axe, or else a brogged staff." Noblemen and gentil-men had full coats of steel-mail. Bow-butts, four or five in number, were set up in every parish, which selected its own captain of the parishioners. The landed gentry had armed galleys. The variety of armour changed from time

to time, and included "pikes, stark and lang, of sex elnes of length [18 feet 6 inches], crossbows, shot-guns, &c.," in the sixteenth century, each being "weaponed effeirand to his honour."

James III. and James IV. ordained ships and bushes of not less than twenty ton to be built in every burgh, and sheriffs and other officers to compel idle men to serve in them at the fishing under pain of banishment.

In 1469, Parliament annexed the Crown lands of Bute to the principality.

It must not be imagined that the methods of agriculture were not thoroughly understood by the farmers, well tutored by the monks, and also by those Norman settlers who, like King David I. and Alan the Steward, took a great interest in the culture of trees and flowers. In the case of the barony of Rolden each husbandman had to pay annually eighty silver pennies as silver rent. His household contributed four days' shearing and one day peat-raising; a man and a horse were requisitioned for a journey to Berwick; an acre and a half were to be ploughed; one day's harrowing, one day's carting at harvest, one day's sheep-washing, and one day's sheep-shearing of a man were also exacted. The service might be in road-making, ditching, fencing, or any other kind of agricultural work. There are extant many ancient Acts of Parliament regulating every kind of agricultural concern—*e.g.*, leases, digging, ploughing, rotations, weeds, vermin, deer, hares, "cunnings," birds, doves, wolves, trees, setting of broom, fences, and the like. The vexations of the farmers have never been out of Parliament—and if there is any force in heredity, farmers must be by this time constitutionally aggrieved, and unable to enjoy fixed laws.

In 1424, King James I. ordained that labourers were each to have half an ox to plough with, or dig 7 feet square daily under penalty of paying an ox.

In 1426, every farmer possessing a plough of eight oxen was ordained to sow at least a firlot of wheat, half a firlot of peas, and forty beans yearly, under a penalty to the baron of 10 shillings, and of the baron to the Crown of 40 shillings.

In James II.'s reign tenants were ordered to plant woods and hedges and sow broom, while destroyers of woods were severely punished.

The peaceful occupations of the husbandry were so disturbed by the perpetual internecine wars in the realm throughout the reigns of the Stewart dynasty, that although the farmers were to all intents and purposes owners of the soil, they gradually sank into difficulties, and had to part with their properties. The history of the progress of these small estates out of the hands of their original owners is a striking example of the difficulty of families hereditarily retaining small portions of land. In 1506, there were eighty-one landholders; in 1657, thirty-six; in 1894, twelve, including these within the burgh boundaries. In 1704, the old "barons" were reduced to seventeen in number. Their lands seem to have been designated "heritage" lands. The lands in the burgh were designated "king's" and "common" lands, which indicate that the rents in the one case were paid directly into the king's Treasury by the king's bailie, and of the other, being to all intents and purposes feu-duties, the rents were paid to the burgh. The "common" lands must have been parcels of ground feued off "the common good" to their own burgesses at the annual rate of two shillings Scots per acre by the

magistrates. The infeftments of these feuars are recorded in the Burgh Register, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in 1681.

There were no cut highways on the isle till after 1768, transport being carried on pack-horses over the "drove-roads," which ran along the higher ground, to avoid the undrained hollows and flats. Drainage was done by cutting trenches, into which branches of trees were laid, these being covered with turf and the soil.

In 1457, Parliament ordained the fashions, forbidding other than dignatories and their families to wear silk, scarlet, or furred gowns. The poorer gentry's wives and daughters were to wear "short curches with little hudes," and unfurred gowns save on holy days. The day-labourer might change his grey or white stuff of daily wear into a blue, green, or red coat on holy days; but his wife had to wear a cheap curch of her own making, and not to mussal (veil) her face at kirk or market.

During the troubled reign of James III., while his kinsmen the Boyds of Kilmarnock were in favour at the Court, the Crown lands in Arran, Bute, and Cumbrae were granted to Thomas Boyd, who was raised to the dignity of Earl of Arran, and became husband to Mary, eldest sister of the king. Fortune ceased to smile on the earl, whose wife, after obtaining a divorce, married Lord Hamilton of Cadzow, and became mother of James Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Arran, and holder of the Crown lands in Arran. Several chamberlains successively attempted to lift the Crown rents in Arran and Bute, among others being John, Lord Darnley, who from 1473 to 1491 received payment of £26, 13s. 4d. as keeper of Rothesay Castle. He also drew a salary as Sheriff

of Bute. Robert and Ninian Stewart were about this period chamberlains in Bute, and in 1473 William Hacket of Beilsice was appointed king's Clerk of Justiciary.

The murder of James III. at Sauchieburn led to the usual confiscations of land and redistributions of honours. Among those who fell under the displeasure of the monarch was the stout and warlike Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who was arraigned for treason before the king and Council. He had the assistance of his eloquent brother Patrick, who was able to nullify on technical points the indictment, and to obtain a delay of the trial. The success of this action irritated the king, who vowed "he should gar him [Patrick] sit where he should not see his feet for a year," a threat it is said he carried out by incarcerating Patrick in the dungeon of Rothesay for a whole year after 1489.¹

In 1489, King James IV. granted the Stewartry in Bute to Hugh, Lord Montgumry, with power to lease the lands thereof, for the annual payment of £141, 18s. 6d.; £5 as fogage; 41½ marts; 11 chalders 15 bolls of bear; and 1 chalder 8 bolls of meal; also a life appointment of the bailieship of the isle and the justiciarship of Bute and Arran, with power to appoint deputes.

The king made several visits to the west to subjugate the rebellious Highlanders in Kintyre, whence, after reducing Dunaverty, he seems to have sailed in his warship the Christopher round to the Castle of Rothesay in July 1494. After the next Yule he was back again in Bute in his royal "row-barge"²—a visit which probably caused Matthew

¹ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 238; 'Lives of the Lindsays,' vol. i. p. 179.

² 'Acc. Lord H. Treas. of Scot.,' vol. i. *var. loc.*

Stewart to have the castle refurbished up at a cost of £10 and 4 chalders of barley.

In August 1498, James IV. was in the west, and on the 5th of that month, at Tarbert, he made Ninian Stewart hereditary keeper of Rothesay Castle. Next year, in March and April, he held Court under the Sheriff's roof in Rothesay, during which visit the miller was busy grinding their wheaten flour.

The king's anxiety to form a Scottish fleet may have brought him so often to the west to draft the descendants of the hardy Norsemen, who form the best marines possible, into the royal service.

The county Justice Air was appointed to be held at Ayr or Rothesay in 1503.

The birth of a prince in 1506 led to the consideration of the tenancy of the Crown lands, and a demand for the payment of the Crown dues.

The king empowered commissioners to let the lands of the principality; but on their reporting that the tenants in Bute had been of old infested in the lands by his progenitors, the king, with the consent of the Lords of Council, in 1506 granted them charters of their lands, to be held on payment of the fixed fermes and the giving of service. (See Chapter V. on "The Barons of Bute.") In this way the landholders in Bute, with a few exceptions, got their feu-charters from the king.

From 1445 to 1450 the money-fermes of Bute, payable to the Steward or Prince of Scotland, amounted to £141, 18s. 6d., including £40 from the burgh of Rothesay; and each tenant was bound to furnish a mart to the royal table for every five marks of rent payable by him, for which mart he received the sum of 5 shillings from the chamberlain. These

marts were gathered at Portincross and transported to the various castles where the Court assembled. A passenger-boat plied between Bute and Cowal, the ferryman of which down to 1445 received a boll of barley annually out of the rents.¹ Kerrycroy is still popularly known as "The Ferry."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the men of Kintyre indulged in a feud with the Butemen, during which the vassals of Argyle about 1507 invaded Bute and committed incendiary devastations, which in turn led to retaliations on the part of the victims. For these breaches of the law the invaders had to make amends, and in 1512 the islanders of Bute and Cumbrae obtained a remission of all past crimes saving the four pleas of the Crown. The quarrel did not end here, and the Earl of Argyle, who had been appointed Lieutenant of the Isles, while executing his warrant to apprehend certain troublesome islesmen who were supposed to have found refuge in Bute, paid off the old score at the same time. Consequently, in 1515, Albany, Regent of Scotland, granted the Earl of Argyle and his vassals, including the Lamonts of Cowal, a remission for their ravages committed on the lands, castle, and inhabitants of Bute.

The absence of records at this date prevents us describing the horror which spread throughout the land on the realisation of the disaster of Flodden, where in 1513 James IV. and the best of his kingdom perished. I am not able to determine under what flag the Brendanes fought that day—whether as the body-guard of the king in the centre of the van, or, along with their neighbours from the west, in the right wing under Lennox and Argyle.

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. vi., Pref.

Probably it was they who formed that sacred circle of humanity devoted to die around their ill-fated king, as their ancestors had done before on the field of Falkirk. The forester of Cumbræ, Hunter of Hunterston, was among the slain. Ninian Stewart, the Sheriff, at least did not fall on that bloody field with the muster of "all manner of men between sixteen and sixty, spiritual and temporal, burgh and land, islesmen and others," who assembled at the Bore-Stone. In his account, as Chamberlain of Bute, from 7th August 1518 to 6th November 1520, appears a charge for the building of the great tower and dungeon in the Castle of Rothesay, which had been commenced at the order of King James IV., and cost £191, 7s.¹

The Crown-fermes of the isle were at this time granted to the Earl of Lennox. There still exists a "bond of manrent by Ninian Bannachtyne of the Kamys, and Robert Bannachtyne his son, whereby they become bound to be men and servants to John, Earl of Lenax, and to give him their best counsel when required, and to take part with the captain or captains of the Castle of Bute,"² which is dated 10th February 1514.

King James V. granted two leases of the lands and lordship of Bute, with the forest, extending between 1521 and 1531, for payment of 6 merks for each chalder of bear, 32 shillings for each chalder of oats, and 13s. 4d. for each mart, to John, Earl of Lennox.³ The Earl was appointed Justice in Bute in May 1525.

Scotland was once more unfortunate in being governed by

¹ 'Rot. Scacc.,' p. 362: "Et eidem pro constructione magni turris dicti le dungeon in caastro de Rothesay de mandato domini regis quondam Jacobi quarti cujus anima prospicietur Deus extendente, £191, 7s."

² Duke of Montrose Charters.

³ *Ibid.*

a Regency—and that at first in the worst form under the widowed queen—until King James V. assumed the reins of power. The country was distracted. What with the levity of the queen, the quarrels of nobles and clergy, the rebellions of the Douglasses and the Earl of Arran, the sanguinary feuds of the Highlanders, the intrigues of King Henry VIII., and the secret propagation of the new Reformed doctrines of religion, the mass of the people became unsettled, irritable, and distrustful. The history of the period reads like that of Central Africa, where every pleasant spot has its rivulet of blood murmuring for revenge.

On January 24, 1527, the Master of Ruthven and five associates obtained a remission for treason in laying siege to Rothesay Castle and burning the town of "Bute."¹

Brodick Castle, then under the castellanship of George Tait, was taken and burned by Archibald and Robert Stewart in 1528, who killed the keeper, for which crime they were returned for trial.²

In 1534, Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas was lessee of the Crown lands at an increase of rent upon that of 1440.

In 1536, the castle was honoured by a visit of the young king, who, "weary of his single life," was on his way to France to woo Mary of Bourbon, when, during his sleep, his influential companion Sir James Hamilton of Evandale caused his vessel to be turned back into western waters. For this interference the king never forgave Hamilton, and a few years later consented to his execution as a traitor. One of the accusations made against him was that, having obtained 3000 crowns from the king to repair and appoint Rothesay Castle

¹ Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 240.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 139.

as a royal residence, he had failed to perform the work and account for the money. Hamilton was executed on Edinburgh Castle Hill.

In the summer of 1540, the king made a naval expedition round Scotland in order to overawe the western clans, and on his return visited Bute.

In 1538, Sheriff Ninian and his sons James and Archibald Stewart had a lease for five years from the king of the lands, lordship, and forest of Bute, on annual payment of 6s. 8d. for every boll of bear—price of the chalder £5, 6s. 8d.,—40 pence for each boll of oats—price of the chalder 53s. 4d.,—and for each mart 5 shillings.

Argyle leased these dues for nine years from 1543, and was justiciary in 1546.

Argyle, being restored to the lieutenancy of Bute in 1530, considered himself superior in jurisdiction to the keeper of Rothesay Castle, and consequently, when in dread of the English invasion under Lennox, the inhabitants of Bute applied to him for the safe passage of their goods into his territory, Argyle granted a writ of security, "and keipand ane leil, trew, and assawld pairt till us and to our serwands, that we send to the keeping of the Castil of Rosay and Isle of Buit, and till all uthers that dependis on us in all pertening."¹ It was signed at Toward on 3d January 1544.

Argyle seems to have been deprived of his lease, for in 1549 Sheriff James Stewart, on payment of a composition of 300 marks to the Queen's Comptroller, received a nineteen years' appointment to the office of chamberlain of the lands, he paying a certain valued sum for the tenants' rents, and being

¹ 'Blain,' p. 201.

permitted to deduct the salaries of the officials in the castle, But Argyle obtained other grants of the Crown rents in 1554, 1558, 1562, and 1566.

By the death of King James in 1542, Scotland was once again placed under the miserable *régime* of a Regency, and King Henry of England set into motion the plots which were designed to ally Scotland to England by the marriage of the young queen to his son. In 1544, the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn made a compact with King Henry VIII. to promote the marriage of Queen Mary and Prince Edward, and to put Henry in possession of the strongest castles in Scotland, on condition that Lennox was made Governor of Scotland, married a niece of Henry, and obtained a substantial honorarium. In terms of this indenture, instructions were given to the English squadron to co-operate with Lennox in taking "Rosse Castle and the Isle of Bute."¹ In August 1544, Lennox, and Thomas Bishop of Ochiltree, with an English force, invaded Bute and put it to fire and sword, and sacked Dunoon, for which treasonable acts Lennox and Bishop were forfeited.² It is a remarkable instance of the unexpected happening when Darnley, the son of Lennox, afterwards married Mary Queen of Scots.

James Stewart, the Sheriff, espoused from the beginning the cause of his royal mistress, for which he suffered at the instigation of the Earl of Arran and the Earl of Argyle. To supplant the faithful Sheriff, in order to reward or confirm the allegiance of James Macdonald of Islay, was the design of these two nobles. Ninian Bannatyne of Kames, who had once been the man of Lennox, assisted Macdonald in harass-

¹ 'Cal. Stat. Papers,' vol. i. pp. 46, 47.

² 'Act. Parl.,' vol. ii. pp. 456-459.

ing the Sheriff in Rothesay, and took violent possession of the farm of Barone for three years. This feud reached its acutest local crisis in 1555, when, after seven years' litigation, Ninian divorced, on grounds of consanguinity, his wife Janet, who was a sister of the Sheriff.

To accomplish their machinations, the Sheriff was arraigned in 1549 as a traitor who had assisted the English squadron in spoiling Bute, but the charge failed. Under fear, or, as himself alleged, by coercion, the Sheriff, to gain the influence of the Regent Arran, who was thirsting for the Sheriff's lands in the Isle of Arran so as to strengthen his title, the Sheriff consented to the disposition of his lands to the Regent. The Sheriff resiled, confessing to be coerced, and accusing the second party of fraud; yet, notwithstanding, the Regent and his heirs kept the Arran lands, Corriegills excepted.

Through the fall of the Hamiltons in 1579, the Sheriff was once more invested in his lands in Arran, the chamberlainship, the keepership of Brodick Castle, and other rights; but these honours he only held till 1586, when he was dispossessed to make room for John, Lord Hamilton.

In 1590, John, Sheriff of Bute, for the reduction of the strange transaction of 1549, raised an action, out of which nothing eventuated, so that the lands are still held by the Duke of Hamilton.¹

Sheriff James, who died in 1570, was a sturdy adherent of the queen's party, and, according to Blain, fought in her ranks at the battle of Langside. Sheriff James and his son John seem to have been in favour with Queen Mary, who in

¹ For a full account of this affair see Blain's 'Hist.,' p. 205, and Reid's 'Hist.,' p. 74.

1561 granted to them for life the sum of 25 marks out of the Crown rents.

During the troubles consequent on the dethronement, imprisonment, and unjust death of Queen Mary, when the air was full of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada, a proclamation by James VI. was read at the Cross in High Street, in September 1588, declaring that sundry armed bands, horsemen and foot, paid with foreign gold, had risen to change "the trew religion to the thraldome and slaverie of that proude natioun of Spayne," and calling upon the "substancious fewaris and landed gentilmen" to take arms against these "pernicious instruments," and come speedily too, with thirty days' provision in their wallet, and "weill bodin with jakkis" (*i.e.*, furnished with a short coat of mail), spears, and long guns, to meet his majesty James at Edinburgh on the last day of September. It was a patriotic call, and all were bidden who had Reformed principles at stake. Who went, we know not.¹

Every prominent hill glared out its bale-fire, for that was then the statutory summons to loyal subjects.

One can imagine the stir at the old port of Rothesay in the Water-gate those days when, after a benediction from the parish minister, Patrick M'Queine, and a God-speed from the burghers' wives, the motley Brandanes sailed away. But the expedition was a muster and nothing more. All that the Butemen saw of this terrible fleet was the unfortunate vessel that sank at Portincross, and whose crew became progenitors of a family of Hogarths, according to tradition.

However, it was a bloodless march, the Armada having

¹ 'Act. Parl.,' vol. iv. p. 95*a*.

been dispersed, harmlessly to Scotland, by storm and wrecking.

In 1594, there was another muster in Edinburgh.

Four years later a similar proclamation was more definite, and called a muster of men between sixteen and sixty years of age, holding lands worth 300 merks a-year, to meet the king at Dumbarton, as he intended chastising the "red-shanks" of Kintyre and the Isles, who had been guilty of "vyle and beestlie murthours" (murders) and other unspeakable crimes, which then meant papistical practices. The Butemen and other maritime lieges were to appear there of course "weill bodin," but also with "ships, crearis [lighters], boats," and other transports, on the 20th August 1598, on pain of forfeiting lands, goods, and gear.¹

Bute, like the rest of Scotland, was embroiled in the sanguinary troubles which ultimately ended in the execution of King Charles I. in 1649, and its chief men were partisans with the Covenanters against the king, with few exceptions. Among those who signed the National Covenant of 1638, now preserved in the Advocates' Library, was "H[ector] Bannatyne of Kames," representing the landowners in Bute, and "Matthew Spence," representing the burgesses of Rothesay. Sir James Lamont of Toward and Ascog Castles was a Royalist. In March 1643, he received a commission from King Charles to levy troops and prosecute a campaign against the Marquess of Argyle, which had a melancholy conclusion. The contending parties flew to arms. On the 26th August 1643, the Estates taking into serious consideration the danger imminent to the Protestant religion, the king's person, and the

¹ 'Act. Parl.,' vol. iv. p. 1726.

peace of the country by the multitude of Papists in arms in England and Ireland, resolved to put the kingdom into a "posture of defence," and appointed colonels of horse and foot—who were called "Committees of War"—in the various sheriffdoms. The Bute colonels in 1643 were :—

- " [Niniane] Stuart of Killcattan, elder.
- Stuart of Killcattan, younger.
- Stueart of Ascog [Niniane Stewart of Askoge].
- Alexander Campbell of Pennimoore.
- Bellenden of Cames [Hector Bannatyne of Kaymes].
- Robert Bannatyne of Iupus [Lubas].
- Johne Hamiltoun, baillie of Arran.
- Robert Campbell of Auchenwilling.
- Donald M'Neill of Kilmorrey.
- Donald Campbell of Kirkmichel.
- Sir Robert Montgomerie [yr. of Skelmorly], who is also to be
 conveiner." ¹

Sir Robert was appointed colonel for the shire.
To these were added in 1644—

- " Robert Jamesonne, crowner.
- Niniane Spence of Wester Kames.
- James Stewart of Killquhindicke [Kilwhinleck].
- Johne Stewart of Ardrismore [Ambrismore].
- Johne Campbell.
- Johne Jamiesone, proveist of Rothesay." ²

The Sheriff, James Stewart, threw in his fortunes with his king, and garrisoned Rothesay Castle with his own vassals in the royal interest. The leading men of Bute were Covenanters, and were among those who opposed the royal army under the Marquis of Montrose. On the 2d February 1645,

¹ 'Act. Parl.,' vol. vi, p. 54a.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Montrose defeated the Campbells and the allies of Argyle at Inverlochy, where among those prisoners who escaped the slaughter was "Captain Steuart in Bute,"¹ who was probably one of these Covenanting colonels mentioned above. The Sheriff had been appointed by the king lieutenant in the west in room of Argyle, and placed in command of two armed frigates, so that he might capture the Castle of Dumbarton. But the enterprise failed, and he had to seek refuge in Ireland.

Among the forces co-operating with Montrose in the Highlands was a contingent of Irish troops embodied by the Earl of Antrim under Alexander Macdonald, son of Colla Ciotagh. Argyle had attacked the Clanranald Macdonalds, who in turn sent round the fiery cross, and, gathering up a ruthless band, made for Argyle's country to plunder and destroy. The ruin they left was unmistakable in every place that had the least relationship with MacAilinmor. The lives of men and beasts were not spared. Bute, too, came under their bloody claws, according to Blain, in February 1646 (5?), and they left it desolate.

Meantime General Leslie, at Philiphaugh, had turned the wheel of fortune in favour of the Covenanters, and the royal cause in Scotland was rendered desperate by that blow.

Not long afterwards the injured Butemen had the satisfaction of learning that the remnant of the band of robbers who, under a Macdonald, held out against Leslie in Kintyre were mercilessly cast into the sea from the wild precipices of Dunaverty Castle.

A commission in 1647 reported upon the losses the isle

¹ 'Hist. of the Troubles,' vol. ii. p. 296. Bann. Club.



KAMES CASTLE IN 1894.

sustained by this descent, but the despoiled appear to have received no indemnity.

In 1647, an impost of £459 was laid on Bute, but it was suspended on account of the devastated condition of the shire. General Leslie was authorised to raise the Butemen against the Highland rebels, who with "the Irishes" were so troublesome that the county petitioned Parliament to send a regiment to suppress them. The Argyle regiment was sent.

A petition of Hector Bannatyne of Kames to the General Assembly displays either the crafty mind or the needy condition of that grim Covenanter in 1647:—

"The Commission of Assembly, having considered the petition of Hector Bannatyne of Kames [the Parliament had made over to him 'the debts and uthers guidis, gear, and means' of James Boyd, son of the late Bishop of Argyll, who 'hes bene and still is, in the rebellion,' to enable him to meet the expense of maintaining a loyal garrison in his castle of Kames,¹ and authorised their Commissioner of the Isles and his deputies within the Isle of Bute to see payment made to him—Acts of the Parl. of Scot., vol. vi. pt. i. p. 676]

¹ The following are the dimensions of Kames Castle (see p. 176), taken by Mr Macrae, Kames Castle:—

Walls, externally, 36 feet 10 inches and 26 feet respectively in breadth; to the gargoyles, 42 feet 8 inches; to the parapet, 59 feet 4 inches; to the tower, 66 feet in height.

1st ground-floor: Arched doorway on north-west face, 6 feet 4½ inches long, 3 feet broad; cellar, vaulted, 26 feet 3½ inches long, 17 feet 5 inches broad; stair in wall spiral; no windows.

2d floor: Room, 25 feet 4 inches long, 16 feet 7½ inches broad; stone-vaulted, 13 feet high; walls, 5 feet 9 inches thick, above-ground 9 feet; four windows.

3d floor: 23 feet 5½ inches long, 16 feet broad; walls, 5 feet 5½ inches thick; ceiling, 8 feet 5 inches high; north-west wall, 6 feet 10 inches thick; two rooms; three windows.

4th floor: 22 feet 11½ inches long, 15 feet 9½ inches broad; walls, 5 feet 5 inches thick; two rooms; two windows.

5th floor: Attic, 22 feet 9 inches long, 15 feet 8 inches broad; ceiling, pent, 9 feet 10 inches.

for himself, and in name and behalf of the poor inhabitants within the Isle of Bute, do judge the desire therof verie reasonable, and therfor recomend to the Presbyterie of Dunnoon to allow to him and his tennents the vaking fruits of the Kirk of Kingarth toward the education of their children at schools, in regard of their necessitous condition, and conforme to the destination of the Act of Parliament, recomending also to the patron, titulars, heretors, and others adebtit, in payment of the stipend, to mak due payment therof to them for the pious use aforesaid.”¹

The Sheriff himself was proscribed by the dominant party, and his family, dispossessed of their residence, were reduced to straits. He had ultimately to pay a fine of 5000 marks to obtain his office and property.²

But the Campbells of Argyle were also bent upon revenge, as the following episodes show.

One of the saddest tragedies that ever horrified Bute and the west was completed near the Castle Hill of Dunoon, when the Provost of Rothesay, several other townsmen, and adherents of Sir James Lamont of Inveryne and Ascog, were cruelly murdered by the Clan Campbell. The episode was the ground for one of the indictments which brought Archibald, Marquess of Argyle, to the block for high treason, fifteen years after its occurrence.³ According to the charge preferred to Parliament on January 13, 1661, by the Lord Advocate, Sir James Lamont, Knight, on behalf of himself, vassals, and kindred; Robert Campbell, laird of Escog; Colin Macklawchlane, minister of Lochgoilhead; and others,—it appears that Sir James Lamont had received a commission from King Charles

¹ ‘Proceedings of Commission of Gen. Ass., 1647; the Records of the Com.,’ pp. 206, 207. Scot. Text Soc., Edin., 1892.

² Blain, ‘Hist.,’ p. 216.

³ Hargreave’s ‘State Trials,’ vol. vi. p. 423; vol. vii. pp. 379-421.

in 1643 to prosecute a war against Argyle and other Scots rebels, which he executed till 1646, when King Charles gave himself up at Newark ; and in consequence, Lamont sheathed his sword, and retired to his houses at Toward and Ascog, where his vassals had found shelter during the times their lands were wasted. The Campbells, under the lairds of Ard-kinglas and Inveran, in 1646 laid siege to these two strongholds, and ultimately compelled Sir James and his garrison at Toward to capitulate, on condition that life, fortune, and goods, with their personal liberty, should be honoured. The treaty was instantly dishonoured, and their captives, to the number of 200, were bound with their hands behind their backs, and detained in the courtyard of the castle.

“Nevertheless, they plundered the said houses of the whole furniture and goods therein ; and did rob and take away the whole money and cloathes of the persons within the same, and did drive away the whole cattle. These and former wastation to the said Sir James, his friends, vassals, and tenants, did exceed the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, and in a most cruel and most barbarous way, while some of his poor friends were rescuing their own goods, they barbarously murdered and massacred a number of innocent women, as namely—Mary Gilaspie, Marione Mackleish, a young maid ; Caleech Breedmachfoyne, Margaret Crawford, and certain others, and inhumanly left their bodies as a prey to ravenous beasts and fowls,” &c.

Sir James was ferried over to Ascog to cajole that place of defence into surrender. Then the same treachery and cruelty ensued.

“In pursuance of their further villany, after plundering and robbing all that was within and about the said house, they most barbarously, cruelly, and inhumanly murdered several young and old, yea, suckling children, some of them not one month old.”

After devastating and burning the house of Ascog¹ and wasting the orchard and demesne, the ruthless Campbells conveyed their prisoners over to Toward—Sir James, and a few of kin, being taken direct to Inveraray. There he was brutally used, and was hurried off to imprisonment, which lasted six years: the meantime the Campbells enjoyed the lands of the Lamonts—Robert of Auchinwilling holding Toward, and Ardkinglas Ascog, till 1661.

A bitterer fate awaited the captives penned up in Toward. They were marched off to the Castle of Dunoon. It was the leafy month of June, and all the fresh ash-trees around the church were in full foliage. Thither the melancholy procession wended, and soon the Campbells decorated an ash-tree with the dangling forms of their captives, whose names follow:—

Neil Macpatrick, *alias* Lamond.

Archibald Lamond, son of Baron Macpatrick of Cowstowne.

Robert Lamond, his brother.

Duncan Lamond, brother to the said Robert.

Hugh Lamond, the other brother.

Duncan Ger Lamond, in Kilmarnock (near Toward).

Gocie Lamond, son of above.

John Lamond, do. do.

Ewen Lamond, in Mid Towart.

Gilbert Lamond.

Duncan Lamond.

John Macqueen, *alias* Lamond.

Archibald Mackqueen, *alias* Lamond, his brother.

Donald Mackqueen, *alias* Lamond.

Duncan and John Lamond, sons to Walter Lamond, brother german to the Laird of Escog.

¹ I incline to think that the Ascog referred to is the old peel of Eascaig in Kilfinan parish, not Ascog in Bute.

Hugh Lamond, in Gorro of the Carrie (Kilfinan).
 Robert Lamond, " " "
 Duncan Lamond, there
 Angus Lamond, do.
 Donald Lamond, do.
 Walter Lamond, do.
 Duncan Lamond, called MacWalter, there.
 Alexander Lamond of Ardyne, in Nether Cowall.
 William Lamond.
 John Mackqueen, younger, *alias* Lamond.
 Patrick Boigle, son to the deceased Mr John Boigle, minister at
 Rothesay.
 Dougall Harper, *alias* Mackallister, servant to the said Sir James.
 John Lamond, son of Gilbert Lamond of Knockdow.
 Gilbert Mackkloy, in Glendaruel.
 James Lamont, in Ardyne.
 Donald Lamont.
 James Mackqueen, *alias* Lamond, in Nether Cowall.
 James Lamont, his son.
 John Macpatrick, *alias* Lamond, in Ardyne.

What the Provost of Rothesay and other of his townsmen were doing there we cannot tell,—probably, being a colonel of the Bute Militia, he went with his company to protect or release the prisoners from Bute,—but the wild caterans of the Campbells fell on them as well, and butchered with dirks, pistols, and swords the following number :—

John Lamond, in Auchenschel- lich (Kilfinan), " 4 score years with a flux on him and pining with hunger and thirst as he stood at the ladderfoot." (The ladder referred to was the one in use at the tree.) Thomas Brown. Neil Macneil.	Meldonich Macmow. John Macmow, his brother. Archibald Hamilton. Meldonich Mackilimichael. Robert Michael. John Mackinlay. John Hendry. Alexander Hendry. Patrick Hendry.
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John Lamond.	Donald Macpherson.
Angus Mackilmune.	Duncan Macpherson.
John Macinnes.	Donald Mackilbreid Lamond.
John Macdougall.	Duncan Lamond.
John Henry.	Duncan Mackalaster.
William MacWilliam, <i>alias</i> Wil- son.	Thomas Mackbryde.
Hew Mackcrow.	John Michaelson.
John Mackcrow, his brother.	John Moodie.
John Macpherson.	John Jamieson, then Provost of Rothesay.

They noticed the Provost sweltering in his blood.

“John Jamieson, then Provost of Rothesay, who being thrice shot through the body, finding some life in him, did thrust several dirks and skanes in him, and at last did cut his throat with a long durk ; the said John Jamieson not only representing his Majesty’s authority as a prime magistrate of his Burgh Royal, was so cruelly murdered in contempt thereof, and of the statutes made in that behalf.”

The matter-of-fact indictment then proceeds to state :—

“The Lord from heaven did declare his wrath and displeasure against the aforesaid inhumane cruelty by striking the tree whereon they were hanged in the said month of June, being a lively fresh growing ash-tree at the Kirkyard of Denoone amongst many other fresh trees with leaves. The Lord struck the said tree immediately thereafter ; so that the whole leaves fell from it, and the tree withered, never bearing leaf thereafter, remaining so for the space of two years, which being cut down there sprung out of the very heart of the root thereof a spring like unto blood, popling up, running in several streams all over the root.”

The defence of Argyle, that he also had a royal commission in 1644 to punish Lamont, and that he acted on the authority of Parliament, was of no avail, and being condemned, he was beheaded for this and other acts of treason, 27th May 1661.

So the tragedies of Ascog, Toward, and Dunoon were legally avenged.

King Charles was now in the custody of the Parliamentary party of England, and the headsman's block loomed in the distance. To regain the North he had entered into an engagement to promote Presbyterianism, which, while it suited the party led by the Duke of Hamilton, was obnoxious to the sterner Protestants like Argyle and Leslie. The "Engagers," under Hamilton, now raised an army to invade England and restore Charles to freedom. In 1648, the Sheriff and John Hamilton were at the head of the Bute Militia, of whom fifty were enlisted. But the Scottish forces were defeated at Preston, and their commander taken. In January of the next year the king was executed, and two months afterwards Hamilton's head was rolled off the doomster's block.

Captain Neil Campbell was appointed to the Bute Fencibles in 1649, and in the same year Robert Montgomerie and Hector Bannatyne were on "the Committee of War," when thirteen horsemen were levied in Bute.

The Kingarth session-book contains a reference to the time when, on 4th February 1649, Ninian Stewart of Kilchattan was arraigned before the session for having "taken on with Duke Hamilton in the late unlawfull *ingadgment*." Being armed with a document from the Presbytery absolving him from responsibility, he was discharged.

The pugnacious Scots now fell foul of the Cromwellian party, and in their boldness to try their fiery mettle with the southern Ironsides, met disasters which placed Scotland at the feet of Cromwell in 1651. A standing army under General Monk kept the country in order and peace. An

English garrison under Ralph Frewin held the Castle of Rothesay until they were withdrawn in 1659. Blain declares that these troops razed the stronger parts of the castle ; but it is not improbable that the work of demolition was begun in accordance with the advice of Lauderdale to King Charles II. in 1660 to destroy such citadels.

The restoration of the monarchy led to reprisals of the severest character,—Argyle's head falling under the same knife that sheared off that of the gallant Montrose, and the less important rebels being fined. The fines imposed by Middleton in Parliament in 1662 fell in Buteshire upon—

Donald Macneil of Kilmorie	£360
Neil Macneil of Kilmorie	360
Ninian Spence of Wester Kemby [Kames] .	1200
James Stuart of Kilquhandy [? Kilwhinleck] .	360 ¹

A petition of Sir James Stewart to have Rothesay Castle repaired at the direction of Parliament does not appear to have been granted. He died in 1662.

The king and his satellites began their nefarious attempts to expunge Presbyterianism by restoring Prelacy in Scotland, to which an obsequious Parliament gave ratification. Many ministers seceded, and threw themselves on the sympathy of the common people, who clung to them and to the Presbyterian form of worship. The Covenanters again took to arms, and accordingly had to suffer the cruellest persecution for their rebellion and for non-conformity to the established form of religion. But the enthusiasm for the movement did not spread to Bute. At least no names of inhabitants of the

¹ Wodrow, 'Hist. of the Sufferings,' vol. i. p. 275, note.

isle are recorded in the lists of the proscribed fugitives, and the test may have been taken with the grace of an Argyle.

A minute of the Town Council, in 1683, evinces as strong an anti-Covenanting spirit as may be found at this time.

“ At Rothesay [Tolbuith] the second day of October 1683, the Council, after agreeing to distribute arms to the militia—gun, bandelere, and pike—proceeded to draw up the following covenant :—

“ ‘ We underscribours solemnly swear in presence of the Eternal God we invoke as Judger and witness of this our oath, that we owne and profess the true protestant Religion contained in the Confession of faith Recorded in the first parliament of King James the sixth, and that we believe the same to be founded in and agreeable to the wish and word [?] of God : And wee promisse and sware that we shall adhere hereto dureing all the dayes of our lyfetye, and shall endeavour to educate our children therein, and shall never consent to any change or alteration contrary thereto : And that we Disowne and Rennounce all sins, principally doctrines and practises, whether popish or phanatical, which are contrary unto and inconsistent with the trew protestant religion and Confession of faith : And for certification of our obedience to our most gracious soveraigne Charles the second we doo affirme and swear that the King’s majestie is the only supreme Governor of this Realme over all persons and in all causes als weill ecclesiastical as civill, and that no forayne prinse, person, pope, prelate, or potentant hes or ought to have any Jurisdiction, power, superiority, prehemynency, or authority ecclesiasticall or civil within the Realme, and therefore we doo uterly Renunce the forhale all foraigne jurisdictionis, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and doo promesse that from henceforth that we shall bear faithful and trew alledgeance to the King’s Majestie his house and lawfull successores : And we further affirme and swear by this our solemn oath that we judge it unlawfull for subjects, upon pretence of Reformation or any other pretence whatsoever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convocat, convene, or assemble, in any Councils, conventions, or assemblys, or treat, consult, or determine in any maner of state, civill or ecclesiastick, without

his Majestie's special comand or expresse licence had therto, or to take up armes against the King or those commissioned by him : And that I [we?] shall never soe rise in armes or enter into such covenants or assemblyes : And that there lyes noe obligation upon us from the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant (soe commonly called) or any uther maner of way whatsomever, or endeavour any changes or alteration in the Government either in Church or State as it is now established by the Lawes of this Kingdome : And wee doo promise and swear that wee shall use our utmost power — defend, assist, and mantane his majestie's jurisdiction foresaid against all deadly [?] and we shall never declyne his majestie's power and jurisdiction—as wee shall answer to God : And finally, we affirme and sweare that this our solemn oath is given in the plaine genuine sense and meaning of the words, and that we shall not recant or equivocate, mentall Reservation or any maner of evasion whatsoever, and that wee shall not attest or use any dispensation from any creetur whatsoever. So help us God.'

Signed by	'G. STEWART.	J. GLAS.
	A. GLAS.	JOHN KERSS.
	DONALD CAMPBELL.	ARCHD. GRAY.
	ROBERT STEWART.	P. J. KELBURNE.
	W. STEWART.	THOMAS BYWARD.
	JAC. RAMSAY.	WILLIAM ANOOR of
	PATRICK MARTIN.	Kirktoon.'

At length James VII. ascended the throne in 1685, and the exiled Scottish patriots, thirsting to avenge the national wrongs, planned, in Holland, an expedition which, under Monmouth and Argyle, was to free the land. The Government, on the alert, had garrisons watching in the westlands, and cruisers in the Firth of Clyde. The Bute Militia, under the sheriff, Sir James Stewart, to the number of 120, armed and provisioned, were transported to Ayrshire, to join the land-forces under Lieutenant-General Drummond. Argyle landed among his own clan, but few responded to

his fiery cross, and to the manifesto he promulgated. Dissension weakened the insurgents, who had seized Bute, and placed their stores in the fortified island of Eilean Gheirrig in Loch Ridden, Kyles of Bute, under command of Elphinstone. Argyle led away his rabble of warriors, who, intended for conquest in the Lowlands, disappeared from fright and heartlessness in the cause, until this tail of patriots thinned off to one follower, with whom Argyle was captured at Inchinnan. The block was his fate, slavery that of his Presbyterian compatriots.

From the 'Journal' of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-87, we get an eyewitness's account of the depredations done by the Highland soldiery in Bute in 1685.¹ Erskine, then a student of law and theology, had in Amsterdam joined the refugee Earl of Argyle, at that juncture passing under the name of Mr Carr, and other Protestants, who were "fully determined to join in that design of endeavouring, with a dependance upon and under God, the delivery of our native land from being again drowned in popish idolatry and slavery, which is now as it were tyed up with a very small thread ready to be broken. . . . Yea, I may say the standing or falling of the Protestant interest in Europe depended in a great measure upon the event of this undertaking in Britain, so that I could no ways make my being now at my studies, yea, the beginning of them, ballance so great an interest."

These "buffcoats" sailed for Kintyre, round by Orkney, and on their way lay to "at Tippermore, where the rich Spanish ship was sunk, for which my Lord Argyle did

¹ Pp. 113-130, Edin. 1893. (Scot. Hist. Soc.)

cause dive, having got some cannon." After beating up some men in the Isles and Kintyre, the expedition set sail from Campbelton for Cowall and Bute on the 29th May 1685. "We had 25 boats with us, some of them holding 100 men, beside one bark."

"30th.—This morning about 60 men were sent off to the Isle of Meikle Comray, with Sir John and Sir Patrick, Sir John having the command, I being with them. We were to try for intelligence, and get as many men and boats as we could. I went to the curate's house, with severall others, to try for arms and provisions. We carried away one little gun, but neither meal or beef, tho' there was of both there. None of the boats could be got ready this night, so we left the Isle. I did see Mr Alexander Symer, minister, in whose house I had been the last year. We were all night in the boats."

Upon the 30th May, the town of Rothesay was occupied and the castle partly fired by the Highlanders, during Erskine's absence.

"31st.—I went ashore to Rosay in Bute, a Borough Royal, and chief town of the shire of Bute. I heard Mr Thomas Forrester [evicted minister of Alba]. We understood that my Lord had caused burn the Castle of Rosay; there was only two chambers burned, which was all that remained. There was about two hundred cows driven to the town by the Highlanders at Mr Charles' [Campbell, son of the Earl] command, but they were all given back to the people again. The Highlanders, in going through the Isle of Bute, committed many abuses, by plundering people's houses, killing and hocking of kine, sheep, and lambs, only at Mr Charles' command, who did himself go through Rosay and caused people depone upon oath what money they had, and then give it him, which many did much regret, reflecting upon the Highlanders as being the occasion of all, and bringing on us the calumny of oppression and robbery which we were now fighting against. Mr Forrester from the pulpit did severely reprove and warn them of their guilt.

“I went through the Castle of Rosay, which has been of considerable strength.”

The little squadron began filibustering along the Clyde, the chiefs at one time dallying with shifty allies, at another trying to hold together their caterans, who “run away with their arms, selling their guns for a shilling. Eilean . . . was their fastness. We went up Loch [Riddon] towards the Castle of Allan Gregg, where the arms, ammunition, and ships were to be secured.” The rebels thought of making Rothesay their base of action.

“5th [June].—I went ashore upon Bute, and shot a mark [mart?]. There was about 14 of the Sheriff of Bute’s cows killed for the use of the ships. The castle, it was thought, with some pains might be made a considerable defence.”

But the campaign was soon ended, and both of these incendiaries of Rothesay Castle found themselves in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

“These irreligious and cowardly Highlanders, who, after they had refused to fight, turned about and left the main body of the army (at ——) which occasioned the taking of my Lord Argyle, their master, some hundreds of them having turned back together.”

The sons of Innisgail had much belied their ancient character for loyalty and daring, when these ignominious practices were committed in the face of danger.

According to Blain, the Government, who ordered an account of the loss caused by this eruption of the rebels, found it amounted in Rothesay to £4852, 3s. 6d. Scots.¹

The arsenal in Loch Ridden was taken by the English

¹ Blain, ‘Hist.’ p. 225.

frigates, and found to contain 5000 stand of arms, 500 barrels of gunpowder, guns, and other instruments of war.

On June 16, 1685, "Master Andrew Fraser," then minister of Rothesay, "acquaints the session that on the last month when Argyle and the Rebels were here in the countrey," that Argyle's ministers and some "others of the Rebels lodging themselves violently at his house, among many other injuries done by them to him, they sacrilegiously broke up the Poor's Box and took away all the charities, and this being a known truth, it appointed that at taking account of the poor money nothing be exacted before Sunday last, June 14. May 30, we were forced to leave the island when the Rebell entered, and did not return till June 12th."

The times were ripening for the Revolution, which was effected by the invasion of William, Prince of Orange, who with Mary his wife were proclaimed King and Queen of England on the 13th February 1689, and of Scotland soon afterwards. The Jacobite party now began intrigues to reseate James on the throne, so that the Estates of Scotland, afraid of the "Irishes and other papists," called out the Bute Militia, from sixteen to sixty years of age, on the 30th March 1689, and this well-armed muster, under "Bannatyne of Kaims, Elder, and Mr John Stewart of Escog," set sail for Dumbarton. The summons at the cross also ordained the Sheriff and his deputes to prepare beacons on Bute, which were to be kindled if there was any appearance of Irish invaders, and, while all horses and cattle were to be removed ten miles inland to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, the fencible men were to muster at the beacons.¹

¹ 'Act. Parl.,' vol. ix. pp. 26a, 28b, 30a.

But the danger passed away, and the levies soon returned to their homes, no doubt yearning for peace. The dispersion of the Highland Jacobites brought it. The concord grew, and the people settled down to their industries, and to the enjoyment of civil government and Presbyterian worship. Members of Parliament, magistrates, and ministers were settled, the churches were rebuilt or repaired, and the inhabitants were left undisturbed by foreign invaders.

The next theme which awakened local interest was the question of the Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England, to treat of which the Sheriff, then a privy councillor, was appointed a commissioner in 1702. In 1703, he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Bute. He was not present at the last meeting of the Scottish Parliament in 1706, when, by the removal of the parliamentary insignia, there was "an end to an auld sang."

For some unknown reason those eligible in Buteshire to take part in the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament do not seem to have availed themselves of their rights, with any frequency, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even the burgh had no citizen enterprising enough to watch the popular interests until, in the troublous reign of James I. of England, meddling hands essayed to tamper with the settled forms of Presbyterian worship, when the smaller lairds in Bute began to attend the meetings of Parliament.

The following is a list of the Parliaments attended by representatives from Bute:—

- 1484-85. March 21. A Parliament held in Edinburgh was attended by a representative from Rothesay, who is not named.
- 1488. October 6. A Parliament immediately after the accession

- of James IV. was attended by a representative from Buteshire.
1617. May 27 to June 28. James VI.
 The Laird of Camyis, Bannatyne }
 Paul Hamilton } Buteshire.
1621. June 1 to August 4.
 William Stewart of Kilchattan Buteshire.
 Mathow Spens Rothesay burgh.
- 1628-33. Charles I.
 Hector Bannatyne, younger of Keames }
 Johne Stewart of Ethok (Ascog) } Buteshire.
 Mathew Spens Rothesay burgh.
- 1639-41.
 Hector Bannatyne.
 Mathew Spens, provost.
- 1643-44. Convention of Estates.
 Sir Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie Buteshire.
 Johne Jamesone, session i. Rothesay burgh.
- 1648-51. Charles I.—Charles II.
 The Laird of Kilchattane }
 The Laird of Kames } Buteshire.
 The Laird of Ascog }
 Donald Gilchryst, sess. ii., iii. Rothesay burgh.
1665. Convention.
 Sir Dougall Stewart of Kirktown,
 Knt., Sheriff Buteshire.
1667. Convention.
 Ninian Bannatyne of Kaims Buteshire.
- 1669-74. Parliament.
 Sir Dougall Stewart, Sheriff }
 Ninian Bannatyne of Kames } Buteshire.
 Mr Johne Stewart of Askoge, Advocate,
 sess. i.-iii. Rothesay burgh.
1678. Convention.
 John Boyle of Kelburne }
 Ninian Bannatyne of Kames } Buteshire.
 Robert Stuart Rothesay burgh.

1681. Parliament.
 John Boyle of Kelburne . }
 Ninian Bannatyne of Kames . } Buteshire.
 Cuthbert Stewart, late provost Rothesay burgh.
- 1685-86. Parliament. James II.
 Sir James Stewart, Sheriff . }
 John Boyle of Kelburne . } Buteshire.
 Cuthbert Stewart, provost Rothesay burgh.
1689. March 14. Convention at Edinburgh.
 Sir James Stewart, Sheriff . }
 David Boyle of Kelburne . } Buteshire.
 Mr Robert Stewart, Advocate, uncle to the Sheriff.
- 1689-93. William and Mary.
 *Sir James Stewart.
 David Boyle of Kelburne.
 Mr William Stewart of Ambrismore, *vice* Sheriff.
 *Mr Robert Stewart, Advocate.
 Robert Stewart of Lochlie, *vice* Robert Stewart.
- Those marked with an asterisk did not sit. On 10th May 1689, the Committee of Estates ordered Sir James Stewart to be kept a close prisoner in the Tolbooth. On 25th April 1693, the seats of the Sheriff and Robert Stewart were declared vacant, because they had not taken the oath of allegiance and signed the assurance.
- 1703-7. Anne.
 Sir James Stewart of Bute, sess. i.-vi. Buteshire.
1703. May 6 to September 16.
 Mr Robert Stewart of Tillicoutrie Buteshire.
 John Stewart of Kilwhinlick, *vice* Sir James.
 Mr Dougald Stewart of Blairhall Rothesay burgh.

The history of life and work in the Isle of Bute during the past two centuries would form an interesting but melancholy addition to this work. During that time came into vogue many improvements conducing to the advancement of the people, and rose into importance many industries which have sicklied and died entirely. The various branches of

the fishing trade,—once an extensive business,—with the attendant industries of coopering, ship- and boat-building, sail-making, rope-spinning, are now attenuated into a precarious calling for a handful of fishers and a few ancient mariners.

Formerly, Rothesay had every prospect of becoming the seat of the cotton industry, on account of the availability of water-power and the appositeness of its water-highway, whereas to-day the numerous mills which once gave bread to hundreds stand silent as the grave.

The lack of local employment has driven thousands of Butemen into foreign lands, where they have succeeded in every rank of life, in many instances amassing wealth whose enjoyment they have shared with their less fortunate brethren at home.

The only source of labour, apart from the common mechanical trades, which has not ceased to exist, but has improved in its methods and activities, although not in the power of being adequately remunerated, is agriculture. And this, with its cognate industry of floriculture, may be reckoned the staple industry in Bute.

The labours of the greater portion of the population, however, are devoted, for a few months during the summer season, to the service of those who frequent the island as a health-resort, for the pleasures of idleness, or the profit of rest from the work and restraint of city commercial life.

The delineation of this phase of modern existence may be fitly left to another pen. And here I say Farewell to Bute in the Olden Time.

APPENDIX.

I.—GENEALOGY OF MAORMOR OF LEVEN.

GEINEALACH MÓRMHAIR LEAMHNA ANNSO SIÓS.

Donnchadh.
Mc Bhailtair.
Mc Amlaoibh.
Mc Donnchaid.
Mc Amlaoibh Oig.
Mc Amlaoibh Mhoir.
Mc Ailin Oig.
Mc Ailin Mhoir.
Mc Muireadhaigh.
Mc Maine.
Mc Cuirc.
Mc Maoldomhnoigh.
Mc Maine Leamhna.
Mc Cuirc.

GENEALOGY OF MAORMOR OF LEVEN DOWN HERE.

Duncan.
Son of Walter.
Son of Aulay.
Son of Duncan.
Son of Aulay the younger.
Son of Aulay the great.
Son of Ailin the younger.
Son of Ailin the great.
Son of Murdoch.
Son of Maine.
Son of Corc.
Son of Maoldomhnach.
Son of Maine Leven.
Son of Corc, &c.

The above genealogy of the Maormor of Leven has been taken from $\frac{23}{Gr}$ Royal Irish Acad. Collection of Irish MS.

II.

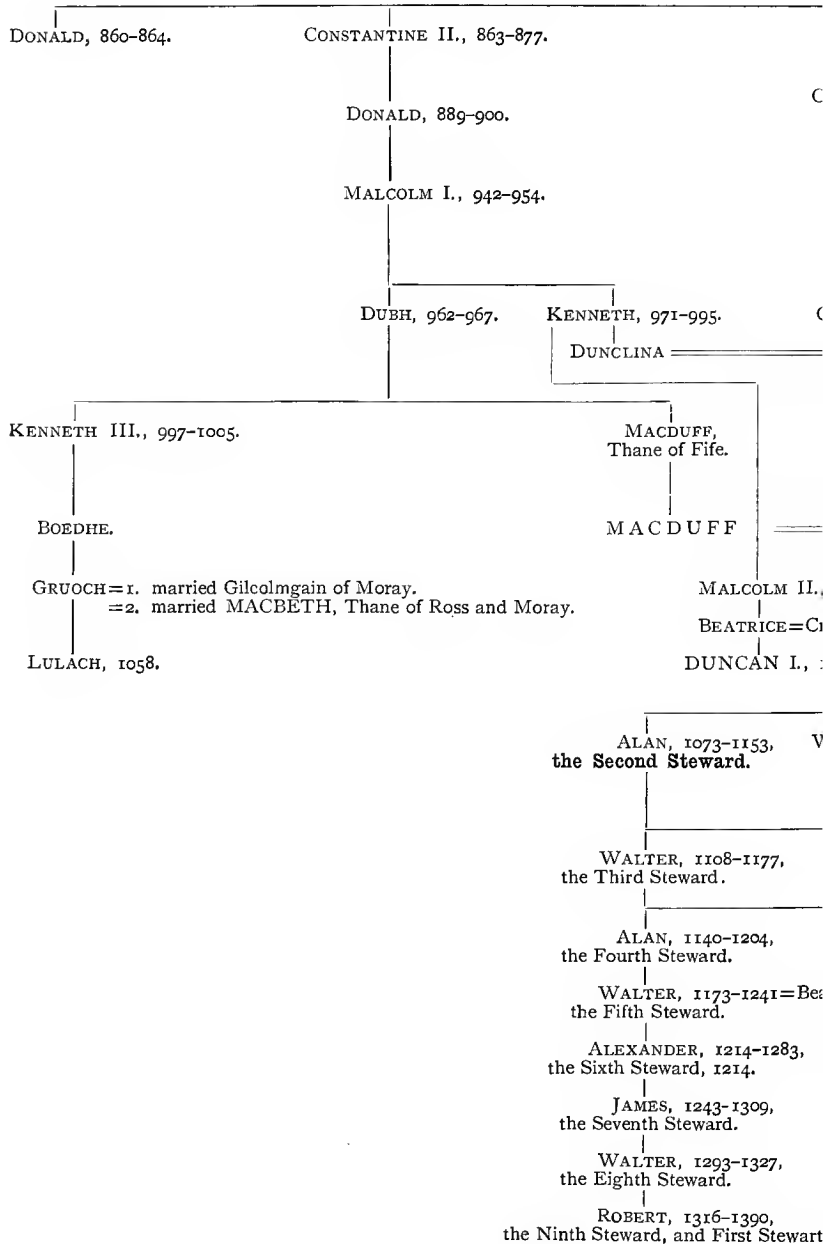
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OF

THE STEWARDS OF SCOTLAND

II.—GENEALOGICAL T

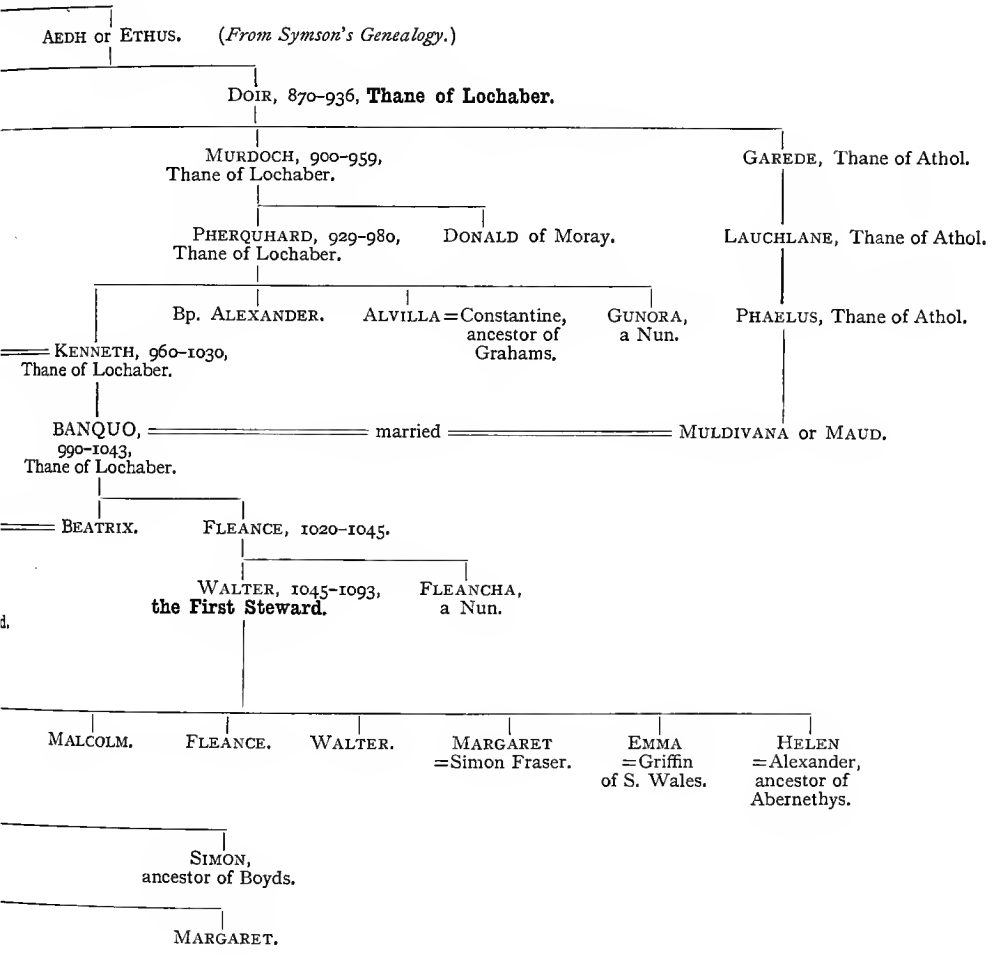
Compiled from



THE STEWARDS OF SCOTLAND.

to illustrate the Old Traditions.

MACALPINE, 860.



III.—PRÆCEPTUM DE ECCLESIA B. MARIÆ
DE COMBORNIO,¹

. . . Unde ego Rivallonius,² homo militaris de Britannia de Castello Combornio³ ipsi largitori bonorum, omnium, aliquid ex his quæ ab eo accepi per manus pauperum offerre decrevi. Sciant igitur præsentés omnes et futuri, ad quorum notitiam hujus nostri scripti Series poterit pervenire, donasse me Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii et fratribus qui ibidem deo sub Abbate Alberto⁴ famulantur, pro mea parentumque meorum Hamonis et Ræntlinæ, sed et conjugis meæ Aremburgis ac liberorum nostrorum Guillelmi. Johannis, Galduini, Gauffredi, atque advisæ anima, medietatem cujusdam ecclesiæ Beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ nomini dicatæ, quæ in Britanniam episcopatu S. Machuti apud jam dictum Castellum meum consistit. . . . Et quidem liberalitatis nostræ donum, ut irrefragabile in sæculum perseveret, dominus meus Conanus,⁵ comes Britannæ, de cujus beneficio hæc obtinebam, interpellatus postea a quodam monacho S. Martini,⁶ Urvodio nomine, pro sua patrisque Alani comitis anima, auctoritate vitata sua affigiato in hoc scripto crucis caractere confirmavit. . . .

. . . De dono meo hi qui suis signis et vocabulis permissu meo uxorisque meæ ac liberorum subnotantur: s. Rivallonii, s. Aremburgis, uxoris ejus; s. Guillelmi, filii ejus; s. Advisæ, filiæ ejus; s. Alui, vicecomitis; s. Glac, filii Eudonis; s. Gurguar, s. Fredaldi, senescalci; s. Urvodii, præpositi; s. Hervei, filii Tchoni; s. Mainonis, fratris ejus; s. Glac, præpositi; s. Rorgni, filii Sufficiæ; s. Gualterii, filii Heligonis; s. Gualterii, filii Riculfi; s. Henonis,

¹ 'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Marmoutier en Touraine,' par Dom. Martene. Part II., Titres, p. 241; Bib. Nat., Paris, MS. Latin, 12,878, fol. 239, 240.

² Rivallonius (Capra Canuta), son of Hamo, and brother of Archbishop Junkenus of Dol, fl. *ante* 1066. William, son of Rivallon, monk of St Florent-près-Saumur, founded St Florent-sous-Dol. John, fl. 1156-1161.

³ Combourg, castle built by Archbishop Junkenus, and given to Rivallon in the eleventh century.

⁴ Abbot Albert ruled over Marmoutier from 1032 to 1064.

⁵ Conan, Earl of Brittany, died in 1066.

⁶ St Martin's, Marmoutier.

fili Bernerii ; s. Karadoci, filii ejus ; s. Bonalli, s. Rainerii Guahart, s. Ebrardi de Guahart, s. Gualterii, filii Gavaini ; s. Gualterii monachi, s. Tatbari, s. Johannis, s. Ingomari, monachi ; s. Johannis monachi, s. Urvodii monachi. . . . &c.

IV.—INQUISITION MADE IN NORFOLK IN 1275.

Inquisitiones facte . . . in comitatu Norfolcie . . . anno regni Regis Edwardi tercio . . . Hundreda de Laundiz. . . . Dicunt et quod manerium de Melam cum suis pertinenciis fuit in manu Regis Willelmi le Bastard in Conquestu, et dictus Rex dedit dictum manerium cuidam militi qui vocabatur Flancus [Flautus?] qui venit cum dicto Rege in Angliam cum suis membris et omnibus aliis suis pertinenciis et preterea dictum manerium de herede in heredem usque Johannem filium Alani qui nunc in Custodia Domini Regis, &c.¹

V.—DONATIO DE SPARLAIO.

Hoc sciant omnes fideles futuri atque presentes quatinus Deo annuente, Alanus Flaaldi filius concessit Sancto Florentio ejusque monachis, scilicet istis presentibus Guihenoco, Guigone, et Guilhelmo, ecclesiam Sparlaici cum omnibus decimis pro salute sue anime perpetue et crostum cujusdam viri duarumque terram carucaturum, unam in Sparlaico² et alteram in Melahan, et de uno nemore ad domos edificandos et ad monachorum focum et eorum peccoribus pascua cum suis ubique peccoribus, et predictam ecclesiam Sancti Florentii monachis omnino solutam et quietam

¹ 'Rot. Hundredorum,' vol. i. p. 434 ; Eyton, 'Houses of Fitzalan and Stewart,' p. 3 ; 'Cal. Gen. Hen. III. and Edw. I.,' ed. C. Roberts, vol. ii. p. 687.

² Sporle, a Benedictine priory in Norfolk, cell to St Florent-près-Saumur, ascribed to Henry, Earl of Anjou,—Henry II.

maxime a querela monachorum sancti Trinitatis fecit, attributis illis in unoquoque anno xx^{ti} solidis de sua ferma de Sparlaico.

Hujus rei testes sunt hi, Artotellus presbiter, Ivo diaconus,—de laicis Odo [do] Norguico, Hamo Got, Gurhant Rivallonus extraneus, Garius de Marisco, Urfoen filius Fulcherii, Alanus Urvoni filius, Bondo, Torkil filius ejus, Rivallonus monachorum famulus, Osbertus et Arketellus frater ejus.¹

VI.—AUCTORAMENTUM JOHANNIS DOLENSIS
DE ECCLESIIS DE GUGUEN, VOEL, ET DE
TRONCHETO ET DE MIRACULIS ABBATIS
BARTHOLOMEI.

Johannes dictus Dolensis Comburnii Dominus omnibus fidelibus salutem in Domino Ego futurorum notitie declarare decrevi, quod plurium relatione audivi et didici, scilicet quod Maino filius Theonigete dedit Deo et B. Martino Majoris-monasterii, et abbatis Bartholomeo et monachis ejusdem coenobii apud Comburnium comorantibus ecclesiam S. Martini de Guguen et ecclesiam S. Martini de Voel [Noel] cum omnibus appenditis suis perpetuo possidendam. Descenderat enim aliquando idem venerabilis abbas in Britanniam causa visitandi domos quas habebat in Britanniae partibus et hospitandi gratia venit Comburnium. Tunc venit ad eum supradictus Maino rogans eum ut descenderet apud Guguen visitare filios suos, Haimonem et Gauterium qui gravi tenebantur infirmitate, descendit et signum crucis frontibus eorum imposuit, et statim obdormierunt, et post somnium integræ sanitati restituti sunt. Quo viso et audito, quod leprosum osculo sanaverat supradictus abbas, et aquam in vinum converterat, supradictus Maino et Theonus pater ejus senior supradictas ecclesias si dederunt, concedentibus filiis suis Haimone et Gauterio et ALANUS FILIUS FLOAUDI [*Flaudi* ('Preuves')] quicquid juris in ecclesia de Guguen habebat, eidem abbati concessit et

¹ 'Livre Blanc de St Florent,' fol. 130. (Preserved in Archives of Prefecture of Maine et Loire.)

monachis Comburnii. Monachi vero Gauterium presbyterum ibi constituerunt et Baudrico archiepiscopo præsentaverunt, et in tempore ipsius Gauterii tertiam partem decimo de Guguen habuerunt. Hoc ego Johannes a pluribus audiui: quæ sequuntur vidi, scilicet quod Haimo presbyter de Guguen in præsentia Hugonis archiepiscopi se deposuit, et ad jurisdictionem monachorum supradictam ecclesiam pertinere recognovit, et de manu Guillelmi prioris ipse Haimo ecclesiam recepit, et Hugoni archiepiscopo eum prior Willelmus præsentavit, et Hugo hoc concessit et concessionem sigillo suo confirmavit. Necnon sciant omnes quod Alanus filius Jordani et Eudo Spina donationes antecessorum suorum concesserunt de ecclesia de Guguen, et innovaverunt in præsentia Hugonis Archiepiscopi, videntibus istis Guillelmo priore, Turpino et Durando monachis, magistro Willelmo Susionensi, Evanocato, Normanno de Listreio et filio ejus Gaufredo, Philippo de Boteniguel, magistro Herves, Gauterio Brasard et aliis multis. Dedit insuper coram illis prædictus Alanus per manus Hugonis archiepiscopi ecclesiam de Tronchet cum omnibus appenditis suis, concedente Gauterio ejusdem loci magistro et omnibus fratribus ejus.¹

[Sigillum Joannis Domini Dolensis—une main tenant une épée en pal.]

VII.—FONDATION DU PRIEURÉ DE S. FLORENT-SOUS-DOL.

Scripture hujus veraci assertionem natum fieri volumus has donationes quas Abbas Guillelmus ad Monachatum veniens contulit loco Sancti Florentii. . . . Deinceps (Johannes et Gilduinus ejus fratres) dederunt villam Mezuoit prope Castellum Dolis cum omnibus consuetudinibus quas in ea habebant et ex altera parte villæ vineas proprias.

In supradicta villa, scilicet Mezuoit, cœpit Johannes construere monasterium in honorem S. Martini et S. Florentii per auctoritatem

¹ MS. Latin, 12,878, fol. 244 *recto*. Tronchet Abbey (Benedictine), one league S.S.W. of Dol, 9¾ from Rennes. Hugo, abbot, 1156-1161. Abbot Bartholomew was dead in 1084. 'Preuves,' p. 492.

P. Gregorii VII. et per testimonium Milonis Archiepiscopi, qui prius Decanus Parisiensis Ecclesiæ ab Apostolico ordinatus est Episcopus Beneventanæ, quem de hac re intercessorum apud Papam habuit Joannes Eventius¹ etiam Archiepiscopus Dolensis, ut construeretur annuit et cymiterium ipse benedixit, et omnes suas consuetudines illi monasteris donavit, et ut etiam feria in festivitate S. Florentii ibi adunaretur permisit ita tamen ut monachi burgenses ejus in burgum suum hospitandos non reciperent nisi ejus grantavanti absolute. . . . Alanus similiter Siniscallus dedit furnaticum ejusdem villæ, id est Mezuoit, et renditionem panis suam partem. Et hoc concessit Fledaldus frater ejus et monachi ob hoc fratrem ejus Rivallonem ad monachatum receperunt. . . . (Testes . . . inter alios, Alanus Siniscallus, Herveus Butellarius, &c.)²

VIII.—CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY ALAN FITZ JORDAN, TO MARMOUTIERS.

Omnibus notum sit presentibus et futuris quod Alanus Flaaudi filius . . . dedit Monachis Lehonensibus . . . decimam de suo dominio de Burtona. . . . Ego siquidem Alanus Jordani filius à primogenitus progenie supradictorum descendens³ . . . ipsam decimam quam avus meus eisdem contulerat . . . annuentibus filiis concessi. . . . Et ne quis in futuro, &c., proprii sigilli impressione presentem cartam confirmare decrevi, favente uxore mea Johanna et filio meo Jordano et ceteris qui omnes hujus beneficii participes sunt et testes.⁴

¹ Eventius, Archbishop of Dol, 1076-1081.

² 'Preuves,' pp. 433, 434.

³ The words "*primogenitus*," &c., induced the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres to think at first that Alan, the son of Flauid, was identical with Alan, the son of Fredaldus Senescallus; same applicable if Alan Fitz Flauid was twice married, that Jordan, the father of Jordan, was the son of the first marriage and heir of Burton, while Walter and William were of the second or Hesding marriage.

⁴ Titres de Marmoutier; Bib. Nat., Paris, MS. Latin, 22,322, p. 176, No. 143.

IX.—CARTA DE MOLENDINO DE BORTONE.

*Charter of Confirmation by Jordan Fitz Jordan Fitz Alan Fitz Flaald, of a Grant by his Father of the Mill at Burton to the Priory of Sele in Sussex.*¹

Jordanus filius Jordani filius Alani hominibus suis de Burton salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse Monachis S. Florentii de Salmur molendinum de Burton in elemosinam sicut pater meus disposuit in infirmitate qua mortuus fuit coram archiepiscopo G. de Dol.² Et volo et firmiter precipio ut ipsi habeant illud sicut umquam melius et quietius illud habuerunt tempore Alani filii Flealdi et tempore Jordani patris mei. T[estibus] Rollando Monac[ho] et Herberto cler[ico] et Willelmo clerico de Tusfort³ et Ansgero presbitero et Rotberto filio Godeboldi et Joelo Delmares et Denchisinat et Ewvardo de Lachater et Radulfo filio Berhaldi apud Tusfort.⁴

X.—CARTA HENRICI REGIS ANGLORUM DE
CELLA S. TRINITATIS EBORACENSIS.

“*Henricus rex Anglorum G. archiepiscopo Osbertoque vicecomiti et omnibus suis baronibus salutem. Notum fieri volo me concessisse monachis S. Martini Majoris-monasterii elemosinam Radulfi Paganelli, id est quidquid eis dedit in terra et ecclesiis et decimis.*” Then are enumerated the donations of Paganellus, including the Church of the Holy Trinity in York, “*Bertona in Rivala,*” and many others. “*Actum est hoc Eboraci videntibus istis et audientibus Radulfo eodem Paganelli, Eudone Dapifero, Willelmo de Albiniano, et ejus frater Negello, Radulfo de Roiliaco, Alano Floaldi [Fevaldi] filio, Rannulfo thesaurario.*”⁵

¹ Sele was a dependency of St Florent-près-Saumur.

² Godfrey, Archbishop of Dol, translated to Capua in 1144.

³ Tusford = Tuxford in Notts.

⁴ MS. Magdalen College, Oxford; Cartwright and Dallaway's 'Hist. of Sussex,' vol. ii. p. 225.

⁵ 'Hist. de l'Abbaye de Marmoutiers en Tourraine,' 2d partie; Bib. Nat., Lat., 12,878, fol. 228 *recto*.

XI.—CHARTER DISPONING LAND TO ST
FLORENT, ATTESTED BY ALAN, DAPIFER.

Guillelmus Decanus, Salomonis Decani filius vendidit monachis Sancti Florentii terram quam pater suus Solomon habuerat in Mezuoit. Hoc annuerant fratres ejus Maino, Goffredus et Evenus et Blidehildis mater. . . . Acta sunt hæc coram his testibus Comite Goffredo Hamone filio Rodaldi, *Alano dapifero*. . . . Hamone filio Galleri, Galtero filio Guillelmi, &c.¹

XII.—DONATION FAITE À MARMOUTIERS PAR
JOURDAIN FILS D'ALAIN.

Ego Gaufridus Dolensis Ecclesiæ totius capituli nostri assensu in Archiepiscopum electus Jordanum filium Alani, strenuum virum et illustrem, conveni quatenus Cimiterium Ecclesiæ S. Crucis et St Mevenni de Fraxinaria,² quod quasi proprio et hereditario jure possiderat, ecclesiæ Majoris Monasterii annueret. Quod mox ut animadvertit se injuste tenuisse concessit, &c., &c. × Jordanus fil. Alani subscripsit: × Maria uxor Jordani subscripsit: × Jordanus subscripsit: × Alanus subscripsit. (Hi duo filii Jordani.) Actum Anno ab. Incarn. Dom. mcxxx., &c.³

¹ 'Cart. Blanc St Flor. Saum.,' fol. 81, *recto et verso*; 'Recueil de Dom. Housseau Anjou et Touraine,' tom. ii., No. 299.

² Fraxinaria=La Fresnaye, a few miles N. W. of Dol.

³ Morice, 'Preuves,' tom. i. p. 564.

XIII.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF

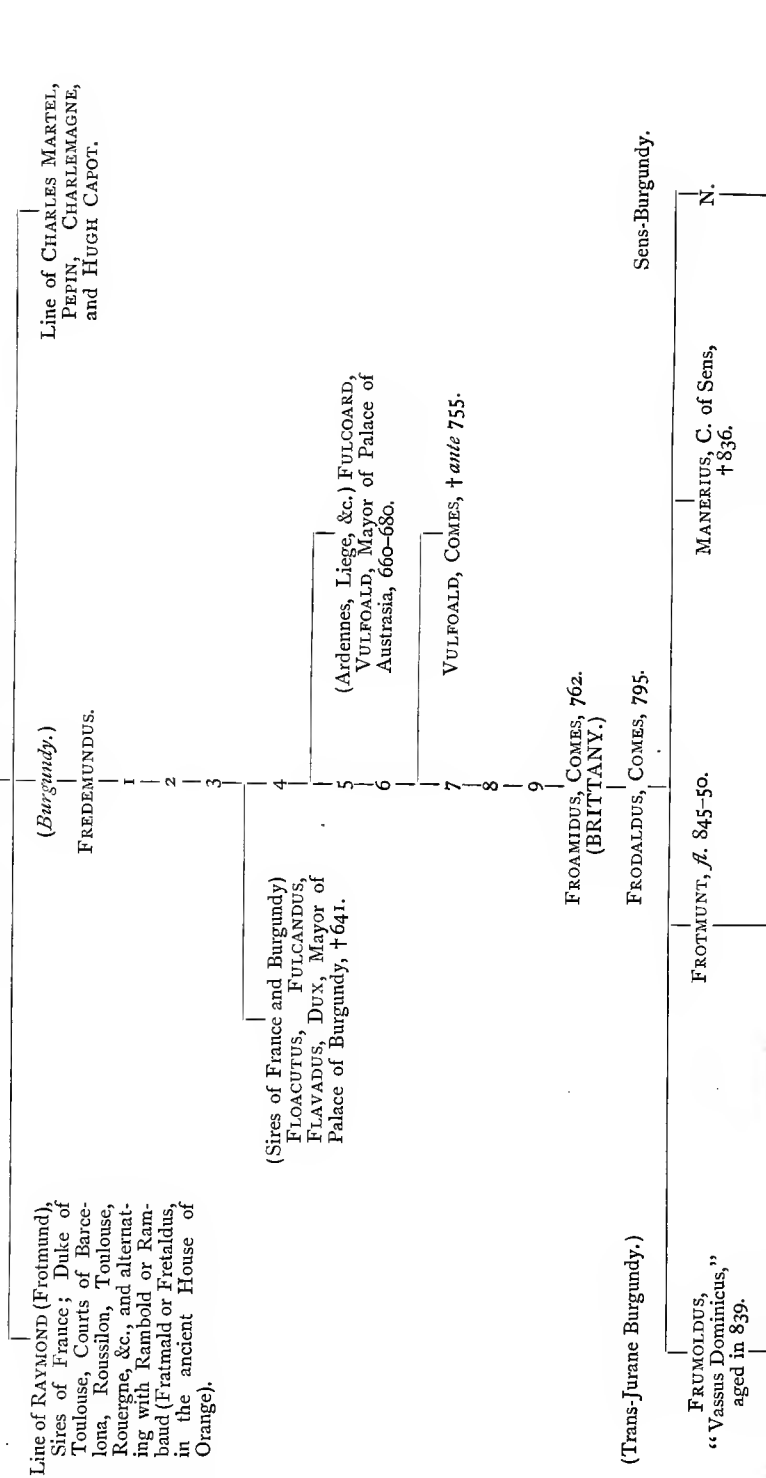
THE ANCESTRY OF THE FITZ ALANS
AND STEWARTS

XIII.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ANCESTRY OF THE FITZ ALANS AND STEWARTS.

Suggested and compiled by the late EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES in 1876.

Race or Tribe of FROTMUND (Frotmundar, Hermanduri).

FARAMUND, PHARAMOND = FROTMUND.



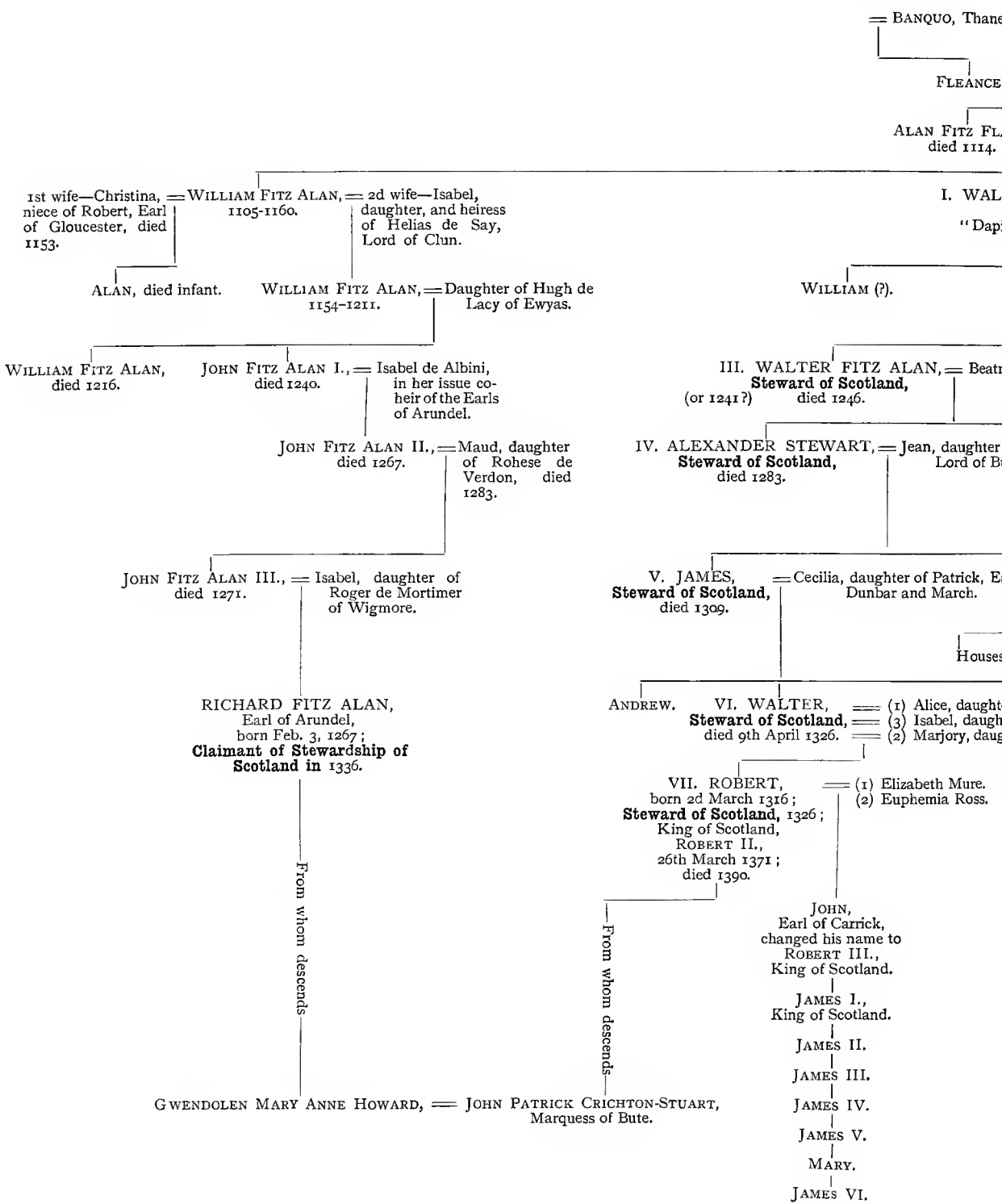
XIV.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE

SHOWING

THE DESCENT OF
THE STEWARDS OF SCOTLAND FROM
BANQUO AND ALAN

XIV.—A GENEALOGICAL TABLE SHOWING THE DESCENT OF



THE STEWARDS OF SCOTLAND FROM BANQUO AND ALAN.

Lochaber. GRIFFITH AP LLEWELLYN, Prince of N. Wales; = Alditha, daughter of Algar, succeeded 1037; died 1063. Earl of Mercia.

= married = GUENTA or NESTA.

LD, = Avelina, Adelina, or Adeliza, de Hesding (Hastings).

ER FITZ ALAN, = Eschina, daughter of Thomas de Lundin. Steward, "Regis Scotiæ," died 1177.

SYBIL = Roger de Freville.

JORDAN.

SIMON.

MARGARET. II. ALAN FITZ WALTER, = (1) Eva, daughter of Suan, son of Thor, Lord of Tippermuir and Tranent. Steward, died 1204. (2) Alesta, daughter of Morgund, Earl of Mar.

daughter of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus.

DAVID.

James, JOHN, killed at Damietta in 1249.

WALTER, Earl of Menteith, Senescallus.

WILLIAM.

BEATRIX = Earl of Lennox.

CHRISTIAN.

MARGARET = Niel, Earl of Carrick.

EUFEMIA = Patrick, Earl of March.

ALEXANDER. JOHN.

Sir JOHN, killed at Falkirk in 1298.

= Margaret, heiress of Bonkyl.

ELIZABETH = William Douglas, the Hardy.

ANDREW.

Lennox, Galloway, Blantyre, and Traquair, Darnley, Daubigny.

of Lord Erskine. of Sir John Graham. of King Robert Bruce.

Sir JOHN, killed at Dundalk, 1318.

Sir JAMES of Durrisdeer.

EGIDIA = Sir Alexander Meynis.

Sir JOHN STEWART of Ralston.

JEAN.

EGIDIA.

XV.—REPORT ON ROTHESAY CASTLE.

BUTE ESTATE OFFICE,
ROTHESAY, 18th October 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,—Having now completed the excavations in the courtyard at Rothesay Castle which you requested me to have examined by desire of Lord Bute, I have to report to you the result. To make the search a thorough one, I caused every inch of the area to be dug over to the depth of from 2 to 3 feet, and then with an iron rod 4 feet long pierced the ground under that level at short distances apart to find whether there was anything underneath. When stones were touched upon, the loose earth was first cleared away, and it was seen whether they formed part of a wall or were loose stones which had fallen down from off the walls: if they were found to form part of a wall, it was followed out as far as it went; or if the stones were loose, they were taken up and put aside, any carved or hewn stones being specially taken care of. All the walls laid bare have been left exposed to view, but the drains shown on plan¹ have been covered over again. You may remember that all that was visible in the courtyard when you visited it were the walls of the chapel and stair at the end of it, part of the great staircase, the well, and the walls (which for convenience of reference I have marked 1 and 2 on the accompanying plan); but now a good many more fragments of buildings are to be seen, and I shall describe to you as briefly and clearly as I can the appearance presented by them, and notice any point in connection with the chapel and other walls above referred to brought to light. Digging was commenced near the well, and the walls first laid bare were No. 3, which were found a foot under the surface. The building varies from 1 to 2 feet in height, and consists wholly of rubble-stones, various sizes, with the exception of three large red sandstones, supposed to be doorsteps, which are splayed both inside and out. 4 is a pavement of grey flagstones, each from 5 to 6 inches thick, and with 2 to 3 square feet in each. 5 is a causeway of large unshaped stones lying in front of the building, 6 to 9 inches under the level of the doorsteps. 6 consists of a course of dressed

¹ The plan referred to in this letter is marked drawing No. 5.

and squared freestone on three sides, with three single stones apart from the square ; but in the same line as one of the faces there is no freestone in one side of the square : it appears to have been removed. A few of the freestones are dressed, but not all alike, and must have been in use somewhere else before being laid here. There is nothing to indicate where a door or window may have been. 7 is a mass of masonry irregular in shape, and near it a rough causeway of large pebbly stones from 4 to 6 inches through was touched upon. 8 is a wall standing 1 to 2 feet high, and what is most noticeable here is a splayed base-course, shown on plan by a double line, and the projection near the centre of the wall, round which it is continued, resembling the foundation for a buttress. 9 is a division wall, 12 inches thick, with a single course of boulder-shaped stones, some set on edge. 10, walls standing about 18 inches high, and at the corner, near door leading to crypt under chapel, the wall is seen to be bevelled to improve the passage. The door into that building is supposed to have been at A. The freestone step, being of value probably, has been removed from this point, and beyond this a passage could not be got betwixt and the outer wall. 11 is supposed to have been a hearth ; it is partly surrounded by stones on edge and causewayed. The floor of that part nearest the wall 10 consists of a layer of sandy grey-coloured ashes on the top, covering a layer of sand and clay mixed, burned and leaving a red appearance on top, gradually changing into a yellow colour below. The step and jambs of doorway at the angle of the crypt have been exposed fully to view ; the door still remains built up. 12 is the remains of the stair leading to chapel ; the lowest step only is to be seen, which is in two stones. 13 is a large door entering to the crypt through the west gable, which has been uncovered ; the jambs and scuntions of the door are pretty entire for 2 feet in height or so from the floor. There is a rough causeway outside the doorstep of very hard stones. 14 is a door, of which a rybat remains on each side above the step ; both rybats and step are displayed on the outside. 15 is an opening through the wall, 6 inches squared on the one side and 13 inches on the other, at the level of the floor, with rough sides and cover, and a sandstone in the bottom of it, hollowed out as shown on margin to carry off water. 16 is a regularly built rubble wall 27 inches thick coming up to the floor-level, and is not connected with the front or

back wall. 17 are two of the original stair-steps; the upper one seems to have been displaced a little; both are of red sandstone, and at bottom of stair there appeared to have been a rough causeway. 18, as at No. 7, with a stone margin of large grey flagstones. 19 are five roughly squared stones, laid in a line with each other and bedded in mortar, and probably formed part of a wall. 20 is a rubble wall of about a foot in height, with no dressed stones about it whatever. 21 are three steps, each 13 inches broad, from 18 to 21 inches long, and having risers the ordinary height. The wall above them (22) is faced with a red sandstone squared, and exactly like the facing of the original building round the courtyard; it stands exposed to the height of from 1 to 3 feet. Betwixt said facing of that and the outer wall there appears the packing or hearting of the wall, on which the stair-steps rested. By this stair direct communication could be held between the tower and courtyard, through the archway which you observe built up near B. In digging under the archway at C there was exposed to view the jambs of a door or gateway 4 feet 7 inches wide, checked on the outside 3 inches deep each way; this is without doubt of a later date than the first-built portion of the wall. There was further brought to light here the jambs of an old doorway standing 4 feet high on each side, which door would be the next barrier after the portcullis gave way; the jambs are of red sandstone splayed on the corners, and have a base standing 8 inches high, projecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The portcullis groove goes down to a depth of 7 feet 8 inches below the underbed of string-course, appearing in the section sent to you. I had the steps lifted up and the bottom of the entrance-door carefully examined where you supposed there might be a rebate or check for the drawbridge to go in, but could see nothing of any kind to indicate how the drawbridge was closed or opened. The wall under the door appears to have been broken down and roughly built up again.

Having noticed these points about the buildings, you will next observe that attention to drainage has not been wanting. The main line from D to E is formed of stones; in some parts of it the sides are formed of square sandstones, and in others unshaped stones, but nearly all the same depth, 1 foot. The width is also pretty uniform throughout, but it contracts very much opposite the chapel, whether the result of accident or not it is difficult to

say. About one-half of the length of the drain was found covered with large grey flagstones, and in one or two places the bottoms were also paved with the same materials. The other lines of drains are formed for the most part of thin stones set on edge, as shown in margin. The open courtyard when excavated appeared to show nothing beyond what is shown in plan; the soil is for the most part underlaid with a coarse yellowish gravel mixed with sand. At F there were traces of a floor laid with iron-mine dust, which when broken lifted in a cake condition 1 to 1½ inch thick. At G the floor is covered with dry sand and shivers, exactly like what is to be seen on the floor of a builder's hewing-shed, and probably at this spot stones had been dressed for some part of the buildings. The figures in red ink on the plan give relative levels at different points, the datum level (lowest point) being marked O, and at the under side of the rebate or check or jamb of door under archway at C.

I think I have alluded to every point of interest; but if I should have failed to convey to you distinct impression on any point, you have only to call my attention to it and I will be happy to give further explanations.—I remain, my dear sir, yours very truly,

JNO. R. THOMSON.

XVI.—LIST OF CHARTERS, ETC., RELATING TO THE STEWARTS.

The following is a list of the most important charters in connection with the Stewarts :—

‘AN INDEX OF MANY RECORDS OF CHARTERS,’ edited by
W. Robertson (ed. 1798).

In King Robert First's Reign (1306–1329).

	P.	No.
Charter to James Stewart, brother to Walter Stewart of Scotland, the lands of Dorisdeir in the valley of Neith, which Alexander Meinzie's resigned	13	82
Charter to the said James Stewart and his spouse of the barony of Enache (Session 6, 32)	13	83
Alexander, Senescal, obtains Archibetoun, forfeited by David Betoun in 1309	1	8

List of Charters, etc., relating to the Stewarts. 373

	P.	No.
Alexander obtains charter of lands of Achykillichan and Scottisbiryne	1	10
John, Senescal, obtains Frendraught	1	19
James, Senescal, obtains Peristoun and Warwickhill	6	39
Robert, heir of Walter, Senescal of Scotland, obtains lands of Cunningham	7	54
	9	10
Alexander, St., obtains Garmiltoun, Dunnyng, Elvingstoun, Fischerstatis	7	{ 63,64, 66
Charter to Walter, of barony of Kilbryde in Lanark	9	12
" to Robert, son of Walter I., Cessford, Nisbitt, Caver- toun (Roxburghshire)	10	13
" to Robert, barony of Methven (Perth), Kellie (Forfar)	10	14
" to Walter, barony of Dalswintoun (Dumfries)	13	94
" to Walter, Eckford, Nisbet, Langnewton, Maxtoun, Cavertoun (reign 14, 16, 29)	21	22
" to Walter, Methven	21	23
" to Walter, Bathcat, Kilbryde, &c.	21	31, 32
" to Robert, son of Senescal of Scotland, lands of Kintyre	26	32

Reign of David II. (1329-1371).

Charter to Alexander, Senescal, of an annual in Cambusnethan barony	33	24
" to Robert, Senescal, of all his lands (14th of David's reign)	40	21
" by Robert, to Murray of Tullibardine, of lands in Tullibardine	43	23
" by Robert of lands in Dalziell, Motherwell, &c.	43	27
" by Ranulph to Walter of Garleyis, Glenmannache, Corsock, Kirkormock	45	33
" of Dunmore in Fyfe	45	35
" of Earldom of Athole to Robert, Senescal, 16th Feb. 1341	48	29
" granting customs of Edinburgh to John, son of Walter, Senescal	49	5
" to David Stewart, son of Robert, lands of Kinloch, Perth	53	27
" to Robert, Senescal of Scot., lands of Kintyre, and to John, son of Elizabeth More	60	30
" to Robert, Senescal, barony of Stanboithe (Clack- mannan)	61	11
" to Robert, Senescal, barony of Reidcastle	68	[?]
" to Robert and Eufamie, his spouse, of barony of Methven (17th Sept., a. r. 41)	90	255

Reign of Robert II. (1371-1390).

	P.	No.
Charter to Dilecto filio nostro David Senescallo (19th June, 1 r.) of castle and lands of Urchard	94	293
" to David Sen., Militi, comiti de Stratherne, filio nostro karissimo, . . . Comitatus Stratherne	94	294
" to Alexander, his son, of 60 davates in Badenoch, castle of Lochindorb and forest of Inverness	94	286
" to John, Lord of the Isles (married Margaret), his son, of the Isles held by Alan	97	316
" to John, Earl of Carrick, Steward of Scotland, of Prestisfield, Grange of St Giles, &c.	119	27
" to Walter, his son, of Arroch	122	97
" to John Stewart, son to the king, gotten by him upon Marion Cardny, lands of Kinclavin, &c. (Perth); to James, another of her sons, of Kinfauns; to Alexander, another of her sons, Lounan and Petfour	124	13, 14
" to Alexander Stewart of Buchan, of Kynnedward, Dingwall, Sky, Lewes, and other baronries	124	21, 25, 26
" to John Stewart, gotten betwixt the King and "dilectam nostram Moram," lands in the thanedom of Kynclevyn	125	29
" to Mariote de Cardne, lands beside Milnathort	131 99	30 317
" to "Willielmo filio Alani Senescalli justiciario Scotie" (12th Nov., 33d of Alexander)	76	92
Confirmed 20th Sept., 36th of David II.		
" to Cunninghame of Reidhall by Robert, Duke of Albany, is attested by John Stewart "fratre naturali"	161	1
" to John Campbell of Loudon by Robert III. is attested by "Johanne, Senescallo, fratre suo naturali, Vicecomite de Bute," at Rothesay, 24th Aug. 1408 (?)	164	36
Donald de Bute, Dean of Dunblane, attests charters of Robert, Duke of Albany, during first four years of his regency (1406-1410).		
Charter to Kilwinning Abbey of Advocation of the Kirk of Rosay by James Stewart, grandson to King Robert III.; Bute	140	42
" confirming to John Stewart of Bute, ane annual of 20 merks from barony of Abernethy; Perth	146	35

‘REGISTRUM MONASTERII DE PASSELET’ (Maitland Club).

	Page
Carta Walteri filii Alani, domini Regis Scotorum Senescallus de ordinatione primi Abbates (c. 1220)	I
Charter of Foundation of Paisley Monastery by “Walterus filius Alani dapifer Regis Scotie.” Witness, “Simone fratre Walteri filii Alani. Apud Fodrigeiam.”	I
Various confirmatory charters	2, 3, 4
Charter of Walter granting to Paisley lands and churches in Innerwick, Ligertwood, Hassendean, Cathcart, Strathgryfe, Paisley, Prestwick, 1163-1173	4
These grants again witnessed to by “Alano filio meo”	7
Charter of Alan, son of Walter, “dapifer Regis Scotie,” confirming all the previous grants, 1177-1199	11
Alan grants Mill of Paisley, 1201-1204	13, 86, 87
“ grants Muniabroc and liberties, 1202 (confirmed p. 253)	13
“ grants tithes of Maphelin (Mauchline), 1202-1203	14
“ grants church and chapels of Bute, and confirms Fulton	15
Walter the Second grants lands between Haldpatric and Espedare and Caldor, 1208-1218	17
“ the Second, son of Alan, grants freedom of multure of Renfrew burgh mill, 1204-1246	20
“ grants Hillington	20
“ founds House of Canons of Simpringham at Dalmulin (Dalmellington), and grants this and fishings between Ayr and Irvine, 1204-1214	21
“ grants churches of Dundonald and Sanquhar, 1208-1214 (confirmed by Alexander Fitz Walter in 1250-1280, p. 225, 226)	22
“ grants Drumgrane, Drumley, and Petihaucingowin (confirmed, p. 47)	23
“ grants all the goods resigned by the Monks of Simpringham (the resignation bears the date Sept. 1246)	24
Robert, Seneschal of Scotland, Earl of Strathearn, and John, his first-born and heir, confirm previous grants in Kyle and Cowal to Paisley	29, 32
Charter of Walter the First to Henry of St Martin’s, attested by Alan	48
“ of Henry attested by Alan	49
Alexander, the Senescal, confirms grant of Ingliston, 1260	59
Robert, Senescal of Scotland, grants precept regarding lands of Aldhus in 1361	66
“ confirms all previous grants (Bute not mentioned), “John Senescal, Lord of Kyle, our first-born, and Walter Senescal, our dear son, Lord of Fyff,” being witnesses	67

	Page
King Robert III. confirms in 1396	68
Charter of Lady Eschine, wife of Walter, Dapifer of the King of Scotland, granting Carrucate in Molla, to Paisley, about 1177. Attested by Walter and their son Alan (confirmed p. 76)	74
Alexander, Senescal of Scotland, grants deeds concerning certain privileges in 1246	87, 88
Alexander, Senescal of Scotland, confirms all the lands in 1252	90
Donation of Robert III., in 1396, of Regality of Kyll and the Stewartlands, in a barony (general confirmation, p. 97)	91
James, Senescal of Scotland, confirms right of stone and lime quarrying	92
King William confirms churches of Cathcart, Cormannoc, and Rutherglen, "Alan my dapifer" attesting	106
Charter of Alexander the Steward of lands of Innerwick, excambed in 1246	113
Ferchard de Buit, son of Nigel de Buyt, and his brother Duncan, attest charter by Angus, son of Dovenald, of grant to Paisley 127, 128	
Donation of church of Largs and chapel of Cumbraye by Walter in 1316-1318	237
Charter of James, Senescal, granting free transit in Lochwinnoch, 1283-1303	254
Deed granting three silver merks to Paisley by Walter the Second, 1207-1214	401

‘LIBER DE MELROS’ (Bannatyne Club).

	No.
Charter of King David granting the three granges of Eldune, Dernewic, and Gattuneside, with consent of Prince Henry, is attested by Henry and by "Waltero filio Alani" at Ercheldon in Junio (1142?)	1
Prince Henry's charter (1124-1153) confirming the gift to Melrose Abbey of lands in Melrose, Eldune, and Dernewic by King David is attested by "Waltero filio Alani"	2
"Walterus filius Alani dapifer regis Scocie," in reign of King Malcolm, grants [in (1153-1165)] to St Mary's of Melrose 4 carrucates of the lands of Edmundiston	4
The charter of William (1165-1214) confirming the rights and liberties of Melrose is attested by "Waltero filio Alani Dapi- fero" and "Alano filio ejus," at Rokesburch (Roxburgh)	13
"Walterus filius Alani dapifer regis Scocie" gives to Saint Mary's of Melrose a toft beside the Tweed in Berwick and twenty acres in the plain of Berwick which Malcolm the King gave him	19
This is confirmed by King William	20

List of Charters, etc., relating to the Stewarts. 377

	No.
In a charter by William of houses in the Briggate of Berwick, the lands of "Walteri filii Alani Senescalli mei" are mentioned	23
A charter of Dunekan, Earl of Carrick, attested by "Alano Dapifero"	32
A charter of Robert Avenel of Eskedale granting lands to Melrose is attested by "Walterus filius Alani" and "Alanus Senescallus regis Scotiæ"	39
A confirmatory charter by James, Archbishop of Glasgow, of lands in Glasgow given by Rannulph of Hadington is attested by "Alano dapifero regis"	43
"Walterus filius Alani" confirms gift of his grandfather, Walter, of Edmundiston	46
William confirms this charter and Walter attests it	47
A charter of King William confirming the grant of Hertished to Melrose is attested at Lanark by "Waltero filio Alani"	53
In a confirmatory charter of King William of various grants to Melrose is mentioned "a meadow which the monks hold off the soldiers of Alan, son of Walter, in feu from Innerwick"	57
In a charter by Robert of Kent of portions of the wheat-lands of Innerwick, Alan, son of Walter, is mentioned as his over-lord. It is witnessed by "Alano de Thirlestain"	59
Walter, son of Alan, attests a charter by Roger, son of Glay, his vassal, granting pasturage in the village of Innerwick to Melrose	60
A similar charter by another vassal is attested by "Waltero"	61
A confirmatory charter by Walter is granted	62
Another vassal who, in granting Steintun to Melrose, wishes the safety of "Walteri filii Alani et Alani filii ei dominorum nostrorum . . . et Walteri junioris," is Willelmus le Waleis, with his wife Isabel	64
The grant to Melrose of Machelin (Mauchline) by Walter, son of Alan, is attested by "Alano filio meo"	66
The charter confirming the latter grant by Alan, is attested among others by "Reginaldo de Asting" and "Willelmo filio Walteri nepote dapiferi"	67
King William confirms the grant	68
"Walterus filius Alani filii Walteri dapifer regis Scotie" confirms the preceding benefaction of Mauchline	72, *72, 73
The grant of Richard Wallace of Barmor and Godenech in Gallo-way to Melrose is attested by Walter son of Alan, by Alan, and confirmed by Alan of Barmor	69, 70, 71
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1244. Walter fitz Alan [Steward (3)] was one of those who transmitted to the Pope for confirmation a charter, whereby Alexander, King of Scots, bound himself and his heirs to keep the peace with Henry, King of England, and his heirs . . .	i. 1655
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XVII.—ACCOUNT OF BANNATYNE OF KAMES AND BANNATYNE.

(Abridged from 'A Gen. Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire,' by George Robertson, vol. i. pp. 50-69, Irvine, 1823, and apparently compiled by Lord Bannatyne, with Notes by J. K. H.)

This ancient family formerly held lands in Ayrshire, as they do still (1823). Their Gaelic patronymic is M'Omelyne, M'Amelyne (Mac-O-Maol Ian = the son of the grandson of the tonsured John); Bannatyne of Kames, the chief, being styled M'Amelyne Moir. They descend from Gilbert (*c.* 1263), whose son Gilbert and grandson John obtained charters from Walter the Steward, one being dated before 1318 (Kames Charters), of lands in Bute. John the son of Gilbert is the John Gibbonson of Fordun (and of Wyntoun, see *ante*, p. 101; also of the 'Excheq. Rolls,' in 1329, "John, son of Gilbert, Baillie de Boyet"). His lands of Corsbie in Ayr, and of Bute, descended to Thomas Bannatyne, the fifth or sixth heir from the first Gilbert, then to Ninian son of Thomas, and to his son Robert. Ninian and Robert lived in 1491.

THOMAS BANNATYNE married secondly Agnetta M'Connyle or M'Donald of Kintyre and Islay.

NINIAN, his son (married Janet Stewart, see *ante*, p. 153), in 1498 was tacksman of the forest of Bute.

ROBERT, his son, acquired the fifty-shilling land of Ardmoleish from Ninian Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, in wadset. He married—

- i. Christian Campbell.
- ii. ——— Douglas.

ROBERT, his son, by the second marriage, succeeded. In 1506 the Bannatynes, kindly tenants, of Loubas, Kerry-Lamont, Brochag, Coygach, Dunallunt, Dremochloy, Scarel, Clachnabae, Shallunt, and Stuck, obtained charters and became vassals of the Crown (see *ante*, pp. 137, 138). Their feus fell into the hands of the family of Kames. One family held Inchmarnock in feu off Saddell Abbey; another held the three-merk land of Grenach. Robert Bannatyne died in 1522.

NINIAN, son of Robert II., acquired the five-merk lands of Barone in wadset from Sheriff Ninian Stewart.

A quarrel between Ninian Bannatyne and Sheriff James Stuart was arbitrated upon by John Boyle of Kelburne, 12th April 1548. Ninian Bannatyne took part in the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox, and was routed on Glasgow Moor, receiving a remission, 8th March 1554.

- i. He married and divorced Janet Stuart. Their daughter Janet married John Stuart of Ambrismore.
- ii. He married Margaret M'Cowel or M'Dougald of Raray; and had four sons, Hector, Angus, Ronald, Charles (of Creslagloan), and three daughters: ——— married to Duncan Campbell of Dremnamuckloch; Isabel, married to Archibald Carsewell of Carnasery; and Annabella, married to Ronald M'Connyle.

HECTOR married—

- i. Margaret M'Lauchlan, daughter of M'Lauchlan of M'Lauchlan, and had a son, Ninian.
- ii. Marion, daughter of M'Naughton of M'Naughton, and had three sons, William (of Scarrel), Archibald, and Alexander, and two daughters, Agnetta, married to Ninian Spence of Wester Kames, and Elizabeth, married to Duncan Campbell of Evanehan.

NINIAN married Mary, daughter of Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck.

HECTOR, their son, succeeded his grandfather Hector, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Patrick Stuart of Roslin and Balshagry. His estate suffered from the M'Donalds after Inverlochy. Hector was a member of the Scots Parliaments, 1617-1639. He had a son, Ninian, and daughter. The latter married William Campbell of Wester Kames.

NINIAN, in 1678 Captain of Bute Militia, member for Bute in 1667, 1669, 1671, 1672. Married Isabella, daughter of Sheriff Sir James Stuart, and had two sons, Hector, James, and three daughters. Elizabeth, married to John Campbell, Captain of Dunoon; Anne, second wife to the same; Annabella, married to John Campbell of Knockamelie.

HECTOR married—

- i. Margaret, daughter of Sir George Maxwell of Newark, with issue.
- ii. Marion, daughter of Fairholm of Babberton, with issue—
James and Isabella.

Hector raised a contingent of fencibles in Bute for Argyle. In 1715, as Captain of Militia, accompanied the first Earl of Bute to Inverary to join Argyle in opposing the Pretender. The civil wars impoverished his estate, and compelled him to sell much of it to the Earl of Bute.

JAMES died unmarried, aged eighty-nine, and the succession went to the son of his sister Isabella—

WILLIAM MACLEOD, the son of Roderick Macleod, W.S. He was an advocate, Sheriff of Bute in 1774, and a Lord of Session in 1799. Lord Bannatyne died unmarried. His sister Isabella married the Rev. Dr MacLea; another married Alex. M'Donald; a third died unmarried. Margaret married (1) John Macleod, (2) Hon. John Grant of Kilgraston; Anne married Sir John M'Gregor Murray of Lenrick Castle.

Armorial bearing of Bannatyne of Kames and Bannatyne: Quarterly, first and fourth, *Gules*, a chevron, *Argent*, between three

mullets, *Or*, for Bannatyne. Second and third, *Azure*, a castle triple, towered and embattled *Argent*, masoned *Sable*, the windows and portcullis shut, *Gules*, on the dexter chief point a star, *Or*, for M'Leod. Above the shields is placed a helmet befitting his degree, with a mantling *Gules*, the doubling *Argent*; in a wreath of his liveries is set for crest a demi-griffin, in his dexter paw a sword erected, proper; in an escroll above the crest this motto—*Nec cito, nec tarde*; and on a compartment below the shield are these words—*Murus aheneus*. Supporters, two angels, proper, habited *Azure*, and winged *Or*.

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